# WOMEN, MENTORING, AND THE (RE)PRODUCTION OF (FE)MALE LEADERSHIP

## AN EXAMINATION OF THE GOVERNMENTAL AND GENDERED CONSEQUENCES OF DJOEF'S TALENT MENTOR PROGRAMME

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## Abstract

I dagens Danmark er kvinder bedre uddannet end mænd. Ikke desto mindre ses det, at kvinder langt fra er repræsenteret i de forskellige ledelseslag i ligeså høj grad som mænd. Kvinders lave repræsentation i ledelseslagene betragtes som et kæmpe talentspild af Danmarks største organisationer, der særligt har taget metoden *mentoring* i brug for at højne antallet af kvinder i dansk ledelse.

Mentoring er en metode, der har vundet stor popularitet, og mængden af litteratur inden for feltet er stor. Litteraturens fokus er dog ofte på *numeriske* resultater og ikke på *substantielle* resultater. Dette speciale bevæger sig væk fra undersøgelser af mentorings numeriske resultater og undersøger i stedet mentorings substantielle resultater. Dette gøres ved at undersøge, hvilke betingelser for subjektivitet mentoring sætter for lederskab.

Med udgangspunkt i den mentoring, der finder sted i DJØF's Talent Mentor Program argumenterer specialet for, at mentoring sætter maskuline former for subjektivitet som betingelse for lederskab. Dette konkluderes på baggrund af en analyse af, hvordan mentoring, gennem lingvistiske sandhedsproduktioner og forskellige affektive påvirkninger, guider kvinder til at adoptere en række maskuline adfærdstræk og distancere sig fra en række feminine adfærdstræk.

I forlængelse af specialets argumentation diskuteres det, hvordan de former for maskulin subjektivitet, som mentoring sætter som betingelse for lederskab, fører til en (re)produktion af former for subjektivitet, der typisk knyttes til mænd og den mandlige krop. Derfor bringer mentoring også – på paradoksal vis – et højt antal kvinder ind i ledelse på en præmis, der simultant ekskluderer kvinder og den kvindelige krop fra ledelsesfeltet.

På baggrund af specialets afsluttende diskussion konkluderes det, at de maskuline former for subjektivitet, som mentoring sætter som betingelse, for lederskab kan lede til stagnation – og potentielt regression – i antallet af kvinder, der træder ind i fremtidens ledelsesfelt. Dette skyldes, at en vedblivende (re)produktion af subjektivitetsormer, der knyttes til mænd og den mandlige krop, vil kunne resultere i, at mænd kontinuerligt anses som det mest åbenlyse valg til besættelse af ledelsesposter.

## Introduction

In current Danish society, women are much better educated than men (see e.g. Statistics Denmark, 2015). Women are, however, largely underrepresented in Danish leadership positions. The latest numbers demonstrate that women only make up around 28,4 % of all general leadership positions, and around 15 % of all top management positions (see the International Labour Organisation, 2015; The Danish Business Authority, 2015). Women's low representation in the field of leadership is viewed as a serious problem by a range of different actors, arguing that Denmark is missing out on valuable growth potential, when the talent and skills of women are not utilised in leadership positions (see e.g. Burgwald et al., 2012; Rennison, 2012).

Danish organisations[1] are among the actors, contending that the significant waste of women's talent is a problem, and the organisations have made use of many different methodologies in order to generate a higher number of women in senior positions (see e.g. the Confederation of Danish Industry, 2010). Worldwide the methodology of *mentoring* is considered as one of the most efficient methodologies for bringing more women into leadership (Hale, 1995; Devos, 2004; Dworkin et al., 2012; Crosby, 1999; Poole, Bornholt and Summers, 1997), and this specific methodology has also developed into one of the most popular methodologies for the use of enhancing the number of female leaders in Danish organisations (see The Confederation of Danish Industry, 2009).

Even though the methodology of mentoring has received great attention, and a large body of literature has grown on the methodology, there appears to be a lack of literature on the social consequences of mentoring. Going through the academic literature on mentoring one sees that it can be divided into three different groups,[2] all having an isolated focus on the methodology's positive numerical results. One group of literature does, for instance, focus on the psychosocial elements of mentoring, arguing that by providing women with psychological and social support, mentoring carries a great potential of bringing a higher number of women into senior positions. The literature contends that by giving women with ambitions of leadership greater believes in themselves, mentoring can be translated into a tool, bringing women the courage to actually seek

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[1] The largest organisations do, among many, count LEGO, Nordea, Mærsk, ISS, SAS, etc. (The Confederation of Danish Industry, 2009)

[2] The three-part division I have made of literature on the methodology of mentoring is based on a search I did in the Royal Library's (The Black Diamond) search system REX in the initial phases of this thesis. The search, I did in REX, was based on the terms 'mentoring'; 'women'; 'career'; and 'leadership'.

the forms of leadership they aspire for (see e.g. Dworkin, Maurer and Schipani, 2012; Bower, 2012; Kram, 1985).

A second group of literature on mentoring focuses on statistical results related to the gender of a woman's mentor. The literature contends that there seems to be statistical evidence of women's career development being more positively affected by a male mentor than by a female mentor, since it traces a strong correlation between the support of male mentors and the amount of potential women will gain in a context of leadership. The statistical correlations traced by the second group of literature leads the literature to conclude that the number of women in leadership is more likely to rise if women are allocated male mentors instead of female ones (see e.g. Hilmer and Hilmer, 2007; see also Ramaswami, Dreher, Bretz and Wiethoff, 2010).

A third and last group of literature on mentoring does, similar to the second group of literature, focus on statistical data. Instead of focusing on statistical data related to the role of a mentor's gender, the third group of literature, however, focuses on the role of culture and organisational settings. Research writing itself into the last group of literature states that in hierarchical and low gender-egalitarian cultures, mentored women report higher career returns than mentored women in non-hierarchical and high gender-egalitarian cultures. Therefore, the research also determines that mentoring is more prone to have great numerical effects on women in cultures with low existing forms of gender equality than on women in cultures with high existing forms of gender equality (see e.g. Ramaswami, Huang and Dreher, 2014; Ramaswami, Dreher, Bretz and Wiethoff, 2010).

As seen from the presentation of the three groups of literature, the academic literature on mentoring has a purely instrumental focus, treating the methodology as a neutral tool, solving the problem of few women in leadership in innocent ways. The literature solely describes how, and in which gendered and cultural constellations, mentoring can be used to increase the number of women in senior positions. And so, without examining with what social consequences the methodology actually increases the number. This thesis aims to contribute to the gap in the literature on mentoring by examining exactly the social consequences of the methodology. By this I mean that this thesis will not treat mentoring as a neutral tool, enhancing the number of women in leadership in innocent ways. Rather, it will treat mentoring as a productive tool of governance, potentially increasing the number of women in leadership, by guiding them to take on a particular form of gendered subjectivity, which is recognisable in a context of leadership. In that way, this thesis will accept mentoring as an efficient methodology for improving the *numerical*

*representation* of women in leadership, while initiating a new discussion on whether mentoring could be made more efficient in regard to improving the *substantive representation*[3] of women in leadership.

## Structure of The Thesis

In order to give the reader an understanding of the phenomenon of main focus in this thesis, the thesis will start by giving a brief introduction to the methodology of mentoring. The introduction will include a presentation of one of The Danish Association of Lawyers and Economists' (DJOEF)[4] mentor programmes, the *Talent Mentor Programme*, as that specific programme will act as the empirical case of study in the thesis.

Having sketched its empirical context, the thesis will present its research question, before introducing its analytical strategy. The analytical strategy will be based on Michel Foucault's theories of governmentality, modern government, and archaeology, as well as on affect theory and Judith Butler's theories on gender as performativity. Along with the introduction of its analytical strategy, the thesis will explain how the data material gathered for use in the thesis' analysis has been collected and processed.

After having introduced its analytical strategy and data-material, the thesis will move to conduct its analysis. The analysis will be structured in two different parts, which will scrutinise which conditions of subjectivity the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets for leadership, and how gender plays a role for the conditions set. Following the analysis, the thesis will present a two-part discussion, whereof the first part will discuss the consequences of the gendered forms of subjectivity the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets for leadership, and the second part will discuss new and normative perspectives on mentoring as a methodology to improve female representation in leadership.

The thesis will be round off with a summarising conclusion, presenting an answer to the thesis' research question, while collecting and comparing the most important aspects of the thesis. Finally, the thesis will end with a perspectivation, introducing suggestions on new forms of

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[3] The terms of *numerical* and *substantive* are classically used in relation to discussions on the use of quotas in different policy contexts. The term numerical covers the number of women brought into e.g. politics and boards through quotas, and the term of substantive covers the amount of 'women content/behaviour' that is brought into politics through quotas (see e.g. Celis, 2009).

[4] DJOEF is as Danish union representing over 85.000 graduates or students, studying law, business and economics, or political and social sciences (DJOEF, 2016a).

analyses it would be relevant to perform in order to understand the social and productive consequences, related to the use of the methodology of mentoring.

## Empirical Context: Mentoring and The Talent Mentor Programme

To give an overview of the phenomenon of mentoring, and thus the phenomenon of main focus in this thesis, I will in the following chapter give a brief introduction to the specific field of the methodology. Having introduced the field of mentoring, I will turn to present the specific mentor programme of the Talent Mentor Programme, acting as the empirical case of study in this thesis.

**Mentoring |** When talking of mentoring in modern times, the myth of Mentor is frequently invoked (see e.g. Carden, 1990). The myth of Mentor is drawn from the poem of The Odyssey, recorded by the Greek writer Homer about 3000 years ago. Shortly summarised, the myth tells the story of Odysseus, King of Ithaca, who sets off for the great Trojan War, leaving his wife, Penelope, and his young son, Telemachus, behind. When Odysseus sets of for the Trojan War, he entrusts the guardianship of his kingdom and son to his servant, Mentor, who then comes to serve as a model and teacher, with the young Telemachus as apprentice and student, for the ten years the Trojan War lasts (Ibid.).

Today a *mentor* is regarded as a person with a function similar to the function Mentor had for the young Telemachus (Ott and Toft, 2009). A mentor is considered a practised or more knowledgeable person, helping to guide a less practised or less knowledgeable person (Carden, 1990). In that way mentoring, or a mentor relationship, can be understood as a guiding process, where a person with vast experience can learn from and be inspired by someone with greater experience (see e.g. Rosén, 2011; Bower, 2013; Vertz, 1985; Hilmer and Hilmer, 2007).

Ann D. Carden (1990) notes that the term *protégé* has been one of the most used terms for describing the recipient of a mentor's support. The term protégé has, however, slowly been replaced by the term of *mentee* (Devos, 2005). This is the case, as the term protégé derives from the French verb *proteger*, meaning 'to protect', and thus brings a certain notion of paternalistic patronage to the mentor relationship. Many practitioners of mentoring believe that a mentor

relationship exists between two equal persons, and they therefore prefer the more neutrally laden term of mentee (Ibid.).[5]

The methodology of mentoring is used in a wide array of contexts, such as management development and learning, initial teacher education, professional development generally, integration, and higher education, and the specific ideas behind mentoring programmes do thus vary (see e.g. Ott and Toft, 2009; Bloksgaard, 2010). The idea behind mentor programmes, aiming to bring more women into leadership positions is, however, that by matching young women (mentees) with experienced senior leaders (mentors), young women can be guided to work with their talent of leadership in more effective ways and hence gain improved access to leadership positions (Bower, 2013). In that way, the general idea behind the specific mentoring programmes for women with leadership talent is that a mentor can help to bring a mentee into leadership by delivering support in the form of guidance and first hand experience.

**The Talent Mentor Programme |** DJOEF's Talent Mentor Programme was established in 2010 by Anna Mee Allerslev, mayor of Employment and Integration in Copenhagen, and Lisa Herold Ferbing, CEO of DJOEF (see Bøgelund, 2010). The aim of the programme is to support and develop the leadership skills of young talented women, but the aim is also, similar to the aim presented in the introduction of this thesis, to utilise the talent of women:

> Why only women [in the Talent Mentor Programme]? To secure Denmark's productivity and international competitiveness DJOEF is working to secure a more equal distribution of men and women in senior positions. With the Talent Mentor Programme, DJOEF wishes to create a better career start-up for women with talent. (DJOEF, 2016b)[6]

In that way DJOEF's Talent Mentor Programme works with two different aims and on two different levels; one level being an individual level, trying to support the ambitions of the individual, and another level being a societal level, trying to support and benefit society. Despite the Talent Mentor Programme works on a double level, this thesis will mainly focus on one level, being the individual level. This is the case, since this thesis primarily wishes to examine how

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[5] The term of *mentoree* is also used and applied by certain practitioners of mentoring (see e.g. Geiger-DuMond and Boyle, 1995). In this thesis, I will, however, solely make use of the term mentee, as this is the term I have met most often when going through the literature on mentoring.

[6] The quote is my own translation of the original Danish text from DJOEF's homepage.

young women's talent is sought utilised, and what the social consequences of the attempted utilisation are.

The Talent Mentor Programme is a programme specifically targeting young women students, who have a documented talent for and ambition of leadership (DJOEF, 2016b). To be considered a suitable candidate for the Talent Mentor Programme, young women must have handed in their master's thesis, or be in the late end of finishing their thesis, as well as they must be motivated for a more than half year long process under the support of an experienced leader (Bøgelund, 2010; DJOEF, 2016b). Around a 100 young women yearly apply for acceptance within the Talent Mentor Programme. However, the programme only has a capacity of 20 mentors, and it can therefore only allow for acceptance of 20 young women mentees (DJOEF, 2016b). The 20 young women mentees selected for participation in the Talent Mentor Programme are selected from a criterion of diversity, as DJOEF tries to create a diverse corps of potential female leaders (see Bøgelund, 2010; see also DJOEF, 2016b).

When a young woman is chosen to take part in the Talent Mentor Programme, she will be matched with one of the 20 senior leaders, functioning as mentors within the programme. The Talent Mentor Programme only operates with women senior leaders as mentors, hence the leader the young woman mentee will be matched with will be a woman (see e.g. Bøgelund, 2010). Besides being matched with a mentor, young women mentees are offered the opportunity of participating in a range of different events, aiming to nurture their ambitions, skills, and talent (Ibid.). Furthermore, young women mentees are offered the opportunity of being part of a network with other young women mentees, since DJOEF believes that young women mentees will benefit significantly from connecting and networking with other young potential women leaders (Ibid.).

## Research Question

Having presented the aim and empirical context of this thesis, I will now condense the two points into the specific research question, guiding and structuring the remaining parts of the thesis:

*Which conditions of subjectivity does the mentoring of DJOEF's Talent Mentor Programme set for leadership, and how does gender play a role in the conditions set?*

As seen from the research question, the present thesis is interested in examining what form of leader subjectivity the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme produces, by asking guiding

questions such as: Which behavioural traits does the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme present as (un)true and (un)recognisable in a context of leadership? How does the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme guide young women mentees to take on a specific form of true and recognisable leader subjectivity? And what role does our cultural understanding of gender play in the production of the true and recognisable form of leader subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme produces?

## Analytical Strategy and Theory

In this chapter, I will introduce the analytical strategy, and the different combined theories, I have chosen to use as programmes of observations, in order to answer my research question. In the chapter I will first shortly present Foucault's thoughts on governmentality and modern government, and I will then turn to present the Foucauldian archaeological discourse analysis as it is mediated by Niels Åkerstrøm Andersen. In continuation of the presentation of the archaeological discourse analysis, I will present theories on affect and introduce Butler's theories on gender as performativity.

**Governmentality and Modern Government |** In a range of lectures, presented in the late 1970's, Foucault developed a project tracing the emergence of the modern conception and art of government, a genealogical history of governmental history, or a so-called governmentality (Dean, 2010). In the project Foucault argued that from the 15th century there was a fundamental shift in the concern of Western states' government, away from physical territory and towards the population (Dean, 2010; Villadsen, 2002). The fundamental shift was related to the novel development of the economy, presenting agents of the population as a resource of production, and thus as a group government should keep happy and healthy in order to optimise productivity:

> [G]overnment has as its purpose not the act of government itself, but the welfare of the population, the improvement of its conditions, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health and so on; and the means the government uses to attain these ends are themselves, all in some sense, immanent to the population; it is the population itself on which government will act. (Foucault, 1991a: 100)

From the quote it is seen that modern government focuses on government of the population, and so as to keep the population healthy and wealthy, and thus capable of active productivity.

In his project, Foucault (1991a) contended that it was not only the *concern of government* that shifted from the 15th century, so did the *form of government*. In prior times government emanated from a sovereign body, exercising power and regulating behaviour through corporal punishment and physical exclusion (Ibid.). In modern times government has contrary come to stem from a range of varying sources, mainly exercising power and regulating behaviour through discursively constructed knowledge – or so-called *discursive formations* (Foucault, 1991a; see also Andersen, 2003). Foucault states that in modern government knowledge, and the different forms of truth produced by knowledge, is paramount (Dean, 2010). This is the case, since the forms of truth that knowledge produces, give agents insights to different certainties about themselves, and hence about what it means to be of a specific social kind – or what Foucault calls a *subject* (Otto, 2006; see also Dean, 2010). Knowledge does, for instance, give agents insights to what it means to be the subject of a particular gender; to be the subject of a certain homo/hetero-sexual category; to be the subject of a specific ethnic group; and relevantly for this thesis, to be the subject of the social category of leaders (see e.g. Foucault, 1990; Foucault, 1991a; see e.g. also Dean, 2010). By giving agents insights to certainties about what it means to be of a specific social kind, knowledge also gives agents insights to certainties about how they should regulate their own behaviour in order to be true and recognisable within a specific social context or category (see e.g. Foucault, 1971, 1972; see also Andersen, 2003; 1999).

According to Foucault, agents are free to escape the different forms of true and recognisable behaviour, described by knowledge. So, since power can only work on agents who are, at least in a rudimentary sense, actors and therefore loci of freedom (Dean, 2010). Government can only take place on agents who are constituted as free, and thus on agents who are able to act and think in a variety of ways not intended by government:

> When one defines the exercise of power as a mode of action upon the actions of others, when one characterises these actions by the government of men by other men – in the broadest sense of the term – one includes an important element: Freedom. Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only in so far as they are free. By this we mean individual or collective subjects who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving, several actions and diverse comportments may be realized. Where the determining factors saturate the whole there is no relationship of power; slavery is not a power relationship when man is in chains. (Foucault, 1983: 221)

From the quote of Foucault, one can contend that modern government should not be seen as something that functions by forcing agents to govern their behaviour in a certain way. Instead, modern government should be seen as something, which functions by *guiding* agents to behave in a specific way, and so in manners, allowing agents to refuse government, if they desire to do so. Despite modern government allows for agents to refuse government, most agents choose to follow the particular guidelines, different forms of knowledge provide on true and recognisable forms of behaviour. This is the case, since untrue and unrecognised forms of behaviour most often lead to unattractive exclusion and potential stigmatisation (see e.g. Foucault, 1982; see e.g. also Foucault, 1991b). In a context of the contemporary, heteronormative society, one does, for instance, see that agents practising the non-normative, and thus untrue and unrecognisable, behaviours of homosexuality, bisexuality, and asexuality, are deprived of privileges given to agents, practising the normative, and thus true and recognisable, behaviour of heterosexuality (see e.g. Ragins and Cornwell, 2001).

As seen from the sections above, Foucault states that the exercise of power should not be seen as something repressive, connoted to prohibition, trapping and killing. Instead, the exercise of power should be seen as something productive, as the exercise of power, produces certain true and recognisable forms of *subjectivity*.[7] Additionally, one sees that power is not something that is just exercised over agents by a sovereign body. Power is something that agents exercise over themselves, by self-governing in accordance with the guidelines on true and recognisable forms of behaviour, presented by different forms of knowledge. In this thesis, I will use Foucault's theories on knowledge, productive power, and subjectivity to examine what true and recognisable forms of leadership behaviour, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme guides young women mentees to take up. In order to utilise Foucault's theories on modern government, I will further make use of the archaeological discourse analysis, since this specific analysis provides tools, which are relevant for identifying the different forms of knowledge, presenting truths on leadership behaviour to young women mentees.

**The Archaeological Discourse Analysis |** The purpose of the archaeological discourse analysis is to identify the forms of discursively created knowledge, agents consult for guidelines of true and recognisable forms of behaviour in varying contexts (Andersen, 1999). Thus, I find that the

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[7] As seen, subjectivity is in this thesis understood within the narrow Foucauldian tradition, and as a non-essential way of understanding different forms of behaviour (Otto, 2006). In that way, I will also use the concepts of subjectivity and behaviour as more or less synonymous in the thesis.

archaeological discourse analysis is relevant for analysis of the different forms of truth that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme produces on (un)true and (un)recognisable behaviour in a context of leadership. The specific form of archaeological discourse analysis I will make use of in this thesis is the one presented by Andersen (2003) in his book *Discursive Analytical Strategies: Understanding Foucault, Kosseleck, Laclau, Luhmann.* I will, however, not solely refer to thoughts of Andersen in the coming sections, I will also refer directly to the thoughts of Foucault.

In his description of the archaeological discourse analysis, Andersen (2003:8) argues that there are three important concepts one should search for and work with in order to perform the analysis; the three concepts are the concepts of *statement* (ennoncé), *discourse,* and *discursive formation*. A statement can be understood, as the atom of a discourse, and thus the smallest unit one attempts to identify in the construction of a given range of discursive formations (Ibid.). A discourse can be understood as "*… the finally demarcated body of formulated statements – it is the archive of the discourse analyst*" (Ibid.). And lastly, a discursive formation, and what one actually looks to diagnose and construct, when performing the archaeological discourse analysis, can be understood as a "*… system of dispersion for statements; it is the regularity in the dispersion of statements*" (Ibid). Besides arguing that there are three different concepts one should search for and work with, Andersen (2003) denotes that the archaeological discourse analysis involves two different, though interrelated, steps. The first step consists in constructing a broad archive (the discourse) by carefully outlining a body of irregular statements, wherefrom one can construct forms of regularity (see e.g. Andersen, 2003). The second step consists in actually constructing forms of regularity within the body of irregular statements (the discursive formation) (Andersen, 2003). I will describe how I have constructed my archive, and how I have processed my data in order to define regularity, in the following chapter. For now, I will concentrate on describing the concepts of statement and discursive formation.

In his book *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) Foucault argues for and against various notions of what inherent aspects of a statement are. Foucault (1972) never arrives at a full and comprehensive definition of a statement. Though, he comes to state that a statement is the rules, which renders an expression (e.g. a phrase, a sentence, a proposition, a speech act) discursively meaningful. Elaborating on Foucault's thoughts, Andersen (2003) goes a step further in defining what a statement is, and he concludes that a statement is something "*… which brings forth*

*phenomenon through enunciation*" (p. VIII). More specified Andersen (2003) describes a statement the following way:

> Statement is a function of existence that enables groups or signs to exist. The statement is the smallest unit, which brings forth phenomenon through enunciation. We are therefore able to recognise the statement by its momentary creation rather than by its appearance as sign, sentence, book or argument. Statements are positive events that produce existence through enunciation. (p. VIII)

From the quote and descriptions above, it is seen that a statement is some kind of linguistic enunciation or articulation, constructing a form of socially meaning-giving element.

Turning back to Foucault's description of a discursive formation as a form of regularity in the dispersion of statements, one can again specify what is meant by a discursive formation. Quoting Foucault, Andersen (1999) gives the following description of the phenomenon of the discursive formation:

> Whenever one can describe between a number of statements, such as system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statements, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity, we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a discursive formation. (Foucault in Andersen, 1999: 41)

From the quote it is seen that Foucault defines a discursive formation as the result one ends up with, when one is able to define a form of regularity between a "[…] *number of statements*" in a system of dispersion.

In the present thesis, the just presented theories on statements and discursive formations will be used as concrete tools to analyse the thesis' empirical data, and to identify the discursively created knowledge, presenting different truths on recognisable leadership behaviour to young women mentees in the Talent Mentor Programme. Before analysing the thesis' empirical collected data, I will, however, turn to introduce theories of affect, which I will argue supplements this thesis governmental focus on guided behaviour.

**Affect Theory |** From the theories above one sees that the guiding function of modern government should be found in the linguistic. From the coding of my data (see next chapter) I will, however, argue that more than just the linguistic appears to have a guiding function in the form of

government within the Talent Mentor Programme. This is the case, since the coding of my data reveals that the evocation of affects, and especially the evocation of the affects of *shame* and potential *happiness*, seems to play a crucial role in the Talent Mentor Programme's guiding of young women mentees' behaviour.

As I will contend that not only the linguistic but also the affective has a guiding function in the government of the Talent Mentor Programme, I will in this thesis combine the theories of affectivity and linguistics. This I will do, despite the two theoretical traditions, due to their divergent foci on the non-physical versus the physical, are argued to be irreconcilable (see Frederiksen, 2012; Bjerg and Staunæs, 2011; Staunæs and Pors, 2015). The reason why I have chosen to combine the two theoretical traditions is that one cannot only argue that the affect theory's focus on bodily oriented affects is working against theories of linguistics, focusing on language and signs (Bjerg and Staunæs, 2011; Staunæs and Pors, 2015). Contrary, one can also argue that the theory of affectivity is a complicating reversion of the original outsets in the linguistic framework, that being namely the performative (Ibid.). Helle Bjerg and Dorthe Staunæs (2011) write:

> The affective turn may be seen as a critique of the linguistic and poststructural turn but, in our perspective, it develops the insights into the performative from the linguistic turn […], and expands the concept of performativity as a way of thinking in relation not only to language, but also affectivity and materiality. This means that more than 'just' language, as argued for in the linguistic turn, becomes constituent of subjects, organisations and management. (p. 142)

As seen from the quote, the evocation of affect can be argued to carry the same performative character and political potential of transformation as linguistics. In their article "Self-management through shame – Uniting governmentality studies and the 'affective turn'" (2011) Bjerg and Staunæs assert that in some instances an agent is not only guided to govern him- or herself towards a specific form of behaviour through the forms of insights that knowledge gives, but also through being moved by a special affectivity. Bjerg and Staunæs (2011: 139) argue that in many new practices of government affects are not simply bi-products, but the core matter to be governed by and through. In, for example, different forms of appreciative leadership and management the practices of guiding relate directly and strategically to the mobilisation of certain affects, meaning that the different forms of guiding implicate a strategic administration and organisation of relations to ensure that agents feel, experience, sense, act and thus create themselves in certain ways

(Staunæs, 2009; Bjerg and Staunæs, 2011). Therefore, affectivity should also not in all instances be seen as a counter force to the linguistic way of thinking about modern government. Rather, affectivity should be seen as a precise mechanical part that fits governmental purposes and makes certain forms of modern government and self-government work (Bjerg and Staunæs, 2011: 139).

A central discussion within studies of affect is whether one should use the concept of *affect* or the concept of *emotion*, and if it makes sense to differentiate between the two, when one deals with the field of affectivity (Frederiksen, 2012). Brian Massumi (2002) does, for instance, insist on the importance of distinguishing fundamentally between on the one hand autonomous pre-linguistic affectivity and on the other hand emotion. So, as he believes that the concept of emotion should be reserved for the already discursively categorised (Massumi, 2002; see also Frederiksen, 2012; Staunæs and Pors, 2015). Researchers who are more oriented towards the poststructural tradition of affect studies, such as feminist and queer scholar Sara Ahmed (2004a; 2004b; 2010), are more likely to reject the idea of differentiating between the concepts of affect and emotion. Despite being sympathetic towards Massumi's constructivist readings of the affective, poststructural researchers are sceptical towards Massumi's attempt of trying to capture the pre-discursivity of affects before they are linguistically captured, and thus discursively categorised, as emotions (Frederiksen, 2012; see also Ahmed, 2004b). The poststructural researchers argue that our experiences never happen on the basis of a tabula rasa, instead they happen on the basis of prior experienced categorisations of emotions (Ahmed, 2004b; 2010; see also Frederiksen, 2012). Thereby, bodily affects can never fully escape categorisation, as they are always already part of the discursively categorised:

> I think that the distinction between affect/emotion can under-describe the work of emotions, which involve forms of intensity, bodily orientation, and direction that are not simply about "subjective content" or qualification of intensity. Emotions are not "after-thoughts" but shape how bodies are moved by the worlds they inhabit. (Ahmed, 2010: 230)

In this thesis I will understand the concepts of affects and emotions similar to Ahmed (2004b; 2010), and her fellow poststructural researchers. This means that I will not separate between the ontological and the phenomenological, and that I will not consider emotions and affects as some, which I should necessarily search for in bodily reactions. Rather, I will search for emotions and affects in linguistic statements and discursive expressions. Having introduced theories on affect, I

will now turn to present the last theory of this thesis' analytical strategy, being the theory on gender as performativity.

**Gender as Performativity |** Butler's theory on gender as performativity is initially based on the same Foucauldian thoughts as the ones presented above (see e.g. Butler, 1999 [1990]: 130). In that way, the theory of Butler also writes itself into the same tradition of performativity, as the additional theories of the analytical theories, despite the theory not having an explicit focus on guidance. Besides being based on theories of Foucault, Butler's theory on gender as performativity draws on the philosophical and linguistic speech act theory of John Langshaw Austin (1975). So, as Butler (1999 [1990]) uses Austin's concept of *performativity* to describe what gender is, and how gender is ascribed to biology, sex, and agents' different physical bodies.

A performative is, according to the theories of Austin, a discursive practice, constituting what it names, instead of just describing or constating it (Butler, 1999 [1990]). Giving a description to how one can understand a performative, and performative utterances, Austin (1975) writes:

> Utterances [performative utterances] can be found satisfying these conditions, yet such that […] A. they do not 'describe' or 'report' or constate anything at all, are not 'true or false'; and B. the uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action, which again would not *normally* be described as, or as 'just', saying something. (p. 5)

From the quote of Austin, one sees that a performative utterance is an utterance that brings identity to social phenomena in the moment it is uttered. Bringing Austin's theories into an empirical, gendered context, Sara Salih (2002) uses the example of the sentence "It's a girl/boy", uttered by a doctor/nurse at the birth/ultrasound of a young child, as an example of a performative utterance. So, as the sentence of "It's a girl/boy" does not solely describe the gender of a young (unborn) child, the sentence constitutes the gender of the young (unborn) child, by ascribing its otherwise 'genderless' body a specific gendered meaning.

As seen from the example above, the performative speech act is a matter, constituting different dimensions of the social and real. When Butler (1999 [1990]) talks about performativity in a context of gender, she does, however, not only refer to constitutive, linguistic speech acts. She also refers to different forms of behaviour, writing themselves into a discursively established understanding of gendered identity. So, as Butler (1999 [1990]) states that it is when the human body 'does' or performs a recognisable gendered action, the body is constituted as a specific

gender. Butler (1999 [1999]) disagrees with the idea that gender should somehow be related to the physical body or the biology of a human being, and does instead argue that gender is a sole matter of the way a body acts, performs, and do things. Operating within the dichotomous set of culturally, historically, and discursively created gender categories of *male/female*,[8] Butler (1999 [1990]) does, for instance, assert that a male gendered body can easily take on the meaning of female, by behaving in commonly agreed female gendered ways. Butler states that when the male drag-figure dresses like an agreed female, talks like an agreed female, and gesticulates as an agreed female, then (s)he is also better believed as carrier of the female gender, than as carrier of the male gender (Ibid.).[9]

As seen from the sections above, gender is, according to Butler (1999 [1990]), a performative matter in the sense that gender is constituted on the basis of a particular form of behaviour, being recognisable in a context of discursively established understandings of male or female gendered social categories. In the coming analysis, I will use Butler's thoughts on gender as performativity to support my examinations of how the form of behaviour, characterising the true and recognisable form of leader subjectivity, produced by the mentoring of the Talent Mentor programme, is potentially recognisable in a context of either a male or female gender category.

**Chapter Summary |** In this chapter, I have introduced the different theories, I have chosen to use as programmes for observation in this thesis. I have stated that I will use Foucauldian theories of modern government, including the archaeological discourse analysis. Further, I have stated that I will be utilising theories on affect, while drawing on Butler's theory on gender as a performative matter. By combining the analytical strategy the way I have, I have come to construct my object of analysis as language, understood as different linguistic statements. This means that the thesis will only observe on the matter of linguistic statements, and not on matters such as psychology, biology and physiology. Additionally, it means that there are limits to what the thesis will be able to conclude on, since the thesis will only be able to conclude from the matter of linguistic statements,

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[8] Butler (1999 [1990]) argues than in the Western world, we operate within a heterosexual matrix, meaning we ascribe meaning to the world through dualistic, dichotomous, heterosexual/heteronormative perceptions of the world. In this thesis, I will accept Butler's idea of the heterosexual matrix, and accept that we in the Western world operate with the two heteronormative gender categories of male and female.

[9] I find it relevant to mention that the theories, I work with in this thesis, belong to the early – but perhaps also the most famoused – theories of Butler. The theories presented were introduced in Butler's book *Gender Trouble* and had a very strict focus on gender in a context of language, discourse, and behaviour. In her later work – e.g. the book *Bodies that Matter* (1993) – Butler revised her theories on performativity while arguing that the body and physics might not be fully irrelevant for how we understand and do gender.

and not from the matter of psychological developments, or the matters of biological and physiological reactions.

## Data Collection and Processing

My material of data will reflect the fact that I have constituted my object of analysis as language, and will so consist of a range of linguistic statements. Revisiting the two steps of the archaeological discourse analysis, I will in the following chapter first describe how I have constructed a broad archive by collecting a range of different linguistic statements. I will then explain the particular methodological approach, which I have used in order to process the different linguistic statements in a way, enabling me to diagnose regularities.

**Constructing The Archive (Data Collection) |** As the first step of the archaeological discourse analysis prescribes, I have collected a broad archive of statements for use in my analysis. This I have done, by conducting interviews with women, who are all related to the Talent Mentor Programme, either as mentors, as mentees, or as a consultant. I have chosen to collect my data through conductions of interviews, as I found that interviews would be the most optimal way for me to collect different and varying linguistic statements, expressing the truths on leadership behaviour, produced by the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme.

I have chosen to conduct what Steinar Kvale (1996; 1997) calls a 'semi-structured interview', defined as "*… an interview whose purpose is to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena.*" (Kvale, 1996: 5). The semi structured interviews I have conducted have been structured in the sense that they were guided by an interview guide developed by me, and focusing on bringing forward knowledge related to leadership (see Appendix A). But the interviews have also been unstructured in the sense that through the interviews, I have been open to leave out and change the questions of my interview guide, and so to explore the actual experiences of my interviewees, and the potential experiences I had not foreseen in the development of my interview guide.

I have managed to do interviews with three earlier mentees, one current mentee, three mentors, and a consultant, related to the Talent Mentor Programme.[10] I did not personally set any

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[10] I actually aimed to do interviews with five mentees and five mentors, respectively. DJOEF was, however, only able to find three mentors that were interested in participating in interviews. And from the five mentees I were in contact with only four ended up being interested in participating in interviews.

criteria for which mentors and mentees to interview, since it was important for me to avoid the potential risk of subconsciously searching for specific forms of knowledge and information, through my choice of interviewees. Furthermore, it was not relevant for me to set up a list of criteria for which women to interview, as this thesis does not aim to examine the particular perception the individual women, related to the Talent Mentor Programme, have of leadership. Rather, the thesis aims to study the general, shared knowledge that women, related to the Talent Mentor Programme, have on true and recognisable forms of leadership behaviour.

As I did not personally set any criteria for which women to interview, DJOEF made up the particular selection of women that I have interviewed. DJOEF set up their own criteria for which women they saw as credible representatives of the Talent Mentor Programme, and thus as relevant for me to talk to. DJOEF set up two criteria in regard to the selection of mentees, which I have interviewed. The first criterion was that the selection of mentees mainly included prior mentees, and so in order to ensure that most of the mentees I spoke to had been under the influence of the full Talent Mentor Programme. The second criterion was that the selection of mentees contained mentees from different years, so that knowledge brought into the Talent Mentor Programme in different years was represented in my data. DJOEF only set up one criterion in regard to the selection of mentors, I have interviewed. That criterion was that the selection of mentors had been in leadership for many years, and came as close to top management as possible. This was set as a criterion, since that would ensure that the women I interviewed had long and actual experience on leadership to bring into the Talent Mentor Programme.[11]

**Defining Regularity Within The Archive (Data Processing) |** As seen in the section, presenting the archaeological discourse analysis, the archaeological discourse analysis argues that in order to define a discursive formation, one will have to be able to diagnose regularity (within the archive of irregular statements, which I have presented above). Despite the archaeological discourse argues that one needs to diagnose regularity in order to define a discursive formation, the archaeological discourse analysis does not provide the tools necessary for processing data in a way, making regularities diagnosable. The 'lack' of the archaeological discourse analysis, Andersen (1999;

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[11] The interviewees were all open to sound recorded interviews (see Appendix B), as I promised them full anonymity. One interviewee did, however, after the interview ask me to only do relevant notes from the recorded interview and then delete it. So, as she believed some of the things she had touched upon in the interview could be damaging to her current professional position. Therefore, quotes of Mentee 3 are based on my personal, though direct, quotes from the sound recording of the interview with Mentee 3 (see Appendix C).

2003) states, is an inherent problem of the analysis, as well as a problem that requires the discourse analyst to always set up his or her own rules for when to validly diagnose regularity. Due to the inherent problem of the archaeological discourse analysis, I have chosen to combine the analysis with a further analysis: *The qualitative content analysis*. So, as I believe that the qualitative content analysis, by combining qualitative forms of analysis with quantitative forms of analysis, can help me to make regularities visible in valid, numerical ways (see e.g. Hsieh and Shannon, 2005).

The qualitative content analysis is a systematic coding method that one can use in order to translate qualitative data (such as recorded communication, transcripts of interviews, discourses, etc.) into a given number of clusters (Stemler, 2001; Mayring, 2000). The qualitative content analysis, which I have chosen to conduct in this thesis, is an analysis motivated by Hsiu-Fang Hsieh and Sarah E. Shannon's (2005) work on the analysis. Hsieh and Shannon's (2005) work distinguishes between three different forms of content analysis, the *conventional content analysis*, the *directed content analysis*, and the *summative content analysis*, all presenting specific steps of coding. I will not follow the specific steps of coding, presented by one of the three explicit analyses, instead I will let me be inspired by the general three steps that one, according to Hsieh and Shannon (2005), must go through in order to conduct a qualitative content analysis.

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) contend that the first step of a qualitative content analysis entails that one must read/listen through all of ones data, and so to obtain a sense of the whole: "*Data analysis starts with reading all data repeatedly to achieve immersion and obtain a sense of the whole* […]" (p. 1279). Having finished the first step of the qualitative content analysis, one should move to the second step, which consists in highlighting words that seem to capture key statements and utterances in the text/sound (Hsieh and Shannon, 2001). In line with the strategy used in the qualitative research interview, researchers should avoid using preconceived categories, and let those emanate from the data, when conducting the qualitative content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005; see also Kondracki and Wellman, 2002). As the last step of the qualitative content analysis, one should compare how different words, key statements, and utterances are linked and related to each other, while then creating different clusters from the linkages analysed (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005; see also Patton, 2002). From the scheme beneath one sees the five clusters, I have been able to link and trace from my data material. Further, one sees exactly how many of my data sources that have touched upon the given themes of the clusters, as every cross indicates that a particular source has in some way touched upon the given theme:

|  | 'Niceness – Assertiveness' | 'Emotionality – Professionalism' | 'High Priority/Low Priority of Family/Domestic Work' | 'Do not Act with Self-confidence – Act with Self-confidence' | 'Perfectionism – Looseness' |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mentee 1 | X | X | X |  |  |
| Mentee 2 | X | X | X | X | X |
| Mentee 3 | X | X | X |  | X |
| Mentee 4 | X | X | X | X | X |
| Mentor 1 | X | X | X |  | X |
| Mentor 2 | X | X | X | X | X |
| Mentor 3 | X | X | X |  | X |
| Consultant | X | X | X | X | X |

A criterion I used for defining a cluster as an actual regularity was that more than six of my data sources had to touch upon the given theme of the cluster, so that the cluster would represent significantly more than half of the sources. In that sense regularity became a matter of representing the vast and significant majority. As I set the criterion that more than six of my eight sources had to touch upon the theme of a cluster in order for me to be able to diagnose the shape of regularity, only four of the five clusters that I have diagnosed will be brought into my coming analysis. The theme of the four clusters, which will be brought into the analysis are: 'Niceness – Assertiveness', 'Emotionality – Professionalism', 'High Priority – Low Priority of Family/Domestic Work', and 'Perfectionism – Looseness'. As the names of the four clusters indicate, the clusters cover two dichotomous and oppositional forms of behaviour. This might appear contradictory, but as the analysis will show, the contradictory names are a result of my interviewees repetitively ascribing

meaning to the one form of behaviour, by referring to the other and opposite form of behaviour. In that way, my interviewees also created a fluctuating and non-separable interconnection between the two forms of behaviour, which I found it necessary to bring into the analysis.

**Chapter Summary |** In this chapter, I have described how I have collected and processed my empirical data. First, I have described how I have constructed an archive of irregular statements by conducting qualitative research interviews with eight women, all related to the Talent Mentor Programme as either mentors, mentees, or as a consultant. Second, I have explained how I have made use of the qualitative content analysis in order to process my data in a way, enabling me to diagnose different regularities within my archive of irregular statements. The different regularities that I have been able to diagnose are: 'Assertiveness – Niceness', 'Emotionality – Professionalism', 'High Priority/Low Priority of Family/Domestic Work', and 'Perfectionism – Looseness'.

## Analysis

In this chapter, I will activate the theories of my analytical strategy in a context of the four discursive formations, diagnosed in the qualitative content analysis. The first part of the analysis will concentrate on analysing, which conditions of subjectivity the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets for leadership, and will be divided in two additional parts. The first of the additional parts will utilise the Foucauldian theories on linguistic forms of guidance, and so in order to examine how young women mentees are linguistically guided to take on a specific form of true and recognisable leader subjectivity. The second of the additional parts will contrary utilise the theories of affect, and so in order to analyse how young women mentees are not only linguistically guided, but also affectively guided to take on the particular form of true and recognisable leader subjectivity. Having analysed the conditions of subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets for leadership, I will conduct the second part of the analysis. The second part of the analysis will be formed as a short post analysis, bringing the behavioural traits, characterising the true and recognisable form of leader subjectivity, analysed in the first part of the analysis, into a setting of Western cultural-historical understandings of gender. The aim of the second part of the analysis is to analyse how our cultural understanding of gender can be argued to play a role in the conditions of subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets for leadership.

**Part 1: The Production of a True Leader Subjectivity |** As written in the introduction above, this first part of the analysis will focus on analysing how young women mentees are both linguistically and affectively guided to take on a particular form leadership behaviour by the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme. This first part of the analysis will be divided in two additional parts, separately analysing how linguistic statements and discursive investments of affects guide young women mentees to take up particular behavioural traits.

**Linguistic Guidance |** In the following analysis, I will concentrate on analysing how the linguistic and linguistic statements guide young women mentees of the Talent Mentor Programme to take on a specific form of true and recognisable leader subjectivity. The analysis will be structured from the four discursive formations, diagnosed in the qualitative content analysis, and will in that way be divided in four different sections.

**Niceness / Assertiveness |** In this section of the analysis, I will analyse how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents the behavioural traits of niceness and assertiveness in a context of a true and recognisable form of leadership behaviour. More specifically, I will examine which nice and assertive forms of behaviour the mentoring guides young women mentees to respectively abandon and adopt, if they want to be considered as true leader potential. The first statements, which I find it relevant to present in order to conduct the intended analysis, are the ones from the quote beneath:

> … Another thing is, that they [the women mentee] should let go of their niceness. When they are in a forum, and if there is a work assignment, and it's like who takes the responsibility for this, then they shouldn't just sit there and wait to be asked, then it's just about being like, I got that… I have talked to so many [women mentee] in here [at DJOEF] and they have a great potential and their talent is obvious, but they are just sitting there waiting to be seen, and you don't have to do that, you need to go for it… And it's okay to steel from other people's food bowl, it doesn't matter… […][12] If we could just make them loosen the harness, these 'dear little ladies', then we would be a long way [in regard to moving women into leadership]. (Interview with Consultant: 8.16[13], 46.24)

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[12] […] indicates that there is a jump forward in the interview to the next quoted section.

[13] The number indicates how many minutes into the interview one has to listen in order to find the quoted section.

From the statements of the quote, I will argue that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme denotes that the behavioural trait of niceness is a trait that young women mentees need to abandon, if they want to be recognisable in a context of true leadership. This I will argue, as the statements denote that if young women mentees want to become leaders "… *they […] should let go of their niceness [and not] just sit there and wait to be asked….*" Besides arguing that the statements denote that young women mentees should let go of the behavioural trait of niceness, I will contend that the statements indicate that young women mentees should abandon the trait of niceness in favour of the behavioural trait of assertiveness. This I will do, as the statements state that young women mentees need to assertively "*…go for it…*", while also stating that it is okay to go for it in the bold way of "*… steel[ing] from other people's food bowl…* " in order to become a part of leadership.

The statements of the next quote can, similar to the statements of the quote above, be contended to state that in order to be recognisable as a true leader, young women mentees need to let go of the behavioural trait of niceness. This I will argue, since the statements state that if young women mentees want to become leaders, they should be nice and "*humble*", but so in an assertive way, ensuring that they pro-actively "*… promote (themselves]*":

> You should have a certain humbleness, but you shouldn't be humble in a way that does not promote yourself. That they [the women mentee] need to learn, to bring themselves forward, to the front position, so they don't end up just being the ones who carry the bags […]. They need to stand up for themselves, you need to fight for it, so to say … (Interview Mentor 2: 15.12, 15.39)

Further than stating that young women mentees need to abandon a trait of niceness, while pro-actively promoting themselves, the statements of the quote indicate that young women mentees need to be assertive. This I will contend, as the statements state that if young women mentees want to become leaders they need to boldly "*… fight for it…*", and so in order to assertively "*… bring themselves forward to the front position…*".

Supporting my argument, contending that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents the behavioural trait of niceness as one young women mentees need to abandon, while recommending that they replace the trait with the opposite trait of assertiveness, the statements of the following quote state:

> I mean, you shouldn't bully anyone, but you need to fight for it [leadership], you shouldn't let yourself get hammered into place, I mean it's fine to help other people to a certain extent, but don't be an underdog (Interview Mentor 2: 15.45)

The statements of the quote state that if young women mentees want to enter the field of leadership, they should only be nice and help other people *"… to a certain extent…"*, and solely in a way, securing that they *"… don't get hammered into place…"*.

The second to last quote, I will analyse in order to examine how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents the behavioural traits of niceness and assertiveness are the following:

> The overall advice that we are constantly given at the programme is: Don't be so nice, be more aggressive, be more pushy, and just go for it, don't be shy, just believe in yourself... I mean it's not like it's rocket science, but somehow it's nice to be reminded of it in a setting where there are actual leaders, because the advice somehow gets another dimension… I think one of the most important advices that I have been given by my mentor is actually to just go for it and not be shy… And I have definitely taken that advice with me in the sense that now I'm actually approaching male colleagues that… Before I would have been like 'I can't take their time, I can't bother them, I mean, I'm just little me, why would they care about me?' But now I'm like, if I think they are relevant for my network and career development, I will go and ask them what I need to ask. And that I wouldn't have done before [she had attended the Talent Mentor Programme] (Interview Mentee 3, 5.38)

From the statements of the quote one sees that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme states that young women mentees should not *"… be so nice…"*, if they want to become a part of the field of leadership. Additionally, one sees that the statements state that if young women mentees want to be leaders, they need to *" … be more aggressive, be more pushy, and just go for it…"*. Therefore, one can also arguably see that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents the trait of niceness as a trait that will make young women mentees unrecognisable as true leaders, as well as it presents the trait of assertiveness as one, which contrary will make young women mentees recognisable as true leaders.

The last and final statements, I will scrutinise for analysis of how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents the behavioural traits of niceness and assertiveness, are the ones below:

> So that is of course something that you need to be able to do, you need to be able to put that attitude of nice girl away […] Sometimes you just need to be like 'Well, I'm going to do this, and I really don't care if other people find what I do ridiculous'. (Interview Mentee 2, 12.09, 12.23)

The statements state that in order to be a part of leadership, young women mentees need to put "… *that attitude of nice girl away*" and assertively ignore the needs and thoughts of others, including potential employees. So, the statements can also be asserted to present a behaviour of niceness as a behaviour young women mentees need to distance themselves from, if they want to be recognisable as true leaders. Additionally, the statements can be contended to present the behaviour of assertiveness as one that young women mentees need to take up, as the statements state that young women mentees cannot let themselves be affected by thoughts of others, if they want to be a part of leadership.

From the statements and analysis above, I will contend that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents a true form of leader subjectivity as a form of subjectivity, based on an inclusion of the behavioural trait of assertiveness, and an exclusion of the behavioural trait of niceness. So, as the mentoring presents a behaviour of niceness as one young women mentees need to abandon, and a behaviour of assertiveness as one young women mentees need to embrace, if they want to be recognisable a practitioners of true leadership.

**Emotionality / Professionalism |** In this section of the analysis, I will analyse how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents the behavioural traits of emotionality and professionalism in a context of a true and recognisable form of leadership behaviour. More specifically, I will study which forms of behaviour the mentoring guides young women mentees to embrace and distance themselves from, if they want to be recognisable as true leaders. The first statements, which I find it relevant to present in order to conduct the intended analysis are from the following quote:

> You cannot be emotionally engaged [when being in a position of leadership], because then you cannot manage your job. It's not fun to fire people, but it can be necessary because of cut downs, or because they don't perform, and then I have to do it in the best possible way. And that requires that I'm professional. If I sit down and cry with the other person [a fired employee], then I'm not helping the other person, the only thing that will happen is that afterwards, the other person will be like 'what the hell just happened?' And then he will call me unprofessional. So if I want to do my work [as a leader] right, then I have to park the personal, it can be both sympathies and antipathies, and say, this I have to do […] And that requires professionalism, otherwise I cannot say things the right way, I cannot do that if I sit there with a big lump in my throat… (Interview Mentor 2: 26.09, 27.19)

The statements state that in order to function in a position of leadership "*You cannot be emotionally engaged, because then you cannot manage your job*". Additionally, the statements state that managing the job as a leader "*… in the best possible way […] require[s] that [you're] professional […] and park the personal.*" By stating the way they do, I will assert that the statements of the quote present the trait of emotionality as one that young women mentees need to abandon, and the opposite trait of professionalism as one that young women mentees need to adopt, if they want to be considered as true leaders, partaking in "*right*" forms of leadership.

Similar to the statements of the quote above, the statements of the quote beneath present the behaviour of emotionality, and "*… that thing about feeling…*", as a form of behaviour, young women mentees should distance themselves from, if they want to be recognisable as true leaders:

> I think that I am very rational as a person, so when I'm at work, I turn on, I mean then it's the rational [mentor's own name] that's at work, so that thing about feeling, I really do not do that a lot when I… I mean of course I'm not totally numb, but I mean it's just the rational part of me that takes over when I'm at work… And I think that it's an advantage because then you avoid going into a form of behaviour, which isn't appropriate, and that just… You need to keep your dignity, if you become too emotional then you just become too vulnerable [to function in a position as a leader]. (Interview Mentor 3: 14.17)

The statements of the quote state that "*… if you become too emotional then you just get too vulnerable [to function in a position as a leader]*". In that way, the statements also state that young women mentees cannot function in a context of leadership, if they behave in too "*… emotional ways…*". Besides stating that young women mentees need to distance themselves from a behaviour of emotionality, the statements of the quote can also be argued to denote that young women mentees should replace the behaviour of emotionality with the behaviour of professionalism, in the sense of rationalism. This I will assert, as the statements state that letting ones rationality take over for ones emotionality, when acting and performing in a field of leadership, is "*… an advantage…*".

From the next quote, one can further see that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents an empathetic, and thus emotional, form behaviour, as one that young women mentees need to abandon, if they want to be recognisable as true leaders. Additionally, one can see that the mentoring regards professionalism as a behavioural trait that young women mentees need to adopt:

> They [mentors and external speakers] told us that we had to be careful of not being too empathetic, I mean that was our strength, the fact that we were able to be empathetic, but it was also our weakness… But you had to be careful not to be like 'feeling-feeling' [føle-føle-agtig], be careful that you didn't become too close friends with people… If they were your employees then you had to be like tough, and you had to distance yourself from them, that was one of the advices we were given, I mean you had to… And again, it was to a certain extent, as the empathetic side could also mean that you could relate to your employees in another way than a man… But you had to be careful that you didn't become one who had employees sitting in your office whining every Wednesday, because something had happened at home or they thought that life was hard […] I mean, it is difficult to uphold a position of leader if you also have to be the BFF [Best Friend Forever] and be ready with Kleenex every single time something bad happens. (Interview Mentee 4 (2): 3.45, 4.48)

The quote actually states that at times the emotional trait of empathy, understood as the ability to emotionally relate to other people, can be an advantage in a context of leadership. The statements do, however, I will argue, eliminate the legitimacy of their own stating, and so as they additionally indicate that in order to be able to "… *uphold a position of leader…*", it is necessary to keep a professional distance to ones employees, and not be emotionally involved. This is the case, as if one is not professionally distanced, and instead emotionally involved, one will end up in the untrue leadership position of being a "*BFF*" who has "… *employees sitting in [the] office whining every Wednesday.*"

The statements of the following quote do, like the statements of the quote above, present the behavioural trait of emotionality as a behavioural trait that it is necessary for young women mentees to distance themselves from, and the behavioural trait of professionalism as one they need to take up, if they want to perform a true form of leadership behaviour:

> Work, work, work, professionalism, professionalism, professionalism… I think my mentor presented it something like that… Maybe that is a bit exaggerated, but you need to be hard working and extremely professional in order to be a leader, you cannot be feeling too much, you need to focus (Interview Mentee 3: 16.34)

The statements of the quote arguably state that the behavioural trait of "*… professionalism, professionalism, professionalism…*" is a necessary trait to attain in order to become a true leader, and so as they state that "… *you need to be hard working and extremely professional in order to be a leader…*". Furthermore, the statements state that if you want to be a leader, you "… *cannot*

*be feeling too much…"*, as it can distract you from the strong "*focus*", which it is necessary to have in order to be recognisable as a true figure in leadership.

The last two quotes, I will present in order to analyse how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents the behavioural traits of emotionality versus professionalism in a context of leadership are the ones beneath:

> You [as a leader] need to develop an ability to be professional […] If you feel like, you would like to be friends with everyone, then you really need to work carefully with yourself before you attempt to take a step up the ladder of leadership. (Interview Mentor 1: 8.50, 21.18).

From the statements of the first quote, it is seen that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme argues that if you want to be a true leader "*You need […] to develop an ability to be professional…*", as well as "*… you need to work carefully with yourself…*", if you would like to be emotionally involved with other people, and "*… feel like, you would like to be friends with everyone…*". From the statements of the second quote, it is similar seen that you should be professional and not emotional in order be a part of leadership. So, since the statements of the quote state:

> If it hurts in your stomach every single time you need to make a decision, and you can't sleep [when having to take decisions], then it's really bad, then you shouldn't be a leader…" (Interview Mentor 1: 24.27).

The statements emphasise that if young women mentees want to be recognised as true leaders, they need to adopt the behavioural trait of professionalism, and the ability to not feel and be emotional, when they make decisions. So, as the statements of the quote state that "*… you shouldn't be a leader…*", if you get emotionally affected, and if "*… it hurts in your stomach [,] every single time you need to make a decision…*".

From the statements and analysis above, I will contend that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents a true form of leader subjectivity, as a form of subjectivity, based on a distance to a behaviour of emotionality, and an embracement of a behaviour of professionalism. So, as the mentoring presents the behavioural trait of emotionality as one young women mentees need to exclude from their behaviour, and the behavioural trait of professionalism as one they need to include in their behaviour, if they want to be recognisable as true leaders.

**High Priority / Low Priority of Family/Domestic Work |** In this section of the analysis, I will analyse how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents the behaviour of high versus low priority of family, children, and home in a context of true and recognisable forms of leadership behaviour. In that way, I will examine which forms of behaviour the mentoring guides young women mentees to respectively abandon and adopt, if they want to be considered as true leader potential. The first statements, I find it relevant to present, in order to conduct the intended analysis, are the ones from the quote beneath:

> Well, for instance, I've worked part-time in times of my career, whether I would have done it today, I don't know, but I worked part-time for a period of my career, when I had young children, and that hasn't hindered me in getting a career in leadership afterwards, I mean then you should of course not expect to become director when you're 30, so… So, I guess I can give the advice that just because you make that choice [working part time while having young children]… That doesn't mean that it's the right thing to do for everyone, and I'm not sure it would be for me today, but it doesn't necessarily mean that you have closed the door to a career in leadership. (Interview Mentor 1: 02.40)

From the statements of the quote it is arguably seen that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Program states that it is not impossible for young women mentees to become leaders, if they choose to work part-time and have family and domestic work as a their highest priority. I will, however, argue that despite the mentoring contends that it is possible for young women mentees to enter leadership, even if they choose to work part-time, the mentoring does not present this life as optimal in a context of leadership. So, as the mentor stating the statements of the quote, repeatedly indicates that if she, based on her current experiences, had to choose whether to work part-time or not, she would choose not to. The statements of the quote first state that "*I've worked part-time in times of my career, whether I would have done it today, I don't know…*", and do then state that "*That doesn't mean that it's the right thing to do for everyone, and I'm not sure it would be for me today…*", when arguing for the possible choice of working part-time and prioritising children and domestic work. By stating in the inconsistent way it does, I will contend that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents a behaviour of not working part-time, and prioritising work and full working hours, as the most optimal form of behaviour, if one wants to be recognised as true leadership potential.

The statements of the following quote support the argument, presented in regard to the statements of the quote above:

> Women still take way too much of the domestic work, women work part time, and women choose to take 12 months of leave, and it's not because you shouldn't make those choices, but you just need to be aware that these individual choices have consequences, and that means – I mean it's obvious – that if you're away from work in over a year… It's not that I can't relate to the bleeding heart of a mother and all that, but if you're away for more than a year [for leave], that's a long time, and things are moving really, really fast… And then maybe you're like, 'oh, that doesn't matter', but of course it matters… And then when you come back to work, if you're then the one who is always picking up children, and you're the one always taking the child's first sick day [barnets første sygedag], then you're just less at work, and maybe I [as a leader] just can't count on you. (Interview Mentor 2: 29.52)

From the the quote it can be contended that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme states that if young women mentees choose to focus on family and child caring instead of career, then they are very likely to be disqualified for potential future leadership positions. So, as the statements of the quote state that if you, for instance, "*… choose to take 12 months of leave… [and you are] the one who is always picking up children, and you're the one always taking the child's first sick day [barnets første sygedag]…*", then your leader cannot count on you in, for example, positions of responsibility, such as leadership positions.

The statements of the following quote do, similar to the statements of the quotes above, state that it is difficult to be a recognised part of leadership, if one has family and domestic work as a high priority, and thus prioritises one's children higher than work:

> Well, I have two children, they are grown ups now, and I have a husband, so I've also had to balance in this space [leadership/home]. And what I have told my mentees is, that they just have to know that that's the way it is, and then you just have to accept that there are things you just cannot do, because obviously you cannot pick up your children every day at 2 PM if you have a job [as a leader], I mean, you just need to not do that! (Interview Mentor 3: 4.28)

The statements of the quote state that in order to be able to perform in a context of leadership, young women mentees have to accept that "*… there are things you just cannot do…*", and one of those things are that you "*… cannot pick up [...] children every day at 2 PM…*".

The last statements I have chosen to look closer to, in order to analyse how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents the behaviour of having family and domestic work as a high instead of a low priority, are in the following quote:

> When I have fallen short [in regard to career] it's been because I haven't been able to spend enough time and be present at work. And there've been periods, where I haven't been able to be that, because I had young children… So that thing about not being able to show that you perform all the time, that has been where I have been facing some obstacles I think. (Interview Mentor 3: 12.15)

The statements of the quote, I will assert, demonstrate that if young women mentees wish to succeed in a position of leadership, then they will have to have work and full working hours as a main priority. So, as young women mentees will "… *fall short [in regard to career]…*", if they are not "… *able to spend enough time and be present at work.*"

From the statements and analysis above, I will contend that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents a true form of leader subjectivity as a form of subjectivity, based on a low priority of family and domestic work. So, as the mentoring presents a behaviour, where family and domestic work have high priority, as a form of behaviour that is incompatible with a position in leadership, and thus as a behaviour, which is unrecognisable in regard to true forms of leadership.

**Perfectionism / Looseness |** In this last section of the first part of the analysis, I will focus on analysing how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents the behavioural traits of perfectionism and looseness in a context of true and recognisable forms of leadership behaviour. In that way, I will examine which forms of behaviour the mentoring guides young women mentees to take on and distance themselves from, respectively, if they want to be recognisable in a context of true leadership. The first quote I will use to analyse on the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme is the one beneath:

> That thing of being able to say that sometimes you will learn from your mistakes… Because there are a lot women out there, who are oh so cautious, and they are Straight A Girls[14], and they want to do everything oh so good, and that often makes the road towards leadership very difficult… It can take way too long for an assignment to be handed in, because you need to be so thorough… It can also be that you are afraid of taking the necessary chances. (Interview Mentor 2: 2.20).

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[14] I have chosen to use the term of Straight A Girls for the Danish media figure of '12-tals piger'.

From the statements of the quote, I will argue that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme states that in order to be a recognisable part of leadership, young women mentees need to distance themselves from a behaviour of perfectionism. So, as the statements state that if one behaves in a perfectionist manner, then "… *the road towards leadership [will be] very difficult…*", as it can then be "… *that you are too afraid of taking the necessary chances.*" From the statements of the quote, I will further contend that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme states that in order to be recognisable in a context of true leadership, young women mentees need to embrace a behaviour of looseness, in the sense of being willing to accept to "… *learn from [their] mistakes…*" instead of panicking about potentially making them.

The statements of the following quote do, similar to the statements of the quote above, describe a behaviour of perfectionism as a form of behaviour, which young women mentees should distance themselves from, if they want to be perceived as true leaders. Additionally, they also present the behaviour of looseness as one young women mentees should embrace:

> Well, in regard to that, I have talked a lot to them [young women mentees] about the 'gen of perfection' – you know those straight A Girls – a lot of them have that gen… If you don't want to kill yourself with work, then you need to figure out when enough is enough… What kind of quality level is it that you want to deliver on, you need to figure that out… Otherwise you cannot become a leader capable of deciding and acting. (Interview Mentor 1: 23.37)

From the statements of the quote, one can see that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme contends that if you want to "…*become a leader capable of deciding and acting*" then you need to "… *figure out what kind of quality level you want to deliver on…*". In that way, the mentoring also indicate that young women mentees need to negotiate their potential will of wanting to perform to perfection, and deliver perfect results, if they want to be true and competent leaders. Further, than stating that young women mentees need to negotiate their potential will of wanting to perform to perfection, if they want to be true and competent leaders, the mentoring also states that young women mentees need to negotiate their potential "*'gen of perfection'*", and embrace a behaviour of looseness, by developing the ability "… *to figure out when enough is enough…*".

The last statements, which I will use to analyse how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents a behaviour of perfectionism versus looseness in a context of leadership is the following:

Of course, you need to know what you are doing, but sometimes you also need to consider the fact that people [operating in leadership] like when you're not too perfect… That thing of women just sitting there ready with their sharpened pencils… Men [dominating the field of leadership] like when it's a bit looser, and you have to show that you accept that they do it differently […] You don't need to be perfect all the time, because then you become inhuman, and then you will be deselected [for leadership] on the basis of that. (Interview Mentor 3: 16.55, 21.29)

The statements state that in order to be able to operate and navigate in a field of leadership, young women mentees "… *need to consider the fact that people [operating in leadership] like when you're not too perfect…*". In that way, they also denote that perfectionism is a behavioural trait that young women mentees should distance themselves from, if they want to operate as true leaders. Further, the statements state that because men, and thus the agents, often promoting other agents for leadership, do not like the behaviour of perfectionism, young women mentees should abandon this particular trait, if they want to be a part of leadership: "*Men [dominating the field of leadership] like when it's a bit looser, and you have to show that you accept that they do it differently […] You don't have to be perfect all the time, because then you become inhuman…*".

From the statements and analysis above, I will contend that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents a true form of leader subjectivity as a form of subjectivity, based on a distance to a behaviour of perfectionism and an embracement a behaviour of looseness. So, as the mentoring presents the behavioural trait of perfectionism as one young women mentees need to exclude from their behaviour, and the behavioural trait of looseness as one they need to include in their behaviour, if they want to be recognisable in a context of true forms of leadership.

**Summary: Linguistic Guidance** | From the analyses of the linguistic guidance of the Talent Mentor Programme, I will conclude that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme produces a true and recognisable form of leader subjectivity as a form of subjectivity, based on an inclusion of the behavioural traits of assertiveness, professionalism, looseness, and a low priority of family and domestic work, and an exclusion of the behavioural traits of niceness, emotionality, perfectionism, and a high priority of family and domestic work. Hence, I will also conclude that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme linguistically guides young women mentees to embrace a behaviour of assertiveness, professionalism, looseness, and a low priority of family and domestic work, as well as to distance their behaviour from a behaviour of niceness, emotionality, perfectionism, and a high priority of family and domestic work.

**Affective Guidance |** In this part of the analysis, I will analyse how affectivity and affective investments, rather than linguistic statements, guide young women mentees to take on the specific true and recognisable form of leader subjectivity analysed above. This I will do with the use of the same set of statements and quotes as used above, though there will be small adjustment in the use of quotes, in order to underline my analytical points. The analysis will, similar to the analysis on linguistic guidance, be structured from the four discursive formations, diagnosed in the qualitative content analysis. It will, however, on top include an introductory section on the theories of Silvan Tomkins (1995) and Ahmed (2010), and so since the analysis will build on the shame-theoretical work of Tomkins (1995), and the work on happiness by Ahmed (2010), and a detailed introduction to the two scholars' work does thus appear necessary.

**The Shame/Happiness Dynamics[15] |** Despite being developed within a tradition of positivism and biology, the affect theoretical work of Tomkins (1995) appears to be the most embraced work of shame, by affect theoretical scholars (see e.g. Baagø, 2012; Sedgwick, 2003; Bjerg and Staunæs, 2011; Staunæs and Pors, 2015). Tomkins' affect theoretical work is based on the idea that in human kinds there are eight basic affects: *Interest/excitement*, *enjoyment/joy*, *surprise/startle*, *distress/anguish*, *anger/rage*, *fear/terror*, *contempt/disgust*, and *shame/humiliation* (Tomkins, 1995; see also Staunæs and Pors, 2015). Each affect covers a continuum of varying affective intensities, whereof the first one listed in the naming indicates the weakest affective intensity, while the last one listed indicates the strongest affective intensity (Staunæs and Pors, 2015).

According to Tomkins (1995), the affect of shame is strongly connected to the state of dignity, and human kinds' biologically rooted need of walking upright in dignity (see also Kladakis, 2012; Kladakis, 2014). The strong connection Tomkins (1995) sees between the affect of shame and human kinds' rooted need of walking upright in dignity makes him argue that the physical posture of bending the head and turning away is a sign of hurt dignity. Expanding on Tomkins' understanding of human kinds' reaction to the evocation of shame, Bjerg and Staunæs (2011) write:

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[15] The shame/happiness is a dynamics, which I have defined myself, on the basis of Tomkins (1995) and Ahmed's (2010) theories. The dynamics does, as it will be demonstrated in the analysis, cover a specific 'turning away/turning-towards dynamics', uniting the actions of evocating shame and promising happiness in order to guide young women mentees to either turn away or turn towards specific forms of behaviour.

> When being shameful, the subject is confronted with both itself and the 'object' – the relation, person or activity outside the subject – that triggers shame. *Shame [...] makes us look down and turn away* in order to protect ourselves from the confrontation with the surroundings that triggered the shameful feeling. (p. 145, my italics)

From the quote of Bjerg and Staunæs (2011) one sees that the affect of shame can be understood as an affective intensity, manifesting itself in the movement of looking down, while motivating a movement of turning away from the object that activates the affective intensity.

Tomkins (1995) does not only argue that the affect of shame is connected to the state of dignity and human kinds' biologically rooted need of walking upright in dignity. Tomkins also assert that the affect of shame is strongly connected to the affects of interest and recognition (Staunæs and Pors, 2015; Baagø, 2012). So, as he argues that the affect of shame is evoked when an agent has made a positive investment in a given object/subject of interest and that positive investment is disappointed (Staunæs and Pors, 2015). When an agent, for instance, seeks the positive recognition of another human being, and that other human being does not deliver the sought recognition, the agent will feel humiliated and ashamed (see Bjerg and Staunæs, 2011; see e.g. also Baagø, 2012). Because the affect of shame is closely linked to the affects of interest and recognition, the affect of shame should not only be seen as one, activating a movement of bending the head and turning away. It should also be seen as an affect, motivating an uptake of a new and opposite forms of behaviour (Probyn, 2005). This is the case, since when an agent has attempted to gain the recognition of an object/subject of interest by performing one form of behaviour, and that form of behaviour has not released recognition, the agent will then attempt to gain the recognition from the object/subject by performing a new and opposite form of behaviour (Ibid.).

In her book *The Promise of Happiness* (2010), Ahmed contends that the promise of happiness, just like investments of the affect of shame, serves a guiding function. Contrary to the investment of the affect of shame, the promise of happiness does, however, not serve a guiding function by motivating a movement of *turning away*. Instead, the promise of happiness serves a guiding function by motivating a movement of *turning towards*. Ahmed (2010) contends that the promise of happiness serves a guiding function of motivating a turning towards-movement, since the promise of happiness directs agents towards certain culturally accepted signifiers of happiness. The culturally accepted signifiers, Ahmed (2010: 29) baptises *happy objects*, while emphasising that the concept of *object* must be understood in a broad and non-rigid sense. This is the case, since objects can translate into variable matters and take various shapes, forms, and designs:

> We could say that happiness is promised through proximity to certain objects. Objects would refer not only to physical or material things but also to anything that we might imagine lead us to happiness, including objects in the sense of values, practice styles, as well as aspirations. (p. 29).

As seen from the quote above, happy objects can look in different ways, and their form often take a particular shape, depending on the specific social context the objects are set and constituted within (Ahmed, 2010). In some social contexts the idea of travelling and living a rootless life can, for instance, be perceived as bringing joy and happiness. In other social contexts, an opposite rooted form of life with stability and steadiness can be seen to lead to a happy living.

Despite the fact that happy objects can take varying shapes, they are all common in the sense that they are invested with positively marked feelings and thus circulate as culturally accepted signifiers of the happy life (Ahmed, 2010: 17, 29). Just because happy objects circulate as accepted signifiers of the happy life, it does, however, not mean that they should be analysed through elements, seen as related to happiness (Ahmed, 2010). Rather, happy objects should be analysed through contrary elements, seen as related to unhappiness. This is the case, as the scope of unhappiness, according to Ahmed (2012: 12, 17-18), is what constitutes the opposite scope of happiness. Working from a queer- and norm critical perspective, Ahmed (2010) asserts that what constitutes happiness is to be found in analysis and identification of, for instance, the social groups, subjects, identities, and forms of living, which are excluded and abjected, when the affect of happiness comes to represent the end goal of life.

In the following analysis, I will activate the shame/happiness dynamics in a context of the same four discursive formations as the ones analysed in the prior part of the analysis. This I will do, in order to analyse how discursive investments of shame, and discursive investments of promises of happiness, can be seen to motivate different behavioural movements, aligned with the true and recognisable leadership behaviour analysed above. Despite the theories of Tomkins and Ahmed take up the same amount of space in the presentation of the shame/happiness dynamics, Tomkins' theories will take up the main space in the analysis. This is the case, as my data reveals that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme invests the affect of shame to a much greater extent than it makes promises of happiness.

**Turning Away from Niceness – Taking Up Assertiveness |** In this section of the analysis, I will activate Tomkins' (1995) shame-theoretical work in order to analyse how discursive investments of

the affect of shame come to play a role in the government of the Talent Mentor Programme, when it comes to guidance on nice and assertive behaviour. The first statements, I have chosen for analysis are the ones of the quote beneath:

> … Another thing is, that they [the women mentee] should let go of their niceness. […] I have talked to so many [women mentee] in here [at DJOEF] and they have a great potential and their talent is obvious, but they are just sitting there waiting to be seen, and you don't have to do that, you need to go for it… And it's okay to steel from other people's food bowl, it doesn't matter… […] If we could just make them loosen the harness, these 'dear little ladies', then we would be a long way [in regard to moving women into leadership]. (Interview with the Consultant: 8.16, 46.24)

From the statements of the quote, I will argue that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme invests the behavioural trait of niceness with the affect of humiliation, being one of the affective intensities of the shame/humiliation-continuum. This I will argue, as the mentoring places young women mentees who perform the behaviour of niceness, and do not aggressively "*… steel from other people's food bowl…*", in the social position of "*… 'dear little ladies'…*". The position of 'dear little ladies', I will contend, is a humiliating social position to be placed within in general, but especially in a context of leadership, where agents of the opposite social position of 'big strong men' have always been seen as the respectable ones (see e.g. Christiansen, Møller, and Tågeby, 2001; see e.g. also Larsen, Ellersgaard, and Bernsen, 2015).

That the shame-related affect of humiliation is invested in the behavioural trait of niceness can further be seen from the statements of the following quote. So, as the statements of the quote state:

> You should have a certain humbleness, but you shouldn't be humble in a way that does not promote yourself. That they [the women mentee] need to learn, to bring themselves forward, to the front position, so they don't end up just being the ones who carry the bags […]. They need to stand up for themselves, you need to fight for it, so to say … (Interview Mentor 2: 15.12, 15.39)

Like the statements in the prior quote, the statements of the quote above place young women mentees who are too nice and "*humble*" to assertively "*… stand up for themselves […] and fight for it…*" in a humiliating social position. Instead of placing the young women mentees in the humiliating position of 'dear little ladies', like the statements in the prior quote, the statements of the quote above do, however, place young women mentees in the humiliating position of "*… the*

*ones who [will end up] carry the bags*". The social position of 'the ones who carry the bags' does usually describe agents, humbly serving other and more respected people[16] and does in a context of leadership therefore not indicate a form of respected behaviour, leading to a senior position of power.

An additional quote, which I will argue demonstrate that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme places young women mentees who perform a behaviour of niceness in a humiliating position, and thus invests the behavioural trait of niceness with shame, is the following:

> I mean, you shouldn't bully anyone, but you need to fight for it [leadership], you shouldn't let yourself get hammered into place, I mean it's fine to help other people to a certain extent, but don't be an underdog (Interview Mentor 2: 15.45)

From the quote, I will assert that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme denotes that young women mentees who are too nice to assertively "… *fight for it…*", and are hence "… *hammered into place…*", belong in the humiliating social position of "*underdog*". Like the two social positions of 'dear little ladies' and 'the ones who carry the bags', the social position of 'underdog' is a humiliating position to be placed within in general, but especially in a context of leadership, where it is required that one is in lead and not solely obeying orders.

Contrary to the statements of the three quotes above, the statements of the following quote do not place young women mentees, carrying the behavioural trait of niceness, in a humiliating social position. Instead they state that young women mentees who are not able to break with a habit of nice and cautious behaviour are shamefully weak:

> I think one of the most important advices that I have been given by my mentor is actually to just go for it and not be shy… And I have definitely taken that advice with me in the sense that now I'm actually approaching male colleagues that… Before I would have been like 'I can't take their time, I can't bother them, I mean, I'm just little me, why would they care about me?' But now I'm like, if I think that they are relevant for my network and career development, I will go and ask them what I need to ask. And that I wouldn't have done before [she had attended the Talent Mentor Programme] […] And I mean, like my mentor said: 'How hard can it be?' (Interview Mentee 3: 5.38, 5.50)

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[16] One could, for instance, draw attention to the hotel piccolo, having the sole function of servicing people, who are rich and successful enough to be staying at the hotel where the piccolo performs his/her service of carrying bags.

The statements of the quote above, I will contend, present young women mentees who do not break with a habit of cautious, and thus often nice and considerate, behaviour, as shamefully weak. So, since the statements ask the question *"… 'How hard can it be?'"*. The question 'How hard can it be?' arguably denotes that young women mentees, who are not able to perform the indicated simple action of leaving a behaviour of caution, niceness, and consideration should 'pull themselves together'.

From the quotes and statements above, I will contend that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme makes use of a shaming/humiliation-strategy, investing the behavioural trait of niceness with the affect of shame/humiliation. Additionally, I will, with reference to Tomkins' shame-theoretical work, assert that by investing the behavioural trait of niceness with shame/humiliation, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme motivates a behavioural movement of turning away from a behaviour of niceness, as well as a behavioural movement of taking up a new and opposite form of behaviour. The new and opposite form of behaviour being the behaviour of assertiveness, as analysed in the qualitative content analysis.

**Turning Away from Emotionality – Taking up Professionalism** | In this section of the analysis, I will examine how the shaming/humiliation-strategy analysed in the first section of this analysis, is expanded to not only include the behavioural trait of niceness, but also the behavioural trait of emotionality. Thus, I will in this part of the analysis look further to how the affective investments of shame/humiliation come to play a role in the government of the Talent Mentor Programme. The statements of the following quote are the first, which I will use for analysis:

> You cannot be emotionally engaged [when being in a position of leadership], because then you cannot manage your job. It's not fun to fire people, but it can be necessary because of cut downs, or because they don't perform, and then I have to do it in the best possible way. And that requires that I'm professional. If I sit down and cry with the other person [a fired employee], then I'm not helping the other person, the only thing that will happen is that afterwards, the other person will be like 'what the hell just happened?' And then he will call me unprofessional. So if I want to do my work [as a leader] right, then I have to park the personal, it can be both sympathies and antipathies, and say, this I have to do […] And that requires professionalism, otherwise I cannot say things the right way, I cannot do that if I sit there with a big lump in my throat… (Interview Mentor 2: 26.09, 27.19)

From the statements of the quote, I will assert that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme states that a leader will humiliatingly loose face in the eyes of others if (s)he exhibits emotional

behaviour. This is the case, as the statements state that if a leader "… *sit[s] down and cry with the other person [a fired employee]*", then the other person will be like "'*What the hell just happened?*'", and so indicate that other people will look down upon leaders, showing signs of emotions.

Supporting my arguments from above, the statements of the next quote contend that not being professional, in the sense of being rational, is a shameful matter in a context of leadership:

> I think that I am very rational as a person, so when I'm at work, I turn on, I mean then it's the rational [mentor's own name] that's at work, so that thing about feeling, I really do not do that a lot when I… I mean of course I'm not totally numb, but I mean it's just the rational part of me that takes over when I'm at work… And I think that it's an advantage because then you avoid going into a form of behaviour, which isn't appropriate, and that just… You need to keep your dignity, if you become too emotional then you just become too vulnerable. (Interview Mentor 3: 14.17)

The statements of the quote, I will contend, create a connection between not being professional and an undignified "…*form of behaviour, which isn't appropriate…*". This is the case, since the statements state that "… *You need to keep your dignity…*" while also stating that is not possible "… *if you become too emotional…*".

That the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme describes emotionality as a humiliating matter, and in that way invests the behavioural trait of emotionality with the affect of shame/humiliation, is additionally seen from the statements of the next quote:

> They [mentors and external speakers] told us that we had to be careful of not being too empathetic, I mean that was our strength, the fact that we were able to be empathetic, but it was also our weakness… But you had to be careful not to be like 'feeling-feeling' [føle-føle-agtig], be careful that you didn't become too close friends with people… If they were your employees, then you had to be like tough, and you had to distance yourself from them, that was one of the advices we were given, I mean you had to… And again, it was to a certain extent, as the empathetic side could also mean that you could relate to your employees in another way than a man… But you had to be careful that you didn't become one who had employees sitting in your office whining every Wednesday, because something had happened at home, or they thought that life was hard […] I mean, it is difficult to uphold a position of leader if you also have to be the BFF [Best Friend Forever] and be ready with Kleenex every single time something bad happens. (Interview Mentee 4 (2): 3.45, 4.48)

The statements do actually state that "…*They [mentors and external speakers] told us that we had to be careful of not being too empathetic, I mean that was our strength, the fact that we were able to be empathetic, but it was also our weakness*". In that way, the statements also contend that the emotional trait of empathy can be seen both as a strength and a weakness in a context of leadership. I will, however, argue that the statements primarily describe empathy as a weakness, which will place young women mentees in a humiliating position. This is the case, as the statements state that agents acting empathetic will potentially end up in a position where they will be overrun by "*BBF['s]*" who will "… *come whining every Wednesday…*".

The second to last quote I will contend demonstrates that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme is investing the behaviour of emotionality with the affect of shame/humiliation is the following:

> I've talked to my mentor about how you handle these difficult things about being a leader, I mean things such a firing people, telling them that their work isn't sufficient… All those things… And she told me that once, when she was a young leader, like very young and inexperienced, she had been in a situation where she had to let go of an employee… Not because the employee was a bad employee, but because there was a cut down… Or… Well, something like that, it doesn't matter, but it wasn't because the employee had fucked up or something… But then she told me that she had been so affected that she couldn't help but shed a tear… I mean, when she fired him… And she had felt, well kind of embarrassed because you don't do that, you need to be in control, you need to be professional, you need to show your employees that they can trust you, that you are doing the right thing… That you're in control… (Interview Mentee 3: 17.12)

From the statements of the quote, I will assert that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme connects the behaviour of emotionality, and the action of "… *Shed[ding] a tear…*", to something young women mentees should feel humiliated by and "*embarrassed*"[17] about.

Just like I have argued that the statements of the quote above connect a behaviour of emotionality to something embarrassing/humiliating, I will argue that the statements of the last analysed quote beneath, connect a behaviour of emotionality to something humiliating:

> Just like we talked about how my mentor thought it was embarrassing that she had cried when she fired that employee… Like, we talked about that you need to

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[17] The affective intensity of embarrassment is a part of the shame/humiliation continuum, Tomkins (1995) describes. The affective intensity of embarrassment is placed in the middle of the affective intensities of shame and humiliation (Kladakis, 2012).

be in control, when you're a leader… My mentor also told me that other times, when it's important to be in control, is when your employees are having a hard time… I mean, as a leader it's a little awkward, if you become all emotional, and sad, and too moved and affected, when an employee comes to tell you that she needs leave due to someone in the family being ill or something… I mean that is also a part of being a leader, having to deal with these very touchy issues, and you need to be able to handle that, there is no other way to go around it. (Interview Mentee 3: 22.13)

The statements of the quote state that "*… as a leader it's a little awkward, if you become all emotional, and sad, and too moved and affected, when an employee comes to tell you that she needs leave due to someone in the family being ill or something…*". In that way, the statements also indicate that it is "*awkward*", and thus partly humiliating to show emotions, when acting in a context of leadership. The argument is supported by the fact that the first part of the quote state that "*Just like we talked about how my mentor thought is was embarrassing that she had cried when she fired that employee…*" and in that way transmits the affect of embarrassment invested in a prior action to the action presented in the quote.

From the quotes and statements above, I will contend that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme expands the shaming/humiliation-strategy, analysed in the prior sections of this analysis, to include the behavioural trait of emotionality. So, as I will assert that the mentoring invests the behavioural trait of emotionality with the same affect of shame/humiliation, as it invests the behavioural trait of niceness with. Since I will assert that mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme invests the behavioural trait of emotionality with shame/humiliation, I will also argue that the mentoring motivates a behavioural movement of turning away from a behaviour of emotionality, as well as a behavioural movement of taking up a new and opposite behaviour. The new and opposite behaviour being the behaviour of professionalism, as analysed in the qualitative content analysis.

**Turning Towards a Life Where Work Has High Priority |** This part of the analysis will differ from the two parts of the analysis above, since this analysis will not solely work with the affect of shame but also the promise of (un)happiness. The work with the promise of (un)happiness in this particular part of the analysis is based on the fact that my data in regard to the discursive formation on 'High Priority/Low Priority of Family/domestic Work' seems to draw attention to another form of behavioural movement than the one activated by the affect of shame. I will start this analysis

with a focus on how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme guides to a specific form of behaviour through investments of promises of (un)happiness, and will end with a focus on how the mentoring simultaneously guides through investments of discursive investments of the affect of shame/humiliation.

Following the strategy of Ahmed, contending that one needs to focus on analysis of what constitutes the promise of unhappiness, in order to analyse what constitutes the promise of happiness, I have chosen the statements of the quote beneath as the first statements for analysis:

> You have to be very much aware not to subordinate to the idea that other people have about the life that is right and wrong for you… You will not become the perfect mother – or the perfect father – who will show up at all the parent meetings, and who shows up with fresh-baked bread, and who can just show up at 11 PM Friday morning, because the school or the kindergarten is like 'you should do that'. (Interview Mentor 1: 10.20)

From the statements of the quote, I will assert that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme states that choosing to live a life, where focus is on satisfying the rules of social life in kindergarten and school, rather than prioritising work, is to "… *subordinate to the idea other people have about the life that is right and wrong for you*". In that way, I will also contend that the mentoring presents a life where family and home have higher priority than work as a life where young women mentees follow the norms of society instead of prioritising the matters that would actually make them happy.

Arguing in line with the statements of the previous quote, the statements of the next quote indicate that young women mentees are likely to live unhappy lives, if they choose for a life where family and home have greater priority than work and full working hours:

> I also made some other choices [when I was young], and you can do that for a period, but you just need to be very conscious about the consequences of the choices you make, and be like, this is what I want… I was, for instance, in the private sector, then I moved into the public sector [when she became pregnant and had a child], which happens to a lot of women […] And it suited me well, it was actually kind of interesting… Obviously, I experienced a tremendous pay cut, but ahm… But I think, that was fine for a period, and I actually ended up being there for about 10 years, but then I came out [out in private sector], and then it went fast… (Interview Mentor 2: 32.55, 33.36)

The statements of the quote state that having a job in the public sector, which the statements use as a synonym to a family-friendly work-place, is "…*fine for a period*…", while indicating that it will make young women mentees with leadership ambitions unhappy, if it becomes a permanent situation. The indication, I will contend, is clear from the statements, stating that a dominating focus on family, and a job in the public sector, will lead to a "… *tremendous pay cut*…", and a stagnation in young women mentees' careers, which will not fast track until they *"…[come] out [in the private sector]…"*.

That the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Program invests a life where family and home have higher priority than work with the promise of unhappiness is additionally seen from the statements of the next quote. The statements of the next quote do, however, not only focus on how young women mentees will become unhappy if they prioritise family, children, and home higher than work, they also focus on how the choice of a such life will make young women mentees' children unhappy:

> Because obviously you cannot pick up your children every day at 2 PM if you have a job [as a leader], I mean you just need to not do that… And then you need to be like that's fine, and the children are fine where they are, and the children will also benefit from having some time off from their parents, and then it's about structuring your time, so you have time to spend with the children when you are off… And then I've also said that I think it's very important that children have the right to have some space, and that they are allowed to be humans and not just to fulfil a need of their father or mother, because they very easily come to do just that – or at least it's likely that they will come to do that – if you don't go to work, if you say it a bit caricatured, then you could say that if you are a stay-at-home mum, well then what's your raison d'être? It is to be a mother to these children, and if these children are suddenly not there, then… Then children play another role in regard to oneself, compared to if you go to work. (Interview Mentor 3: 4.32)

The statements of the quote do first of all state that young women mentees will potentially experience a great void in their lives at some point, if they prioritise children, instead of work and career. This I will argue, as the statements state that "… *if you are a stay-at-home-mum, well then what's your raison d'être? It is to be a mother to these children, and if these children are suddenly not there, then… Then children play another role in regard to oneself, compared to if you go to work*". By stating the way they do, the statements arguably state that young women mentees will loose their raison d'être, their source to happiness, at some point, if they do not establish a fulfilling career. Second to stating that young women mentees will become unhappy, if they choose for a life where family and home have the highest priority, the statements also state that

young women mentees' children will become unhappy, if the mentees have them as greater priority than work. So, as the statements constitute a form of knowledge, stating that children "… *have the right to have some space, and that [children] are allowed to be humans…*", and that right young women mentees will violate by prioritising them too highly and taking too much care of them.

The statements of the next quote do, similar to the statements of the quote above, state that a life where family and home have greater priority than work and full working hours will make both young women mentees and their potential children unhappy:

> I mean, I don't think… I'm not a better mother because I pick up my child at 3 PM, it's not making me happy and a great mum, and it doesn't make my son happy either… I think that, if I could see that he was obviously happy when I showed up at 3 PM, then… But he's more like annoyed, if I show up early… I mean there are some of my female friends, who are like they want part-time jobs, and I'm like good for you, but it's not for me, I would be bored like hell! [Me: but can you connect any of these thoughts to the Talent Mentor Programme?] Yes! Because then there were these women [mentors and external speakers] telling me that it was okay to feel that way. (Interview Mentee 1: 73).

The statements of the quote can be seen to support an understanding of a life where young women mentees have a part-time job, and pick up children early, as a life that does "… *not mak[e] [them] happy and a great mum…*". Additionally, they can be seen to support an understanding of the presented form of life as a form of life that would make young women mentees "… *bored like hell!*" More than the statements can be seen to support an understanding of a life, focusing on family and children, as unhappy and boring for young women mentees, the statements can be seen to support an understanding of a life, focusing on family and home, as being unhappy for children. So, as the statements state that children will be annoyed and unhappy if they are picked up early every day: "*I think that, if I could see that he [son] was obviously happy when I showed up at 3 PM, then… But he's more like annoyed, if I show up early….*".

From the statements and arguments above, one can contend that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Program invests a life where children and home have higher priority than work and full working hours with a promise of unhappiness. In that way, one can also, with reference to the theories of Ahmed, argue that the mentoring invests an opposite form of life, where family and home have lower priority than work, with a contrary promise of happiness. In the remaining sections of the analysis, I will turn to analyse how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme

does not only invest promises of (un)happiness, but also the affect of shame/humiliation, in a form of life, where family and domestic work have main priority. The first statements, which I will use for the analysis of shame-investments, are the ones in the quote beneath:

> Women still take care of way too much of the domestic work, women work part time, and women choose to take 12 months of leave, and it's not because you shouldn't make those choices, but you just need to be aware that these individual choices have consequences, and that means – I mean it's obvious – that if you're away from work in over a year… It's not that I can't relate to the bleeding heart of a mother and all that, but if you're away for more than a year [for leave], that's a long time, and things are moving really, really fast… And then maybe you're like, 'oh, that doesn't matter', but of course it matters… And then when you come back to work, if you're then the one who is always picking up children, and you're the one always taking the child's first sick day [barnets første sygedag], then you're just less at work, and maybe I [as a leader] just can't count on you. (Interview Mentor 2: 29.52, my italics)

The statements of the quote, I will argue, invests the affect of shame/humiliation in a form of behaviour where young women mentees "… *take 12 months of leave…*" and "… *always [take] the child's first sick day [barnets første sygedag]…*". This I will argue, as the statements, despite pretending to show some form of understanding, state the ridiculing and dramatizing statement of "… *It's not that I can't relate to the bleeding heart of a mother and all that…*", and in that way arguably humiliates young women mentees who choose to prioritise their children at the expense of work and career.[18]

The affect of shame/humiliation is arguably also evoked in the next quote, where there are, however, more references to domestic work than to the family and children mostly referred to in the statements of the quotes above:

> We had these different events, and then Merete Eldrup [external speaker and director at TV2] was at one of them, and she said something like, listen this thing of people constantly asking: 'How are you able to manage all that [children and domestic work], how do you find the time? And then sometimes she just felt like yelling, come on, it's not like it's that difficult to bake those buns, I mean it's not like I'm a super human, it takes me like 10 minutes'… So that thing about just bringing it all down to earth, I mean it's not like I'm some Jesus who can walk on the water, I mean things [practical things at home] don't take that long… And that

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[18] The vocal tone of Mentor 2, when she utters the sentence of the bleeding mother heart supports my argument.

thing she said, that I've taken with me, because that is really an attitude I meet a lot. (Interview Mentee 2: 35.20)

The statements of the quote state that domestic work is "… *not that difficult…*" to manage, as it only takes "… *like 10 minutes to bake those buns…*". Furthermore, the statements state that people who manage to deal with practical work in the home, while also having a career, are not "*super human[s]*" or "… *some Jesus who can walk on the water…*". By stating the way they do, I will contend that the statements of the quote present domestic work as something it would be humiliating to prioritise over professional work, and so since domestic matters are simple matters, which everyone should be able to manage on the side of a 'regular' job.

That a behaviour of performing different forms of domestic work is invested with the affect of shame/humiliation is furthermore seen from the following statements, where domestic work, such as cooking and cleaning, are explained as work-assignments, which are rather unimportant to other people:

> I think that what stresses women is that we feel like we are constantly underperforming on more than one level, it's like we're never really able to catch up… And that advice I've taken with me, this thing about some things you just need to let go of, and then accept that you cannot be perfect or a 100 %, but things will be nice and cosy anyway. I mean, like people care about who has made the food they eat anyway, I mean whether they get sushi or a five course dinner I've cooked myself, or whether I've done the cleaning or a cleaning lady has. (Interview Mentee 4(2): 11.34)

From the statements of the quote, it can be seen that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme, supports an understanding of cooking and cleaning as assignments that other people do not care about, and thus as assignments, which it can be humiliating to spend time performing. In a context of having dining friends, the statements state: "… *like people care about what they eat anyway, I mean whether they get sushi or a five course dinner I've cooked myself, or whether I've done the cleaning or a cleaning lady has*".

The last statements, I will argue invest the act of domestic work with shame are the statements of the following quote:

> And that thing about, well, we have had children to spend time with them, I get that… Ehm… We don't want an au pair in our family, I get that… But you need to be aware of the choices you make, and it's just women taking the main responsibility in regard to children, and one thing is the time with the children, but the problem is all the things that come along, the grocery shopping, the

cooking, the cleaning, I don't know why it's always this full package, this housewife-package from the old days… So one thing is to say that you want to spend time with the kids, but this full housewife-package, I mean, for God's sake, just do something about it [Mentor 3 strikes the table], it's not just your responsibility as a woman, it's a common responsibility… I mean, at times I'm also like, I just can't deal with how my home is looking, but then I'm like, like hell, I will be the one grapping the vacuum cleaner, like hell, I will do it… And it's a matter of practice, so I buy the birthday buns in Brugsen, and I mean, it's not like that hurts anyone, it will all be fine, right. (Interview Mentor 2: 34.55)

The statements of the quote, I will assert, invests a behaviour of performing domestic work with shame, by indicating that young women mentees who perform domestic work belong to an 'outdated race', which is shamefully letting itself be dominated by men. The statements of the quote state that "… *I don't know why it's always this full package, this housewife-package from the old days…*", while arguing "… *for God's sake, just do something about it [the full house-wife package], it's not just your responsibility as a woman, it's a common responsibility…*". In that way, the statements also come to denote that young women mentees, who prioritise children, family, home, and domestic work, as old fashioned women, who are humiliatingly caught and subordinated to a rigid pattern from the old days.

From the quotes and statements above, I will contend that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme invests a life where family and home have higher priority than work and full working hours with a promise of unhappiness. In that way, the mentoring also, according to the theories of Ahmed, simultaneously invests the opposite life of having children, family, home, and domestic work as a lower priority than work, with a promise of happiness. By investing a life where work has higher priority than family and home with a promise of happiness, I will assert that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme comes to construct this particular form of life as a happy object, guiding the behaviour of young women mentees towards itself. Besides guiding the behaviour of young women mentees through investments of promises of (un)happiness, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme can also be argued to guide the behaviour of young women mentees through investments of shame. So, as the analysis demonstrates that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme does not only invest promises of unhappiness in a life where family and home have high priority, it also invests elements of shame and humiliation in the life. In that way, the mentoring motivates a behavioural movement of turning away from a life where family and home have high priority, while also motivating a behavioural movement of taking up the alternative and opposite behaviour of prioritising work and full working hours.

**Turning Away From Perfectionism – Taking up Looseness |** In the following sections of the analysis, I will turn away from the focus on synchronized investments of shame and promises of (un)happiness, presented in the sections of the analysis above. So, as I will again turn to solely focus on analysis of how affective investments of shame play a role in the government of the Talent Mentor Programme in regard to the behaviour of perfectionism and looseness. The first quote I have chosen for analysis of shame-investments contains the following statements:

> I believe that, that is also a social dimension [perfection] between women, which we shouldn't underestimate. I mean these Straight A Girls… The insecurity lives inside of them, and I believe that, that is what we [the Talent Mentor Programme] can help them to let go of. (Interview Consultant: 17.10)

From the statements of the quote, it can be argued that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme presents the behavioural trait of perfectionism as a problematic trait that young women mentees need *"… help [...] to let go of."* In that way, it can also be contended that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme, presents the behavioural trait of perfectionism as a shameful trait, which young women mentees should feel embarrassed of owning.

The shaming problematisation of perfectionism, which I will argue the statements of the quote above present, I will additionally argue the statements of the quote beneath present:

> So the women [the perfectionist and thorough ones] need to work with themselves, absolutely […] and we, as leaders, when we meet them [the Straight A Girls], and we do that very often, we need to help them to understand what is really needed [in order to become leaders] […] And I have experienced a lot of our member organisations asking 'can't you help us with these straight A girls'… What should we do with them [the straight A girls]." (Interview Mentor 2, 12.22, 13.24)

The shaming problematisation of the statements can be seen, as the statements state that young women mentees, who carry the behavioural trait of perfectionism, need to *"… work with themselves, absolutely…"*, and so in order to fix themselves, and their shameful perfectionist issues. The shaming problematisation can additionally be seen, as the statements further asks the question of *"What should we do with them [the straight A girls]"* and in that way denote that perfectionist young women mentees are a burden, which others need to be released from.

From the next quote, it is seen how the behavioural trait of perfectionism is invested with the affect of shame/humiliation, by being presented as a humiliating trait, making young women mentees appear partly unfitted:

> That thing of being able to say, that sometimes you will learn from your mistakes…
> Because there are a lot women out there, who are oh so cautious, and they are
> Straight A Girls, and they want to do everything oh so good, and that often makes
> the road towards leadership very difficult… It can take way too long for an
> assignment to be handed in, because you need to be so thorough… It can also be that
> you are afraid of taking chances. (Interview Mentor 2: 2.20).

The statements of the quote state that young women mentees, who carry the trait of perfectionism, and are very thorough in their work, are "*… oh so cautious…*" and "*… oh so good…*". The phrase of "*... oh so...*", I will contend, indicates an intentional humiliation of the two perfectionist traits of being cautious and good, and so since the phrase implies that it is unnecessary, and thus partly unfitted, to be as cautious and good as perfectionist agents often are.[19]

In the statements of the following quote, the behaviour of perfectionism is explained as an exaggerating behaviour, which I will again assert presents young women mentees, who behave in perfectionist ways, in a humiliating way:

> Well, in regard to that, I have talked a lot to them [young women mentees] about
> the 'gen of perfection' – you know those straight A Girls – a lot of them have that
> gen… If you don't want to kill yourself with work, then you need to figure out
> when enough is enough… What kind of quality level is it that you want to deliver
> on, you need to figure that out… Otherwise you cannot become a leader capable
> of deciding and acting. (Interview Mentor 1, 23.37)

The statements of the quote indicate that perfectionist young women mentees are not able to set limits, thus they come to embarrassingly exaggerate their work. This I will argue, as the statements of the quote indicate that perfectionist young women mentees have a hard time "*… figure[ing] out when enough is enough…*", meaning they come to work to an overdone extent, where they will potentially "*… kill [themselves] with work…*".

The statements presented in the next quote differ slightly from the statements presented in the quotes above. This is the case, as they invest the behavioural trait of perfectionism with shame/humiliation, by referring to a dorky visual image:

> Of course, you need to know what you are doing, but sometimes you also need to
> consider the fact that people like when you're not too perfect… That thing of

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[19] This argument is further supported if one listens to the interview, as the tone of voice of the mentor stating the 'oh so' indicates that the mentor finds perfectionist women over-performing and exaggerating.

> women just sitting there ready with their sharpened pencils… Men [dominating the field of leadership] like when it's a bit looser, and you have to show that you accept that they do it differently […] You don't need to be perfect all the time, because then you become inhuman, and then you will be deselected on basis of that. (Interview Mentor 3, 16.55, 21.29)

The statements of the quote describe young women mentees, who are perfectionist in their work, with the image of people "*… just sitting there ready with their sharpened pencils…*". In that way, the statements also present, the young women mentees as having an embarrassing and unflattering behaviour. Furthermore, the statements implicitly describe perfectionist young women mentees as being unlikeable, as the statements of the quote present perfectionist young women mentees as some men do not like: "*… Men [...] like when it's a bit looser…*".

The last statements I will present in order to analyse how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme invests a perfectionist behaviour with the affect of shame are in the quote beneath:

> My mentor has emphasised that I really need to work with my tendency to do everything to perfectionism… I'm very thorough in my work, and my mentor was like, you seriously have to work with that, because it's not going to get you anywhere… Instead of focusing on needy greedy details, you need to focus on the greater picture, because otherwise you will just wear yourself out… And like she said, I mean, yes you will make mistakes, but so what, I mean, I'm pretty sure people will survive – I mean of course that depends on the mistakes made, but rarely people will die from the kind of work we do in [the mentee's workplace]… (Interview Mentee 3: 13.12)

From the quote, it can be argued that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme invests an element of shame in the trait of perfectionism, by indicating that doing things perfectly is a misunderstood exaggeration. The knowledge expressed in the quote indicates that there is no reason to work as hard as perfectionist young women mentees do. So, as the statements express that the kind of extra work assignments that perfectionist young women mentees will get done, compared to other and less perfectionist agents, are irrelevant "*… needy greedy details…*", which are not necessarily connected to the relevant "*… greater picture…*".

From the quotes and statements above, I will contend that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme invests the behavioural trait of perfectionism with shame. In that way, it can also be argued that the mentoring motivates a behavioural movement of turning away from a behaviour of

perfectionism, and taking up a new and opposite behaviour. The new and opposite behaviour being the behaviour of looseness, as analysed in the qualitative content analysis.

**Summary: Affective Guidance |** From the analysis of the affective guidance of the Talent Mentor Programme, I will assert that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme does not only linguistically guide young women mentees to embrace a behaviour of assertiveness, professionalism, looseness, and a low priority of family and domestic work, while distancing themselves from a behaviour of niceness, emotionality, perfectionism, and a high priority of family and domestic work. This I will argue, as the analysis on affective guidance demonstrates that by investing the behavioural traits of niceness, emotionality, and perfectionism with the affect of shame, as well as the behaviour of a high/low priority of family and domestic work with a promise of (un)happiness, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme potentially comes to affect young women mentees in a way, motivating different behavioural movements of taking on the same form of true and recognisable leader subjectivity as analysed in the analysis on linguistic guidance.

**Part Conclusion: Part 1 |** From the two analyses above, I will conclude that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme both linguistically and affectively guides young women mentees to take on a form of subjectivity, excluding the behavioural traits of niceness, emotionality, perfectionism, and a high priority of family and domestic work, and including the opposite traits of assertiveness, professionalism, looseness, and a low priority of family and domestic work. The linguistic form of guidance is based on linguistic statements, producing a behaviour of assertiveness, professionalism, looseness, and a low priority of family and domestic work as true and recognisable in a context of leadership. The affective form of guidance is, contrary to the linguistic form of guidance, based on affective investments, affecting young women mentees in a way, motivating them to turn either away or towards the forms of behaviour, the linguistic form of guidance produces as (un)true and (un)recognisable in a context of leadership. As the form of subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme produces as true and recognisable in a context of leadership is a form of subjectivity, based on the behavioural traits of assertiveness, professionalism, looseness, and a low priority of domestic work, I will complete this first part of the analysis, by concluding that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets conditions of

subjectivity, based on the behavioural traits of assertiveness, professionalism, looseness, and a low priority of family and domestic work, for leadership.

**Part 2: The Production of a True Gendered Leader Subjectivity |** As written in the general introduction to the analysis, this second part of the analysis will be formed as a short post analysis, examining how the phenomenon of gender plays a role in the conditions of subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets for leadership. I will conduct the analysis in two different though interrelated steps. First, I will give a short presentation to the Western cultural-historical understandings of gendered behaviour. Second, I will analyse how the behaviour the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme produces as true and recognisable in a context of leadership is potentially aligned with a Western cultural-historical understanding of a particular gendered form of behaviour.

**Gender In Western Culture** | Throughout the most of Western human history, the prevailing view on men and women has been premised on a one-sex model, in which females have been thought of as imperfect or defective males (Fisher, 2011: 6). So, as the female genitals of vaginas and uteruses have been seen as failed and undeveloped penises and testicles; the vagina has, for instance, been seen as an internal penis, which could potentially come to take the same external and developed form as the penis, if only women strained themselves to an extent that would 'push out' the vagina (Fisher, 2011). Over time, men and women have in Western culture come to be perceived as two-sexed, opposite beings, while the understanding of men and women as owners of equal, though different and opposite, bodies have grown (Fisher, 2011: 9). Today, men are still viewed as agents with penises and testicles, and women as agents with vaginas and uteruses, but the penis is not viewed as a more valuable genital than the vagina (Ibid). If one looks to the research on the male genital versus the research on the female genital, one will, however, see that there are still more mysteries connected to the body part of the vagina than there are to the body part of the penis (Hartmann and Kristensen, 2016). Thus, there are arguably still more taboos related to the female genital than the male genital.

The different and opposite shapes of the male and female body have in newer times led to a dichotomous understanding of men and women's social behaviour. This is the case, as men and women's social behaviour are seen as reflections of their biological and physical differences (Fisher, 2011; Fine, 2011; Frederiksen, 2012). Due to women's physiology, and women's

biological role as carriers of children, women are seen as representatives of a behaviour of greater care, empathy, and niceness, than men (Fine, 2011; Arrhenius, 1999; see e.g. also Rosenbeck, 1990 [1987]). Oppositely, men are because of their physiology of strong, visible musculature seen as representatives of a behaviour of greater assertiveness, aggressiveness, and 'hunter-drive' than women (see e.g. Fisher, 2011). The different expectations, we have to the behaviour of male and female bodies, are described in the following quote by Sara Louise Muhr and Katie Rose Sullivan (2013), writing about expected gendered behaviour in a context of leadership:

> As leaders, women are often expected to conform to what stereotypically is seen
> as feminine behavior (e.g. empathetic, relational, nurturing), and opposite men
> are expected to display leadership skills that conform with what stereotypically
> is seen as masculine behavior (e.g. rational, goal oriented, decisive) (p. 417)

The quote of Muhr and Sullivan demonstrates that women are traditionally seen as representatives of a behaviour of empathy/emotionality, relationality/niceness, and nurturance/caring (family/home orientation), while men are traditionally seen as representatives of an opposite behaviour of rationality/professionalism, decisiveness/assertiveness, and goal-orientation/work-orientation (see also Roseberry and Roos, 2015; Rennison, 2012).

From the sections above, I will argue that one can construct the following dichotomous sets of traditional male and female behavioural traits: 'Decisiveness/assertiveness and relationality/niceness'; 'rationality/professionalism and emotionality/empathy'; and 'goal orientation/work orientation and nurturance/caring (family/home-orientation)'. In addition to the three dichotomous sets of gendered, behavioural traits one can construct from the sections above, I will argue that there is a new and recently established set of dichotomous, gendered behavioural traits. The set of traits is the set of 'looseness/coolness and perfectionism/thoroughness', and has been developed by the Danish media over the last few years. So, as the Danish media over the last 10 years has repeatedly presented young women, who perform well in the educational system, as perfectionist straight A girls/performance princesses[20], while they have oppositely presented young men as relaxed and loose in regard to performance (see e.g. Tonsberg, 2015; Carus, 2015; Lund and Pedersen, 2015; Esrom, 2015; Malmbak, 2014).

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[20] The terms 'straight A girl' and 'performance princess' cover the Danish terms of 12-tals piger and præstationsprinsesser.

From the descriptions of men and women above, one can contend that we in Western culture have come to operate within a dichotomous set of historically, culturally, and discursively constructed gender categories: Male and female. The category of male is covering physical traits such as penises, testicles, and visible musculature, and behavioural traits such as rationality/professionalism, decisiveness/assertiveness, looseness/coolness, and goal-orientation/work-orientation. The female category is oppositely covering physical traits such as vaginas and uteruses, and behavioural traits such as empathy/emotionality, relational/niceness, perfectionism/thoroughness, and nurturance/caring (family/home orientation). In the following section of the analysis, I will bring the different behavioural traits, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets as conditions for leadership, into a setting of the two culturally, historically, and discursively constructed gender categories, and so in order to examine, if the behavioural traits are recognisable in either of the two categories. My focus will solely be on behavioural traits, since I work in a context of Butler's theories on gender as performativity, and the traits, marks, and characteristics of biology, physiology, and anatomy are thus irrelevant for how to analyse a gendering process.

**Gendering The Leader Subjectivity |** Drawing on the behavioural traits of the culturally, historically, and discursively constructed male gender category above, one sees that it contains the behavioural traits of rationality/professionalism, decisiveness/assertiveness, looseness/coolness, and goal-orientation/work-orientation. The behavioural traits, contained by the male gender category, I will argue, are aligned with the behavioural traits, characterising the form of true and recognisable leader subjectivity, produced by the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme. So, as the form of true and recognisable leadership behaviour outlined from the prior part of the analysis is largely based on an inclusion of the male gendered behavioural traits of rationality/professionalism, decisiveness/assertiveness, looseness/coolness, and goal-orientation/work-orientation. Since I will argue that the behavioural traits, characterising the true and recognisable form of leader subjectivity, produced by the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme, are aligned with specific behavioural traits of the male gender category, I will also assert that the conditions of subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets for leadership, are male.

**Part Conclusion: Part 2 |** In the second part of the analysis, I have examined how the particular conditions of subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets for leadership are

gendered. This I have done in two different though interrelated steps. The first step has consisted in giving a presentation to the Western cultural-historical understandings of gender and gendered behaviour. The second step has consisted in examining how the behavioural traits, characterising the form of leader subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme produces as true and recognisable, are aligned with the behavioural traits, contained by a Western, historically, culturally, and discursively constructed male gender category. Based on the second part of the analysis, I will conclude that gender plays a role in the conditions of subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets for leadership, as the mentoring draws on male gendered behavioural traits in its production of a true and recognisable form of leadership behaviour.

**Chapter Summary |** In the first part of the analysis, I have analysed how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme both linguistically and affectively guides young women mentees to take on a form of leader subjectivity, characterised by the behavioural traits of assertiveness, professionalism, looseness, and a low priority of family and domestic work. The linguistic form of guidance is based on linguistic statements, producing a behaviour of assertiveness, professionalism, looseness, and a low priority of family and domestic work as true and recognisable in a context of leadership, The affective form of guidance is, contrary to the linguistic form of guidance, based on affective investments, affecting young women mentees in a way, motivating them to turn either away or towards the same form of behaviour, the linguistic form of guidance present as (un)true and (un)recognisable in a context of leadership. As the form of subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme produces as true and recognisable in a context of leadership is a form of subjectivity, based on the behavioural traits of assertiveness, professionalism, looseness, and a low priority of domestic work, I have completed the first part of the analysis, by concluding that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets conditions of subjectivity, based on the behavioural traits of assertiveness, professionalism, looseness, and a low priority of family and domestic work, for leadership. In the second part of the analysis, I have examined how the particular conditions of subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets for leadership are gendered. This I have done in two different though interrelated steps. The first step has consisted in giving a presentation to the Western cultural-historical understandings of gender and gendered behaviour. The second step has consisted in examining how the behavioural traits, characterising the form of leader subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme produces as true and recognisable, are aligned with the behavioural traits, contained by a Western,

historically, culturally, and discursively constructed male gender category. Due to the results of the second part of the analysis, I have concluded that gender plays a role in the conditions of subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets for leadership, as the mentoring draws on male gendered behavioural traits in its production of a true and recognisable form of leadership behaviour.

## Discussion

The following chapter will be divided in two parts. The first part of the discussion will discuss the consequences of the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme drawing on male gendered behavioural traits in its production of a true and recognisable form of leader subjectivity. The second part of the discussion will discuss new and normative perspectives on mentoring, potentially helping us to advance the methodology as a tool to improve female representation in leadership. Both parts of the discussion will make use of different feminist theories, developed by contemporary feminist scholars on policy and leadership. The first part of the discussion will draw on Raewyn Connell and Rebecca Pearce's (2015) theories on gender stereotyping and Karen Celis' (2009) theories on numerical versus substantive representation. The second part of the discussion will draw on Carol Bacchi's (2009) theories on problem representation, while utilising elements of Celis' (2009) theories on substantive representation further.

**Part 1: A (Re)production of Male Leadership |** As seen from the introduction to this thesis, men are highly dominating the social field of leadership. This does in many ways mean that male forms of subjectivity are also dominating the social field of leadership. So, as men, and male gendered bodies, are more often than women, and female gendered bodies, characterised by male forms of subjectivity. This is the case, since men and women, due to the gendered signs of their bodies, are met with divergent expectations of acting and behaving in traditional male and female ways, respectively (Connell and Pearce, 2015). The different expectations men and women are met with, most often result in men and women taking on traditional male and female forms of subjectivity, since agents wish to avoid being deprived of the privileges, connected to being fully recognisable within a specific social category, for instance, being the social category of male or female (Ibid.).[21]

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[21] Obviously the argument presented by Connell and Pearce (2015) is similar to the argument of Foucault presented in the theories of the analytical strategy.

Because male forms of subjectivity are already dominating the field of leadership, one could argue that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets conditions of a subjectivity, which is already highly recognisable in a context of leadership, when it sets conditions of a male form of subjectivity for leadership. In that way, one can also contend that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme participates in (re)producing conditions of a form of subjectivity, which do not contest the current dominance of male forms of subjectivity in leadership, as much as they authorise them. So, as if women enter leadership on the basis of a guided male form of behaviour, they will not make visible female forms of behaviour within the field of leadership, instead they will strengthen the visibility, and thus the trueness and recognisability, of male forms of behaviour. Thereby, women will arguably also reinforce the rigid gender hierarchy, currently qualifying men, and male forms of subjectivity, while disqualifying women, and female forms of subjectivity, from leadership.

My argument stating that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme is participating in disqualifying women from leadership might appear paradoxical, considering the fact that the methodology of mentoring is seen to bring a relatively high number of women into leadership. The paradox can, however, be solved by referring to the policy concepts of *numerical* and *substantive representation*. This is the case, as research demonstrates that a high number, and thus a high numerical representation, of women do not necessarily mobilise a long lasting gendered change within the social field of leadership (see e.g. Celis, 2009). So, as the mobilisation of a permanent gendered change within social fields requires a high substantive representation of women and not necessarily a high numerical representation of women (Dahlerup, 2014). By a high substantive representation is meant a high representation of female actions, and female forms of subjectivity, which one most doubt whether the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme can activate, when attempting to initiate gendered change on the basis of guiding young women mentees to take on male forms of subjectivity (Celis, 2009).

From the arguments above, I will end this discussion by stating that since the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets conditions of a male form of subjectivity for leadership, one has to question whether the mentoring will not lead to stagnation, and maybe even regression, in the number of women who will enter leadership in the future. So, since men are seen as agents that are more likely to be characterised by male forms of behaviour than women, and potentially then also as agents that are more obvious for choices of future leadership positions than women. In the following part of the discussion, I will slide into a discussion of how we can develop the

methodology of mentoring into a tool, improving the substantive representation of women along with the numerical representation. In that way, I will also slide into a discussion of how we can potentially use the methodology of mentoring to create a permanent gendered change within the field of leadership.

**Part 2: Improving Female Representation in Leadership |** According to Bacchi's (2009) feminist theories on problem representation, one should not understand problems as some that exist independently from the social world. Rather, one should understand problems and problematic issues as some that occur, depending on the specific way one perceives them, and more precisely by the way one perceives the solution to them (Bacchi, 2009). So, Bacchi states, since she believes that problems are always constituted on the basis of the particular solution, which is actually seen to solve them. When, for instance, policy makers react to the problem of women's low representation in positions of influence by offering them participation in varying training courses, then they come to constitute the problem of women's low representation as a matter of women's lack of training and competencies (Bacchi, 2009: X). Because Bacchi (2009: 5) finds that solutions to problems constitutes problems in a certain way, she contends that instead of dealing with the issue of *problem solving* in order to solve problems, one should deal with *problem questioning*. In the following, I will question how the problem of women's low representation in leadership is constituted, when the solution to the problem is presented as the methodology of mentoring.

As stated in the chapter on mentoring, mentoring is a methodology, trying to improve the number of women in leadership by guiding them on how to navigate in a field of leadership. In that way, mentoring is also a methodology that attempts to solve the problem of women's low representation in leadership, by working with the individual woman, and by initiating a development within the individual woman. By attempting to solve the problem of women's low representation in leadership, by working on, and working with, the individual woman, one could contend that the methodology of mentoring, as a solution to women's low representation in leadership, comes to constitute the problem of women's low representation in leadership as a problem of the individual woman. So, as when Denmark's largest organisations choose to use mentoring as a tool to bring more women into leadership, it must be a matter of the organisations perceiving women, and the presumed problematic issues of women, as the problem to women's low representation in leadership.

Building on years of feminist research, I will contend that women's low representation in leadership is not necessarily a matter of issues related to the individual woman. Rather, women's low representation in leadership is a matter of the so-called *glass ceiling* (see e.g. David and Woodward, 1998). The glass ceiling is a term used to describe the invisible and discriminating structures, hindering women in entering top management, and the term is often referred to by feminist scholars, examining the different reasons for why women do not enter the field of leadership to the same extent as men. Scholars such as Linda Wirth (2001) and Carol Kadinger Adair (1999) have, for instance, used the term of the glass ceiling to describe how women's low participation in leadership is a matter of discriminating structures, and narrow perceptions of male forms of behaviour as more beneficial forms of behaviour in a context of leadership (see e.g. also Roseberry and Roos, 2015; Rennison, 2012).

If one accepts that the problem of women's low representation in leadership is not a matter of the individual woman, but a matter of hindering and discriminating structures, one has to question whether the solution to women's low representation in leadership should not be found in solutions other than mentoring, solely focusing on the inner development of the individual woman. I believe the questioning is relevant, but I will, however, argue that by reshaping the traditional methodology of mentoring, mentoring can actually come to carry some potential as a solution to women's low representation in leadership. The reshaping of the traditional form of mentoring is called *reverse mentoring*, and is a form of mentoring, focusing on the structural blindness and blind spots of 'mentors' instead of on (potential) lacks within the individual 'mentee' (Harvey et al., 2009: 1350; Murphy, 2012).

Reverse mentoring is developed as a tool to bring senior leaders new insights to how the young generation acts and thinks, by matching them with junior employees, sharing their young thoughts and experiences (Ibid.). In that way, reverse mentoring is developed as a tool to address the generational blind spots of leaders, who have been in a field of leadership for so long that they have developed certain difficulties, building their thoughts outside of the traditional and routinized ways of thinking (Ibid.). Despite being developed to address an issue of generational blind spots, I will assert that reverse mentoring could also be used to address issues of gendered blind spots. So, as by matching senior leaders – who have potentially become gender blind due to their long time function in the male dominated field of leadership – with young women mentees, senior leaders could get insights to the kind of talent that young women posses. In that way, senior leaders could also become aware of the kind of talent that Danish organisations neglect, when they do not

include women in their leadership staff. The insights and new forms of awareness women mentees could bring to senior leaders could potentially motivate a change towards the senior leaders being more prone to promote women for available senior positions, and so bring more women into the male dominated field of leadership.[22]

An additional benefit of a gender-focused form of reverse mentoring could be that women would not only come to be represented within leadership by high numbers, but also by a high amount of female forms of behaviour. So, as if senior leaders saw the kind of talent they would abandon, by excluding women from leadership, they would potentially be more likely to accept that women enter leadership on the basis of traditional female forms of behaviour. In that way, women's substantive representation could be improved along with the numerical representation, as female forms of behaviour could then in time come to be seen as recognisable within the field of leadership. This could again generate an ultimate structural change, and hence a movement of bringing a permanent large number of women into leadership.

**Chapter Summary |** In the first part of the discussion, I have asserted that due to societal expectations men are often characterised by male forms of subjectivity, and women by female forms of subjectivity. Thus, when the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets male conditions of subjectivity for leadership, the mentoring also participates in (re)producing conditions of subjectivity, which do not contest the current dominance of men in leadership, as much as they empower it. Drawing on the policy concepts of numerical and substantive representation, I have in the first part of the discussion further contended that it might be that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme brings a high number of women into leadership, but since the mentoring most likely brings women into leadership on the basis of a male form of behaviour, the mentoring will probably not generate a permanent gendered change within the social field of leadership. So, as the generation of long lasting gendered change within social fields requires a high substantive representation, rather than a high numerical representation. Because the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets male conditions of subjectivity for leadership, while likely bringing women into leadership on the basis of guided male forms of behaviour, the

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[22] My suggestion of matching women 'mentees' with senior leader 'mentors' could be said to mirror one of the forms of mentoring already presented in the introduction to the thesis. So, since one of the groups of literature on mentoring, which I presented in the introduction, already argues that women's career benefit more greatly from having male mentors than female mentors. The literature, which I presented in the introduction, is, however, not working on reverse mentoring, but traditional forms of mentoring, such as the ones used in the Talent Mentor Programme. The good results seen from women having male mentors in traditional mentor relationship, I will contend, must be seen as a result of men being better at giving advice on how to perform the forms of male behaviour that are recognisable in a context of leadership compared to women mentors.

first part of the discussion has ended, by stating that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme might lead to stagnation, and potentially regression, in the number of women who will enter the future social field of leadership. Bringing the concept of substantive representation into the second part of the discussion, I have in the second part of the discussion asserted that mentoring can possibly activate a high substantive representation of women in leadership, and in that way bring both a high and permanent number of women into leadership. This does, however, require that mentoring is practised differently than in the Talent Mentor Programme, and that mentoring is 'reversed' so that senior leaders will learn from young women instead of the other way around. A reverse form of mentoring would give senior leaders greater insights to the talent they would neglect if they exclude young women from leadership, and could in that way make the senior leaders more prone to promote women for leadership positions, without women having to abandon traditional forms of female behaviour.

## Conclusion

In an attempt to contribute to the gap in the literature on the methodology of mentoring, I have in this thesis examined the social consequences of mentoring. I have done so, by attempting to answer the particular research question of: *Which conditions of subjectivity does the mentoring of DJOEF's Talent Mentor Programme set for leadership, and how does gender play a role in the conditions set?* The answer to the research question has been structured by three guiding questions, being the questions of: Which behavioural traits does the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme present as (un)true and (un)recognisable in a context of leadership? How does the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme guide young women mentees to take on a specific form of true and recognisable leader subjectivity? And what role does our cultural understanding of gender play in the production of the true and recognisable form of leader subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme produces?

The answer to the first guiding question has been based on a range of linguistic statements, which I have processed in a way, allowing me to diagnose four different discursive formations, making up the form of knowledge, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme produces on (un)true and (un)recognisable forms of leadership behaviour. The four discursive formations, which I diagnosed were the formations of: Niceness/Assertiveness, Emotionality/Professionalism, High Priority/Low Priority of Family/Domestic Work, and Perfectionism/Looseness. From analyses of the four discursive formations, I traced the following behavioural traits as true and

recognisable in a context of leadership: Assertiveness, professionalism, looseness, and a low priority of family and domestic work. Further, I have traced the behavioural traits of niceness, emotionality, perfectionism, and a high priority of family and domestic work, as untrue and unrecognisable in a context of leadership.

The theories and methodological approach, which I have used for diagnosis and analysis of the (un)true and (un)recognisable behavioural traits, are the qualitative content analysis, the archaeological discourse analysis, and theories on modern government and affect. The theories of the archaeological discourse analysis, on modern government, and on affect, are also the ones, which I have used in order to answer the second guiding question. So, as these same theories are the ones that have helped me to analyse how both linguistic statements and affective investments guide women mentees to take up or distance themselves from (un)true and (un)recognisable forms of leader subjectivity. The archaeological discourse analysis has helped me to analyse how different linguistic statements guide women mentees to take on a particular leader subjectivity, by producing the subjectivity as true and recognisable in a context of leadership. The theories on affect have similarly helped me to analyse how the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme guides women mentees to take on the true and recognisable leader subjectivity, produced by the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme, by affecting women mentees in particular ways.

In order to answer the third guiding question, I have found support in Butler's theories on gender as a performative matter. With the support of Butler's theories, I have analysed how the behavioural traits, produced as true and recognisable in a context of leadership, belong in one of the two historically, culturally, and discursively constructed gender categories: Male/Female. The gender category, the behavioural traits belong within is male, thus the conditions of subjectivity, the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets for leadership, can also be argued to be male gendered.

Based on the answers to the three guiding questions, I will give the following answer to my research question: *The mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets conditions of subjectivity, based on the behavioural traits of assertiveness, professionalism, looseness, and a low priority of family and domestic work, for leadership. Our cultural understanding of gender plays a role in the conditions set, since the behavioural traits the mentoring draws on in its production of a true and recognisable form of leader subjectivity are male gendered.*

In continuation of the results of the thesis' analyses, I have presented a two-part discussion. In the first part of the discussion, I have asserted that due to societal expectations men are often

characterised by male forms of subjectivity, and women by female forms of subjectivity. Thus, when the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets male conditions of subjectivity for leadership, the mentoring also participates in (re)producing conditions of subjectivity, which do not contest the current dominance of men in leadership, as much as it authorises it. Drawing on the policy concepts of numerical and substantive representation, I have in the first part of the discussion further contended that it might be that the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme brings a high number of women into leadership, but since the mentoring most likely brings women into leadership on the basis of guiding them to take on male forms of subjectivity, the mentoring will probably not generate a permanent gendered change within the social field of leadership. So, as the generation of long lasting gendered change within social fields requires a high substantive representation, rather than just a high numerical representation. Because the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme sets male conditions of subjectivity for leadership, while likely bringing women into leadership on the basis of guided male forms of behaviour, the first part of the discussion has ended by stating that one must question, whether the mentoring of the Talent Mentor Programme might not lead to stagnation, and potentially regression, in the number of women, entering the future field of leadership. Bringing the concept of substantive representation into the second part of the discussion, I have in the second part of the discussion asserted that mentoring can possibly activate a high substantive representation of women in leadership, and in that way bring both a high and permanent number of women into leadership. This does, however, require that mentoring is practised differently than in the Talent Mentor Programme, and that mentoring is 'reversed' so that senior leaders will learn from young women, instead of the other way around. A reverse form of mentoring would give senior leaders greater insights to the talent they would neglect if they exclude young women from leadership, and could in that way make the senior leaders more prone to promote women for leadership positions, without women having to abandon female forms of behaviour.

**Perspectivation: Intersectional Feminism |** In the following perspectivation, I will draw on further contemporary feminist theories, that being the theories of *intersectional feminism*. This I will do in order to introduce new suggestions on analyses that would be relevant to perform in order to actually understand the social consequences of the methodology of mentoring. I will start by introducing the concept of intersectional feminism, and I will then move on to suggest new and relevant analyses.

Intersectional feminism does not have a sole focus on women, women's rights, and the female gender. Instead the intersectional feminism has expanded the traditional feminism to include the men, the male gender, and varying intersectional social dimensions, such as race, class, and ethnicity (see Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall, 2013; Lutz, Vivar, and Supik, 2011). The development within feminism has taken place, since feminist have become aware that gender is not the only matter of discrimination and oppression in current society, the matters of race, class, and ethnicity, can in similar ways as gender lead to discrimination and oppression. Scholars such as Nira Yuval-Davis (2006) does, for instance, talk about 'tripple oppression/appraisal', arguing that an agent is never just oppressed/appraised on the basis of its male or female gender, as a gender is never just a gender. A gender is always black or white, and a gender is always rich or poor. Adding to the social dimensions of race and class, one could argue that a gender is always belonging to an ethnic minority or majority group, is always able or disabled, and is always hetero-normative or queer (homosexual, bisexual, asexual, intersexual, etc.).

Inspired by the new intersectional feminism, I will propose that further analysis on mentoring as a productive tool of governance is made with an alternative focus on, for example, race. So, as I will assert that the Danish, social field of leadership is potentially not only dominated by men and male forms of subjectivity, but also by white men and white forms of subjectivity. That male, white forms of subjectivity potentially dominate the Danish, social field of leadership means that the mentoring might not only set male forms of subjectivity as conditions for leadership, but also white forms of subjectivity as conditions for leadership. If mentoring sets conditions of male, white forms of subjectivity for leadership, I believe that it is relevant to get it illuminated, as mentoring then potentially (re)produces not only conditions of male forms, but also white male forms, of subjectivities. So, as if mentoring (re)produces male, white conditions of leadership, then Denmark will not only miss out on valuable talent in the field of leadership due to a continuous exclusion of women, but also due to a continuous exclusion of agents who are not Caucasian or ethnic Danes.

The aim of further analysis of mentoring as a productive tool of governance would be to ultimately queer leadership, meaning to set leadership free of all gendered, racial, classed, and ethnic, connotations (see e.g. Muhr and Sullivan, 2013; Pilcher and Whelehan, 2004). Obviously, this movement would benefit all, including the men who are currently privileged in a context of leadership. So, since men are currently also suffering from the conditions of male forms of subjectivity, mentoring sets a conditions for leadership, as they are in many instances not 'allowed' to take up the female behaviour of taking, for instance, parental leave with their young children, if

they want to be a part of leadership. I will end this thesis by claiming that if we queer leadership, and make sure that many different forms of behaviour are recognisable in a context of leadership, we could not only make sure that all agents have the same opportunities of utilising their talents and ambitions, we could also ensure that Danish growth gets the best chances of increasing and prospering.

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**Appendix A**

**Interview guide**

*Questions for mentors*:

- How would you define good leadership, based on your own experiences? Which characteristics do you believe are important in order to perform as a good leader? Which characteristics could women mentees benefit from adopting/discarding in order to be able to enter leadership?

- Which advices do you give women mentees in regard to work/life balance? Do you give women mentees any particular advices in regard to balancing career and family/social life?

- What kind of challenges is it that your mentee stands in front when she wishes to enter leadership as a woman, and what kind of obstacles is it that you wish to prepare her for? What kind of challenges is it that you have been facing as a woman entering leadership?

- Do you think that you would give a potential male mentee different and alternative advice than the ones you give to women mentees? How would the advices vary? And why would they vary?

- How do you think other people perceive good leadership? Do you think that people in general perceive men as better leaders than women? Why?

- What kind of exercises do you practise with your mentee in order to generate a form of self-reflexion that can help her in regard to her aim of becoming leader? (E.g. conversations, homework, writing speeches).


*Questions for mentees*:

- How would you define the good leadership, based on your experiences from the Talent Mentor Program? Which characteristics do you think women could benefit from adopting/discarding in order to be able to enter leadership?

- How do you think other people perceive the good leadership? Do you think that people in general perceive men as better leaders than women? Why?

- Which important advice has your mentor/women in the Talent Mentor Program been able to give you in regard to entering leadership?

- What kind of considerations in regard to being a woman in leadership has the mentor course generated for you?

- Has your mentor/women in the Talent Mentor Network given you any particular advice on family and work/life balance? Has the mentor course made you think any specific thoughts in regard to creating a family while also aiming for leadership?

- Is there any particular advice of your mentor/women in the Talent Mentor Network that you have taken with you in your current work?

- When have you experienced your mentor/women in the Talent Mentor Network as an inspiration in regard to your aim of becoming a leader?

- Has it been a good thing that your mentor was a woman? Do you think that male mentor could have given you something different than a female mentor?

- What kind of exercises have you done with your mentor? What has the exercises given you?

**Appendix B**

Sound recordings of interviews with The Consultant, Mentor 1, Mentor 2, Mentor 3, Mentee 1, Mentee 2 and Mentee 4:

**Appendix C**

*Notes for interview with Mentee 3:*

The overall advice that we are constantly given at the programme is: Don't be so nice, be more aggressive, be more pushy, and just go for it, don't be shy, just believe in yourself... I mean it's not like it's rocket science, but somehow it is nice to be reminded of it in a setting where there are actual leaders, because the advice somehow gets another dimension… I think one of the most important advices that I have been given by my mentor is actually to just go for it and not be shy… And I have definitely taken that advice with me in the sense that now I'm actually approaching male colleagues that… Before I would have been like 'I can't take their time, I can't bother them, I mean, I'm just little me, why would they care about me?' But now I'm like, if I think they are relevant for my network and career development, I will go and ask them what I need to ask. And that I wouldn't have done before [she had attended the Talent Mentor Programme] And I mean, like my mentor said: 'How hard can it be?' (Minutes: 5.38, 5.50)

Work, work, work, professionalism, professionalism, professionalism… I think my mentor presented it something like that… Maybe that is a bit exaggerated, but you need to be hard working and extremely professional in order to be a leader, you cannot be feeling too much, you need to focus… (Minutes: 16.34)

I've talked to my mentor about how you handle these difficult things about being a leader, I mean things such a firing people, telling them that their work isn't sufficient… All those things… And she told me that once when she was a young leader, like very young and inexperienced, she had been in a situation where she had to let go of an employee… Not because the employee was a bad employee, but because there was a cut down… Or… Well, something like that, it doesn't matter, but it wasn't because the employee had fucked up or something… But then she told me that she had been so affected that she couldn't help but shed a tear… I mean, when she fired him… And she had felt, well kind of embarrassed because you don't do that, you need to be in control, you need to be professional, you need to show your employees that they can trust you, that you are doing the right thing… That you're in control… (Minutes: 17.12)

Just like we talked about how my mentor thought is was embarrassing that she had cried when she fired that employee… Like, we talked about that you need to be in control when you're a leader… My mentor also told me that other times when it's important to be in control is when your employees are having a hard time… I mean, as a leader it's a little awkward if you become all emotional, and sad, and too moved and affected when an employee comes to tell you that she needs leave due to someone in the family being ill or something… I mean that is also a part of being a leader, having to deal with these very touchy issues, and you need to be able to handle that, there is no other way to go around it. (Minutes: 22.13)

My mentor has emphasised that I really need to work with my tendency to do everything to perfectionism… I'm very thorough in my work, and my mentor was like, you seriously have to work with that, because it's not going to get you anywhere… Instead of focusing on needy greedy details you need to focus on the greater picture, because otherwise you will just wear yourself out… And like she said, I mean, yes you will make mistakes, but so what, I mean, I'm pretty sure people will survive – I mean of course that depends on the mistakes made, but rarely people will die from the kind of work we do in [the mentee's workplace]… (Minutes: 13.12)