

Swedish Case Studies Final National Report

– Annex 1

*Elisabeth Sundin, Gunilla Rapp, Lena Pettersson, Kristin Braag
and Helene Elvstrand*

SERVEMPLOI

Innovations in Information Society Sectors
– Implications for Women's Work, Expertise and Opportunities
in European Workplaces

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Department for Labour Market and Work Organisation
Head of Department: Lars Magnusson



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The SERVEMPLOI Project

This Europe-wide, three-year study of women's employment and career prospects in the Information Society was finalised in December 2001. SERVEMPLOI (Innovations in Information Society Sectors – Implications for Women's Work, Expertise, and Opportunities) in European Workplaces got financial support from the Targeted Socio-Economic Research Programme of DGXII of the European Commission¹.

The project ran from January 1999 to December 2001 and included eight European countries – Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Spain, Sweden, and the UK². The reports were organised around seven thematic chapters – *Thematic Reports* – which contained syntheses material from all of the eight countries involved in the study, based upon – *National Reports* – generated by each national team.

The focus was on women's employment in two service sectors – *Retailing and Retail Financial Services*. The retail and financial services sectors have a particular significance for the European economy and for women's employment and is therefore expected to be critical to the 'Information Society'. They are both sectors which use and transform data, information and knowledge in order to sell their products and services. They are also currently radically reorganising their operations and their use of personnel in pursuit of those operations. These two sectors are also important employers of women. In both, women represent the vast majority of employees, particularly in the lower echelons of organisational hierarchies.

The SERVEMPLOI objectives

To examine the patterns and dynamics of innovation operating in two sectors of the Information Society: retailing and retail financial services

To investigate the significance of these innovations as part of the emerging European Knowledge Economy, specifically for the work done and knowledge content in the work of female employees in these sectors

To assess the opportunities for these employees, to develop and utilise expertise in their work in the context of these patterns of innovation

To assess their consequent 'employability' and opportunities for personal development, within firms and beyond them

To compare and contrast patterns of change and experience across countries (member states)

¹ Go to www.tcd.ie/ERC/SERVEMPLOI for a full description of the SERVEMPLOI Project.

² The SERVEMPLOI Research Team is listed in Enclosure 1.

The detailed objectives

To examine the key innovations implemented in eight countries in the retailing and financial service sectors.

To conduct case studies of retailing and financial service firms, examining the work performed, the expertise deployed, and the personal development prospects enjoyed by female non-managerial employees.

To carry out a longitudinal study of selected women moving within firms, between firms, into or out of employment, or becoming self-employed.

SERVEMPLOI research questions

The central concerns of this project were with the implications of current technical and organisational innovations for the expertise and personal development prospects of female employees in the two selected service sectors – Retailing and Retail Financial Services, and thus for *women's prospects for development in the so-called 'Information Society'*.

The conceptual approach was inter-disciplinary, but drew strongly upon a number of related frameworks in sociology, economics, organisational studies, innovation studies, and women's studies. The project utilised the related concepts of the 'Information Society' and the 'Knowledge Economy', both of which have been developed and used to explain contemporary technological changes and their associated patterns of social and workplace organisation. In particular, these conceptual frameworks are often used in a prescriptive and optimistic way to identify changes, which are held to be desirable for European organisations, individuals and societies. This project drew upon these concepts, but subjected them to critical scrutiny in terms of their ability to reveal the potential unevenness of information and knowledge utilisation, specifically in relation to *the work of women in non-managerial positions*.

The SERVEMPLOI project was particularly concerned with issues of work organisation and potential routinisation, with use of skills and potential deskilling, and with the general systematisation of information-handling work. The more recent concept of labour 'flexibility'³ was also central to this project. The project drew upon concepts developed in feminist studies of work and technological change. A central conceptual tool was that of 'gender systems' which operate in

³ Work time regimes are constituted according to the degree of flexibility in work hours and relative gender equity in work schedules and economic roles. Specifically, working time flexibility has come to be identified with a gendered division of work time between short and long hours. Part-time employment is feminised; that is, the part-time work force is predominantly female and part-time jobs are concentrated in female-dominated industries, especially in the service sector. Part-time employment can be seen as a voluntarily chosen option for women but also as a constrained choice that reflects and frequently reinforces women's unequal access to resources and power. (Figart and Mutari, 2000)

different organisational settings and which serve to allocate men and women to particular functions and organisational niches.

General research issues

What key technological and organisational developments are taking place in information handling service sector organisations in European countries?

What are their implications for the employment and work of women in these sectors and occupations?

Is the exercise of knowledge and expertise the province of female employees in these areas?

What career development benefits and employability improvements, if any, does such work confer?

What action, if any, is needed to ensure improvements in access by women employees to ‘knowledge work’ in emerging ‘Information Society’ and to improve organisational competitiveness?

Specific research questions about – innovations and employment, work process, skills and knowledge, training, careers and personal development, country differences.

Areas of policy concern

In terms of employment and equal opportunities policy, the SERVEMPLOI project was concerned with identifying ways of improving women’s expertise development and deployment, and thus with improving their employability.

In terms of firm competitiveness, the SERVEMPLOI project was concerned with identifying ways in which firms can maximise the potential of their employees and improve their competitive edge by increasing the expertise, which their employees can deploy in the provision of their service.

Methodology

Three principal research methods – deskwork studies, case studies and longitudinal studies – were used in the study. These different approaches complemented one another and allowed the researchers to engage in macro- and micro- level analyses.⁴

⁴ Go to www.tcd.ie/ERC/SERVEMPLOI for a full description of the SERVEMPLOI method.

Deskwork studies

Each national research team assessed the findings of existing research on the dynamics of service sector – technological change, work organisation and employment – in its country. It also drew out the implications of existing research findings for the hypotheses and conduct of this project in the specialised thematic area for which it had responsibility and in relation to the two chosen fieldwork sectors – retailing and retail financial services.

A literature review, the National Reports and Thematic Reports addressed a total of seven research themes:

The Retail Sector
The Retail Financial Services Sector
Restructuring
Technological Innovation
Employment and Employment Relations
Skills, Knowledge Development, and Training
Gender and Equal Opportunities.

Case studies

The objectives of the *case studies* were to examine the innovation dynamics in particular sectorial settings and to examine the implications for the detail of women's work and expertise use. The case studies were chosen according to criteria including size of organisation, ownership, location, unionisation arrangements and management practices in order to achieve as varied a selection of firms as possible. They were chosen on the basis of contacts already established; in some cases Eurofiet and its affiliates played a key role in augmenting contacts between research teams and potential case study organisations. Two case studies were conducted in each sector in each country – a total of 32 case studies.

A series of different sources was used in the case studies. Some of the research topics were covered by just one source; some or all covered others. The sources were – Observations, Management material, Employees interviews, Management interviews and Trade Union Representative interview⁵.

Issues for observation – The main activities carried out within the workplace and how these activities configured into jobs and in what ways it was gendered. To what extent women and men worked in different areas. The work cycles and how long they varied, if people could move around the workplace.

Management material – General information from company reports and companies' web site gave some information for the restructuring theme.

⁵ The questions to each source are attached in Enclosure 3.

Management interviews – The manager for the particular place was interviewed. So in a bank branch it was the branch manager, in a supermarket it was the store manager. Also *Technical Manager and Trade Union / Employee Representative interviews* were carried through.

Employee interviews – A minimum number of 12 ‘ordinary employees’ was estimated to be enough. The aim was try to get a range of different experiences. Both women and men were interviewed but since the research topic was women the most important issue was to cover the divergent experiences amongst the women. The women were of different ages and family situation (with and without children) and in main jobs in the workplace. In this category also supervisors as opposed to managers were interviewed. *The topics* were – personal background, work history, entry to this job, and nature of employment, supervision and management. For the women only – the physical environment, induction training, further training, skills and knowledge, career progression, industrial relations, equal opportunities.

The four Swedish case studies⁶ were made in different ways and are introduced in the *Final National Report, Sweden, Case Studies – Annex 1*. The case study (1) on *The Bank* was done in one regional office with some information also from smaller branch offices administratively connected to the regional office. Ph.D. Lena Pettersson has done this study, which also will be used for other separate research reports. The basis of the case study (2), *The Clothing Retailer* was several studies made by students. In this company a new organisation – with ‘Responsibility Groups’ instead of Assistant Managers – was under implementation, a change vividly discussed by everyone working in the shops. Something that has influenced how the case is presented. The sections about the Responsibility Groups are taken from many different stores – the rest from one. Case study (3) on *The Supermarket* was made by two different groups of student writing reports in ethnography and business administration. Elisabeth Sundin has also been there on several occasions. There are more studies done by students on other supermarkets as comparison, although this material was not included in this report. Kristin Braag and Helene Elvstrand made the last case study (4) on *The Telephone Bank*. The material originates from their master theses.

The Longitudinal study

A series of Qualitative Panel Studies of female employees was carried out, a total of 42 women, following them through the duration of the project. The interviews enabled us to step-by-step build up a picture of the employment trajectories of the informants. The panel studies were designed, *firstly*, to show the extent, to which women in our selected areas of work were able to develop transferable, substantive skills, which might improve their employability and allow them to move

⁶ A list of the Swedish companies and informants is attached in Enclosure 2.

within and between firms. *Second*, they were designed to show the extent to which the firms themselves recognised new skills, which women are evolving in the course of their work providing them with appropriate career paths and making the best use of the expertise available to them. A *third*, subordinate purpose of the panel studies was to provide additional information about other firms in the two sectors, and thus to widen our sources of data.

The Swedish qualitative panel studies of seven female employees are reported in the *Final National Report, Sweden, Longitudinal Studies – Annex 2*. After the first interview repeat interviews were conducted throughout most of the duration of the project. The first three interviews were themed. The Panel Study Women number 1–4 – *Lena, Kajsa, Birgitta and Kristina* – were all working in the Retail sector. As one of the women seemingly became long-term sick just after the first interview, we chose to interview yet another women in the same store. Panel Study Women 5–7 – *Linda, Lisbeth and Karin* – represent the Retail Financial Services.

The Thematic Reports

In these reports the empirical data from the SERVEMPLOI fieldwork of case studies and longitudinal studies were analysed. The theoretical discussions and conclusions were done in the seven Thematic Reports – each country was responsible for one of them. The theme for the Swedish Final Thematic Report was Equal Opportunities.

Dissemination and feedback as part of the project methodology

Several feedback and dissemination events were conducted during course of the project. Each national research team arranged two Employment Round Tables in their respective countries, where informants exchanged experiences and discussed possibilities for women's employment, training and career development. A meeting of panel study informants from the retail sector was held over a weekend, hosted by the Swedish research team and the Commercial Employee's Union of Sweden. The research teams had feedback sessions of their case study companies. A final Dialogue Workshop was held in Brussels at the end of the project, involving employers', trade union representatives, national- and EU level policy makers and practitioner agencies.

Where to find the SERVEMPLOI reports

On the SERVEMPLOI home page – <http://www.tcd.ie/ERC/Servemploi> – further information is available about:

The SERVEMPLOI Final Report to the Commission

Thematic Reports covering seven thematic issues – Financial Services, Retail, Restructuring, Technological Innovations, Employment and Employment Relations, Training and Skills Formation and Equal Opportunities. Each research team was responsible for one theme.

Objectives, Research Design and Partners

The Swedish reports are published in 'Arbetslivsrapporter' at the website of the National Institute for Working Life, <http://www2.niwl.se/forlag/ar/ar.asp>.

Final National Report, Sweden, Case Studies – Annex 1

Final National Report, Sweden, Longitudinal Studies – Annex 2

Final Thematic Report, Sweden, on Equal Opportunities

A paper copy of the three reports and also of the SERVEMPLOI Final Report can also be ordered from:

*National Institute for Working Life (Arbetslivsinstitutet),
Laxholmen, SE-602 21 NORRKÖPING, Sweden, Fax (+46) 11 21 89 20*

The Research Team is listed in Enclosure 1. A list of the Swedish companies and informants and the research questionnaires for the interviews are attached in Enclosure 2 and 3.

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ENCLOSURES

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Case Study 1:

The Bank

LENA PETTERSSON

BACKGROUND COMPANY INFORMATION

What is the company's core business?

National or multinational company?

Head Quarter – in which country?

What is the company's current position in its market?

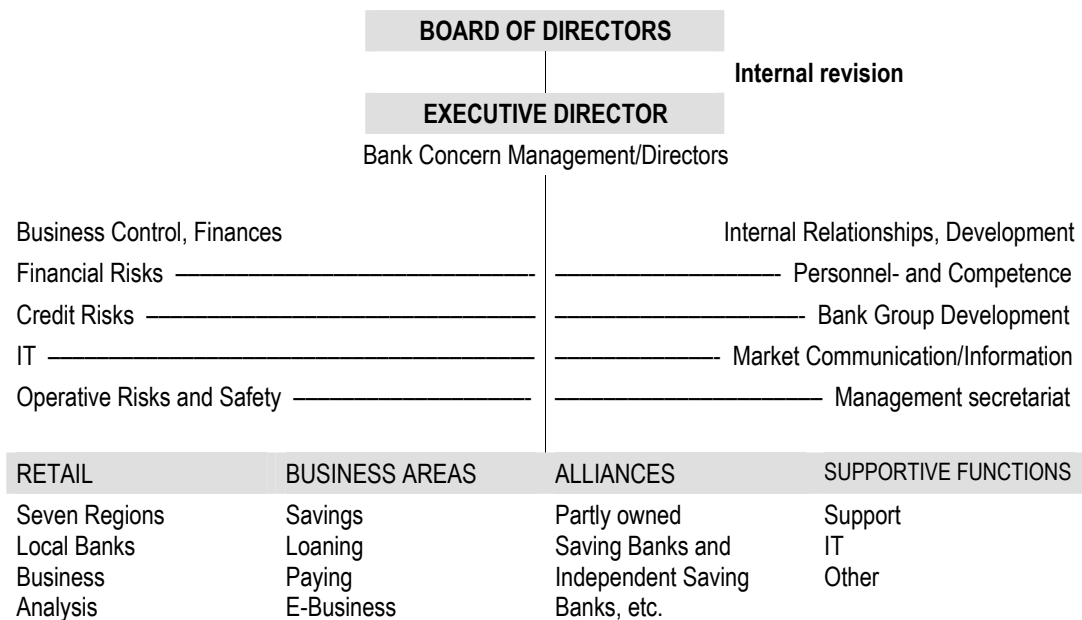
The company studied is a Swedish local bank situated in the middle-south of Sweden in quite a large town by Swedish standards. This local bank is part of one of the largest banking groups in the Nordic countries with about 11 700 employees in some 120 local bank units. Each local bank consists of several bank offices/branches; all in all, the bank includes a total of 650 branches located all over Sweden. Additionally some 400 independent savings banks are associated to the banking group. In economic terms the total assets of the banking group amount SEK 720 billion and the bank has a capital base of about SEK 33 billion (2000). The banking group's customers are primarily private individuals, local companies, municipalities, county councils and a number of large corporations. The services are focused on savings and investments, housing and financing, and payment transfer services. The bank's share of the households' bank loans and deposits is about one third. Among the customers there are about 4,4 million private individuals, 230 000 small- and medium-sized companies and farmers and in addition a great majority of the communities and the county councils in Sweden. All these different kinds of customers can – how and when they want – carry out their bank activities using technology, i.e. through the use of internet, the 'telephone' bank, charge- and credit cards or bank giro services.

Historically the *banking group* consists of two different banks – one of them was established in 1820, the other one in the beginning of the last century. These two banks merged in the late 1990:ies and were the same year also introduced in the Stockholm Stock Exchange. Today the strength of the bank is described in terms of its deep rooting in local areas through the great number of local branches. The customers have the possibility to contact the bank not only through visiting these branches but also through Internet and telephony. The ambition is that 99 % of all

business decisions shall be made up by employees who are familiar with the customers as well as with the local market, which will lead to an effective and decentralised organisation. The bank's products and services are available at the banking group's own branches and through the nearly 400 branches of the independent savings banks.

On top level the banking group is organised with a board of directors with 15 regular members (12 men and 3 women) and a group executive board with 23 members (19 men and 4 women). The executive director has always been a man, but since a couple of years it is a woman. The banking group is organised as follows:

Structure of the Banking Group



Source: Annual Report 2000

The *local bank* studied is, as mentioned above, situated in the middle-south of Sweden and organised with six branches in the community. This local bank has 95 employees, which is a decrease with about 15–20 employees compared to a year ago. Two of the branches are located in villages about 10–15 kilometres from the city. Two branches are located in suburb areas (only five minutes by car from the centre of the city) and one, the largest, right in the centre of the city and finally one branch quite near the centre of the city. The branches included in this case study are ‘the city branch’ and one ‘suburb branch’. There are about 50 employees in the city branch and 10 in the suburb branch.

The managerial group of the local bank is physically located to the city branch (except for one person). The managerial group, including the vice-president, is

male-dominated with six men and two women. A little more than a year ago, the bank was reorganised in order to become a lean organisation (with only a few hierarchical levels, in fact only two) and to make visible the relationship between customers and employees. The employees in the bank were defined as bank clerks and/or cashiers/ tellers. Nowadays they are all defined as ‘private counsellors’ if working with private customers and ‘company counsellors’ if working with companies. The local bank is organised, from November 1999, as follows:

Local Bank Management Group: Responsibility Areas

Responsible	Process	Customer	Branches
A man (not interviewed)	–	–	Internal office support
‘Hans’	Paying	Municipalities, County Councils, University	One branch, quite near the centre of the city
A man (not interviewed)	Loaning	Companies	Companies
A man (not interviewed)	Loaning	–	–
‘Sam’* (Internal & trade unions, External, Communication)	Relation	Church, organisations,	One branch, the largest, in the centre of the city
‘Lisa’	Savings (funds, shares endowment assurances)	–	Two branches outside the city
‘Karl’	General Manager	–	Credit controller, Demands
‘Anna’*	–	‘Women & Economy’	Two branches in the suburbs

* = ‘Sam’ and ‘Anna’ are also having the shared responsibility for the personnel development (education, training etc.) in the local bank.

The management group constitutes all the managers of the local bank and the union representative. These eight managers are the only managers in the local bank. Consequently there are only two formal hierarchical levels in the local bank – these eight managers and some 85 employees. The bank is organised in processes such as ‘paying’, ‘loaning’, ‘savings’ and ‘relation’, but also in a geographical way. This means that four managers are responsible for six different branches. The female managers are responsible for two branches each. For one of them, ‘Anna’ the branches are the largest in the local bank, except for the city branch, for which ‘Sam’ is responsible. Another manager, ‘Hans’, is responsible for a smaller branch characterised by the fact that there are no cash transactions made in it. The customers can get cash in hand only by a cash dispenser. In general the organisation has three main responsibility areas – processes, customers and branches. So, four of the managers are responsible for one or two branches and in addition for a process (in one case two managers share the responsibility for one process – the loaning process). The other three managers have special responsibilities concerning ‘internal office support’, ‘women & economy’ and ‘overall credit control’ respectively. This new organisation would thus give

clearer and broader responsibilities in equivalent areas, which is anticipated to contribute to less disintegration and better division of labour.

Method

The interviewed in this case study are three men and the two women in the management group of the local bank. Four private counsellors in the city branch and four private counsellors in one of the suburb branch have also been interviewed and also one trade-union representative (the head of the local branch of the union) – a total of fourteen interviewees. The trade union representative, ‘Stig’, is attending all management group meetings. Observations have been made during one whole day at the suburb branch and also, to some extent, at the interview occasions (in the city branch as well as in the suburb branch). All interviews have been tape recorded and transcribed. Different kinds of company material have been used. Certain documents have been supplied from the management, e.g. the overall organisation matrix for the whole banking group, the organisation of the local bank, the activity plan (incl. visions and goals) for the local bank 2000/2001. A few documents have been shown, but not given to the research project. Other documents and facts have been available on Internet. Both the bank itself and the largest national trade union in banking in Sweden ‘Finansförbundet’ (Union of Financial Sector Employees) have quite an extensive amount of information at their web sites, www.finansforbundet.se.

What are the main challenges and threats, which the company has to address?

Where are the company’s core activities carried out?

What technologies are used in the company?

How is technological development done in this company?

Would you describe the company as technologically advanced in comparison to its competitors? Why?

Since a couple of years the main *challenge* concerns the general restructuring of banking in Sweden. This means that the banking group, as well as other banks in Sweden, is in a process of transforming the work with the help of technology (IT). The ‘old’ way of organising work in a bank meant, roughly, that customers came to the bank, most of them standing in a queue waiting for their turn to make their transactions at the cashier’s desk. This took quite a lot of time and is today seen as an ineffective and very expensive way of organising work (e.g. in terms of personnel costs). The bank thus wants to change the behaviour of the customers, from physically visiting the bank to get them to use the Telephone Bank, the Internet bank, charge- and credit cards and bank giro services. But, when the customers are visiting the bank it should not be for paying bills manually, standing in the cashiers’ line. The idea is that the customers should be ‘counselled’, because once the bank gets the customers to the bank for a booked meeting with the customers ‘own’ private counsellor, then the bank has the

opportunity to 'clothe' the customers with clothes they never knew existed before. This concept of 'clothing' is commonly used of all employees as well as managers in the bank. This process of getting the customers to the bank, 'clothing' them, is at core of the transformation of work in the bank. It will lead to less numerous of the traditional cashier, but will increase the number of private counsellors meeting time-booked customers all day long.

The competition situation of the bank is quite 'strange'. Of course it is of some importance to get market shares from other banks, but the local bank has a 'customer-base', which to a large extent is undeveloped. The local bank has about 60 000 'undeveloped' customers registered. These customers have some connection with the local bank, e.g. an old bank account with savings. The customer-base is distributed amongst the private counsellors and each counsellor is responsible for 300–400 potentially 'refined' customers. At least in one of the branches (the studied suburb branch) the work with contacting these customers is in progress. In other branches there have been no time to start these activities. The process of changing behaviour is not only a matter concerning the customers but also the employees. There are a few employees who want to have these personal counselling dialogues. They experience that they are not qualified enough for the new way of working. Some also feel uneasy in that kind of 'intimate' situation compared to the traditional cashier's work. Most of the managers mean that it is not possible to force these persons into the new situation. The employees who do not want to work in the new way are permitted to work as a more traditional bank cashier. This goes along quite well, so far, with the needs of having people working in the cashier's desk (with rather traditional cashier's work as the payment of bills, handling cash money to people etc.)

The vision for the studied local bank is, in the activity plan for 2000/2001, described as 'through an extensive concentration on customer orientation we will build a bank of possibilities' – the bank is to be seen as an unusually comfortable financial department store. At the same time the local bank strives to increase the business exchange with their customers, which also put new demands on professional skills among the employees. When the bank makes the business transactions more comfortable for the customers as well as being more professional in the counselling the bank has created a large surplus. As the relation with the customer deepens/gets more intense the bank will increase the sales of financial products and services. Only 30 per cent of the branches (in the local bank) will be handling cash money when the process is finished' (Activity plan, local bank, 2000/2001 and interviews with the general manager).

The threats that the bank addresses concerns what is defined as every-day-affairs. These are too personnel-intensive and thereby very expensive. In the future the bank surely will put a charge on these kinds of services. But they act very carefully since customers complain about the long queues and waiting time when visiting the branches. There have also been several articles in the local newspaper

about this particular bank (the local bank) in terms of ‘bad’ service, queues and waiting times. Another threat is that the internal resources of the bank are too small in order to demonstrate the self-service supply for the customers (how to use the Telephone Bank, the Internet bank etc). The long-term goals – for pleased customers, owners and employees – are not satisfactory guaranteed with the present structure and staffing, which also is addressed as a threat. The activity plan stresses the ability to fulfil the economic prognosis, which demands an adjustment of staff in relation to the results (profit). At the same time there must be an adjustment of the amount of services/level of services and the corresponding to demands by customers as well as to demands on profit.

The bank’s *core activities* are carried out in the bank by the so-called private and company counsellors. Every employee has his/her own personal sales goal. This sales goal is decided upon from month to month and also evaluated with the manager during half an hour of dialogue once a month. An example: a private counsellor can have a goal which means that she/he is going to sell e.g. 15 charge- or credit cards, 5 endowment assurances etc. In the end of the month she/he and the manager evaluates the result of the sales process. If the counsellor sold 21 charge-/credit cards then the goal for the next month is easy to increase. If the private counsellor has had problems with selling e.g. endowment assurances and also find it hard to do well in that area, it is possible that this counsellor next month works beside a ‘great selling endowment assurance counsellor’ a few days for an educational purpose. The overall sales goal is set by the general manager in dialogue with the management group but foremost with the regional manager (who is the manager for one out of a total of seven regions). Then the overall goal is split up between different local banks and in the local bank between the different branches. This does not mean that the sales goal then is split up in equivalent pieces among the counsellors in one branch. The sales goals are readjusted if a counsellor e.g. is absent due to educational training. Further they are related to what kind of work a counsellor actually is doing.

The *technologies used by the employees in the bank* are computers (e-mail, different internet-services), telephones and facsimile. The computer is one of the most important tools in the every-day work. All the business transactions a counsellor is handling throughout a day are put into the computer. This means that the counsellor at the end of a day can compile the work and also see how much she/he has been selling. This also means that the counsellor is supervised by management who with just a ‘press on a button’ can get access to all the information of the effectiveness and selling capacity of every employee. One of the private counsellors expresses some anxiety about this in the interview:

They [referring to management] can just look into the computer and see exactly which customers we’ve had – how long we’ve worked with them and how large the profitability is on each customer. I believe the risk is that this will become the ground for the salary as well, it has been discussed and it frightens me a bit. What would that lead to? I mean if the cashier machine (computerised) suddenly doesn’t

work who's going to take care of that? And this old Mr Karlsson who is so long-winded and gives nothing (in economic terms), who wants to serve him? This will lead to a keen competition between the colleagues (Swedish Bank 1, Private Counsellor)

The *technologies used by the customers* are, as mentioned several times, the Internet bank, the Telephone Bank, charge- and credit cards and bank giro services. The customers do not have to have a computer at home. They can use the Internet station that has been built up in the city branch and where they can e.g. pay their bills, put in money in their account etc. These kinds of Internet stations are still rare in the local bank, but there are plans for several more to come.

The *technological development* is not done 'in-house' in the local bank. As seen in the overall organisation matrix there is on top level a special supportive function for IT (information technology) and IT-development. So, technological development is done in this specialised supportive function. The banking group is quite technologically advanced and strives toward a more complete implementation of technology. However, this does not mean that this bank is especially advanced in a technological respect compared to other banks in Sweden. One of the managers expresses in the interview:

We are not competing with our technology, all banks got the same. No, we are competing with our 'relations' – we meet the individuals on their own prerequisites, we're engaged and open, we give each other mutual support – that's what we're competing with. (Swedish Bank 1, Women & Economy and Manager)

**Is the company unionised? Does this cover all employees?
What is the employment composition of the company by gender?
What is the employment composition of the company
by full-time and part-time workers?
What is the employment composition of the company
by temporary and permanent workers?
Where do men and women work in the company?
In which functions and at which levels?**

The *company is unionised*. Almost all employees are members of the largest national trade union in banking in Sweden (Union of Financial Sector Employees). There are a few university-educated economists working in the local bank and they have membership in a smaller trade union named 'Jusek' (specialised towards professions with graduation from university). Jusek is organising lawyers, economists with a university degree, social scientists, systems engineers and personnel administrators with university degree. The head of the local branch of the union, 'Stig', claims that the employees in the bank are complaining about the 'invisibility' of the trade union, which also the employees expressed in the interviews.

LP: Are you actively working with the trade-union matters? Is there a will, a force to do so?

Stig: No, the trade union is very invisible, I mean that's what the members tell us. But then I tell them, the union – we are the union all together. You have to

contribute yourselves ... with something. And of course they agree, but still they do nothing – no one cares.

LP: Do you know how to change this?

Stig: No, but they're (the central trade union) working very intense with how to market the trade union' (Swedish Bank 1, Union Representative)

The *employment composition by gender* has its roots in the traditional division of work in the bank area in Sweden. In modern times there has been a majority of women working in the field. When analysing the common statistics from the 'BAO' (Bank Employer Organisation) and the Union of Financial Sector Employees there are about 45 000 persons working in the BAO's joint ownership (people with a monthly salary) in the year of 1999. 3 500 of them were on leave. A majority of the 45 000 persons are women, in 1999 about 60 per cent. Out of these 41 500 persons working in 1999 were 16 000 men and 18 000 women working full-time. 7000 women and some 500 men were working part-time.

There are about 75 per cent women and 25 per cent men working in the *local bank*. In this case study there are 12 employees in the suburb branch and only one is a man. In the city branch there are about 32 employees and some 60–75 per cent are women. Most of the 95 employees are *permanent workers*. There are however a few, maybe 5–10 persons in the local bank (mostly women), who act as a substitute for a person. Just a few years ago there were some 20–25 persons working as a substitute for a person. But the local bank strives to minimise this category of employees. During summer vacations the bank contracts young students (from the university-education in business administration) – these are of course *temporary workers*.

Men and women in the bank work nowadays, as mentioned before, as counsellors – either towards private customers or companies. There is, on a general level, a *clear gender division of labour*. If we analyse the statistics of the 'BAO' and Union of Financial Sector Employees we find that there are 30 per cent men and 70 per cent women in the category '*private counsellors*'. In the category '*company counsellors*' there are 72 per cent men and 28 per cent women. This is the pattern also in the studied local bank, a majority of the private counsellors are women and a majority of the company counsellors are men. There also seems to be a difference in terms of the value of these categories. In the local bank no one discusses salaries, there seems to be a taboo talking in open about the earning of work. All of the interviewed counsellors reported the same in this matter. Once again the statistics from 'BAO'/ Union of Financial Sector Employees serves as a guide. The median salary value for company counsellors is for men SEK 26 500 while for women SEK 22 500–23 000 a month (in 1999). The median salary value for private counsellors shows that the men have SEK 22 000 and the women SEK 20 500 a month (also in 1999). Private counselling is a job for women, company counselling is a job for men and also more valuable (in terms of monthly salaries). But also in the different categories we find that there is a difference

between women and men – men earn most both as a private as well as a company counsellor.

In the local bank there are only two formal hierarchical levels, the managers (who all are members of the management group) and the counsellors. But, there are also informal hierarchical levels in the local bank. The manager, with his/her double leadership (since the managers are responsible not only for a branch, but also for a process in the local bank) is physically located in the city branch. This means that the managers are not present in the every-day life of the branches but there always crystallises an informal leader in each branch – someone steps forward and becomes the person who keep in touch with the manager for example.

ROLE OF TECHNOLOGY IN THE WORKPLACE STUDIED

What technologies are used in the workplace under study?

What technologies do the women in the study use?

What factors determine the decision to develop or implement new technologies?

The technologies used in the workplace are described on page six. There is no difference between women and men according to the use of technologies – they are using the same technologies. Decisions concerning the development/ implementation of new technologies are not made in the local bank. These kinds of decisions are made on a central level, foremost by one of the supportive functions, i.e. the IT support.

MANAGEMENT OF LABOUR FORCE IN THE WORKPLACE STUDIED

Where do women and men work in the workplace under study?

In which functions and at which levels?

Does the company use 'flexible' labour? In what areas?

How is recruitment managed for the jobs we are studying?

What strategies does the company have for supporting training and learning and how does it implement these?

Are personal development plans developed for all employees?

Are personal training plans developed and are they linked to personal development plans?

Do the employees we are studying undergo formalised training programmes?

Is there introduction training for these employees?

What does it consist of?

Is continuous training offered to these employees?

What does it consist of?

Is technology-related training offered to these employees?

Is this linked to the implementation of new systems?

**Is any training offered linked to external qualifications?
On what basis can employees take up external training?**

Women and men work, as just mentioned, in different areas. A majority of women work as private counsellors, a majority of the men as company counsellors. These different categories of workers we find in the same hierarchical level of organisation, but as showed with the statistics before, there is a gender difference when it comes to value of work. The men have higher salaries than the women. In the local bank there are some 5–10 persons working as a substitute for a person. These 5–10 persons are used as *'flexible'* labour. During summer vacations there are temporary and in that sense *'flexible'* workers contracted by the local bank. These flexible workers are young students, studying economy at the university in the city. Most of these students leave the bank after the summer vacation period. It has happen though that some of them have made an entrance to a regular work in the local bank through their summer work. *Recruitment* has not been on the agenda for some years, since one of the goals of the local bank has been to decrease the staff. But, different managers have different opinions when speaking of the necessary qualifications in case of employing new persons. Some of the managers believe that it is necessary to recruit persons graduated from School of Economics, while other (and also the union representative 'Stig') believes that persons with upper secondary school education (in economy) are sufficient.

There are roughly two ways of achieving training and learning in the local bank. Either the employees can *'learn by doing'*, as in the earlier example of the employee whose sales goal concerning endowment assurances was not fulfilled – the person then got the possibility to work beside a more experienced private counsellor in that area. But, there are formal education and training. The most common courses are the so-called *'private one'* and *'private two'*. These are courses that focus easier loans (e.g. loans against a guarantee), endowment assurances, funds etc. The *'private two'* is a more qualified version of the first course where the *'students'* also learn about the law, contracts of different kinds etc. The management's ambition is that most employees should take both *'private one'* and *'private two'* since the counsellors today should be able to handle the *'whole life situation'* of a customer. Almost everybody interviewed expressed that *'the customers should not have to tell their life story more than once'*. This is an expression of the new organisation, where the strategy is to *'refine'* every customer. The management wants each employee to have a responsibility for 300–400 customers. Here the role of the private counsellor is to be a personal adviser with great knowledge about *'his'* or *'her'* customers. This actualises the concept of *'emotional labour'* since the private counsellor has to know and work with the *'psychology'* of every meeting with different customers. Ultimately, the goal is to sell services that increase the profit of the bank. A very common expression in the local bank, as mentioned, is that *'once we get the customer here for a meeting/a counselling appointment then we have the opportunity to 'clothe' the customer*

with different kinds of services. The ‘emotional labour’ also touches upon the ability of the private counsellor to ‘explain’ the advantage of transforming savings in a traditional bank account to e.g. funds (where the risk is higher to lose the money, but also the chance to ‘win’ more money).

There are personal development plans developed for all employees and these are also linked to *personal training plans*, at least this is very obvious in the studied suburb branch. There is also induction training for all employees which aims, e.g. at how to behave against and how to establish a dialogue with customers. Most of the training today though consists of interactive programs, where for example a private counsellor can simulate a loaning process with a customer. The ‘private one’- and the ‘private two’ courses are educational training made ‘in-house’ and these courses are given mostly in Stockholm. There is no training linked to external qualifications.

WORK CONTENT

The suburb branch much looks like an open-plan office, surrounded by a long desk, partly made up of three ‘traditional’ cashier’s desks. At the other end of this long desk there is three working places characterised more by privacy – this is where the private counsellors receive the time-booked visitors/customers. It is also possible to have a meeting even more in private since there is one room that always is available if the customer wishes so. In this landscape there are also some five working desks right behind the long desk, where tasks as e.g. ordering Swedish money or foreign currencies are carried out (these tasks are carried out in the morning, before the bank opens for customers. The bank is open Monday to Friday from 9.30 to 15.00 except for Thursdays when it closes 18.00. Most of the employees start their working day at 8.00 or 9.00 and finish at 16.00 or 17.00. The regular working time is 38,5 hours per week. ‘Back office’ there are two smaller rooms, one for the manager, ‘Anna’. She is the only manager who is physically placed at one of her branches. The background to this is that when she started as manager for this branch, a little more than a year ago, there were some heavy problems in the working group of this suburb branch. The general manager wanted ‘Anna’ to get in charge for the branch in order to change the atmosphere (which was quite bad with a lot of controversies and people not getting along together very well). This has changed and the people interviewed report that the atmosphere now is very good. (During my day of observations in the suburb branch I was struck by the fact that there was a good atmosphere and I heard many laughter during the working day). There is also another smaller room beside ‘Anna’s’ and there is the only man in the suburb branch, ‘Magnus’, working. His work is a bit special since he is responsible for the housing credits. When customers are going to, let us say, buy their first house, it is seen as important that they can meet Magnus undisturbed. Very often also a (external) real estate agent is

participating in these meetings. Consequently, the remaining 8–9 private counsellors – all women – do not have a working place of ‘their own’. They are to some extent rotating around the different desks. At the very back of the branch there is a personnel room equipped with a sink, a microwave oven, tables, chairs etc. and here most of the employees have their lunch and coffee breaks. There is also a vault, which is placed beside and outside the long desk, but with possibilities to control from inside the desk.

This case study, as mentioned, is focused on the private counsellors (not the company counsellors) in two different branches, but partly also on some of the managers in the local bank management group and in addition the trade union head of the local branch.

What are the key tasks being carried out by the employees we are studying?

How does their work fit into the work of the organisation as a whole?

What are the main skills and personal qualities needed to do this work?

Does the work involve continuous use of technologies?

Does the work involve communication with colleagues or customers?

Does the work involve ‘emotional labour’?

Is the work intense or pressurised?

Can the worker take her/his own decisions about how to work or is this dictated by a system or by management?

Does the worker need to move around the workplace in the course of working or is she/he fixed to one place?

Is the worker closely supervised or monitored?

The *key tasks* carried out by the employees are described in the previous, but at core in the new organisation are the meetings with the customers and not in the traditional sense, i.e. the traditional cashier’s work. All customers should have their personal counsellor and a common expression in the bank goes: ‘The customer shall not have to tell his/her life story more than once!’ The ‘refining’ (a word used frequently by the managers) of every potential customer is at core of the bank work in the local bank today. That’s how the bank will increase its profit.

The *main skills and personal qualities* needed to do this work are of course knowledge about the different kinds of services the bank offers to the customers. For the private counsellors this means knowledge about endowment assurances, funds and different kinds of loans (e.g. membership loans, a type of loan that is somewhat cheaper due to the loan-takers association to a trade union, or loan against a personal guarantee). Some kind of economic education is necessary today, at least studies in economy from upper secondary school. Employees who have been working in the bank for many years have often started their career as a cashier and with no ‘higher’ education than nine-year (compulsory) school. When it comes to personal qualities both managers and counsellors report the impor-

tance of being ‘social’, ‘entrepreneurial’ and an ability of ‘offensive thinking’, qualities that have to do with ‘emotional labour’.

The work involves *continuous use of technologies*, especially with computers (as described in the previous). *Communication* with customers is to a large extent very important due to the main tasks of selling different kinds of services. But also communication with colleagues is a common part of the daily work, especially when problems arise in different situations. *The work is quite intense* since the counsellors have time-booked customers a large part of the working day. This means that it is difficult e.g. to go to the toilet in the middle of a meeting. There are few possibilities to get a moment undisturbed during opening hours. In addition, when working in the landscape, which the counsellors mostly do, they have customers watching them all day. Furthermore they are screened of three cameras wherever they are in the landscape. When questioned about if the cameras made them feel uneasy the counsellors reported that the filming, on the contrary, made them feel safer. The counsellors *are quite dictated by management* on how to do the work. The counsellors know how much they have to sell of the services each day in order to reach their monthly goals. But there is also room for some decisions of their own. A counsellor has the possibility to change goals the coming month due to if she/he e.g. wants to concentrate on calling potential customers (registered in the customer-base) to *try to get them to a meeting in the bank*. *The worker – as described in the previous – are closely supervised* since all his/her transactions are put into the computer. The managers also have statistics of what has been sold month by month, but these figures are an aggregate per branch. But the manager knows exactly what every counsellor in his/her branch sells each month.

Case Study 2:

The Clothing Retailer

ELISABETH SUNDIN & GUNILLA RAPP

BACKGROUND AND COMPANY INFORMATION

**What is the company's core business?
National or multi-national company?
Current position in the market?**

This company is a retailer and was started in the early fifties in a very spectacular way by a charismatic entrepreneur. The main idea was to sell cheap so Mrs Svensson could afford it – but garments of good quality. From the beginning it was just coats for women. The entrepreneur was resisted by the established commerce and could not use the usual ways to reach the market. He then started to travel around the country and sell from lorries. Wherever he came there were queues, press and excitement. The entrepreneur himself became a well-known person in the national agenda and a part of ‘people-on-the-go’ – movie stars, etc. This history is very alive in the company and takes a big part of the introduction movie showed for every newly hired.

Now the company can be said to be a part of the establishment. It had at the time of the case study more than 200 stores. The typical shop has 10–20 employees. All of them except for the shop manager are working part-time. Most of the shops are located in Sweden but there are also shops in the other Scandinavian countries and in Poland. From the beginning very central locations have been used, the company is a part of the city-centre almost everywhere. As the numbers and importance of out-of-town centres have increased the company has followed and is also established in many of these.

The entrepreneur is dead. In 1990 the company was bought by KF, the Co-operatives. That KF is the owner cannot be seen in other ways than that the ‘faithful-customer-card’ can be used also in the company stores. The headquarters (HQ) is still in Gothenburg as it was from the beginning.

From the start with just coats the selection has now widened to other kind of clothes divided into three groups for – women, men and children. The competition in the market is very hard. Besides necessities the hardest on the Swedish market.

From the very provocative start the company's image is nowadays a little bit old and tired. Management is trying to change that. The reorganisation described below is an important part of that change.

The main challenges are, without doubt, the very hard competition with new international actors coming in and the national and Scandinavian ones reorganising. The case company is taking an active part in the race in every respect for example through buying a chain in Denmark, reorganising all units and introducing new technology (more about that too below).

TECHNOLOGY

What technologies are used in the company?

How is technological development done?

Is it advanced?

In a typical store the technology used is the following:

Burglary-alarm,

Detector reacting on movements

Alarm-badge – one on every article

Alarm-arch at the entrance listening and alarming if someone leaves with a badge still on

Value-pipe (is the plane translation) In some stores backstage they have a direct connection to a nearby bank or post-office. They send the money several times every day through the pipe.

Phones – one in every part of the store and also in all the rooms in the back (make them sound very big – in practise these parts are very small with articles almost everywhere – even in the toilet).

Computer equipment with Excel, Word, Power Point, Extenda –95.
More about this below.

Intranet connecting all the shops and the HQ. HQ sends information 2–3 times a day. Before fax was used.

E-mail-function was introduced during the investigation. Some shops had got it and some was on their way.

Cash-system was just in a period of change during the investigation. This is commented on by many of the interviewed employees, which will be obvious below.

Management has the responsibility for the development of technology. The ambition is to have the same systems all over the country and consequently to introduce new technology everywhere at the same time. To make that possible implementation and support is decentralised in many steps with the Shop Managers as the 'last' teachers.

In some respect the company is advanced in others it is not. As late as two years ago stocktaking was done 'by hand'. The new system makes it possible to see the

stock in every moment and also to have information of the existence of articles in other shops when it is missing out of stock. In practise it does not always work that well, which will be shown below.

Is the company unionised?

The employees are members of the union for retail-workers, Commercial Employees' Union (Handelsanställdas förbund), maybe not everyone but almost. There are few differences between full time and part-time employees. The workforce is much dominated by women (90 per cent). Among the white-collar workers the share is a little bit lower (70 per cent).

Employment composition of the company by gender, by full-time and part-time workers and by temporary and permanent workers. Where do men and women work?

Almost 50 per cent of the men work full-time, which is 40 hours a week or more, while less than 10 per cent of the women does that. The majority of the part-timers are long part-timers working more than 20 hours a week (80 per cent of the women and around 40 per cent of the men). A few, around 10 per cent, work very few hours, for instance students just working in evenings and weekends. The extended opening hours in some shops, open 360 days a year maybe from 9 a.m. to 21 p.m., make the share of inconvenient hours high. These hours are relatively well paid and making a part-time worker getting a full-time salary (the salaries are anyhow comparatively very low).

On leading positions men are more often found than in the shops. Less than 10 per cent of the women have leading positions compared with a little less than 30 per cent of the men. Despite that most shops have a female leader. The few men in the shops are working in the men's department. To find shop managers has turned out to be a problem. It is not as popular as it used to be.

The shops are so small that none of them have full-time administrators. These work tasks are distributed as presented below. Each shop has its own decorator.

RESTRUCTURING

How are firms (re)organising their internal activities?

The company has just undertaken a reorganisation of all the shops. The main idea was to get rid of middle management to 'create flexibility', decrease hierarchy and increase commitment. One important part of the last point was to increase the competence of all employees. The reduction of middle management was done in

two steps: first the so-called Regional Managers was taken away. They were a link between HQ and all the shops and every Regional Manager was responsible for around twenty shops. As a consequence the Shop Managers have now got more to do.

Much more work is given to the shops. Much more administrative/office work than before. It is not just to make a day-report any more. The dismissals of the regional managers meant more work for the shop managers and as a consequence they have to delegate. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

Before they were more generous with the staffing and the costs while they today are looking at the sales figures by the hour. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

In the shops there are changes as well. The position as Assistant Manager is taken away and so are the heads of the different departments. Responsibility Groups are introduced. They can be seen as a tool of delegation. Fifteen shops had tested the new model for two years and the groups should be introduced in all shops by the first of March 1999. This study was made in the summer. As the members of the Responsibility Groups were supposed to be exchanged every-second year, the groups as such were expected to result in increasing competence and more qualifications.

The former organisation is described as stiff and vulnerable in case the Shop Manager was away. Staff was organised after the articles – 'women', 'men' and 'children' – and it was hard to make anyone break the lines.

It was a very closed system. If you are on 'men' you are on 'men'. Then they had a Department Manager who really was the head and ruled it in every aspect, and then you had an Assisting Shop Manager helping the Shop Manager. That was what it looked like before. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

It was an organisation that didn't allow everyone to develop and take initiatives. One person was in focus – the others were just told what to do as the manager responsible for the department was ruling everything. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

The new flat organisation with the abolished borders between the different departments (for the employees that is – not for the customers) is not just looked upon as an improvement by everyone. The Regional Managers were easy to get into touch with – it is much harder with the few persons at the HQ. A woman says:

It's impossible to reach them. We don't have anyone to talk to – we just have each other. It's like in High Chaparral now and then. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Decorator)

Another woman add:

It was easier before I think. You had your work tasks. You should check the competitors; you should check their weekly ads and always 'be in great form' and try to find countermoves etc. You should have a dialogue with the purchasers and the purchase department of what you thought about the different articles. It was much easier when you just had one department to think of. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

What we can see here is that what is introduced as a decentralisation, in practise for many employees is experienced as a centralisation and hierarchisation. Not unusual as we know from other studies. It also has to be mentioned that it in practise differs between the shops, as it did also before the reorganisation. Some shops had already used the new system since many years. For them the reorganisation meant a confirmation of that they had made the right thing. The initiative also came from the stores and managers, i.e. from below.

The initiative and test period

The initiative to the new organisation came from some Shop Managers. The model was developed by the Staff department at the HQ and discussed with the Union. A group was constituted: one Regional Manager, three Shop Managers (one of them representing the union and two representing the employees in the shops) and one from HQ. One of their responsibilities was to inform, listen and evaluate the development in ten test-shops.

You can't do it the same way everywhere and it won't turn out the same way anywhere. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Responsibility Group) ... All was new to us. ... We had to discuss it. We could partly design it in our own way although we had the model from HQ to look at. ... We can call and check with the other test-shops. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

When the responsibility groups was introduced the position as Assistant Shop Manager was taken away. One of the most tricky things was how to inform these persons, who was about to loose their position and suffer a reduction in incomes.

Of course you were disappointed when you had to lower your salary. It felt like taking ten steps backwards. I had to step back because I had so much skill. These new ones should learn and catch up. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Responsibility Group)

A lot of problems result from this. It's really like this because many Assistant Managers have had to lower their salaries, and it was they who had the competence and then you have to teach the others. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

The expansion of both responsibility and work tasks in the shops has not been followed by increase in staff but just the other way around. The number of employees has been reduced so everyone feels that they are much more short of time.

The role of the shop manager has changed; more work tasks are given from above and some of shop manager's are distributed to the Responsibility Groups (RG) The Shop Managers role is defined as a teacher/educator besides being a leader (see more below).

The role and work of the Responsibility Groups were in the beginning diffuse. They should give support both to the manager and to their workmates but not in any way intervene with the departments. Their work should be shop embracing with concern for personnel, budget, environment, etc.

In most shops there was no hard competition to be a member of the Responsibility Group.

I informed about the introduction of the Responsibility Group. Then I put a paper on our notice board so everyone could see and apply. I got three applications and all three were accepted. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

Some Shop Managers want the Responsibility Group to tell what they wanted to do to improve the shop. What they are looking for is a sense of responsibility. Sometimes their wishes are explicit like:

... to be able to make others enthusiastic and a willingness to develop and learn.
(Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

As mentioned before few applied the first time. The main reason was that they felt insecure of the meaning of such a position, but in some shops everyone refused because of feelings of loyalty towards the former Assistant Shop Manager. The reasons mentioned by the non-applicants were of different kinds. The decorator did not apply as she thought she had so much responsibility any way.

I have so few years before I retire. ... I think I work too few hours. ... Of course I'm interested of my job but I think that the full-timers are more responsible for the shops. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

The Responsibility Group has to know how to handle the computer and how to receive and send information through the Intranet system. Some of the employees look upon that as an obstacle

I don't want to learn that right now. ... Well I'm not a friend of paper and reports. I think I'm terrified of machines. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistants)

The shop managers hope that the enthusiasm will increase and the willingness to be a member of the Responsibility Groups will increase as well.

I hope and believe it will increase. Now they can see what we're doing. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

The main principle of rotating is threatened in more than way. One thing is that nobody else wants to apply and another that once in the Responsibility Group you want to stay.

Yes I think I want to stay in the Responsibility Groups. In any way I will apply too.
(Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

What the outcome will be is too early to tell. The Shop Managers mean that the differences between the employees concerning ambition, commitment to work etc. really is manifested in the attitude towards the Responsibility Groups.

I have 'development-talks' every year with every employee and there you can see the differences. Someone expressing satisfaction with everything will never apply for a position in the Responsibility Group. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

Some of the employees mean that every meeting with customers is enough of challenge and change but others are looking for more.

I want to influence my situation if I can and I want to know more about my work. And that's what you get when you're a member of the Responsibility Group. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

Some of the work tasks for the Responsibility Groups are to open and close the shop and to control the flows. HQ wants the Responsibility Groups to signify 'more responsibility and creativity for everyone'. A membership in Responsibility Groups is a mean to increase competence and qualifications – which in the long run is of importance on the market. They do not want the Responsibility Groups to be an elite-group. In that respect the ambivalence seem to be great.

There's a difference – in reality ... on the other hand at the same time – the ordinary sellers have much more responsibility now than they used to have. The job as a seller is much more fun than it used to be. You really can influence, as no departmental head tells you what to do and what you can't do. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

And maybe this meaning is a very good interpretation of the situation:

I don't think anything has changed in this respect. The ones in the Responsibility Groups are the ones taking the responsibility also before. Inside or outside the Responsibility Groups they act the same. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Decorator)

The information about the Responsibility Groups is sometimes causing new problems in the shops. As the employees now have much more to do they sometimes tend to shove every trouble to the Responsibility Group. In some shops a new line of division is also created inside the Responsibility Groups – with the former Assistant Manager and former Department Managers being visible and used for information as they have higher competence and the employees without former managing positions being overlooked.

Under this headline we want to mention the steer-cards, which are used to steer and motivate the shops. The steer cards are divided in different groups and contain the key numbers the shops are working for and against. The numbers are the goals and expectations decided by HQ. Among the numbers is the share of 'satisfied customers' and 'satisfied employees'.

How are firms (re)organising their external relations with suppliers and customers?

The organisation is not changing anything, almost, to their suppliers. They have since long a very elaborated system for the production of their articles with suppliers all over the world and a smooth distribution system. They have engaged themselves in questions concerning the environment and have, in accordance with the ISO 14001-system, been accepted as the first clothing retailer in the world. They are also putting demands on their suppliers concerning the working conditions; some other big Swedish companies also do the same.

It is expected that the new Responsibility Groups, in line with the arguments referred above, will influence the relations with the customers.

How are these processes assisted by technologies?

We assume that the removal of the Regional Managers and the Assistant Shop Managers was made possible partly by the introduction of the new technology, which is illustrated below.

TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION

During the time of investigation a new cashier system was under implementation meaning that some of the visited shops had got the new system and some had not. The new system links all counters and the computer, and via the counters and Intranet a lot of information can be given and taken.

You have your own computer so to say. You can look. If someone asks – Do you have it in another size? – No not here but I'll check if they have it in Jönköping [just nearby]! Then I press the buttons and it comes up on the screen close to the counter. I don't have to go back-stage or call. I get all information at once. There's nothing newer. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

Everything is structured on Intranet. Earlier we got 30 papers a week on the fax. You have to learn how to use Intranet. Some are a little bit reluctant and scared but our goal is that everyone shall know how to navigate there because everything is there. It's very good! (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

The new technology has really influenced the work for everyone in the shops. Work tasks like timetabling and time reporting are done in a new way. The new counters also take all cards. This is a relief for the employees as it used to cause trouble and irritation.

WHAT DO OUR SERVEMPLOI WOMEN DO IN THE COURSE OF A WORKING DAY – IN DETAIL?

What the SERVemployees do in an ordinary day differs. First we will take the *Shop Managers* because their position is special:

The most important part of my job is the employees – everyone shall like it here, finds it fun, have clear objectives and clear expectations – that's 90 % of the job. The rest are tasks that anyone could do. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

In practise a working day is very fragmented – very typical for a *first-line manager*:

I come before eight and then I do the accounts, count the money, look at my mail and open the computer. Maybe I write something. Then I make an account for the employees, a form where the goal of the day is stated. The goal of the week I do as well. I tell them [the staff in the shop] what we sold. What did we sell yesterday? We have met before over coffee but I think it's important that they feel informed. ... Compared with budget, yes, and it gives information on the departments, so if they at children clothes, where I was yesterday, had sold much – then they feel good – it's a kick for them. I walk around and look, especially into the schedule, which ones are coming today? Who should be at the counter, who shall come after who, who shall take care of the articles delivered, so I know, as they as a rule ask me. ... To take away the garbage so it will be easier for the girls to take in the goods. It

takes almost an hour to unload ... we count all the articles just to check and we take it down and then it is continuous changes for coffee, for lunch, for coffee again. My day looks like this – change, serve the customers and trying to make the office work except when it's something special like the end of the month, or negotiations with a cleaning company etc. I try to really be out in the store to be informed of what is going on out there. That is the most important part of my work. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

... If there is much I stay another hour. I do not care for myself, as it will fall upon us all. I think everybody feels that way. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

The *members of the Responsibility Groups* also have fragmented days. In most shops they are given special areas of responsibility like personnel planning, information/marketing or economy and additionally they are responsible for the daily routine when the Shop Manager is away. Let us refer to one having responsibility for information:

Every Monday (although I'm at home that day) we have a meeting at half past nine making an overview what's going to happen during the week. It's put on paper so everyone can see. I look it over and make checks that everything works during the lunch-hours. Then it's cleaning etc., if papers are coming I have to read and decide what to do with them. Inform every department on what has happened and what's going to happen. At least once a day I have to look at Intranet, as that's the way we get our information. After that I'm working in the shop. Then we have the delivery of money to the bank during the day. These are the classical tasks. Then we're serving customers, fetching goods and are at the counter. I am everywhere. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

The thing that is unique about the Responsibility Groups is the openings, the closings and the administrative work and then to take care of trouble during the day both when it comes from the technology and from the customers. The Responsibility Groups also do what the ordinary sellers do (see below) and then something more – like administration and economy.

From the beginning I took care of the salaries ... so we have planned that I shall take care of the budget. We receive it [from HQ] but I will transform it down for our shop. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

Another women says:

I'm responsible for the Satisfied-Customer-Index, concerning how easy it is to get someone to ask in the shop, I'm doing the scheduling, check that there really are people on the spot etc. Then I look at the sales for every single hour and present it graphically so everyone can have a look. Nobody could take a look before as they can today. Before you just looked at the daily figures – now it is more deeply and in detail. It's a lot of fun. It's exciting! (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

Most of them think that the change for them is not a big one – but they feel more responsible and they have more administrative work than before. In that part they seem to 'pay' themselves by bringing work home, staying longer etc. As the employee hours in the shop are less than before they cannot stay away from the shop. They really are needed there.

The *Shop Assistants* have a varied, mobile and independent job and sometimes a little bit lonely. One reason for that is that they seldom are two at one department. The budget is a strong norm and they feel that the time has to be used in the

best way – always. They meet the articles, unpack, mark them with price and alarm, hang or display them in other ways. The last part is done and redone over and over again to increase sales. To keep the shop clean and in order is also an important task, to discuss with the decorator, order for customers, take care of complaints, cover up for the ones going for coffee or lunch etc. The short version *to sell and be at the counter* can be described more in detail as:

Often there's coming in a lot of articles so there's a lot of clothes to take care of and customers as well. There are always many things to do. Sometimes I'm stressed. The customer is always the first priority but I always have the feeling that the articles must be handled. The store must look all right. It has to be order, I want order and so do the customers. I think I can be very independent. I'm almost always alone in the department and then I have to take care of it all. Even if we're a team – I'm independent. You try to catch up – but if you don't the next have to go on. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

You unpack, hang clothes, put on the alarm, serve the customers, and rehang. Watch out so the floor is clean. Take away papers from sweets etc. It's a lot like that. Cleaning after the kids playing with LEGO and spreading it all over. Fetching clothes from the stock. It's on the second floor so it's a lot of running up and down. The customers ask for other sizes etc. and as I don't remember I have to run and look. They deliver all the articles at the same time, so you know, it's not coming twice. In a way it's easier but it makes it very cramped here, we have to put a lot in the stock. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

Most of the employees think that the situation today is not particularly new:

We worked like that before as well. We had different tasks. I don't have a formal area of responsibility but I'm the cleaner of the place any way. I take care of the lunchroom and see to that everything works. If that wasn't done everyone should notice. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

Some Shop Assistants experience that there are more tasks and they are feeling more informed. But as the tempo is so high, they often find that they cannot improve their skills, as they would have liked. It is, for instance, impossible leave the counter to learn Internet. Some of them – especially the part-timers – think that they do not want to.

When you come so few hours. You're doing what you're told. You don't do anything extra. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

The stress the employees feel is a result of the decreased number of employees.

There have been reductions ... what three or four made 4–5 years ago one person have to do today. So nowadays I can just talk to myself. I'm not going to be younger – just older so sometimes I think that I can't manage with all the stress. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

They [the company] tear us down one at a time. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

What seem to be most stressful is all new articles coming in and coming in and if they are not taken care of – everything turns out to be a mess very quickly.

You feel demands from everywhere, I can see that someone is needed at the counter at the same time as they're needing assistance at the women's department, and that clothes have to be rearranged as it looks like a mess ... that's what I dislike most! (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

It isn't fun when it's Christmas often! (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

But in any way – it is better than when it is too little to do.

If I go to fold clothes and find that it's not necessary as no one has been there, then I'm scared! (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

Information is sent over the net, but still once a month they use verbal mouth-to-mouth information to all employees. As not everyone is present all the time, it is any way a problem. Therefore these meetings and also the weekly meetings (for the RG and the Shop Manager) are documented and put on the information board. The monthly information meetings concern, as an example, information on the company as such, to repeat how fire will be handled etc. and figures of course, a lot of figures.

What toolkits or technologies do they use, and how do they use them?

Above was presented the technology in the shops. The way of using some of it is obvious. Other technology like the new cash-system and Intranet are new and the enthusiasm and familiarity with it is varying. Information from HQ is now coming over the net, some of it concerns the company as a whole and some concern the specific shop. Every morning everyone can read numbers of the turnover for the day before presented against the budget, per hour, number of customers and number of payments, etc. Figures for comparing with other shops are also available. A new system for salaries is also implemented and soon the punch will be gone and every employee will log in instead. However it is not yet a reality everywhere.

It hasn't worked the way it should. It has been a disaster. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

Despite that many already use the new technology to get information on articles in other shops, as an example, to compare with budget and last year result, to get detailed information from the own shop. As everyone is not feeling familiar with the computer – the information that the Shop Manager finds most important is therefore also presented in paper and put on the information board for everyone to see. Most of it concerns whether the goals have been fulfilled. This information is often discussed during the morning-meetings between the early starters of the day.

What was it like yesterday? Did all the departments succeed in reaching the budget? We talk a lot about how to sell enough. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

How is the technology introduced? Who takes the decisions and who is involved in the process of decision-making?

The decision to introduce new technology is taken by HQ. There are no chances for the shops to protest. In the process that follows they are however taking an active part. That is the characteristics of service production so to say.

As the computerised new systems are new to many, there is a need for education that is not fulfilled. The person doing the installation gave some information – the system was introduced to the ordinary employees during some hours. The Responsibility Groups got some more. The Shop Managers are supposed to learn and then educate the rest of the staff. All the Shop Managers have to take a PC-driving license – in the system developed for the company. It is an interactive package with Network, Excel, etc. No special time is allowed for that. They are expected to do it at home on their time off. Some Shop Managers are called ‘super users’ (in English also in Swedish) and answer questions by phone or mail. Every employee can buy a computer through the company and also through the union. Some have also taken courses given by the union. As a rule the employees are positive to the new technology even if some of them are insecure and scared.

As has been understood the HQ sets the rules and the limits. They decide what to sell, where to display articles, how many hours that can be used for employees, when deliveries are due, etc. Within these limits it is possible to make decisions and even necessary to make local applications. The Responsibility Groups for example do not look the same everywhere and goes by different names.

The Shop Managers have – with the new organisation – to make more decisions than before, the construction of Responsibility Groups does not really change that. There is only one manager.

The others don't take any awkward decisions. I do that. It's my responsibility. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

She's the one responsible. If we're doing bad she is the one that's fired. ... If and how the Responsibility Groups is used is dependent on the Shop Manager. ... In the end it's Cecilia who manage, who is the main person so to say. We don't solve any problems; we ask her if it is something. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

But as always, many employees are taken lots of decisions. Some of them really enjoy it and some do it anyway. It is easy to get more freedom if the result is positive.

You push yourself in some way although you're a chain. You have your budget and you're counting and checking. Can we fix this now? Can we buy this stuff now? You can't just order things. It's many things like that. There's much more responsibility for the shops today. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

EMPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS

What proportion of women work flexibly (full time versus part time and permanent versus temporary)?

See page 16 – the section Technology – Employment composition of the company by gender, by full time and part-time workers and by temporary and permanent workers.

Do the firms change their internal practices and HR policies to accommodate flexible working and if so in what way?

This question is hard to answer the way it is formulated. What is cause and what is outcome is hard to decide. That retailing needs a lot of part-timers and people working in irregular hours is a widespread and well knowledge especially after 1974 when the openings hours were not regulated any more. On the other hand many women ask for part-time and irregular hours. Employers and employees seem to have common interests – but as we said – this is very much discussed and opposed by the union.

How do the women experience flexible working?

Just like in the debate the women show ambivalence towards the working hours. Especially the older ones, who have been in the sector maybe since the sixties, can see the difference and how the opening hours are constantly increasing.

It's Christmas and the day after Christmas day ... actually, I think it's awful, Monday to Sunday 10–8. You have to wonder – why? (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

It could be good and favourable when the children are small.

It's good when I work – I work holidays and normally starts at nine. ... When the children grow up it's not that good any more. ... Now when they're in school I feel that they need me more during the evenings with their homework. (RG)

But later the women often find that it not is possible for them to change. The shop does not need full-timers. This is by some informants mentioned as one of the reasons why men do not want to work in a store. They want full time always – even when they have small children at home.

Men don't apply because, on the whole, they only employ part-timers here and I was the last person to be employed as almost a full-timer and that was in 1978. Since then no one except for part-timers have been employed. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

UNIONS

Are the firms unionised?

Do the union support the needs of the women in our study? In what ways?

The shops are unionised. Almost all shops have a local club and a union representative.

The union took active part in the reorganisation and had no complaints. The company used the union group for evaluation of the work. The company and the union presented plans together, etc. The salaries of the Assistant Shop Managers were a

problem that interested the union, as they were to be reduced. The union objected and as a result of negotiations the Assistant Shop Managers could keep their salaries for nine months. Most of them became members of the Responsibility Groups, which made their reductions, most often, less than 200 SEK a month (about 25 Euro). There were other changes in the wage and salary system as well, which can be said to be main arena of the union. The interviews gave no complaints about the union but some positive remarks.

Is job segregation or discrimination by age a problem in the company?

Many, maybe most, of the employees came to the company directly after school and then they stayed. This could be a problem as the customers are supposed to expect someone in their own age. The ambition is therefore to have an even age-distribution.

We need young people. You can feel it now during the summer. It is different with these young girls here. We need them! (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

No one is excluded from education etc. because of age. The opinion on the importance of age is very varying and an opinion often expressed is that the older ones are afraid of technology. If they really are so is however very hard to tell. Other employees think that it is not a question about age but rather time with the company. The company needs new employees – even if they are old.

If you're new you want to show that you're good. Often you begin here instead of someone else who's on leave. Then you think that you have the chance to stay if you're good. You are open to new things. If you have been here for years you think that I know it all. I don't care. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

When you're a young veteran you're even more conservative. That's my experience. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Manager)

TRAINING AND SKILLS FORMATION

More skill seems to be necessary for everyone. A new decorator is expected to have a proper education. That was not necessary before. A shop manager is expected to have an education in business administration before being a trainee. Ordinary employees are expected to have an upper secondary school education in distribution and retailing and they all have to be interested in cloths and fashion. Although you are supposed to be able to work in all departments the demands vary. To sell cloths to and for men you have to be a seller, for women's cloths you have to make a good show and presentation and for children's cloths you have to be a carer.

What training do the women in our study get?

What is said above is relevant also for this headline.

The organisation want to be a learning organisation (all do that these days) and that is fulfilled only through the employees learning. There is a supply of courses concerning selling, fabrics and clothes, etc. All newly hired gets an introductory course at HQ. An education given to everyone is called FRIDA (which is a girl name in Sweden) meaning Freedom, Result, Initiative, Sharing (Delaktighet) and Responsibility (Ansvar). The shop manager is responsible for the education. Some did not think about it as an education but some are very enthusiastic about it,

Well, we have not actually been sitting down and learned how... she [the Shop Manager] shows me – that's it. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

while others see it in other ways or have a shop manager doing it another way.

We have had many courses. ... The competition is harder which makes you careful of your job. You care about the company. It has to be successful otherwise you don't have a job. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

I think they felt that the company really cared about their staff. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

How do they learn to do the jobs they do?

As a newcomer you get an introductory education as said under the former headline. Then you go beside someone more experienced for a time (one or two weeks). Courses are most often for the shop managers who are expected to transport their new knowledge to the others. This is also the procedure concerning the changes following the new reorganisation. As mentioned above the Responsibility Groups learn their skills from the Shop Managers. The manager's teacher role is more expressed in the new organisation than in the old. The managers are also expected to have time for some strategic thinking, but with a rotation in the Responsibility Groups every second year this part does not seem to be realised.

When the two years have passed and you've done everything then it's time to change again. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

How much they learn and what are consequently dependent on the Shop Managers' willingness and competence to teach.

The training for the PC is mentioned above. This knowledge and also other competence areas the Shop Manager has to pass on to the staff before opening time in the mornings. The situation could be stressful which is a clear hindrance for some.

Most of us think it's positive even if it's hard to come so early in the morning. You should be alert although it's a very long working day in front of you. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

Some information and training for the Responsibility Groups are given during ordinary working hours. The situation, when the Responsibility person disappears for some hours, can be very disturbing for the others working on the floor in stressful situations.

I know she has to learn but ... I have a lot to do. ... Shall I despite that run to her place and cover up if she's away two hours. It is too much. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

Job rotation is also a way to learn new things. Some shops use it as a deliberate strategy and some use it only in emergencies (which however are quite common).

Some had never been at the counter and then they had to learn the counter. Some refused to go over to men's department and help a customer there. But we're working in the same shop – I don't work in a special department any more. That's it! (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

What do the women do during the course of the working day?

See above.

How are the grading and career structures in the company?

As can be understood this is a rather flat organisation. There are the employees (some of them belonging to a Responsibility Group), a Decorator and a Shop Manager. That is all. However one career for the Shop Managers can be to move to bigger shops.

There are possibilities – but they're restricted. Everyone can't be a shop manager. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

As an ordinary employee you can apply for a special education for applicants to a shop manager position.

If you want you can apply for the applicant course. They take around fifteen a year. That's if you want to be a manager. If you want to show that you're ambitious you can be a Responsibility person – and then there's nothing more. It isn't. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

The new system with a rotating Responsibility Group instead of a permanent Assistant Shop Manager is for many a sign of increasing possibilities inside the organisation. Earlier neither Shop Managers nor Assistant Shop Managers were according to the contract permanent but in practise they often worked that way.

It's easier if you're a member of the Responsibility Group, easier if you want to move on and apply for courses. You know what it's all about if you're a member of a Responsibility Group. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

That the Responsibility Group-positions are intended to be just for two years is something that causes concern.

I think it will be hard to leave. I'll apply again and get a new area of responsibility. I don't want to teach someone else taking my job. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

Is there a new division emerging between women who work in jobs, which require qualification and women who do not?

No – not a new one!

GENDER AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

Are the jobs mainly done by women?

Is this a long established sexual division of labour or a recent one?

Women mainly do the jobs. There is some overrepresentation for men as shop managers (see above), just what could be expected. The Shop Manager is often the only one holding a full-time position. The explanation is the above given concerning a gendered supply of part-time and demand of part-time.

Are the jobs we are studying gendered and in what way?

Yes, the jobs are gendered but how is hard for the interviewed persons to explain. Women can be everywhere in the shop but men are impossible at women's underwear and children's cloths. A label connected to the article or the user. Some work tasks are talked about as typical male because they are stronger – and as mentioned before there are a lot of articles coming in every week – and despite that women are the ones working with it almost always.

Men are often looked for.

I think it is better with a gender mix. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistant)

Are the jobs we are studying mainly supervised by women and is this a long-established pattern?

Women are shop managers but men are over represented on that position. That is something often talked of, explained and defended. The arguments are very familiar to what is known from other studies.

Male shop managers are better. ... Young female ones have children and disappear for a while and then they get children again. ... We need more men in our shops. It gives stability for the company. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, Shop Assistants)

This opinion seems to get support by the company strategy to recruit more men.

It's good to be a man in our company. He gets support. It was not like that before. Now it's much easier for men than for women. (Swedish Clothing Retailer, RG)

Some think it is better to communicate with a man but the majority does not think it matters at all.

It is interesting to reflect over the Assistant Shop Managers being followed by the Responsibility Groups. As a rule the Assistant Managers were women and so are the members of the Responsibility Groups. The Assistant Shop Manager was a manager and a person on her way to a manager position. The members of the Responsibility Groups are temporary and they are not supposed to be leaders/ managers or an elite. The collective responsibility is emphasised.

Are the skills used 'gendered', and if so, in what ways?

See above.

Does the company use 'flexible labour'?

Besides what is said above the shops often use young people when the ordinary staff is on holidays.

How is recruitment managed?

Nothing special really. Through already employed recommended friends and relatives but also through the agency and advertisements in local papers.

On what bases can employees take up external training?

In Sweden you have the right to be on leave for studies. The employers do not pay you but you have the right to get the job back. Most often people do not want that.

Does the work involve communication with colleagues and customers?

Yes, very much so. It is the whole idea with the job.

Does it involve emotional labour?

Certainly!

In August 2000, the retailer workers union was reporting that stress was a great problem among their members. The papers had that as a headline and it was much discussed. Some notice was also given to a new system of controlling the employees with the help of 'spies disguised to customers'.

Case Study 3:

The Supermarket

ELISABETH SUNDIN & GUNILLA RAPP

BACKGROUND AND COMPANY INFORMATION

Strategy

The Supermarket in this case study is nowadays owned by KF, the Co-operatives. KF have different supermarket concepts. This is in a quality segment with even exclusive food and, consequently, rather high prices. The high-income family with small children is their model-customer. The Supermarket is a 'profile-market' where the owner tries new concepts and ideas. The Supermarket is going to be a market for 'experiences, contact and relaxation' (!). The image is going to make the customer think of a covered market of the type since long gone in Sweden. The eleven Supermarkets in this special chain were all bought in the beginning of the 1990-ies. They have kept the old name on all the Supermarkets and also, say some of the informants, their culture. KF also have low prices stores but to segment the market is one way of handling the strong competition.

Contracts and agreements with suppliers are handled by the head-office in Stockholm. Most supermarkets have a man at the top but not everyone. We have done studies, but not reported here, of Supermarkets with very intrapreneurial women at the top.

The quality profile chosen demands competent employees. To get that a flow-organisation was introduced some years ago meaning that every employee was considered to be a seller with main obligations on the floor, but also a responsibility to sit at a checkout point. The responsibility to staff the checkouts were given to the different sections/departments. Job-rotation was also a part of the quality-concept.

The case study was made in a Supermarket nearby Stockholm located just close to another Supermarket with a low-price profile. This is a very common pattern depending on the history. The building is an old aeroplane hangar. It is, from Swedish standards, very big with one million customers a year and 50 000 articles to sell. The opening hours are Monday–Friday 9–9 and Saturday–Sunday 9–7.

Employees

More than 200 people are working there, two thirds of them are women.

	Women	Men
Number of employees	135	83
Permanent employed working full time	46	49
Permanent employed working part-time	35	11
Temporary employed paid by the hour	55	23

There are four hierarchical levels:

- The head of the Supermarket (a man)
- Next level has three persons:
responsible for administration (a woman), for food (a man),
for other articles (a man)
- Next level has twelve persons (five women and seven men)
- And then all the rest.

There is gender segregation in the store – women selling toys, clothes, and sitting in the checkout desks, men selling sport equipment. Both men and women are selling fresh food, equipment for house and home.

TECHNOLOGY

Role of technology in the workplace studied

The case study was done after the introduction of a new, ‘Shop-and-Go’-system (the English expression is used also in Sweden). However we will also mention something about the other technology in use. KF is proud of being in the technical frontline. The merger with the Supermarket-chain however meant some troubles. Different computer systems had to be adapted to each other.

The employees can write labels on the computer to put on the shelves; they can ‘read’ codes for ordering, with an Internet system they can communicate with other markets and the head office. The handling of member cards are nowadays more easy than it used to be.

You just draw it and after that everything are registered and that’s it. (Swedish Supermarket, Shop&Go Customer Service)

The computer is used for controls of the sales, prices etc. Everyone in the supermarket use frequently E-mail and mobile phones.

The Shop&Go system was introduced in 1999.

We had hit the head in the ceiling during Thursday and Friday nights, Saturdays and Sundays. Even when we had all twenty checkouts opened the queues were long. We had to do something. The easiest thing would have been to build more checkouts

points but we wanted something more for the future. (Swedish Supermarket, Store Manager)

Some persons went to England to have a look. The system works this way:

To be a Shop&Go customer you must be a member of KF or a regular customer of the Supermarket. When the customer comes she/he draws a card through a reader at a desk for scanners. A scanner is taken and placed at a carriage. When picking goods and articles the customer self scans it. When finished the scanner is placed at the desk again and a paper with the sum to pay is received. For some customer it also says, 'go for control'. At the control point two or three employees are working.

A Shop&Go customer shan't have to pick their articles up and down more than once and they shouldn't have to wait. (Swedish Supermarket, Cashier Manager)

At the moment five out of twenty-two checkouts are Shop&Go. Three of the five are for Shop&Go customers that are to be controlled.

The Shop&Go system is of course not the only technology used in the market. Many departments (although they are not called that any more) have technology of their own like equipment for baking or preparing food, computer based checkouts counters and registers for the pool and lotteries, etc.

Learning new technology

Eight persons were sent to an introductory course at the supplier. Back at the Supermarket they taught the others. Everyone got information of the system to make them understand how it works.

Of course I wondered how it worked. We thought it was exciting and wanted to see if it worked. And it did! (Swedish Supermarket, Colonial Department, Shop&Go Customer Service)

The pioneer group organised demonstrations in a special room for training, information material and posters. Both other employees and the pioneer customers were invited. Some of the employees think it was too little. Persons working at the customer-service i.e. did not get more training than others as management did not realise that they frequently should be working at the Shop&Go desk.

It just took 15 minutes ... That is the way it is with computers. You have to guess. At first I always put it off and on to see if it worked. Then you try other ways. (Swedish Supermarket, Customer Service)

There were some worries that the Shop&Go-system should lead to reductions of employees. Despite of the fact that management argues that 'free hours' should be used on the floor in the Supermarket, some reductions have been made among extra-check-out staff. Although presented as a new-technology-system for the staff it is as well a new organisational system.

MANAGEMENT OF LABOUR IN THE WORKPLACE STUDIED

The organisation is described above. As can be seen, and expected, there is gender segregation in the work place.

The Shop&Go system is what was dominating the organisation when the study was done. At the introduction five of the employees, four men and one woman, formed a project group. The woman was the leader of the group picked by the Market Manager. Every employee got a short information on how it worked. The Shop&Go checkouts were placed close to the Customer-Information desk. It soon turned out that the two groups had to work together and help each other. This caused some tension.

Shop&Go was always given priority – it was they and we – despite they [the Shop&Go people] don't know all we have to know. They can't help us. (Swedish Supermarket, Customer Service.)

The Supermarket like the retail sector on the whole is using a lot of part-time workers – mainly women. This is described as a wish from the employees.

You can never get a man who wants to work less than 40 hours a week ... The girls [the expression used] do not see it in the same way ... when you have children you are satisfied with 30 hours. (Swedish Supermarket, Cashier Manager)

The Supermarket has a rather flat organisation and makes that an ideology. All employees are called sellers, other occupational titles has been taken away. KF had a reputation as a company giving the employees education possibilities. The economic hard times have changed that. Not many formalised courses are left and on-the-job-training seems to be the rule.

WORK CONTENT

Management describes the organisation as an organisation around flows – both articles and employees shall flow – the articles from delivery to checkouts and the employees between different work tasks and spaces dependent on where they are needed. The main reason for introducing flows five years ago was to take away the queues at the cash-points. Giving priority to that, it is not seen as favourable by everyone

We do a less good job at the departments. We never have the time to finish anything. You should not underestimate the skill needed at the checkouts. Now mistakes are being made more often than before as the checkout experts are gone. (Swedish Supermarket, Shop Assistant)

The work content, of course, depends on what you are doing, Customers-service and Shop&Go have been mentioned and they are demand driven. Customer service handles lotteries, the pools etc., which means a lot of money and some tension.

You have to be nice to the customers. You have to talk a lot to avoid that they are angry when they are controlled. You have to find something else to talk about. (Swedish Supermarket, Shop&Go Assistant)

The administrators are all women with one exception. They handle the salaries, accounting, paying, the phones, the flows, etc. Also in the store they are very demand driven. Almost every employee is given a responsibility area for some types of articles. Men seem to be given that responsibility more often than women, as an example, there were ten persons at 'toys and office', two men and eight women. Four were given responsibility – two women and the two men. These are decisions taken by the First Line Managers.

The persons working in one sector also are responsible for unpacking. Women and men often do that together – but men are responsible for dairies and women for the bread. The arguments used are the usual so to say – works tasks demanding physical strength or technology are considered to be more suitable to men.

It's very heavy so none of the girls want to be at the dairies. ... It's cold to... they want to be at the oven where it is warm and cosy. (Swedish Supermarket, Colonial Department, Shop Assistant)

However women at the food market handle the most physically demanding work tasks. All employees are expected to be at the checkouts. Pregnant women are excluded and so are some persons for 'mental or physical reasons'. As usual it is hard to really tell to what extent work rotation really is at hand. The rhetoric's about it is so strong and no one seems to admit that it does not work. Resistance is clearly at hand and more accepted when it comes from men than when it comes from women.

Case Study 4:

The Telephone Bank

KRISTIN BRAAG & HELENE ELVSTRAND

BACKGROUND COMPANY INFORMATION

What is the company's core business?

National or multinational Company?

Head Quarter in which country?

What is the Company's current position in its market?

Where are the Company's core activities carried out?

This is a study of a modern Swedish bank – a bank that works with the customers via telephone, e- mail, Internet, WAP and facsimile and that is part of one of the largest banking groups in Sweden. The Banking Group was originally established as a private bank in the middle of the 19th century. 150 years of innovative force and far-sighted investments have created a bank that is the market leader in several fields of the business. The bank has a long tradition as a bank for Swedish multinationals.

The Banking Group has developed into a European financial group for primarily companies and financially active private individuals and has a total of 670 branch offices in Sweden, Germany and the Baltic countries with a total of four million customers, including 800 000 Internet clients. The Banking Group is represented in some twenty countries around the world and has 21 500 employees, the business concept is to:

... create value for customers and shareholders through leading competence and long-term relationships. ... The vision of the Group is to be the leading "e-centric" customer-driven supplier of financial services in Europe. The financial goal is to achieve a lasting return on equity of 15 per cent after tax. (Homepage of the Banking Group, 010731)

The Banking Group is in transformation. During 1999 the overwhelming part of the staff and customers were in Sweden, where also most of the income was generated. Today, more than half of both employees and customers are outside Sweden and 57 per cent of the gross income originates from non-Swedish markets compared with only 27 per cent in 1999. This expansion is primarily due to the acquisition in Germany and the increased ownership of banks in the Baltic countries. (Homepage of the Banking Group, 010731)

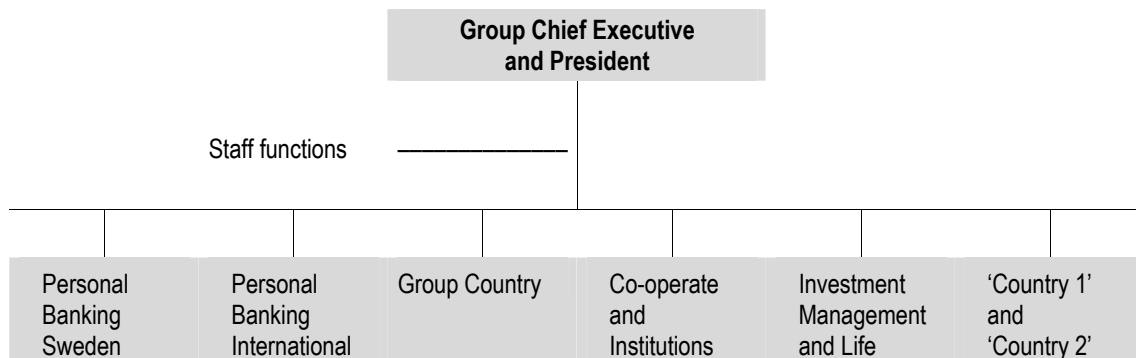
In a short period of time the Bank has changed, from doing 'everything for everybody' particularly in Sweden, to being a supplier of financial services for well-defined target groups in Europe. E banking is an integral part of the business and customer demands rather than the Bank's own supply of products govern the business. (Homepage of the Banking Group, 010731)

The Banking Group's organisation has been adapted to suit the needs of its two prime customer groups – better off private individuals and companies. The intention is to strengthen the co-ordination between the various channels and to make offers more adequate while achieving a more efficient allocation of resources to the international expansion.

In the *Private Market* the key products are savings and investments. This orientation was initiated in the spring of 1997, when the Management of the Banking Group decided to invest heavily in asset management. Since then, assets under management have more than quadrupled. At the same time customer contacts, including advisory services and sales, have gained in importance. It has become more important to be in close touch with the customer as a distributor of alternative types of savings – including those offered by external suppliers – than to sell the Bank's own products. On the other hand, the Banking Group's production units are now free to look for own outlets in order to sell their products through other channels. The savings markets are affected by the ongoing internalisation; more and more private individuals and institutions are spreading their investments on a global scale. This means that those who are active in the growing savings markets must be able to offer a wide range of international investment products. The strategy for the Corporate Market is to provide individually adapted service, mainly to companies that are active on an international scale. The focus is moved from commercial banking to investment banking services. Also in this field products are increasingly offered via the Internet and other electronic channels. (Homepage of the Banking Group, 010731)

During the last ten years the conditions for the financial trade have changed e.g. through deregulation, internationalisation, technological innovations. Due to the increased use of the Internet and the Telephone Bank business the Banking Group has closed fifty branch offices in Sweden. The change of conditions have contributed to high requirement on fast and sweeping innovations, which for the Banking Group have resulted in a reduced number of employees in the traditional bank activities. At the same time new recruitment are taking place to the new established Telephone Bank and abroad to the Banking Group's participants. The changes put new expectations on the Banking Group and the employees both when it comes to development of competence, working forms, and the organisational substance of work. At the moment there is a merger in process between the Group and another Swedish bank. The two banks are busy making preparations until the European Union has made their consent.

The organisation of the Banking Group



Members of the Banking Group's Management Committee are six men and four women. The President and Group Chief Executive are men. Women keep the positions as Executive Vice President and Deputy Group Chief Executive.

The *Telephone Bank* in this case study is a niche bank and the telephone services are focused on savings and investment and financing. Today there are a number of niche banks and the Telephone Bank is one of the tops of the line both in Sweden and on the international market. The core activity is carried out in Sweden. The customers are primarily companies and wealthy private customers, but all kinds of customers are welcome to be a member of the bank. They are not supposed to visit the Telephone Bank physically but as members of the bank concern the customers have however access to both the Telephone Bank and the regular branch offices. The Telephone Bank has about 550 employees and is a young part of a bank with long banking tradition.

Method

The result in this case study is based on interviews with fourteen women and eight men in ages between 23 and 57 years with various living conditions. Some of the informants are single, others are married and some of them have small children. Their work experience varies a lot. For some of the informants this work was the first employment they ever had while others had worked at the bank for several years. The informants come from three different working areas in the Telephone Bank – from the Private Finance Advisors, the Financial Service Advisor group and the group of Blanco-Loan.⁷ Two group managers⁸ and two coaches⁹ have also been interviewed. There have moreover been interview-like conversations with the Personnel Manager and with the person responsible for Employment, Education and Training. These two managers did not want to be interviewed, but agreed to attend in a conversation.¹⁰ All interviews have been tape recorded and tran-

⁷ For further information about the groups see in the next paragraph 'The Informants'.
⁸ Each separate group has one manager who is in charge of the whole group
⁹ Coach = group director
¹⁰ The difference between an interview and a conversation is that the interviews are recorded.

scribed. At the beginning of the fieldwork the President of the Telephone Bank was contacted. In connection to the interviews observations were made of the working situation. Complementary to the interviews and the observation notes information from the Banking Group's homepage on the Internet has been used.

The informants came, as said above, from three different working groups all with different duties. We will briefly describe below.

The informants

Savings Services Advisor: This group consists of five women and five men and the main task is to give economical advice to customers, who have at least SEK 200 000 or more to invest. The Savings Services Advisors have their own customers and they work with both incoming and outgoing calls. The group is planning their day and working schedule together and decides who is going to work day shift or evening shift. Karin describes their job as a work with an uneven tempo.

It is an uneven tempo, some days it is a lot to do and now for a while it has been almost death. (Swedish Telephone Bank, Financial Advisor)

The work burden during the year is not a steady stream of work; there are times that are more stressful. The Savings Services Advisors are a new group in the Telephone Bank. The group is formed to help people who have a capital up to SEK 500 000. This group has been recruited internally; the great majority of women and men have earlier been working as Customer Advisors. They have a low average age and most of them have a formal academic education such as graduates from schools of business economics or economics. They all sit together in a group, by turns, men and women. This group is the most even when it comes to the distribution in terms of sex.

The Financial Services Advisor Group: The group has more than 50 employees divided into smaller groups. They work independently with their own tasks – handling loan applications, both estate loans and alliances. The work can be described both in terms of routine and flexibility. Granting or rejecting loans follow different steps, which are similar in all cases although the loan and the customer are always new. The people working in this group have often a long experience in banking and many of them have worked with financing at a bank office. In this group there are more women than men, about 35 women and 15 men.

The Financial Services Advisors, the Blanco-Loan Group: The group has recently moved to the Telephone Bank from an office in the town centre. They are 14 people and their working duties are to handle direct-loans to private customers, who have sent their loan applications to the bank via letters or e-mail. The goal for the Telephone Bank is to prepare a loan in one hour, and therefore somebody in the group has to check the computer regularly. This group worked in a special computer system, which was not compatible with the rest of banking system.

Consequently it is a little harder to move from this group to another group. Mainly older women (in the Bank perspective) work in this group and only a few men.

What are the main challenges and threats, which the company has to address?

What technologies are used in the company?

Would you describe the company as technologically advanced in comparison to its competitors? Why?

In Sweden the banks are in a process of transforming the work for the employees and for the customers through technology. The 'traditional' way of organising work in a bank meant/means, roughly, opening hours 10 p.m. to 3 a.m. with the cashier standing at the desk with a queue of people waiting quite a long time to reach the cashiers desk. The Telephone Bank is a bank with no physical queues and *no* closing hours. It is said to be one of the most effective sale canals in the areas it is working. Through active selling, high competence of the employees and long-term relations with the customers the Telephone Bank focus on wealthy private persons and companies with interests of financial and/or economic questions/deals. The customer can reach the Telephone Bank in different ways – via telephone, Internet, WAP, facsimile and e-mail during 24 hours.

The increasing utilisation of Internet and the demand for these new services have, according to the Telephone Bank, resulted in a larger labour force and more customers. According to the interviews the opinion is that the customers also here should have one contact man/women to discuss their bank business with in order to give rapid answers to the customer questions, either via telephone or e-mail. Instead of having sales and advice competence spread on different units the Telephone Bank have with technological innovations co-ordinated several channels into one common Contact Centre. The Centre includes integrated solutions for all types of meetings and this is said to be the main challenge for the telephone banks.

When it comes to the future business activity the Telephone Bank says that it is hard to tell what their market will look like in five years. They think that their competence, selling capacity, opening hours, their increasingly distinct strategy and the flexibility prevailing in the bank will be their big strength in the future. The threats are according to them the stock market and other financial interests, which might change the bank activity of the members.

The Telephone Bank is a 'modern future' bank using a lot of technique. The technical innovations are developed within the bank and the technical systems are constantly developed. The computer programs are adapted for the specific needs of each group. According to the interviews some of the groups have poorer technique/ programs than others. One group, the Financial Services Advisor, Blanco-

Loan, is especially dissatisfied with their technique. On the question if they, on Blanco-Loan, think it will be better a woman answer:

Yes I think so because this system we have here is not good at all. We're now working in several different systems. When you'll get through and do something, it takes a long time. It takes too long time and it's because we have to jump from one system to another and then jump back, we jump back and forward. It takes a very long time to handle one task. (Swedish Telephone Bank, Private Customer Advisor)

This is the group working in the systems, which are not compatible with the rest of the Telephone Bank, and the result is a more tough work. The other groups are satisfied with their technique although they think that the computers are too slow.

The techniques are absolutely a support. We couldn't live without the computers but they could be a little bit faster. Sometimes it takes time to find, to see the customers' identities (...) it will be better when the new hard disk arrives. (Swedish Telephone Bank, Blanco-Loan Advisor)

When it comes to the technique it is hard to make a comparison with other companies with similar activities to the Telephone Bank. The assumption is that they all use equivalent techniques, as the latest technique is necessary to be competitive and that is to be able to offer the members the best service and to gain new customers.

**Is the Company unionised? Does it cover all employees?
What is the employment composition of the company by gender?
What is the employment composition of the company
by full-time and part-time workers?
Where do men and women work in the company?
In which functions and which levels?**

At the Telephone Bank the educational level varies – from upper secondary school education to university educated economists or business economists. Many of the upper secondary school educated individuals have studied some business administration during their time at school. In this respect there is an age difference, which means that younger people (below thirty) to a higher extent has a formal academic degree than the informants above thirty. This is a consequence of a changed policy in the Banking Group, where a higher education is demanded. The employees talked about these demands for higher education in the interviews. Here is Sven, who has been working in the Telephone Bank for several years, he says:

A couple of years ago, I think three or four years, the company only employed academics. Nothing bad about academics, but as I felt that academics after you had taught them the job, they only left. (Swedish Telephone Bank, Financial Service Advisor)

Lisa, who has worked in the bank for some years and has a university degree, explains why she thinks it is important with a formal education.

If you're not a business economist, you should have studied economics. Otherwise you can't explain to the customer what's happening. (Swedish Telephone Bank, Savings Service Advisor)

This difference between what qualifications Sven and Lisa think are important to become a successful bank employee is significant in the interviews. The men and the women with a long employment in the company but without any formal education in banking/economics think that an academic degree is the only thing that counts nowadays. When employed they felt that working experience and good working skills were more important than degrees. In this issue there are no difference between the men and the woman – however it is an age difference. The younger employees think it necessary to have a university degree to be able to do a good job while the older in the bank disagree pushing forward the importance of experience as strength. In the new Savings Service Advisor Group the young and well-educated employees consider it very important to have a degree. Overall the men and the women have the same education and no patterns can be discerned when it comes to how long time they have been employed.

Close to all employees at the Telephone Bank are members of the largest national trade union for banking – the Financial Sector Union of Sweden (Finansförbundet). The trade union has representatives in the Telephone Bank dealing with trade union issues. The representatives are supposed to keep their members informed about pending meetings and their substance, and to report on results of wage negotiations and other agreements.

During the year of 2000 there were about 17 200 monthly paid male employees and 24 600 monthly paid female employees in the banking sector. Women are in majority since many years – at the moment with 59 per cent. About 95 per cent are permanently employed. More women than men are working part-time.

Table 4:1 Members of the Financial Sector Union of Sweden, October 2000

	Monthly wage			Hourly wage			On leave of absence		Total
	Permanent Employ.	Probationary Employ.	Temporary Employ.	Perm. Employ.	Probation Employ.	Temp. Employ.	Parent free	Other	
Business Banks	21523	810	642	8	1	1083	423	453	24943
Saving Banks	12110	321	1067	70	1	536	330	1297	15732
Other Partners	5076	118	206	140		213	120	123	5996
Total	38709	1249	1915	218	2	1832	873	1873	46671

Source: Financial Sector Union of Sweden, 2000

The employees at the Telephone Bank

The distribution of permanent and temporary employed, of full time and part-time work in the Telephone Bank as a whole can be seen in the two tables below. Worth mentioning is that about 80 per cent of the women and only 60 per cent of the men are permanently employed and also that about 40 per cent of the staff are working part-time at the Telephone Bank.

Table 4:2 Telephone Bank – All employees in different categories, by sex, 2001

	Number of employees	%	there of Women	%	Men	%
Permanent	401	73	279	70	122	30
Per cent			79		61	
Temporary	149	27	72	48	77	52
Per cent			21		39	
In total	550	100	351	64	199	36

Table 4:3 Telephone Bank – All employees, full- and part-time, by sex, 2001

	Number of employees	%	there of Women	%	Men	%
Full time	325	59	209	64	116	36
Per cent			59		58	
Part time	225	41	142	63	83	37
Per cent			41		42	
In total	550	100	351	64	199	36

Permanently employed

70 per cent of the permanent employed are women. Here about 30 per cent of the women and 14 per cent of the men are working part-time.

Table 4:4 Telephone Bank – Permanent employed, full- and part-time, by sex, 2001

	Number of employees	%	there of Women	%	Men	%
Full time	301	75	196	65	105	35
Per cent			70		86	
Part time	100	25	83	83	17	17
Per cent			30		14	
In total	401	100	279	70	122	30

Probationary employed

The Telephone Bank has a third alternative way of employment – probationary employment. These employees are included in the group of permanent workers. This type of employment lasts a year and after that they will belong to the permanent workers.

Temporary employed

This kind of employment applies when the Telephone Bank cannot see a longer need than six months ahead. The temporary workers are mostly students wanting earn extra money.

The number of temporary workers is 149 (or 27 per cent of the total amount of employees) and here there is a little majority of men (52 per cent). In this category almost everyone, 82 per cent of the women and 86 per cent of the men, are working part-time, in total 84 per cent.

Table 4:5 Telephone Bank – Temporary employed, full- and part-time, by sex, 2001

	Number of employees	%	there of Women	%	Men	%
Full time	24	16	13	54	11	46
Per cent			18		14	
Part time	125	84	59	46	66	54
Per cent			82		86	
In total	149	100	72	48	77	52

The men and the women work side by side in all groups, but three of the groups – Financial Service Advisor Blanco-Loan, Customer Guidance and Financial Services Advisor, Estate Loan and Alliances – have in per cent more women than the others.

One of the groups ‘the mother group’ is not a highly regarded group according to the interviews. The group’s co-workers think that the mother group lives for their children and consequently they are not working for a career. The members of the ‘mother group’, in contrast, think it very nice to be able to work early mornings and finish early in the afternoons so that they can pick up their children at day-care.

The Telephone Bank has three hierarchical levels – employees, coaches and group directors. The coaches are coaching about ten employees and the group director is director for a number of coaches and his/hers employees. According to the interviews the majority of the coaches is female, and almost half of the number of directors is a woman.

There are also informal hierarchical levels in the Telephone Bank. Some of the employees came to the company directly after school and some had been working with similar jobs. The bank appreciates both education and social capability by the employees. The following figure is a survey of the different groups from the employees' hierarchy/career perspective.

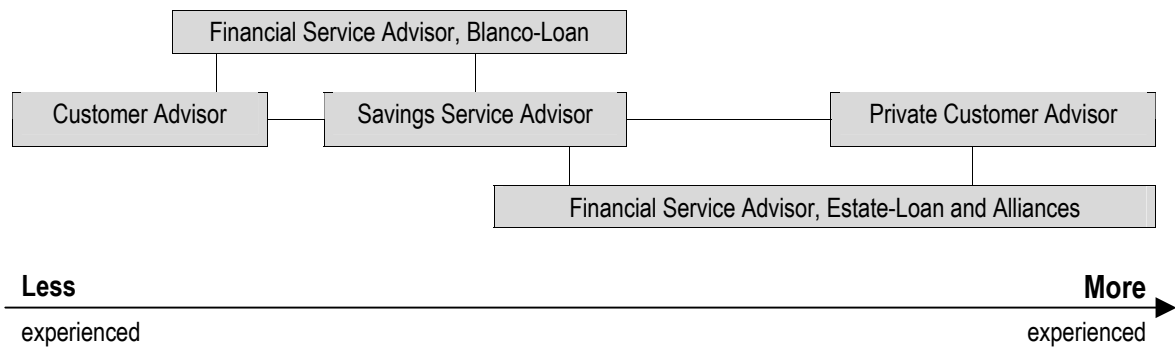


Figure: Informal hierarchy levels at the Telephone Bank

ROLE OF TECHNOLOGY IN THE WORKPLACE STUDIED

What technological are used in the workplace under study?

What technologies do the women in the study use?

What factors determine the decision to develop or implement new technologies?

The traditional queue-waiting bank was very labour-intensive and is today seen as an ineffective and very expensive way of organising work. The Group wants to change the behaviour of the customers, from using their traditional branch offices to persuading them to use the Telephone Bank and Internet bank. A woman at the Telephone Bank says in the interview:

It's fairly pleasant actually because when I worked in the cashiers desk in the bank it was very strenuous to see people queue (...) to see people there who look really angry (...) so it's better both for the customer and for myself. I can in a better way concentrate on my duties. (Swedish Telephone Bank, Savings Services Advisor)

The technology used by the employees in the Telephone Bank is computers, facsimile and telephone. The computer and the telephone are the most important tools in the everyday work. The technology is comparable with the technology in a regular branch office. The employees here are as dependent of the technology in their everyday work as the employees in a traditional bank branch, and even more so. Women and men are using the same technology; no patterns can be discerned about the women's way of using the technology from the men's way of using it. Some employees think that the computers are not fast enough, but they hope it

will be better as soon as the new hard disc arrives. Almost all employees at the bank are satisfied with the technology except for the group – Blanco-Loan¹¹. They are, as mentioned before, dissatisfied with the technology in this particular group.

In this group we're working in more than one system and our systems aren't compatible with the rest of the bank system, which means that we're pretty isolated in this group. (The Swedish Telephone Bank, Blanco-Loan Advisor, woman)

A couple of people says during the interview that they cannot understand that people for example wanting a loan for a house via telephone, as this often is a one in a lifetime affair. Some other employees say that they cannot understand that the Telephone Bank has to be open 24 hours and that the customers must do their business in the middle of the night, whereas others think that the opening hours are one of the bank's strengths.

All bank transactions handled by an employee throughout a day are put into the computer. This means that almost all the employees at the end of the day can compile the work and also see how much money he or she has generated during the day. This also means that the coaches and also their colleagues have access to all information of the effectiveness and selling capacity of every employee. One of the groups – the Savings Services Advisors – has a weekly meeting, where the group results are presented and questions concerning the group are discussed. Some of the employees, mostly men, think this is excellent, as the system all the time shows which employee is the 'best', that is the employee who generates most money.

If there's someone who has fifty times better result than someone else in generating money, it motivates a higher salary. In an individual salary setting some people earn more and should earn more and others less. (Swedish Telephone Bank, Savings Services Advisor)

Other employees, mostly the women, think the system causes stress and competitiveness, a circumstance that may result in bad working environment and bad solidarity between the employees at the bank.

I think it's strenuous; I'm usually placed in the middle. It's like a questioning every week. I think one should count a lot more about service and social competence, but it's only the money that counts. I think at the same time that others only think on short-term business, like this week – I need to sell that, or we need to sell this product this week. (Swedish Telephone Bank, Savings Services Advisor)

The technology development is internal and the decisions are taken in the Telephone Bank. A special group is responsible for the technological development

MANAGEMENT OF LABOUR FORCE IN THE WORKPLACE STUDIED

Where do women and men work in the workplace under study? In which functions and at which levels?

¹¹ A group who handles smaller loans without almost any security at all.

**Does the Company use "flexible" labour? In what areas?
How is recruitment managed for the jobs we are studying?
What strategies does the company have for supporting training and learning and how does it implement these?
Are personal development plans developed for all employees?
Are personal training plans developed and are they linked to personal development plans?
Do the employees we are studying undergo formalised training programmes?
Is there introduction training for these employees?
What does it consist of?
Is technology related training offered to these employees?
Is this linked to the implementation of new systems?
Is any training offered linked to external qualifications?
On what basis can employees take up external training?**

Men and women work, as mentioned above, in same areas/groups in the Telephone Bank with the same kind of duties. The men, interviewed in the Savings Service Advisor group, think that all employees in the group are doing the same kind of work. The women in the group think differently. A couple of the Savings Services Advisors, women, says that they are performing some work that the men in the group do not do. The women are doing this work in a silent communicative way. One silent communicative task concerns internal questions for information on different aspects sent to the group via mail from employees of other groups. The questions are delivered to the group and are then supposed to be divided between all Savings Services Advisors, a task that the men neglect. The women think this is a result of that the men are more focused on a future career. A woman says in an interview:

Men take things to themselves in another way; they are like that from childhood. Life is a competition for men and that's how it is. It's not the same for us [women] I mean I talk in general now, I generalise, but I mean that women need to learn to get what they want and tell people I can do that. I'm good at that. (...) So of course it's a big different between the sex. (Swedish Telephone Bank, Savings Services Advisor)

The women say that the men focus on earning money and showing the coach and the manager that they are the best advisors. For that reason the men neglect to do some of the group tasks – that is those not generating money. What they do, they do for their future careers.

The Customer Guidance needs quite a lot of support from our group, it's some questions that they can't answer (...) but that isn't or it's not seen as important as generating money, because it takes time from other tasks, customers take time. (Swedish Telephone Bank, Savings Services)

The Telephone Bank does not use flexible labour but calls in temporary workers, mostly students wanting some work during their free time. It has happened that students through their temporary work have gained entrance to a permanent job. During the last years of economic upswing there has been difficulties in finding staff for vacancies. Employees are searched both in traditional job advertisements

and on the Bank's homepage. In the past years they sometimes have had to use companies like Manpower to fill the vacancies.

There are two different ways to receive an employment. The young people, both the men and the women, who had their first job in the Telephone Bank, had all started to work as Customer Advisor. This is a common entrance to the bank. From that position they attended different courses and could then rise to a job with higher demands. The older people had often worked a long time coming up the hard way. Some of them had been working with similar tasks in traditional branches. Another way of entrance to the bank was through the recruitment companies. In the issues above we could not see any difference between the men and the women.

The interviewees pronounced different opinions about what kind of knowledge was most important for doing the job. Some think it is very vital to have a university degree while others think that the degree is not particularly essential and mention instead the social competence, stressing that it is harder to learn the social competence than the work itself.

I mean that one could have a lot of degrees and have been studying many years, but they can't talk with the customers. We must be good at that. Look at me for example I've been working in the concern for many years now and I know the bank. You can't learn the bank at the university. (Swedish Telephone Bank, Financial Services Advisor; Blanco-Loan, a woman)

The last group also mentioned that another source for knowledge is what they learn from more experienced colleagues.

All employees get an introductory training, which means that they work and learn from an experienced person. During the first year they also receive a base education, which includes for example a PC driving licence and basic bank knowledge. A matter of greatest importance and a valuable advantage in their work, the employees mention, is their possibility to obtain different kinds of education during the working hours. They express that they always can move on to a different assignment thanks to all the education available. At every level in the bank there is further education like product training or sales technique. The company is now projecting courses in e-mail writing and voice training. In this matter there is no visible pattern between the women and the men.

The informants said that the Telephone Bank expects them to regularly attend further training and they have to go through different steps in courses. The Savings Services Advisors are all studying to become Private Customer Advisors, which is a condition set by the company at the employment.

WORK CONTENT

The work place is shaped as a huge open-plan office in three floors, where the various groups can be found in different areas. The employees mostly stay in their own division during the day as they have most in common with the nearby colleagues. They have however free access to all the premises. The informants point out the importance of having their own working place as they also had – with a desk, a telephone and a computer. Some of them related to a situation when they as newcomers in the bank, with a temporary employment, had to move around and sit in different places. In the centre of the bottom floor is the lunchroom. It has no walls and many of the employees complain about the unpleasant smell of cooking reaching their working places. The attitude among the informants towards the working environment varies. Some of them think it very stimulating to work in an open plane landscape and almost everyone believes that the interaction between the colleagues is of great value. Some however feel that the office landscape is the cause of a noisy and disturbing environment and would prefer a more a quiet working place.

The employees' desks stand together in a group; some of the places are empty. On each desk there is a computer and a telephone. On the walls there are two whiteboards – one with the group schedule and one with the selling results of today. A woman talks with a customer on the phone and another woman is checking if she has got any new e-mail. A man is looking at the bank Intranet to find a piece of advice to a customer. Suddenly a febrile activity is taking place. The woman who was on the phone has to buy some stocks for her customer and the computer system doesn't work. She talks fast in the phone and at the same time she tries to get access to the back-up system. (Swedish Telephone Bank, Observation notes from the Savings Services Advisor Group)

Is also possible to have more private meetings in the landscape since there are conference rooms and smaller rooms, where the employees can, when necessary, also make their private phone calls. The Telephone Bank is as mentioned, open all hours every day of the year. The regular working time is 40 hours per week.

Most of the employees said that they enjoyed their work. They described their work in terms of stimulating, challenging and developing. But many also said that their work sometimes were stressful and gave them a feeling of not having enough time to do their tasks. All of the informants talked about the reorganisations, which had affected them in different ways. Some of them saw the reorganisations as something good, as a new beginning, while others saw them as tough 'you have to change everything'. At the time for this study the employees were just about to change their working schedule. Some of them had until now worked primarily during daytime but now they all had to start working both days and evenings. This change in the working schedule was something the informants talked about and had different opinions about. Those who saw negatively on the change said that the work would intrude on their private life. In this matter there is no visible difference between the women and the men who are employed at the Telephone Bank.

What are the key tasks being carried out by the employees we are studying?
How does their work fit into the work of the organisation as a whole?
What are the main skill and personal qualities needed to do this work?
Does the work involve continuous use of technologies?
Does the work involve communication with colleagues or customers?
Does the work involve "emotional labour"?
Is this work intense or pressurised?
Can the worker take her/his own decision about how to work or does a system or management dictate this?
Does the worker need to move around the workplace in the course of working; is she/he fixed to one place?
Is the worker closely supervised or monitored?

The key tasks carried out by the employees are private- and company counselling, blanco-loans, estate-loans, alliances and other kinds of bank errands.

The main skills and personal qualities, essential to do the work at the bank, is knowledge about the different kinds of service the bank offer and about the customers. Moreover social competence and other qualities that have to do with emotional labour are necessary. Employees who have been working in the Telephone Bank for many years have often started their careers as cashiers at traditional offices or with the customer guidance at the Telephone Bank.

The employees at the Telephone Bank continuously use technology as computers, telephone, Internet and facsimile. The techniques are the tools for communicating with the customers, and are thus very important for the main tasks of selling different kinds of services and products. Communication takes place both by talking with the customers on the telephone and by communicating with the customer via Internet. (As mentioned before the Telephone Bank is giving courses in talking to the customers on telephone and in writing e-mails to the banks' customers.) But also communication with colleagues is a common part of the daily work, especially when problems arise and advice is needed. The employees derive advantages from each other since they have different specialities.

The work is more intense for some of the groups. For example the results of the Savings Services Advisor Group are registered in the computer and for the Customer Advisor Groups the total time on the telephone counts in minutes. During the intense part of the day the employees have only few possibilities to get a moment undisturbed. The employees are not only supervised by the technology but also by their work mates. When working in the landscape, which the employees always do, they have their colleagues and coaches watching them all day. On the question if the result-registered computers and the supervision from their work mates and coaches made them feel uncomfortable, the female employees answered that the result-registered computers were too much. The male employees, on the other hand, saw the result-registered computers as a way to the future, as the coach every moment could see how successful they were. Each

group had a budget/goal on how much they needed to sell weekly, monthly and yearly.

The employees in the Savings Services Advisor Group are closely supervised since his/her transactions are put into the computer. The coaches for this group also have weekly meetings where the sales statistics for the week for every single Savings Services Advisor is presented. The coach, group director and the Savings Services Advisor Group know exactly what every advisor in his/her branch sells each week, as all transactions are registered.

Every week we have a weekly meeting, on Fridays, where our results of what we have done during the week are presented. And if we haven't reached the goals maybe we need to discuss what we can do to reach them. We have a notice board where we're supposed to write how much we have made in brokerage and how much we generate in stocks, insurance. So the updates are pretty often but it's up to everyone to update their figures. The highest boss demands us to do write the figures on the board (...) I don't think ... I never write my figures so my co-workers do that for me. (Swedish Telephone Bank, Savings Services Advisor, a woman)

The supervision varies between the groups and the hierarchical levels. Those on the higher hierarchical levels and those in the groups working with loans are not so thoroughly supervised because the bank thinks it would be wrong to count the result on how large loans an employee has granted the customers.

The Telephone Bank or a traditional bank office?

Some informants had long experience of working in a traditional bank office but for most of them it was their first employment. They enjoyed working in the Telephone Bank and some of them mention phrases like, 'the Telephone Bank is the future'. During the time for our interviews it became commonly known that the bank was about to close down all traditional bank branches and this affected the conversations in the interviews. The employees often considered themselves to have better competence than the people working in the branches.

We have wealthier customers, higher competence and more demanding customers and work longer hours. On a regular office the competence is not really on the same level, unfortunately.

The employees at the Telephone Bank saw themselves as the future and the others as working in something old. None of the interviewed saw the possibility to work in a traditional bank office as a goal or as a next step in their future carrier ladder. Both the men and the women wanted advancement. The men are working harder on it, as they think it is more important than the women do. The reason for that may be – as of the one woman put it – that they [the women] want a private life and that the work is not everything. In other words – the work meant a lot to the women but not everything. Both the women and men had difficulties in thinking about moving to another company.

The Telephone Bank

Lately the employees had noticed a changing attitude towards the Telephone Bank from other employees in the concern. Now, after a reorganisation, the Telephone Bank had become a more integrated part of the Banking Group, before it had been a separate division. Some of the employees also mentioned that the traditional bank branches before the reorganisation had regarded the Telephone Bank as a competitor to them.

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The SERVEMPLOI Research Team

Denmark

Louise Thomasen and Jonas Svava Iversen
Centre for Competence and IT, Danish Technological Institut

Germany

Heike Jacobsen and Elizabeth de Renzy
Landesinstitut Sozialforschungsstelle Dortmund

Italy

Barbara Poggio and Silvia Gherardi
Associazione Ricerche sulle Organizzazione Complesse, AROC, Trento

Ireland

Gráinne Collins and James Wickham
Employment Research Centre, Trinity College, Dublin
Project Co-ordinator

Spain

Ester Fernandez and Isabel Vidal
Centro de Initiatives de la Economy Social, CIEs, Barcelona

Sweden

Elisabeth Sundin and Gunilla Rapp
National Institute for Working Life, Norrköping

UK

Juliet Webster
Employment Research Centre, Trinity College, Dublin
Project Co-ordinator

France



Case Studies:**The Swedish Companies and Informants**

Organisation	Sector	Informant's Name	Informant's Position
SWEDISH BANK 1	Financial Services	<i>Management Group</i>	
		Hans	Head of Paying <i>and</i> Manager of one branch
		Sam	Head of Relation (Internal & External Communication), also Personnel Development (education, training) <i>and</i> Manager of the city branch
		Lisa	Head of Savings (Funds, Shares, Endowment, Assurances) <i>and</i> Manager of two branches outside city
		Karl	General Manager, Credit Controller <i>and</i> Demands
		Anna	Women & Economy <i>and</i> Manager of two branches in the suburbs
		Stig	Union representative
		Sara	Private Counsellor
		Eva	Private Counsellor
		Birgit	Private Counsellor
		Magnus	Private Counsellor
		Elsa	Private Counsellor
		Josefin	Private Counsellor
		Disa	Private Counsellor
SWEDISH TELEPHONE BANK	Financial Services	Karin Johansson	Savings Services Advisor
		Sara Svensson	Savings Services Advisor
		Hans Strand	Savings Services Advisor, Union representative
		Robert Nilsson	Savings Services Advisor, Coach
		Mats Holm	Savings Services Advisor
		Kenneth Ström	Savings Services Advisor
		Malin Karlsson	Savings Services Advisor
		Klara Bratt	Savings Services Advisor
		Bertil Karlsson	Financial Services Advisor, Estate- loan, Group Director
		Barbro Andersson	Financial Services Advisor
		Tage Andersson	Financial Services Advisor, Coach
		Nils Sköld	Financial Services Advisor
		Per Lund	Financial Services Advisor
		Sofia Lundgren	Financial Services Advisor
		Lisa Persson	Financial Services Advisor
		Sonja Berg	Financial Services Advisor, Blanco-loan, Group Director
		Charlotte Ström	Financial Services Advisor, Blanco-loan
		Ann Skog	Financial Services Advisor, Blanco-loan
		Lena Aronsson	Financial Services Advisor, Blanco-loan
		Göran Sundström	Financial Services Advisor, Blanco-loan, Coach
Alexandra Elg	Personnel manager		
Viktoria Adolfsson	Educational manager		

Continued...

Continued

Organisation	Sector	Informant's Name	Informant's Position
SWEDISH CLOTHING RETAILER	Retail	Mona Berg	Shop Manager, Nyköping
		Inga Holm	Responsibility Group, Nyköping
		Lisa Nilsson	Responsibility Group, Nyköping
		Marie Backman	Shop Assistant, Men's dep., Nyköping
		Maria Hansson	Shop Manager, Linköping
		Johanna Person	Responsibility Group, Men's Dep., Decorator
		Elin Asp	Shop Assistant, Cashier, Linköping
		Ragna Kvist	Shop Assistant, Children's dep., Linköping
		Cecilia Holm	Shop Manager, Mantorp
		Louise Urlin	Responsibility Group, Mantorp
		Anna Ohlsson	Responsibility Group, Mantorp
		Sonja Karlsson	Responsibility Group, Union repr., Mantorp
		Marie Wester	Shop Assistant, Mantorp
SWEDISH SUPERMARKET	Retail	Göran Nilsson	Manager
		Mia Eriksson	Administration Manager
		Hans Asplund	Chain Project Manager for Shop & Go
		Stina Larsson	Store Project Manager for Shop & Go
		Greta	Cashier Manager
		Lars	Floor Manager Shop & Go, Customer Service
		Peter	Cashier Manager Customer Service
		Ebba	Shop&Go, Customer Service
		Karin	Shop&Go, Customer Service
		Ylva	Shop&Go, Customer Service
		Helen	Shop&Go, Customer Service
		Mona	Shop&Go, Customer Service
		Gun	Shop&Go, Customer Service
		Siv	Shop & Go
		Lennart	Building & Garden Dep.
		Daniel	Chemico-technical Dep.
		Anette	Coffee-room, The store right hand
Yvonne	Cloths & Shoe Department		
Inger	Customer Service		
Lotta	Colonial Department		

Case Studies:

Interview Schedules

INTERVIEWS with Senior or General Managers

This interview deals with the enterprise as a whole, with its general activities and market position, and with the nature of the labour force within it. It is intended to provide contextual material for information gathered in other interviews, which focus on specific aspects of the firm's management in relation to a particular workplace or workplaces under investigation.

The enterprise in the market

What is the firm's competitive position in its market?
What are its current strengths and weaknesses?
Where was the firm in terms of key products and markets five years ago?
What have been the main changes since then in terms of products and market shares?
What will be the main threats and the main opportunities over the next five years?
Where will the firm be in five years time in terms of product and market share?

Core Activities

How are the firm's core activities carried out? (General description of main processes is being sought here.)
Are the firm's core activities done entirely in-house, or are they partly or completely out-sourced?
Where are the main activities located?
Are they geographically dispersed?
Are they organisationally separated (e.g. cheque processing in a back office and customer queries in a call centre)?
Have there been any recent major changes in the way all of this is done?

The Role of Technology

What is the role of technologies in the firm's performance of its core activities?
Is the firm technologically advanced in comparison to its competitors?
Does its development of application of technology give it any particular competitive advantage?

The Role of the Labour Force

What contribution does the labour force make to the performance of the firm's core activities?
How does the labour force add value to the firm's products or services?
Does the labour force have any particular strengths and weaknesses relative to competitors?

What is the role of the case study workplace within the firm as a whole?

INTERVIEWS with Personnel Managers

The work force and employment arrangements

What is the ratio of full-time to part-time staff in the company? Could I have supporting data, historical if possible?

What is the ratio of permanent to temporary staff? Could I have supporting data, historical if possible?

What is the gender balance of these arrangements?

Who determines the hours that part-timers work?

What areas of the firms do part-time employees work in? Are these different from where other employees work?

What type of jobs are part-timers employed in?

Are contracts for atypical staff the same or different than those of standard employees?

Can people move between full-time and part-time work, and do they do so?

Internal and external labour market

Are staff usually recruited directly from outside the firm or solely from inside via internal promotion?

What job grades exist for the staff we are studying? Can I see documentary material?

How is pay graded for the jobs we are studying? Can I see documentary material?

Can employees progress from one grade to another and if so, how?

Can employees move between different parts of the organisation, and if so, how?

Are there jobs, which women might do but which are effectively reserved for men?

Or vice versa?

When staff are recruited from the outside labour market to fill the positions we are studying, what qualifications and experience are required?

How loose or tight is the labour market for these employees at the moment?

What is the labour turnover rate for the jobs we are studying? How long do most people stay in these jobs?

When staff leave, do you conduct exit interviews of any kind? What information do you collect?

What sort of jobs do people in the jobs we are studying generally leave to take up?

To your knowledge, to what extent do they stay in the financial services/retail sector?

What skills and experience have employees in the jobs we are studying acquired in the course of working for this company?

Does the company see the jobs we are examining as 'starter jobs', which young people take as their first work experience in the labour market?

Training and learning

What strategies does the company have for supporting training and learning and how does it implement these?

How does it implement them in relation to the employees we are studying?

Are personal development plans developed for all employees?

Are personal training plans developed and are they linked to personal development plans?

Do the employees we are studying undergo formalised training programmes?

Could I see some of your training materials?

Is there induction training for these employees? What does it consist of?

Is continuous training offered to these employees? What does it consist of?

Is technology-related training offered to these employees? Is this linked to the implementation of new systems?

Is external training available to employees in general?
Is any training offered linked to external qualifications?
On what basis can employees take up external training?
Do you keep statistics on access to and acceptance of training for male and female employees in general?
Do you keep statistics on rates of access to and acceptance of training by standard and non-standard employees? Could I see these?
Does the company pursue any training and learning strategies, which go beyond those, required for basic accreditation?

Work content

What are the key tasks being carried out by the employees we are studying?
What does the company views as the main skills and qualities needed to do this work?
What is the place of technologies of any kind in the core activities of the employees we are studying?
What is the added value that the company seeks from these employees?

Industrial relations

Is the company unionised?
If only partially, is the workplace we are studying unionised?
Is other employee representation available?
Do you share information on representation of different categories of employees with the union(s)?
What are the main patterns you have noticed?
What are the main issues that are taken up with you and other members of management through workplace representation?

Equal Opportunities or Equality Plans

Is there a formal company policy on equal opportunities or an equality plan for women and men?
What does this policy or plan consist of? Can I see a copy of it?
Is it made clear to all employees on a regular basis?
How is this policy or plan implemented?
Has the company's approach to equal opportunities altered in the past five years and if so how?
Do you monitor or evaluate the impact of your equal opportunities policies and initiatives, and if so, how?
Are the results of these evaluations made available to employees in the company?
What are the main lessons you have recently learnt from your evaluation of equal opportunities policies, plans and activities?
What do you see as the key issues for equal opportunities in the coming period?

Some hypothetical questions

What, if anything, would have to change in the organisation and its practices for women to do "men's jobs" and vice versa?
What, if anything, would women have to learn in order to do men's jobs?
How, if it all, would they have to reorganise their personal lives?
What, if anything, would men have to learn in order to do "women's jobs"?

INTERVIEWS with Technical Managers

This interview deals predominantly with the management of innovation in the enterprise and its implications for the organisation of work in the workplace or workplaces under investigation.

The management of innovation

What is the principal form of technological system or systems used by the company as a whole?
Does the company normally make or buy its computer systems, particularly software and networks?

Does it normally customise standard systems?

What kind of resources do you devote to customising or designing your own systems and what kind of investment does this represent?

In the company as a whole, is information technology treated as a strategic issue?

Who takes decisions to develop or acquire new systems?

What are the most influential factors determining the purchase or implementation of new systems?

Who exerts influence over the design of new systems?

Does the company involve end users in systems design, and if so, how and at what points in the design process?

The use of information technology for management decision-making

Do any branches of company management use information technology for taking real-time decisions?

Or is it rather used for reporting and predicting?

Are personnel records fully computerised?

Is staff scheduling done by computer?

In financial management, is budgeting and targeting done in real time and if so, at what level of management?

To what extent does internal communication in the organisation as a whole rely on information or communications technologies or is it principally done via paper, or even face-to-face?

Is there a company intranet and how is it used for internal communication? What is the use of e-mail

in the workplace under study?

The use of technology in the workplace under study

Within the last five years, what types of technical innovation (particularly information and communication technologies) have been implemented in the workplace under study?

Did this involve any changes in work organisation?

How has the nature of work changed, in general terms over the past five years?

What (if any) training was provided to the employees in the workplace when new technological systems were introduced?

Is the individual employee is working with electronically stored and transmitted information or is s/he processing paper or physically handling stock?

How would you personally describe what most employees do in the workplace under study?

What sort of skills and personal qualities are needed to do the work?

Is information technology in this workplace a series of discrete and separate computer systems?

Is it an integrated system spanning the entire workplace or even the enterprise?

Have information and communication technologies been used to situate the workplace at a location,

which is independent of the rest of the organisation or the customer base?

INTERVIEWS with Trade Union Organisers

This interview deals predominantly with the employment arrangements of the firm, and with those of the group of employees upon whom this project focuses.

The work force and employment arrangements

Is the workforce of this company part-time or full time, or a mixture (if so, what ratio)?

Is it temporary or permanent, or a mixture (ratio)?

What is the gender balance of these arrangements?

Who determines the hours that part-timers work?

Are they compatible with or designed to facilitate staff's domestic or other obligations?

Do part-time, temporary and other 'atypical' employees work in different areas of the firm and/or workplace from full-time employees?

Do they do different jobs?

Do they have different employment conditions?

Do they have different access to training?

Do they have different patterns of unionisation to your knowledge?

Can people move from part-time to full-time work, and vice versa?

Do they do so?

Can people move from temporary to permanent work, and vice versa, and do they do so?

Internal and external labour market

To what extent are people in the workplace we are examining recruited directly from outside or solely from inside via internal promotion?

What job hierarchies exist and how can employees move within and between them?

What jobs within the organisation as a whole are open to people in the starting grades?

Do you know what employees' aspirations are when they join the firm?

Are there jobs, which women might do but which are effectively reserved for men?

When people are recruited from the outside labour market, what qualifications and experience are required?

How long do most people stay in this employment?

What sort of jobs do people move on to (in particular, do they stay in this sector)?

What skills and experience do employees have when they leave which make them more marketable on the external labour market?

To what extent is the job of the employees we are looking at a 'starter job', i.e. a job which young people take as their first work experience in the labour market.

Work content

How would you describe the main tasks done by employees in the workplace we are studying?

What skills and qualities are needed to do this work?

How important are character and personality as compared to technical skills in doing this work?

Pay

What is the pay system and does it vary for different grades?

Are there bonuses of any kind?

Industrial relations

Is the workplace unionised?

Is there any workplace representation (such as works council)?

Do you know what the different levels of involvement – if any – are of the different employee groups in workplace representation?

What are the main issues that you take up with management through workplace representation?

In what ways does the union and/or other forms of representation advance the interests of female employees specifically?

Equal opportunities/diversity management

Is there a formal management policy on equal opportunities or diversity management?

What initiatives, if any, have been taken on equal opportunities in the past five years?

Do you monitor or evaluate the impact of your equal opportunities policies and initiatives, and if so, how?

Is there a union policy on equal opportunities?

Training

What training programmes exist for different jobs in the workplace under study?

Are systematic and formalised training programmes pursued for the employees studied?

Is there induction training and what does it consist of?

If there have been any recent technological and/or organisational changes, have specifically-related training programmes been offered to employees in the workplace under study?

Is any non-technical training (e.g. personal development) available?

Is external training available to employees and if so, on what basis can they take it up?

Do you know what the gender patterns of training take-up are?

Similarly, do you know how training take-up is distributed among employees in different types of working arrangement (such as full- and part-time employment)?

Some hypothetical questions

What, if anything, would have to change in the organisation and its practices for women to do “men’s jobs” and vice versa?

What, if anything, would women have to learn in order to do men’s jobs?

How, if it all, would they have to reorganise their personal lives?

What, if anything, would men have to learn in order to do “women’s jobs”?

ENCLOSURES

1 THE SERVEMPLOI RESEARCH TEAM

2 CASE STUDIES: THE SWEDISH COMPANIES AND INFORMANTS

3 Case Studies: Interview Schedules