

Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine
Dnipro State Agrarian and Economic University
Philology Department

Collective Monograph



Specialists' Identity in Language Activity
and Professional Communication



Dnipro, 2024

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Dnipro State Agrarian and Economic University
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**“SPECIALISTS’ IDENTITY IN LANGUAGE ACTIVITY AND
PROFESSIONAL COMMUNICATION”**

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THE CAREER HISTORIES OF THE WOMEN IN ADMINISTRATORS SPHERE

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Abstract. The article deals with the purpose of exploring the career histories of the women in the administration sphere was to identify and document socialization and recruits patterns as well as barriers which these women had confronted and overcome. The author describes the career paths were for women different from those of men and women limited to top positions in certain ministries and excluded from others. The article highlights that the successful women tend to move laterally more than successful men and women move around from one agency to another or from one job to another more often than did men as they advanced. The influence of a “glass ceiling” seem to be in evidence for women administrators. The article issued the problem of the respondents “pioneer” women in the agency or had the agency or ministry a history of women in top administrative positions. The class and educational backgrounds of the top administrative women or if it is would be different in different countries.

Key words: *public administration, women, gender, education, equity, identity, stereotype, norms.*

HYPOTHESIZED EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS TO WOMEN INTERESTED IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CAREERS

Introduction. The existing literature about the status of women in practically every society suggests that in all the nations of the world, women interested in public administration as a career will have to cope with common barriers. These include socialization practices that teach women that they should not aspire to such positions in society and continue to reiterate this message in countless aspects of everyday life; the sex segregation of occupations in the society and sex role stereotyping on the job; the lack of access to education or training in general or in particular fields; and entry level barriers. Once on the job, promotion practices often present barriers, and finally the double burden of family and career affects even those women who are not

mothers because of sex role stereotyping. The assumption was that these barriers are present to some degree in all societies although their prevalence varies [1,9].

Sex Role Socialization. Early childhood socialization trains girls and boys for future roles in society. Except in relatively rare cases, children are trained to assume the roles with which their parents are comfortable, rather than roles based on changing needs and conditions. While boys are expected to emphasize public roles, girls are trained in household duties and discouraged from public activities. The stereotype of the passive, feminine, family oriented wife-mother is relearned by each generation and reinforced daily through schooling, customs, institutions, laws, and the media. Even though there are many women who choose other behaviour patterns, these non-traditional women experience role-incongruence, role stress, and role conflict.

The researchers were concerned with the extent to which this sex role socialization occurred for top female bureaucrats.

SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING ON THE JOB

The research methodology is practically all societies have some kind of sex-based division of labour, although the extent of the separation and isolation of women varies considerably from one country to another. Stereotypes concerning appropriate behaviour for women will vary accordingly. Where women are pioneering by assuming managerial and top administrative positions, they are challenging by their very existence long held expectations and stereotypes. Many women, as well as men, prefer not to be the “first” pioneer in developing new careers, new fields, or new roles. **The purpose of the research** is to find out the psychological, social, and even economic challenges are many for those women and men who seek innovative roles. A woman who chooses to fill a position previously filled only by men must invent, test, and refine behaviour patterns in entirely new situations, knowing that her colleagues are watching to see whether she will try to be “one of the boys” or will attempt to alter their expectations about behaviour associated with that position. **A**

research problem. Role models become extremely important here. An individual looks for one or more persons who have similar personal characteristics and who are already in positions similar to those to which the individual aspires. Upwardly mobile men have plenty of examples of men at higher levels and can easily identify with at least a few of them. Pioneering women, however, can find few if any women who are already highly placed in most organizations. At best, an entry level woman finds one or two women at higher levels. She may or may not identify with their role behaviours [1,9].

Relevance of the research. Only when a number of women hold high positions in many organizations will entry level women have enough potential role models to find models whose abilities and styles they admire. The lack of female role models in top organizational positions broadcasts a “no entrance” signal to the most qualified and interested women. While some women do respond adventurously, men do not have this additional barrier to confront. Once roles have been de-stereotyped sexually, both men and women will pursue careers based on their abilities and inclinations, rather than following the paths taken most often by members of their sex. The extent to which top female bureaucrats actually were pioneers and the ways in which they experienced the pioneering role were questions of concern to the researchers. Being the only or one of very few highly placed women in an organization brings with it a number of problems which male leaders in those organizations do not have to face. Isolation is one of these. Most leadership positions are filled by men who are used to relating to women as mother, sister, daughter, or secretary-assistant. Many professional males have never worked with a female colleague. The “token” woman in a top management position consequently must work not only to develop her own style, but must also work to make her male colleagues comfortable with her. She must spend extra effort to communicate with her male colleagues and to be included in their informal activities and discussions. As one or one of a few highly placed women, she is not only isolated but she is also very visible and constantly being watched. Whereas most men entering a job can make a

few mistakes that are overlooked, a woman in the same position is under great pressure to perform well every minute. If she makes a mistake, her male colleagues may infer that “women” are inappropriate for the job. If she does well, they are just as likely to conclude that she is exceptional and that most women could not do as well. In the first case, she reflects poorly on the entire group of potential female employees; if she does well, she is separated from “expectations” about women and becomes isolated from her female cohort. The interview schedule attempted to probe how “pioneering” respondents perceived themselves and their job situation in light of these hypotheses. Still another barrier to advancement for women comes from the disjunction between the passive socialization training for women in most societies and the requirements for advancement that most organizations present. While qualified women do not automatically get the top jobs, they are more likely to be promoted if they express ambition, seek difficult assignments, and speak out on issues. Supervisors who do not consider themselves to be biased against women may still treat women differently from men because of their own expectations concerning women’s ambitions and desires for advancement. Supervisors may (sometimes unintentionally) exclude women employees from developmental opportunities such as travel and attendance at conferences, exclude them from professional networks, pass over women employees when doling out important and difficult assignments, and confine women to secondary or assistant helpmate roles. Worse, women may be treated in a domineering or condescending manner, overprotected or constantly criticized, or subjected to harassment. An ambitious woman must not only do her job well, she must confront any internal reluctance she may have to be aggressive in seeking choice assignments and responsibilities, and must consume additional energy developing strategies to deal with any prejudices her male supervisors and colleagues may have. All of these ideas were hypotheses that the research team sought to test in their interviewing.

ACCESS TO EDUCATION

The aim of the article. While most developed countries offer universal access to primary education (although the quality varies from place to place), in many developing countries, one must pay for access to a limited number of spaces, even at the lowest levels. Parental attitudes influence whether girls have the same educational opportunities as boys. Enrolment in formal education for women of all age groups lags behind that of men, but is increasing at a faster rate than for men. Lack of parental resources and traditional attitudes limit the educational opportunities for many women. For less wealthy families, the cost of sending children to school may require parents to choose among their children. In developing countries, parents send boys instead of girls because girls are expected to be mothers, not providers, and because girls can get pregnant and be forced to leave school. In industrialized countries, the same considerations operate at a higher level of education. Boys are the first to be sent to college in a family that has to choose. Only within the last twenty years in industrialized nations have women obtained access to training in any great numbers in traditionally “male” fields such as engineering, science, medicine, business, law, economics, and politics. In many of these fields in many countries, education and training is still primarily for males. The research project probed respondents concerning their education and the support they received in obtaining that education [1,9].

Objectives of the study. Occupational sex segregation represents a significant barrier to women’s advancement in practically every country. The expectation of those engaged in this study was that traditionally “male” ministries such as those dealing with finance and foreign affairs would have fewer women in high positions than ministries concerned with typically “female” functions, such as health, social welfare, and education. In countries where trained labour is plentiful, educated women may experience more discrimination than in countries where educated labour is scarce and the possession by systematically underutilizing women graduates.

PROMOTION

Higher level performance (and usually higher salaries) is related to the following job characteristics: (a) supervising more people; (b) responsibility for a larger budget or more expensive equipment; (c) handling tasks in which errors have more serious consequences for the organization; (d) responsibility for making decisions for which there are fewer precedents and for which outcomes are harder to predict; (e) handling tasks that require coordination of more independent agencies or more different types of employees or clients. An upwardly mobile employee looks for opportunities either (1) to step into a position with the above characteristics or (2) to alter the current job to include more of the above characteristics [2; 98].

A major barrier to promotion for women comes from the specificity of job titles and the lock-step sequencing of positions into career ladders and regulations limiting movement among agencies. If women are blocked from entering the lowest levels of such career ladders they are automatically excluded from promotion into higher positions on those ladders.

Career ladders dominated by women are short and have low starting salaries in comparison with those career ladders dominated by men that are taller and have higher salaries. If job titles were broad-banded and more job titles were interchangeable, women could more easily change from a short to a taller career ladder. Some government agencies have developed “bridge jobs” that span two career ladders and increase lateral mobility across career ladders. In each country, researchers were looking for evidence of career ladders and how they affected women as well as for the existence of policies or practices that attempted to include more women in such career ladders.

Employee evaluation practices present another structural barrier to women’s promotability. Evaluation systems often weight subjective factors such as personality and appearance criteria where such weighting is inappropriate. Because women are rarely found in managerial positions, evaluators are not sure whether behaviour and accomplishments that they observe are due to the woman’s true abilities or to the fact that she is a woman. For example, if a man is often seen talking with other

employees, this may be interpreted as an expression of his interpersonal skills. If a woman talks to other employees in the same way, she may be viewed as gossiping and wasting time. Although the behaviour is the same, the interpretation is different for women and men. If a supervisor of a woman employee has strong “traditional” attitudes about women’s place and about women’s behaviour, the supervisor may see negative behaviour even when the woman is doing very well [1; 2; 39].

Many behaviours towards women in an organization are hostile whether intentional or subconsciously motivated. Women managers may be singled out, either by being ignored or by being made to feel special or different. Alone woman in a meeting is often asked for the women’s point of view . This may appear conciliatory or sensitive but may be a device to set her apart from the group. Managers not knowing how to relate to a female manager may set her apart by avoiding eye contact, by maintaining more physical distance, and by making references to her femininity.

A number of male behavioural patterns are condescending. These not only distance women from the management team but also place women at the lowest levels of the status hierarchy. These behaviours include: non-parallel terminology (e.g., men and “girls”); obvious surprise when a woman does well; a “knowing” smile when a woman does not do well; non-parallel titles (e.g., Mr. Khan and Leila)\ the inability to remember names and professional attributes and accomplishments of women (while remembering very well their physical appearance); and a lack of interest in women managers as potentially powerful and long term components of the organization.

Some behaviours are not only condescending but also domineering: making inappropriate personal remarks; belittling or ignoring suggestions made by women; attributing comments made by women to men instead; supervising women professionals more closely than men; using sexist humour to enliven speeches or conversations; and seeking analysis (higher level information) from men while seeking facts (lower level information) from women. In conferences and meetings,

men, rather than women, tend to talk more, talk longer, take more turns speaking, exert more control over the topic of conversation, and interrupt women more often than men. These micro-inequalities taken singly are merely irritating, but when a woman is subjected repeatedly to these condescending and domineering behaviours, any doubts she has about her abilities and performance are reinforced. Such negative behaviours can discourage a woman from taking the initiative, suggesting ideas, and developing professional relationships. Her aspirations are dampened and her confidence undermined. The questionnaire asked respondents for their views on promotion practices in light of the above hypotheses [1,9].

The initial aim of this research effort was to assess the status of women in top administrative positions and to document and compare the prevalence of various barriers to women's advancement in public administration in several countries. The expectation was that women in public administration would have similar experiences cross-nationally. The question was, how similar would these barriers be and where would the differences lie? Studies of the status of women in a variety of countries throughout the world during the Women's Decade make it clear that the differences between women of different cultures, histories, and economic circumstances are substantial despite the similarities of childbearing, child rearing, and general economic, social, and political subordination to men that characterize women in all cultures [1,9]. Of the variables involving difference, religion and economic organization may have the largest impact on the socialization of women and on women's access to education. The organization of the state also is significant as states assume different functions in socialist, developing, and advanced capitalist economies as well as in democracies of various types, military dictatorships, and communist regimes. Federal versus central bureaucratic organization may also be important.

PROBLEMS OF COMPARISON

As noted in the Introduction, the data collected for this study indicate that the ways different societies treat women and women in top administrative positions are

similar in some aspects and, at the same time, also quite unique to each individual society. What seem to be quite similar outcomes may be defined by very, different conditions. The intellectual dilemma is not unlike the struggle many Western feminists have been having with the concept of the patriarchy. The patriarchy is useful as a concept because it unites women in showing that women's oppression is universal and global. At the same time, the concept in itself may be oppressive to women in that it obscures very real and important differences among women. Perhaps the most that can be done in a comparison of this nature is to note the similarities at the same time as one notes the differences. This symposium conclusion, first, will compare the data for the various countries according to the questions posed by the common research interview and questionnaire instruments. A summary of the distinguishing characteristics of the findings for each country will follow. Finally, to give context to the comparative enterprise, a discussion of some of the major differences between the countries and the position of women within them will set the stage for the argument that the similarities that describe women in top administrative positions and the barriers they continue to experience in all the countries of this symposium are not easily correlated with other variables measured in this study. The evidence does support the importance of the structure of the economy, the role of the state in the economy and in the society, and the structure of the labour force in establishing the possibilities for women in higher administrative positions. Access to appropriate higher education for women is another critical variable supported by the findings of this study. Yet these factors alone do little to explain some of the important similarities or differences in socialization and experience that the respondents reported.

NUMBERS OF WOMEN IN TOP POSITIONS

A comparison of the interview and questionnaire data gathered in each country generates a number of observations. First, women are in top positions in the public bureaucracies of all of these countries. However, their numbers are limited. Comparison is difficult because it is not clear where the line between "top" and

“upper level” or “middle level” should be drawn in any country. The research group decided to define the top 10 percent of the salary structure as “top level” for purposes of comparative sampling. In practice, the small number of women in “top” administrative jobs in several countries meant that researchers had to expand the definition of “top level” to include women in “upper level” and even “middle level” in some cases. The Bulgarian data are particularly difficult as the government makes no distinction between public and private enterprises. Ananieva and Razvigorova report that women constituted 30 percent of all managerial positions in Bulgaria in 1984; however, their data do not identify how many of these women are in the top ranks of the managerial cadre. In spite of these difficulties, some comparisons are possible. In the Netherlands, women compose 2 and 5 percent of the top two salary levels. In the United States, women constituted 7 percent of the top administrative levels (GS 16-18 and the Senior Executive Service, SES) as a whole in 1983. In the Agriculture, Defense, and Treasury Departments women were in fewer than 6 percent of the top jobs and in Departments like Health and Human Services and Education they held as many as 16 percent of the top positions. Langkau-Hanner and Sessar-Karpp report that in Germany, less than 1 percent of the top grade of the civil service are women, and only 6 percent of the upper grade civil service are women. Only 17 percent of the full-time civil service employees were women. The report from Finland indicates that while women have made significant inroads in obtaining top positions in parliament and in party politics, only one or two women hold positions in the top levels of the bureaucracy. In the middle levels of the bureaucracy, women constitute 13 percent of the assistant department heads (4th highest level in the hierarchy) and 9 percent of all bureau heads. In India, the elite Indian Administrative Services has no more than 11 percent women [1,9].

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

All the women in the top levels of the administration in each country exhibited high levels of education. In most countries, a university degree or performance on a competitive examination is a minimum qualification for entry into the civil service

ranks. The United States sample included a number of women who had entered the civil service at a lower level without a degree. In most cases, these women acquired a degree at a later date.

The social background of top women administrators varies considerably according to country. In India, the top female administrators in the sample all came from fairly well-educated families. Forty-five percent of the sample were upper caste Hindu women. Thirty-one percent of the sample had fathers who were in the public service. Over 40 percent of the sample came from an upper income level group. While the United States sample had representatives of all social class backgrounds, Bulgaria exhibited perhaps the greatest social mobility. Only one woman in the sample of 20 top female administrators had a parent with more than a secondary level education.

FAMILY, MARRIAGE, AND CHILDREN

In all of the countries considered here, the percentage of the top women sampled in each country who were married varied rather drastically. In Bulgaria, 85 percent were married; in India, 74 percent; in the United States, 60 percent (90 percent of the men in top positions were married); in Finland, 56 percent; in Germany, 42 percent (78 percent of the men in the top grade were married); in the Netherlands, only 16 percent of the women in the sample were married although 50 percent of the sample was either married or cohabiting. The number of children also varied. In Finland and in the United States, top male managers tended to have more children than top female managers. In both the Finnish and the United States samples, 45 percent of the women administrators had no children. In the United States, only 4 percent of the sample of males did not have any children. In Germany, 25 percent of the sample of women had children. In the Netherlands, only 16 percent of the sample had children, although other women in the sample were young enough to contemplate the prospect. In Bulgaria, all the married women had children. In India, the women in the sample had much smaller families than is the average for India. The average number of

children for the women in the I.A .S. sample was one, while the average number of children per woman for all of India in 1981 was over five.

AGE

Indian women were not allowed to enter the prestigious Indian Administrative Services until 1951, which helps to explain why 90 percent of the Indian sample were under 45 years old. In the Netherlands, 75 percent of the interviewed women were between 32 and 40 years of age. In Finland, with its longer tradition of having women involved in the labour force, 72 percent of the sample of top administrators were 40 years of age and older. The same age structure characterizes the women in the German and Bulgarian samples where 87 percent and 85 percent respectively were over 40 years old. In the United States, the highest proportion (48 percent) of the women in the sample of top administrators were between 40-49 years of age. For the male sample, 74 percent were between 40-49. Forty one percent of the female sample were between 30-39 in age while only 7 percent of the males in comparable positions were in this younger age bracket. Perhaps in response to affirmative action policies and in the absence of older women in career ladder chains, women have recently been able to move into top positions at younger ages than men in the United States.

BARRIERS TO ADVANCEMENT

When asked to identify the factors that were barriers to women's advancement, women in every country tended to list some factors characteristic of the society as a whole; some factors characteristic of public administration structures and practices; and some factors peculiar to women themselves. Among the social contextual factors were the general perception of the society as a whole that women are inferior, the lack of child care programs, the lack of education and training for women, and the lack of family support. Factors that relate to the public bureaucracies themselves include: unwillingness to be flexible enough to accommodate women trying to raise children; recruitment and promotion practices that discriminate against women; masculine traditions and networks; lack of positive female role models; and

unwillingness of men to give women “good” positions or assignments that could help the women advance. Factors that are peculiar to women themselves include such items as lack of self-confidence, lack of ambition, commitment to family responsibilities over job responsibilities; lack of experience, education, ability, and/or hard work; failure by women to plan and monitor their careers; and unwillingness to take risks. Factors that women administrators agree have facilitated the advancement of women include: the growing proportion of women in the public sector; leadership from the top; legal changes; the growing competence, training, education, and experience of women; the development of women’s networks; the growing global women’s movement; the increased participation of women in political activities of all sorts; and the scarcity of well-qualified persons for management jobs [1,9].

MANAGEMENT STYLE

Many of the female respondents in all countries reported their managerial style to be more “open”, more “democratic,” more “consensual,” or more “participatory” than the management styles of men. The West German study found women to engage in more democratic, consultative styles of management. In the United States study the data supported the hypothesis that women have democratic, consultative management styles, however the data show that at least some men also use democratic, consultative styles. The style of management in an organization may depend more on the “culture” of the organization than on the gender of the administrators. The United States data do suggest that the percentage of women in the top levels of an organization affects the behaviour of women in that organization. As organizations begin to approach having women in 20 percent of their top leadership positions, the environment for women changes. When top women are few in number, they must adopt male behaviour patterns in many instances to survive. In contrast, when women constitute over 20 percent of an organization, they can begin to identify and act as women with less chance of retribution. They can even begin to network and do some organizing. In the top levels of every country’s bureaucracy, the percentage of women in the top echelons is considerably less than 20 percent, although in the

United States women occupy between 13 and 16 percent of the top positions in some departments like Education and Health and Human Services. The interview data in the United States showed very different attitudes about dress, about speech, and about political activity for women among those respondents in the agency with the larger proportion of women in top positions [8;38].

SOME UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS OF EACH COUNTRY AS A WHOLE

The status of women in public administration in each of the six studies reflects conditions and priorities peculiar to the history and culture of each country. India is special in that it is a large nation hovering between modernity and tradition. Both the Hindu and Muslim religions play a large role in the society. Women constitute only 25 percent of the waged labour force in India, and almost 50 percent of the female labour force works as agricultural labourers. Eighty percent of the population is rural. Because of these characteristics, the barriers for women administrators in India are similar to those in many of the traditional agricultural societies of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In 1981, only 25 percent of the Indian female population were literate compared to 47 percent of the male population.

Traditional social norms which define marriage as the main vocation for women continue to be widespread and powerful. At the same time, more women are becoming educated. Women's employment in the service sector and especially in the public service has been increasing. In 1977, women constituted 52 percent of all employees in the public sector. The inheritance of the British Civil Service during the colonial period is very apparent in the recruitment procedures and requirements of the civil service where a graduate degree is a minimum qualification for entry. Swarup and Sinha in their interviews discovered that most of the women in the top administrative positions of the civil service were well-educated themselves and from well-educated families with relatively high incomes. Many of the women (31 percent) had fathers who were or had been in the civil service. In a variety of other ways, such as late marriage, love marriage, urban background, and small family size, the women in the Indian sample exhibit the characteristics of a modernized elite

group operating in a society that maintains largely traditional cultural traditions and norms. The top women administrators must cope with this disjunction in the conflicting everyday social pressures that develop between their roles at home and their roles in the office. While this phenomenon exists for women in all countries, the gap between the modern world of public administration inspired by the British and the traditional world of most Indian women is much greater than it is in any European country or in the United States.

Bulgaria represents the category of countries having a state directed economy where the Communist ideology, a government committed to modernization, and a shortage of labour, especially educated labour, have encouraged the state to declare women the equal of men, to educate women, and to integrate women into practically all occupations in the economy[5;78].

Bulgaria is unique in that its women have had a history of political involvement while resisting Ottoman and Nazi oppression. In a country that emerged from World War II as a traditional agricultural society where most of the population, particularly women, did not have higher education, Bulgarian women have made enormous strides in the last few decades. The socialist revolution of 1944 with its emphasis on social and economic development has meant that women have been recruited into education and into production in traditionally male fields such as law, engineering, and economics in a way that has not occurred to the same degree in non-socialist countries. While traditional patterns of sex segregation persist in that women continue to be primarily responsible for home-making and child care, state policies encourage women to participate in the labour force by providing child care and other social services. Although the state is pushing both men and women to accept new **egalitarian roles for women**, Ananieva and Razvigorova report that almost half of the women in their sample were reluctant to accept high administrative posts and were somewhat dissatisfied with their jobs. Only about a third of the sample expressed an enthusiasm for administrative work. Many of the women in the Bulgarian sample were more interested in working in their specialities rather than as

“functionaries” or managers. The rewards of more responsibility and somewhat higher pay in a society where consumer goods are scarce are not particularly attractive to many women in Bulgaria. This lack of desire among women for higher positions reported by Ananieva and Razvigorova could be due to a number of other factors as well, such as the lack of prestige given top administrative positions open to women; state or party influence in directing career choices for the administrators; and the socialization of women, a frustrating bureaucracy, or the increased difficulty of combining family responsibilities with a time consuming responsible position in a society where daily living is difficult. The status of women in the industrialized nations of the United States and Western Europe is differentiated from the status of women in state driven industrializing countries and in more traditional or colonial agricultural societies in that the pressure for women to break traditional barriers comes not so much from the top down but rather more from grass root pressures spurred by the economy and trends in the labour market as well as by women’s political activities[7; 30].

In the Netherlands, historical conditions have operated to keep women out of the work force in a way that is unique in comparison with other European countries. While women constitute around 50 percent of the work force in other European countries (with the exception of Germany and Ireland) in the 1980s, in the Netherlands only 35 percent of the employed were women. Whereas 39 percent of all women were in the paid labour force, only 18 percent of married women were in the paid labour force. Socialization patterns which Leyenaar describes as “the culture of motherhood” are reflected in the fact that in 1981 only 16 percent of those women under 35 with small children were employed as compared with 75 percent of those in the same age group without children. This pattern of career interruption is extremely important in explaining why more women are not in the top echelons of the bureaucracy in the Netherlands. The widespread “culture of motherhood” has serious implications for the recruitment into the bureaucracy of talented young women. Many believe they must choose between career and family.

The situation in Germany as reported by Langkau-Herrmann and Sessar-Karpp is similar to that of the Netherlands in that West German women in the 1980s constituted only about a third of all employed persons. Part-time employment is particularly prevalent in West Germany for women. Of all working women, approximately a third work only part-time and two thirds report interrupting their employment for family reasons. Since high level administrative jobs are usually not part-time positions, part-time women employees are almost by definition excluded not only from the high level positions but from the career ladders that lead to these positions. In direct government service, women are not well represented especially at the upper levels. Only 24 percent of all government workers are women. Of these, 36 percent are part-time employees. Only 17 percent of full-time government workers are women. Of all part-time workers, 95 percent are women. While part-time employment and the ability to interrupt employment to bear and care for children is a demand which many in the women's movement have worked to have met, part-time employment and career interruption are not compatible with success in competitive career ladders. The large number of top women administrators in the sample who were unmarried (42 percent) and the larger number who had never had children (70 percent) suggests that Leyenaar's "culture of motherhood" that encourages women to choose between career and family operates in West Germany as it does in the Netherlands .[2; 3; 38].

Finland is unique in the extent to which the government provides employment for women and in the degree of sex segregation that pervades its various levels of government. That 45 percent of the women but only 25 percent of the men work in the public sector suggests that the state, perhaps in response to the tight labour supply, has been successful in attracting women to public employment. Sinkkonen, Hänninen-Salmel in, and Karento describe the ways that women in Finnish public administration are concentrated at the local and municipal levels rather than at the state level. The functions of government, such as health, education, and social services, traditionally female functions, are also concentrated primarily at the local

and municipal levels, while state functions involving transportation, finance, law enforcement, and diplomacy are delegated to the state where women are not as well represented either in the bureaucracy or in the legislative bodies. The size of the federal bureaucracy in the United States and the relatively large numbers of women in top positions (although the percentages may be small) enabled the research in the United States to follow more closely the original research design for the project. The original plan was to interview 12 women in top positions in a traditionally male dominated department such as finance and 12 top women in a department dealing with traditionally female roles in the society such as health, education, or social services. Unlike some other countries, in the United States both the Treasury Department and the Health and Human Services Department had enough women in top positions to accomplish this goal. The United States, the West German, and the Finnish studies unlike the others all included a comparable sample of males that provides a way of checking whether characteristics of the female sample are gender related or due to other factors. The role of women in United States federal government agencies is a particularly skewed one in that women in public service constitute between 57 percent (Agriculture) and 92 percent (Education) of the lowest grade levels GS 1-8 for all thirteen departments, and they compose only between 3 percent (Defense) and 16 percent (Education) of the highest grade levels (GS 16-18 and SES). Roughly speaking, a positive correlation seems to exist between the number of women in the lower levels and number of women in the upper grade levels for any one agency despite the enormous difference in numbers of women in the lower and upper grades. The findings of the United States study show that the recruitment of women into top positions in the bureaucracy varies significantly according to the function of the agency. Agencies that perform social functions that have traditionally been female roles such as Health and Human Services or Education, tend to recruit larger numbers of women into top positions. Agencies such as Defense, Agriculture, Treasury, and Transportation do not. In addition to presenting comparative information concerning high ranking women in the Treasury and Health and Human Services Departments, the United States data show both male

and female top administrators exhibiting open democratic management styles that have traditionally been associated with female administrators[4; 36].

SUMMARIZING THE SIMILARITIES THAT DESCRIBE WOMEN IN TOP ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS

The six countries in this study exhibit some striking similarities with regard to the small numbers of women in top administrative positions, the highly educated backgrounds of these women, the experience of discrimination and the existence of gender related barriers to advancement that these women report in their career histories, and the enormous burden of family, marriage, and child care on women that continues to affect all the women in all the countries. The data generally support, but do not confirm, the notion that women administrators as a whole tend to exhibit a more open, consultative management style in comparison with the typically more authoritarian style of male administrators [4; 40]. The data also support the hypothesis that women as token minorities in most bureaucracies attempt to conform at least to some extent to the existing norms of the organization rather than attempt to make dramatic or heroic efforts to initiate change. Women administrators have confidence in their own abilities, and those who are satisfied with their jobs generally believe that merit (even female merit) is rewarded at least some of the time.

A DISCUSSION OF SOME THE MAJOR DIFFERENCES IN THE COUNTRIES

To assess whether any further useful observations can be drawn from the comparison of women in top administrative positions in the six countries of this symposium, a discussion of some of their major characteristics is useful. A discussion of differences in the labour force comes first followed by some information drawn from this study and other aggregate data sources. Aggregate data for comparative purposes is notoriously inaccurate. Nevertheless, available aggregate data remain the “best guess” approximation for purposes such as this one [2; 30].

WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

Finland, Bulgaria, and the United States all have had significant numbers of women working in the paid labour force for many years. In Finland, 55 percent of all working age women were in the paid labour force as early as 1900. In Bulgaria, 45 percent of the economically active population were women in 1946. In the United States, the labour force participation rate for women was about 19 percent in 1900. This percentage increased to over 25 percent in 1940 and to over 52 percent by 1985. In Germany, approximately a third of the labour force has been female since World War II. The Netherlands is the only European country that does not have a history of women being very active in the paid labour force. From 1900 to 1960, only about 20 percent of the paid labour force was female. However, after 1960, this percentage began to rise to about 35 percent where it is for today. In contrast, in India the participation of women in the paid labour force has declined during the century from 34 percent of the labour force in 1911 to 26 percent by the 1980s. Comparative figures for the early 1980s .

ROLE CONFLICT

The percentage of married women in the paid work force compared with all women in the paid work force also varies considerably suggesting that role conflict for working married women is greater in some industrial cultures than in others. In the United States, most women in the labour force are married; 56 percent of all women are in paid work, and 52 percent of all women are married and in paid work. In West Germany, the comparable percentages indicate that 50 percent of all women work[4;3].

THE PUBLIC SECTOR

For all the countries in this symposium, the public sector has been extremely important in providing employment for women, especially in recent years. In India in the late 1970s, 53 percent of employed women worked in the public sector -

especially in state and local governments. In Finland, 42 percent of the female labour force and only 25 percent of the male labour force were in the public sector in 1983. In both Finland and India, women's public employment has been primarily at the municipal level. In the Netherlands, 49 percent of all employed women were in the public sector in 1981. In the United States, 38 to 42 percent of the jobs on the federal, state, and local levels were held by women in 1980. This distinction between the public and private sectors, of course, is not meaningful in Bulgaria where all employment is public [5,6].

OCCUPATIONAL SEX SEGREGATION

Occupational sex segregation characterizes the labour force of all the countries in this study in varying degrees. In India, 83 percent of the female labour force is in agriculture. Of those in the professions, most women are teachers or nurses. In the public sector, most Indian women are clericals, although the number of female administrators, directors, managers, and executives has been increasing somewhat since 1961. The Indian National Employment Service actually classifies jobs into male/ female categories. In Finland, the sex segregation of jobs is defined to a substantial degree according to public and private economy cleavages as well as according to the divisions between state and municipal levels of government. Males tend to dominate the private sectors of the economy as well as the state level of the public sector dealing with transportation, roads, rails, highways, police, and the army, while women dominate in the municipalities where the public health, education, and social services functions are administered. The Netherlands, West Germany, and the United States also exhibit continuing job sex segregation. In the Netherlands, one-third of all employed women work in four occupations, while one-third of all employed males work in 14 occupations. Germany is similar to Finland and the Netherlands in that the public sector is a major employer of women. In the United States in the 1980s, 54 percent of all employed women were either in clerical or service jobs. Forty percent of all female workers were employed in only 10 occupations in 1981, including clerical, nursing, retail sales, cashier, waitress, and

elementary school teacher occupations. In the public sector of the United States, women dominated the lower but not the middle and upper levels of public administration at both the state and national levels, and were more prevalent in the middle and upper levels in state and local governments than in middle and upper level positions at the national level. Women are more likely to be in leadership positions in occupations that have traditionally been female sex segregated, whether in the public or private sectors.

Bulgaria constitutes a somewhat different case. As Ananieva and Razvigorova note, the socialist revolution has had an enormous impact on Bulgarian women. In 1946, women constituted less than 10 percent of the paid labour force and in 1984, they constituted almost 50 percent of all employed workers. The postwar communist Bulgarian government made a massive attempt to modernize the country and included women as a part of the modernization process. Unlike the women in the other countries in this symposium, Ananieva and Razvigorova report that Bulgarian women are represented in all aspects of the economy- industry, engineering, agriculture, in addition to participating heavily in the service spheres of the economy. Certain professions in Bulgaria continue to exhibit the characteristics of sex segregated occupations. For example, over 70 percent of all teaching and research staffs at all levels are women [1; 9].

OTHER MAJOR DIFFERENCES

The nations represented in this symposium vary not only in the size of their populations, but also in the organization and ideology of their governments, in the role of the state in the economy of each country, in the history of oppression or colonization, in the rural/urban division of the society, and in religion, to mention a few of the major differences. As a communist country tied in the 1980s to the Soviet bloc, Bulgaria is unique among the other countries in this study. Both Bulgaria and India have recent histories of being conquered and occupied by foreign invaders: by the Turks and the Germans in the case of Bulgaria, and by the British in the case of India. The governments of both countries have, since 1947-1948, made heroic efforts

to modernize primarily agrarian societies. Even today, 83 percent of all working women work in agriculture in India [7; 8; 9; 14], and in Bulgaria, 58 percent of the agricultural labour force are women [10;41].

The question of religious affiliation in each country and its impact on the situation for women in top administrative positions was factored into the design of this study only as a variable affecting the general socialization of women in that society. Neither the content of the religions nor the content of the dominant government ideologies were within the methodological framework of this study. The six countries in this symposium, however, do exhibit differences in religious affiliation. Furthermore, the interview and questionnaire data indicate that the way dominant religious philosophies treat women has an impact on more than the socialization of women administrators. It also has an impact on how top women in these societies conduct their administrative duties and the extent of role conflict that they not only experience in their own minds but that their clientèle also feel and communicate. These questions deserve further probing in future studies.

The six countries also differ in the extent to which they have admitted women to higher education. Table 2 shows that the United States, Bulgaria, and Finland have managed to recruit equal numbers of males and females into higher education at the undergraduate level. At the graduate level, men still dominate. In the United States and in Finland in the early 1980s, women received 32 percent and 24 percent of all PhD degrees respectively [8; 215; 696].

The participation of women in government is another area in which the six countries differ. Five of the countries are democracies while Bulgaria is a socialist state. In addition to that, all have granted women the vote although at different times, and all have allowed women into top governmental positions but have kept the numbers of women at the top very small. India is the only country that has had a female head of government.

WOMEN IN LEGISLATURES AND CABINET LEVEL POSTS IN THE 1980s

One might expect the number of women in higher public administration positions to be related to the number of women in legislatures and in cabinet level posts. Finland has a long history of women's suffrage dating from 1906. Finland was the first country to elect women to parliament in 1907, although even in the 1980s women constituted only 20 percent of the legislative body [8;30]. The country was also one of the first to appoint a woman to a cabinet level post as early as 1926. In the early 1980s, Finland had three women in cabinet level positions. Germany also was relatively early (1919) in granting women the vote, but did not have a female cabinet level member until 1961. In the 1980s, West Germany continued to have only one woman at cabinet level [7;30]. In the German Bundesrat, women held 22 percent of the seats; in the Bundestag, they constituted 10 percent of the body [7]. Although parts of India granted women the vote as early as 1921, universal suffrage for all adults over 21 was not achieved until the Constitution of 1950. India had Indira Gandhi as prime minister from 1966-1977. She was re-elected in 1980. In the legislature in the early 1980s, women constituted 9 percent of the upper house and 4 percent of the lower house. Two women were ministers of state and two were deputy ministers [7]. In the United States, women obtained the vote in 1919. In the 1980s, women constituted 2 percent of the Senate, 5 percent of the House of Representatives, 13 percent of all state legislators, and 9 percent of the judiciary.

Three women held cabinet level posts at the national level [8]. Bulgaria, with its socialist constitution that provided women the vote in 1947, had women in less than 5 percent of its top level executive and legislative posts in the early 1980s [9, 10]. Generally, in all six countries, women are poorly represented in legislatures and in cabinet level posts.

CURRENT PUBLIC POLICIES

Germany, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, the United States, and Finland all have policies that declare women should not be discriminated against, although none of these policies are aggressively enforced. India has a similar provision in its constitution. Finland and Bulgaria have a system of public child care that facilitates women's careers. None of the other countries, however, have any overall public program for child care. West Germany in 1985 instituted a legal leave entitlement for mothers for up to 6 months after childbirth and for either parent for up to five days per year to care for a sick child. In 1986, the German government expanded on this theme and established a "child raising leave" for either parent to care for a child during the year after birth with a job guarantee and monetary allowance. The constitutionality of maternity leave policies in the United States has been challenged in the courts on the grounds of reverse discrimination and left by the Supreme Court to be settled by the states. Some policies continue to mitigate against women's career advancement. In Germany, the practice of having schoolchildren attend school only until noon specifically encourages women to work part-time or drop out of the paid workforce altogether. The West German policy of routinising part-time work on a regular basis for women makes it possible for many women to engage in paid work; however, it also prevents those women from competing with full-time men for top positions. Although access to education has improved for women in all six countries, basic socialization practices and attitudes combined with childbearing and childcare responsibilities continue to curb women's career aspirations in all the countries considered here. Indian women are particularly burdened by traditional patterns of behaviour and by the inability of the few national public policies favouring greater equality for women to penetrate into rural areas. Affirmative action or positive action programs exist in the United States and in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, positive discrimination or emancipation policy has attracted considerable attention since 1976 but has brought about few changes. Female respondents in the United States credited affirmative action policies with being important to the advancement of women in public administration [8,10] .

CONCLUSIONS

The histories, economies, labour markets, governmental institutions, cultures, religions, and political ideologies of the six countries considered here are quite different from one another, yet many of the outcomes for women in public service are similar. Change has occurred in that every country formally declares women to be equal to men. In each country, the public sector has been an important employer of women, and each country has a few women in top administrative positions. Most of these top women have a “ token” status as they represent no more than 11 percent of the top administrative ranks in any country. Women are the exceptions while males are the norm. A high level of educational attainment characterizes all the top women administrators. In all the countries, except perhaps Bulgaria where it may be greater, the pool of women engaged in graduate education is less than a third of the total.

The conflict between career and family is apparent in all countries. Women in top administrative positions are less likely to be married, less likely to have children, and if they do have children, they have fewer than their male colleagues or than other females in the society. Countries that provide for childcare, such as Bulgaria and Finland, are small countries with tight labour supplies [9,10].

To compare the status of women in high public administrative posts in six countries is one way of comparing how the patriarchy operates with regard to one variable in six countries. The findings of this study suggest that no simple correlations will explain the rich diversity of factors that seem to impinge on this issue. One hypothesis is that the nature of the economy, whether it is primarily agricultural, industrializing, industrial, or service oriented, will set the parameters for women in both the paid and unpaid labour force in different ways. Primarily agricultural societies with strong religious cultures and hierarchical social stratification (like India) may have relatively high levels of female elite representation drawn from the upper classes who bring with them a traditional authority and political acceptability. As the Indian data document, Indian women in top positions experience considerable role conflict because these same traditional

values make women's involvement in any public arena, including employment, quite difficult. An industrializing state, such as Bulgaria has been since 1947, may mobilize women, educate them, and place them in high administrative posts because the state needs their skills. Industrial and service oriented economies as they come to need higher levels of education and training to keep pace with technological production and economic crisis also draw women out of the home and into higher education and the job market. In these countries, the pressure for promoting women to high positions seems to come from grass-roots movements among women themselves. Yet, exceptions can be found for every generalization. Each exception tends to raise new questions. Many traditional religious agricultural societies in the Middle East, Africa, or Latin America do not have upper class women in leadership positions, although Latin American countries have had a few. Perhaps this is a feature peculiar to some Asian societies? Might the content of religious beliefs in a country have some bearing on the matter? The Bulgarian example suggests that a strong, centrally directed state can effect a dramatic change in women's educational and employment opportunities especially if labor markets are tight, although it is not clear to what extent Bulgarian women have achieved significant representation in the highest levels of public administration as a consequence of these changes. Does state ideology make a difference? To what extent are East European nations or even the nations of the entire Soviet bloc similar to one another with regard to women in the professional labour force and women in higher education? Are similar pressures extant in the capitalist newly industrializing countries like Japan, Taiwan, or South Korea? And what of the industrial nations? Are not the differences among them with regard to size, laws, and the position of women in top levels of public administration greater than the similarity of economic and political organization? The interview and questionnaire data for this study support the hypothesis that religious practices and educational opportunities for women are other major variables that help shape the socialization of women in a society. Most major religions advocate a domestic, if not a sequestered, role for women. In states with strong religious traditions and institutions, a female administrator who may escape being deterred by religious

values in her own socialization and advancement still lives and works in a society where these values persist. If the dominant religious values place women squarely in the home and not elsewhere, the female administrator must deal with the resulting role conflict on an everyday basis. Higher education for women is perhaps the only prerequisite for a top position in public administration in all countries, yet even here the data support no indication of a constant correlation or relationship with the percentages of women in higher public administrative positions. The data suggest precisely the opposite. India has half the percentage of women obtaining higher degrees in comparison with the United States or Finland, and yet India seems to have a larger percentage of women in the Indian Administrative Service, the elite Indian civil service.

Conclusions. The above comparisons show that no simple correlations emerge from the data to explain in a general way either why women have been able to obtain positions in higher administration in some countries or why they have not. Each country demands its own story. The complexity of the issue and the small number of countries in this study may well be reasons for this. Only if very strong correlations were extant would they emerge in a study of only six countries. Weak linkage between a host of variables seems to define the situation in most cases. Another explanation may be the one mentioned in the introduction. The similarities that appear to exist may well be generated by a multitude of quite different conditions.

POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

Prospects for further research. If the above analysis is correct and the advance of women in public administration is weakly dependent on a host of variables, then what prospects are there for positive change and what strategies should those pursue who would like to improve the global position of women in public administration? Since the problem seems to be multi-causal and integrally related to the specific society, the strategies have to be designed accordingly to keep the pressure on in a host of different ways with particular attention to the peculiarities of each country and culture. Strategies aimed at consciousness raising, ideological, institutional, and

symbolic change are essential. Working to change women's position in the labour force, working to improve education and higher education for women, working to change laws that oppress and limit women, working to reduce role conflict for top administrative women, working in the international women's movement to influence bureaucracies, and working within bureaucracies themselves also are important strategies. Getting more women into top administrative offices will accomplish other important objectives. Once women obtain a critical mass of at least 20 percent of top administrative jobs and are not required to behave as "tokens," the overall mix of management styles should change. The recruitment and promotion of women should become easier. Bureaucracies may not be on the cutting edge of social change; however, once change does occur within them, they can institutionalize the change and help make it a permanent part of the social fabric.

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