Ulla Ijäs

8 Failing Careers. Men in Business in Nineteenth-century Global Trade

Abstract: This chapter illustrates what the ideal entrepreneur used to be and what sort of behaviour this ideal type included and what this can tell us about masculinity in the early nineteenth-century northern Baltic, among the almost exclusively male timber-trading community. By focusing not on the leading figure(s) or the most powerful men, but on those on the margins of the entrepreneurial elite, the chapter will discuss the multiple masculinities and idea of hegemonic masculinity which would have not been possible without subordinate masculinities.

In order to identify these masculinities, the chapter will discuss the language by which masculinity was created. Scholars studying female entrepreneurs have pointed out that entrepreneurial mentality can be constructed in discourse, the same way as gender. The chapter will also illustrate the importance of family and the materiality and material culture connected with businessmen, which will help to understand the experience of being a businessman.

The analysis is based on close reading of a German bookkeeper Friedrich Wilhelm Klingender's memoirs, written in the 1830s while he lived in a timber trading town of Vyborg in the northern Baltic. Through close reading of the memoirs, it is possible to argue that the masculine ideal was a strong willed, sophisticated and physically strong and virile man, whose material surroundings supported this ideal of masculinity. Entrepreneurial masculinity was essentially that of being a family man, since business was mainly family business – the household was still the main production unit and the goal was to pass the business on to the next generation. The failure to establish a family and a business of his own is well documented in Klingender's memoirs.

Introduction

The entrepreneur is typically portrayed as a modern Western man. He is a person with an inborn 'entrepreneurial personality' who seizes opportunities using

his entrepreneurial mentality (Lahtinen 2018, 35–46). Scholars studying female entrepreneurs, however, have pointed out that this entrepreneurial mentality is a discursive construct, much like gender, and hence, "[discourses on] entrepreneurs are linguistic practices that create truth effects, i.e. they contribute to the practicing of gender at the very same time that they contribute to the gendering of entrepreneurial practices" (Bruni, Gherardi and Poggia 2004, 2; Hamilton 2013).

But how were the 'entrepreneur' and his identity constructed in the nineteenth century, when entrepreneurial activities were typically male-dominated? Modern business literature tends to focus on the image of the self-made man, a heroic figure adhering to the gendered stereotypes of a more recent age and largely ignores how both 'business' and what it means to be a 'man' have changed over time. In this chapter, I will illustrate how masculinity was created and maintained in global business in the nineteenth century. I will follow Herbert L. Sussman's example and use the term 'masculinity' to refer to gendered and social expectations for male behaviour (Sussman 2012, 3). Hence, I will scrutinise what it meant to be a man, how this manhood was acquired socially and culturally, and who were not eligible to become (business)men. I will highlight that not all men were allowed access to the same opportunities and rights to become a businessman.

The chapter is based on a close reading of a bookkeeper's memoirs, written in the 1830s. The writer, Friedrich Wilhelm Klingender (1781-c.1848), was a clerk who worked in the global timber industry. He was employed by several merchant houses, which imported timber from northern Baltic ports to Britain, Holland, France and Spain. In nineteenth-century Europe, there were thousands of men like Klingender – unable to establish their own business and hence, unable to climb up the social ladder. These men did not have a future in business nor in their private lives; they stayed single, lived in the small back room of the office doing their chores day after day and spent evenings alone, just like Klingender. These are men whose stories modern business histories have not told. Can we call their life-stories careers? As I will be show through Klingender's case, the expectation that one's working life should show a progression or a level of social climbing, did not necessarily come true for all men who entered the business world with such ambitions. The history of these clerks' 'careers' was shaped not only by heroic notions of masculinity, but also modulated through social class, family background, and age. There is, therefore, no single story of masculinity in the history of work and business (Kwolek-Folland 2001, 10; Craig, Beachy and Owens 2006, 1–19; Hassan Jansson, Fiebranz and Östman 2017, 127).

Klingender wrote his memoirs while he lived in Vyborg, a small town 150 kilometres north-east from St. Petersburg in the Grand Duchy of Finland. The town had a busy harbour; many of the local merchants were German descendants.

Klingender, who was born in Cassel, worked in Hackman and company, which was at that time the leading timber export company in the Grand Duchy. The company was established in 1790 by Johan Friedrich Hackman, who was born in Bremen. During Klingender's time, the company was managed by J. F. Hackman's widow and son, J. F. Hackman jr. Before settling in Vyborg, Klingender had worked in Narva at Suthoff and company, which was another timber trading company owned by Germans, and besides these two family firms, he had been employed by St. Petersburg entrepreneurs. In his memoirs, Klingender wrote about his work, his colleagues and the people who had hired him. He never got married and the memoirs reveal the reason which he thinks is the most important – he was too poor and lacked sufficient social and economic capital to marry a woman of his class or social background. Klingender's ideas about these prerequisites for marriage reveal an essential aspect of nineteenth-century expectations of gender and work, i.e. being a married man and establishing a family was intertwined with 'proper' masculinity among businessmen.

Klingender was active in a period of fast industrialisation and globalisation of the trade. The timber industry was one of the first trades that linked the northern Baltic area to the global trade. Businessmen came to St. Petersburg, Vyborg and Narva – towns where Klingender lived and worked – from several European countries and they all shared similar social codes, religion and social capital. German businessmen settled permanently in Russia and had ties to Russia's elite as well as to the Baltic German elite living in the area (Ojala and Karonen 2006, 95–125; Schulte Beerbühl 2015, 156).

In business history, gender has become an important but somewhat one-sided theme. Historians have demonstrated women's invisibility in business related sources, which has often led to thinking of women's role in the business world as a subordinate one throughout large parts of history (Simonton 2018, 112; Keskinen and Vainio-Korhonen 2018). Less interest has been shown in men and masculinities in business history and even fewer studies have focused on 'subordinate' men in business. Historiography's focus on women may result from the fact that men have historically dominated and now still outnumber women in business, and have therefore been seen to represent the norm within a gender system that has often been studied as binary and less from an intersectional point of view. The view that men's experiences in business represent the historical norm has largely been taken as self-evident and for granted, (Sussman 2012, 5) instead of questioning men's experiences as *men* in business. As Angel Kwoled-Folland has pointed out, in many narratives of business history "men's experience *is* history" (Kwolek-Folland 2001, 4; Tosh 2005, 331).

However, as I will show in this chapter, thinking beyond the supremacy of men in business history, and using the concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 834) could elucidate business history in new ways.

"To Assist my Memory" – Klingender's Journal

Mr. Klingender was a mysterious man. We do not know his first name for certain, it might have been Friedrich Wilhelm but Emil is possible too. The only source for his life story is an old business history (Tigerstedt 1940, 1952).[1] It is probable that he was born in Germany in the 1770s. He might have worked in Frankfurt am Main before migrating to St. Petersburg. At this time, his brother had moved to England where he started a career in business. Klingender worked in several "counting houses", as he calls the merchant houses he worked in, around the Baltic Sea. In late 1838, while living in Vyborg he started his memoirs "to assist my memory." (Remembrances, 163) He kept recalling his journey until October 1839 when de decided to return St. Petersburg after being brushed off by the love of his life, Miss Blanche Beauchant. For an unknown reason, Klingender left his memoirs in Vyborg when he moved to St. Petersburg. His employer', J. F. Hackman jr. kept the book and it is now a part of Hackman's archive in Åbo Akademi manuscript library, where the Hackman family archive is kept in Turku, Finland.

Klingender's memoirs are a unique source; there were not many clerks at his time, living in the northern Baltic, who had had left a personal notebook or journal. Typically, historians have been more interested in successful business managers, autobiographers or well-known diarists' writings more than unknown clerks' notes (Barker 2009). In Russia, not all merchants could read or write and if they could, hardly any of them wrote down their intimate feelings. Instead, a typical merchant or clerk journal was a ledger, filled with incoming and outgoing money and debts (Ransel 2009, xv–xvi). However, in Klingender's memoirs, all these typical elements are missing and hence, we do not know much about his daily life in detail.

Instead of the daily markings of his doings, Klingender's memoirs are a record of his feelings; rather than focusing on business, he pours out his desperate love for Miss Blanche, who had a real-life counterpart in Vyborg. "I could not help thinking of her, and felt that I was pretty deeply in love with her"

---

1 A business historian Örnulf Tigerstedt has given the name Friedrich Wilhelm, but in some sources, there is a man called Emil Klingender, whose life story resembles F. W. Klingender's. See, e. g. Hessische Biografie ID=8733 Klingender, Jean Frederic.

(Remembrances, 16). Klingender proposed to Blanche twice but was turned down. Klingender interpreted Blanche's rejection as a sign of his failure to attain the 'hegemonic' masculinity of the period, one in which men gained an independent position as a merchant. He himself, as he wrote, 'had nothing to offer' ("je n'ai rien à offrir") and having reached the age of fifty already 'believed it was too late' ("je croyais qu'il étoit trop tard") (Remembrances, 177) to gain access to this hegemonic identity of an independent, married man and businessowner. That did not stop him from aspiring to such a role, however. Klingender's memoirs resemble those journals and diaries of eighteenth-century British gentlemen, who shared their preoccupations with the costs and benefits of marriage, studied by Amanda Vickery (Vickery 2009, 57). The memoirs resemble also eighteenth-century Swedish middle-class men's erotic journals studied by Jonas Liliequist (2007). It seems that at that time, a habit of writing erotic memoirs or a personal journal was quite widely spread among the middling sort of men; writing an intimate journal might have been crucial for the masculine ideal. In these journals, men revealed their feelings and emotional distresses, but also boasted about their triumphs with women, creating hegemonic masculinity by subordinating and oppressing women.

Klingender's memoirs are written in English, partly in French. Neither these languages were his native; he spoke German and used German in his daily businesses. It seems that Klingender wanted to practice his language skills, or perhaps he wanted to keep his memoirs private. He encoded names, too. He used the *nom de plume* David Glöckner when referring to himself as a writer, but he also used the pseudonyms Jonathan Mercour and Ebeneser McReady. These men gathered "at the Tea Time" and told their life stories to each other. By choosing these characters, he constructed an alternative narrative of masculinity, based on a male homosocial world he was used to living in. In most part of the memoirs, Jonathan Mercour reminisced about his journeys and his desperate love for Miss Blanche. Under his pseudonyms, Klingender made sarcastic and malicious comments about the people he knew. For example, when he described one of his employees in Narva, Eduard Sutthoff, he wrote: "Ned Dry, who likewise, was brought up a Scholar, but turned a Merchant, without having any right notions about Commerce, which however he has the good Sense not to pretend to have" (Remembrances, 9). Klingender's memoirs resemble nineteenth-century 'club talk'; gossiping, telling stories and passing anecdotal information as well as making sarcastic comments about people. This 'club talk' may illustrate how gender was created and maintained (Milne-Smith 2009). According to Amy Milne-Smith, "[i]n sharing gossip within the clubs, members created and reaffirmed social and gender boundaries" (Milne-Smith 2009, 87). It was not insignificant with whom gossip was shared. Klingender lacked a close circle of friends in Vyborg – he

found the local businessmen the least interesting ones ("why a general meeting of gentlemen of Wyburg could not be interesting") (Remembrances, 114). Instead of mingling with the local men, he chose to build an alternative masculine narrative of three hard-working and intelligent men who were outsiders and had an arrogant attitude towards other men, whom he thought were lazy and not up-to-date with their duties: "Man in whatever situation he may be, ought to do his duty, you will find that not one out of a hundred people has even a proper idea of his duties, and that therefore we cannot expect the greater part of them to do it" (Remembrances, 35).

"Selfish as a Merchant Needs to be"

Klingender's opinion about merchants was cynical and pessimistic, affected by his own failures. However, his view reflected that of the new self-made man type of businessman, which he preferred. He described his employers, timber merchants Herman, Wilhelm, Eduard and Robert Sutthoff as "remarkably close fisted, as the merchants' term it, as selfish as a merchant needs to be [. . .]" and not industrious or stirring, as merchants ought to be (Remembrances, 6). Furthermore, he stated that merchants should not be swindlers but honourable men, independent and capable of taking risks (Remembrances, 22). "The object of all their pains is the hoarding up amassing Money" (Remembrances, 40) was Klingender's final verdict on merchants. This echoes a new entrepreneurial masculinity, based on individual wins and moving away from the old narrative of aristocratic gender norms in which the mark of a man was inherited wealth (Sussman 2012, 91).

When Klingender wrote his memoirs, he was over 50 years old and against his own will, still working as a clerk, which may explain why he was so cynical, sarcastic and even malicious. He understood that the new type of heroic entrepreneur – one who was seeking self-interest, who was industrious and using his money wisely – was something to aspire to, but the local merchant community was still clinging on the old communal values, which were very much in use among the Baltic merchants in the first part of the nineteenth-century (Keskinen 2018). The disappointments and the discrepancy between his ideals and the reality were written all over the pages of his memoirs. In the 1830s, when Klingender wrote his memoirs, economic difficulties affected the international trading community in Vyborg. At the time, the path to an independent position in the business was not an easy one and Klingender might have felt that he had lost his last chance when the economic crisis hit the markets.

Among the Baltic merchant community, gendered norms and ideals were based on the presupposition that clerks were young men, who were practicing for their future careers in business. In reality, this potential was available only for few select individuals with a suitable family background or for those with right skills and personality, who happened to be at the right place at the right time. Young men were introduced to the masculine world of trade in their late teens. They worked as clerks and learnt everything they needed to become an independent merchant by apprenticing in merchant houses. This was the common custom all over Europe and dated back to the Middle Ages (Ogilvie 2014; Schulte Beerbühl 2015, 33). The Swedish law of 1734, which was used in Vyborg, stated that a merchant had to have decent training and qualifications to become a merchant. He should have enough skills in mathematics, bookkeeping, and different measurements before he could take his burgher's oath, which all merchants and businessmen had to take according to the law. An apprenticeship lasted seven years, and the young apprentice had to work for four years as a clerk before he could become an independent merchant. If the young man was a son of a merchant, his training time could be reduced since he would have learned the trade while growing up (Vainio-Korhonen 2010, 221–227; Nyberg and Jakobsson 2012, 41–43; Keskinen and Vainio-Korhonen 2018).

The above pictured system excluded women – daughters could not have similar training – and created a masculine realm of business. Furthermore, the system of becoming a burgher-merchant excluded men without proper training and skills, elevating skilled and trained merchants into a hegemonic position. This hegemony was based on the subordination of women and other, less qualified men. In addition to this, the merchant's masculine ideal was based on communal values and the common good – all merchants protected their mutual group interests instead of individual ambitions. If a merchant sought only his personal interest, this could shake the whole community and the business network might collapse. Before the Industrial Revolution, which took place in northern Europe later than in Britain or in continental Europe, business was based on security-seeking monopolies, not profit-seeking individuals (Keskinen 2018; Müller 1998, 20–22). This may have led to an even more exclusive norm of masculinity, which shut out men who tried to shake the community with their far too independent ideas and actions. Access to this community was denied to Klingender, who was inspired by the independent and industrious merchant type which he had learned to appreciate during his journeys to Britain and France. This led him to create an imagined world where he could express his feelings and thoughts without being criticised for his modern thoughts. The alternative narrative of masculinity in Klingender's memoirs was based on imagined independence: "you enjoy one which, after health, is worth

more than all the rest, – namely independence" (Remembrances, 68), which he actually lacked in real life.

Becoming a proper merchant and burgher, i.e. fulfilling the masculine potential in a town, demanded social and financial capital. A merchant had to have three men who guaranteed him – without the social capital an aspiring merchant was denied access to hegemonic masculinity. The implied norm was that a burgher should be honest and trustworthy, otherwise his fellow burgers would not guarantee him. For a foreigner who had lived an "unsettled life" (Remembrances, 5), proving this was difficult. In other words, Klingender lacked social capital. He was supported and valued as a clerk, but not as an equal merchant. Without money, since the burgher's rights cost, a young man could not become a burgher. This was the block Klingender stumbled over; he lacked the money because he had not saved his earnings; "I spent money freely, as long as I had it" (Remembrances, 5). By writing this, Klingender might have created yet another angle to his alternative narrative of masculinity by choosing not to follow the ideal narrative of the frugal businessman who saves his earnings to invest in his business. Instead, Klingender created a narrative of a spendthrift man, who indulges himself and lives like there is no tomorrow, which does not fit into the ideal model of a businessman of the time but instead reflects the lifestyle of a merry bachelor – or that of a modern, risk-taking, businessman.

"I Should Tell Him to Marry . . ."

In accounts of business history, the focus has been on the workplace, not on the home. Men's occupational roles and duties as family men are quite anachronistically separated (Harvey 2009, 521), yet the importance of marriage is recognised (Müller 1998; Sussman 2012, 93; Schulte Beerbühl 2015, 116). However, when studying early nineteenth-century businessmen, home and the domestic environment, their families and wives, were a crucial part of their occupational identity. (Tosh 2005; Keskinen and Vainio-Korhonen 2018, 134) Amanda Vickery has pointed out that "the polish of female company was crucial for the achievement of modern polite manhood" in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century (Vickery 2009, 198). Men showed their superiority in the choice of a wife who could support their career and could bolster their performance of masculinity. Klingender worked in a homosocial environment but dreamt of marrying and thought that marriage was a man's doom. "If I had a Son, and if he came to ask my advice, I should tell him to marry, as soon as he was so situated as to be able to maintain his wife; – there is no alternative in this

affair, it is the principal affair in this world, it is what we are here for, it is our doom . . ." (Remembrances, 72).

In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century business, marriage was important because the merchant family and community must reproduce. Swedish historian Leos Müller has pointed out that "social reproduction of the family was a basic motivation of any entrepreneurial activity" (Müller 1998, 31–32). Especially for the old communal system, marriages were an important way to renew, expand and stabilise business networks and to collect capital (Keskinen 2019, 79; Müller 1998, 250). This means that being married, staying married and having children was crucial for businessmen and in the world of global business, hegemonic masculinity was intertwined with being a family man. An unmarried merchant could not reach his full potential as a merchant and man, because he could not produce an heir to his business. Furthermore, married men were considered more respectable, reliable and trustworthy, in some cases even morally and economically superior to unmarried men (van Broek 2011, 292, 294).

British historian John Tosh has demonstrated that in nineteenth-century Britain, new 'modern' masculinity was organised around a dual commitment to work and home, giving way to the bourgeois society of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Europe. The nineteenth century was, indeed, crucial for the development of an entrepreneurial, individualistic masculinity which combined a demanding work ethic with the comforts of home (Tosh 2005, 331–332). This dual commitment can be read from the Klingender's journal. In other words, in Klingender's lifetime, hegemonic masculinity in the business world became a narrative of women's absence from the workplace, and men's access to a domestic sphere, where the wisely chosen wife reigned the drawing room (Vickery 2009, 198) even if both of those were not necessarily the day-to-day reality of every family. It seems that the division of duties was gendered in Klingender's social circles, leading him to point out several times that it is men's duty to provide for their families. (Remembrances, 73, 159) In an imagined marital agreement he described his fictional friends' duties: "[I]being the husbands' duty to maintain and protect his wife and family, Mr. Steadymore will steadily work for that purpose, and earn the necessary to provide for their mutual wants, whereas it will be Miss Morelove's province to keep the house and table in good order" (Remembrances, 159).

During Klingender's lifetime, middle-class men became 'bread-winners', exclusively responsible for the family income (Davidoff and Hall 1987, 229–271) and as the above illustrated journal extract points out, this was the model Klingender preferred. There are numerous studies discussing when the separation between work and family lives began. Typically, scholars place it at eighteenth- or nineteenth centuries, when privatisation took place in European

society (Vickery 2009, 27; Harvey 2009, 521–523; Tosh 1999). It seems that in Klingender's social circles, the separation between the masculine world of business and the feminine realm of home was already the norm.

In large timber export companies, even when they were owned and managed by a woman (only a merchant's widow could do this), the female owner-manager seldom spent her time in the "counting house". As Jarkko Keskinen and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen have pointed out, in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century, the Swedish Crown revised legislation which led to restrictions on women's participation in family business (Keskinen and Vainio-Korhonen 2018, 135), creating even more gender-specific workplaces and business environments. Hence, the office space in large companies was strongly masculine. Young men were trained in all-male trading houses, they lived with their male colleagues, and after-work socialising was performed in same-sex groups, so it is hardly surprising that women remained mysterious and remote to men in business and this distance was reflected in their private lives and lives of families, too (Tosh 1999).

Then, because (some) men lacked the experience of living their everyday lives beside women, relating to them socially and emotionally was complex for some men. Expressing excessive feelings of love ran counter to norms surrounding the 'right' kind of masculinity. If a man was too deeply in love and affected by romantic emotions, he might have lost his independence and, therefore, his superiority over women. (Liliequist 2007) and become unable to provide for his wife and pursue his career. This was also Klingender's fear: "I ~~should~~[2] despise a man who could be completely ruled by a woman!" (Remembrances, 133).

Klingender's sentimental expressions of love did not lead to marriage and so, instead of becoming a breadwinner and representing what could be seen as hegemonic masculinity in his social circle, he turned his life into an alternative narrative of a merry bachelor life and described women despisingly. "I am not fond of the character of women in general, and above all things I hate, and abominate their frivolity" (Remembrances, 50). This negative attitude towards women did not prevent him from dreaming of his beloved Blanche, who was not like other women but wise, talented and witty (Remembrances, 139).

Klingender who was raised and trained in a masculine business environment seem to have been perplexed with women; he knew how to court them but not how to approach them as equals. Nor does he write anything about the life after the wedding ceremony, which he dreamt having with Blanche (Remembrances, 162). In the

---

2 The crossing-out is by Klingender.

public discourse, as well as in Klingender's memoirs, questions of whether to marry and when to marry were more important than how to be a good husband or a father (Tosh 1999, 79).

Klingender created a counter-narrative of what could be seen as 'complicit' masculinity, in a context in which the hegemonic norm was deeply rooted in family life. The counter-narrative of a bachelor life, where men could gather together to "have a bit of chitchat together" (Remembrances, 2), is written all over the pages of the memoirs. This narrative does not dismiss domesticity, but rather creates an all-male version of it, which was a refuge from daily drudgery – providing the emotional and psychological support a man needed in his life, (Tosh 1999, 6) through the company of other men. As Karen Harvey points out "[a]n emerging middle-class domesticity did not exclude men; they were a (literally) central part of its constitution" (Harvey 2009, 527). In other words, not only did men-only clubs and associations not preclude family men from also being central to family life – socialising in all-male company at homes could represent a mode of domesticity for those who fell short of the norm, but did not openly disrupt or contest hegemony either, as Klingender's memoirs vividly illustrate.

Klingender remained a bachelor, which was quite typical in the nineteenth-century business world. Although a marriage was crucial, men married late, because they had to accomplish an independent status and establish their own business before getting married. Hence, there was a strong bachelor culture in the realm of business, which may emerge as men's preference for town pleasures, intellectual male company, 'gay' life, or on the other hand, as devotion to their career, public duties and making profit (Tosh 1999, 173, 175). It seems that there was room for multiple masculinities or diversity within hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 835, 845). Hegemonic masculinity might have embraced aspects of bachelor culture while heavily depending on marriage and domesticity. The strong bachelor culture among businessmen therefore helped to enforce hegemonic masculinity. According to Connell and Messerschmidt, hegemonic masculinity became most powerful when there was a group of men who showed 'complicit masculinity'. These men received the benefits of patriarchy without performing a strong masculine dominance (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 832). Clerks and unmarried men benefitted from hegemonic masculinity; their place in the business was not threatened by women, since the local practices and legislation shut the doors for most of women. Beside this, 'complicit masculinity' took advantage of hegemonic masculinity which was deeply connected with leading positions in business and the family life – bachelors and clerks did not take responsibility for either of these duties. Instead, they could live quite carefree and happy lives, which

Klingender recognised in his memoirs: "Riches perhaps would not have made you happier than you are now, my good friend" (Remembrances, 5).

"Mixed with Pride and Vanity Inspired by Wealth"

Masculinity was embedded locally in specific social environments (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 839) and represented by material culture, noticed and illustrated by Klingender as well as scholars studying eighteenth- and nineteenth-century masculinity and the world of trade (Hunt 1996, 4; Vickery 2009, 162). Klingender wrote several times about his visits to his friends' country homes.

"Tuesday, in making visits to some of my friends in the country, first to Mr. Bützow of Terwajocki, which place, by dint of industry, care and, (as some people say) a greater expense than the owners are able to make, is become the finest country seat about Wyburg, thus to Mr. Dannenberg of Kiskila, and lastly to General Etter, of Wainika, who has made great improvements at his country place, so much so, that what cost him perhaps 5000, he now asks 30000 Roubles for" (Remembrances, 137).

These country houses illustrated their owners' success in life – Mr. Bützow being a doctor and Mr. Dannenberg a merchant. Klingender's employers, Sutthoffs in Narva and Hackmans in Vyborg, also had country houses near the towns where they lived (Ijäs 2015). These country houses were purchased with the money the owners had earned in their profession, or with money they had inherited, married or borrowed, or with the money they never had, as Mr. Bützow's case points out. A country house to which one could retire signalled a businessman's success. Middle-class masculinity emulated on the one hand a noble lifestyle with family estates, and on the other hand, created their own standards of material success, which the country houses manifested without a doubt (Hunt 1996, 6).

Klingender did not have a country seat, which was yet another failure; he recollected numerous visits to country houses and what improvements the owners had done, but then, in the evening, he had to withdraw to his small and uncomfortable room where he was required to stay, despite his attempts to demand better quarters (Remembrances, 132). In his memoirs, Klingender describes the rooms he stayed in with few words, feeling sorry for himself for being forced to stay in "a Single room, so low, that, without stretching out your hand much above your head, you could reach the ceiling, and so Narrow, that there was room for two persons only, but for no more" (Remembrances, 4). These spatial arrangements did not encourage married life, but instead, reflected a life of and

a dedication to work. Single men in the world of business lived modestly, without calling their lodgings home but a quarter. Their masculinity was mainly created and maintained outside residential houses, but in clubs and other public places and rooms (Tosh 1999, 127), which might turn these places into spots where 'complicit masculinity' is enforced and which is discussed later in this chapter.

Hegemonic masculinity is related to ways of representing men's bodies (Connell and Messerschimdt 2005, 851). Visually, materially and bodily exemplifying masculinity in the business were the suit and the outfit. A businessman could typically be recognised from his appearance, which has been a well-tailored suit since the late nineteenth-century (Finn 2000, 137–138; Sussman 2012, 82). We do not know what Klingender looked like; he does not refer to his appearance, nor are there any markings about his purchases in the memoirs. The clerks might have worn a brown jacket and black breeches, which was almost like a clerk's uniform before the ready-made suits and changeable white collars took their place in the latter part of the nineteenth century (van Broek 2011, 296). In the early nineteenth-century Europe, almost all men wore a dark-coloured tailcoat, which had replaced the colourful French style coats and embroidered waistcoats, worn by aristocracy and imitated by lower rank men (Snellman, Vajanto and Suomela 2018; Sussman 2012, 82; Finn 2000, 154).

In Klingender's lifetime, men's outfits still clearly expressed and visualised social rank. Especially in nineteenth-century Russia, men of various occupations and ranks, including civilians, had their own uniforms (Ransel 2007, 427; Snellman, Vajanto and Suomela 2018). For example, when J. F. Hackman became the Prussian consul in 1803, he could wear a blue jacket with red labels and white breeches, tailored by a St. Petersburg tailor (Ijäs 2014). Uniforms not only expressed masculine status but also power and bodily strengths; uniforms shaped the male body and a well-fitting tailored uniform was a sharp contrast to a shaggy and baggy clerk's outfit with ink stained sleeves. Especially the uniform, taking inspiration from military uniforms, connected masculinity with war, bodily strength and physical power. Hegemonic masculinity as it was performed by the uniform wearer was therefore not only an abstract construction, but a highly visual and bodily experience.

Impeccable appearance was important; masculinity was connected with honesty, trustworthiness, modesty and high work ethics, all of which the outfit revealed and enforced. Hegemonic masculinity demands constant negotiation with what is fashionable – the outfit or habitus is not a self-reproducing form (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 844). The importance of an outfit can be realised when studying men's expenditures on textiles and clothing; men all over Europe, from Britain to Vyborg, spent substantial amounts of money for fabrics and for accessories, and

discussed the latest fashion and styles (Finn 2000, 140; Ijäs 2014). Klingender was not blind to men's outfits; when he met Colonel Boije on his friend's country estate, he noticed that the Colonel was elegantly dressed, which in Klingender interpretation reflected his military-administrative office: "as elegantly will the Province no doubt be governed" (Remembrances, 151). This is in strong contrast with his employer Sutthoff, who "had a silly appearance [. . .] mixed with the pride and vanity inspired by wealth" (Remembrances, 130). In the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century business world, money could not buy taste and style, but 'savoir vivre' was seen as intrinsic and as a result of good breeding. The lack of this denied Klingender access to the polite society (Remembrances, 168),[3] despite his own efforts to follow fashion and his ability to know when vanity overcomes good taste.

The external expressions of masculinity embraced by the elites were hard and sometimes impossible to reach by outsiders or by lower class men (Ilmakunnas 2017, 243–264). This enforces the fact that there were several masculinities at play (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 835), some of which lower class men were unable to reach, and in some cases, they might have developed their own masculine codes, expressed in their appearance, but which Klingender's memoirs do not reveal.

"I have seen Clubbs at Petersburg, in Germany and in England"

As noted above, the home was not the only important place where masculinity was created, negotiated and revalued. In Klingender's memoirs, he remembers his theatre visits, nights at clubs and his walks in nature and at parks. These activities and performances, such as promenading, 'made men' in every business- and gentlemen society all over Europe and the colonies (White 2006). One of the most iconic places for nineteenth-century masculinity was a gentlemen's club, which was a homosocial but at the same time very exclusive place. The access to a club might have been the ticket to hegemonic masculinity at the time.

Klingender boasted that "I have seen Clubbs [sic] at Petersburg, in Germany and in England, and I have to found them to be much the same everywhere.

---

3 On 11 September, 1839, Klingender refused to go to his friend's wedding, because the father in law has treated him disrespectfully, hinting that he lacked good breeding and "savoir vivre".

People [i.e. men] meet to read the Newspapers, to play at Cards or at Billiards, and to converse [. . .]" (Remembrances, 113, see also 27, 127, 138). In the nineteenth century, according to the separate spheres ideology, homes became more and more feminised spaces, even as men remained central to domestic life. Clubs were places where men could escape the responsibilities of domestic life, a place of their own (Black 2012, 16, 19). Gentlemen's clubs were places where masculinity was negotiated, maintained and revaluated; men's 'club talk' was a way to prove one's masculinity. Because talk was an integral part of the gentlemen's clubs, masculinity and gender were created orally, in discourse in a homosocial community (Milne-Smith 2009).

According to Klingender, the club and theatre in Vyborg were places he preferred to avoid – there, the insipid local society gathered and gossiped. Yet again, Klingender chose an alternative route, which he created by staying alone in his rooms. Men in Vyborg Club did not have the masculine characteristics Klingender preferred – Vyborg club men tended to gossip instead of discussing with each other, and they were not as learned as Klingender would have wished for (Remembrances, 114). Klingender could have visited the club if he had wanted to, but chose not to. Klingender expressed 'complicit masculinity' – he benefitted from hegemonic masculinity of the club men by gaining access to the club which was not open to all men, and knew the language codes of the club talk, but he chose to step aside, perhaps because his subordinate position became evident in the club. Constructed largely through social practice and sociability, both hegemonic and complicit masculinity would be more obvious in such a place (Connell and Messerschimdt 2005, 832).

For Klingender, because he was not able or willing to enter the gentlemen's club in Vyborg, he replaced going to the club by writing his memoirs, remembering old discussions and filling the pages with 'club talk'. 'Club talk' was a crucial part of this process of creating the right kind of middle-class masculinity. This talk was mixed with false rumours and frivolity; being able to tell a good story was an important way to demonstrate one's status as a gentleman (Gordon 2006, 38–39; Milne-Smith 2009, 93). All the aspects of 'club talk' are well represented in Klingender's memoirs; he gossips, tells stories and points out his own virtues, turning his bad habits and misfortunes in his career to his personal triumphs. The masculine persona he created through this written 'club talk' was perhaps so deeply rooted in this way of talking that he did not notice the paradox of being guilty of similar gossiping and bragging which he did not appreciate in other men's discussions at the Vyborg Club. The use of 'club talk' also reveals that Klingender sought hegemonic masculinity and that family and independence at business were not the only aspects of hegemonic masculinity he aimed at. Despite avoiding

Vyborg's clubs, he enacted its practices in his diary, where he attempted to both perform and challenge aspects of the ideal of hegemonic masculinity simultaneously.

Making it Like a Man?

Klingender's life story reveals a man whose real name remains unknown. He was one of the thousands of paid workers who enabled the transnational trade in the nineteenth-century Europe, but who did not leave their names into business histories. Typically, the focus has been on the leading figures and those who performed hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity, however, would not have been possible without complicit and subordinate men. Gender history has discussed women quite extensively, representing one subordinate group in the realm of business, but less attention has been paid to non-leading men in the world of business. Their careers might reveal new perspectives on the history of business, work, career and gender.

Klingender's memoirs follow a similar pattern as that of their British and Swedish counterparts, revealing the emotional journey of a middling sort man. Beside the affectional story of a missed love and marriage, the memoirs illustrate how hegemonic masculinity, in the business world, changes in the early nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century, community values reign supreme and a 'career' is defined as gaining stature in the community. This career is strongly connected to family values, being a merchant's son, then being a husband and father and hence, reproducing the community. By the end of the century, the career-model becomes that of the 'self-made man' whose individual qualities such as industrious mindset and willingness to take risks mark him out as a good businessman. Klingender lived through the process of change, and therefore he does not fit into either model. He was geographically mobile, a bachelor who imagined himself – perhaps wrongly – to be capable of being a businessman and husband. He shared some of the morals of the old model – perhaps due to his Calvinist upbringing – whilst also being dismissive of some of the old community values and instead, promoted a new industrious and risk-taking type of businessman. In other words, what he actually practiced was 'complicit masculinity': he shared the ambitions that were typical of the 'old' hegemonic masculinity and effectively supported this ideal by embracing club-talk and caring deeply about marriage and family life – without actually reaching hegemonic status himself. But he also seems to have appreciated a

modern shift toward a more individualistic model of business, indicating that his relation to the extant model of hegemonic masculinity was complex.

Klingender's memoirs reveal that early nineteenth-century business world masculinity was socially diverse; there were business families lead by independent merchant-burghers and then there were clerks – typically young men – who did the monotonous daily work of keeping books and writing letters. Hence, it would be better to discuss masculinities in the plural. The latter group – unmarried men – might have developed a specific lifestyle, diverged from the conventional norm for businessmen which was intertwined with family life and which was important for the 'old' masculinity. In a situation when clerks were denied performing hegemonic masculinity, they turned away creating their own codes where boisterous behaviour, drinking, gossiping, and to some extent, misogynist attitudes were praised. This may lead to toxic masculinity, separating different groups of men – married and unmarried, young and old, those with higher moral or religious beliefs from those with more secular worldviews – from each other, which would eventually affect the society at the whole. The 'new' type of masculinity, emerging in the latter part of the nineteenth century, might have been built upon the bachelor type of masculinity. The new self-made man type of masculinity preferred risk-taking and individualistic thinking; at the time, the home and family life were not necessary prerequisites for businessmen. It is highly possible that the new business elite rose from the group of young boisterous clerks who did not find their place among the old businessmen. This meant also that the preferred masculinity changed; then, virility, homosocial behaviour and a clear separation of work and home became dominant features of masculinity.

Masculinity was not only a narrative, created by 'club talk' or by other older narratives which encouraged family life, but a lived experience. Hegemonic masculinity among the businessmen was linked with the material surroundings that supported their power position. Well-to-do men had their country houses, flamboyant uniforms and outfits while Klingender and clerks like him had to live in small back-office rooms and to wear ink-stained clothes. Although hegemonic masculinity was a spatial, visual and bodily experience – how a man lived and dressed affected his experiences of everyday life – it was also a conscious reconstruction. When a man was aspiring to hegemony, or when he reached it, the standard of living and how he dressed was not insignificant but a conscious choice, based on society's demands and cultural codes, to demonstrate one's wealth and status. It was not insignificant how men lived, dressed and how they spent their time at work and at leisure, because it created dominance – spatial, bodily and cultural – over other men and women. This dominance may turn into a special business culture where a man's career and success in it affect his life and the lives of his

family members, associates, friends and the society at large. Career failure was therefore not only a personal temporarily misfortune but reveals his incapability of being a man. This might be the reason why Klingender's memoir had such a depressed undertone.

Sources

Åbo Akademis Library (ÅA), Handelshuset Hackman, HH 33, Remembrances . . .
Hessen Landesgeschichtliches Informationssystem, Hessische Biografie, Projekt "Collegium Carolinum": Professoren: Klingender, Jean Frederic. Link to the online source: https://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/drec/mode/projects/projectId/cc/id/8733/current/14/cIndex/0/sn/bio (Accessed March 30, 2020).

References

Barker, Hannah. 2009. "A Grocer's Tale: Gender, Family and Class in Early Nineteenth-Century Manchester." *Gender & History* 21(2): 340–357.
Black, Barbara J. 2012. *A Room of His Own: A Literary-Cultural Study of Victorian Clubland*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
Bruni, Attila Silvia Gherardi, and Barbara Poggio. 2004. "Entrepreneur-mentality, gender and the study of women entrepreneurs." *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 17(3): 256–268.
Connell, Raewyn, and James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society* 19(6): 829–859.
Craig, Beatrice Robert Beachy, and Alastair Owens. 2006. "Introduction." In *Women, Business and Finance in Nineteenth-Century Europe. Rethinking Separate Spheres*, edited by Robert Beachy, Béatrice Craig, and Alastair Owens, 1–19. Oxford: Berg.
Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. 1987. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850*. London: Hutchinson.
Finn, Margot. 2000. "Men's things: masculine possession in the consumer revolution." *Social History* 25(2): 133–155.
Gordon, Jan B. 2006. *Gossip and Subversion in the Nineteenth-Century Novel: Echo Economies*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Hamilton, Eleanor. 2013. "The Discourse of Entrepreneurial Masculinities (and Femininities)." *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development* 25 (1–2): 90–99.
Harvey, Karen. 2009. "Men Making Home: Masculinity and Domesticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain." *Gender & History* 21(3): 520–540.
Hassan Jansson, Karin, Rosemarie Fiebranz, and Ann-Catrin Östman. 2017. "Constitutive Tasks. Performances of Hierarchy and Identity". In *Making a Living, Making a Difference. Gender and Work in Early Modern European Society*, edited by Maria Ågren, 127–158. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hunt, Margaret. 1996. *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ijäs, Ulla. 2014. "Favourites of Fortune: The Luxury Consumption of the Hackmans of Vyborg, 1790–1825." In *Luxury and Gender in European Towns, 1700–1914*, edited by Deborah Simonton, Marjo Kaartinen, and Anne Montenach, 190–205. Routledge Studies in Cultural History. London and New York: Routledge.

Ijäs, Ulla. 2015. Talo, kartano, puutarha. Kauppahuoneen omistaja Marie Hackman ja hänen kulutusvalintansa varhaismodernissa Viipurissa. Turku: Turun yliopisto.

Ilmakunnas, Johanna. 2017. "French Fashions: Aspects of Elite Lifestyle in Eighteenth-Century Sweden." In *A Taste for Luxury in Early Modern Europe: Display, Acquisition and Boundaries*, edited by Johanna Ilmakunnas, and Jon Stobart, 243–264. London and New York: Bloomsbury.

Keskinen, Jarkko. 2019. "Cooperative Competition: Business Culture in the Finnish Merchant Community in the First Half of the 19th Century." *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 44(3): 287–309.

Keskinen, Jarkko, and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen. 2018. "Statutory Invisibility: Urban Business Women's Legal and Political Rights". In *Women in Business Families from Past to Present*, edited by Jarna Heinonen, and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, 134–152. London and New York: Routledge.

Kwolek-Folland, Angel. 2001. "Gender and business history." *Enterprise & Society* 2(1): 1–10.

Lahtinen, Anu. 2018. "Tough Times, Tough Measures. Widows as Heroic Entrepreneurs." In *Women in Business Families. From Past to Present*, edited by Jarna Heinonen, and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, 35–46. Routledge Advances in Management and Business Studies. New York and London: Routledge.

Liliequist, Jonas. 2007. "Masculinity and Virility – Representations of Male Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Sweden." In *The Trouble With Ribs: Women, Men and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Anu Korhonen, and Kate Lowe. COLLeGIUM. Studies Across Disciplines in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Vol. 2. http://www.helsinki.fi/collegium/journal/volumes/volume_2/index.htm (accessed March 30, 2020)

Milne-Smith, Anne. 2009. "Club Talk: Gossip, Masculinity and Oral Communities in Late Nineteenth-Century London." *Gender & History* 21(1)(April): 86–106.

Müller, Leos. 1998. *The Merchant Houses of Stockholm, c. 1640–1800. A Comparative Study of Early-Modern Entrepreneurial Behaviour*. Uppsala University Press, Uppsala.

Nyberg, Klas, and Håkan Jakobsson. 2012. *Storköpmän som samhällskraft: Borgerskap och Grosshandelssocietet i Stockholm*. Informationsförlaget, Stockholm.

Ogilvie, Sheilagh. 2014. The Economics of Guilds. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 28(4): 169–192.

Ojala, Jari, and Petri Karonen. 2006. "Finnish Business: rooted in social capital over the centuries." In *The Road to Prosperity: An Economic History of Finland*, edited by Jari Ojala, Jari Eloranta, Jukka Jalava, and Rita Asplund, 93–125. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Ransel, David L. 2007. "Russian Merchants: Citizenship and Identity." In *Eighteenth-Century Russia. Society, Culture, Economy. Papers from the VII International Conference of the Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia*, edited by Roger Bartlett, and Gabriela Lehmann-Carli, 417–428. Berlin: Lit Verlag.

Ransel, David L. 2009. *A Russian Merchant's Tale. The Life and Adventures of Ivan Alekseevich Tolchёnov, Based on His Diary*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Schulte Beerbühl, Margrit. 2015. *The Forgotten Majority. German Merchants in London, Naturalization, and Global Trade, 1660–1815*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn.

Simonton, Deborah. 2018. "'All the Days of Their Lives.' Women, Business, and Family." In *Women in Business Families. From Past to Present*, edited by Jarna Heinonen, and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, 111–133. Routledge Advances in Management and Business Studies. New York and London: Routledge.

Snellman, Alex, Krista Vajanto, and Jenni Suomela. 2018. "The Professorial Uniform of Elias Lönnrot: Russian Imperial Materiality in Finland." *Artefactum* No 9.

Sussman, Herbert L. 2012. *Masculine Identities: The History and Meanings of Manliness*. Santa Barbara, Denver and Oxford: Praeger Press.

Tigerstedt, Örnulf. 1940. *Kauppahuone Hackman. Erään vanhan Wiipurin kauppiassuvun vaiheet 1790–1879. I osa*. Helsinki: Otava.

Tigerstedt, Örnulf. 1952. *Kauppahuone Hackman. Erään vanhan Wiipurin kauppiassuvun vaiheet 1790–1879*. II osa. Helsinki: Otava.

Tosh, John. 1999. *A Man's Place. Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Tosh, John. 2005. "Masculinities in an Industrializing Society: Britain, 1800–1914." *Journal of British Studies* 44(2): 330–342.

Vainio-Korhonen, Kirsi. 2010. "Kaupan ja käsityön ammattikasvatus." In *Huoneentaulun maailma: kasvatus ja koulutus Suomessa keskiajalta 1860-luvulle*, edited by Jussi Hanska, Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, and Pauli Kettunen, 231–255. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

van Broek, Diane. 2011. "Strapping, as well as numerate: Occupational identity, masculinity and the aesthetics of nineteenth-century banking." *Business History* 53(3): 289–301.

Vickery, Amanda. 2009. *Behind Closed Doors. At Home in Georgian England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

White, Cameron. 2006. "Promenading and Picnicking: The Performance of Middle-class Masculinity in Nineteenth-Century Sydney." *Journal of Australian Studies* 89: 27–40.

Cassie DeFillipo

9 Bonding through Objectification: The Gendered Effects of Commercial Sex on Male Homosocial Work Culture in Northern Thailand and Beyond

Abstract: In Northern Thailand, visiting sex workers alongside male peers has historically been a bonding technique that enables men to perform masculinity among their male co-workers. While research uncovering men's work-based visits to sex workers is limited, it has been found that men who do business with each other may provide or expect commercial sex visits as part of work-place negotiations; this has been considered "an unremarkable aspect of male professional life" (VanLandingham et al. 1998, 2003). Drawing on one year of ethnographic fieldwork in Northern Thailand, this research utilises the lens of multiple masculinities to assert that workplace bonding in the modern era both perpetuates and challenges gender inequalities.

This chapter first examines the gendered effects of visits to commercial sex establishments among male co-workers. By reviewing methods through which male co-workers perform masculinities in relation to commercial sex, this article will argue that workplace negotiations of manhood through the purchase of commercial sex work affects both men and women. This chapter will conclude by affirming that men who bond through the purchasing of commercial sex create homosocial environments that objectify women and sustain glass ceilings for women in the workplace.

Introduction

It is almost nine p.m. at an unmarked brothel with boarded windows on a busy street near the centre of Chiang Mai. Many passers-by likely assume the shop is a small house; however, male employees stand outside the shop and invite men to come inside and purchase sexual services. A group of approximately 15 women ranging in ages from 20 to 35 sit inside waiting for male customers. When I enter, no customers are present. In this establishment, female employees primarily come from Myanmar. I chat with one of the female employees, who giggles nervously as she recounts coming to Thailand to work in brothels one year ago, when two men in their thirties who are already noticeably drunk

enter together. At first, they ask the male employee standing in the doorway why I am in the brothel. Then they jokingly ask me what I cost, telling me I could only be worth 200 baht, or less than €5 (approximately half the cost of commercial sex in the establishment). They sit down and order a beer to share before starting a conversation with me and my research assistant from across the room. After a few minutes of banter, they then move tables to join us at our seats. These two men in their thirties, who both work in the construction industry, are named Songkarn and Sud. Songkarn and Sud are in the middle of a night of drinking and fun, which in Thailand often involves ventures to commercial sex establishments (Fordham 1995; VanLandingham et al. 1998; Lyttleton 2000). In fact, they had already purchased sexual services this evening and had returned for a second round of sex after the first round ended in orgasm for Songkarn but not for Sud.

While Songkarn and Sud visit the brothel to engage in paid sex, their purpose for visiting commercial sex workers is not solely for sexual gratification; rather, commercial sex establishments such as this brothel are important spaces for male bonding. Considered a legitimate form of male entertainment, especially for men located in urban environments like Chiang Mai (VanLandingham et al. 1998), the majority of men visit sex workers as part of a homosocial group (VanLandingham et al. 1998; Knodel et al. 1996; VanLandingham and Knodel 2007). Commercial sex establishments often serve as homosocial spheres where power is performed by males for other males. Framing commercial sex establishments as a window into Thai gendered practices, this chapter demonstrates that Northern Thailand provides a case study of the complex perpetuation of gender inequality that is shaped by workplace homosociality among men who purchase commercial sex. In order to exemplify the structured inequalities produced by homosocial habits, this chapter will first provide a theoretical discussion of gender performativity and its effects on homosocial work culture. Then, after offering a methodological overview, this project will review the connections between homosociality and commercial sex establishments in Northern Thailand. Next, this chapter will show that patterns of homosocial bonding in Thailand reflect greater global trends. Finally, this chapter discusses the effects of homosociality on men and women in the workplace, evincing that women have difficulties accessing some networking and career building activities as a direct result of male homosocial bonding activities.

Gender Performativity and Homosocial Work Culture

Gender as a category is not biological but rather is a social construction (West and Zimmerman 1987; Butler 1990; Connell 1995; Vigoya 2003). Gender is socially constructed through everyday interactions, discourses and institutions (Harvey et al. 2013; Butler 1993; Edley and Wetherell 1995; Kimmel 2004). As such, the masculine and feminine are accomplishments rather than biological dispositions (Butler 1995, 168). The enactment of social constructions of gender can be described as a performance, and performance choices are often based on dominant social norms surrounding gender. Butler (1990, 17) explains that "performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body, understood, in part, as a culturally sustained temporal duration". Gender is thus more learned than biological, and men often learn how to perform and negotiate masculinities within homosocial settings. Homosociality is most broadly defined as same-sex peer group relationships of a non-sexual nature. Most researchers agree that men do not receive a lifetime membership in homosocial circles (Kiesling 2005; Kitiarsa 2013). Rather, men are beseeched to prove themselves by performing masculinity. In choosing how to perform masculinities for homosocial groups, men de-construct and re-construct diverse masculinities.

Importantly, homosociality does not inevitably perpetuate patriarchy. While many homosocial circles function as spaces where power inequalities are maintained in order to allow for men to perform masculinity, there are examples where male homosocial relationships can build "intimacy, gender equality, and non-homophobia" (Hammarén and Johansson 2014, 6). For instance, homosociality can serve as an important social support group for men. Flood et al. (2007, 426) state, "Men may bond as friends, comrades, family members or lovers in ways that do not subordinate women or other men. Indeed, intimate friendships between men are valuable correctives to men's emotional stoicism and reliance on women's emotional labour". In addition, homosocial groups often provide access to resources (Bailey 1998, 109). Conceptually, homosocial spaces provide opportunities for re-envisioning hegemonic performances of masculinity to more positive forms that do not subordinate women, yet they tend to instead perpetuate patriarchy. This research peels the layers of homosociality in an attempt to understand when and how bonding through commercial sex establishments perpetuates patriarchal and power-wielding forms of masculinities.

Methodology

Author and activist Alice Walker (1983, 49) states, "I believe the truth about any subject only comes when all sides of the story are put together, and all their different meanings make a new one. Each writer writes the missing parts of the other writer's story". This chapter aims to take the "truth" about workplace visits to commercial sex establishments in Thailand and contrast them to patterns in other parts of the world. Building on research conducted in a range of geographical areas, this paper exemplifies that globalised homosocial processes are capable of, and often do, create workplace barriers for women. This research took place in and around the city of Chiang Mai in Northern Thailand. As an emerging city with a population of approximately 130,000, Chiang Mai is advertised as the "cultural hub" of Thailand where many traditions remain intact, but the city is simultaneously experiencing the effects of Westernisation and modernisation. Consequently, Chiang Mai provides a unique case study of emerging gender performances. This chapter stems from one year of ethnographic experience from February 2016 to February 2017. Through contrasting secondary research reviewing men's homosocial bonding behaviours at commercial sex establishments and other masculinised spaces to data gathered from 60 formal interviews, dozens of informal interviews, and hundreds of hours of participant observations at commercial sex establishments, I argue that performances of masculinities in the globalised world often disempower women at the workplace.

Formal interviews were semi-structured and included questions on sexual habits, gender differences, and attitudes toward commercial sex and other non-marital sexual partners. Interviews ranged in length from 20 minutes to 90 minutes and primarily took place in Thai with a research assistant who also served as a Thai/English translator. There were two exceptions to this rule when English-speaking interviewees asked to conduct the interviews in English. Male and female interviewees had the option to choose a place to meet for the interview, and interviews were conducted in spaces that ensured the privacy and anonymity of the participant. Once transcripts were completed, they were entered into a software program for qualitative analysis. Findings were ascertained by building from "the 'bottom' up, using the participants' views to build broader themes and generate a theory interconnecting themes" (Creswell and Clark 2017, 23). In accordance with ethics regulations and best practices, all names have been changed in order to protect the identities of research participants.

Homosociality and Commercial Sex Establishments in Thailand

Research has estimated that up to 75 percent of Thai heterosexual men have visited sex workers (Shih 1994). The commercial sex industry in Thailand is frequented by Thai men of all ages, ethnic groups, and classes and is often utilised as a space where men negotiate masculine ideals. Arxer (2011) and Bird (1996) both state that homosocial settings such as commercial sex establishments encourage the formation and conservation of hegemonic masculinity, in part through the negation of alternative masculinities. The prominent use of commercial sex workers in Northern Thailand has been linked to homosociality and male bonding activities (VanLandingham et al. 1998; Fordham 1995). In homosocial settings in Northern Thailand, visits to commercial sex establishments stereotypically begin with male peer group gatherings. Not all male get-togethers lead to visiting commercial sex workers, especially in rural areas where fewer opportunities exist to access commercial sex, but throughout modern history male sexual lives have been shaped within peer group settings. VanLandingham et al. (1998, 2007) state:

> Since peer interactions generally and commercial sex visitation in particular, are scripted during adolescence in part as an escape from the mundaneness of everyday life, it is not surprising that many of the adult men in our study stressed the added significance that a commercial sex visit can contribute to an otherwise ordinary outing. This added significance seems to be particularly important to some married men as these peer group reunions become less frequent.

Some peer groups are more prone to commercial sex patronage than others, and while some groups of men may refuse to participate in visiting commercial sex establishments other groups visit regularly (VanLandingham et al. 1998, 2000). Some men choose to stop participating in commercial sex after marriage, while others do so frequently. The differences in behaviours do have some intersectional influences, although no research has explored intersectional factors such as class and ethnicity within Thailand in detail. Nonetheless, it has generally been accepted by both men and women that after marriage "men will engage in extra-marital sexual relationships, particularly with commercial sex workers" (Fongkaew 1997, 582).

The HIV epidemic in the 1990s, which was spread primarily through heterosexual commercial sex work, appears to have led to decreasing rates of purchasing sex and increasing acceptance of those who choose not to purchase sex. For instance, Narong is a 23-year-old male student at a technical college where most of his peers are also male. His first experience at a commercial sex

establishment was with a group of male peers. His older peers paid for him to sit and drink with a woman. He discussed purchasing sex with the woman and even negotiated the price, but Narong decided not to purchase sex because he was afraid of diseases. Himself and one other friend went home while the rest of his peers purchased sex. While Narong experienced autonomy in making choices around when and how to purchase sex, some men do not feel they have the same level of agency. For instance, VanLandingham et al. (1998, 2004) found one participant named Mr. D stated an invitation to purchase commercial sex cannot be easily declined, explaining that he would rather purchase sexual services than risk the punitive consequences. He states: "We have to say yes. It is hard to say no so we simply go with them. We may take a girl into a room and just talk with her. We do it to maintain good will within the group."

The popularity of commercial sex establishments endures because performing masculinities at commercial sex establishments enables men to perform power and differentiate their masculinity to that of other men. Hoang (2015, 15) states in relation to Vietnam that, "[m]en's desire for dominance over other men is enacted through the consumption of distinct types of sex workers in different spaces. For male clients, commercial sex workers are products to be consumed in ways that enable them to enact distinction". The existence of numerous types of brothels, massage parlours and karaoke bars for various types of men, primarily based on class and ethnicity, allows men to enact distinct and diverse performances of masculinity. For instance, there is a line of karaoke bars in one area of the city targeting Shan migrants from Myanmar. The karaoke bars have Shan names, and men who enter can sing Shan music. Thai songs are also offered, so a variety of lower-class and middle-class Thai men visit the establishment regularly. Men may also choose to go to a nearby brothel that serves low-income men and where one hour of sexual services costs between 300 and 500 Thai baht, which is the cost of 5 to 8 meals at inexpensive restaurants. In contrast, men who visit the local massage parlor can expect to pay 1,000 to 1,800 Thai baht plus a tip, which is the equivalent of a monthly heating bill in an apartment or approximately 5 to 10 percent of the average monthly salary. Men with less money or who come from different ethnic backgrounds have the opportunity in Thai culture to perform masculinity through purchasing sex, but they only have access to limited places and have less control over the experience than men with more money. For instance, Ai-dtim is an employee at a karaoke bar that primarily serves groups of male businessmen. According to Ai-dtim, regulars to the establishment include businessmen from Bangkok as well as employees from nearby government offices. Ai-dtim says, "A lot of Thai businessmen who come [. . .] don't have a spending limit. Some individuals might spend 10,000 baht ($445) in a night and then come back the next night and spend the same amount. They

spend money like it is nothing. Some groups rent out 10 or 20 women when they come". For the men who visit the karaoke bar where Ai-dtim works, the commercial sex establishment is an extension of the office. A middle-aged businessman named Somchai exemplifies this. Through visiting masculinised spaces such as commercial sex establishments, Somchai performs a hetero-hegemonic form of masculinity for other men. Men who are able to perform hegemonic masculinities hold power (Kimmel 2000), and for Somchai power is performative. For instance, Somchai has a standard tipping routine he undertakes in addition to regular costs. For *Dek Sideline* (young) girls, or young women who are normally college students who sell sexual services part-time, Somchai gives a 500-baht tip (or $22) in addition to the purchase price of 2,000 baht ($88). For other women whose services cost 1,200 ($53) or 1,500 ($66) baht, he offers a 200-baht ($9) tip. In addition, he tips the chairman (a male employee similar to a manager) 200 baht on each visit. "I am treated so well here because I always tip", he explains. "My drink is always full, and I am treated better than other regulars because money makes a difference". For Somchai, visiting the commercial sex establishment allows him to express and negotiate power inequalities through his financial success. According to Hoang (2015, 75), when discussing the context of Vietnam, bars are "central to the (re)production of masculinities in a dynamic global context". In complex globalised environments that push men to interweave social traditions global conceptions of masculinity, commercial sex establishments serve as spaces where men can "prove" their manhood through a controlled performance.

A Reflection of Greater Trends? Global Patterns of Homosocial Bonding through Gendered Objectification

On 23 January 2018, 360 men gathered in the ballroom of one of London's five-star luxury hotels for a black-tie charity fundraiser. Chef Gino D'Acampo, comedian David Walliams, and former rugby player Liam Botham joined the likes of power-wielding professionals such as Vice-chairman of investment banking at Barclays Makram Azar, hotel chain billionaire Rashid Al Habtoor, and retail billionaire Sir Philip Green (*The Guardian* 2018). The dinner was an annual even held by the President's Club, which has raised £20 million for charity over 33 years (*BBC* 2018). None of the 360 male attendees brought their female partners, and no female leaders in British business, politics, and finance were invited to join the men for the charitable dinner. Instead, the only women in attendance

were 130 hired hostesses. One woman hired to help at the event was journalist Madison Marriage (2018). She describes the scene:

> All of the women were told to wear skimpy black outfits with matching underwear and high heels. At an after-party many hostesses – some of them students earning extra cash – were groped, sexually harassed and propositioned [. . .]. Many of the hostesses were subjected to groping, lewd comments and requests to join diners in bedrooms elsewhere in the Dorchester [. . .]. Hostesses reported men repeatedly putting hands up their skirts; one said an attendee had exposed his penis to her during the evening.

The event blended professional networking and charitable fundraising with homosocial bonding through the objectification of women. The auction, which ended with a £400,000 bid by Richard Caring to place his name on a new unit at a children's hospital, also included bidding opportunities for a night at the Windmill strip club or a chance to "add spice to your wife" with plastic surgery (Marriage 2018). The event was not just a masculinised space where women were objectified; it was also a space where men networked professionally and acquired career-building opportunities that working women in the business sector were unable to access.

This President's Club fundraiser exemplifies the building of a masculinised space where women as sexual objects serve as tools for male homosocial bonding. Trends toward homosocial bonding through workplace visits to commercial sex establishments, strip clubs, or other similar settings have been noted across many cultures. In 2015 Hoang found that men in Vietnam, both local men and members of the diaspora, utilise commercial sex establishments and the consumption of different types of sex work as a means to negotiate and enact their desire for dominance over other men (2015, 15). According to Hoang (2014, 527), "[m]en are purchasing status and dignity, and working to protect their precarious positions in the global order". Spaces where men purchase sex and consequently reproduce and negotiate performances of masculinities are central to the production and reproduction of masculinities in a global context (2015, 75). Throughout Asia, commercial sex work has been called the sexual custom of Asian men (Matsui and Toyokawa 1996, 35). USAID (2007) found that in Cambodia between 59 and 80 percent of men surveyed reported having sex with commercial sex workers, primarily in brothels. In contrast, one survey found that approximately 37 percent of men in Japan have visited commercial sex establishments at some point in their lives (Anderson and O'Connell Davidson 2003). According to a male Vietnamese participant of Hoang (2015, 57), Westerners do not do business in sex establishments such as karaoke bars because "they call it corruption; we call it building trust". However, research is revealing that many men in the West are partaking in homosocial bonding through visits to establishments that frame

women as sexual objects, although visits to commercial sex establishments are neither normalised nor legalised in many settings; rather, strip clubs and escort services are often utilised by members of businesses for the purpose of networking and entertaining (Jeffreys 2010). For instance, with perhaps as many as 80 percent of male city finance workers in London visiting strip clubs as part of their work, "women in the world of business [. . .] are confronting a new glass ceiling created by their male colleagues' use of strip clubs", (Fine 2010, 72; Jeffreys 2008). Fine (2010, 71–72) notes that it is becoming increasingly common for clients to be entertained at entertainment venues. She explains that 41 percent of the UK's lap-dancing clubs promote corporate entertainment on their websites, while 86 percent of London clubs offer discreet receipts that let male attendees claim the bill as a company expense. All these examples indicate that amidst a globalising world male homosocial visits to commercial sex establishments, or similar venues that allow for the permissive objectification of women and deter women's entry into homosocial workplace bonding activities, are important aspects of performing masculinities in some cultures and are gaining popularity in others.

Effects of Homosociality on Men and Women in the Workplace

The effects of homosociality on men and women in the workplace are evident in Thailand. As of 2017, women comprise 45.67 percent of the workforce in Thailand (World Bank 2019). According to the World Bank, 65 percent of low-income women, 46 percent of middle-income women, and 52 percent of high-income women worked in 2017. However, although a significant portion of the female population is working in Thailand, there is still gender differentiation in the types of jobs men and women are hired for. Interviewees, male interviewees in particular, state that men could work "outside" jobs that are not suitable for women. Other participants, both men and women, believe that men and women could work together but men following the leadership of a women boss is often considered inappropriate or uncomfortable. For instance, according to 22-year-old male psychology student Asnee, whose father works as an engineer, "[t]he subordinates don't listen to the female engineer, even if she is a leader; they listen to the male engineer". Participants expressed that women in positions of power experience difficulty leading men. Interviews stated that commonly both men and women would respect a woman less than a man in the same position. In addition, some research has found that women tend to earn less than men.

Hansatit (2014, 151) says, "[s]ince female executives earn less than their male counterparts, they feel subjected to discrimination in comparison with men having similar qualifications or skills". In contrast, Bui and Permpoonwiwat (2015, 19) found that in general gender wage gap in Thailand has narrowed down over the last decades from 14 percent in 1996 to 10 percent in 2006 and then 1 percent in 2013. Despite this seemingly forward movement toward gender equality, Bui and Permpoonwiwat (2015, 19) explain that these trends have occurred amidst an increase in gender discrimination. For instance, while improvements in women's education and skill levels have raised their wages, nonetheless "those efforts were eliminated by discrimination". Regardless of efforts to empower women, a diverse range of interviewees who are women still emphasise that they experience negative repercussions of homosociality in their careers and private lives.

Some of the negative repercussions that women experience in the workplace are part and parcel of men's discourses in homosocial settings that tolerate and even encourage the permissive objectification of women. Permissive objectification can be defined as the process where humans view other humans as physical objects. Briñol et al. (2017, 1) explain, "[w]hen we focus on the physical aspects of a person (e.g. external appearance), we are less likely to focus on more internal, psychological states". Built on this foundational definition of objectification, permissive objectification is thus where men's choice to objectify women in homosocial settings gives permission to other men to objectify women both within and outside of homosocial settings. This pattern of permissive sexual objectification among men starts in homosocial groups at a young age and tends to linger with men throughout their lives. According to Kimmel (2000, 57), not only do men turn women into sex objects, but the exchange of women as wives is often used to cement alliances among men. While not all men will participate in objectifying women all the time, this permissive objectification allows men to objectify women for the purposes of performing masculinities in homosocial settings. Male interviewees state that in addition to objectifying women when seeking casual sexual partners, they also bond within their male peer groups through talking about women and judging women as physical objects. Men in Thailand also bond by following a code that allows them as men to have sex with numerous partners but assesses women negatively for doing the same. For instance, among one homosocial group, men took pride in having sex with multiple women but simultaneously looked for women who had not lost their "purity" to other members of the group. Ritthirong, a civil servant in his mid-twenties, says: "Yes, men like to hunt the score and tell experiences with friends about getting girls. If I have sex with a girl, I'll tell my friend and he won't have sex with her but he will find other girls. She is used; the men want dignity. It is about men's dignity". Sexual satisfaction comes second to the need to perform masculinities according to the norms of his

homosocial group. For Ritthirong and his peers, women's bodies are objectified as sexual objects before sex and dirty, undignified objects after sex. It is important to note that male peer groups do not only allow the permissive objectification of women within that homosocial circle; rather, permissive objectification in homosocial peer groups leads to the objectification of women in outside spaces including the workplace because the practice becomes normalised.

Homosocial peer groups often generate power-wielding homosocial assemblies in workplace environments. These assemblies privilege male members while disempowering women and men who are not members in the group. Fine (2010, 70), in discussing women's success in the Western corporate world, holds homosocial masculinised spaces responsible for excluding women from essential business negotiations. She argues:

> Unfortunately, the problem for women of being excluded does not end when they leave the office. Depressingly, it is still the case that in many industries it gets worse. At first glance, a round of golf and a trip to the local lap-dancing club may seem to have little in common. They are both leisure activities, it's true, but one is conservative, traditional, and may even entail the wearing of Argyle socks, while the other involves naked women rubbing their genitalia against the fly region of a man's pants. What they share, however, is an environment that provides ample scope for excluding women from valuable client networking opportunities.

Fine problematises workplace homosocial behaviour in all its masculine locations because it excludes women. Women lose valuable opportunities to build trust with co-workers and clients and are simultaneously forced to distance themselves from feminine gender performances that match those of women who have been sexually objectified by men during workplace bonding activities. Perhaps for this reason, women who vie with men for positions of power in the west tend to "put on a compensatory manhood act" (Schrock and Schwalbe 2009), although in Thailand, little research has explored how women negotiate with homosocial masculine powers in the workplace. Women play an important, albeit sexualised, role in allowing men to perform masculinities in masculinised spaces – but it is a controlled role demarcated by men's narratives of women as sexual objects. In some commercial sex establishments in Thailand, for instance, signs at the entrance of establishments explicitly state that Thai women are not allowed inside as customers. This both reinforces men's ability to perform masculinities in homosocial settings through the permissive objectification of women and limits women's workplace opportunities because women are unable to build trust with co-workers and clients in the traditional setting.

Patterns of homosocial bonding in commercial sex establishments greatly affect women's access to professional networks and career opportunities. In Chiang Mai, women challenge enactments of hegemonic masculinities by entering masculinised workspaces. Despite the limitations that women face, women's access to masculinised workspaces has forced more men to work with women, especially female leaders. Some men are obligated to work alongside women or under women, which is nuancing gender roles and simultaneously creating more fluid gender structures. Informants discussed a variety of situations that they face when men and women work and go to school together. Females in dominantly male university programs discussed poor treatment from men, which hindered them from becoming part of a homosocial group; Chailai, for instance, discussed being bullied by the men in her department. "I don't have a problem with the men in the program, but they like to tease me because I'm small and they like to make me cry. But it makes me strong". Chailai is one of two women in an otherwise all-male department and is not invited to attend after-hours bonding events. Men often combat change by instilling punitive consequences on women who enter into their space. This is exemplified by the men in Chailai's department who treat Chailai like an outsider. While there are struggles that occur when women enter traditionally male spaces, breaking into institutional masculinised spaces has the potential to hinder men's ability to build homosocial circles that exclude women. These patterns of homosocial bonding, and their effects of inhibiting women from professional networking and career-building opportunities, could potentially be challenged by groups of men who visit alongside peers who are women as has been documented in some research in other Asian settings (Hoang 2015), but such situations are uncommon and were unseen in the hundreds of hours of participant observations completed for this project.

While gender inequalities that oppress women are prominent, gender inequality should also be used to refer to the social inequality and punitive consequences faced by men who are unable to perform masculinity in hegemonic ways. Men experience great pressure to perform masculinity and can be reluctant to contradict other men in homosocial settings – especially because men who cannot or do not perform in homosocial settings tend to face punitive consequences. In Thailand, these consequences can be minimal, such as teasing or loss of friendships, or they can be serious, such as diminished access to jobs. VanLandingham et al. (1998) found that some men expressed a great reluctance to dispute other men, including but not limited to situations where friends purchase sexual services for other friends and in situations where men conduct business together. In settings where men conduct business together, men may

provide or expect commercial sex visits as part of the negotiation process (VanLandingham et al. 1998, 2003). Men also are pressured by women to perform in homosocial ways and face losing access to potential sexual partners if they are unable to perform a hegemonic masculinity. Men experience social pressure to perform according to the desires of those around them in homosocial groups, but the institutionalisation of these desires has obstructed men's performances of non-hegemonic masculinities. Men who perform subaltern masculinities tend to have peer groups that permit the performances of non-hegemonic masculinities – as can be seen with Narong, whose friends pressure him to purchase sex but allow group members the freedom to not purchase sex and remain part of the male peer group. In contrast, when homosocial groups become institutionalised, both the desire to enter these groups and the punitive consequences men might face for not performing masculinities in accordance with social norms tend to be greater.

Homosocial visits to commercial sex establishments are still common in Northern Thailand, although according to interviewees the level of peer pressure to visit sex establishments has diminished from previous generations as a result of the HIV/AIDS scare that impacted the country in the 1990s. For instance, A-wut says the sex industry is not inherently bad, but he still will not purchase sex. He explains:

> It is one kind of a job. It is not terrible if [commercial sex workers] don't infect men with HIV. If they have HIV, I will not buy their service. If I don't know if she has HIV, it is bad luck [to buy her].

> *Cassie : So how do you check if someone has HIV?*

> I don't know.

> *Cassie : Is that why you have never gone?*

> Yes.

The popularity of visiting commercial sex establishments has also been reduced because many young people, both men and women, now visit whisky shops for entertainment and to find casual sex opportunities. While women are likely to visit whisky bars with groups of male and female friends, whisky bars still replicate many aspects of commercial sex establishments for homosocial groups of men. For example, Narong tends to go to the whisky shop to drink beer and whisky with friends, where some of his male peers negotiate (sometimes paid) casual sex with waitresses and female customers. At the whisky shop, the waitress sometimes asks Narong and his friends to have sex with her in exchange for money. Narong's friends sometimes purchase sex and sometimes pay waitresses at whisky bars for

sex, but Narong never has. Narong attributes his decision not to engage in commercial sex work to fear of diseases, a desire not to spend money, and fear of facing repercussions from his girlfriend. Narong's friends sometimes tease him or try to convince him to purchase sex, but Narong can maintain his friendship with his friendship circle without participating in the group-bonding activity of purchasing sex. Narong's experience in a homosocial group exemplifies that while masculine ideals are known and recognised by male interviewees, the enactment of these masculine ideals vary drastically. This fluidity that Narong and many of the other men negotiate in their chosen performances of masculinities, when permitted in homosocial settings, allows for a wider range of performances of masculinity and less "corrective behaviour" (Plester 2015) for those who perform masculinity in a non-hegemonic manner.

Conclusion

When Songkarn and Sud take their seats next to me in the brothel, I ask them which women they are interested in. Songkarn looks at the line of women staring intently at him and tells me he wants all of them. His drunk friend, in contrast, grabs my hand and rubs my leg. Sud tells me I should be his girlfriend and drunkenly attempts to woo me. This is a masculinised space, and as a woman who dared entering such a space I am commodified and objectified. For Songkarn and Sud, my presence is permission enough to be objectified. Permissive objectification, where men essentialise the objectification of women's bodies as a biological trait of manhood, may seem harmless when performed amongst homosocial circles in commercial sex establishments. However, the impacts of permissive objectification are much greater and more complex. While it is not inevitably the case, homosocial groups of men tend to "other" women; often this leads to the permissive objectification of women and, consequentially, the social and structural oppression of women in many contexts.

Some forms of performing masculinity in homosocial settings are harmful to both women and men. The men best able to perform masculinity in accordance to the explicit or implicit structures of their homosocial circles tend to be the winners, while the male losers experience oppression in different forms. Through providing a case study of masculinities in Northern Thailand, this chapter asserts that homosocial groups are spaces where men prove and perform their masculinity and where masculine norms can be created, re-created and challenged. More information is needed to identify how widespread visiting commercial sex workers as part of homosocial work culture has become in

many social and cultural contexts, but what is undeniable is that homosocial work culture, when combined with visits to commercial sex establishments or other spaces where women are sexually objectified, can negatively affect both men and women by preventing them from accessing networking and career building opportunities.

There has been limited discourse pertaining to homosociality's effects on shifting gender roles, especially within institutions. Gender politics are complex and ever-changing in a globalised world, but the lack of discourse surrounding homosociality's negative effects socially and within institutions allows for its continued existence. Homosociality in Chiang Mai has been renegotiated many times over the past 20 years amid rapid growth and incorporation of international influences, yet it is still embedded in many institutions, including legal and academic institutions. Tied with gender norms that define men as leaders, homosociality has diminished the decision-making opportunities available for women. These structures are structurally and legally supported, but more so they are socially supported by the thoughts and actions of Thai men and women. Enloe (2017) reminds us that tools that sustain patriarchy are not just structural or legal in nature; they also appear in the forms of casual essentialisms, parochial analogies, ill-informed guesses, misogynist fears, and dismissive jokes. Challenges to normative performances of masculinities are discouraged within homosocial circles, and this is perhaps the greatest reason why homosociality plays a role in gender equality. Through identifying homosocial circles that perpetuate or re-negotiate gender inequality, noxious ideals of masculinity that diminish career-building opportunities for women can be confronted.

References

Anderson, Bridget, and Julia O'Connell Davidson. 2003. *Is Trafficking in Human Beings Demand Driven?: A Multi-country PilotSstudy*. IOM, International Organization for Migration.

Arxer, Steven L. 2011. "Hybrid Masculine Power: Reconceptualizing the Relationship between Homosociality and Hegemonic Masculinity." *Humanity & Society* 35(4): 390–422.

Bailey, Alison. 1998. "Privilege: Expanding on Marilyn Frye's' Oppression." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 29(3): 104–119.

BBC News. 2018. "Presidents Club: Scandal-hit charity dinner organiser quits post." January 25.

Bird, Sharon R. 1996. "Welcome to the men's club: Homosociality and the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity." *Gender & society* 10(2): 120–132.

Briñol, Pablo, Richard E. Petty, and Jennifer Belding. 2017. Objectification of people and thoughts: An attitude change perspective. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 56(2): 233–249.

Bui, Minh-Tam Thi, and Chompoonuh Kosalakorn Permpoonwiwat. 2015. "Gender Wage Inequality in Thailand: A Sectoral Perspective." *The Journal of Behavioral Science* 10(2): 19–36.

Butler, Judith. 1990. "Gender trouble, feminist theory, and psychoanalytic discourse." *Feminism/postmodernism* 327: x.

Butler, Judith. 1993. "Critically Queer." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 1(1): 17–32.

Butler, Judith. 1995. "Melancholy Gender – Refused Identification." *Psychoanalytic Dialogues* 5(2): 165–180.

Connell, Raewyn. 1995. *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Creswell, John W., and Vicki L. Plano Clark. 2017. *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Edley, Nigel, and Margaret Wetherell. 1995. *Men in Perspective*. Pearson Education Limited.

Enloe, Cynthia. 2017. *The Big Push: Exposing and Challenging the Persistence of Patriarchy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fine, Cordelia. 2010. *Delusions of Gender: How our Minds, Society, and Neurosexism Create Difference*. New York: Norton.

Flood, Michael, Judith Kegan Gardiner, Bob Pease, and Keith Pringle. 2007. *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*. London: Routledge.

Fongkaew, Warunee. 1997. "Sexuality, and gender norms among Thai teenagers: problems and solutions." *Community-based programs for adolescent sexual health and domestic violence against women*. Nakhon Pathom: Center for Health Policy Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Mahidol University.

Fordham, Graham. 1995. "Whisky, Women and Song: Men, Alcohol and AIDS in Northern Thailand." *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 6(1-2): 154–177.

The Guardian. 2018. "Presidents Club: who was invited to the all-male charity gala?" January 25.

Hammarén, Nils, and Thomas Johansson. 2014. "Homosociality: In between power and intimacy." *Sage Open* 4(1): 2158244013518057.

Hansatit, Patcharin. 2014. "A study on gender inequality in Thailand: career experience of Thai female managers." Phd Diss., Southern Cross University, Lismore, Australia.

Hoang, Kimberly Kay. 2014. "Flirting with Capital: Negotiating Perceptions of Pan-Asian Ascendency and Western Decline in Global Sex Work." *Social Problems* 61(4): 507–529.

Harvey, Laura, Jessica Ringrose, and Rosalind Gill. 2013. "Swagger, Ratings and Masculinity: Theorising the Circulation of Social and Cultural Value in Teenage Boys' Digital Peer Networks." *Sociological Research Online* 18(4): 1–11.

Hoang, Kimberly Kay. 2015. *Dealing in Desire: Asian Ascendancy, Western Decline, and the Hidden Currencies of Global Sex Work*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jeffreys, Sheila. 2010. "The sex industry and business practice: An obstacle to women's equality." *Women's Studies International Forum* 33(3): 274–282.

Kiesling, Scott Fabius. 2005. "Homosocial desire in men's talk: Balancing and re-creating cultural discourses of masculinity." *Language in Society* 34(5): 695–726.

Kimmel, Michael. 2000. *The Gendered Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kimmel, Michael. 2004. "Masculinity as Homophobia: Fear, Shame, and Silence in the Construction of Gender Identity." *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study* 81: 93.

Kitiarsa, Pattana. 2013. "Of Men and Monks: The Boxing-Buddhism Nexus and the Production of National Manhood in Contemporary Thailand." *New Mandala Blog* 2.

Knodel, John, Mark VanLandingham, Chanpen Saengtienchai, and Anthony Pramualratana. 1996. "Thai views of sexuality and sexual behaviour." *Health Transition Review* 6(2): 179–201.

Lyttleton, Chris. 2000. *Endangered Relations*. Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Marriage, Madison. 2018. "Men Only: Inside the charity fundraiser where hostesses are put on show." Financial Times, January 24. Accessed March 10, 2019.

Matsui, Yaori, and Noriko Toyokawa. 1999. *Women in the New Asia: From Pain to Power*. ZED books.

Plester, Barbara. 2015. "'Take it like a man!': Performing hegemonic masculinity through organizational humour." *Ephemera* 15(3): 537–559.

Schrock, Douglas, and Michael Schwalbe. 2009. "Men, Masculinity, and Manhood Acts." *Annual review of sociology* 35: 277–295.

Shih, J. 1994. "A plague in prostitution: HIV and AIDS in Thailand." *Rhode Island Medicine* 77 (5): 145–149.

USAID, "Cambodia HIV/AIDS Technical Support: Technical Assistance and Support Contract 3 (TASC3) Indefinite Quantity Contract Section A – Request for Task Order Proposal (RFTOP)." Accessed March 10, 2007. www.usaid.gov.

VanLandingham, Mark, John Knodel, Chanpen Saengtienchai, and Anthony Pramualratana. 1998. "In the company of friends: peer influence on Thai male extramarital sex." *Social Science & Medicine* 47(12): 1993–2011.

VanLandingham, Mark, and John Knodel. 2007. "Sex and the Single (Older) Guy: Sexual Lives of Older Unmarried Thai Men During the AIDS Era." *Journal of Cross-cultural Gerontology* 22(4): 375–388.

Vigoya, Mará Viveros. 2003. "Orientaciones íntimas en las primeras experiencias sexuales y amorosas de los jóvenes. Reflexiones a partir de algunos estudios de casos colombianos." *Varones adolescentes: género, identidades y sexualidades en América Latina*: 115.

Walker, Alice. 1983. "Beauty: When the other dancer is the self." In *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose*. Michigan: Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich.

West, Candace, and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing gender." *Gender & society* 1(2): 125–151.

World Bank. "Labor Force Participation Rate, female." Accessed 3 March, 2019. Retrieved from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.TLF.CACT.FE.ZS

World Bank. "Proportion of seats held by women in National Parliament (%)." Accessed 23 January, 2019. Retrieved from https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS

IV Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives on Men, Masculinities, and Career(s)

Tristan Bridges, Catherine J. Taylor, Sekani Robinson

10 Connections between Masculinity, Work, and Career Reproduce Gender Inequality

Abstract: Gender has been meaningfully tied to relations of production throughout history and across cultural contexts. What this exactly looks like and how it shapes the lived realities of people across time and place, however, has also been and will continue to be subject to great change. This chapter examines four contemporary dimensions of the relationship between masculinity, work, and career as well as how this relationship is connected with systems of gender inequality. We summarise scholarship on (1) the persistence of occupational sex segregation, (2) the effects of the "breadwinner" ideal, (3) the cultural devaluation of femininity, and (4) emergent scholarship on "masculinity contest cultures" at work. Here, we argue that it is through the interconnections between these dimensions that the relationship between masculinity, work, and career contributes to the durability of gender inequality.

Introduction

In 1958, the sociologist Everett C. Hughes published *Men and Their Work* – a collection of essays and papers examining the gendered division of labour, centering on the experiences of men. In the preface, he justified the project by writing, "A man's work is as good a clue as any to the course of his life and to his social being and identity" (1958, 7). He goes on to suggest that the very "ordering of society" is centrally connected to "man's relation to the world of work" (1958, 11). Hughes is correct that masculinity is integrally intertwined with work and career. But he does not address the ways that this relationship is a powerful mechanism through which gender inequalities are preserved and reproduced over time. This is our goal in this chapter.

One of the principle ways gender is reproduced as a meaningful concept in social life is through the organisation of labour around gender. Women and men, as groups, perform different types of labour in virtually every society. This socials organisation is a central element of the structure and reproduction of relations of gender difference (Rhode 1997; West and Fenstermaker 1995). That is, the relationship between masculinity, work, and career is a primary

mechanism through which understandings of – and ideological commitments to – gender difference are formed and sustained.

Scholars interested in examining this relationship in more recent history might also note the prevalence of women in many occupational domains formerly defined, in part, by women's exclusion. And yet, even under such circumstances of progression towards gender equality, the division of labour is capable of retaining gendered meanings and consequences that offer powerful illustrations of the durability and elasticity of gender inequality (Bridges and Pascoe 2018; Ridgeway 2011).

In this chapter, first we summarise some of the feminist sociological theory assessing the relationship between gender, work and career and how this relationship gives rise to inequality. Subsequently, we highlight feminist and social scientific research that illustrates the relationship between masculinity, work, and career. We address four interrelated issues that shape the relationship between masculinity, work, and career, and how this relationship is integral to understanding gender inequality. We address research on: (1) workplace and occupational gender segregation, (2) the origin and persistence of the "breadwinner" model of masculinity, (3) the social and cultural devaluation of femininity, and (4) the organisational structure of "masculinity contest cultures" at work and how they perpetuate inequality. Dividing our analysis between these components of the relationship connecting masculinity, work, and career allows for an understanding of both continuity and change in inequality. In the conclusion, we discuss ways that these components overlap and intersect to cause the relationships between masculinity, work, and career to be durable and to reproduce inequality even as they have transformed over time.

Theorising the Relationship between Masculinity, Work, and Career

The relationship between gender and the division of labour was among the first structures of gender relations to be recognised in the social sciences (Connell 2002, 2004) and in many disciplines, the gendered division of labour remains central to discussion of gender inequality (e.g. history, economics, anthropology). In most societies, most of the time and across social contexts, some work has been performed principally by women and other work has been performed principally by men (Connell 1987, 2002; Geist and Cohen 2011). However, it is not the case that all societies have defined the *same* work as men's work or women's work. Specific tasks and labour practices might be understood as

masculine in some societies, social contexts, or periods of history and feminine in others. As such, it is the gendered division of labour itself that is nearly universal, not the actual ways labour is divided (Mitchell 1974; Rubin 1975; Blumberg 1978, 1984; Hartmann 1979; Connell 1987; Hearn 1987; Acker 1989, 1990; Walby 1990; Reskin 1993).

Capitalism and industrialisation created a specific instantiation of this process by introducing the idea of "separate spheres": "the doctrine that men and women have innately different natures and occupy separate spheres of life" (Coontz 2005, 176). The industrial revolution and the economic system of capitalism were key historical moments in establishing paid work as masculine and casting unpaid labour in the home as feminine and as offering what historian Christopher Lasch (1977) referred to as a "haven in a heartless world".[1] Indeed, Holter (2005) suggests that the separation of women's and men's "spheres" of life is among the most important factors in shaping the structure of gender relations in contemporary Western societies. As Holter (2005), Coontz (1992, 2005) and Cowan (1983) all argue, the structural segregation of paid work as masculine and unpaid labour practiced in the home as feminine shapes radically different experiences, opportunities, and constraints of women and men. This structural segregation also shapes our notions of what are thought to be the different natures of women and men.

A telling example is offered by Ruth Schwartz Cowan's (1983) historical analysis of the emergence of household technology at the turn of the 20th century in the United States. This emergence appeared alongside men's exodus from American households to newly emerging opportunities for paid work outside of the home. And, opportunities for career simultaneously pulled men out of their homes while pushing women back in. Prior to this transformation, both women and men (as well as children) were all responsible for the various types of labour that went into managing a pre-industrial household. With the advent of industrialisation, however, middle-class men were expected to work outside the home and middle-class women were compelled to care for the home alone

---

1 Importantly, more recent scholarship challenges the historical emergence of separate spheres. While this has become a historical narrative structuring a great deal of scholarship, we also know that it is largely a middle-class narrative as working-class women and children also joined men in working outside the home. Indeed, Vickery (1993) argues that the "separation of spheres" discourse regarding industrialisation and shifts in gender relations relates explicitly to the middle-class. And while Vickery (2009) challenges the extent to which women's lives were "domesticated" during this period, Tosh (2007) challenges claims that men's lives were not uncovering the many contradictions structuring hetero-romantic gender relations leading up to and following industrialisation.

and in historically new ways. New household technologies were also invented and introduced into American homes over the first half of the twentieth century – everything from cabinets, to vacuum cleaners, to microwaves, to refrigerators, and more. All of these varying devices were marketed as "labour-saving" tools for saving time. Cowan shows, however, that they simultaneously ushered in new sets of demands and standards of cleanliness at precisely the historical moment when fewer people than ever before were responsible for the management of the home. Thus, these technological "advances", according to Cowan (1983), had the ironic effect of producing "more work for mother".

Women's unpaid labour during historical transformations like these was not incidental to these gendered historical shifts; their labour actually made these shifts possible. The separation of spheres became necessary as capitalist enterprises sought to squeeze every ounce of labour they could out of paid employees – a task made more possible by the unpaid labour of women managing "havens" in the newly minted "heartless world." And yet, this is a very middle- and upper-class narrative about this transformation as, for everyone else, the world remained as "heartless" as it ever was. Thus, these discourses of gendered responsibility were also classed from the very start, helping to usher in emergent gendered forms of class distinction.

One of the chief accomplishments of research and theory on work and gender has been to empirically and theoretically demonstrate the ways that careers and work shape social behaviours, roles, and identities that came to be recognised as gendered. Structures do not arise, in other words, from innate differences between men and women. Rather, the presumption that such differences exist in the first place arises, in part, out of gendered social structures. That is, this work articulated a feminist social theory that connected the gendered structure of societies with gendered personalities and behaviours. The notion that women and men are "naturally suited" to different sorts of work is, then, a *social* accomplishment arising from a gendered division of labour (Goffman 1977; Connell 1987; West and Zimmerman 1987; Holter 2005; Acker 1990, 2006; Rhode 1997; Risman 1998). Understanding the theory and history that addresses the connections between the gendered division of labour and gender inequality is necessary to explore the relationship between masculinity, work, and career, as we do next.

Components of the Relationship between Masculinity, Work, and Career

Women's participation in the paid labour force in societies around the world increased steadily over the course of the second half of the twentieth century. Consider the United States. In 1950, slightly more than one third of US women were working in the paid labour force; but in 2018, three quarters of women in the US were (see Figure 1). Indeed, dramatic shifts like this were mirrored in many countries around the world (Charles, and Grusky 2004).
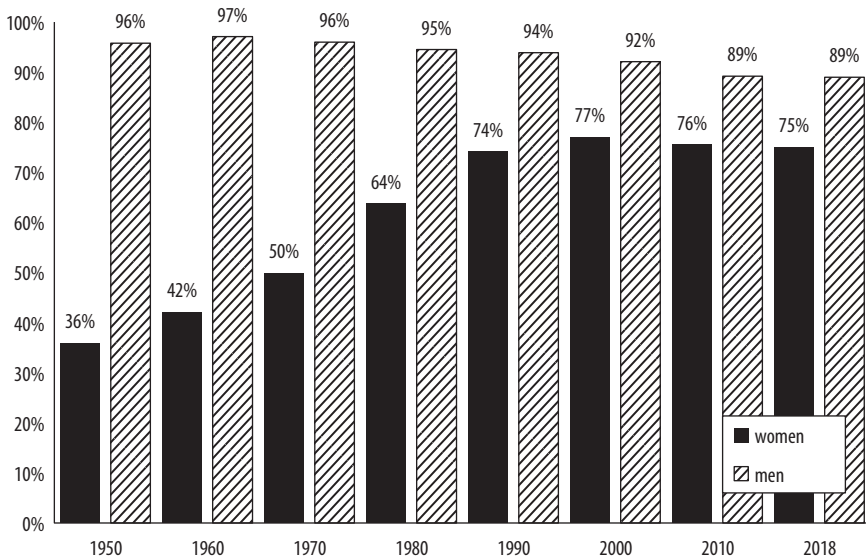
Figure 1: Men's and Women's Labor Force Participation in the United States, 25–54 years old: 1950–2018.
Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Current Population Survey.

Progress toward equal proportions of women and men in the labour force stalled in the US and many other nations around the world around the 1990s. Nevertheless, rates of participation have increased substantially, and all this over a brief portion of history. And yet, gender inequality at work has endured, and this is in no small part due to the enduring relationship between masculinity, work, and career.

Tracing how this relationship endures alongside the dramatic shifts in women's relative participation in the paid labour force requires understanding four intersecting issues. (1) Despite this shift, sex segregation still structures modern workplaces and careers. (2) Though the "breadwinner ideal"[2] is not attainable for all but a very small number of households, it continues to exert powerful pressure in the cultural imaginary. (3) Femininity is devalued socially and culturally, and this is expressed in work and careers. And (4) masculinity contest cultures shape workplaces in ways that perpetuate inequality in modern work and careers. All four of these issues are intertwined with the power of masculinity to shape gendered outcomes – especially as they relate to work, occupations, and careers. In the following sections, we summarise and explain each of these interrelated issues that operate to reinforce the historically emergent relationship between masculinity and work.

Sex Segregation of Work and Occupations

Although women's paid labour force participation has increased dramatically over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, our ideas about what type of work is appropriate for men versus women are remain gendered. One way this is especially visible is that occupations are highly sex segregated worldwide (Charles and Grusky 2004). That is, men and women work in very different occupations (Cohen 2013). For example, in order to "undo all sex segregation by reallocating women to less segregated occupations, a full 52 percent of employed women in the United States would have to be shifted out of their current occupational category" (Charles and Grusky 2004, 4). In addition, women are concentrated in a smaller number of occupations than men, something Charles, and Grusky (2004) call "occupational ghettos" (Padavic and Reskin 2002; Charles and Grusky 2004). For example, as of 2000 in the US, 3 in 10 women in the workforce could be accounted for by only 10 of 503 detailed occupational categories (Padavic and Reskin 2002, 65). As of 2018, almost 40 percent of all women employed in the US work in occupations in

---

2 "Breadwinner" is a concept used to refer to the member in a couple who contributes the majority of income to the relationship. It be measured by examining discrepancies in relative proportions of income earned by each member of the couple. But so too is "breadwinner" an ideological issue as women's and men's earnings are made sense of interactionally within the couple as a unit. As such, the status of "breadwinner" is not only achieved in terms of income alone, but it is discursively constructed as couples interactionally discuss and understand the meanings associated with the income each of them bring to the table (Bridges 2013).

which at least 75 percent of those employed are also women (US Bureau of Labor Statistics 2019). While this way of characterising occupational segregation focusses on women, it is important to note that the issue is not only that women are segregated to a narrow band of occupations, but that men are both less segregated in general and also more segregated into occupations with high pay, status, and workplace benefits, relative to women's occupations. Charles and Grusky (2004, 7) call this "vertical" segregation, i.e. the fact that men dominate more "desirable" occupations. Further, despite women moving into the paid labour force at higher rates since the 1950s, the degree of occupational sex segregation in the US has barely declined since 1970 (Charles and Grusky 2004). In addition, there is some evidence occupational gender segregation has increased post industrialisation (Charles and Bradley 2009; Charles and Grusky 2004).[3]

One consequence of this high level of occupational sex-segregation is economic inequality by gender. For instance, most of the pay gap between women and men occurs because men, on average, are more likely to work in higher paying occupations than are women (Boraas and Rodgers III 2003; Wade, and Ferree 2018). In addition, occupations with higher proportions of men tend to offer better benefits, higher social status, more flexibility, more job advancement opportunities, and higher levels of authority than occupations with higher proportions of women (Kallberg 2011; Tausig 2013; Cohen and Huffman 2003; Dewar 2000; Kilbourne et al. 1994; Padavic and Reskin 2002).

A second consequence is that occupational segregation is a primary mechanism through which occupations are gendered and masculinity is upheld and reproduced. That is, although it is now considered normative in many societies for women to engage in paid work, the type of paid work that is socially constructed as appropriate for men and women is gendered. Wade and Ferree (2018, 327), for example, write, "[c]ollectively, we understand certain jobs as somehow *for* women (like nursing and teaching) and others as *for* men (construction work and computer programming)". Indeed, the most masculine typed jobs and careers are still largely inaccessible to women. For example, in the United States 91 percent of mechanical engineers, 94 percent of airline pilots, and 97 percent of construction laborers are men (Wade and Ferree 2018). What types of jobs are reserved for men, however, varies by culture. In the United States, for instance, construction work is among the occupations most dominated by men. In India, however, the construction industry is slightly over

---

3 The proportion of the economy comprising service sector occupations, which are gender-typed as feminine and are dominated by women, has increased in post-industrial economies (Charles and Grusky 2004).

half women, partially because of the idea that women are responsible for the home (Wade and Ferree 2018; WIEGO 2019). We highlight this example to illustrate the fact that women are participating in manual labour in the construction industry in India which in the US would be consider masculine labour. The gendered division of labour in India, however, remains. Nevertheless, the specific occupations and labour constructed as masculine or feminine differ between India and the US, and most other nations. This contrast between the US and India underscores the ways work and occupations are mobilised to socially construct what is masculine and what is not masculine.

One component of occupational sex-segregation is the gendering of jobs and occupations that occurs through a process of cultural reproduction of a "masculine" work force for certain jobs. For example, Rivera's "cultural matching" (2012) is a practice in which employers look for candidates that share cultural similarities and "fit" to maintain a specific kind of environment within the workplace – one that resists diversity of all kinds, including gender diversity (Rivera 2012).

Women being kept out of occupations dominated by men is one way that occupational segregation reinforces masculinity through work and professions. But, occupations dominated by women, such as nursing and librarians, are also part of the gendering of work and occupations. Men in these occupations are gender policed by others in ways that both advantage and disadvantage men, but consistently devalue femininity (Williams 1995). Williams (1995) interviewed men who worked in occupations culturally understood as "feminine" and they reported that while they were welcomed in their occupations by their women co-workers, they were held accountable for not being masculine enough by those outside of their occupation. Another way in which the men are policed in "feminine" occupations is that they are encouraged in patterned ways to pursue higher-level positions, a phenomenon Williams (1995) called "the glass escalator." This advantages men in that they have more access to promotions than the women they work alongside, while simultaneously devaluing feminine work. One of Williams' (1995) respondents, a man elementary school teacher said:

> [My father's] first reaction was, "Well, that's a good start, and eventually, you know, you'll be able to be a principal, maybe start your own school . . . And every time I talked to him his comments were always, "You still like it? [laughs] "You still doing it?" . . . He would probably like it better if I was the head of the school".   (Williams 1995, 63)

In the context of the United States, this gendered process is racialised in that Williams' (1995) "glass escalator" is largely available to white men in occupations dominated by women (Wingfield 2009). In this way, Black masculinity in

the US is constructed as not appropriate for leadership positions in fields gendered feminine, while white masculinity is.

The degree of occupational and educational sex segregation varies by country (Charles and Grusky 2004). And cross-cultural research provides evidence that occupational sex segregation is linked to gender essentialist ideologies, ideologies which have proved especially resistant to change over time (Charles and Grusky 2004; Charles and Bradley 2009). For example, Charles and Grusky (2004) show that gender essentialist ideologies can explain high levels of occupational sex segregation in some countries with otherwise high levels of gender equality and economic development. This interplay between gender essentialism and occupations underscores and reinforces the way that occupations both remain gendered and reinforce gender.

In addition to occupations, fields of college study are very segregated by sex, across many countries (Charles and Bradley 2009). And, as in the case of work and occupations, the segregation of field of study is tightly linked to ideologies of what work and areas of study are appropriate for women and for men. Women show a patterned overrepresentation in "expressive and human-centered fields" and men show the same pattern in "technical and math-intensive fields" (Charles and Bradley 2009, 940). This is evidence of the gendered nature of professional training and another way that masculinity is reproduced in work and careers. For example, in a study of 44 societies, Charles and Bradley (2009) discuss how college graduates in the most affluent societies have the luxury of expressing their "gendered selves" by choosing more sex-typed fields than their counterparts in less economically developed counties. Charles and Bradley (2009) argue that it is gender essentialist ideologies that drive the choice to segregate into sex-typed fields of study among these college graduates from more affluent societies. This in turn, is a force for reproduction of occupational sex-segregation.

The Breadwinner Norm and Breadwinning as Ideology

The breadwinner norm is a fundamental part of contemporary masculinity in industrialised and post industrialised societies (Thébaud 2010). Though many aspects of masculine norms have changed and reorganised over time, the idea that men need to be breadwinners is especially sticky (Ehrenreich 1983; Townsend 2002). The ideal of the breadwinner norm remains very powerful, despite the fact that the dominance of the man as breadwinner household (i.e., man in the paid workforce, women doing unpaid homemaking and childrearing labour, and children not working for pay) was quite short lived, and even at its height, primarily

was available to white, upper- and middle-class families (Coontz 2005). For example, many people around the world believe that men have more of a "right to a job" than do women when "jobs are scarce" (see Figure 2). This perception of the "right to a job" is connected with the relationship between masculinity, work, and career as well as the gendered ideology of breadwinning. One reason the breadwinner norm is powerful is because it combines men's accountability to each other with powerful economic and status incentives for men. That is, men both feel enormous social pressure to enact masculinity as breadwinners and upholding the breadwinner norm garners men economic advantages, social status, and power.

Investment in a breadwinning ideology is patterned by the gender of the worker. Gerson (2010) discovered that young heterosexual women and men are interested in finding egalitarian partnerships that prioritise both partners' abilities to find meaningful work. She also found, however, that women's and men's backup plans differed by gender: women were more likely to say they would rather remain outside a relationship if they could not achieve an egalitarian relationship, while men's backup plans were to serve as primary breadwinners in their relationships. These gendered sentiments and investments in work and family arrangements are structured by national policies associated with work and family leave. As Castro-García and Pazos-Moran (2016) argue, gender equity at work and home is not possible without equal, non-transferable, well-paid leave options for both women and men. And different nations have different work cultures and workplace expectations, creating different social and cultural environments in which decisions about work and career are made (e.g. Kaufman and Almqvist 2017; Collins 2019).

Like many aspects of masculinity, such as norms of heterosexual prowess (Pascoe 2007), the breadwinner norm is often upheld through interactions with other men. Research in the US shows that many men feel intense pressure to conform to the breadwinner ideal, particularly in the eyes of other men. This can be the case regardless of their own beliefs about the importance of the breadwinner norm (Thébaud and Pedulla 2016) partially because of gendered biases, and sometimes harassment, from others surrounding men's preferences for shorter work hours or more flexibility (e.g. Berdahl and Moon 2013; Rudman and Mescher 2013; Vandello et al. 2013). For instance, Thébaud and Pedulla (2016) find that young, unmarried men's views about whether they prefer a relationship in which they are the primary breadwinner versus a more egalitarian relationship, under conditions of having access to supportive work-family friendly policies, are predicted by their beliefs about what other young men want, rather than by their own preferences. This is evidence that the breadwinner ideal is important and that men feel accountable to other men to uphold this norm.
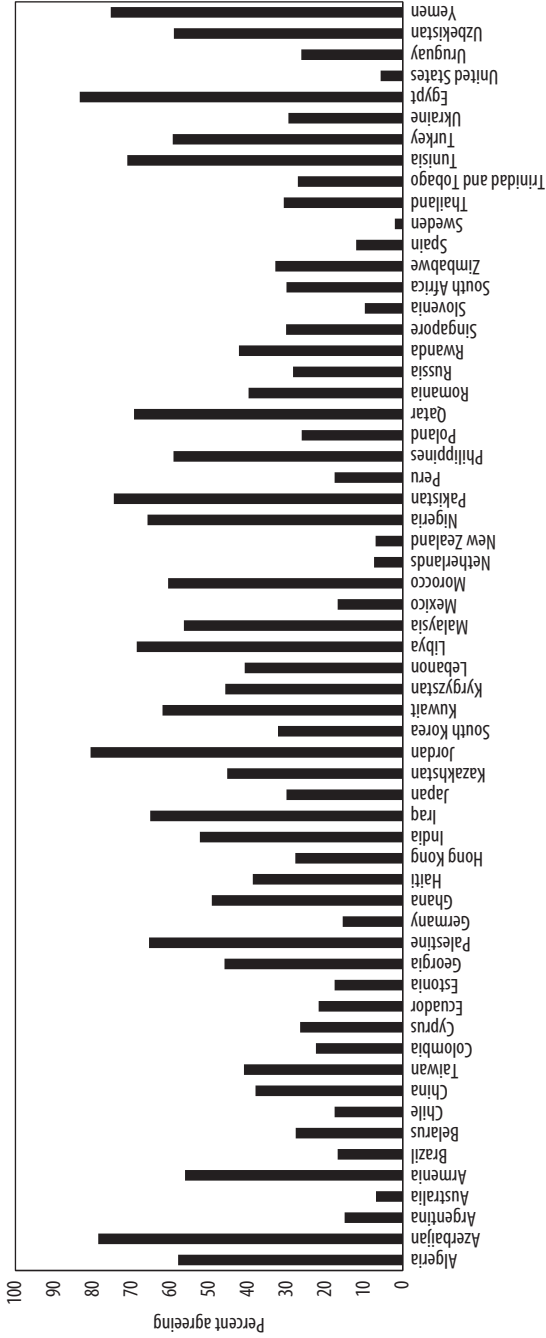
Figure 2: Percentage of Respondents Who "Agree" with the Statement: "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women".
World Values Survey, 2010–2014
Data Source: World Values Survey, 2010–2014. Available at: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp.

Research underscores the importance of breadwinning by demonstrating that men who are constrained from being breadwinners will sometimes compensate by doing less housework. For example, Brines (1994) shows that, especially among white families in the US, men reduce their contribution to housework when their breadwinning status is diminished through economic dependency on their wife. Similarly, Schneider (2012) showed that men who work in fields dominated by women in the US do more hours of household tasks coded as "masculine" than men in more mixed-sex occupations.

Thébaud (2010) shows that the relationship between breadwinning and men's contribution to housework varies cross culturally. In countries where paid work is more highly valued, men who are economically dependent on their wives are less likely to do housework than men who are equally economically dependent on their wives in countries where paid work is least highly valued. That is, in counties in which the breadwinner norm is strong, men are more likely to overcompensate if they are not breadwinners – underscoring the importance of breadwinner norms of masculinity and how they vary cross culturally.

In addition to the work that shows that men compensate for loss of breadwinner status by doing less housework, Munsch (2015, 2018) shows that economically dependent men are more likely to engage in infidelity than other men, and found evidence that this effect is stronger for economically dependent men than for economically dependent women. This work provides further evidence that breadwinning is central to the masculine identity in that men who cannot achieve breadwinner status will overcompensate in other ways.

Interestingly, despite all of this evidence that breadwinning is central to masculine identity, it is not clear that men actually prefer breadwinning to be a dominant source of their identity (Gerson 2010; Pedulla and Thébaud 2015). Pedulla and Thébaud (2015) show that, at least among young adults in the US, all else being equal, when people feel that they have access to family-friendly work policies men and women are equally likely to prefer a relationship in which women and men have equal caregiving responsibilities. However, understanding the importance of the breadwinner ideal to masculinity is more complicated than men's face value preferences for egalitarian relationships. Men are also advantaged by the breadwinner norm in that it garners them economic power through increased earnings, social status, and relative power in their romantic relationships (Crittenden 2001; Gerson 2010). For this reason, as well as to adhere to norms of masculinity, men are more inclined to ascribe to the breadwinner norm than women when work-family conflict forces people to choose (Pedulla and Thébaud 2015). In this way, economic incentives, power incentives in relationships, and "accountability" to "do masculinity", especially from other men, collide and create powerful forces to reproduce and

underscore the breadwinner norm as a key part of the masculine ideal (West and Zimmerman 1987).

The Devaluation of Femininity in Work and Careers

An important component of the project of masculinity and masculine privilege is the devaluation of femininity. Research across the disciplines has shown that femininity is culturally devalued in many societies. That is, femininity is often valued in ways that structurally situate women in lower status positions in society than men. In fact, masculinity is so valuable that people are rewarded for "doing masculinity" regardless of their gender (Wade and Ferree 2018, 133).[4] This devaluation is characterised by men and masculinity being seen not only as *different*[5] from women and femininity but as inherently more valuable. Connell (1987, 1995) refers to the advantages accrued by the devaluation of femininity as the "patriarchal dividend": structured advantages that accrue to men collectively as a result of the maintenance of gender inequality, and to some men more than others. As such, cultural devaluation of femininity is one of the ways that gender inequality is perpetuated.

Cultural devaluation of femininity can be seen in the devaluation of work that is associated with women and femininity, such as care work and service work (Kilbourne et al. 1994). Feminist work in economics and sociology provides

---

4 The rewards women receive for "doing masculinity" at work, however, are complicated by the fact that women are also sanctioned for engaging in what are perceived to be "masculine" behaviors in the workplace. For example, Heilman, et al. (2004) show that women who succeed at tasks coded as "masculine" (such as a leadership position in a "masculine" occupation) are more personally disliked than men who succeed at the same task and than women who do not succeed. Furthermore, this personal dislike resulting from the backlash to their success in work tasks understood as "masculine" was linked to important outcomes such as evaluation of their job performance and recommendations for a raise or promotion. Similarly, Rudman (1998) found that while self-promotion is an important factor is performing competence in the workplace, women suffer social reprisals for self-promoting because it violates gendered prescriptions for women to exhibit modesty. As such, women experience a "double bind": that is, "doing masculinity" by pursuing workplace success comes at the cost of being seen as less likable, which in turn has its own negative consequences in terms of garnering workplace rewards such as increased pay and access to promotions. While, overall then women can be rewarded for enacting masculinity in the workplace, such rewards are also tempered with gendered costs associated with enacting masculinity by women when compared with men.

5 In fact, there is more evidence of similarities between women and men than of differences (Hyde 2005), but firmly held beliefs like ideological investments in gender differences as "real" are not always toppled with disconfirming evidence (e.g. Neihan and Reifler 2010).

evidence that gendered understandings of work are better predictors of the value assigned to work than the work's inherent value (England 1992a). For instance, when occupations require skills that are culturally associated with women (e.g. nurturance, care taking), the wages are lower than in otherwise comparable occupations (England and Folbre 2005; Kilbourne et al. 1994; Levanon et al. 2009). Also, occupations with higher percentages of women pay less to *both* women and men workers, even when controlling a variety of other factors than might account for this discrepancy, such as level of education and job skills (Kilbourne et al. 1994; Levanon, England and Alison 2009). For instance, in some cases, secretaries earn less than workers in jobs dominated by men requiring no more than an 8th grade education (England 1992a). Furthermore, there are many examples where work culturally coded feminine that requires higher qualifications is less well compensated than work understood as masculine that requires lower qualifications, and virtually no examples to the contrary (i.e., where "masculine" work that requires higher levels of skill and/or education is less well compensated than "feminine" work that requires lower levels of skill and/or education) (England 1992a). Longitudinal research in this area has demonstrated that when the sex composition of an occupation becomes more dominated by women at one point in time, the pay of that occupation decreases at a later point in time (Levanon, England and Alison 2009). This body of research shows that work is devalued, and underpaid, if it is associated with women and femininity and this devaluation is part of the patriarchal dividend afforded to men and masculinity.

Along these lines, Reskin and Roos (1990) delineated two processes accompanying women's entry into occupations formerly dominated by men: (1) resegregation (where an occupation shifts from being dominated by men to women, or vice versa), and (2) ghettoisation (a process in which women are concentrated in the lower status and lower paying specialties). Both of these processes result from the social and cultural devaluation of femininity. And this devaluation of femininity is one reason why men leave occupations as larger numbers of women enter them – a phenomenon sometimes referred to as "male flight" (Reskin and Roos 1994; Wright and Jacobs 1994; Lincoln 2010). Historical scholarship on work and careers also demonstrates resegregation processes through which the gender typing of jobs has changed over time. For example, clerical and secretarial work used to be a job dominated by men in the early twentieth century. Today women dominate these jobs. In addition, the original flight attendants were almost exclusively men, but by the late 1950s, this had reversed, and flight attendants were almost all women (Wade and Ferree 2018). This kind of resegregation and ghettoisation is part of the process by which femininity is devalued in work settings and masculinity is rewarded.

The devaluation of work understood to be feminine at the social structural level is coupled with the devaluation of "feminine" work at the level of social interactions and with individual beliefs about women workers. Social psychological work in the US has demonstrated that women are generally perceived to be less competent, and afforded lower social status than men, in workplace contexts (controlling for relevant qualifications, credentials, and other personal characteristics) (Ridgeway 2011; Ridgeway 1993; Ridgeway and Correll 2004; Ridgeway 2011; England 2016). Women are especially less likely to be seen as less competent, and to be afforded lower social status than men, in tasks and in industries understood as masculine (Heilman et al. 2004; Tak, Correll and Soule 2019).

One illustrative example can be found in research by two economists, Claudia Goldin and Cecelia Rouse (2000), who capitalised on a natural experiment that took place in the 1970s and 1980s when the format of auditions for major symphony orchestras changed. Over those decades, many orchestras put up screens when auditioning musicians because of concerns about nepotism and cultural matching in the selection process. Orchestras were concerned musicians were being selected not based on talent alone but also based on their social networks and, therefore, used screens to block the judges' views of the musician so that the judges could only assess talent based on the sound of the music. But the screens had unanticipated consequences: the rate of women being selected increased sharply, even controlling for other factors like the absolute increase in number of women auditioning over this time period (see Figure 3).

As such, Goldin and Rouse (2000) showed how unconscious biases devaluing the competence of women as elite musicians was a key factor in lower rates of selection of women, as compared to men, as orchestra musicians. That is, they showed how gender biases that produced doubts about women musicians' ability to play at the same level as men disadvantaged them, even when judges were not aware of their own biases. Goldin and Rouse (2000) found that women's musical talent was being systematically devalued in the section process, leading to the sex-segregation of major symphony orchestras. The findings of this study are consistent with decades of experimental, and other social scientific research, confirming that women's talents are systematically devalued and that, all else being equal, women are thought to be less competent, and are afforded less status, as compared to men in the workplace (Ridgeway 2011).
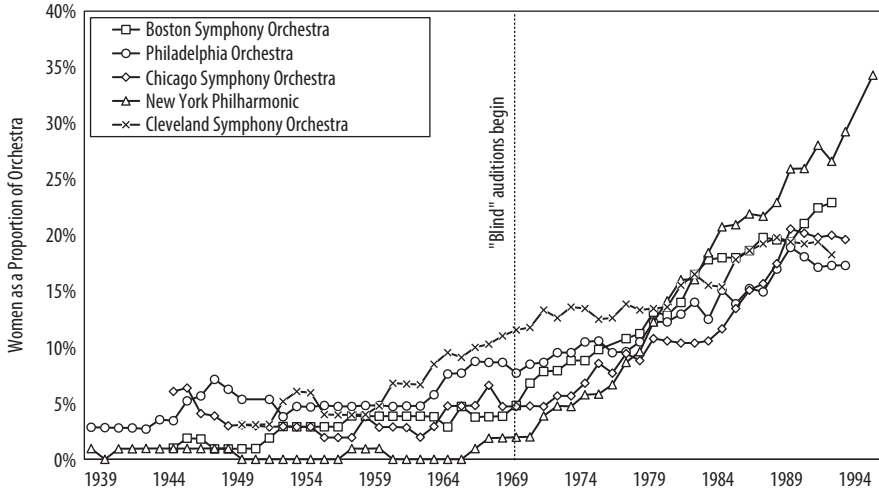
Figure 3: Proportion of Women in the "Big Five" U.S. Symphony Orchestras, 1939–1996.
Source: Goldin, Claudia and Cecelia Rouse. "Orchestrating Impartiality: The Impact of Blind
Auditions on the Sex Composition of Orchestras." *American Economic Review* 90,
4 (September 2000): 715–741.

Masculinity Contest Cultures

Berdahl, et al. (2018) identify what they refer to as "masculinity contest cultures"
in which conspicuous displays of workloads and long schedules are endemic, cor-
ners are cut to out-earn or out-perform co-workers, or unreasonable risks are part
of the normative experience at work. Which of these elements is stressed, Berdahl
et al. (2018) argue, differs by industry, but the role of masculinity contests con-
nects these elements. As they write, "[M]uch of what simply appears to be neutral
practices and what it takes to get ahead at work is actually counterproductive be-
haviour aimed at proving manhood on the job" (2018, 424). Berdahl et al. (2018)
argue that this idea helps us look past individual men alone, examining how en-
actments of masculinity come to constitute organisational culture in ways that
harm women and men. In many cases, for instance, masculinity contest cultures
operate under the guise of different kinds of "expertise" and "authority" (see also
Collinson and Hearn 1994) in which some groups of men with power are structur-
ally positioned in ways that enable them to push workplace agendas over other
groups with less workplace power. As such, the relationship between masculinity,
work, and career persists through workplace interactions in which masculinity
is at stake. Of note, these kinds of masculinity contest cultures exist to varying

degrees in differing industries or occupations and they especially tend to typify workplace cultures in occupations dominated by men.

Consider the following example: on January 28, 1986, NASA launched the Space Shuttle Challenger for the last time. Approximately one minute and thirteen seconds into the flight, the shuttle exploded, scattering the crew and shuttle across the Atlantic. All seven crew members died. It is one of the most horrific disasters in modern astronomical history. A specific technology on board failed during the launch: the part of the shuttle designed to change form under the extreme fluctuations in temperature to seal the shuttle (the O-rings). This resulted in pressurised gas coming into contact with the external fuel tanks and leading to the explosion.

Among the issues that led to the disaster was what could be seen as a masculinity contest culture at NASA. Messerschmidt's (1995) analysis of the gendered organisational dynamics that led to the disaster is a demonstration of the power of masculinity in the workplace (see also Maier 1993 and Maier and Messerschmidt 1998). NASA is a highly masculinised workplace culture and its workforce is heavily dominated by men. And, as Cockburn (1985) argued, the technical competence central to work at NASA is an element of "manly" work. Furthermore, astronauts can be seen as an example of what Pascoe and Bridges (2016) refer to as "masculinity entrepreneurs," in that they were relied upon to usher in a new understanding of a national culture of masculinity during the Cold War era. During that era, the "space race" between the United States and Russia could itself be understood as a masculinity contest culture. As such, rocket science as an industry, and NASA in particular, are deeply connected to masculinity and the masculine project of nation and nationality (Sage 2009; Llinares 2011).[6]

The connection between ideologies and practices of masculinity and the Challenger explosion cut to some of the core of the relationship between men and their careers. The crux of the issue in this case was a heated debate amongst two groups of workers at NASA who understood masculinity somewhat differently from each other: managers and engineers. The decision to launch Space Shuttle Challenger was made against the advice of the engineers, who collectively agreed that the O-rings were too much of a risk to continue with the launch. According to Messerschmidt (1995) masculinity at work was, for the engineers, tied to a complete understanding of how the shuttle operated, its capacities and – of particular

---

6 Feminist scholarship on nuclear weaponry and national defense has also documented masculinist cultures demonstrating the connection between masculinity and nation. For instance, Cohn's (1987) analysis of a community of "defense intellectuals" and the masculinist discourses used to describe and discuss nuclear weaponry, war, and violence.

relevance here – its limits. Managers at NASA decided to launch against the recommendation of the engineers. Messerschmidt (1995) suggests that, in contrast to the engineers, masculinity among the managers was tied to understanding and taking calculated risks associated with competition in a market economy. That is, risk taking was a characteristic of managerial masculinity at NASA while knowledge, forethought, and risk aversion were characteristic of engineering masculinity. This created a masculinity contest favouring managers because of power and hierarchies in the workplace and putting lives at risk. As such, we can understand the Challenger shuttle disaster as resulting from a clash of two differing of masculinity cultures at work.

As Acker (1990, 2006) argued, jobs themselves are gendered, before the bodies of actual workers take up the work. And the oft-neutral appearing norms and values that shape workplace obligations and metrics of success sometimes mobilise gender practices in ways that promote work environments in which only "real men" are structurally and culturally positioned to thrive. Morgan (1992) argued that work shapes different sorts of "materials" out of which disparate forms of workplace masculinity are constructed. These sorts of "masculinity challenges" (Messerschmidt 2000) or "masculinity contests" give rise to "masculinity contest cultures" (Berdahl et al. 2018). Such masculinity contest cultures then shape incidents from the Space Shuttle Challenger explosion to the much more mundane.

Discussion and Conclusion

The connections between masculinity, work, and career are cross cultural and historically enduring. Hughes (1958) wrote that men's careers were "as good a clue as any" to men's social identities. In this chapter, we argue that beyond men's social identities, the social and cultural relationship between masculinity, work, and careers is a central element of gender *inequality*. We first summarised key scholarship that linked masculinity with issues of work and career. We also argue that feminist scholarship examining this relationship must attend to four critical dimensions: (1) the effects of occupational sex segregation, (2) the social, cultural, and economic power of the breadwinner norm, (3) the social and cultural devaluation of femininity and women in work and occupations, and (4) masculinity contest cultures in the workplace.

In our analyses, we have delineated these four dimensions as somewhat distinct. However, these dimensions also overlap and are interrelated. For instance, masculinity contest cultures emerge, in part, as a result of occupational sex segregation. Furthermore breadwinning norms that encourage careerism

and hyper-masculinity simultaneously work to systematically devalue work associated with women. As such, different dimensions of the relationships we outline here affect and condition one another. Further, the relationship between these dimensions involves reciprocal effects. Analysing these effects as reciprocal helps to elucidate how the relationship between work, masculinity, and gender inequality remains durable. In fact, it is through an intersecting arrangement of these dimensions that the relationship between masculinity, work, and career is implicated in the reproduction of gender inequality. In addition, we may see challenges to, or progress on, some of these dimensions alongside stagnation or regression along others. Understanding the multidimensional nature of such shifts allows us to better appreciate both continuity and change in gender relations and inequality. Overall, masculinity is tied to work and occupations in multiple ways and the relationship between masculinity, work, and career is a key factor in understanding gender inequality.

References

Acker, Joan. 1989. "The Problem with Patriarchy." *Sociology* 23(2): 235–240.

Acker, Joan. 1990. "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations." *Gender & Society* 4(2): 139–158.

Acker, Joan. 2006. "Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations." *Gender & Society* 20(4): 441–464.

Berdahl, Jennifer L., Marianne Cooper, Peter Glick, Robert W. Livingston, Joan C. Williams. 2018. "Work as a Masculinity Contest." *Journal of Social Issues* 74(3): 422–448.

Berdahl, Jennifer L., and Sue H. Moon. 2013. "Workplace Mistreatment of Middle- Class Workers Based on Sex, Parenthood, and Caregiving." *Journal of Social Issues* 69(2): 341–366.

Blumberg, Rae L. 1978. *Stratification: Socioeconomic and Sexual Inequality*. New York: William C. Brown.

Blumberg, Rae Lesser. 1984. "A General Theory of Gender Stratification." *Sociological Theory* 2: 23–101.

Boraas, Stephanie, and William M. Rodgers III. 2003. "How Does Gender Play a Role in the Earnings Gap: An Update." *Monthly Labor Review* 126: 9–15.

Bridges, Tristan. 2013. "Beyond Dollar and Cents: A Cultural Supplement to the Breadwinner Moms Debate." *Inequality by (Interior) Design* (blog). https://inequalitybyinteriordesign. wordpress.com/2013/06/06/beyond-dollars-and-cents/

Bridges, Tristan, and C.J. Pascoe. 2018. "On the Elasticity of Gender Hegemony: Why Hybrid Masculinities Fail to Undermine Gender and Sexual Inequality." In *Gender Reckonings: New Social Theory and Research*, edited by Messerschmidt, James W., Michael A. Messner, Raewyn Connell, and Patricia Yancey Martin. New York: New York University Press.

Brines, Julie. 1994. "Economic Dependency, Gender, and the Division of Labor at Home." *American Journal of Sociology* 100(3): 652–688.

Castro-García, Carmen, and Maria Pazos-Moran. 2016. "Parental Leave Policy and Gender Equality in Europe." *Feminist Economics* 22(3): 51–73.

Charles, Maria, and Karen Bradley. 2009. "Indulging Our Gendered Selves? Sex Segregation by Field of Study in 44 Countries." *American Journal of Sociology* 114: 924–976.

Charles, Maria, and David Grusky. 2004. *Occupational Ghettos: The Worldwide Segregation of Women and Men*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Cockburn, Cynthia. 1985. *Machinery of Dominance: Women, Men and Technical Know-How*. London: Pluto Press.

Cohn, Carol. 1987. "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12(4): 687–718.

Cohen, Philip N. 2013. "The Persistence of Workplace Gender Segregation in the US." *Sociology Compass* 7(11): 889–899.

Cohen, Philip N., and Matt L. Huffman. 2003. "Occupational Segregation and the Devaluation of Women's Work across US Labor Markets." *Social Forces* 81(3): 881–908.

Collinson, David, and Jeff Hearn. 1994. "Naming Men as Men: Implications for Work, Organization and Management." *Gender, Work & Organization* 1(1): 2–22.

Collins, Caitlyn. 2019. *Making Motherhood Work: How Mothers Manage Careers and Caregiving*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Connell, Raewyn. 1987. *Gender and Power*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Connell, Raewyn. 1995. *Masculinities*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Connell, Raewyn. 2002. *Gender: An Introduction*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Connell, Raewyn. 2004. "Encounters with Structure." *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 17(1): 10–27.

Coontz, Stephanie. 1992. *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap*. New York: Basic Books.

Coontz, Stephanie. 2005. *Marriage, a History*. London: Penguin Books.

Cowan, Ruth S. 1983. *More Work for Mother*. New York: Basic Books.

Crittenden, Ann. 2001. *The Price of Motherhood: Why the Most Important Job in the World is Still the Least Valued*. New York: Macmillan.

Dewar, Diane M. 2000. "Gender Impacts on Health Insurance Coverage: Findings for Unmarried Full-time Employees." *Women's Health Issues* 10(5): 268–277.

Ehrenreich, Barbara. 1983. *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment*. New York: Anchor Books.

England, Paula. 1992a. *Comparable Worth: Theories and Evidence*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

England, Paula. 1992b. "From Status Attainment to Segregation and Devaluation." *Contemporary Sociology* 21(5): 643–647.

England, Paula. 2016. "Sometimes the Social Becomes Personal: Gender, Class and Sexualities." *American Sociological Review* 81(1): 4–28.

England, Paula, and Nancy Folbre. 2005. "Gender and Economic Sociology." In *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*, edited by Smelser, Neil J., and Richard Swedberg, 627–649. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Gerson, Kathleen. 2010. *The Unfinished Revolution: How a New Generation is Reshaping Family, Work, and Gender in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1977. "The Arrangement between the Sexes." *Theory and Society* 4(3): 301–331.

Goldin, Claudia, and Cecelia Rouse. 2000. "Orchestrating Impartiality: The Impact of 'Blind' Auditions on Female Musicians." *American Economic Review* 90(4): 715–741.

Geist, Claudia, and Philip N. Cohen. 2011. "Headed Toward Equality?: Housework Change in Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 73(4): 832–844.

Hartmann, Heidi I. 1979. "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism." *Capital & Class* 3 (2): 1–33.

Hearn, Jeff. 1987. *The Gender of Oppression: Men, Masculinity and the Critique of Marxism*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Heilman, Madeline E., Aaron S. Wallen, Daniella Fuchs, and Melinda M. Tamkins. 2004. "Penalties for Success: Reactions to Women Who Succeed at Male Gender-Typed Tasks." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 89: 416–427.

Holter, Øystein G. 2005. "Social Theories for Researching Men and Masculinities: Direct Gender Hierarchy and Structural Inequality." In *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*, edited by Michael S. Kimmel, Jeff Hearn and Raewyn Connell, 15–34. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Hughes, Everett C. 1958. *Men and their Work*. New York: Free Press.

Hyde, Janet S. 2005. "The Gender Similarities Hypothesis." *American Psychologist* 60(6): 581–592.

Kallberg, Arne L. 2011. *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs: The Rise of Precarious and Polarized Employment Systems in the United States*, *1970s to 2000s*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Kaufman, Gayle, and Anna-Lena Almqvist. 2017. "The Role of Partners and Workplaces in British and Swedish Men's Parental Leave Decisions." *Men and Masculinities* 20(5): 533–551.

Kilbourne, Barbara S., Paula England, George Farkas, Kurt Beron, and Dortothea Weir. 1994. "Returns to Skill, Compensating Differentials, and Gender Bias." *American Journal of Sociology* 100(3): 689–719.

Lasch, Christopher. 1977. *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged*. New York: Basic Books.

Levanon, Asaf, Paula England, and Paul Allison. 2009. "Occupational Feminization and Pay: Assessing Causal Dynamics Using 1950–2000 US Census Data." *Social Forces* 88(2): 865–891.

Lincoln, Anne E. 2010. "The Shifting Supply of Men and Women to Occupations: Feminization in Veterinary Education." *Social Forces* 88(5): 1969–1998.

Llinares, Dario. 2011. *The Astronaut: Cultural Mythology and Idealised Masculinity*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Maier, Mark. 1993. "Am I the only one who wants to launch?": Corporate Masculinity and the Space Shuttle "Challenger" Disaster. *Masculinities* 1(1–2): 34–45.

Maier, Mark, and James W. Messerschmidt. 1998. "Commonalities, Conflicts and Contradictions in Organizational Masculinities: Exploring the Gendered Genesis of the Challenger Disaster." *Canadian Review of Sociology* 35(3): 325–344.

Messerschmidt, James W. 1995. "Managing to Kill: Masculinities and the Space Shuttle Challenger Explosion." *Masculinities* 3(4): 1–22.

Messerschmidt, James W. 2000. "Becoming Real Men: Adolescent Masculinity Challenges and Sexual Violence." *Men and Masculinities* 2(3): 286–307.

Mitchel, Juliet. 1974. *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*. New York: Pantheon.

Morgan, David H. 1992. *Discovering Men*. London: Routledge.

Munsch, Christin L. 2015. "Her Support, His Support: Money, Masculinity, and Marital Infidelity." *American Sociological Review* 80(3): 469–495.

Munsch, Christin L. 2018. "Correction: 'Her Support, His Support: Money, Masculinity, and Marital Infidelity'" *American Sociological Review* 80(3): 469–95, 833–838.

Neihan, Brendan, and Jason Reifler. 2010. "When Corrections Fail: The Persistence of Political Misperceptions." *Political Behavior* 32(2): 303–330.

Padavic, Irene, and Barbara F. Reskin. 2002. *Women and Men at Work*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.

Pascoe, C.J. 2007. *Dude, You're a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Pascoe, C.J., and Tristan Bridges. 2016. "Historicizing Masculinities: An Introduction." In *Exploring masculinities: Identity, Inequality, Continuity, and Change*, edited by C.J. Pascoe, and Tristan Bridges. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pedulla, David S., and Sarah Thébaud. 2015. "Can We Finish the Revolution?: Gender, Work-Family Ideals, and Institutional Constraint." *American Sociological Review* 80(1): 116–139.

Reskin, Barbara. 1993. "Sex Segregation in the Workplace." *Annual Review of Sociology* 19(1): 241–270.

Reskin, Barbara F. and Patricia A. Roos. 1990. *Job Queues, Gender Queues: Explaining Women's Inroads into Male Occupations*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Rhode, Deborah L. 1997. *Speaking of Sex: Denial of Gender Inequality*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ridgeway, Cecilia L. 1993. "Gender, Status, and the Social Psychology of Expectations." In *Theory on Gender. Feminism on Theory*, edited by Paula England, 175–198. New York: de Gruyter.

Ridgeway, Cecelia L. 2011. *Framed by Gender: How Gender Inequality Persists in the Modern World*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ridgeway, Cecilia L., and Shelley J. Correll. 2004. "Unpacking the Gender System: A Theoretical Perspective on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations." *Gender & Society* 18(4): 510–531.

Risman, Barbara. 1998. *Gender Vertigo*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Rivera, Lauren A. 2012. "Hiring as Cultural Matching: The Case of Elite Professional Service Firms." *American Sociological Review* 77(6): 999–1022.

Rubin, Gayle. 1975. "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex." In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, edited by Rayna Reiter, 157–210. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Rudman, Laurie A. 1998. "Self-Promotion as a Risk Factor for Women: The Costs and Benefits of Counterstereotypical Impression Management." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74(3): 629–645.

Rudman, Laurie A., and Kris Mescher. 2013. "Penalizing Men who Request a Family Leave: Is Flexibility Stigma a Femininity Stigma?" *Journal of Social Issues* 69(2): 322–340.

Sage, Daniel. 2009. "Giant Leaps and Forgotten Steps: NASA and the Performance of Gender." *The Sociological Review* 57(1): 146–163.

Schneider, Daniel. 2002. "Gender Deviance and Household Work: The Role of Occupation." *American Journal of Sociology* 117(4): 1029–1072.

Tak, Elise, Shelley J. Correll, and Sarah A. Soule. 2019. "Gender Inequality in Product Markets: When and How Status Beliefs Transfer to Products." *Social Forces*. 98(2): 548–577.

Tausig, Mark. 2013. "The Sociology of Work and Well-Being." In *Handbook of the Sociology of Mental Health*, edited by Carol S. Aneshensel, Jo C. Phelan, and Alex Bierman, 433–455. Dordrecht, Holland: Springer.

Thébaud, Sarah. 2010. "Masculinity, Bargaining, and Breadwinning: Understanding Men's Housework in the Cultural Context of Paid Work." *Gender & Society* 24(3): 330–354.

Thébaud, Sarah and David S. Pedulla. 2016. "Masculinity and the Stalled Revolution: How Gender Ideologies and Norms Shape Young Men's Responses to Work-Family Policies." *Gender & Society* 30(4): 590–617.

Tosh, John. 2007. *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Townsend, Nicholas W. 2002. *The Package Deal: Marriage, Work, and Fatherhood in Men's Lives*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

US Bureau of Labor Statistics. 2019. "Household Data Annual Averages. 11. Employed Persons by Detailed Occupation, Sex, Race, and Hispanic or Latino Ethnicity." January 19. *United States Department of Labor*. Available at: https://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat11.htm

Vandello, Joseph A., Vanessa Hettinger, Jennifer K. Bosson, and Jasmine Siddiqi. 2013. "When Equal Isn't Really Equal: The Masculine Dilemma of Seeking Work Flexibility." *Journal of Social Issues* 69(2): 303–321.

Vickery, Amanda. 1993. "Golden Age to Separate Spheres?: A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History." *The Historical Journal* 36(2): 383–414.

Vickery, Amanda. 2009. *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Wade, Lisa and Myra Marx Ferree. 2018. *Gender: Ideas, Interactions, Institutions, 2nd edition*. New York: Norton.

Walby, Sylvia. 1990. *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.

West, Candace, and Sarah Fenstermaker. 1995. "Doing Difference." *Gender & Society* 9(1): 8–37.

West, Candace, and Don H. Zimmerman. 1987. "Doing Gender." *Gender & Society* 1(2): 125–151.

WIEGO. 2019. Women in India's Construction Industry. *Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing*. Retrieved March 5, 2019. Available at: http://www.wiego.org/informal-economy/women-india%E2%80%99s-construction-industry

Williams, Christine L. 1995. *Still a Man's World: Men Who Do Women's Work*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wingfield, Adia H. 2009. "Racializing the Glass Escalator: Reconsidering Men's Experiences with Women's Work." *Gender & Society* 23(1): 5–26.

Wright, Rosemary, and Jerry A. Jacobs. 1994. "Male Flight from Computer Work: A New Look at Occupations Resegregation and Ghettoization." *American Sociological Review* 59(4): 511–536.

Kadri Aavik

11 Studying Privileged Men's Career Narratives from an Intersectional Perspective: The Methodological Challenge of the Invisibility of Privilege

Abstract: Studying elites and, more particularly, privileged men is worthwhile because the favourable position of these individuals and groups in the social hierarchy allows them to make significant material and cultural impact on the world. Often, such an advantage is unearned and involves a sense of entitlement and lack of awareness of being in possession of it. It is therefore crucial to understand how this power operates and is maintained, by disrupting the invisibility of privilege. This chapter addresses methodological issues pertaining to the study of men, masculinities and privilege, drawing on privileged men's career narratives. I focus on a particular methodological problem I encountered when studying the career narratives of male managers from an intersectional perspective: the invisibility of privilege in these accounts. In sociological research, intersectional approaches typically assume identifying socially constructed categories of identity and difference in people's accounts of their experiences and studying relationships between these. However, the narratives of the male managers in question lacked references to social categories (gender, race, class etc.) in their self-descriptions. This chapter explores this problem and discusses some potential methodological solutions and ways forward. Finally, I suggest that some recent cultural changes and transforming gender relations are gradually marking privileged men and masculinities. Masculinity, then, is increasingly emerging from the status of an unmarked category.

Introduction

Intersectionality, originating from the work of Black feminist scholars (Crenshaw 1989: 1991), has become a key concept and theoretical approach in contemporary feminist and gender studies and has been adopted in some other areas of social

sciences and humanities as well.[1] Intersectional perspectives seek to understand how socially constructed categories, such as gender, race, class and age intersect and mutually shape each other in people's experience and how these intersections contribute to social inequality. As such, intersectionality helps to theorise power relations on various levels of the society in more nuanced and complex ways, compared to so-called unitary approaches focusing on one axis of power or social category at a time.

First emerging as a theoretical approach, intersectionality has also been discussed and developed as a methodology (see for example Bilge 2009; Choo and Ferree 2010; Hancock 2007; Lykke 2010; McCall 2005; Windsong 2016) and a specific research method (Lutz 2015). This scholarship has focused on various possibilities and complexities of conducting social science research from an intersectional perspective, both in quantitative and qualitative inquiry. While this work is useful in advancing our understanding of how to apply intersectionality as a methodological tool, some important gaps remain. Partly stemming from the original focus of intersectionality – to understand experiences of marginalised groups (specifically, the original focus was on Black working-class women in the US), intersectionality continues to be primarily used to study how various axes of power and social categories intersect to produce disadvantage. In other words, the focus has remained on marginalised groups and identities – those that are marked. Attention to privilege and privileged groups within intersectionality frameworks has thus far been scarce. This has been identified as a significant gap or missing element in some existing work (Lewis 2009, 209). This lack is also reflected in methodological discussions on intersectionality, which almost exclusively deal with questions of how to study intersections involving disadvantage. As a related and relevant observation to the discussion here, there is also a scarcity of (critical) methodological attention to men and masculinities (Pini and Pease 2013, 1).

I suggest that intersectionality could potentially be a useful approach to examine privilege and privileged groups who have mostly remained unmarked. Intersectionality could help understand how this privilege is produced and upheld. This argument stems from the premise that all identities and social locations are intersectional. It would be useful to reflect on and advance intersectionality as a more comprehensive theoretical and methodological framework able to explain not only experiences of marginalisation but also of privilege and social structures

---

1 This chapter is based on the analytical overview of my doctoral dissertation, entitled "Intersectional disadvantage and privilege in the Estonian labour market: an analysis of work narratives of Russian-speaking women and Estonian men" (2015).

which sustain this privilege. Studying elites and more particularly, privileged men, is useful because the privileged position of these groups in the social hierarchy allows them to make significant material and cultural impact on the world. It is therefore crucial to understand how this power operates and is maintained (Donaldson and Poynting 2013), by disrupting the invisibility of intersectional privilege, or as Robinson (2000, 1) puts it, "[m]aking the normative visible as a category embodied in gendered and racialized terms can call into question the privileges of unmarkedness."

My aim in this chapter is to reflect on using an intersectional perspective to study privileged groups. The discussion in this chapter is based on my doctoral research on intersectional inequalities in the context of work and careers (Aavik 2015). As part of this research, I studied career narratives of white ethnic majority male managers in Estonia – a group I termed intersectionally privileged (Aavik 2015, 38). I aimed to understand how intersectional privilege figures in the narratives of these men and how it produces advantages for them in the context of work and careers. I was interested in how they "do intersectionality" (Lutz 2015, 41). Understanding power relations, inequalities and privilege from an intersectional perspective is important in the context of work and careers, as these are key sites where gender and other intersecting inequalities are reproduced as well as contested in the society.

In this chapter, I elaborate on one particular methodological issue that I faced when attempting to use intersectionality as a methodological framework in studying the narratives of Estonian male managers: invisibility of privilege in the narratives. I will suggest some potential solutions to this problem. This chapter seeks to contribute to a discussion on advancing intersectionality as a methodology in qualitative research focusing on studying privileged groups.

Intersectionality

The notion of intersectionality was originally coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 and was intended to address the fact that the experiences and struggles of women of colour were not adequately attended to by either feminist or anti-racist discourses. Crenshaw argued for the need to show how both gender and race (and other categories of difference) "interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's experiences" (Davis 2008, 68), as they "are located at the intersection of racism and sexism and their experiences could be reduced to neither" (Kantola 2009,16).

In contemporary gender and feminist studies, intersectional thinking has become almost taken for granted. Intersectionality has transformed how gender is being discussed (Shields 2008, 301). It is no longer acceptable to disregard differences within large social groups such as men and women and power imbalances linked to intersectional social positions that people occupy. Ways in which people identify themselves and are positioned in the social hierarchy in terms of these categories and their intersections, has implications for their ability to produce, negotiate and impose meanings in various social situations and settings, such as in the context of careers. Disregarding processes by which people become gendered, racialised, and classed etc. simultaneously and the implications this has for the production of individual selves as well as for the emergence and perpetuation of social hierarchies, will produce at best an incomplete or at worst, a distorted account of social reality. Instead, feminist intersectional approaches call for attention to ways in which gender and experiences of gender are shaped by other socially constructed categories.

Intersectionality, then, is conceptualised as "the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power" (Davis 2008, 68).

Intersectionality is distinct from additive approaches. Disadvantage and/or privilege that people experience, stemming from their position in the social hierarchy, is not cumulative, but interactional – "for example, racism is infected and changed by sexism for black women, and vice versa – the sexism they encounter is infected and changed by racism" (Bagilhole 2009, 50). In other words, intersectionality means mutually constitutive relations among social identities, that is, how "one category of identity, such as gender, takes its meaning as a category in relation to another", which means that "intersectional identities are defined in relation to one another" (Shields 2008, 302–303).

Several authors point to different levels of intersectional analysis that should be considered and conceptualised somewhat differently (see for example Crenshaw 1991; Cho, Crenshaw and McCall 2013). The two most distinct levels tend to be individual (i.e. examining intersections of categories in people's identities and experiences) and at the other end of the spectrum the structural/institutional level (examining ways in which inequalities are built into social structures and institutions). These levels are closely linked. Reflecting the ideas of several prominent intersectionality scholars, Lewis (2009, 207) notes: "thinking 'intersectionally' [. . .] involves thinking simultaneously at level of structures, dynamics and subjectivities; that it conjoins rhetorics of 'voice' and presence and rhetorics of discourse and institutional

form; that it facilitates a form of feminist enquiry that aims to, and is capable of, capturing the complexity and multiplicity of axes of oppression".

While the focus of intersectionality has traditionally been on marginalised groups, intersections produce both oppression and opportunity (Shields 2008, 302). Thus, intersectionality could be useful to explore how some (privileged) groups reinforce and retain their position of power and privilege in the society. Choo and Ferree (2010, 133) argue that "intersectional analysis should offer a method applying to all social phenomena, not just the inclusion of a specifically subordinated group". They therefore suggest that inequality should not be reduced to diversity, as methodologically, inclusion of marginalised groups "fetishizes study of "difference" without necessarily giving sufficient attention to its relation to unmarked categories, especially to how the more powerful are defined as normative standards" (Choo and Ferree 2010,133).

Finally, it should be mentioned, without being able to go into further detail on this, that intersectionality has also been recognised as a contested theoretical framework, for various reasons. For example, queer and sexuality studies scholars argue that in studying how categories relate to each other, binaries are often reproduced (Taylor, Hines and Casey 2010, 2).

Understanding Privilege through Intersectionality

A key impetus behind my research on the careers of Estonian male managers was that the role of privileged groups, such as ethnically/racially and otherwise unmarked men working in management positions in sustaining and reproducing social inequalities, is of great significance (Collinson and Hearn 1994; Aavik 2015). In the context of work and careers, members of groups located at privileged intersections of gender, ethnicity, class and other categories are better able to correspond to the image of the ideal worker (Acker 1990) due to the invisibility and normalisation of this privilege. This is likely to help them advance in their careers better compared to other, less privileged groups.

To better understand this privilege conceptually, I turned to existing work in gender studies and beyond aiming to understand and expose privilege (see for example Pease 2010, 2014; Bailey 1998). I found particularly useful insights from critical race and whiteness studies, which have focused on exposing and challenging white privilege and normativity. Scholars of critical studies of whiteness have explored how whiteness is constructed as an invisible norm. The status of an intersectionally "unmarked" group (in terms of several categories simultaneously) is

conceptually similar to the phenomenon that critical whiteness studies scholars have observed: the way in which whiteness appears as a "racially neutral site" (Twine 1997, 228), or a "natural state of being" (Frankenberg 1997, 15–16). Critical whiteness studies aim to expose whiteness as a privileged category, displacing it from an unmarked status (Frankenberg 1993, 6; Twine and Warren 2000, 20). In addition to critical whiteness studies, inspiration could be drawn from other fields of academic inquiry which aim to expose normativity and privilege that remain mostly invisible. Fotopoulu (2012) and Pini and Pease (2013) suggest an engagement with queer theory, due to its "inherent concern with de-naturalizing normative categories" (Pini and Pease 2013, 12). Stemming from a similar logic, there have been suggestions to use insights from critical heterosexualities studies and disabilities studies (Bridges 2019).

Advantages experienced by the subjects of my study in the context of work and careers stemmed simultaneously from their privileged position on the axes of gender, race and ethnicity as well as their managerial status.[2] These categories intersect and shape each other and help to secure the continued hegemony of people positioned as such in the labour market as well as in the social hierarchy more broadly. I proposed the term intersectional privilege (Aavik 2015, 38) to describe the situation where various social categories contribute to privilege at the same time. I understand as intersectional privilege the opportunities and advantages that are systematically available to individuals or groups in particular social contexts and situations due to their privileged position on the axes of gender, age, ethnicity, race and other relevant social categories simultaneously. A particular feature of intersectional privilege is that the mechanisms, by which it is perpetuated, tend to remain invisible and uncontested by members of intersectionally privileged groups themselves, and often also by others. This is possible because members of intersectionally privileged groups remain unmarked. Such structural advantage is unearned and involves a sense of entitlement and lack of awareness of being in possession of it (Bailey 1998, 108, 113; Pease 2014, 21). The particular positioning of the interviewed Estonian male managers in relation to other groups in the Estonian labour market leaves them unmarked in most situations in terms of multiple categories simultaneously, which constitutes a key source of their intersectional privilege.

In this instance, it may look like this is a case of cumulation of privileges – an additive approach that intersectionality rejects. These privileges however do

---

2 Certainly, other categories played a role (the list is potentially endless), but were not in the explicit focus of my study. In the context of my study, I identified gender and ethnicity as the most relevant ones. The inclusion of more categories would have complicated the analysis significantly.

not simply "pile up", but there is a complex interplay between them. The particular categories at play reinforce and give meaning to each other – in the case of my research participants, their Estonian ethnicity was shaped by their gender as men and vice versa. These categories interact to render each other invisible. For the Estonian male managers in my study, performing masculinity in the context of work and career is facilitated by their association with the dominant ethnic group and their high position in the work hierarchy. Hence, it becomes important to examine in detail, how these categories interact and mutually support each other to produce privilege.

This type of scholarship can be located in what Brekhus (1998) has termed as the sociology of the unmarked. He calls for sociology to pay more attention to the "'politically unnoticed' and taken for granted elements of social reality" (Brekhus 1998, 34). The subject matter of this kind of research and intersectional privilege qualify as unmarked elements of social reality. Yet, remaining unmarked has become increasingly difficult, even for the traditionally unmarked groups, such as white middle-class men. I will come back to this point in my concluding remarks.

Using Intersectionality to Study Privileged Men's Career Narratives: The Problem of the Invisibility of Privilege

Intersectionality, while a valuable theoretical approach, has introduced a variety of methodological challenges, as a number of scholars have admitted (McCall 2005, 1772; Bowleg 2008, 312; Shields 2008, 301, 305; Ludvig 2006, 246). In this section, I discuss, based on my own research, some particular issues pertaining to applying intersectionality to study privileged groups, specifically, intersectionally privileged men's career narratives. More particularly, I examine the methodological problem of invisibility of privilege.

The research material that informs this discussion originates from interviews with ethnic Estonian men working as middle and top managers in the private and public sectors. I conducted 15 interviews in 2012–2013, as part of my doctoral dissertation. Research participants were aged between 27 and 74 (average age was 42). Most of them were based in the capital Tallinn, with two located in another major town of Estonia. The central theme of the interviews focused on the work and careers of the managers. I was interested in how they

make sense of the progression of their careers, including, importantly their ascent to managerial positions.

A number of feminist and critical men and masculinities studies scholars have highlighted methodological issues pertaining to differently positioned research participants in feminist research (see for example Pini and Pease 2013, 6; Hearn 2013, 27; Kirsch 1999). Certainly, the way I as a researcher was positioned in relation to my research participants, shaped my interaction with them, including their self-presentations. I encountered some issues having to do with "studying up" (Harding and Norberg 2005; Donaldson and Poynting 2013)[3] related to power imbalance of the interaction, with them having more power resources at their disposal.

As a general principle, feminist researchers seek to reduce power hierarchies between the researcher and research participants in the research process and empower the latter. However, these aims do not always apply in the case of studying elites, which is an instance of "studying up" (Harding and Norberg 2005; Donaldson and Poynting 2013). Indeed, the concern is reversed here and the question becomes how not to consolidate the privileged position enjoyed be these groups by placing them at the centre of research and making their perspectives heard. Instead, studying up should involve identifying "practices of power and how they shape daily social relations" (Harding and Norberg 2005, 2011).

While my data collection and analysis followed key tenets of narrative research (Lawler 2002; Gubrium and Holstein 2008, 2009), the insights below apply to qualitative methods in social sciences more generally.

Defining the Problem

Intersectionality scholars maintain that "the relationship between categories is an open empirical question" (Hancock 2007, 64), and as such, for the researcher to identify. The principal task of intersectionality researchers is to make "the intersections between ethnicity, sex/gender, sexual orientation (to name just a few) and the social inequality related to these identities, explicit" (Bowleg 2008, 322). It is this central task that has produced a number of methodological challenges for researchers attempting to apply intersectionality as a

---

3 For a discussion of methodological issues in interviewing powerful men, such as senior managers and corporate elites, see Hearn 2013, 28–29.

methodological tool. This includes issues having to do with identifying social categories in the personal narratives.

To study how socially constructed categories such as race/ethnicity and gender are manifested in the narratives and relate to each other, as required by the intersectional approach (Shields 2008, 307), I turned to a specific method, known as "asking the other question" (Matsuda 1991, 1189). As the first step, this involves identifying relevant social categories in the account and analysing how each of them shapes the narrative separately (Bilge 2009, 5–7). As the second step, it is then considered how these categories interact with each other (Choo and Ferree 2010, 135; Bilge 2009, 5–7).

It was when attempting to conduct this crucial step of the analysis where I ran into trouble: it was nearly impossible to identify explicit references to social categories, such as gender or ethnicity in the career narratives of the Estonian male managers – they were simply absent. The interviewees tended to talk about themselves (and often, about others) typically without any explicit references to gender and ethnicity (the primary categories I was interested in),[4] despite the fact that they were interviewed as Estonian male managers. Because of such silences and absences regarding these categories and the interviewees' self-presentation as just generic people or managers in their career narratives, it is difficult to illustrate this problem with short and concise interview extracts – rather, this becomes evident when examining their entire narratives. However, talking about the self in generic terms became more evident in their occasional references to differently positioned others (e.g. colleagues) as gendered or ethnicised or when I explicitly brought in gender and ethnicity. I will present a few examples of this later on.

This assumption behind the idea of intersectionality – the presence and visibility of social categories in people's narratives of their lives – and my struggle to find these categories in the narratives of this privileged group led me at first to treat these narratives as somehow deficient, in terms of their content and the ways they were produced. I initially located the problem in specific gender performances of the group I was studying and the kinds of narratives this produced. I was confronted with "configurations of masculinity that prize stoicism and inexpressiveness" (Bridges 2013, 54). This often resulted in rather truncated narratives and particularly in some interviews took the form of exchanges of questions and short answers, as several interviewees preferred short and

---

4 It is worth noting here that a particular feature of the Estonian language contributed to the absence of the category of gender from their talk: there is no grammatical gender in Estonian, the same pronoun is used to signify "he" and "she". Hence, the gender of other people (colleagues, superiors etc.) they talked about in their narratives could not be discerned, unless they used first names to refer to these people.

concrete ways of expression, rather than presenting their experiences in narrative form. Among other issues, this brevity may have had to do with the fact that most interviewees presented almost exclusively only their work-related selves, and refrained from dwelling on how other parts of their lives might have shaped their careers and work-related identities.

While these factors certainly played a role, I would argue that this was not the main problem in this case. Instead, it may be useful to ask questions about the specificities of intersectionality as an analytical approach.

The expectation for the presence of categories in the interview material, which is taken as a prerequisite for an intersectional analysis, seems to imply that people always make references to social categories in speaking about themselves and their experiences in some form or another: for example, in the case of my interviewees, talking about themselves as men or Estonians and as Estonian men. Based on my research with intersectionally privileged men, I challenge this assumption and claim that such a self-presentation where the speaker marks their identity more explicitly is rather a feature of narratives produced by marginalised individuals and groups.

Stemming from the assumption that if categories matter, they will be visible in narratives, Jimerson and Oware (2006) have studied how Black male basketball players invoked the categories of gender and race in their talk, and identified specific ways of doing Black masculinity. However, an implicit feature in identifying these categories and their relationships for researchers in this context seems to have been the fact that while the category "man" remains unmarked in most situations, the category "Black" does not. In this case, the racialisation of these men made them and their masculinity marked. This helped to make visible the otherwise unmarked category of masculinity. Thereby, these men's doing of intersectionality was visible and particular, as manifested in their talk.

In the case of the white (non-racialised) ethnic majority Estonian men in my research however, this mechanism did not apply, as they remain unmarked in most situations in terms of important categories, such as gender, ethnicity, age, able-bodiedness, and sexual orientation, to name a few, certainly in the context of managerial work and careers in the Estonian labour market. I argue that this constitutes a source of their intersectional privilege. Hence, neither of these categories functioned to mark others or make them visible. And this is reflected in their career narratives.

Based on these insights, it could then be concluded that the assumption that categories should be visible in narratives, in some form or another, if they are relevant, applies primarily to those identity positions, where at least one category is present in its marked dimension, for instance, "Black man", as in the example above. It is in the accounts of individuals positioned as such, that the categories are likely to be more immediately visible or more explicitly articulated, or at least

more recognisable to researchers. The invisibility of categories in the case of intersectionally privileged groups who are in possession of considerable power resources – such as the Estonian male managers I interviewed – means that we may not be directly able to see this in the interview material. In other words, narratives originating from such individuals and groups may not provide enough evidence of how their social power and privilege functions discursively. This problem is eloquently articulated by Sally Robinson in her work on white masculinity in the contemporary USA: "Masculinity and whiteness retain their power as signifiers and as social practices because they are opaque to analysis, the argument goes; one cannot question, let alone dismantle, what remains hidden from view" (Robinson 2000, 1).

What do these insights then tell us about intersectionality and its usefulness as a methodological approach to understand all identities and social positions, particularly the privileged? Can it be concluded from this that intersectionality as a tool is more suitable for analysing narratives exhibiting certain features than others? It does seem indeed, that methodologically, intersectional research so far is better equipped to explore marked identity positions – that is, to study those who differ from the (invisible) norm. This stems from the particularities of the origins of intersectionality – as a conceptual tool to understand marginalised identities and groups.

Potential Solutions

Below I discuss some ways in which the problem may be tackled, based on my analysis of the narratives of Estonian male managers. Some of these solutions I resorted to myself while others are simply ideas to be developed further and tested on empirical data.

Considering (Narrative) Context

One of the most obvious solutions involves following the key tenets of qualitative research – understanding qualitative interviews as social products that are always situated. This is a central principle in narrative research as well. Narrative scholars call for interpreting narratives in context or in environments in which they are produced (Gubrium and Holstein 2008, 2009; Phoenix 2008). This environment can refer to the more immediate context, such as the interview setting and the way in which the interviewer is positioned in relation to the interviewees. Importantly, it also refers to the larger social, political and cultural settings. In

other words, this means viewing personal narratives "within a larger sociohistorical context of structural inequality that may not be explicit or directly observable in the data" (Bowleg 2008, 320).

Locating the narratives in a larger social and historical context has also been suggested by some intersectionality scholars to help understand why research participants might articulate certain categories more explicitly while remaining more implicit regarding others, as Yuval-Davis (2006, 203) notes: "in specific historical situations and in relation to specific people there are some social divisions that are more important than others in constructing specific positionings". Lewis, echoing discussions held at a prominent intersectionality conference held in 2009, highlights "the need to always pay consistent attention to the historical and social contexts in which the categories being invoked (analytically and/or experientially) are produced, made meaningful and deployed. The key point here is the need to address the political and this requires paying attention to which set of categories are brought into alliance and with what political agenda in mind" (Lewis 2009, 205). The implication is that context invites people to think about their experiences in certain ways, favouring invoking certain categories over others.

I followed this advice throughout my analysis to understand and explain the absence of categories of gender and ethnicity in the narratives of the Estonian male managers. This silence in these narratives was especially striking in contrast to interview material I collected in the first part of my doctoral thesis: narratives of Russian-speaking women in Estonia who were unemployed or performed manual work. Representatives of this latter group typically spoke of themselves as Russian-speakers or ethnic Russians, strongly emphasising ethnicity as an important dimension of their identity. They emphasised gender to a lesser extent; however, the presence of gender could be quite easily identified in segments of their narratives, for instance, where they invoked their identities as Russian mothers.

Certainly, understanding the social and political context of Estonia is helpful in interpreting these narratives and explaining why categories, particularly ethnicity, were salient in the narratives of the Russian-speaking women. For one, ethnicity is a very politicised category in Estonia. However, it is only "non-Estonians" who stand out as marked in terms of ethnicity in Estonia. Estonians remain in the status of an unmarked group. When making sense of their careers in the Estonian labour market, the interviewed Estonian male managers simply did not frame their experiences through the categories of ethnicity and gender. Also, the way in which the interviewees were positioned in relation to me as an interviewer was significant. In interviews with the Estonian male managers, ethnicity could have been silenced or treated as an irrelevant category because as Estonians, both the interviewees and myself we were positioned at the

privileged and unmarked end of the category of ethnicity. This was despite the fact that ethnicity (along with language) is a politicised category in Estonia (for more on this, see Aavik 2015, 24). The fact that ethnicity did not come up as a category in the work and career narratives, illustrates how people and groups at the privileged end of this category are still able to remain unmarked in terms of this social division, at least in the context of work and careers.

I suggest that some other contextual elements also played a role in shaping narratives of career paths in such a way that there were only minimal references to gender and ethnicity. For example, the neoliberal ideology prevalent in Estonia encourages conceptualising people as individuals not as members of a collective or group, while obscuring structural inequalities which create advantages and/or disadvantages for individuals positioned in certain ways. Relating to this, references to the categories may have also been absent because in the realm of professional work, focus is typically on the individual or professional worker and his/her achievements, not on gendered, racialised or ethnicised subjects (Chase 1995).

However, understanding the experiences of intersectionally privileged groups as shaped by the narrative environment in which they emerged, while taking us forward, is in my view only a limited solution to the problem of detecting how intersectional privilege manifests itself and what it means in personal narratives. For one, the suggestion to analyse narratives (of intersectionally privileged groups) in context in this case does not seem to be a particularly special solution, since all qualitative empirical data only makes sense in a context, and should always be interpreted in such a way. It is thus only a partial solution and not specific enough to deal with the specificities of the narratives of intersectionally privileged groups. Another potential problem of using only this approach involves the risk that the researcher departs too much from the actual narratives themselves and imposes external constructs on the data, in attempting to explain intersectional privilege and its sources. Crucially, this kind of analysis might end up being too speculative, where absences are accounted for by invoking only some contextual factors and not others. The process by which the researcher makes these decisions often remains invisible.

The task of making "explicit the often implicit experiences of intersectionality, even when participants do not express the connections" (Bowleg 2008, 322), also invokes other problems related to interpretation of qualitative data. For example, it disregards the ways in which participants make sense of their own lives and experiences.

Absence of Social Categories in Narratives as an Indication of Intersectional Privilege

One way to attempt to tackle the problem is to think that these silences or absences – the fact there is simply nothing to grasp in terms of categories in the narratives – are significant findings themselves. Even further, this could be thought of as the proof we are looking for that points to the privileged position of the research subjects – the fact that they tend to construct themselves as generic human beings and that their narratives do not contain experiences of discrimination or othering based on gender, ethnicity or other categories is evidence of their privilege. This is because other, more disadvantaged groups do not have the luxury of thinking of and presenting themselves as generic human beings. On the other hand, the narratives of the privileged may include references to other people and groups as gendered, racialised, ethnicised etc., which can tell us something about their own privileged position.

Here it is insightful to turn again to the field of critical whiteness studies, which I referred to earlier in this chapter, noting how scholars studying whiteness deal with an issue that is conceptually similar to intersectional privilege. I have found this body of work to be more insightful than much scholarship in critical studies of men and masculinities in examining and challenging invisible norms (whiteness, in this case). In critical whiteness studies, it is the unmarked nature, normative status and ordinariness of whiteness which are seen as defining features of white privilege. While this is an important insight, it poses methodological problems, as scholars of whiteness have experienced. They have noted that methodologically, to expose and challenge whiteness, as an unmarked category but at the same time a significant source of privilege for subjects associated with this category, can be extremely challenging. How to capture something that invisible in social interaction, including in interview settings?

While the absence of categories in narratives of the privileged certainly does point to their privileged position, it is a rather general statement and does not say anything specific about this privilege. Thus, to simply conclude that this is what counts as evidence for an intersectionally privileged social position or identity does not seem to be sufficient. The question still remains if there is anything else that can be detected in these accounts that helps to point to intersectional privilege and how it works.

Interview Guide and Interview Process

Some scholarship discussing intersectionality as a methodology discusses points to the potential solutions lying in research design. More specifically, we could think whether there are ways to design the interview guide and carry out interviews in a way that helps us to detect what we are looking for.

One of the main methodological challenges in compiling the interview guide and preparing questions to be asked from research participants is "how to ask questions about experiences that are intersecting, interdependent and mutually constitutive, without resorting, even inadvertently, to an additive approach?" (Bowleg 2008, 314).

This issue has been approached differently by intersectionality scholars. For example, Windsong (2016), interested in meanings that people assign to neighbourhood through race and gender, first asked questions about these categories separately, followed by questions about how research participants see these as intersecting. She however notes that the intersectionality questions did not work well and caused confusion among her interviewees (Windsong 2016, 9). Windsong (2016) also asked her research participants to bring examples of situations where gender or race was more important for them. Bowleg (2008, 314), however takes an opposite approach, suggesting that research participants should not be asked to isolate or rank dimensions of their identities. Instead, she argues that "a truly intersectional question would simply ask the respondent to tell about her experience without separating each identity" (Bowleg 2008, 315). She suggests, based on her study of the experiences of Black lesbian women from an intersectional perspective, two key points to which researchers should attend when constructing questions about intersectionality. "First, questions about intersectionality should focus on meaningful constructs such as stress, prejudice, discrimination rather than relying on demographic questions alone", as "concepts such as race and class are socially constructed, and as such, explain virtually nothing in and of themselves" and second, "questions should be intersectional in design" – they should stress the interdependence and mutuality of identities rather than imply that "identities are independent, separate and able to be ranked" (Bowleg 2008, 316).

Bowleg's approach links best with my research design and specifically, with the narrative method I used. My interview questions revolved around central themes of work and careers. I asked my research participants to narrate their work experiences and career paths in detail, without drawing attention to social categories myself, at least not initially. However, if they spontaneously made such references in their narratives, I pursued these further. After they had finished telling the stories of their work and careers, in the later stages of

the interview, I asked about their views on gender (and to a lesser degree, ethnic inequalities) in the Estonian labour market. Talking about gender however, meant not explicitly talking about themselves as gendered beings but focusing on women's "difference" from the male norm and framing gender inequality as an issue that concerns women. In the following excerpt, a research participant talks about his female colleague and women in managerial positions more generally:

> It is impressive how she [an older female manager in the same organisation] is able to handle [her subordinates] [. . .]. She is a balancing and motherly figure in this predominantly male company.

The same interviewee, when presenting his own career and work as a manager, does not however refer to his gender when describing how he relates to his colleagues and copes with work. He and others constructed themselves simply as people or managers, not as *Estonian male* managers, silencing their gender, ethnicity and other categories in the context of careers.

In the following extract, Russian-speaking women were not only constructed as different, but also inferior, in relation to the implicitly present Estonian male norm:

> Russian women for example are like . . . very dutiful and fast workers. [. . .] But some people will never become independent engineers, they need someone to be there to tell them how to do things. Well, people are different, but mostly those people who never become independent, are women however.

Unlike in this excerpt, in their descriptions of themselves, the interviewees do not stand out as men or Estonians.

The question of whether researchers should address intersectionality in interviews directly or refrain from doing so (Windsong 2016, 9) is a difficult one. It relates to the methodological question of "how should researchers design interview questions that reflect both the research interests and also allow participants to share their own experiences in the most valid manner?" (Windsong 2016, 9).

Explicitly addressing intersectionality in interviews may be tricky, as it is first and foremost an academic concept and does not necessarily resonate with people's lived experience (Windsong 2016, 9). The social categories that people are grouped into and identify with "are interdependent and mutually constitutive (i.e. intersectional [. . .]), rather than independent and uni-dimensional" (Bowleg 2008, 312). This means that it may be difficult to distinguish how these categories figure separately in people's lived experiences and narratives of their lives.

These considerations shaped my choice not to make my interviews about gender, ethnicity and their intersections, but rather letting research participants present and frame their experiences in ways that seemed most meaningful to them. Keeping the themes of work and careers central to the interviews, rather than directly focusing on gender and ethnicity, was important also for other reasons, for example having to do with recruiting potential research participants. Approaching Estonian male managers with a request to interview them about what being positioned as an Estonian man means to them, would likely have confused them and may not have been considered a legitimate request in the Estonian context. Some scholars have documented challenges of interviewing white people about their whiteness. Frankenberg (1993, 23), for example, encountered bewilderment from the part of research participants when asked about their whiteness – this was a "'taboo' topic that generated areas of memory lapse, silence, shame, and evasion". Similar insights apply to the context of my study – being positioned as an Estonian man does not appear for most people to be significant or special (enough) identity to study in the Estonian context, in contrast to, for example, asking Russian-speaking women in Estonia to talk about their experiences related to ethnicity and gender, which can be seen as a more legitimate inquiry, as this group does not appear as "ordinary", but stands out as "different".

These insights suggest that explicitly asking about gender, ethnicity and other dimensions of identity and their intersections, particularly in the case of privileged groups or refraining from asking such questions in interviews, both have certain shortcomings and may not help to arrive at narratives in which the privilege and power of research participants is clearly discernible.

Turning to other Research Methodologies and Methods

In addition to asking questions about the particularities of intersectionality and its application to studying intersectionally privileged groups, it may also be that the specifics of the narrative approach may not encourage the emergence of social categories in the narratives of the privileged. As already suggested in the previous section, narrative approaches favour minimal (prior) structuring of interviews by the researcher, open interview questions and relatively little explicit guidance from the interviewer, other than introducing topics to talk about and encouraging research participants to describe their experiences at length (Jovchelovitch and Bauer 2000). Research participants' own meanings and ways of framing are prioritised, rather than structuring interviews according to researchers' concepts and theoretical interests.

Also, narrative analysis might be limiting because of what the method encourages us to notice and study. Narrative analysis is particularly suitable for examining how people present their lives and experiences in storied formats, and how they talk about their past and present selves. However, members of privileged groups may have never seen themselves as marked in any way throughout their lives, which means that more detailed attention to narratives in this case may not be helpful. Thus, an intersectional narrative approach might not yield findings that are nuanced enough to detect more subtle features of talk that might be of relevance to tackle the problem discussed here. There might be some special features present in the accounts of the unmarked which an intersectional narrative approach is unable to capture well.

It may then be that other qualitative methods could be more fruitful in this case which pay more detailed attention to language and smaller units of talk, such as discourse analysis or conversation analysis. To end this section, I will briefly consider the latter.

Emerging from the microsociological tradition, inspired by the work of Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel, conversation analysis (see for example Heritage 2008; Heritage and Clayman 2011; Liddicoat 2007) is a method that seeks to capture how people construct meaning in everyday conversation, in micro-interactions. Typically, naturally occurring data is used to study this (as opposed to material obtained through an artificially created interview situation).

Conversation analysis pays close attention to segments of text by understanding talk as action, focusing on immediate consequences of utterances and on what participants accomplish in an interaction. By this more detailed focus, this approach could help better understand the discursive means through which speakers conceal how power operates in interactions and ways in which normality is accomplished. This approach might provide opportunities for studying ways in which ordinariness and normality that are key features of intersectional privilege are in fact accomplished and understand the work that goes into it.

Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter has focused on methodological questions pertaining to the study of intersectional privilege (Aavik 2015), drawing on my previous research on the work experiences and career paths of Estonian men working in managerial positions. Specifically, I have discussed how an intersectional approach could be used in qualitative research to make sense of the lives and experiences of

the privileged – a thus far relatively unexamined angle, given that intersectionality's theoretical and methodological origins and empirical focus have overwhelmingly been on marginalised groups.

The chapter began with an introduction of the notion of intersectionality and the concept of intersectional privilege. I then attempted to outline the methodological problem of invisibility of privilege: privileged groups – such as white middle-class ethnic majority men – do not tend to construct their lives and experiences through categories of gender, ethnicity, race, class etc. Their narratives exhibit silences and absences regarding these categories. This stems from the way these groups are positioned in the social hierarchy: the privileged ends of the categories of gender, race and class they are associated with – as male, white, ethnic majority and middle-class – are typically seen as generic and normative, unmarked and hence invisible. Methodologically, it is rather challenging to identify something that is unmarked, as a number of critical whiteness studies scholars have noted about whiteness, which has remained an elusive category to understand and also to bring up in interview settings with people identified as white. Yet, exposing privilege and ways in which it works is a crucial task, as "privilege works best when it goes unrecognized" (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 256).

How should we then examine accounts lacking explicit references to social categories, which seems to be a characteristic feature of narratives produced by unmarked privileged groups? I discussed four different angles which may be helpful in tackling the issue, outlining the potential and limitations of each of these: 1) understanding narratives as situated social products and relying on a broader social, political and cultural context for providing explanatory power 2) considering the absence of categories as a significant finding in itself and deciding that this is the defining feature of intersectional privilege 3) developing a research design, including interview questions that would better help to identify privilege in personal narratives, including asking about intersectionality and privilege directly 4) turning to other methodologies and research methods, notably those that explicitly focus on language and smaller segments of talk to identify how power and privilege work in people's accounts of their lives.

Each of these approaches offers promising opportunities, yet, also entails certain problems. Despite these difficulties, we should not abandon intersectionality as a methodology and a tool to study the lives of the privileged and ways in which privilege manifests itself in their narratives, but continue methodological discussions on how to advance intersectionality. Intersectionality could be a useful approach to study all identities and social positions, including the privileged and unmarked ones, given that all identities and social positions are intersectional, even if some do not appear as such. We need to think

of better methods by which the unmarked elements of social life, including unmarked social categories, could be seen in people's representations of their lives. At the same time, these methodological developments must consider changing social conditions which shape individual performances of gender, intersecting with other categories.

There are currently some interesting and significant changes taking place in Western societies regarding the construction and presentation of masculinities, which invite us to rethink how we study men and masculinities. As a substantial development, masculinity is increasingly becoming more visible (Bridges and Pascoe 2014; Bridges 2019). This is aptly illustrated by the idea of hybrid masculinity, which involves privileged Western "men's selective incorporation of performances and identity elements associated with marginalized and subordinated masculinities and femininities" (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 246). Masculinity, then, is gradually emerging from its status of an unmarked category (see for example, Robinson 2000). This is also true of other forms of privilege, such as ethnicity, class etc. and their intersections. For example, whiteness may gradually become a (more) marked category and displaced from its normative status. For example, in contemporary culture, we are witnessing the gradual marking of white middle-class men as a distinct identity and social position, associated with considerable power resources. This has occurred largely as a result of the mainstreaming of some feminist ideas and in the context of the recent #MeToo movement which have critically engaged with such intersectionally privileged men and masculinities. This means that it is becoming more and more difficult for people positioned as white middle-class men to remain invisible in terms of gender, race and class and claim the status of a generic human being.

These developments are likely to change the ways in which privileged groups discursively produce their selves and identities. However, as Bridges and Pascoe (2014, 256) argue, "when privilege becomes visible [. . .] it does not necessarily cease to exist". Instead, inequalities have the tendency to adapt and endure (Bridges 2019). While hybrid masculinity involves borrowing elements from marginalised groups, men who engage in this process, are able to retain their privilege (Bridges and Pascoe 2014, 246).

In the context of the focus of this chapter, this suggests that even if intersectionally privileged groups talk about themselves through gender, ethnicity, race, class and other relevant categories and thereby make these categories explicitly visible in their narratives – it does not mean that their privilege and power are necessarily challenged. If my interviewees explicitly spoke about themselves (not only in the interview setting but in everyday life as well) as gendered and ethnicised beings, and framed their career paths through these

categories, would this somehow challenge their power and privilege in the labour market and society more broadly? It might be that such self-presentations may make it harder for them to remain intersectionally invisible in some contexts, which their work-related success partly depends on. Yet, there would likely be other discursive and material practices through which they sustain their privilege.

References

Aavik, Kadri. 2015. *Intersectional Disadvantage and Privilege in the Estonian Labour Market: An Analysis of Work Narratives of Russian-Speaking Women and Estonian Men*. PhD diss., Tallinn: Tallinn University Press.

Acker, Joan. 1990. "Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations." *Gender & Society* 4(2): 139–158.

Bagilhole, Barbara. 2009. "For Diversity Against Discrimination: From Gender Mainstreaming, through Multiple Discrimination, to Intersectionality." In *Teaching Intersectionality: Putting Gender at the Centre*, edited Franken, Martha, Alison E. Woodward, Anna Cabo Cardona, and Barbara Bagilhole, 45–52. ATHENA3 Advanced Thematic Network in Women's Studies in Europe. University of Utrecht and Centre for Gender Studies, Stockholm University.

Bailey, Alison. 1998. "Privilege: Expanding on Marilyn Frye's Oppression." *Journal of Social Philosophy* 29(3): 104–119.

Bilge, Selma. 2009. "Smuggling Intersectionality into the Study of Masculinity: Some Methodological Challenges [Conference paper]". Presented at *Feminist Research Methods: An International Conference*, University of Stockholm, 4–9 February, 2009.

Bowleg, Lisa. 2008. "When Black + Lesbian + Woman ≠ Black Lesbian Woman: The Methodological Challenges of Qualitative and Quantitative Intersectionality Research." *Sex Roles* 59 (5–6): 312–325.

Brekhus, Wayne. 1998. "A sociology of the unmarked: Redirecting our focus." *Sociological Theory* 16(1): 34–51.

Bridges, Tristan. 2013. "Issues of Intimacy, Masculinity and Ethnography". In *Men, Masculinities and Methodologies*, edited by Barbara Pini, and Bob Pease, 53–63. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bridges, Tristan, and C. J. Pascoe. 2014. "Hybrid Masculinities: New Directions in the Sociology of Men and Masculinities". *Sociology Compass* 8 (3): 246–258.

Bridges, Tristan. 2019. "The Costs of Exclusionary Practices in Masculinities Studies." *Men and Masculinities* 22(1): 16–33.

Chase, Susan E. 1995. *Ambiguous empowerment: The work narratives of women school superintendents*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Cho, Sumi, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall. 2013. "Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, and praxis." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 38(4): 785–810.

Choo, Hae Yeon, and Myra Marx Ferree. 2010. "Practicing intersectionality in sociological research: A critical analysis of inclusions, interactions, and institutions in the study of inequalities." *Sociological Theory* 28(2): 129–149.

Collinson, David, and Jeff Hearn. 1994. "Naming Men as Men: Implications for Work, Organization and Management." *Gender, Work and Organization* 1(1): 2–22.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1989. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140: 139–167.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1241–1299.

Davis, Kathy. 2008. "Intersectionality as buzzword: A Sociology of Science Perspective on What Makes a Feminist Theory Successful." *Feminist Theory* 9(1): 67–85.

Donaldson, Mike, and Scott Poynting. 2013. "Peering Upwards: Researching Ruling-Class Men." In *Men, Masculinities and Methodologies*, edited by Barbara Pini, and Bob Pease, 157–169. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fotopoulou, Aristea. 2012. "Intersectionality Queer Studies and Hybridity: Methodological Frameworks for Social Research." *Journal of International Women's Studies* 13: 19–32.

Frankenberg, Ruth. 1993. *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Frankenberg, Ruth. 1997. *Displacing Whiteness: Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Gubrium, Jaber F., and James A. Holstein. 2008. "Narrative Ethnography." In *Handbook of Emergent Methods*, edited by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Leavy, 241–264. New York: Guilford Press.

Gubrium, Jaber F., and James A. Holstein. 2009. *Analyzing Narrative Reality*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007. "When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm." *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1): 63–79.

Harding, Sandra, and Kathryn Norberg. 2005. "New Feminist Approaches to Social Science Methodologies: An Introduction." *Signs* 30(4): 2009–2015.

Hearn, Jeff. 2013. "Methods and Methodologies in Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities". In *Men, Masculinities and Methodologies*, edited by Barbara Pini and Bob Pease, 26–38. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Heritage, John. 2008. "Conversation Analysis as Social Theory." In *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*, edited by Bryan S. Turner, 300–320. Oxford: Blackwell.

Heritage, John, and Steven Clayman. 2011. *Talk in Action: Interactions, Identities, and Institutions*. Vol. 44. Oxford: Blackwell.

Jimerson, Jason B., and Matthew K. Oware. 2006. "Telling the Code of the Street: An Ethnomethodological Ethnography." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35(1): 24–50.

Jovchelovitch, Sandra, and Bauer, Martin. 2000. "Narrative Interviewing." In *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound*: *A Practical Handbook*, edited by Martin Bauer, and George Gaskell, 57–74. London: Sage.

Kantola, Johanna. 2009. "Tackling Multiple Discrimination: Gender and Crosscutting Inequalities in Europe." In *Teaching Intersectionality: Putting Gender at the Centre*, edited by Franken, Martha, Alison E. Woodward, Anna Cabo Cardona, and Barbara Bagilhole, 15–30. ATHENA3 Advanced Thematic Network in Women's Studies in Europe. University of Utrecht and Centre for Gender Studies, Stockholm University.

Kirsch, Gesa. 1999. *Ethical Dilemmas in Feminist Research: The Politics of Location, Interpretation, and Publication*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Lawler, Steph. 2002. "Narrative in Social Research." In: *Qualitative Research in Action*, edited by Tim May, 242–259. London: Sage.

Lewis, Gail. 2009. "Celebrating Intersectionality? Debates on a Multi-faceted Concept in Gender Studies: Themes from a Conference." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 16(3): 203–210.

Liddicoat, Anthony. 2007. *An Introduction to Conversation Analysis*. London and New York: Continuum.

Ludvig, Alice. 2006. "Differences Between Women? Intersecting Voices in a Female Narrative." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3): 245–258.

Lutz, Helma. 2015. "Intersectionality as a Method." *DiGeSt. Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies* 2(1–2): 39–44.

Lykke, Nina. 2010. *Feminist Studies: A Guide to Intersectional Theory, Methodology and Writing*. New York: Routledge.

Matsuda, Mari. 1991. "Beside My Sister, Facing the Enemy: Legal Theory out of Coalition." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1183–1192.

McCall, Leslie. 2005. "The Complexity of Intersectionality." *Signs*: *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30(3): 1771–1800.

Phoenix, Ann. 2008. "Analysing Narrative Contexts." In *Doing Narrative Research*, edited by Molly Andrews, Corinne Squire, and Maria Tamboukou, 65–78. London: Sage.

Pease, Bob. 2010. *Undoing Privilege: Unearned Advantage in a Divided World*. London, New York: Zed Books.

Pease, Bob. 2014. "Reconstructing Masculinity or Ending Manhood? The Potential and Limitations of Transforming Masculine Subjectivities for Gender Equality." In *Alternative Masculinities for a Changing World*, edited by Àngels Carabí, and Josep Armengol, 17–34. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pini, Barbara, and Bob Pease. 2013. "Gendering Methodologies in the Study of Men and Masculinities." *Men, Masculinities and Methodologies*, edited by Barbara Pini, and Bob Pease, 1–25. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Robinson, Sally. 2000. *Marked Men. White Masculinity in Crisis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Shields, Stephanie A. 2008. "Gender: An Intersectionality Perspective." *Sex Roles* 59(5–6): 301–311.

Taylor, Yvette, Sally Hines, and Mark E. Casey. 2010. "Introduction." In *Theorizing Intersectionality and Sexuality*, edited by Yvette Taylor, Sally Hines, and Mark E. Casey, 1–12. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Twine, France W. 1997. "Brown-skinned White Girls: Class, Culture, and the Construction of White Identity in Suburban Communities." In *Displacing Whiteness Essays in Social and Cultural Criticism*, edited by Ruth Frankenberg, 214–244. Durham: Duke University Press.

Twine, France W., and Jonathan Warren. 2000. *Racing Research, Researching Race: Methodological Dilemmas in Critical Race Studies*. New York: New York University Press.

Windsong, Elena A. 2016. "Incorporating intersectionality into research design: an example using qualitative interviews." *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 21(2): 135–147.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2006. "Intersectionality and Feminist Politics." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3): 193–209.

Josephine Hoegaerts

12 Historicising Political Masculinities and Careers

Abstract: This chapter focuses on a period in history in which 'being a politician' developed into a career-path, as representative politics became a matter of professional skill and expertise rather than a leisurely gentlemanly pursuit. It attempts to chart some ways in which the male career politician can be historicised, drawing on examples from the Belgian parliament in the long nineteenth century. Most importantly, it aims to show how this project of the 'historicisation' of masculinities and careers may be useful beyond the confines of the past, and how historical approaches can inform contemporary analyses of gender, the workplace, and gendered practices of political work. The chapter sketches how historians have adopted and adapted the influential model of 'hegemonic' masculinity and how it can be used to study modern (i.e. nineteenth and early twentieth century) careers in representative politics. From this vantage point, it reflects on the terminology of masculinity and its cultural work, how the vocabulary around it has changed and how contemporary concepts used in cultural, sociological and anthropological research can (and sometimes cannot) be mobilised for the study of particular histories. Focusing on the history of politics as an arena of professionalisation and (therefore) as a context in which masculinities were constructed and performed, the chapter aims to offer alternative analytical frameworks to understand both gender and career as processes subject to significant change.

Introduction

In 1849, French caricaturist Honoré Daumier drew and published a series of humorous images he entitled "Physionomie de l'Assemblée" ("Faces of Parliament"). The series shows a number of 'characters' to be observed from the gallery in the hemicycle such as that of Frédéric Lagrange (Figure 1). They show speakers orating, losing their patience, huffing like petulant children and gossiping frivolously. It is, all in all, not a very dignified depiction of a group of people who, as Marnix Beyen (2006) has pointed out, set great store by dignity and who increasingly defined their activities in parliament as an occupation or profession (De Smaele 2002). Although 'work' in politics would remain a matter for the wealthy elites throughout most of the nineteenth century, being a
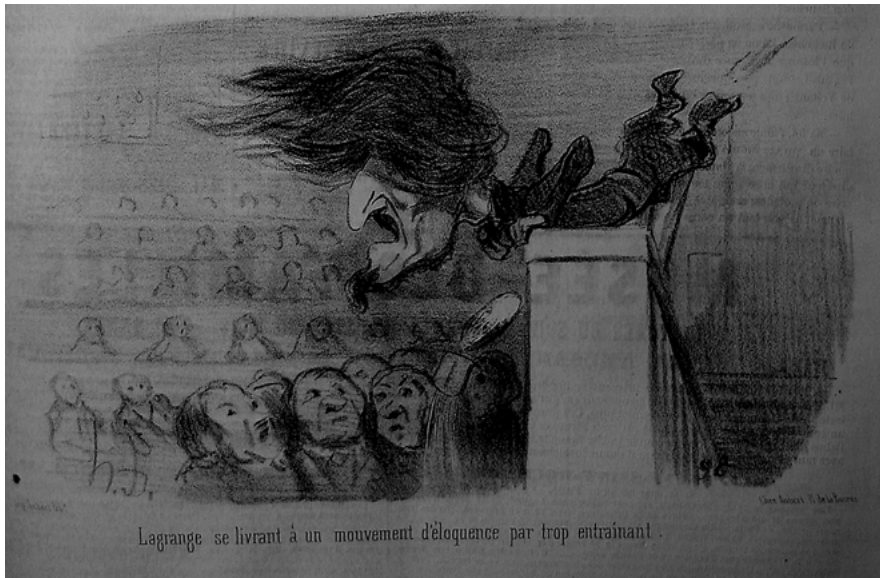
Figure 1: H. Daumier, " Lagrange carried away by a sudden, unprepared impulse of eloquence. ", Satirical image of a political representative at work, by Honoré Daumier. DR Number 1952 © www. daumier.org.

political actor in a representative democracy was not the natural result of belonging to the landed gentry. It required effort (to convince voters and fellow representatives), as well as service (to constituents and to the state) (Lauwers 2019). It had, in other words, become 'work' and came with reputational and potentially financial rewards as well as risks. It also increasingly showed different degrees of success between different hopefuls: some 'applicants' for the job of representative would come to have a long career in politics, and some would not. This is, essentially, what Daumier was showing and lampooning in his series. "Physionomie de l'Assemblée" humorously asked who had 'what it takes' to be a representative in a modern, parliamentary political system.

The actions, personalities and characteristics of nineteenth-century representatives in Europe's parliaments are hardly obscure. These are exactly the kind of 'great men' history has traditionally been written about. However, the focus of such histories has generally been on their ideas, the political decisions they made, the effect they had on policy or social change: they have been studied as making a mark on the world. It is only more recently that historians have shifted their attention to the more mundane, day-to-day practices and the less exceptional characteristics that also helped to make a political career. It mattered,

for example, as a number of social historians have shown, that all these (almost exclusively white and European) men hailed from a rather exalted social class and it mattered that well into the twentieth century they were indeed exclusively men (recently, e.g. Richter and Wolff 2018). As Daumier's caricatures show, the parliamentary 'dignity' he satirised was heavily modulated by gender and class (as well as ability and race, even if those may be less visible). Comparing his "physionomie de l'Assemblée" with another series on politically active women ("Les Bas Bleus", the Bluestockings) shows stark differences in how male and female political practice could be imagined, depicted and ridiculed. It also mattered that these men were active at a time when 'being a politician' became a career-path of sorts: their histories can and should also be studied in the context of the rise of upper-middle-class occupations and their professionalisation – a process that has been connected to changes in the discourses and practices of masculinity (as shown by, e.g. Ellis 2014). Much like science, medicine and law, the field of politics would increasingly become a matter of skill and expertise rather than a leisurely gentlemanly pursuit. This process developed in close interaction with changes in the ideals and practices of upper- and middle-class gendered embodiment as well as the rise of modern domesticity (Tosh 2007; Davidoff and Hall 1987). Men with political careers may have largely steered world politics, but the shape of those careers was forged on a far less grand stage, often much closer to home.

In what follows, I will attempt to chart out some ways in which the male career politician can be historicised in this manner, drawing on examples from the Belgian parliament in the long nineteenth century.[1] First, I will examine how historians have adopted and adapted the influential model of 'hegemonic' masculinity and how it can be used to study modern (i.e nineteenth and early twentieth century) careers in representative politics. Second, I will reflect on the terminology of masculinity and its cultural work, how the vocabulary around it has changed and how contemporary concepts used in cultural, sociological and anthropological research can (and sometimes cannot) be mobilised for the study of particular histories. The third and final section of the paper will zoom in on how historical approaches to men and masculinities can offer alternative analytical frameworks to understand gender as a 'process' and how this may aid

---

1 The choice for these cases is somewhat arbitrary: the Belgian parliamentary context is simply the one I am most familiar with. However, the Belgian case does present an interesting 'laboratory' for modern democracy in this period, as both country and legislative chamber were founded on explicitly modern principles, in 1830, and are therefore somewhat less guided by older national political traditions, as is the case for Britain and France. Background on the political history of Belgium can be found e.g. in Witte e.a. 2009.

in contextualising contemporary notions of masculinity and work. Most importantly, across these three sections, I hope to provide a rudimentary roadmap to existing practices of the historicisation of masculinity.

Hegemonic and Other Masculinities

As has been pointed out by various historians of gender and women, the history of masculinity is not so much unwritten as 'unmarked' (Dudink 1998): many forms of history writing have focused on great men and their great deeds. This seems true both for the heroic accounts of history in pre-modern times and for the histories written by the first generations of professional historians whose reliance on legal and political documents led to a renewed focus on the thoughts and actions of 'important men' (and who imagined their own profession as intrinsically masculine as well, Schnicke 2015; Smith 2000). It is only with the rise of women's history (and later gender history, Scott 1986) that it became clear that writing 'herstory' would not immediately lay bare the intrinsically gendered nature of the discipline's questions, methods and underlying assumptions. Throughout the 1980's and 90's, early attempts to historicise the men's lives next to which 'women's history' was taking place did appear, if in a somewhat fragmented fashion (e.g. Frevert 1991; Nye 1993; Theweleit 1977; Hall 1992; Rotundo 1993; Mosse 1996; Kimmel 1996; Griswold 1993; Delumeau and Roche 1990; Knibiehler 1987; Lenzen 1991).[2] Unsurprisingly, most of this work focuses either on the spaces where men and women were most intimately

---

2 Whilst numerous disciplines engage with the past as part of their enquiries in some way or other, it is perhaps useful here to point to a particularity of the historical discipline, in which understanding past processes, events or phenomena by 'historicising' (i.e. placing them in their historical context which is understood on its own terms) them is central. Or, as John Tosh puts it in an influential history primer, the historian's goal is always to show and cultivate *historical* awareness. "History as a disciplined enquiry aims to sustain the widest possible definition of memory, and to make the process of recall as accurate as possible, so that our knowledge of the past is not confined to what is immediately relevant. The goal is a resource with open-ended application, instead of a set of mirror-images of the present" (Tosh 2015). This does not imply that the outcomes of historical enquiry are completely divorced from current questions or concerns, but rather that current categories of thought are not assumed to exist or have 'mirror-images' in the past. For this volume, that would include categories such as gender, ethnicity or class: a historical approach would not 'look back' from the present and chart changes in the content or limits of those categories, but rather study societies in which these categories are absent, or in the process of emerging.

brought together (the home) or those where women were very explicitly excluded and boys were understood to 'become' men (most notably the army).

It is only from the mid-1990s onward that the question of masculinity (or masculinities) in history started to be asked systematically as a critically and historically relevant question. This was part of a more general move toward the critical study of 'elites' in response to the social histories of the lower classes, subalterns, disabled subjects, women, and others, that had been written since the 1960s (Handley, McWilliam and Noakes 2018). As Harry Brod (2002) has pointed out, masculinity studies can be approached as 'superordinate' studies. However, the appearance of an influential article by Victorianist and historiographer John Tosh, discussing the potential application of R.W. Connell's (1995) model of multiple and hegemonic masculinities to the study of history, played an important role in shifting historians' attention to masculinity as well – particularly in the English-speaking world (Tosh 1994). When Tosh asked "What Should Historians Do With Masculinity?", he pointed to some of Connell's analytical tools for an answer (particularly for the study of modern masculinities) but also drew attention to some of the specifically historical challenges to be tackled when studying masculinities in the past. His critical appraisal of the model of hegemonic masculinity as well as his work in adopting and adapting the model for historical research was followed up and expanded upon in several 'reviews' of the nascent field of the history of masculinity in the early 2000's (Francis 2002; Traister 2000; Harvey and Shepard 2005).

Since its publication, historians have taken up Tosh's suggestion that they should, indeed, 'do' something with masculinity with enthusiasm, and have continued to grapple with the challenge of applying Connell's Gramscian model of a hegemonic masculinity among other, plural, masculinities to historical cultures and societies, much like gender scholars, anthropologists and sociologists have continued to critique and refine Connell's model, which was reformulated most notably by the author herself in collaboration with James Messerschmidt in 2005 (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Meanwhile, other approaches to masculinity have also continued to yield interesting historical analysis for the modern period – sometimes in conversation, response or contradiction to the 'hegemonic' model (e.g. Frevert 2001; Rauch 2000; Corbin, Courtine and Vigarello 2009; Surkis 2006; Hagemann 2002; Solomon-Godeau 1997). Whilst older (pre-Marxist and pre-Darwinian) periods offer a very challenging context for this model, the more general notion that plural masculinities defined by the hierarchies among them (and not just between men and women) has proven to be a helpful perspective for these periods as well (e.g. Dinges et al. 2005; Lees 1994; Shepard 2006; Mazo Karras 2002). At the same time, studies of masculinity in all periods of history, including industrialised modernity, have shown problems in

adapting Connell's model to study the past and tried to come up with alternatives. The most thorough re-imagination of (hegemonic) masculinity 'as a category of historical analysis' is perhaps Ben Griffin's (2018) recent adoption and adaptation in *Gender & History*. "Hegemonic Masculinity as a Historical Problem" shows why the model of multiple and hierarchically organised masculinities has been so attractive to historians (Griffin 2018, 379). But it also lays bare a number of particularly historical ways in which the model is 'problematic' (380).

Building on critiques such as those of John Tosh, Alexandra Shepard and other historians, Griffin sets out to develop a new set of approaches to study masculinity in history. Its aim is to reconsider, rather than reject, the concept of hegemony, and to address some of the problems historians have faced in applying Connell's concept outright by offering an alternative framework to think about the power-relations between men. One that would enable us to deal with the main problems historians of masculinity seem to run into: societal specificity (how can a Marxist model work in a pre-capitalist society, for example), and fluidity (or more precisely: change over time, including significant change over long periods of time[3] – the central problem to any historical study). As such, his alternative framework does not consist of the formation of 'identities' or places within a hierarchical constellation of power, but rather of different 'processes' in which 'being a man' always appears as already in flux, as constantly changing. It therefore recognises that 'practices' and 'performances' of masculinity not only change slowly over time (as norms and expectations change) but also that "individual men do not continually perform the same masculinity" (384). The cultural work that goes into creating historically contingent masculinities is therefore not only performed by societies, but also by individuals (of all genders) and above all within particular communication communities, and is interpretative as well as performative (387). In other words, masculinity is performed in front of a particular

---

3 One important note to make here is that for a large part of history gender (as well as ethnicity or race) was not imagined to be a 'biological' category, and therefore the important work of 'deconstructing' gender and race, or showing their cultural, political, 'non-biological' character, necessarily takes on a different form. I will come back to the rise of the 'two-sex' model later in this paper. For now, it bears remembering that many categories that are now analysed as 'intersecting' with gender either only came into existence in the modern period (class, for example, exists in industrialized societies) or could not be imagined as free-standing or 'biological' categories (race, for example, was explained in terms of environmental determinism rather than biology until well into the nineteenth century; estate meant very different things for differently gendered and aged individuals).

(and co-constructive) audience of people with whom one shared ideas, norms, vocabularies, and indeed space.[4] Studying such a history of masculinity is, according to Griffin, "a fourfold operation".

> First, there is the process of cultural contestation whereby certain forms of masculinity are valorised [. . .]. Second, there is the process whereby access to the mechanisms that allow men to identify themselves with those masculinities is unequally distributed among members of that communication community. Third, there is the process by which the performance of a particular masculinity is accorded recognition by others [. . .]. The fourth operation of power occurs after this process of recognition: having been identified with a particular form of masculinity, the individual is then positioned in relation to sets of institutional practices, rewards and sanctions. (Griffin 2018, 387)

The consistent focus on 'processes' is important here: certain forms of masculinity 'are valorised' within particular communication communities, and that valorisation is a process, rather than a situation in which men find themselves. So is the unequal distribution of access to identification with certain embodiments of power: rather than being expressed by a category intersecting with gender (such as class, ability, ethnicity), the focus is on the process of distribution itself – this is most clearly exemplified in the way the framework opens up ways to also think of the way age (a category that even now, in times of biological determinism, is never understood as static) modulates and shapes performances and readings of masculinity. Focusing on such broadly defined processes does not offer clear 'concepts' precisely because it refuses to define or even name 'categories' that can be deployed over time. Rather it recognises that, as L.P. Hartley famously put it "the past is a foreign country, they do things differently there" – and those things include understanding, experiencing and 'doing' what constituted being a man.

So how do these frameworks apply to the masculinity that we are interested in here? Arguably, the modern professional politician or parliamentary representative is one of the most often and most closely analysed figures in history. Aside from the many 'great man'-type histories that have been written about statesmen, recent works on their gendered practices and characteristics have largely led the way in establishing the history of masculinity (next to prolific work on military men, and far fewer on e.g. farmers or labourers) (e.g. Kennedy and McCormack 2007; Dudink, Hagemann and Tosh 2004; Dudink, Hagemann and Tosh 2007; Griffin 2012; Hoegaerts 2014). In many ways, these modern and

---

4 Griffin borrows the notion of communication communities from Simon Szreter (1995), thereby recognizing that speaking of any hegemonic culture before the rise of mass communication is difficult. "This concept recognises the variegated and uneven dissemination of particular sets of cultural norms and relates this to the historically specific mechanisms of socialisation through which those norms were propagated" (Griffin 2018, 9).

powerful men seem to lend themselves perfectly to an analysis in terms of hegemony: they lived in a capitalist and industrialised world, and were concerned with power and competition (not to mention very aware of their own exalted position in regard to other men). Yet, as almost all existing studies on 'political' masculinities have shown, things are rarely that simple. Despite their obvious positions of power, late nineteenth-century politicians, particularly, grappled with the rising norm of physical fitness and strength that would become more closely connected to 'natural' definitions of masculinity in the run-up to the First World War (Mangan 2000; Roper 2005; Hoegaerts 2012). And even if their bodies did not get in the way of achieving gendered normality, the varied and fluid performances of self these political men engaged in in the nineteenth century show how undefined and changeable that normality was in the first place. It contained dignified silence as well as rousing oratory, competitive aggression as well as rational control of one's emotions, total devotion to one's country and profession as well as a strong identification with fatherhood, and so on.

These simultaneous and contradictory demands attached to (modern) masculinity have been described as a 'double bind' (Bordo 1999). Although these intrinsic tensions can be acknowledged (and have been, notably by Connell) in the very notion of hegemonic masculinity (which represents a societal norm that, whilst upheld by individual men, cannot be put into practice by any individual), the model of hegemony/complicity/marginality does not really offer us clear tools to analyse the different and changeable ways in which men have negotiated this double bind. It is, therefore, a good place to start thinking 'historically' about this particular, but often seemingly universal, aspect of masculinity.

The nineteenth-century 'career' politician grappled with a number of contradictory demands – many of them highlighting the tension between the calm, sedate (and indeed sedentary) nature of representative politics on the one hand, and the growing attention given to fitness, musculature and violence as aspects of 'natural' masculinity in the nineteenth century on the other, for example by jokingly referring to their own age-related infirmities. In 1865 these tensions rose to the surface in a rather atypically public display of contradictory masculinity in the Belgian hemicycle, and reported in the proceedings of the Chamber of Representatives (CoR). During a debate on the contested 'Mexican expedition' (in which a regiment of volunteers was recruited to 'save' princess Charlotte), representative Jan Delaet had targeted then minister of war Félix Chazal for the way in which recruitment had taken place. In retaliation, Chazal had called him "shameless" (CoR 5 April 1865, 759). This language was not up to the standards of dignity of parliament, according to his opponent, who demanded that the "infamous" term be "taken back" (CoR 5 Apr 1865, 768). The president of the Chamber seemed to be unable to ease the tension and Delaet

eventually challenged Chazal to a duel to resolve the matter. Whilst the practice of duelling had largely disappeared in Belgium, and had indeed been made illegal in 1841, both seemed to agree on a physical reparation of their honour and the duel took place on April 8, 1865 (Van den Peereboom 1994, 86).

The outcome of their meeting was unspectacular: both men survived, and both seemed satisfied that their honour had been preserved – suggesting that the notion of parliamentary dignity was, at least in some circles, a masculine attribute that mirrored or perhaps modernised martial symbols of value and valour (La Vaque Manty 2006). More important than the event of the duel, however, is the particular context in which it could take place: in a representative democracy and more precisely in the legislative chamber that had outlawed the duel a couple of decades earlier.[5] It is also important to note that it was instigated by a political figure who had made his name and career as a pacifist. Rather than two men battling in an attempt for hegemony, these seem to be participants in a 'community of communication' in which discourses of honour and dignity were closely intertwined and therefore (equally) attainable to both the military man and the political agitator (even if both parties would later attempt to mobilise various definitions of courage and danger to their own advantage). They both engaged in a process of cultural contestation against what the law and formal politics at the time defined as 'proper' masculine behaviour. Chazal would, in the wake of the duel, become the first Belgian minister to be brought in front of a judge during his tenure. Despite these official sanctions, however, both men seem to have been satisfied that their respective political and social constituencies recognised their behaviour as a display of authority and power (Hoegaerts 2011). Or, to put it simply, it did not do their careers and reputations any harm.

Vocabularies of Masculinity and Work

One of the more mundane, but nevertheless important problems of writing any history of masculinity is that of vocabulary. As is clear from the insistence on terms such as 'dignity', masculinity (unlike the more ideologically charged and

---

5 Duelling had been (and would continue to be in other countries for a while) a fairly common way to settle disputes. There are significant national differences in the cultural meaning of the duel and, therefore, the group of men most likely to engage in it. In addition to military men, journalists and politicians were seen as particularly likely to settle their disputes through duelling in the Francophone world (Hoegaerts, 2011).

therefore more visible 'manliness', Tosh 1994) did not carry much meaning, nor, for that matter, did the notion of a 'career'. Historians of medieval and early modern masculinities, in particular, have called attention to the much more common use of terms like manliness, manhood and virility. Whilst these may seem to refer to norms and discourses of masculinity, it is important to keep in mind that they were part of a world in which 'biological' definitions of gender were not entrenched in the same way they would become from the late eighteenth century onward (a binary Thomas Laqueur (1990) would identify as a modern 'two-sex-model'[6]). Terms such as manliness and virility are therefore not just different, older, terms for what is at heart the same mode of distinction, they bring to light profound cultural differences between current notions of 'biological' sex and its entanglements with gender identity and gendered practices, and those of the past. (Notably, women born into positions of authority were occasionally described as having 'manly' characteristics in the Early Modern period.) And whilst those differences are most striking for more remote periods of history, they are also present in 'modern' histories in which the so-called two-sex model was already in place. Even in the nineteenth century, when 'masculinity' would find a place in the various dictionaries, the word was very rarely used. The notion of any one term referring to characteristics of 'men' as a group would still have been largely foreign to a society as divided by class and race as the 'modern' European nation. The idea that men of the serving and ruling classes 'shared' masculine traits would only be expressed later. Space, emotions, practices and cultural references were shared more within 'communication communities' than they were among men across these communities (even if, within communication communities, gendered differences were of course observed, lived and expressed). In the First World War, 'serving' came to be connected to patriotic duties as much as it had been with work and a 'brotherhood' among men became imaginable in the trenches (see Steedman 2007 on the history of the 'serving' classes).

---

6 The two-sex model replaced an earlier understanding of male and female reproductive anatomy that Laqueur calls the 'one-sex model': the differences between the male and female reproductive organs appear, in this model, as a matter of degree or development, with the female womb and ovaries represented as an inwardly grown penis and testicles. Whilst differences between women and men were of course observed and described before the eighteenth century, gender was not prescribed upon the individual and masculinity and femininity were neither seen as polar opposites, nor were they present as well-circumscribed categories. The notion that 'biology is destiny' is a profoundly modern one, founded upon the principles of disciplines like evolutionary biology and, of course, Freudian psychology. It was only in the nineteenth century that such understandings of the 'biology' of the sexes took hold, and even then aspects of environmental determinism remained influential alongside them.

That 'masculinities' were multiple (i.e. that 'being a man' meant fundamentally different things for individuals of different income, religious community, background, etc) would have been far more commonplace to the (early)-modern observer than the notion that 'men' could be seen to intrinsically share any set of characteristics. The languages spoken in the Belgian hemicycle, for example (French and, occasionally, Dutch) did not even assign very particular meanings to the terms *masculinité* or *mannelijkheid*. It was simply defined as 'pertaining to men'. If a person's particular characteristics thought to be intrinsically gendered were referred to, *virilité* did most of the heavy lifting in French (Corbin, Courtine and Vigarello 2009). Dutch speakers would turn to compound words combining 'man' with qualities such as courage (*mannenmoed*), strength (*mannenkracht*) or labour (*mannenwerk*), showing that these qualities were imagined to be intimately connected to men's role in the world (Hoegaerts 2014, 36). It was only by the end of the nineteenth century – roughly around the introduction of both universal male suffrage and the military draft in a number of Western countries – that 'men' (regardless of other social markers) came to be seen as a particular collective: those who served their country and – in return – could be considered citizens and involved in politics (Dudink, Hagemann and Tosh 2004). In some ways, modern representative politics created 'masculinity' as a unified category as much as biology and the two-sex model did.

Much like nineteenth-century upper-middle class men would not think of themselves as sharing 'masculinity' with those of the lower classes, they would not think of their role as MP's or in government as 'work' (for one thing, they did not get paid for it). In fact, not having to 'work' is what distinguished the gentleman from what was tellingly called the 'working' (or serving) class. They may very well have thought of their trajectory in politics as something to be undertaken professionally however, and that would to a degree imply expertise and, therefore, manliness. The ideological connection between being a 'man' and the ability to support a family was firmly entrenched in this period (even though the 'breadwinner'-model seems largely to have been a historical fiction, Vanhaute 1998). For this class of men 'work' was not a deciding factor in that equation, however. Their notion of gendered careers depended on different imageries of duty and privilege, and above all on the notions of dignity discussed above. (In addition, the term 'career' was generally used to denote one's life course, the action of moving – consciously – in a certain direction. The Oxford English Dictionary only starts to define career as 'working in a profession' in 1927.)

Dignity, though exclusive to a very particular group of men, was not so much a quality simply assigned to or presumed natural in these men. It was a quality to be acquired. It depended on exhibiting the kind of behaviour

associated with the cultural 'work' of the political representative, but was – crucially – also connected to age or maturity. It depended on how they managed their particular 'careers' through a political life. Or, in other words, dignity can be seen as a particular intersection of gender, class and age (and, less obviously, ability and ethnicity) – or, to borrow Griffin's terminology, it was modulated by differences in access to particular practices of masculinity. Its accessibility was, however, not only limited to particular people, but also to particular circumstances – it also depended on the interpretative practices of the historical actors surrounding those men whose political career was sufficiently advanced to be recognisable to others as successful public figures.

Whilst the vocabulary of parliamentary dignity 'hides' its gendered qualities, it is often expressed through much more obviously marked terminology: that of fatherhood (or fatherliness). Although even in the late nineteenth century, upper middle class men were unlikely to express any shared experience of 'masculinity' with the lower classes, they did refer to metaphors of kinship that were current in other parts of society (such as the army) to speak about citizenship and political accountability. And whilst this, too, was a class-specific language (the fatherhood referred to calls upon notions of middle class domesticity and leadership – i.e. men were expected to preside over their businesses or constituents like they did over their nuclear family – rather than the simple fact of paternity), it was projected unto men of lower social status as well, and presented a shared value, legitimising elite men's claim to 'represent' the nation's family fathers. This legislative fiction of family fathers representing 'all' fathers (who in their turn each represented their families when dealing with the outside world) was accompanied by a similar legal fiction of the *bon père de famille* of Napoleonic law (comparable to the *reasonable man* in English law). Fatherliness, like dignity, therefore appeared as part of one's 'career' in life as a man, and provided one of the most powerful imageries through which 'masculinity', though unspoken and unmarked, could be represented.

Most indicative of this importance of the image of the 'father' was, perhaps, the way in which the terminology of paternity was used metaphorically – and also how this metaphor gradually lost its power at the turn of the twentieth century. This comes across in accounts of the dignity displayed by the 'fathers of the nation'. In 1873 Representative Barthélemy Du Mortier raised the issue of parliamentary dignity in a debate on the hygienic conditions of the physical room in which the representatives met. Weaving together notions of domestic responsibility, individual autonomy and national belonging, he appealed to a distinctly 'fatherly' construction of masculinity on which political dignity needed to be based. "We need to be masters of our own place", he stated, connecting the representative's

authority in the Chamber to that of a father in his home (CoR 18 June 1873). And whilst this fatherly approach to political authority was mobilised by all representatives, it was projected most explicitly onto the members of the 1830 National Congress whose fatherhood was connected to their political 'labour' when they were welcomed to the Chamber, in 1880 with the words "You are the fathers of the fatherland, your work grows over the years and your sons, filled with gratitude, bless you" (CoR 12 August 1880).

Stories of Change

For nineteenth-century men, and particularly those invested in what would later be seen as a professional 'career', issues of time and processes of ageing were therefore intrinsically bound up with questions of gender (as was class). To think about being a 'man' was to imagine the acquisition of dignity, maturity and its various trappings such as offspring, wealth or power, depending on the context in which one's career was forged. Less than an identity, 'masculinity' in the modern period can be analysed as a process, and it therefore needs to be considered in conjunction with the rhythm of modern life and changing understandings of time. As studies of female and 'crip' time suggest (St Pierre 2015), the men we are interested in here are largely the ones setting the pace: elite men's time (often represented as linear progress, rather than cyclical), like their bodies, was 'unmarked' and therefore appears as neutral: it is the pace we have largely adopted as the yard-stick for historical time.

It is perhaps for this reason that their careers now just appear as a 'lifetime' or a natural ageing process. Nevertheless, studying the practices of even these 'great' men (and doing so through largely sanitised documents such as parliamentary proceedings) gives us glimpses of the bumps and turns in the learning process of becoming a man. It shows the performative quality of this seemingly smooth and simple passage of time. In the Chamber of Representatives, men whose identities and reputations would mark them out as 'hegemonic' still struggled with aspects of political practice (through illness, speech impediments, or nerves), saw their practices as fathers, husbands or factory-owners impact their political performances, or indeed gained and lost influence in parliament as their performances of authority and masculinity changed over time. Focussing on the process-like character of (modern) masculinity, its necessary and constant intersection with age, also almost immediately draws attention to its historical contingency. This makes Ben Griffin's alternative framework to analyse masculinity so promising for historical analysis in particular. All four of

the aspects of masculinity he points to refer to processes, to cultural work or, ultimately, to 'change'. This encourages an analysis that has room for diversity and for the ways in which notions of 'being a man' were imagined before it became fixed as a seemingly biological category (i.e. always already shaped by other characteristics such as age, class, ethnicity, religion, etc) but above all draws attention to the temporal fluidity of gendered norms and expectations.[7]

In the case of nineteenth-century representative chambers, that change has remained largely hidden. The practices of representation were guided by long-standing traditions (Crewe 2005) or by formal rules (Gardey 2015), and it is only around the turn of the twentieth century that significant numbers of new-comers entered the chamber – thus visibly questioning these rituals and rules. Research on early lower-class, ethnically 'different' and female representatives very clearly show challenges to the ossified and gendered rules of a closely knit, elitist and exclusive community (e.g. Hurd 2000). Allowing for a more fine-grained analysis of masculinity, however, grants us insight into the less dramatic processes of change and contestation that took place throughout the nineteenth century – and lets us distinguish between projections of 'traditional' masculinity employed to prop up current imaginations of diversity, and the much more complicated reality of historical masculinity upon which we can build a critical analysis of current dichotomous discourses of 'traditional' privilege and 'modern' equality.

The Belgian case presents an interesting one in that regard, because we can follow the installation of an entirely new legislative chamber, in 1831, and its subsequent development quite closely. The nation itself was as new as the chamber, and was immediately constructed as a 'modern' one: a constitutional monarchy supported by a system of representative democracy. This meant crafting a base of citizens as well, the Belgian 'people' would have to be defined

---

7 Analyses of historical masculinities and manliness, particularly before the rise of the 'two-sex model', are perhaps most easily imagined as intrinsically intersectional: in the absence of a unified, fixed category of gender, historical actors could make sense of their own gendered identity only in the context of other characteristics, or within their communication community. In other words, it was commonly accepted that an upper-class man's 'manliness' differed significantly from that of a male serf, no unified or biological category to which both belonged could be imagined until well into the eighteenth century. Whilst Crenshaw's (1989) concept of intersectionality therefore presents an important reminder to historians of gender that human experience always relies on different categories, axes of power and modes of oppression/privilege in interaction and co-construction with each other, the work of 'deconstructing' these categories and showing their fluidity in the first place is particular to the modern period, in which notions of gender and race came to be seen as fixed (and in which, of course, the historian herself has to confront her own categories of thought).

and learn to recognise themselves as such. This turned out to be far less straight-forward. The 'fathers of the nation' seem to have been recognised as Belgian with-out hesitation, but not everyone who lived and worked on Belgian soil in 1830 would automatically become a citizen. Women and children would remain ex-cluded throughout the nineteenth century, and universal single suffrage for men was only made available in 1918. Whilst not having the vote would not necessarily exclude these groups from having the Belgian 'nationality', it does show how the nation was imagined as exclusive at its inception (and to what extent it was geared towards masculine citizenship). Later immigrants to the country would need to be 'naturalised' to become members of the nation and participate in its political practices. French-born Félix Chazal, the aforementioned minister of war, was one of them. After being active in the Belgian revolution and acting as a com-mander in the Belgian army for over a decade, he was naturalised in 1844.

Chazal's ease in gaining entrance to the Belgian army and nation would have at least partly have been due to the existing demand for military men: founding a nation also necessitated the founding of an army, and particularly the roles demanding experience of leadership were initially largely filled with French officers. Speaking the same language and sharing the culture of the Belgian upper and upper-middle class would have allowed them to be recog-nised very easily as figures of authority and leadership, and indeed as possess-ing the quality of *virilité*. This view did not extend to other 'naturalised' Belgians, however. In 1883, when the chamber debated the creation of a new geological map of Belgium (which would effectively define what was the 'stuff' of the nation), emotions ran high when the employment of British-born experts on the project was discussed. Representative and university professor Jean Joseph Crocq caused hilarity when he said

> Yes, sirs, we have put our factory of new Belgians to work, in order to have one more member in the official committee for the geological map. It is a second-class Belgian.
> (CoR June 7, 1883)

In a discussion with Gustave Rolin-Jacquemyns, a man who had built his career in law and politics rather than science, Crocq based his authority on his understand-ing of representative democracy and its close intertwinement with 'competence'.

> Crocq: I speak with confidence, because I am voicing the opinion of the public
>
> Rolin-Jacquemyns: It is the public opinion of a couple of geologists.
>
> Crocq: It is the opinion of competent men, of the geological nation as it were.
>
> Rolin-Jacquemyns: That is precisely what I would dispute.

Again, the question here is not one of hegemony or marginality, or indeed one of hierarchy in society at large, but rather one of different communities of communication in which the gendered category of 'citizenship' is imagined differently. Scientific actors saw masculinity and expertise as closely intertwined and connected to citizenship and the nation (Zilles 2018). Crocq therefore interpreted the inclusion of 'foreign' (in this case British-born) men in what should be a 'national' field of science as an invasion in the nation's democratic space, an affront to citizenship and the masculine dignity attached to it. Rolin-Jacquemins, who described the project of the map as "a matter of scientific interest and of national glory" (CoR, April 5 1881) saw a clear distinction between a scientific community of experts (or 'competent men') and the national community of manly and glorious citizens served by the former. The connection between masculine rationality, independence and membership of the nation seems to have been far less stable than historians of modern citizenship and 'hegemonic' masculinity have supposed. Focusing on these moments of contestation as well as the importance of 'interpretive' practices allows for a more fine-grained account of the 'careers' of masculinity performed by elite men in nineteenth-century political contexts.

Conclusion – Historical and Traditional Masculinity

As the above shows, political careers in the nineteenth century were intrinsically ambiguous processes, and not easily classified as the kind of 'work' that would later be associated with the male breadwinner model. Nevertheless, the image of the good family father carrying responsibility for his whole family was central to representatives' sense of self: it defined their connection with the 'nation' and with men in vastly different social and financial circumstances. Unfortunately, research into the histories of work, professionalisation and industrialisation has largely remained curiously separate from histories of masculinity and citizenship. Although historiographical overviews and programmatic methodological reflections on the history of masculinity often point to the important connection between masculinity and 'work' that seems to have been forged in the nineteenth century, a systematic analysis of that connection is not yet available. Likewise, whilst studies of the 'making' of the working class or the experiences of working life, or histories of modern clerical professions often note the exclusively masculine character of many of the career-paths being

formulated, they rarely hone in on the intrinsic connections between gender and labour at work in these contexts.

And yet, historicising precisely this intersection between masculinity, the modern career, fatherhood and citizenship, might be of particular importance for our understanding of masculinities today. Few things are quite so central to the amorphous, imagined conglomerate of characteristics that makes up what is sometimes referred to as 'traditional' masculinity. The 'traditional' man is, of course, the result of a practice of (collective) imagination, of 'invention of tradition', and therefore necessarily culturally specific and somewhat undefined. Nevertheless, particularly in the modern 'West' we seem to be haunted by the spectre of a particular 'traditional man': a breadwinner, of strong musculature, aggressive and gentlemanly, and an authoritative leader and father. Whilst it is understood that traditional and historical masculinity are different things, traditional masculinity still seems to be imagined as something of the (vague and undefined) past, something against which we can contrast the subtleties, nuances, internal conflicts and fluidity of masculinity as it is practiced now. And of course, most of the characteristics of this imagined traditional masculinity can be traced back in some way to very different historical contexts and periods – showing just what a mongrel the 'traditional' man is. If traditional masculinity's narrative of gentlemanliness may be traced back to (mis)representations of knights and noblemen of the distant past; if the traditional aggression associated with masculinity can be connected to the military ideologies and practices surrounding industrialised warfare; the image of the breadwinner and the career-driven 'traditional' man quite probably traces back to the nineteenth century. Processes of organising labour and professionalisation in conjunction with modernised notions of representation and citizenship were, as shown above, deeply implicated with gendered practices across different communities of communication and resulting in different kinds of interpretative cultural work. The rise of the political career shows that this is a period when being a man and a political actor became a 'profession', and individual 'work' outside the home was imagined as central to being a 'man' – albeit not necessarily as the breadwinner that now seems so traditional.

References

Beyen, Marnix. 2006. "De eerbiedwaardige onderbrekers. Ironie en pastiche in de Franse kamer van afgevaardigden, 1890." In *Humor met een verleden*, edited by Marnix Beyen and Johan Verberckmoes, Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Bordo, Susanne. 1999. *The Male Body. A New Look at Men in Public and Private*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Brod, Harry. 2002. "Studying Masculinities as Superordinate Studies". In *Masculinity Studies & Feminist Theory. New Directions*, edited by Judith Kegan Gardiner, New York: Columbia University Press.

Connell, Raewyn. 1995. *Masculinities*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Connell, Raewyn, and James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept". *Gender and Society*, 19: 829–859.

Corbin, Alain et al., eds. 2009. *Histoire de la virilité* (volumes I-III), Paris: Le Seuil.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1989. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 140: 139–167.

Crewe, Emma. 2005. *Lords of Parliament. Manners, Rituals and Politics*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. 1987. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Delumeau, Jean and Daniel Roche, eds. 1990. *Histoire des pères et de la paternité*. Paris: Larousse.

De Smaele, Henk. 2002."De beroepspoliticus. Waarom 'de aristocratie' onvermijdelijk is." In *Politieke representatie*, edited by Henk De Smaele, and Jo Tollebeek, 109–121. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Dinges, Martin ed. 2005. *Männer – Macht – Körper: Hegemoniale Männlichkeiten vom Mittelalter bis heute*. Frankfurt: Campus Verlag.

Dudink, Stefan. 1998. "The Trouble with Men: Problems in the History of Masculinity." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 1(3): 419–431.

Dudink, Stefan, Karen Hagemann, and Anna Clark, eds. 2007. *Representing Masculinity. Male Citizenship in Modern Western Culture*. London: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Dudink, Stefan, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh, eds. 2004. *Masculinities in Politics and War. Gendering Modern History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Ellis, Heather. 2014. "Knowledge, character and professionalisation in nineteenth-century British science." *Journal of the History of Education Society* 43: 777–792.

Francis, Martin. 2002. "The Domestication of the Male? Recent Research in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity", *The Historical Journal* 45(3): 637–652.

Frevert, Ute. 1991. *Ehrenmänner. Das Duell in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*. München: C.H. Beck.

Frevert, Ute. 2001. *Die kasernierte Nation: Militärdienst und Zivillgesellschaft in Deutschland*. München: C.H. Beck.

Gardey, Delphine. 2015. *Le linge du palais Bourbon. Corps, matérialité et genre du politique à l'ère démocratique*. Lormont: Le Bord de l'eau.

Griffin, Ben. 2018. "Hegemonic Masculinity as a Historical Problem." *Gender & History* 30(2): 377–400.

Griffin, Ben. 2012. *The Politics of Gender in Victorian Britain. Masculinity, Political Culture and the Struggle for Women's Rights*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Griswold, Robert L. 1993. *Fatherhood in America: A History*. New York: Basic Books.

Hagemann, Karen. 2002. *Männlicher Muth und Teutscher Ehre. Nation, Militär und Geschlecht zur Zeit der Antinapoleonischen Kriege Preussens*. München: Schöningh.

Hall, Catherine. 1992. *White, Male and Middle Class. Explorations in Feminism and History*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Handley, Sasha, Rohan McWilliam, and Lucy Noakes, eds. 2018. *New Directions in Social and Cultural History*. London: Bloomsbury.

Harvey, Karen, and Alexandra Shepard. 2005. "What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, ca. 1500–1950." *Journal of British Studies* 44(2): 274–280.

Hoegaerts, Josephine. 2012. "Benevolent Fathers and Virile Brothers: Metaphors of Kinship and the Construction of Masculinity and Age in the Nineteenth-Century Belgian Army." *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 127(1): 72–100.

Hoegaerts, Josephine. 2011 "L'homme du monde est oblige de se battre. Duel-vertogen en -praktijken in en rond het Belgische parlement, 1830–1900." *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 124: 190–205.

Hoegaerts, Josephine. 2014. *Masculinity and Nationhood. Constructions of Identity and Citizenship in Belgium 1830–1910*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hurd, Madeleine. 2000. "Class, Masculinity, Manner and Mores. Public Space and Public Sphere in Nineteenth-Century Europe." *Social Science History* 24(1): 75–110.

Kennedy, C., and Matthew McCormack, eds. 2007. *Public Men. Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kimmel, Michael. 1996. *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*. New York: Free Press.

Knibiehler, Yvonne. 1987. *Les pères aussi ont une histoire*. Paris: Hachette.

Lauwers, Karen. 2019. "Negotiating the Republic: Direct Interactions Between Unorganized Citizens and MPs in France, ca.1900–1930s." PhD diss., University of Antwerp.

La Vaque-Manty, Mika. 2006. "Dueling for Equality", *Political Theory* 34(6): 715–740.

Laqueur, Thomas W. 1990. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lees, Clara A. ed. 1994. *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Lenzen, Dieter. 1991. *Vaterschaft. Vom Patriarchat zur Alimentation*. Reinbek: Rowohlt.

Mangan, J.A. 2000. *Making European Masculinities: Sport, Europe, Gender*. London: Frank Cass.

Mazo Karras, Ruth. 2002. *From Boys to Men. Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Mosse, George. 1996. *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nye, Robert. 1993. *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honour in Modern France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rauch, André. 2000. *Le premier sexe. Mutations et crise de l'identité masculine*. Paris: Hachette.

Richter, Hedwig and Kerstin Wolff, eds. 2018. *Frauenwahlrecht. Demokratisierung der Demokratie in Deutschland und Europa*. Hamburg: Hamburger Edition.

Roper, Michael. 2005. "Between Manliness and Masculinity: The 'War Generation' and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914–1950." *Journal of British Studies* 44: 343–362.

Rotundo, E. Anthony. 1993. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York: Basic Books.

Smith, Bonnie. 2000. *The Gender of History. Men, Women and Historical Practice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Schnicke, Falko. 2015. *Die männliche Disziplin. Zur Vergeschlechtlichung der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft (1780–1900)*. Göttingen: Wallstein.

Scott, Joan Wallach. 1986. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *American Historical Review* 91(5): 1053–1075.

Shepard, Alexandra. 2006. *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Solomon-Godeau, Abigail. 1997. *Male Trouble. A Crisis in Representation*. New York: Thames and Hudson.

Szreter, Simon. 1995. *Fertility, Class and Gender in Britain 1860–1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Steedman, Carolyn. 2007. *Master and Servant: Love and Labour in the English Industrial Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Surkis, Judith. 2006. *Sexing the Citizen. Morality and Masculinity in France, 1870–1920*. Ithaka and London: Cornell University Press.

St Pierre, Joshua. 2015. "Distending Straight-Masculine Time: A Phenomenology of the Disabled Speaking Body." *Hypatia. A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 30(1): 49–65.

Theweleit, Klaus. 1977. *Männerphantasien*. Verlag Roter Stern: Frankfurt am Main.

Tosh, John. 1994. "What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain." *History Workshop Journal* 38(1): 179–202.

Tosh, John. 2007. *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tosh, John. 2015. *The Pursuit of History. Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History*, Routledge.

Traister, Bryce. 2000. "Academic Viagra: the Rise of American Masculinity Studies" *American Quarterly* 52(2): 274–304.

Van den Peereboom, Alphonse. 1994. *La fin d'un règne: notes et souvenirs*, edited by Marcel Bots, Ghent: Liberaal Archief.

Vanhaute, Eric. 1998. "Het kostwinnermodel als historische fictie. Arbeid en inkomen van gezinnen in langetermijnperspectief." In *Het kostwinnersmodel voorbij?* edited by Walter Van Dongen e.a. 55–71. Leuven: Garant.

Witte, Els, Jan Craeybeckx and Alain Meynen. 2009. *Political History of Belgium: From 1830 onwards*. Brussels: VUBPress.

Zilles, Sebastian. 2018. *Die Schulen der Männlichkeit. Männerbünde in Wissenschaft und Literatur um 1900*. Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau Verlag.

Jeff Hearn
Afterword: Men, Masculinities, Careers and Careering

Introduction

This collection – with some chapters more in essay form, some empirical research studies – arises directly from the two-day Conference: "Making it like a man – Men, masculinities and the modern 'career'", held at the Collegium for Advanced Studies at the University of Helsinki, 25–26 October 2018. I really wanted to come to all of the event, but being involved in the celebrations of 40 years of teaching and research on Women's and Gender Studies at Örebro University, Sweden, I was unable to make the first day, and attended only the second, as Commentator on Tristan Bridge's ending presentation on 'Gender Hegemony in Transition: Shifts in Gender Inequality in 21st Century Workplaces and Society'. So, reading through the chapters, some were reassuringly familiar, some totally new to me.

For my own part, it was in the early 1970s that the question of careers grabbed my attention as something truly fascinating. On a masters course on Organisation Studies, I remember writing an extended essay on "Careers and careering", which outlined ideas around the conceptual and empirical inadequacy of the ideal-typical (see, for example, Glaser 1968; Sofer 1970; Osipow and Fitzgerald 1973) or 'pure career', that was ordered, linear, regular, temporally consistent – and often very male. Instead, I was interested in various, different forms of careers, that went in other directions, and were not usually considered to be careers at all. These included 'the (future-oriented) uncareer', '(past-oriented) careerlessness', and, most novelly, 'the (present-centred) non-career'. I was fortunate that this led onto the publication, 'On the concept of non-career' (Hearn 1977), what I think of as my first 'proper article', and then some further explorations of the practical and policy implications of changing forms of "career" (Hearn 1980, 1981).

These ideas were very much around gender, especially so in terms of the neglect and subordination of women and women's careers, though perhaps I didn't fully realise why and how so at the time. But then perhaps the point is that (most, and in some societies all), women are not 'meant' to have work careers in the public sphere. This may seem an odd comment, but in the early 1970s most women in the UK were not expected to have a career in business or the professions, unless they came from more privileged backgrounds, and even then not still so often. It is shocking to say that it was only in 1954 that the

marriage bar was abolished in the British Civil Service, most local government, and the Post Office.

The whole question of careers has stayed with me, on and off since, in researching men and management, work and non-work, men and care, organisational change, academia, and so on.

Categories and Concepts

Men.
Masculinities.
Careers.
These are the categories that have been in focus in this book.

Men is a social category, similar to, but distinct from, males or adult males. After all, not all men are male(s). Men is also a social category invested with social power, even if that means that hierarchical societal relations produce some men as (far) less powerful and perhaps powerless. The social power of men is maintained both fratriarchally (lateral) and patriarchally (hierarchical), so that the worst-off men are likely to be least valued, and truly dispensable (Hearn 1987; Isola et al. 2019).

Masculinities – which, interestingly, is sometimes placed in inverted commas by the editors of the book – is much harder to define (Hearn 1996). It may refer to patterns of traits, configurations of practice (both individual and collective), identities, norms, psychologies and psychodynamics, sentiments, that are held to relate to being men or males, or are in turn . . . taken up in relation to femaleness, as in female masculinity (Halberstam 1998).

And what is a career? Careers are not just about work; they involve time and movement, or at least some reference to time and movement. For the concept of career to be useful, to 'work', it has to be more than just a shorthand for people's relations to and/or experience of work. It has to involve time, whether shorter or longer, and some kind of movement across time. That can be movement within one given organisation or occupation, or it can be between, across or out of organisations and occupations. This feature of the concept of career perhaps becomes clearer when we think of careers in non-work sites and arenas, as in therapy, in medical care, in addiction, in criminality, and so on. The therapeutic career, the medical career, the addict career, the criminal career are all about relative change – escalation, deepening, regression, reform, cure – in time.

Career, or at least work career, refers to some more or less regular pattern of work as it develops and changes over time, as in the 'pure career' already noted or the male classed 'ideal(-type) career':

> Not only does the Pure Career take place over a relatively long period of time, but that time is structured in a certain way. The career is made up of a series of relatively discrete occupations or jobs, each of a finite length, separated by decision points. Davidson and Anderson [1937: 367], in their pioneering work defined a worker's career pattern as ' . . . the number of occupations followed and the duration of each.' Becker [1952: 470] widened the definition to a ' . . . patterned series of adjustments made . . . to the network of institutions, formal organisations and informal relationships' of the work realm. Specifically, the Pure Career is a structuring of time in the past and in the future. It is concerned with justifications, explanations and certain knowledge in the past; and with expectation, anticipations and uncertainties in the future. Together these combine to form 'a satisfying, life-long straight-line career.'   (Hearn 1977: 276)

The pure career was characterised by the combination of individualism as ambition, context as emergence, and duality as either alienation or integration, as *the person becomes their career*, within either a negative alienating or a positive integrative narrative. This all sounds remarkably akin to neoliberal subjectivity. The pure career is also heavily embedded in the interconnections of class, gender and racialisation. Work career, as widely conceived, is certainly a gendered concept, and careers are clearly gendered – in everyday realities, dominant conceptualisations and academic studies of career – in their assumptions, practices, and above all change and outcomes, notably in status, position, pay and wealth. It is instructive to remember that the gender pensions gap is far larger than the gender pay gap in most countries ('Gender equality: EU action triggers steady progress' 2014).

Careers and Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities

Within Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities (CSMM) there is something of paradox in how the close connections of work, paid work, money, organisations, management, economy, and career with men and masculinities that have been assumed have meant that studies have often turned to "other" areas to describe, analyse and explain men and masculinities. These "other" areas of social life have included emotions, the body, sexuality, family, fatherhood, friendship, violence, sport. The former connections (around work and the rest) have been just too obvious (Hearn and Collinson 2014), too pressing, too

structural, too normative, too hegemonic to bother with – even with the broad base of much of CSMM in assumed gender and class domination.

This situation has at times created a strange lacuna, even in Critical Studies on Men and Masculinities, around the obvious connections of men, masculinities, and career(s). So, what does this mix now mean for career?

The secure linear male work career may be a partial and normative fiction, but it has worked for certain men, even if a privileged minority, for a long time – if not for the mass of men, and most women. The linear male career concerns what happens to some when their salaried work has been located within a relatively more stable professional or business field.

Yet what is interesting now is that taking career for granted becomes easier at a time when the male career seems to be less predictable. Disruption of career, even of a normative fiction, makes things more visible. The stable taken-for-granted is less studied, as with "naming men as men" (Hanmer 1990; Collinson and Hearn 1994). The focus on men, masculinities and careers becomes easier when they are becoming less clearly connected – for some!

The Collection

Now to turn more directly to the book – four main themes are highlighted: men, care and careers, with emphasis on self-care, 'caring' roles and occupations; male-dominated careers and work spaces; self-representations of the (in) competent; and theoretical and methodological perspectives on men, masculinities, and career(s).

I enjoyed reading the collection very much, so let us start with some observations on what seem to me to characterise some or even most of the contributions. First, the collection is broad-ranging, historically, geographically, and both disciplinarily and cross-disciplinarily, across the social sciences, especially sociology, and the humanities, especially history. The book thus engages with the cultural, the social, the material, and the discursive.

Second, most of the chapters are drawn towards a primary concern with masculinities and gender construction, and with men, women and gender construction, rather than basing their scholarship in academic traditions on work and career. It is perhaps worth noting that quite a few of the contributors seem to come from somewhere else than core studies of gender, work and careers, or structural labour market analysis.

A third theme is intersectionality which is alluded to or taken up in various ways in many parts of the book and dealt most explicitly and thoroughly in

Kadri Aavik's chapter on theoretical and methodological questions, including the issue of how to deal with unspoken, 'absent' social intersections.

Fourth, there are some novel approaches and focuses here, including innovation is methods, and chapters on careers in art (Gilad Reich) and sport (Hildo de Oliveira Filho), two frequently neglected fields of work, that are perhaps seen as 'lesser careers' compared to the mainstreams of business, management, the established professions and public sector occupations.

A fifth point concerns how the book tussles, in some fascinating ways, with some tensions both in lives lived and in analysis: between the enduring connections of men, masculinities, work and career, and yet the variations, diversities, contradictions, surprises, and exceptions – though perhaps some of those very contradictions, surprises and exceptions are what keep the enduring connections going.

And sixth, and linked to the previous point, there is an emphasis on nuance and what might called 'states of exception', away from the supposed norm of ideal-typical male-gendered (pure) career. There are many examples here, with chapters by Henry Hyvönen on care and self-care, Ingrid Biese on men opting out from mainstream careers, Cathy Leogrande on male teachers, Reich on careers in the art world, and Marta Choroszewicz on the use of emotions and 'soft skills' in law. These last two examples are especially complex, with in the first case the author pointing to the use of capitalist business methods in the world of Andy Warhol, even as it appears to flout respectability, and in the second case Choroszewicz showing how these soft skills can be recapitalised in the promotion of male legal careers. This latter chapter has some resonance with Joanna Efving Hwang's detailed analysis of embodied social practice, specifically around clothing, appearance, grooming and body weight in South Korea. Likewise, Efving Hwang's chapter makes a nice comparison with Hyvönen's in relation to self-care. These arguably feminised practices, if done 'successfully', seem to do no harm at all to, and may indeed even benefit, corporate careers. What is interesting here is the combination of (disembodied) competence and (embodied) appearance in the making of certain kinds of men and their careers.

The direction of these insights reminds me of several previous studies, for example: Suzanne Moore's 1988 essay on men "getting a bit of the Other"; Michael Roper's 1996 study of aesthetic and embodied emulation amongst academics; Tristan Bridges and C.J. Pascoe's (2014) work on reincorporation of the Other into the hegemonic. These insights also sit well, if in concrete practice more or less awkwardly, with Raewyn Connell's (1995) notion of authorisation. These all seem to feed into aspects of the flexible neoliberal subject (see, for example, Duggan 2004; Boutang 2011; Dardot and Laval 2014; McGuigan 2014),

and have resonance with the growing number of studies of men destined for the cultural sector (Goedecke 2018) and the service economy (Roberts 2018) or 'non-traditional' careers more broadly (Williams 1993), with associated changes in their gendered social capital, social position and experiences. Overall, the collection is drawn towards the nuanced and what might be called as a short-hand, if somewhat unsatisfactorily, 'the feminine' and 'the feminised'. This series of nuanced interpretations is, for me, the defining feature of the book.

Two significant exceptions to this last characterisation are Cassie DeFillipo's chapter on the Thai businessmen's use of commercial sex industry, and Tristan Bridges, Catherine J. Taylor and Sekani Robinson's overview chapter. While the former continues the detailed, qualitative, and in this case ethnographic, style of most of the book, also highlighting homosociality in a different way to some other chapters, the latter considers the broader connections between masculinity, work and career that reproduce gender inequality. Structural issues of gender seg-regation, the 'breadwinner' model, devaluation of femininity, and 'masculinity contest cultures' (Berdahl et al. 2018) in organisations are all examined, noting both consistent patterns and variation. These are important questions. Reading this chapter, as number 10 of 12, I started to wonder for a while if it might have been figured well as one of the early scene-setting chapters in the book, as it raises some important societal contextualising questions for gendered careers. On the other hand, the socio-economic conditions in the country that is its main focus, the USA, do not translate exactly to all 'Western' industrialised countries, not least Finland where the original conference was hosted, and so locating it in the end section on theoretical and methodological concerns enhances the broad inductive narrative of the book.

While, the collection ranges far and wide, inevitably there are still a num-ber of issues that it does not deal with so much. These might give some further indications for necessary future research on men, masculinities and careers.

First, most chapters are not strongly oriented to the world of large corpora-tions, and focus rather more on individuals and occupational groups, and espe-cially so in non-corporate settings. Having said that, Elfving-Hwang's chapter on investigation of Korean businessmen's grooming, already noted, connects with these practices with "the now dominant logic of the 'neoliberal' capitalist market promotes the formation of the self-interested, self-reliant 'desiring subject' in an increasingly privatised, consumerised, and hierarchised socioeconomic land-scape" (Hird 2016, 137). There are also some telling references to how in the cor-porate work environment some men at least are "locked in a long-term contest for advancement", with "a male worker's chief competitors [. . .] his male co-workers" (Janelli and Yim 2002, 123) In this mix, fratriarchy and patriarchy inter-mingle, along with individualism, homosociality, male, or men's, competition in

between, and indeed personal presentation and grooming. Appearance is thus not just representation.

Second, and partly linked to the previous point, most chapters are framed in national contexts, rather than attending to transnational careers (see Hearn et al. 2017). This is perhaps unfortunate, as one of the features of an increasing range of career sectors is their transnational character. This applies not only to business and academia, but also migratory careers in, say, the building, tourism and hospitality industries. A notable exception in that by Ulla Ijäs on the fascinating historical case of Friedrich Wilhelm Klingender (1781–c.1848), a German bookkeeper working in the North European timber trade with a rather unsuccessful career, accessible through his prolific diaries – an unusual find from someone in this career position. This chapter is also somewhat different to most of the others in not playing down the domestic, private, relations to women and children.

Third, and perhaps understandably, there is not so much on women's careers or how men's careers relate to, often depend on, and dominate, resist or impede women and women's careers.

Fourth, and perhaps more surprisingly, age and generation, both chronological and career-wise, are not given much prominence, even though careers are in many ways all about time and temporality (see Jyrkinen et al. 2017; Hearn and Husu 2019).

New, Changing and Future Careers

One further question that is prompted by this book is that of new, changing and future careers, and their impacts on and from different men and masculinities. Gendered careers are not fixed; new occupations arise, with, for example, new information and communication technologies, and crossovers and redefinitions occurring between occupations and professions. This latter process may well be gathering pace, with changes in the labour market, the 'gig economy', and the expansion of turker jobs (performed by a distributed workforce, with tasks done virtually anywhere in the world), uberisation, hybrid occupations, and composite skills (see, for example, Webster and Randle 2016; Kessler 2018). Such changes create more organisational and career uncertainty and challenges for many, women and men. These complexities make for highly variable, and at times flexible and changing – and thus also unpredictable over time – conditions for gendered careers, even while male domination continues, recoups and regroups.

Socio-technological-driven change operates at very different scales, from the fingertips, the embodied, personal and intimate at work to the transnational

and the global. At the latter levels, change involves remote globalising power, geographical and other surveillances, and the increasing power of technocratic masculinities, even with the rise of populism and populist political leadership. Transformations in the global economy continue, through new gendered tiers in the information hierarchy: ICT entrepreneurs, engineers, managers, service workers, through which the physical location of male power is reorganising, thus also reworking ethnic-racial male power (Poster 2013).

Key features are: job polarisation; the impact of ICTs on both high and low skill jobs (the Moravec paradox [1988]: contrary to some assumptions, high-level reasoning requires very little computation, while low-level sensorimotor skills require large computational resources); and the use of disembodied auto-mated algorithmic transactions in currency speculation, financial markets, and law. Even in the early 2010s it was reported that automated trades accounted for at least 70 percent of Wall Street stock market (O'Hara and Mason 2012; also see 'Masters of the universe . . . ' 2019). Outsourcing to different parts of the world is no longer only about cheaper factory production, streamlining ware-houses or call centres, but a host of further redistributions in the global/trans-national division of labour, including of high-skill work. These changes affect gendered careers and career masculinities/femininities in very, perhaps po-larised ways, by age, class, location, racialisation, and technological expertise and control. Aneesh (2006, 2009) terms these new power relations, algocracy. These questions have many and major implications for men, masculinities and gendered careers.

Further on still, we may be moving onto, or even now be in, a new phase of capitalism, sometimes referred to as surveillance capitalism (Zuboff 2019). In this, people using the digital services of, for example, Google, Facebook and sim-ilar business organisations, are not simply consumers, customers, workers with or without careers, or careerists; rather, they themselves willingly supply data for business in terms of their human experience as *raw material*, or more formally behavioural data, from which surveillance capitalists *extract value*. This data, supplied from consumption, work and careers, partly serves to refine digital products and services to be sold on the market, but more importantly consti-tutes raw material freely available as a "proprietary behavioral surplus" which when then fed into "machine intelligence" processes produces "behavioral prediction products" saleable in a new type of market: the "behavioral futures market" (Zuboff 2019, 8). In this changing economic and organisational scene, the very concept of career, and the data that careers generate for new market-ing, can become something else from what a career is now usually assumed to be. Career and career experiences are then sites for the making of data, and commodities for value-extraction on the global capitalist market.

And Finally . . .

. . . a word about the place of studying men, masculinities and careers in relation to the careers of those studying them, in this case, the contributors, including myself. As noted, my own academic career has been intimately bound up with both career and then CSMM itself. Studying and writing critically about men, masculinities and careers can itself be good, or no so good, for one's career, depending also on one's academic discipline, location, gender, political orientation, and so on. It might be seen, *by others,* as "not worthy of study", "a new perspective", "time to see gender is also about men", "moving gender away from women", and so on. These can lead onto its own rewards or punishments, in career and other terms. Studying gender and studying men and masculinities, when critical, are never neutral matters. They can be lauded, resisted and/or condemned, from totally opposite viewpoints, of colleagues, peers, managers, gatekeepers, and competitors and collaborators, in ways that go to make or break academic, research and related careers.

References

Aneesh, Aneesh. 2006. *Virtual Migration*. Durham: Duke University Press

Aneesh, Aneesh 2009 "Global Labor: Algocratic Modes of Organization." *Sociological Theory* 27(4): 347–370.

Becker, Howard S. 1952. "The Career of the Chicago Public Schoolteacher." *American Journal of Sociology* 57(5): 470–477.

Berdahl, Jennifer L., Marianne Cooper, Peter Glick, Robert W. Livingston, and Joan C. Williams. 2018. "Work as a Masculinity Contest." *Journal of Social Issues* 74(3): 422–448.

Boutang, Yann M. 2011. *Cognitive Capitalism*. London: Polity.

Bridges, Tristan, and C.J. Pascoe 2014. "Hybrid Masculinities: New Directions in the Sociology of Men and Masculinities." *Sociology Compass* 8(3): 246–258.

Collinson, David L., and Jeff Hearn. 1994. "Naming men as men: implications for work, organizations and management." *Gender, Work and Organization* 1(1): 2–22.

Connell, Raewyn. 1995. *Masculinities*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Dardot, Pierre, and Christian Laval. 2014. *The New Way of the World: On Neoliberal Society* trans. Gregory Elliott. London: Verso.

Davidson, Percy E., and H. Dewey Anderson. 1937. *Occupational Mobility in an American Community*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

Duggan, Lisa. 2004. *The Twilight of Equality?: Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics and the Attack on Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press.

"Gender equality: EU action triggers steady progress." 2014. Press release. Brussels: European Commission, 14 April. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-14-423_en.htm

Glaser, Barney G. ed. 1968. *Organisational Careers: A Sourcebook for Theory*. Chicago: Aldine.

Goedecke, Klara. 2018. "'Other Guys Don't Hang Out Like This': Gendered Friendship Politics among Swedish, Middle-Class Men." PhD. diss., Uppsala: Uppsala University.

Halberstam, Judith. 1998. *Female Masculinity*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Hanmer, Jalna. 1990. "Men, power and the exploitation of women." In *Men, Masculinities and Social Theory*, edited by Jeff Hear, and David Morgan, 21–42. London: Unwin Hyman/Routledge.

Hearn, Jeff. 1977. "Towards a Concept of Non-career." *Sociological Review* 25(2): 273–288.

Hearn, Jeff. 1980. "Anarchist Careers Rule, OK?." *Personnel Management* 12(8): 37–39.

Hearn, Jeff. 1981. "Crisis, taboos and careers guidance." *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling* 9(1): 12–23.

Hearn, Jeff. 1987. *The Gender of Oppression: Men, Masculinity and the Critique of Marxism*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Hearn, Jeff. 1996. "'Is masculinity dead?' A critical account of the concepts of masculinity and masculinities." In *Understanding Masculinities: Social Relations and Cultural Arenas*, edited by Mairtin Mac an Ghaill, 202–217. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Hearn, Jeff, and David L. Collinson. 2014. "Taking the obvious apart: Men, masculinities and the dynamics of gendered leadership." In *Gender in Organizations: Are Men Allies or Adversaries to Women's Career Advancement*?, edited by Ronald J. Burke, and Debra A. Major, 73–92. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Press.

Hearn, Jeff, Marjut Jyrkinen, Mira Karjalainen, Charlotta Niemistö, and Rebecca Piekkari. 2017. "Top Men in Transnational Companies: The Construction of Men, Masculinities, and Work-Family Intersections within 'Gender-Neutral' Contexts." In *Gender in Transnational Knowledge Companies*, edited by Helen Peterson, 99–118. Berlin: Springer.

Hearn, Jeff, and Liisa Husu. 2019. "Age-Gender Relations in the Academic Profession: Putting the Challenges of Entry and Early Career into Context." In *Gender, Age and Inequality in the Professions*, edited by Tracey L. Adams and Marta Choroszewicz, 193–212. London: Routledge.

Hird, Derek. 2016. "Making Class and Gender: White-collar Men in Postsocialist China." In *Changing Chinese Masculinities: From Imperial Pillars of State to Global Real Men*, edited by Kam Louie, 137–156. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Isola, Anna-Maria, Reetta Siukola, and Minna Kukkonen. 2019. "Gendered Experiences of Poverty and Recognition in the Finnish welfare state." *NORA: Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 27(3): 152–165.

Janelli Roger L., and Dawnhee Yim. 2002. "Gender Construction in the Offices of a South Korean Conglomerate" In *Under Construction: The Gendering of Modernity, Class and Consumption in the Republic of Korea*, edited by Laurel Kendall, 115–139. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Jyrkinen, Marjut, Charlotta Niemistö, and Jeff Hearn. 2017. "Career, Care and Time: Women Top Managers in the Intersections of Age, Gender and Work/Family." In *Ageing, Organizations and Management: Constructive Discourses and Critical Perspectives*, edited by Iiris Aaltio, Albert J. Mills, and Jean Helms Mills, 229–252. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kessler, Sarah. 2018. *Gigged: The End of the Job and the Future of Work*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

McGuigan, Jim. 2014. "The Neoliberal Self." *Culture Unbound* 6(1): 223–240.

'Masters of the universe: The rise of the financial machines.' 2019. *The Economist*, *5 October*. https://www.economist.com/leaders/2019/10/03/the-rise-of-the-financial-machines

Moravec, Hans. 1988. *Mind Children: The Future of Robot and Human Intelligence*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Moore, Suzanne. 1988. "Getting a Bit of the Other: The Pimps of Postmodernism." In *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*, edited by Rowena Chapman, and Jonathan Rutherford, 165–192. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

O'Hara, Dan, and Luke Robert Mason. 2012. "How bots are taking over the world." *The Guardian*, 30 March. http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/mar/30/how-bots-are-taking-over-the-world.

Osipow, Samuel H., and Louise F. Fitzgerald. 1973. *Theories of Career Development*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Poster, Winifred. 2013. "Subversions of techno-masculinity: Indian ICT professionals in the global economy." In *Rethinking Transnational Men: Beyond, Between and Within Nations*, edited by Jeff Hearn, Marina Blagojević, and Katherine Harrison, 113–133. New York: Routledge.

Roberts, Steven. 2018. *Young Working-Class Men in Transition*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Roper, Michael. 1996. "'Seduction and Succession': Circuits of Homosocial Desire in Management." In *Men as Managers, Managers as Men: Critical Perspectives on Men, Masculinities and Managements*, edited by David L. Collinson, and Jeff Hearn, 210–226. London: Sage Publications.

Sofer, Cyril. 1970. *Men in Mid-career: A Study of British Managers and Technical Specialists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Webster, Juliet, and Keith Randle, eds. 2016. *Virtual Workers and the Global Labour Market*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Williams, L. Christine. 1993. *Doing "Women's Work": Men in Nontraditional Occupations*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Zuboff, Shoshana. 2019. *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for the Future at the New Frontier of Power*. London: Profile.

Biographies

Kadri Aavik holds an MA in Gender Studies and a PhD in Sociology. She is Associate Professor at Tallinn University, Estonia and is currently working as a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Helsinki, Finland. She works in gender studies, critical studies on men and masculinities, critical animal studies, vegan studies and their intersections. She has studied inequalities in the labour market from an intersectional perspective, focusing on men, masculinities and intersectional privilege. She is using and developing qualitative methods, with a particular interest in narrative inquiry. Her current research focuses on understanding men's experiences of transitioning to veganism and living as vegans.

Josephine Hoegaerts is Associate Professor of European Studies at the University of Helsinki. Her research focuses on the embodied and gendered articulations of citizenship and middle-class propriety in nineteenth century Europe, including cultures of political representation and of medical research. She is the PI of CALLIOPE: Vocal Articulations of Parliamentary Identity and Empire (ERC StG 2017), and the author of *Masculinity and Nationhood, 1830–1910: Constructions of Identity and Citizenship in Belgium, Genders and Sexualities in History*, Palgrave-MacMillan (2014) and "Speaking like Intelligent Men: Vocal Articulations of Authority and Identity in the House of Commons in the Nineteenth Century", in *Radical History Review*, 121 (2015): 123–144.

Clarice Bland is a PhD student in History at University College Dublin. Her research focuses on nineteenth-century women and the intersection of class and cultural history. She completed her Master's in European and Nordic Studies at the University of Helsinki, where she researched working-class women and the Spiritualist movement in England.

Janne Salminen is a doctoral student at the University of Helsinki. He is currently writing his dissertation on the gender narratives of serialised blockbuster films. While most of his research revolves around gender, his other interests include diversity, popular culture, queer narratives, US politics, technology, and fandom. He is also an avid runner and a non-practicing vegan.

Henri Hyvönen is a doctoral candidate in Gender Studies at the University of Helsinki, Finland. He currently works in the Social and Economic Sustainability of Future Working Life (WeAll) Consortium funded by the Academy of Finland (Strategic Research Council). His research interests encompass theoretical and empirical examinations of men and masculinity, men's bodies, men's health, gender performances of men in working life, and media representations of men. At present, he is working on his doctoral dissertation on the norms and practices of men's work-related self-care in Finnish society. He is also a board member of The Finnish Association of Men's Studies.

Ingrid Biese is a postdoctoral researcher at the Swedish School of Social Science at the University of Helsinki. Her primary area of research is 'opting out' and sustainable working cultures and career models. Other areas of interest include globalisation, individualisation, identity and gender. She blogs about her research on theoptingoutblog.com

Cathy Leogrande is a Professor in the Teacher Education Department of the Purcell School of Professional Studies at Le Moyne College, a Jesuit college in Syracuse, New York. Her teaching and research focus on all aspects of preparing effective teachers by exploring issues of race, class, gender, and disability in order to better meet the needs of diverse student populations and changing curricular demands. Her previous publications include the power of story and media literacy to deconstruct inequity embedded in popular culture texts. She explores and examines all areas of new literacies, including digital texts, comics and graphic novels, fandoms, sports, young adult literature, film, videogames and more to provide K-12 teachers the creative skills to teach content to all students in inclusive classrooms.

Gilad Reich is an independent curator, writer and PhD candidate in the Department of Art History, Tel Aviv University. He holds a BA in History from Tel Aviv University and an MA in Cultural Analysis from Amsterdam University. His academic research explores 'The Refusal of Work' as a theoretical framework and practice in art since the 1960s. His curatorial projects are a critical exploration of notions of subjectivity and gender under precarity, examining new and un-hegemonic forms of life. He teaches art theory and curatorial practices in several institutes and writes regularly in catalogues and various cultural platforms. His projects have been exhibited at the Stedelijk Museum and de Appel (Amsterdam), Matadero Art Center (Madrid), Apexart (New York), The Center for Digital art, Artport and the Herzliya Museum of Art (Israel), among others.

Marta Choroszewicz is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Eastern Finland. Her research has broadly investigated social inequalities in the professions. She is currently working on a project titled 'Data-Driven Society in the Making', which focuses on the use of digital data and learning algorithms in healthcare and social services in Finland. In this project, Marta focuses on the data-driven welfare state, algorithmic decision-making, public-private partnership and the mechanism of inequalities related to technology development and deployment. Her work has been published in: *Human Relations*, *Sosiologia*, *International Journal of the Legal Profession*, *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal*, and *Professions and Professionalism*. She published, in collaboration with Tracey L Adams, an edited book titled, *Gender, Age and Inequality in the Professions* (Routledge 2019).

José Hildo de Oliveira Filho studied Social Sciences at UFAM (Federal University of Amazonas) between 2006 and 2012. During his undergraduate studies, he undertook mobility periods at the University of Porto (UP), Portugal, as an Erasmus Mundus scholarship holder (2009–2010) and at UFRN (Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte), in 2011, through a Brazilian Mobility Programme (PROMES). With the support of the Swedish Institute Scholarships he became a Master's student at Lund University (2013–2016). During his Master's studies, he benefitted from an exchange period at Utrecht University. He is currently a PhD candidate in Sociology at the Faculty of Social Sciences – Charles University in Prague (CUNI). His current project focuses on under-researched aspects of sports migration in Central and Eastern Europe and aims at increasing understanding of macro and micro social processes enmeshed in Brazilian footballers and futsal players movement to the Central and Eastern European regions. He is currently a CAPES scholarship holder.

Joanna Elfving-Hwang (PhD, The University of Sheffield, UK) is an Associate Professor of Korean Studies at the University of Western Australia, Perth. Her work focuses on Korean beauty cultures, ageing, gender, and popular culture in South Korea. Her recent publications include 'K-pop Idols, Artificial Beauty and Affective Fan Relationships in South Korea', in *Handbook of Celebrity Studies*, ed. Anthony Elliot (2018), 'Media, Cosmetic Surgery and Aspirational Beauty Aesthetics of the Ageing Body in South Korea' in *Asian Studies Review* (2020), and 'Man Made Beautiful: Social Meanings Attached to Everyday Grooming and Beauty Practices by Middle Aged South Korean Men', in *Men and Masculinities* (2020). She is currently completing on a monograph tentatively titled *Beauty, the Body and Cosmetic Surgery in Korea*.

Cassie DeFillipo recently completed her PhD in the School of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Melbourne. Her research analyses men's constructions of manhood through sexual decision-making within the backdrop of Northern Thailand. She has a Master's degree in International Development from Clark University, where she conducted a gendered analysis of militarised cattle camp communities in South Sudan. She has a wide range of experiences working in the development sector, specifically in the fields of education, migration, human rights, peace, and gender, in a number of settings, including India, Haiti, Ghana, and Switzerland.

Ulla Ijäs (Dr. Phil.) is Docent of Finnish history and a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Turku. Currently, she is working in the project 'Agents of Enlightenment. Changing the Minds in Eighteenth-Century Northern Europe'. Her research interests are urban elites, material culture, gender history and economic and social history prior to the Industrial Revolution. In her latest research articles, she has focused on the urban elite family strategies in 'German families and their family strategies. Marriage and education in the eighteenth- and the nineteenth-century provincial towns in the northern Baltic'; in Ulla Aatsinki, Johanna Annola and Mervi Kaarninen (eds.), *Families, Values, and the Transfer of Knowledge in Northern Societies, 1500–2000* (Routledge 2018) and female entrepreneurship in 'Marie Hackman – The female manager in the family firm Hackman & Co'; in Jarna Heinonen and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen (eds.). *Women in Business Families: From Past to Present, Gender in Business Families* (Routledge 2018).

Tristan Bridges is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, USA. His research is primarily concerned with contemporary transformations in masculinity and gender and sexual inequality. He co-theorised "hybrid masculinities" as a framework for helping assess the meanings associated with transformations in contemporary performances of masculinities. Tristan has studied bodybuilders, fathers' rights activists, a group of bar regulars, US couples with "man caves" in their homes and is also interested in demographic shifts in gender and sexual identifications and fluidity. He also co-edits the international, interdisciplinary journal, *Men and Masculinities*. Tristan teaches on theories of gender, sexuality, and change and lives in Goleta, California with his family.

Catherine J. Taylor is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Her main research and teaching areas are gender, work and occupations, social psychology, health, and methods. Before joining the faculty at UCSB, Professor Taylor earned her PhD in Sociology at Cornell University, was a Robert Wood Johnson Health & Society

Scholar at Columbia University, and was a faculty member at Indiana University. Her work has been published in leading sociological and interdisciplinary journals including *American Journal of Sociology*, *Social Science & Medicine*, and *Gender & Society*. She also delivers training and talks to help organisations increase their diversity in hiring and retention.

Sekani Robinson is a PhD graduate student of Sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara, USA. Her research interests involve race, class, gender, work, culture and embodiment. Her current research addresses how Black women perform emotional, aesthetic, and racialised labor within major ballet companies. Her thesis was awarded the Barbara Brown Paper Award for the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport. Sekani currently works with a non-profit organisation called 'Brown Girls Do Ballet' and also works for America Ballet Theatre's summer intensive in Orange County, California. Sekani also mentors' young ballet dancers and college students and lives in Los Angeles, California.

Jeff Hearn is Senior Professor in Gender Studies at Örebro University, Sweden; Professor of Sociology, University of Huddersfield, UK; Professor Emeritus, Hanken School of Economics, Finland; Professor Extraordinarius, University of South Africa, and an honorary doctor in Social Sciences, Lund University, Sweden. He became interested in problematising the concept of career in the mid-1970s. Recent books include *Men of the World*, (2015 Sage); *Men's Stories for a Change*, co-author, (Common Ground 2016); *Revenge Pornography*, with Matthew Hall, (Routledge 2017); *Engaging Youth in Activism, Research and Pedagogical Praxis*, co-editor, (Routledge 2018); *Unsustainable Institutions of Men*, co-editor, (Routledge 2019). He is currently completing the book *'Age' at 'Work',* with Wendy Parkin, for Sage.

Index