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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 in 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 be 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 re-capitalised in the promotion of male legal careers. This latter chapter has some resonance with Joanna Efvig Hwang's detailed analysis of embodied social practice, specifically around clothing, appearance, grooming and body weight in South Korea. Likewise, Efvig 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 shorthand, 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 segregation, 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 number 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 corporations, and focus rather more on individuals and occupational groups, and especially 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 landscape" (Hird 2016, 137). There are also some telling references to how in the corporate 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, fraternity and patriarchy intermingle, 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 automated 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 warehouses or call centres, but a host of further redistributions in the global/transnational division of labour, including of high-skill work. These changes affect gendered careers and career masculinities/femininities in very, perhaps polarised 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 similar 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 constitutes 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 marketing, 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.

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