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Conservative or liberal? Patterns of professional and family roles of female specialists: A study of professional biographies in the Human Resources Management sector

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Abstract

The Human Resources Management industry is feminised and gives women the opportunity to achieve high managerial and expert positions. Female specialists in this field, who are strongly involved in their professional duties, are subject to twofold pressure. On the one hand, they are expected to adjust their working style and time management to the needs of the world of business, governed by the rules of liberalism. On the other hand, they are confronted with traditional expectations concerning family roles.

The aim of this article is to present the strategies of combining professional and domestic roles and the ways of coping with the organisation of time and space in a complex life situation by women for whom professional work is an important element of identity and who have a sense of high value of their work. Selected aspects of women's work are presented on the example of professional biographies obtained from narrative interviews with female informants working in the HR industry.

The results of the study indicate three strategies of combining professional and family roles, which can be set on a scale from the most liberal to a mix of traditional and liberal models.

Keywords:

[human resources management](#), [women](#), [conflict of roles](#), [professional biography](#).

Introduction

The aim of this article is to juxtapose conservative and liberal visions of the role of women and to show the line between them in everyday life. Assuming that family relationships reconstruct ideas dominating political life, such as democracy, liberalism and individualism, and that social expectations of women to fulfil their roles in the traditional way are still strong, we are dealing with some kind of dualism. The question addressed here is how women working in specialist positions deal with this dualism, or, in other words, how women who have a high appreciation of their own professional value and a sense of independence cope with the two types of conflicting social expectations that they face in the professional and private spheres.

Conservatism versus liberalism

The liberal vision of women's role is connected with the individualistic concept of a human person, which assumes that people are born in a state of freedom in all aspects. Liberalism emerged in the Age of Enlightenment, initially, was a political doctrine, appealing to a democracy, based on the idea of equality and freedom. It developed in parallel with the formation of a secular state and the call for religious tolerance. With its development, it covered embraced economic and social issues. The diversity and multiplicity of forms of liberalism, its heterogeneous nature, does not exclude the existence of a common ideological space because this current has some shared features. According to its principles, the individual that represents the highest value for the formation of social order is at the centre, and the development of its potential is possible if its freedom is provided. In accordance with these principles, the protection of the rights and freedoms of the individual should be sought against the actions of other individuals,

as well as against the tyranny of the State. (Pęciak, 2016) Liberalism presupposes the pursuit of equal rights in all dimensions of social life. According to the famous thesis of the liberal classic John Stuart Mill, everyone is free: "In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign" (Mill, 1989 p. 13). Liberal principles do not allow the possibility of justifying the loss of anyone's freedom in the name of the good of others. All human beings have the same natural duties that bind them as equal moral persons (Rawls, 1971). Man is part of nature, but has the ability to choose his own goals. His independence is related to his ability to change his own character, his ability to control temptations and habits. Autonomous freedom of choice is a central element of the principle of freedom in classical liberalism (Aksiuto, 2020). Liberals also recognise the importance of social and political institutions, which should strengthen individual freedom as a right to act (Green, 2003). Although the works of the founding fathers of liberalism make hardly any references to equality between women and men, and one of the leading representatives of liberal ideas, John Locke, was recognising the "natural" dependence of women on men (Bratek, 2007), their thought gave rise to gender equality on the grounds of liberal feminism (Wojciechowska, 2005). The feminism of the liberal trend derives from the ideology of liberalism. It is understood as a socio-political worldview and aims at enabling equal competition between men and women in public life. The philosophical basis of liberal feminism is the concept of individualism, the human individual is important in itself, all individuals are equally valuable from a moral point of view. Everyone, regardless of sex, colour, race, principle or religion, has the right to equal treatment and equal participation and access to public life. The main claim

of liberal feminists is that the unequal situation of women results from the division into female and male roles. The culturally defined role of a woman is linked to the private sphere therefore the family, raising children, taking care of the household. The role of men is connected to the public sphere, which indicates gainful employment, decision making, governing or participating in public life. Women do not have the opportunity to compete equally with men in the public sphere. Thus they do not have equal chance to realise their personal ambitions outside the home, to perform power, because they are subject to different evaluation criteria than men. Men are judged on the basis of skills and merit, and women are judged on the basis of meeting external expectations and fulfilling the tasks assigned to her role (Helios & Jedlecka, 2018). Thus, the liberal construction of women's role puts them on an equal footing with men, both in the professional and private domain.

On the other hand, conservatism, defined as opposition to those social phenomena that threaten the social order, endeavours to perpetuate constructs that ensure the unchangeable nature of certain structures (Melonowska, 2018). It is a social philosophy as well as a political direction defending established values and traditional social order. Formulated by Edmund Burk, was developed mainly as an ideology opposed to liberalism and socialism. Burke defined the idea vaguely, focusing concepts in opposition to it (Kwiecińska, 2016). In his view, society is a system and individuals should fulfil the specific roles to which they have been assigned. Obeying this rules does not allow changes that violate the social order and threaten the permanent elements of reality, may create chaos and destruction of civilization (Turoń-Kowalska, 2017). In his philosophy there is a traditional order of power "In every society consisting of citizens of different categories one of them must have

an advantage. Therefore, those who equalize change and reverse the natural order of things, disturb the social balance of the construction" (Burke, 1994 p. 66). Views described as conservative are highly varied depending on the historical and cultural context. However, the core of conservative beliefs can be distinguished, namely resistance to change and acceptance of inequality (Piątkowski, 2018). Conservatives did not believe in natural human rights. In their view, social structures and institutions guarantee freedom and the safeguarding of rights, and the established order ensures security. True freedom is not an individualistic, egocentric freedom, but a social freedom, limited in the name of observance of God's eternal law (Rydz, 2005). A conservative vision of women's role perpetuates the traditional order, thus subordinating them to males and assigning them functions related to motherhood, care and upbringing. Femininity in conservative ideology has different faces, one of the more progressive visions is the new feminism proposed by Pope John Paul II. It is characterized by its approach to gender difference. The basis is the rigid division of human nature into two categories this of female and male. It assigns women and men specific roles, and motherhood is considered to be the most important vocation of a woman and a sense of femininity. Critics point out that such a simple division does not take into account the fact that there are homosexual people who do not fall within this standard (Maliszewska, 2020).

A conservative or liberal approach determines the attitude to the work of women. Raewyn Connell observes a culturally established division between the types of tasks performed by men and women, which is considered to be the law of nature. Disparities in the division of duties, occupations and social positions result from taking gender for granted (Connell, 2009). In the traditional model, professional work is a constitutive

element of masculinity, while the expectations concerning the roles of women are different: although employment is allowed, it is only an addition or an optional complement to the principal role. In social opinion, a man without a job deserves more compassion than a woman who does her housework (Reszke, 1991). In the liberal model, women, like men, base their identities on professional work.

Characteristics of the HR industry in Poland

The HR industry in Poland is strongly feminised. The social causes of the occupational segregation mentioned above are primarily attributed to stereotypes concerning the suitability of women and men for different occupations. Women usually perform work that is related to the traditional role model. The principal areas in which they are employed – education, services, light manufacturing, social work, health care and administration – correspond to the activities carried out by women in the home. The employment of women is the key element in the case of many production plants where work involves performing simple activities which require manual precision. This mainly stems from the belief that a woman is more resistant to routine and fatigue. The activities in this type of production correspond to those performed by women at home, like sewing and repairing clothes and all kinds of small but tedious work. Likewise, work in social care and health service corresponds to care of elderly and sick family members, and office and administrative work – to household budget management. Women's work in education or services (e.g. catering), in turn, results from the traditional role model involving the obligation to look after children (Siemieńska, 1990).

As work with and for people, HR is connected with social and communication skills, which are stereotypically attributed to women. Work

related to payroll and human resources administration, which is part of HR, involves handling repetitive documentation and routine tasks that require meticulous attention to detail, which is also attributed to women. In this way, the existing mechanisms of occupational segregation have influenced the feminisation of this industry.

However, it is the second industry in Poland, after finance, in which quite a large number of women hold high managerial positions: in 2017, 25% of HR departments had female managers (Raport z badań Women in Business, 2017). Although the current reality in most industries is that high positions are more often occupied by men, the situation in Poland is better than in many European countries: according to Eurostat, women hold 41% of such posts (with the EU average at 33%) ("The life of women and men in Europe: A statistical portrait," 2018). As a general rule, however, the higher the position, the fewer women are appointed, even in feminised areas: women make up only 10% of top-level management in Poland (*Women in Work Index 2020 – PwC UK*, 2020). HR is a unique working environment in which women face fewer status limitations compared to other industries or professional environments, because they also have large representation among managers. The better situation of women in this sector is also due to the fact that the education and competences required in this area are attributed to women. Professionals and heads of HR departments are educated in the humanities, they come from fields where women dominate.

Methodology of the study

The main research question asked here is: how do women who enter into the roles that are, by definition, constructed on the basis of the liberal model fulfil these roles in their everyday practice? In order to find an answer, I searched for empirical indicators of traditional or,

conversely, liberal models in the biographies of working women. Considering that women with a well-established professional position have a sense of financial and psychological independence, and that their identity is determined to a significant extent by their professional work, it was assumed that they present liberal constructions of roles, at least in terms of those professional. On the basis of this assumption, the study included women working in positions that require professional knowledge and extensive competencies. As decided, those interviewed were specialists in Human Resources Management dealing with complex issues in this field at different levels of the organisation.

The study relied on the use of the biographical method, which makes it possible to search for certain patterns in relation to individual representatives of particular groups. Although this method does not enable the researcher to provide a statistical assessment of the frequency of occurrence of a particular phenomenon, it makes it possible to conduct an in-depth analysis of this phenomenon and determine its properties (Rokuszewska-Pawełek, 2002).

The biographical method is a qualitative method that reveals the meaning of human experience (Helling, 1988). All spheres of social life – such as family life, professional life, education, health care, consumption and management – meet in the biography of an individual and determine his or her place and position. Any systemic contradictions are part of experience of the individual. The area in which an individual is required to make choices in terms of his or her own biography is increasing. The life cycle assumes a reflective experience of one's own biography and defining one's identity by making constant choices of lifestyles at the level of personal and institutionalised life (Giddens, 1991).

As part of the study, narrative interviews were conducted, which are a special kind

of free interview where one is asked to tell one's own story or experiences connected with certain events, including professional biography. The aim of the study is to obtain a spontaneous statement of the narrator, not interrupted by the interference of the researcher. Obtaining high quality material involves entering the private and even intimate sphere of the narrator's life. The researcher is interested not only in the facts told, but also, or even above all, in the emotions of the narrator (Konecki, 2000). Narrative interview is both a method and a technique (Kaźmierska, 2004).

Presentation of study results

I present the results of the analysis of interviews on the professional biography of women in the Human Resources Management industry in large Polish cities. The study involved seven women who had been working in various positions (also as freelancers) in this field for ten to twenty years, including managerial positions in large, often global, organisations. The study is part of exploration carried out within the framework of a larger project on careers in HR industry.

All interviewed women presented a liberal vision of their place on the labour market. They displayed their strong professional motivation and focus on achieving career goals, and a high degree of self-reflectiveness as regards their professional position and development, which in each case was of central importance. They perceived their professional role as an obvious component of a set of roles they performed.

Lack of time

always in a hurry 06

Women who are very much involved both in their careers and family life consistently suffer from a lack of time. The narratives evince the informants' conviction that both professional and family spheres require perfectionism, and

that they must fully complete all their tasks before they can engage in any other, implicitly less important activities. As a result, free time, that is time spent outside work and devoted only to themselves, is minimised:

The question is what is free time for women who work somewhere, I mean women who have work to do at home and a job. I actually have to admit that I'm not really [sure]. 06

Strategies of dealing with overlapping responsibilities consist in separating working and non-working time in order to draw a line clearly dividing working and family life, even if this requires changing jobs. Regardless of the form of employment, including self-employment, which allows for greater flexibility in work planning, the interviewed women try not to work at home; there is a need to clearly separate professional and private space. In the interviews it is also apparent that assertiveness is an important skill; it is mentioned as a skill which they do or do not have, but which, according to the narrators, allows for a balance between home and professional life:

And I just try to say, I try to honestly say that I don't have time to do something (...) and [I try to] to make some arrangements about things and to use the support of other people as well (...), and [I try] not to do things the way I used to: 'No, no, no, I'll do everything myself' (...); [I must] convince myself that I don't have to achieve effects so unrealistically fast but just do things in the time that I can really devote to them. 04

I have the impression that it requires a lot of assertiveness, which, I admit, I don't have. It's about such things like, don't know, getting someone to take care of the child, or telling my husband that I'm going out and that's my sacred time. And I know people here who have managed to do it; I haven't. And there's this question, sort of, who's to blame for that – the environment or one's own lack of assertiveness. In spite of everything, if I wanted to... It's as if there's this trap, a feeling I'll go out when everything's done,

because it's just not possible that everything is done. 06

Without a partner

In his *Risk Society*, Beck writes that without the traditional division of roles there would not be traditional nuclear family. As a result of emancipatory transformations, the traditional division of labour and individual choices between production and reproduction collapse. A conflict breaks out between man and woman, and it takes place in the family. The connection between gender and many particular areas of life, including professional and family life, is becoming increasingly weaker. Decisions on occupational mobility and on the division of labour in the household make us aware of the different consequences for both genders and of the contradiction between the position of man and woman (Beck, 1992). The individualisation and change of women's consciousness is reflected in an increase in divorce rates as a consequence of mismatches in roles and mutual expectations.

Some informants were divorced single mothers. Their narratives reveal that the role of their former husbands in organising their home and family was practically negligible. One of them talked about pressure, exceedingly high expectations of the husband and the stress this involved; she treated her divorce as liberation:

(...) why I don't want to be with my husband anymore... It was the time factor and stress. I had to cope with many things and I came to the conclusion that this wasn't the direction that gave me support (...) [I mean] my husband and marriage... I constantly had some sense of guilt; I don't have this kind of feelings when it comes to the children. 05

The burden of combining household duties and childcare with professional activity is a source of frustration, which contributes to conflicts (Suwalska-Barancewicz, 2015).

Women without a partner have to cope on their own. The narrators talked about family support, but also about buying household and care services. Choosing paid services or family help is not related to this in what way is performed the family role but to available options. It depends if there is a member of family who is ready to help. In a sense, strategy of single women of fulfilling the family role comes to resemble a typically male one, a phenomenon related to financial independence and focus on the professional role. However, unlike in the case of men, the implementation of such a strategy is burdened with the feeling that tasks related to the family sphere are, in a sense, neglected:

Both my parents were already retired, so there was no problem. I mean, there was a problem but they were able to help me a lot (...); I had a huge support from my parents (...); if it hadn't been for them I can't even imagine... I mean, well, I didn't even have a chance to have this experience, I don't know what it would have been like... because I also went on business trips quite a lot, maybe not so much here [in the present job] because there are many new technological solutions when it comes to meetings. But at that time I was away a lot and then my mother was there to take care of my daughter; and if she wasn't around, I had to hurry to the kindergarten to be there at six pm, and I was on time; it happened (...) rarely, but it sometimes happened that (...) I picked her up from the kindergarten and I went back to work for about an hour because I had to finish something, very rarely, only a few times a year; she [my daughter] thought it was great, she was delighted, there was always someone around [to play with] and she kept running around with everyone. 07

I tried to do my best so that everyone would be satisfied and none of these spheres would suffer very much. Of course, it isn't entirely possible if you have international obligations; they are the greatest distractor; and of course there

are business trips, and that means you are not there at night; this is something that is difficult [to deal with] at such moments; I mean this kind of physical absence in the place where you live is certainly... It's the most difficult thing in all of this. 10

With a partner

In the families of "two professionals" or "two careers", both spouses play their professional roles on the one hand, and family roles on the other. However, while women's role patterns become modified in relation to traditional patterns, the male ones tend to maintain their traditional shape (Lachowska, 2012). However, if the role of partner assumes a liberal character, it is a partner with whom the rules concerning the level of engagement in the home, work and own development are negotiated. Searching for a balance between family and work by the partners is carried out by adjusting individual strategies for the organisation of family and professional life (Ostrouch-Kamińska, 2011). Still, the narrators have a sense of asymmetrical distribution of household chores:

I think it's more difficult in the sense that I, well, I just felt this limitation, that I had to make sure that there was someone to look after the child; so it was a kind of additional work that I had to do to make sure that there was someone there when I had to go away for the night, and that everything was ready at home. And it's basically still like this today... I look at men in this [situation], because I have different clients, and various friends – when they go on a business trip they just leave. But a woman, and I'm talking about myself too, she not only goes away on business, but she also has to organise everything around, like, I don't know, make sure the child has a packed lunch for school, so there must be something in the fridge; or that someone should pick the child up and take it to extra classes after school; and she [a woman] has to organise it all;

I think that in this respect it's more difficult for a woman, because she puts in more energy or effort into taking care of the family. And then she goes away, and of course I also went away [on business] and I did my best, like every guy who also did his best, but really when you think about what happened before the trip, there were a lot of different things [I did] before I left. 11

of course, some of the driving around [taking children to extra activities] is done by my husband, but I kind of manage it; I don't know if it's only me or is it women in general [laughter]. 11

Retrospectively, the narrators did not return to role conflicts as an important factor influencing career progression; this factor is experienced rather here and now and is indicated as important if such conflicts occur at the moment. The narratives were very focused on professional life; the narrators, when talking about reconciling their roles, presented a defensive and explanatory attitude. The statements contain information on the impact of lifestyle and professional work on the child and his or her well-being. One has the impression that this is due to the need to explain and assure the researcher that this sphere did not remain indifferent to the interviewee:

(...) at the moment life is full of challenges and there is surely a very good logistics, organization, but my child is very independent. I think that children, especially... well I was a single mother raising a child because I divorced quite early, so such children, I think, they very quickly have... I mean they don't have an easy childhood, that's how I would put it, and it's a life with a nanny; [I know that] because my daughter had a minder until she went to high school for this very reason that I never knew when I would have to go away [on business] and for how long and what it would look like... There is also the support from the family of course, grandmothers, aunts, and so on. Well, that's what it is like... but also when I look at it now from the perspective of time, and when I talk to

my daughter, who is already an adult, now it has many advantages. 10

The support of the spouse is seen as an important resource in psychological dependency models related to the quality of life of people who have to reconcile family and professional roles (Lachowska, 2012). Satisfaction with family life is strengthened by satisfaction with professional life and vice versa. The professional position of the partners, but also the possibility of professional fulfilment of both, has a positive impact on the satisfaction with marriage. At the same time, a fulfilled and satisfying marriage allows for a better functioning in the professional role. A combination of roles makes it possible to achieve a positive effect if the quality of relations between the partners is high. This, however, is determined, among others, by material resources, like income, which is double in a two-career marriage, allowing for a higher quality of life. Mutual relations are also influenced by: social support, which allows for better problem management; individual features; features of the relations between partners; and the objective requirements of their lifestyle. If partners have appropriate coping strategies and fairly divide their duties, they will be satisfied with their roles (Janicka, 2014).

Lack of a family

In a situation where there is no family at all, we can observe a "male" career model, not interrupted by motherhood and unburdened by problems resulting from the demands of the family role:

I feel that women have their place in business, women are not afraid of promotion... There are many women who really succeed in areas that aren't really feminine, like logistics, for instance, or production or technology or product development; it's that we in Poland somehow don't look at whether it's a woman or a man [who does the job]; we don't have such [problems] at all,

I mean it never occurs to me, and fortunately [it has never occurred] to the boards I have worked with to tell me that they want a man because a woman cannot cope. 08

Successful female professionals are more likely to give up their families and prefer less obliging unions (Janicka, 2014).

A sense of exclusion

The narratives do not make any direct references to gender inequality at work, and the narrators do not have the feeling that they are treated worse than men. Their narratives are rather directed towards an unequal division of household chores. The only statement indicating a certain degree of professional inequality came from a young mother talking about informal exclusion from social life of the company:

Those women who had families simply had a different pace of life; and they kind of weren't really expected to do overtime or go on company outings. And, you know, it's obvious that someone who goes on company outings has a different position in this sort of informal structure and all that. 06

Conclusions

On the basis of the narratives collected so far, we can observe three patterns in which the role of woman is fulfilled in the liberal spirit. The first assumes that it is possible to reconcile the professional role understood in a liberal way with a rather traditional family role. The work-related role of a woman is not only to complement the professional role of her partner. Professional roles of both partners are treated equally, unlike family roles that require that the woman should cope with most of the household tasks, which makes her seek ways to reconcile both spheres. The second pattern involves liberalisation in both professional and family spheres. Women use support networks to perform both roles, while the family role changes its structure in relation to tradition. In

the third pattern, women abandon their family role altogether in favour of the professional role.

On the basis of the collected narratives, it can be concluded that women who combine their professional and family roles, constructing them according to the spirit of liberalism, face the necessity of following more traditional, conservative models if they enter into family roles and feel such clashes most strongly at the initial stage of building a family. ☞

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Konserwatywny czy liberalny? Wzory ról zawodowych i rodzinnych kobiet-specjalistów: analiza biografii zawodowych w sektorze zarządzania zasobami ludzkimi

Abstrakt

Branża Zarządzania Zasobami Ludzkimi jest sfeminizowana, jednak jako jedna z niewielu daje kobietom możliwości osiągnięcia wysokich stanowisk menedżerskich i eksperckich. Specjalistki w tej dziedzinie, będące mocno zaangażowane w pracę zawodową poddane są presji z jednej strony związanej z oczekiwaniem dopasowania sposobu i organizacji pracy do potrzeb biznesu, w którym panują liberalne zasady, z drugiej zderzają się z tradycyjnymi oczekiwaniami wobec ról rodzinnych.

Celem artykułu jest pokazanie strategii łączenia ról zawodowych i domowych oraz sposobów radzenia sobie z organizacją czasu i przestrzeni, zarządzaniem własnym czasem w złożonej sytuacji życiowej przez kobiety, dla których praca zawodowa stanowi istotny element tożsamości i które mają poczucie wysokiej wartości swojej pracy. Wybrane aspekty pracy kobiet zostały zaprezentowane na przykładzie biografii zawodowych uzyskanych w wywiadach narracyjnych osób pracujących w branży ZZL.

Wyniki badań wskazują na trzy strategie realizowania ról zawodowych i rodzinnych, które można uszeregować na skali od najsilniej zliberalizowanych do łączących w sobie tradycyjny i liberalny wzór roli.

Słowa kluczowe:

zarządzanie zasobami ludzkimi, kobiety, konflikt ról, biografia zawodowa.