'Making it Like a Man': men, masculinities and the modern career
University of Helsinki, 25-26 October 2018

ABSTRACTS

Bairoh, Susannah (Hanken School of Economics)

Only Men Can Advance Careers in Engineering? Experiences and observations of discrimination by men and women working in technology in Finland

The woeful underrepresentation of women in engineering and technology has been debated and researched extensively in the past decades (see e.g. Kanny, Sax & Riggers-Piehl, 2014; Beddoes & Borrego, 2011; Blickenstaff, 2005). The mainstream literature mostly draws on liberal feminist conceptualizations of gender with given categories of women and men, masking similarities between as well as differences among women and men (Barnard et al. 2010) and reinforcing essentialist notions of gender (e.g. Phipps 2007). Moreover, mainstream literature often overlooks the masculine hegemony of institutions and workplaces (Page, Bailey, and Van Delinder, 2009).   Although prior research has identified how men and women do gender in engineering workplaces (e.g. Powell, Bagilhole & Dainty, 2009; Faulkner, 2007) and certain coping mechanisms women engineers deploy to belong in engineering (Hatmaker, 2013; Powell & al. 2009), surprisingly little is known about experiences or observations of discrimination in engineering/technology workplaces. A recent survey by TEK (Academic Engineers & Architects in Finland) revealed that 35 % of women and 14 % of men (n=854) have observed discrimination or unfair treatment related to career advancement in their workplaces during the past year (TEK, 2017). In this paper, I will describe and analyse these results in detail and discuss their implications for improving equality in career advancement in engineering/technology workplaces.

Balan, Claudia-Livia (Rhine-Waal University of Applied Sciences)

'Active fatherhood', the norm of the ideal worker, and institutional change

In light of changing societal attitudes towards 'active fatherhood' (Brandth/Kvande, 2017; Goldscheider et al., 2010; Maume, 2016) and the growing demand for a better work-life balance (Ruthus, 2014), work-organizations increasingly advertise with reconciliation measures for future and current employees. These measures are designed at promoting a family-friendly image of the institution and aim primarily at attracting and retaining high-skilled employees in today`s very competitive market. Recent studies, however, suggest that although aimed at both male and female employees, a mismatch exists between formally available reconciliation provisions and the daily organizational practice of male employees. This mismatch, called 'the reconciliation paradox' (Alemann, 2017) is often explained by referencing the neo-institutionalism theory, which depicts the merely symbolic nature of family-friendly programs due to a 'decoupling' process (Brunnson, 1989) a separation between 'talk' and 'action' at the company level (Meyer/Rowan, 1992). Family friendly programmes are indeed accessible to men but are not used due to informal expectations stemming from the profoundly masculinized ' ideal worker' norm (Williams, 2001). This presentation discusses the role of newly institutionalized actors in the field of father-friendly work environment in challenging the existing norms of 'gendered organization' (Acker, 1992) and strengthening men's 'sense of entitlement' (Lewis and Smithson, 2001) to more childcare time. Two groups of actors are discussed in terms of objectives, position in the field and instruments of action for acquiring more legitimacy of family-engaged fathers within work-organisations: on the one side 'fathers' representatives' ('Väterbeauftragte') as institutional actors within work organizations and on the one side 'personnel consultancy agencies in matters of father-friendliness' and 'fathers initiatives'

as actors closely collaborating with companies. Furthermore, drawing back on the concept of 'institutional work' (Lawrence/Suddaby, 2013) the question of institutional change will be discussed.

Biese, Ingrid (Hanken School of Economics)

Men Opting Out

Opting out of successful careers has been a highly debated topic ever since Lisa Belkin published her article 'The Opt-Out Revolution'. However, men have not been included in the debate, nor has it captured societal aspects, as it has focused solely on women who leave to care for children. The definition of opting out is thus broadened to include opting in to new lifestyles or solutions for work. Mainstream career models no longer accurately describe preferred or actual career patterns and progressions. In addition, although prevalent career models are based on masculinist norms, they do not leave much room for diversity among men. As social masculine norms are subject to historical development and change, the opting out phenomenon may be a result, or even one of the drivers, of that change. However, despite gender equality policies and initiatives to create more gender equal working environments, traditional gender roles prevail making it more difficult for men to opt out than it is for women. Using a free association-narrative approach that provides insights into the workings of identity, this paper critically examines the narratives of 30 men from Finland, the UK and the US who have left high-powered careers to adopt new lifestyles and solutions for work. These men typically felt disenchanted with the masculinist norms and expectations associated with their managerial positions. Opting out allowed them to create solutions for work that provided a sense of coherence and authenticity, which, in turn, had a positive effect on their wellbeing.

Blackie, Daniel (University of Oulu)

"A hard fight to live": disability and career in the life of Edward Rymer (1835-1915).

This presentation examines the life and career of English mineworker and trade unionist, Edward Rymer. A self-described 'cripple' and 'lad half blind', Rymer worked in coalmining for most of his life, but his significant physical impairments meant he struggled to make a decent living in the industry. Drawn to Rymer's well-documented experiences, labour historians have tended to concentrate more on his trade union activism than his work in the mines. And it is to this aspect of his life that the label 'career' has most often been attached. Rymer's persistent and passionate efforts in the cause of unionism, however, are seldom viewed from a disability and gender perspective. This presentation adopts such an approach to reveal new insights into what motivated Rymer's ardent exertions on behalf of the unions for which he worked. In doing so, the presentation seeks to suggest how a disability and gender lens might enrich historical scholarship on working-class careers by illuminating the multiple meanings of 'career for 'disabled' male workers like Rymer.

Bolton, Rachael (University of Sydney)

Money maketh the man and other masculinity myths

 Adam* is in his late 20s. He believes his job and financial independence make him more of an adult and inherently more attractive to women. Phil* is 48-years-old. His ability to provide for his family is very important to his sense of accomplishment as a man. Ben is in his 30s. His fathers financial hardships and his attempts to

help him have caused friction in their relationship. Regardless of ethnic or socio-economic background, sexual orientation, or age bracket, the men in my research into intersectional multicultural Australian masculinities repeat one shared idea: a 'good' man should be a reliable provider. Performance in a material, rather than a physical sense, is the most common factor across my survey and interview data and hints at the pervasiveness of patriarchal ideals around the role of the male in his household and community. This paper draws on preliminary results from interview and survey-based doctoral research to examine how Australian men feel about their role provider, and the importance of stability in their work to their wellbeing. Building on these ideas, this paper examines elements of the short-lived 'men's liberation' movement of the 1970s. It considers their relevance in the early 21st century, to achieve greater parity and inclusiveness for all genders in public and domestic workforce participation. *names changed

Bridges, Tristan (UC Santa Barbara)

Gender Hegemony in Transition: Shifts in Gender Inequality in 21st Century Workplaces and Society

Masculinities Studies emerged as a distinct sub-field of feminist gender studies some time during the 1970s as a part of a larger, interdisciplinary project of studying privilege and structured advantage as critical to our understandings of the reproduction of power and inequality. This presentation discusses initial feminist work that sought to identify masculinity and men's collective gender privilege as "invisible," and how the relative visibility of both masculinity and gender privilege has radically shifted over the past half century. This shift in the visibility of masculinity and gender privilege has had diverse consequences, some of which have been the emergence of new "hybrid" masculinities which research shows often appear to challenge systems of power and inequality, but are better seen as obscuring and reproducing inequalities in historically novel ways. This presentation outlines a theory of "hybrid masculinities," discussing how this work builds on Raewyn Connell's theory of gender relations and inequality and addresses how it can help us better understand new and emergent forms of inequalities in workplaces and beyond.

Charoszewich, Marta (University of Eastern Finland)

Masculinities, mobile technologies and career progression in the private law practice

Mobile Technologies (MTs), such as smartphones, tablets and laptops, have fundamentally shifted boundaries between work and personal life specifically in high status professions. These technologies have made it not only feasible but also expected of professionals to stay connected to work regardless of time or location. In this paper, we analyze interviews conducted with male lawyers in two civil law contexts, Quebec, Canada and Finland—two jurisdictions with reputations for legislation friendly toward work-life balance—to provide empirical insight to how the use of MTs after hours became a professional imperative for career progression in private law practice. This study explores work-family interface among male lawyers in private law practice and the ways in which male lawyers draw on technological advances to make space for family life in a career that is often all-consuming. The findings show that the male law firm leaders set the tone for the use of MTs outside of work hours and workplaces. Work-to-family boundary permeability operates as an informal professional norm that takes hold with consequences for young lawyers' career progression. The article contributes to the literature on MTs and gender inequalities in professions by advancing our understanding of how the current usage of MTs hampers social inclusion and equality by sustaining gender hierarchies and creating new inequalities among men of different ages and family situations.

Christofidou, Andria (University of Cyprus)

'Male professional dancers: Negotiating dance, negotiating masculinity'

Ballet and contemporary dance have been long associated with women and female femininity. Due to this condition relatively few men choose to practise dance on a pre-professional and professional level. Further, and related to the above, male dancers are often expected to be effeminate and non-heterosexual, qualities which are expelled from normative understandings of 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell, 1995). Considering the above this paper draws on data collected through interviews with male professional dancers and observation in professional dance settings in Scotland to analyse the ways male dancers negotiate their professional dancing identity, the gendered and sexualised associations this has. The paper analyses some of the meanings male dancers attribute to dance and some of the strategies they employ to negotiate dance as a conventionally masculine activity or something that a man can do. It argues that efforts to masculinise dance often rely on the approximation of dance to sports, the de-emphasizing of dance's 'feminine' characteristics and, accordingly, the emphasizing of its conventionally masculine ones. It considers factors such as age, dancers' sexual orientation and the time they began to practise dance as conditions which influence the ways male dancers understand and negotiate their professional identity, professional practices and their employment conditions. Men involved in conventionally feminised spheres can be seen as transgressing gender boundaries. Yet, as this paper argues, through certain practices and discourses prevailing gender binaries, the interrelationship between gender and sexuality, and what is deemed to be acceptable and what not tend to be largely reproduced.

Dasgupta, Rohit (Loughborough University London)

Rituparno Ghosh: Radicalism, Sissyness and Stardom of India's first queer auteur

In this paper I shall be discussing Rituparno Ghosh, the Bengali film maker. Ghosh emerged on the cultural scene of Bengal, India in the 1990's with several critically acclaimed films changing the landscape of Bengali cinema. He pioneered a new trend of films which unabashedly celebrated queerness, gender transgression, female agency and sexuality. His sexuality and gender performance came under intense scrutiny during this period though he never talked about his sexuality publicly. With his famous queer trilogy he made the decision to publicly come out and became a cultural icon for queer men in Bengal and broadly India. As I have discussed elsewhere (Dasgupta and Bakshi, 2017) Ghosh's star persona also relied heavily on his sartorial politics. He used androgynous and unisex clothing to push the boundaries of gender and queer visibility in India.

Through an exploration of his key films, writings, and television appearances this paper interrogates his queer stardom in an otherwise heteropatriarchal film industry. Finally the paper will argue that recognition of Ghosh's queerness and effeminacy had wider implications around queer visibility, queer politics, and acceptance in the Indian film industry.

DeFillippo, Cassie (University of Melbourne)

Bonding through objectification: The effects of sex establishments on male homosocial work culture

The activity of visiting female sex workers in Northern Thailand is a historically social event that males do with friends, peers, and business associates. This pattern of homosociality has tied sexual activity to performances of masculinity and normalized the local demand for sex work. Sex establishments have served as spaces of intimate bonding where men can build relationships and professional networks while simultaneously negotiating and performing masculinities. In the wake of these homosocial norms, this paper serves as an exploration of the gendered effects of workplace visits to sex establishments and argues that the objectification of women in sex establishments translates to the objectification of women in the workplace. This research draws upon one year of ethnographic research to show that male peer-group bonding over sexual experiences shapes oppressive gender relations in Thailand, which reflects societies worldwide. Through the lens of masculine performances in sex establishments in Northern Thailand, this research will argue that the use of sexual establishments as a bonding tool for men -and the concurrent objectification of women partnered with Thai conceptions about the inappropriateness of women working 'outside' has limited women's ability to break glass ceilings. This paper will then compare visits to sex establishments in Northern Thailand to growing workplace trends in other parts of the world to explore how women negotiate this trend.

De Oliveira Filho, José Hildo (Charles University in Prague)

Athletic migrant masculinities and the making of 'respectable men'

Sports migration has recently become a burgeoning studies field (Agergaard and Ungruhe, 2016; Carter, 2011; Esson, 2014). In these studies, attention is focused on sports academies and clubs in the Global South that are supporting and educating young apprentices hoping for a sports career and possible migratory movements to the Global North (Klein, 2014; Esson, 2012). Sports migration fieldwork is usually structured around closed settings, where access is difficult. Because of the highly concentrated economy of sports, sports academies are set by sports clubs from the Global North to find the cheapest labor possible. In this sense, Wallerstein's world-systems theories have often framed global migratory movements in sports (Wallerstein, 1979; Darby, 2013). According to this perspective, athletes are seen as commodities sent from the periphery to core countries. However, more recent scholarly works have been trying to understand athletes' forms of agency (Rial, 2012; 2008). Athletes' religious engagement and the various ways sportspeople express their gendered identities have become hotly debated topics in sports migration studies (Carter, Brownell and Besnier, 2017). In my current research project, I would like to understand Brazilian footballers (futsal and football) migration to some Central European countries (Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary). In this way, researching athletic migrant masculinities could open us new forms of understanding agency and the means used by sportspeople to become "respectable men" (Gallo, 2016).

Farova, Nina (Centre for Gender and Science, Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Science)

Where have all the women gone& when do we not impede them from making it like a man? Czech attitudes towards academic career

Czech academic environment has been subjected to neoliberal reforms since 2004. Over the last decade the discrepancy between the number of female graduates and Ph.D. candidates and the number of female academicians increases (Tenglerová 2016). In this situation, many of the representatives of the Czech academic

institutions ask: 'Where have all the women gone?' and usually add: 'We do not impede them from having academic career.' In the Czech post-soviet environment, we are witnessing a blindness in relation to gendered impacts of neoliberal reforms on individuals. Such environment strengthens the neoliberal characteristic of 'transformation' of structural inequalities into individual responsibility (Rottenberg 2014) and overlooks androcentrism (Bem 1993). These political changes have different impact on male and female careers in academia as our data show. The ideal career in academia corresponds mainly with the male one that is perceived as an uninterrupted path interwoven with long-term international mobility. Female scientists pursue such career less often. With reference to the typology of academic masculinities and femininities (O´Connor et. al 2015, 2017) we show what kind of worker Czech academia expects, how does this image interfere with male and female career preferences and why promoting this image does not look sustainable. The paper is based on a research project dealing with working conditions in the Czech academia. The quantitative part is based on a representative sample of more than 2000 participants; the qualitative part is based on data from 40 interviews with academicians coming from two universities and two public research institutes.

Garritzen, Elise (University of Helsinki)

Quest for a Heroic Historian: Masculinities and Founding an Academic Profession c. 1820-1914

(abstract forthcoming)

Hanulik, Vladan (University of Pardubice)

Curing Like a Man: A Spatial Dimension of 19th and 20th Century Healthcare

 Being a physician, surgeon or man-midwife was a professional career opened only for men until the very end of the 19th century. By that time the spatial dimension of modern hospitals, ordinations, consulting rooms and dentist´s offices was already developed in the shape, which is very similar to our contemporary situation. It is generally accepted that gender is a result of everyday performative practice, but could we find the spatial determinants which are crucial for the performative act itself? Trying to find gender aspects that were present by the forming of modern types of places (E. S. Casey,2003) where the medical treatment was practiced, we have to focus on the establishment of medical clinics at the end of the 18th century, on the ordination and consulting rooms as well as dentist´s offices in the 19th and 20th century. How deep were the gender power relationships inscribed in the spatial ground of these places? Are the residues of the historical development still present in the contemporary workplace of medical professionals? And does it mean that the career in the field of medical practice can be regarded as a masculine one? Above mentioned questions would lay a foundation for the comparative analysis of historical sources reflecting the development of the working environment of medical professionals in the Czech Republic (former Czechoslovakia, Habsburg Monarchy) and the United Kingdom from early 19th century to present.

Hyvönen, Henri (University of Helsinki)

Men's perceptions of work-related self-care: discursive practices constructing lifestyle compliance and responsible citizenship

In previous working life studies, self-care has been understood as both promoting worker well-being (Bressi & Vaden, 2017) and a tool of appearing as professional in competition between individuals (Kelly et al., 2007). Using these discussions as a springboard, I take a critical look on men talking about their self-motivated actions aiming to maintain and increase their occupational wellbeing. I analyze the ways men compare themselves to other men and how men negotiate culturally permissible models of masculinity. 18 one-to-one interviews involved men aged from their 20s to 50s. Participants work in fields of social services and health care, media, and logistics. Socio-economic coverage and representativeness were pursued during the data collection. Thematic analysis was used to analyze the data. I argue that participants perceive themselves more conscientous practitioners of self-care than their colleagues or other men. Hostile attitudes toward men's self-care were recognized in the Finnish culture, although participants felt that these attitudes were slowly disappearing. Moreover, participants identified with masculinities they found as non-traditional and not subordinated to traditional norms of masculinity. Thus, I conclude that participants asserted what Pietilä (2008) terms 'lifestyle compliance' and linked work-related self-care to responsible citizenship and acting responsibly in working life. However, practices aiming for highest possible resilience were usually excluded from one's own self-care, as striving for balance between work and personal life was understood as more sustainable and thus more authentic (cf. Kelly et al., 2007).

Ijäs, Ulla (University of Turku)

Businessmen in the nineteenth century global trade

A German bookkeeper Mr. Klingender wrote semi-fictional memoirs in the 1830s, while he lived in Vyborg and worked in Hackman & Co, which was at that time the leading timber export company in Finland. In his memoirs, Mr. Klingender revealed his intimate feelings of work, his colleagues and employees. He never got married and the memoirs reveal the reason : he was too poor and lacked sufficient social and economic capitals to marry. In this paper, I will illustrate how masculinity was created and maintained in the global business. I will scrutinize what meant to be a man and how this manhood was acquired and who were not eligible to become a (business)man. I will highlight that not all men were allowed the access to the same opportunities and rights to become a complete businessman. My study focuses on the period of the fast industrialization and globalization of the trade. Timber industry was one of the first trades that linked the northern Baltic area to the global trade. Businessmen might have come from several European countries but they all shared similar social codes, discussed in Mr. Klingenders memoirs. Honesty, trustworthiness and communal values were key to success in business. These values differ from the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth century business values, which highlight the self-made mantype of business entrepreneur and masculinity.

Leogrande, Cathy (Le Moyne College, Syracuse NY)

Those Who Can't, Teach: Males Teachers in Media & Reality

Education has long been a feminized and gendered profession. One report by the National Education Association indicates that there are less than 800,000 male teachers in US public elementary and secondary schools compared to over 2 million females. Stereotypes of male teachers generally range from intellectual secondary teachers more interested in content than students, to 'softer' elementary teachers. Factors such as lack of status, low salaries, and limited autonomy are part of the reason. This presentation looks at the general trend in teacher education and careers since the publication of A Nation At Risk in 1983. That landmark

legislation made education a much more public and political issue. In the years following the report, the fields of teaching and teacher education have seen dramatic changes. It is not clear whether or not these changes have encouraged more males to enter and remain in teaching, or made it an even less desirable profession. At the root of this paper is an examination of the intersection between masculinity and male teacher identity. A parallel examination of media portrayals of male teachers will seek to amplify the findings. The following questions are addressed: " What impact has the political climate related to education had on the gender distribution of the US K-12 teaching force? " What factors impact the number of men who select teaching as a career? " How do media images of male teachers support or challenge the concept of teaching as a lesser professional choice

Reich, Gilad (Tel Aviv University)

Re-inventing cultural entrepreneurship: Andy Warhol's approach to artistic labor and masculinity

What happens when artists frame their practice as work, and what type of masculinity is constructed by this approach? In the mid-twentieth century, art was not considered a form of labor but an expression of the transcendent self. Hegemonic masculinity was associated with the figure of the heroic and isolated white male artist, often represented by the Abstract Expressionist Jackson Pollock. In the early 60s, however, US pop artist Andy Warhol transformed this model in intriguingly complex ways. Warhol founded the Factorywhere artistic production was akin to repetitive industrial processes and the artists role comparable to that of the industrial worker/corporate manager. This was Warhols rhetoric, but in practicehis processes were much closer to what we understand today as post-Fordist production. My close examination of Warhols practices shows how they facilitated the construction of non-hegemonic masculinity in post-war America. Warhol created a Factory without an assembly line, fixed workstations or salaries. Instead, it was a cooperative and multidisciplinary production platform that blurred the division between labor/leisure as well as between material production and "social production" (Negri and Hardt). Warhol's practices positioned him as a cultural entrepreneur, but at the same time form a deviation from capitalist work ethic and subvert capitalist regime of efficiency. While scholars have mostly associated Warhol's masculinity with his queer identifications, I claim it also has to do with his unorthodox approach to labor. Re-inventing cultural entrepreneurship on the cusp between Fordist and post-Fordist modes of production, Warhol undermined both capitalist command and hegemonic masculinity that embodied it.

Salminen, Janne (University of Helsinki)

"You're Like a Lawsuit Waiting to Happen" Representations of Toxic Masculinity in Professional Environments in Hollywood Films of 2010s

Several major blockbuster film franchises (most noticeably the new Star Wars films) are problematizing toxic masculinity and feature storylines that underline the negative impact of aggressive masculine behavior. While these franchises might not be ideal examples of inclusivity and equality, they are a far cry from the sexist and crypto-racist films that several of them are based upon. Since most mainstream film franchises depict professionals of some sort or another, gender representations are interlinked with not only to how gender potential is understood in American society but also how gender is understood in the workplace. In my presentation, I give a brief overview of how masculinity is represented in mainstream US cinema, especially

within the context of serialized films that have a history of depicting gender in a certain way. My focus will be on how these films link professional identities with gender identities and if they can help us imagine futures in which gender is not a restricting category when mapping out a professional career.

Salminen-Karlsson, Minna (Uppsala University)

Becoming the right kind of professional: male students in prestigious higher education programmes

This paper deals with the educational preparation of men for three typical professional careers: Lawyer, physician and physics engineer. It reports results from a study where 54 men in those three higher education programmes, as well as 26 of their female peers were interviewed about their backgrounds, studies and future plans. 26 staff memebers were also interviewed. The results show that dominant masculinities in each programme are shaped in relation to what the staff as well as the students know and assume about the subsequent working life. How career is made varies between the professions, but for each profession learning to do professional masculinity is an important part of higher education. This learning happens both in classrooms and during the extra-curricular activities, which are specific for each educational programme. In each of the study programmes there are also alternative masculinities, often associated with different backgrounds and future plans than those of the (upper) middle class majority. Many female students learn to do professional masculinities to some extent, but there are subject positions which are reserved for men. The professionals of today have a strong influence on how future members of the profession are trained and learn its dominant values and, thus, changes in what masculinities students learn to perform do not easily come about. However, university staff and fellow students can recognise and value alternative masculinities during these formative years.

Van den Brink, Marieke (Radboud University)

Mobilizing masculinities in academic gatekeeping

This presentation uses the notion of mobilizing masculinities (Martin 2001) to gain a better understanding in the reproduction of gender inequality in academia. I will draw on empirical material from two studies on professorial appointments and early career positions in Dutch academia. I use the notion of mobilizing masculinities to understand the self-evident identification of men gatekeepers with men in their networks, and to understand how both men and women gatekeepers prefer the male candidates that resemble the proven masculine success model. Furthermore, I will discuss the notion of mobilizing femininities in which women search for and support women candidates showing how the gender practice of mobilizing femininities is a more precarious and marked practice than mobilizing masculinities. Mobilizing femininities in networking is intended to counter gender inequalities, but is only partially successful. Through constructions of 'who you can trust' or 'who is a risk', gatekeepers exercise the power of inclusion and exclusion and contribute to the persistence of structural gender inequalities.