Kadri Aavik, Josephine Hoegaerts, Janne Salminen

Introduction: Why Men, Masculinities and Career(s)?

Glass ceilings, the gender pay gap, leaky pipelines, old boy networks, calls for women to lean in – the seemingly never-ending deluge of reports of workplace inequalities and sexual harassment suggests that men's homosocial networks are alive and well and an enduring norm in twenty-first century work cultures. Recent critical representations and examinations of the workplace leave little doubt about the fact that stale gender norms and conventions still prevail. After the #MeToo movement rocked Hollywood and the (Western) world, critical voices against harassment of women in the workplace spread globally (most notably perhaps Bollywood and the Indian media industry). Similarly, the #KuToo movement (after *kutsu*, and *kutsū*, denoting shoes and pain respectively) made waves in the Japanese media, drawing attention to the sartorial restrictions placed on women's presence in the workplace.

Despite increasing numbers of women entering the global workforce since the 1980s, the most lucrative careers, especially in the private sector, still primarily seem to be more easily accessible to men (Moghadam 1999). Scholars have pointed towards intrinsically gendered practices and power-imbalances as characteristics of many modern workplaces for decades. A more analytical approach to men's and women's 'place' in the context of work is (re)gaining momentum outside research circles as well. While noting that workplaces and organisations remain largely implicitly masculine is politically pertinent, it does little to elucidate how masculinity and careers are linked, how workers do masculinity and how masculinity does cultural work for the reproduction and/or contestation of (post)industrialism, capitalism and neoliberalism.

This book focuses on the multiple and diverse masculinities 'at work' in the processes of professionalisation and career management that typify modern working life. Spanning both historical approaches to the rise of 'profession' as a marker of masculinity, and critical approaches to the current structures of management, employment, and workplace hierarchies, we set out to question what role men and masculinities play in cultural understandings, affective experiences, and media-tised representations of a professional 'career'. The collection contributes to understanding a range of men's practices and masculinities associated with work and careers as well as the diversity of social, cultural, and professional contexts in which they take shape.

Understandings of the modern workplace, jobs and careers have been based on an ‘industrial’ separation of spheres relegating women to the hearth while leaving men the freedom to move between the domestic and public (Tosh 1999) and on gendered narratives of entrepreneurship and social climbing mired in aggression (Tjeder 2002). They have therefore been culturally, discursively and indeed legally coded as masculine and have included an implicit masculine embodiment of ‘work’ (McGinley 2016; Acker 1990). Whilst careers and work remain strongly linked to masculinity, this connection is no longer considered to be absolute and has recently been challenged in critical research, media and by everyday practice.

This book aims to contribute to critical scholarly approaches to gender and work, by focusing on men and masculinities in the context of career(s). The book gathers different disciplinary and theoretical perspectives, and draws from diverse social, cultural, historical and geographical settings, demonstrating that men’s practices and masculinities are not only intrinsically heterogeneous and subject to change, but that gendered careers are equally diverse and defined by their context as well. Indeed, careers unfold in settings that we sometimes do not consider workplaces in a typical sense – such as in sports or arts. Such careers are also examined in this book.

As contributors hail from different disciplines within the social sciences and humanities, their vocabularies and perspectives in approaching men, masculinities and careers are somewhat divergent by necessity – they often echo the particular geographical, cultural or historical contexts studied, as well as disciplinary conventions and methodological approaches. However, in all disciplines represented in this book (from art history and anthropology to the study of education and sports, to history and sociology) the critical study of men and masculinities has become a legitimate and (somewhat) established field of research. The authors therefore draw on a largely shared analytical toolbox through which masculinities are understood as performative as well as discursively constructed; analysed as multiple political, affective and embodied practices rather than as a unified ‘norm’; and as changeable and fluid articulations of self rather than as a rigid category of identity. Juxtaposing contemporary and historical contexts as well as different geopolitical ones is particularly helpful in demonstrating this fluidity and heterogeneity, as it explicitly confronts us with instances of substantial difference and change.

In many ways, the current volume presents an attempt to continue a conversation that started quite modestly in 2018, as an exchange of ideas between three scholars of men and masculinities working in gender studies and sociology (Kadri Aavik), media studies (Janne Salminen), and history (Josephine Hoegaerts). This exchange expanded, first, into a workshop at the University of Helsinki in 2018 – facilitating discussions across different geo-political contexts, disciplines as well

as across different types of workspaces and careers. One of the results of this workshop, and one we hope to share through this book, was the realisation that truly comparative, collaborative and critical work (drawing on either more than one discipline, or covering several cultural contexts) on men and masculinities would require a much more sustained effort to listen and read beyond one's own specialisation. Despite the aforementioned shared analytical toolbox, it has become increasingly difficult to remain aware of the state of the art of the study of men and masculinities in more than one (sub)discipline. Consequently, the final section of this book presents three more synthetic overviews of the work that has been done on men, masculinities and career(s)/work, and the methodological frameworks available to sociologists and historians, in particular, in order to facilitate entry into 'different' disciplinary approaches to the field. Apart from showing to what extent sociological, anthropological and historical approaches to the study of men and masculinities have started to diverge since the 1990s, these and other chapters in the book also show, we believe, how necessary a continued conversation between the study of different contemporary and historical masculinities is to fully account for the changeable, culturally dependent, and constructed nature of gendered embodiments of the modern career. This is perhaps most noticeable when juxtaposing chapters analysing different cultural contexts – men's practices of taking care of one's self in a professional context differ greatly between the Nordics and Korea, for example. It also emerges from the different ways in which the industrial revolution – itself a thoroughly 'Western' anchor point for modernity and the modern workplace – is accounted for in numerous chapters, or from the divergent trajectory the 'separate spheres' model has taken in sociology and history.

Whilst critical studies of men and masculinities has become an established field of inquiry (as demonstrated in the more reflective or theoretical contributions in the last section of this book), the study of modern careers and their gendered trajectories cannot be quite so clearly delineated as a field. The chapters in this volume are therefore breaking new ground by elucidating the connection between various iterations of the modern 'man' and those of what we can consider as the modern career.

One of the starting points of compiling this volume was the observation that whilst there already exists an extensive body of literature on men, masculinities and work, including from critical perspectives, much less has been written explicitly about career(s) in this context. It is even more rare to encounter scholarship (from critical perspectives) on careers focusing specifically on men ("naming them as men", Hearn 2004, 50) and masculinities. Yet, it is important to distinguish what is specific about the idea of career and how this relates to

modern men and masculinities. Teasing out these specificities and drawing these connections helps us to better understand and contest gender and other intersecting inequalities that emerge in this context.

Men, Masculinities and Career(s): Some Conceptual Insights

The notion of ‘career’ draws attention to specific aspects of people’s relationship to work and their participation in workplaces and spaces. When talking about career(s), we typically refer to a sequence of jobs or work spanning over a long time, perhaps even a lifetime. Careers thus “involve time and movement” – “movement within one given organisation or occupation, or it can be between and across different organisations and occupations” over time (Hearn 2020, 262). Yet, as Jeff Hearn points out in his Afterword to this volume, careers are not necessarily always only about work – they may unfold in domains not typically associated with work, such as criminality or therapy (Hearn 2020, 262). While this volume primarily deals with careers more commonly associated with work, it also pays some attention to activities in social settings that are usually not perceived as work, thereby highlighting the fluidity of the category of ‘work’ itself, demonstrating that what is recognised as profession or leisure has changed over time, and is dependent on cultural context.

Often implicit in the idea of career is its association with certain elite and middle-class occupations or pursuits. Professions that are now understood as accommodating careers largely grew out of what used to be leisurely pursuits for the wealthy (careers in academic research are a clear example of the professionalisation of what used to be a gentlemanly hobby). Working-class jobs are not typically talked about through this notion. (Neither do upper-class lives tally with the notion of the career ladder, which implies having to start somewhere on its lower rungs). In this sense, ‘career’ is a rather exclusive concept that carries some tacit assumptions about class.

Similarly, the idea of career also links to men and masculinities in explicit as well as in more implicit ways. Just as the notion of work is gendered, as demonstrated by feminist scholars on work and organisations (see Acker 1990), the concept of career also contains tacit assumptions and outcomes regarding gender, as well as race and class (Hearn 2020, 263).

One way in which this becomes evident is to consider what constitutes a career and where careers unfold. What we consider a career typically takes place in the public sphere – a social arena which has historically been and

continues to be associated with men's practices and masculine values and norms. Many activities that people perform in the public sphere can be conceptualised as elements of and contributions to their careers. Because of men's traditionally greater access to and involvement in the public sphere, their activities in this arena are often regarded as part of their careers and as such help them to maintain and increase their social and political power. In contrast, care work, reproductive labour and many other undertakings pursued in the domestic arena, recognised as essential forms of work by feminist scholars and still typically associated with and performed by women, are not usually thought of in the framework of career.

Another key way in which the concept of career relates to men and masculinities is through its strong connotations with progression and upward mobility. A career assumes or could even be equated with a movement towards (more) success in the context of work. This may manifest itself in a gradual increase in income and/or status. Unsurprisingly, the idea of the career arose in the nineteenth century along with a socially mobile middle class who – in a newly democratised world – managed to accumulate enough money to be able to purchase, rather than having to perform, labour. Founding and expanding one's own business, in the industrial age, would increasingly become the kind of long-term project many could aspire to (even if few would have access to its realities). Like 'self-help' (Smiles 1859), the image of the self-made man was connected to ideas of economic 'growth' as well as personal progress – thus allowing middle-class men to imagine their lives as intimately connected to their work, and to imagine both as a linear progression of 'steps' toward a higher goal. As industrial companies expanded, and public institutions gained importance, this image of the accumulation of success (rather than the performance of labour) would come to be associated with 'masculinity' particularly for the growing class of clerical workers (Creese 2014). The expansion of the availability of careers is reflected even in the use of the word 'career' itself, which used to denote one's path through life in a general sense. Only modern individuals – for whom work- and life-goals have become deeply interwoven – think of careers as a matter of 'work', or indeed as a matter of competition. It is no coincidence, perhaps, that the image of career progression bears little resemblance to what working meant to the large majority of people for most of history (cyclical farm labour, repetitive domestic work, seasonal occupations), but seems to mimic the military model of 'progression' towards leadership for the happy few. Leading other men into battle, incidentally, is another example of a gentlemanly pursuit that was professionalised relatively recently.

Crucially, successful careers offer cumulative advantages to those who pursue them. The impact of this cumulative success is not only confined to the labour market but also reaches to other spheres of life and affects one's quality of life in older age. These insights are relevant especially in the context of

men, masculinities and social inequalities. Numerous studies have demonstrated that work and careers in sectors dominated by men are more financially rewarding (for an overview, see Reskin and Bielby 2005) in contrast to those performed by women. Compared to women, men's career progress is faster, as they are promoted more quickly (Budig 2001; Pergamit and Veum 1999), particularly in sectors and organisations overwhelmingly populated by women – known as the 'glass escalator' effect (Williams 1992). These inequalities persist and are even exacerbated in the era of neoliberalisation where the broader social context in which work is performed and careers unfold, is changing profoundly. The neoliberal ideology is restructuring jobs, workplaces and careers (see, for example, Williams 2013; Moore and Robinson 2016; Crowley and Hodson 2014) and we are witnessing the emergence of new forms of work and jobs. In this context, the idea of career also assumes new meanings. Yet inequality remains a central element in the agenda of neoliberalisation (Connell 2013; Lazzarato 2009). These new developments, such as the introduction of more 'flexibility' to jobs and careers, which more often than not disguises increasingly precarious work, benefit first and foremost those who are already privileged – such as white middle- and upper-class Western men.

Additionally, success in the arena of work has been and still is an important source of self-validation for most men. Indeed, participation in paid work continues to be a key part of hegemonic masculinity and is often taken for granted. Failure to pursue a career or to progress on a career path can imply failure in doing masculinity, including for men themselves. For example, if a man's primary activities in life are confined to the private sphere and cannot, according to conventional understandings, be seen as progression towards more 'success' (in terms of prestige, income etc.) in the public arena, this can have serious adverse impact on his (sense of) masculinity. Because such judgements stem from traditional meanings associated with the categories of 'man' and 'career' and their intersections, it makes sense to approach these notions critically.

In contemporary feminist scholarship as well as in critical studies of men and masculinities, most scholars agree that in order to understand gender it is insufficient to focus solely on this category as people's experiences and identities are simultaneously shaped by and constituted through other social divisions. Thus, intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989) – the idea that categories such as gender, race, class interact "in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies" and that these interactions have consequences in terms of power (Davis 2008, 68) – has become a central paradigm to understand gender and gender relations in contemporary feminist research. In the context of work and careers, this has for example meant applying intersectionality as an analytical framework to understand phenomena such as

inequality regimes in organisations (Acker 2006) and the glass escalator (Williams 2013), allowing a more complex analysis of these. This suggests that to understand men, masculinities and careers in more nuanced ways it is necessary to consider how gender intersects with other relevant social categories. Several chapters in this book align with this idea and consider how gender intersects with other social divisions, such as race/ethnicity, sexuality, class and religion, in the context of men's careers.

These insights suggest that gender-based and other inequalities in contemporary societies are linked to men, masculinities and careers in important ways. This volume seeks to challenge some implicit assumptions that we hold about men and masculinities in the context of careers. Authors in this collection conceptualise 'career' and its relationship to men and masculinities in diverse ways, stemming from their own disciplinary backgrounds and the particular (social, cultural and geopolitical) context of their research. In addition, the chapters offer a variety of theories regarding the relationship of career(s) to work. Altogether, it is our hope that these contributions enrich and further our empirical and theoretical knowledge on men, masculinities and career(s).

This Volume: Overview

The collection is divided into four sections.

I Men, Care and Careers: Self-care, 'Caring' Roles and Occupations

The first section of the book addresses how men negotiate the clash of career expectations with everyday experiences of working life in Finland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The authors explore how men negotiate their career aspirations with other aspects of their lives, and how career norms for men can negate father-friendly policies. The section features men who abandon careers in favour of family and other pursuits, thereby challenging traditional narratives of work-centred masculinities.

In his empirical study, Henri Hyvönen examines how work-related self-care connects to the changing expectations of Finnish working life. In exploring how and why men practice self-care in the context of careers and work, Hyvönen teases out a recurrent theme of men not seeing career as a means of self-actualisation, but rather as a duty. Within this context, men practice self-care

with the aim of achieving personal wellbeing. Hyvönen demonstrates how they maintained a critical stance towards prevalent discourses of work-related self-care which encourage self-care as a means of enhancing work performance.

Ingrid Biese's chapter goes further than reconceptualising the link between men and career(s) by disrupting it altogether – she examines men who abandon careers in favour of nurturing relationships with loved ones. Drawing from interviews conducted in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Finland, Biese suggests that mainstream career models are outdated in describing desired careers or the lives of professionals and their career patterns. Biese's chapter outlines how disenchantment with corporate ideals and expectations have led men to seek a sense of coherence and authenticity from opting out of work life and focusing on relationships with their loved ones.

The next chapter zooms in on a 'feminised' field of work, and the incongruity of men's career paths within it. In "Those Who Can't, Teach: Representations and Challenges of Male Teachers" Cathy Leogrande argues that as late as immediately after the Second World War, schools in the United States were increasingly staffed by men, especially in science and mathematics. However, today male teachers are clearly in the minority and teaching is largely not considered a viable career path for men. Leogrande suggests that representations of teachers in popular culture, particularly television and film, have a central role in how male teachers and their career choices are perceived, either supporting or challenging the idea of teaching as a 'lesser' career path for men.

II Male-dominated Careers and Work Spaces

In this section, creative spaces in the 1960s, law offices, and football fields in the 2010s are examined as sites where men's careers unfold, while also observing ongoing changes that are taking place in these contexts. The chapters in this section not only show how constructions of masculinity and career can be closely intertwined, but also demonstrate the diversity of both masculinities and careers by focusing on these particular contexts – which each have their own cultures and politics of gender and work.

One might be prone to think that an enormously influential artist such as Andy Warhol might be thoroughly dissected by now, but Gilad Reich examines Warhol's performance as a professional artist as a mode of specific artistic masculinity and in doing so finds a new avenue in understanding the cultural significance of Warhol. Reich notes that this mode was in contrast to the previous model of hegemonic artistic masculinity, such as the macho masculinity of

Jackson Pollock, as Warhol adopted a softer more managerial attitude towards his art and community that was organised around his ‘Factory’ during the formative years of his career in the mid-1960s.

Marta Choroszewicz shifts our attention from the managerial strategies of artists to the soft skills of lawyers in Quebec and Finland. She provides compelling evidence of how masculine ideals are reproduced through network-based and gendered soft skills such as care orientation and the ability to manage emotions, which then reflect on career progressions within the field of private law. Powerful older men mediate skills seen as necessary for career advancements. As they hold traditional views on family and gender, this then reflects negatively on the careers of women. Choroszewicz notes that this reinforces gender-imbalance in a mentor-driven work ecosystem, which is already male-dominated. Her findings illuminate an under-researched aspect of the emotional aspects of professional identities and careers.

In “Athletic Migrant Religiosities and the Making of ‘Respectable Men’”, José Hildo De Oliveira Filho examines men and masculinities at the intersection of sports and religion, drawing on interviews with professional athletes: Brazilian football and futsal players who have migrated to the Czech Republic, Russia, Israel, Lebanon, and Austria. The athletes actively use religious symbolism to justify their physically demanding, and occasionally damaging, sports careers. Filho detects emerging narratives of sacrifice and a striving need for respectability within this group of highly skilled migrant labourers.

III Self-representations of the (In)competent Working Man

Performing a type of masculinity that conforms to the expectations of the surrounding business culture is not only a matter of looks but also a question of how a narrative of self is constructed to align with the requirements of a proper businessman (emphasis on *man*). Preferred modes of masculinity are maintained through homosocial gazes and grooming, while workplace bonding can occasionally happen through shared sexual experiences. The third section of the book focuses on these themes in Finland in the nineteenth century, and in modern Seoul and Northern Thailand.

Drawing on interviews with 15 men located in the metropolitan area of Seoul, Joanna Elfving-Hwang examines what kind of a role grooming and self-presentation play when performing competence and organisational power within a workplace environment. One of the key themes is how the interviewees reflect upon their dress codes and how that is linked to performing heterosexual masculinity. Elfving-Hwang discovers the workplace as a site in which masculine bodies are produced

for the homosocial gaze and how the men self-police themselves through internalised ideologies of competency and power. Narratives of self-made businessmen have often centred on their successes and have organised around masculinities that border on the heroic.

Ulla Ijäs offers a different take on the masculinity of a businessman in a close reading of Friedrich Wilhelm Klingender's memoirs from the 1830s. Klingender, a German bookkeeper stationed in Finland and employed in the global timber industry was unable to be socially upwardly mobile, thus failing to 'make it like a man'. Ijäs examines the bitter stories of Klingender and contemplates if these life stories can be seen as career narratives and how these narratives contain intersecting layers of power and overlapping inequalities.

In Northern Thailand, visiting prostitutes with male peers has historically been a workgroup bonding technique and is considered to be an unremarkable aspect of male professional careers. Cassie DeFilippo draws on ethnographic fieldwork to parse out the way frequenting sex-workers is part of negotiating workplace masculinities and men's careers and how this practice impacts male and female workers. DeFilippo notes that maintaining this 'tradition' also perpetuates glass ceilings for women and generates homosocial environments in which objectification of women is considered to be the norm.

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

The final section of this book engages with some theoretically and methodologically relevant issues in studying men and masculinities in the context of career(s) from critical perspectives.

Tristan Bridges, Catherine Taylor and Sekani Robinson offer conceptual insights into the connections between men, masculinities and careers and how this relationship links with gender inequality in contemporary societies. The authors highlight four culturally and historically persistent ways in which masculinity, work and careers are tied: occupational sex segregation, the 'breadwinner' ideal, cultural devaluation of femininity and 'masculinity contest cultures' at work. They argue that these four dimensions help explain the persistence of gender inequality.

In her chapter titled "Studying Privileged Men's Career Narratives from an Intersectional Perspective: The Methodological Challenge of the Invisibility of Privilege", Kadri Aavik discusses a particular methodological difficulty, based on her previous empirical work, in studying men's career narratives – the invisibility of privilege in these accounts. In this context, she outlines some limitations of an

intersectional narrative approach to studying the career paths and lives of the privileged and proposes some potential ways to tackle this problem.

Josephine Hoegaerts, finally, examines the different ways in which historical research has engaged with the critical study of men and masculinities, and suggests some avenues to think through the connections between the rise of ‘modern’ masculinity and the rise of professionalisation and the ‘modern’ career in the long nineteenth century. Whilst such a historical vantage point shows that the past is indeed ‘a foreign country’ in which contemporary categories cannot be taken for granted, it also draws attention to the multiple ways in which current understandings of masculinity, work and their seemingly intrinsic connection are the result of long-term processes of cultural, political and social change, and thus embedded in the past.

Afterword

In his afterword, Jeff Hearn, drawing on his own long-time critical engagement with questions of men, masculinities, work and career(s), particularly in the context of management, offers theoretical insights into the key concepts of this book: men, masculinities and careers. He provides a useful overview of how critical studies of men and masculinities have engaged with the notion of career, and outlines some key ways in which career(s) relate to work. Hearn then comments on the chapters in this volume, outlining its strengths as well as drawing attention to some limitations of the collection. He ends by raising some intriguing questions about what careers might look like in the future, and the gendered implications of these potential developments, particularly for men and masculinities.

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