Naming Men as Men: Implications for Work, Organization and Management

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This paper seeks to contribute to the growing interest in naming men as men as part of a critical analysis of gendered power relations in organizations. The paper highlights the way in which men and masculinities are frequently central to organizational analysis, yet rarely the focus of interrogation. They remain taken for granted and hidden. Examining recent studies that contribute to a critical analysis of gendered power relations, we consider the growing interest in multiplicity, diversity and difference. In particular, we explore the issue of 'multiple masculinities' as well as some of the conceptual difficulties that surround it. Arguing for an approach which addresses the unities, differences and interrelations between men and masculinities, we suggest that critical studies of gendered power need to examine the management of organizations in much more detail. Highlighting five masculinities that seem to be routinely embedded in managerial discourses and practices, we conclude by advocating further research in this previously neglected area.

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Introduction

In 1990 we presented two joint-authored papers at the British Sociological Association Annual Conference. The theme of the conference was 'Social Divisions and Social Change' and the theme of one of the papers was the persistence of men's power in organizations. This was illustrated using case study material of processes of sex discrimination in selection (Collinson and Hearn 1990). The audience response was very diverse and lively with considerable discussion being generated on the issues of men, power and organizations.

Concern was expressed by some of the conference participants about the implications of the analysis of men and masculinities for both women and men. One woman emphasized that listening to the empirical data on sex discrimination in the workplace was in itself a distressing and painful experience both for her and, she believed, for many other women. A man in the audience who had sat on various academic appointment panels suggested that the case studies (from the private sector) were very similar to his experience of selection procedures and other practices in the university. Some women participants seemed to be shocked to hear this, while others said that this just confirmed what they had experienced or guessed to be the case.

The session was an emotional experience for us and, it seemed, for some of the participants too. During the coffee break afterwards, many participants continued to discuss the paper. Overhearing some of these discussions, a male sociologist, who was not present at the paper and whose interests lay very much in the postmodern stream of the conference, came to discuss the paper with one of us whom he had known for some time. During this conversation, and quite out of context with the topic under discussion, he asked if the other author was gay. This question revealed the way in which some men academics try to make sense of other men who write critically on gender, men and masculinities. Indeed, all of these highly personal responses to the themes of the paper and to ourselves re-confirmed to us the importance of, as well as the difficulties involved in, naming men as men as part of a critical analysis of men and masculinities. They also reaffirmed to us the extent and diversity of many men's continued resistance to gender analysis and their preference for various 'masculinity-protection strategies' (Burton 1991, p. 7).

The indifference of some male scholars to the gender critique was further illustrated at this same BSA conference by the content of many of the presentations within the postmodernist stream. Most of these papers were given by

men with either passing reference to women or without mention of feminism or gender at all. For some of the conference participants this appeared very much to be another attempt by men to be able to take over, and talk about 'social divisions' in a way that excluded women, feminism and gender. As such it was criticized from the floor of the conference. This agendered form of postmodernism represents one currently influential approach to theorizing that this paper is concerned to challenge and critique (see also Hearn and Parkin 1993).

It is well over ten years since David Morgan (1981) highlighted the extent to which notions of men and masculinity dominated the conditions of production of academic work generally and sociology more specifically. Pointing to the 'academic machismo' (1981, p. 101) that often characterizes 'the sociological mode of production', Morgan discussed the way in which seminars, conferences and exchanges in scholarly journals seemed to be arenas, not only for the practice of academic rationality, but also for the 'competitive display of masculine skills (within to be sure a capitalist culture)' (1981, p. 101). Public arenas such as conferences are all the more likely to become the site for the creation and elaboration of masculine intellectual pecking orders and adversarial discourses where the majority of participants are men.

Yet, despite Morgan's important contribution and indeed his paper 'In search of Postmodern Man', delivered at the foregoing BSA conference,[1] our experiences there reaffirmed a central theme of this paper, namely that many men engaged in sociological and other academic work continue to avoid taking feminism and gender relations seriously. One manifestation of this is the avoidance of theoretical and empirical analysis of men and masculinities, where analysis is reflexive and critique is turned upon ourselves; a powerful and superordinate social category, of which we are members. This article is a contribution to that collective auto-critique.[2]

Yet, clearly, the reluctance of men to recognize and reflect upon men's power and identity is not confined to certain streams of postmodernism, postmodernists, or indeed to academic work as a whole. Despite equal opportunities legislation and the feminist critique, men's power and 'masculine' values continue to be pervasive and persistent in contemporary organizations, often permeating all aspects of employment, but frequently in taken-for-granted ways. Within organizations, many men do not seem to recognize their actions as expressions of men's power and male identity. Where men see humour, teasing, cameraderie and strength, for example,

women often perceive crude, specifically masculine aggression, competition, harassment, intimidation and misogyny. Men in organizations often seem extraordinarily unaware of, ignorant about and even antagonistic to any critical appraisal of the gendered nature of their actions and their consequences. Many seem unwilling or reluctant to reflect upon masculinity and the way it can shape their relationships, thoughts and actions.

In recent years there has been a growth of interest in the study and theorizing of men and masculinities, which has developed from a number of directions and these are discussed below. This paper seeks to contribute to that growing interest in critical studies of men and masculinities by highlighting the importance of naming men as men in the context of work and organizations. It begins by considering several examples of the historical and contemporary neglect of men and masculinity in the literature on paid work, organizations and management. Drawing upon several literatures that have sought to develop a critical analysis of men and masculinity, the paper highlights the importance of analysing the gendered nature of power relations in organizations. Various current debates are subsequently outlined that throw up certain unresolved analytical difficulties and dilemmas, particularly regarding the understanding of gendered power relations and multiple masculinities. We then consider the implications of these arguments for the analysis of gender, work and organization and in particular for our understanding of those who occupy senior positions of hierarchical power and authority. Finally, we conclude by seeking to highlight the need for further analysis of the conditions, processes and consequences through which multiple masculinities are reproduced in the context of managers and management.

Men neglecting men in organizations

A critical analysis of men and masculinities is particularly important in the study of work, organizations and management. Yet an examination of the available literature reveals a recurring paradox. The categories of men and masculinity are frequently central to analyses, yet they remain taken for granted, hidden and unexamined. Men are both talked about and ignored, rendered simultaneously explicit and implicit. They are frequently at the centre of discourse but they are rarely the focus of interrogation. So texts on organizations have

appeared which fail to examine masculinity despite explicitly citing men in their title, e.g. *Men Who Manage* (Dalton 1959), *Organization Man* (Whyte 1956), *Men at the Top* (Elliott 1960) and *Man on the Assembly Line* (Walker and Guest 1952). Alternatively, some writers in industrial relations, industrial sociology and organizational behaviour have talked about 'managers', 'workers', 'shop stewards', 'the working class' and implicitly treated these categories as interchangeable with men (see Collinson 1992; Hearn 1992b). Hence many scholars have seemed extraordinarily unaware of the men in organizations about whom they write.

The study of management is a case in point. Management theory throughout the twentieth century has tended to neglect gender issues (e.g. Lawrence and Lorsch 1967; Mintzberg 1973, 1975, 1983, 1989; Reed 1989). This is to be seen in developments from scientific management to human relations theories, organizational psychology and motivation theories, systems and contingency theory, theories of job design and job enrichment, and so on (Calás *et al.* 1991). The literature on management tends to treat the managerial function in a peculiarly neutered, asexual way. It has therefore failed to acknowledge that historically and in different societies, leaders generally and managers more specifically have been predominantly men (Hearn and Parkin 1988; Parkin and Hearn 1994). Managerial texts are usually written for or about the 'male manager' even where reference is made to the 'changing aspirations of women' (Rothwell 1983). Thus the function is still often seen to be synonymous with men.

This neglect of gender and implicit conflation of men and masculinity with management and authority is illustrated by the study of leadership in organizations. Within this burgeoning literature a persistent and pervasive domain assumption has been that leadership is synonymous with men and that gender therefore is not an issue worthy of exploration (Hearn and Parkin 1988; Parkin and Hearn, 1994). This is the case in Weber's (1968) work on ideal-typical forms of authority, in Taylor's (1947) 'scientific' approach to management, and in conventional organizational psychology where the major contribution to the prescriptive study of leadership has emerged (e.g. Fiedler 1967; Vroom and Yetton 1973). The same historical neglect of gender in the study of leadership persists in the psychological literature today. For example, a recent influential American review of the literature on 'power and leadership in organizations' (Hollander and Offerman 1990) devotes only two sentences to women in organizations and totally neglects

issues of masculinity in relation to power and leadership. Its prescriptions for future research equally ignore gender.

Similarly, Bennis's (1989) recent prescriptions about how to 'become a leader' illustrate this tendency to neglect gender. He presents various taxonomies of prescriptions based on research interviews with 29 leaders, all of whom he defines as 'distinctive' and 'successful'. Yet although nine of these respondents are women, Bennis uses the pronoun 'he' all the way through the text when making abstract references to leaders. The dominant discourse of the text therefore excludes women and fails to problematize men and masculinity in relation to leadership. At the very least, Bennis could have paid more attention to the claims of respondent Barbara Corday that women deploy quite different leadership styles (see also Helgeson 1990; Rosener 1990). Moreover, the neglect of masculinity in a book from one of the 'gurus' of leadership studies reaffirms the pressing nature of the need to increase intellectual scrutiny and intensive research in this area (see Hearn 1989a, 1991, 1992a; Collinson and Collinson 1990).

The theme of charismatic leadership has also been a primary influence on the emergence in the 1980s of a highly prescriptive managerial discourse on corporate culture. Psychologists, such as Schein (1985), and management consultants, such as Peters and Waterman (1982), have emphasized corporate leaders' responsibility for 'managing meaning' (Morgan 1986) and establishing strong organizational cultures (Deal and Kennedy 1982). Like Bennis, writers such as Peters and Austin (1985) have presented long taxonomies of prescriptions on how to be a visionary leader who, above all else, can and must manage and manipulate organizational culture. Yet charismatic leadership styles and the establishment of strong corporate cultures often draw upon the gendered imagery of the organization as a family (e.g. Woolsey-Biggart 1989). Such familial imagery is a condition and consequence of management's position as patriarchal 'heads' of the family whose authority is expressed in paternalistic discourses. The inherent masculinity of this discourse is rarely addressed in the literature. Similarly, the way in which particular workplace cultures appeal to highly masculine values of individualism, aggression, competition, sport and drinking is often neglected even by more critical studies of corporate culture (e.g. Alvesson 1988).

In other cases, more radical (men) writers on organizations have tried to acknowledge the feminist critique of 'malestream' social science simply by integrating or subsuming

women into a Marxist framework as a 'super-exploited' sub-category. Small pieces of quantitative data describing women's employment patterns (e.g. feminization) have been introduced into analyses that continue to attribute analytical primacy to class issues before those of gender. Although such adjustments might reassure the writers that they have 'covered the gender issue', they provide at best a very narrow account of women's experience of paid work. They not only conflate 'gender' with 'women', but also neglect any critical attention of men and masculinities who thus continue to remain, paradoxically, invisible yet central in analyses.

Naming men

This neglect of men's power, discourses and practices has been highlighted by various kinds of critique, all of which are informed by a critical analysis of gender relations. Critiques have been developed from several directions. First, there has been the wide variety of feminist analyses of men (e.g. Friedman and Sarah 1981; Ferguson 1993). Inevitably diverse in perspective, these include liberal feminist accounts of men's unfairness and privilege; Marxist and socialist feminist analyses of men's economic class advantage; radical and lesbian feminist critiques of men's sexuality and violence; and black feminist critiques of the intersection of (white) men's sexism and racism.

Such critiques follow a long line of feminist theory and practice. In First Wave feminism men were frequently the clear object of criticism. For example, Christabel Pankhurst argued that 'the state was composed of men who not only denied women the vote but also tacitly condoned male immorality and sexual violence', and that '(what) a man . . . really means is that women are created primarily for the sexual gratification of men and secondly for the bearing of children if he happens to want them' (1913, pp. 19–20). Similarly, Second Wave feminism from the 1960s onwards not only celebrated the empowerment of women but also highlighted the domination of men. Thus Second Wave feminism has consistently developed critiques of men, both implicitly and explicitly (Hanmer 1990).

Second, there has been a very different set of critiques from (male) gay liberation and (male) gay scholarship (e.g. Weeks 1977; Plummer 1992). Again, there has been a long history, but the emergence of the various gay liberation movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s has to be seen as a particularly significant turning point in bringing gay con-sciousness more prominently into public politics. Importantly, gay scholarship is not necessarily complementary to or reconcilable with feminist work. This is not least because gay perspectives are premised on the assumption of desire for men and the desirability of men rather than the direct critique or even dismissal of men. Thus what is being criticized in most gay perspectives is not men in general or even men's power, but dominant heterosexual men and masculinities.

Third, feminist analyses have also inspired some men to begin to write critically on men and masculinity (e.g. Brittan 1989; Connell 1983, 1985, 1987; Kaufman 1987; Kimmel and Messner 1989; Morgan 1992; Roper and Tosh 1991; Roper 1993). These contributions tend to be specifically pro-feminist, anti-sexist, anti-patriarchal and gay-affirmative. They are usually concerned to deconstruct men and masculinity, to place men and masculinity as Other(s) rather than the One at the centre of discourses. They seek to make 'men' and 'masculinity' *explicit*, to talk of men's power, and thus simultaneously, and somewhat paradoxically, to assist in the *decentring* of 'men' and 'masculinity' in organizational discourses and practices and in the questioning of men's relations within power. This involves making problematic the ways in which 'men' and 'masculinity' may be conventionally and unproblematically at the centre of discourse(s), often as explicit or implicit, transcendent subjects, explanations or foundations. There is, however, also other work that is more ambiguous in relation to feminism or is even anti-feminist in its perspective. The idea of 'men's studies' is one such ambiguous development, not least because it is unclear how such studies relate to feminism and whether they are meant to refer to studies by men or of men (see Hearn 1989b).

The foregoing three kinds of critique of men together comprise what has come to be called Critical Studies on Men. These wide-ranging and critical studies have effectively brought the question of theorizing men and masculinities into greater attention and sharper relief. Paradoxically, this makes men and masculinities *explicit objects* of theory and critique, and makes men and masculinities *problematic*.

If we look more specifically at the analysis of organizations, we find that feminist studies have been particularly valuable in revealing the way that 'most organizations are saturated with masculine values' (Burton 1991, p. 3). Kanter (1977) has explored the deep-seated masculine cultures of the managerial function and its dependence on the dual support of the 'office wife' and wife at home. Pringle (1989) more recently examined the gendered

dynamics of the power relations between men managers and women secretaries. Cockburn (1983) has unpacked the highly masculine culture of shopfloor life in the printing industry as well as the ways that men in various industrial sectors and hierarchical levels resist equal opportunity initiatives (Cockburn 1991). Similarly, Walby (1986) has outlined the labour market strategies of male-dominated trade unions designed to exclude or segregate women job-seekers.

All of these ethnographic studies have highlighted the embeddedness of masculine values and assumptions in the structure, culture and practices of organization. In critically analysing the centrality of the masculine model of lifetime, full-time, continuous employment and of the family breadwinner for the organization of paid work, these studies have emphasized the importance of the gendered nature of power relations in contemporary organizations. Relatedly, they have revealed the importance of paid work as a central source of masculine identity, status and indeed power. For many men, employment provides the interrelated economic resources and symbolic benefits of wages/salaries, skills and experience, career progress and positions of power, authority and high discretion. Typically, it seems, men's gender identities are constructed, compared and evaluated by self and others according to a whole variety of criteria indicating personal 'success' in the workplace. In turn, these measures of success in paid work come to reflect back on men's sense of masculine identity. The foregoing studies also provide extensive and detailed evidence of the ways that these organizational resources of power and status are less accessible to women employees.

In developing these critical studies on men, that focus in particular upon gendered power relations, a number of concepts have been prominent. First and most obviously, there is the concept of 'men'. The distinction of sex from gender has been problematized so that the notion of biological 'male' is no longer the basis of masculine gender. Men are now seen as a social category, whether this applies to particular men, all men, or the very possibility of this category in the first place. Second, the concept of 'masculinity' may be thought of as representing the discourses and practices which indicate that someone is a man, a member of the category of men. Third, and more recently, the concept of multiple masculinities has been developed (Carrigan, Connell and Lee 1985; Brittan 1989) to refer to the diversity of forms of masculinity across time and space. In particular it has been
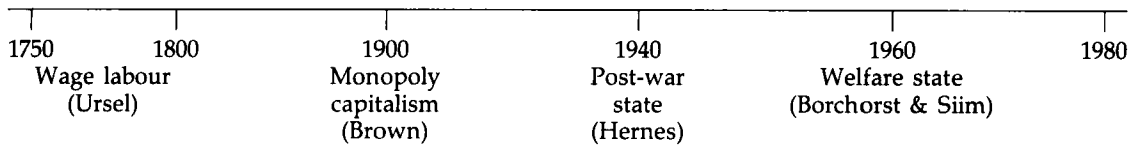
elaborated to convey the way in which specific forms of masculinity are constructed and persist in relation *both* to femininity and to other forms of masculinity. Accordingly, different forms of masculinity are embedded in relations of power, and particular forms may be characterized as 'hegemonic' or 'subordinate' in relation to each other. In turn, these masculinities are not fixed, but continually shifting. They have been shown to be culturally and historically contingent. Reflecting and reinforcing this growing interest in gendered power relations, and in the naming of men as men, has been an increasing recognition of the centrality of partriarchy, sexuality and subjectivity for organizational analysis. Here again, analyses have paralleled this focus on multiplicity and diversity, as the following brief discussion will highlight.

A number of feminist and pro-feminist critiques in the late 1970s (e.g. Rowbotham 1979; Atkinson 1979), suggested that the concept of 'patriarchy' was too monolithic, ahistorical, biologically overdetermined, and dismissive of women's resistance and agency. In the light of this, greater attention has been given first to the historicizing and periodizing of 'patriarchy', and second, to the presence of multiple arenas, sites and structures of patriarchy. On the first count, studies have addressed the historical movement from private patriarchy, where men's power is located primarily in the private domain as fathers and husbands, to public patriarchy, where men's power is derived largely from their roles in the public world of capitalist and state organizations. Some of the various ways in which this shift has been described are summarized in the accompanying diagrams (see Table 1; Figure 1). On the second count, there have been attempts to identify the various sites or bases of patriarchy. So, for example, Walby (1986, 1990) has specified the following sets of patriarchal structures: capitalist work, the family, the state, violence, sexuality, and culture.[3]

Both the historicized and diversified approaches to patriarchy highlight the place of organizations within different historical societal forms and social arenas of patriarchy. The significance of public patriarchy, for example, lies partly in the fact that the organization became the prime social unit of men's domination. Indeed, organizations can be seen as mini-patriarchies in the sense that they structure in particularly gendered ways the formation and reproduction of social relations; the growth and development of corporate hierarchies, policies, processes and practices; and the organizational construction of 'persons' (Hearn 1992b).

Table 1: Private patriarchy, public patriarchy, and related concepts

Private patriarchy	Public patriarchy	Brown 1981 Dworkin 1983 Walby 1990a, 1990b
Family patriarchy	Social patriarchy	Eisenstein 1981 Ursel 1986
Private domain	Public domain	Laurin-Frenette 1982 Guillaumin 1980
Private appropriation	Collective appropriation	Stacey and Davies 1983
Personal forms of dominance	'Structural' dominance	Holter 1984
'Patriarchy'	Reorganized patriarchy	
Direct, personally exercised and legitimated dominance	Impersonal dominance	
Private dependence	Public dependence	Hernes 1984, 1987a, 1987b, 1988a, 1988b Borchorst & Siim 1987 Siim 1987, 1988

Figure 1: Historical timescales in conceptualizing public patriarchy

1750	1800	1900	1940	1960	1980
Wage labour (Ursel)		Monopoly capitalism (Brown)	Post-war state (Hernes)	Welfare state (Borchorst & Siim)	

A similar focus on multiplicity and diversity has also developed in the analysis of sexuality(ies) which in turn has come to be seen as a central feature of men's domination of organizations. This growth of interest comes not only from feminist and gay theory and practice but also from post-structuralist theory and psychoanalytic work, especially Lacanian theory.[4] Throughout recent critical studies of sexualities there has been a continuing concern not only with the dominance of men's heterosexuality, and more specifically male (hetero)sexual narratives, but also with the co-existence of homosociality and even homosexual/gay subtexts. This latter theme is especially important in cultural studies and approaches to social phenomena informed by cultural perspectives (e.g. Wood 1987). In parallel with these debates has been a further concern with the interrelation of men's sexuality, violence, and sexual violence. This is clearest in the enactment of pornography and other sexual violence, but it also applies in the more general analysis of the form of dominant sexuality of men (e.g. Buchbinder 1987).

These debates on men's sexualities have a direct relevance for the understanding of gendered power in organizations. They raise a large number of questions beyond the important recognition of sexual harassment as a form of sexual violence in the workplace. In particular, organizations provide significant social *contexts* and *resources* through which instances of men's sexualities can be enacted (Hearn 1985; Collinson and Collinson 1989). Within these contexts, resources and instances, there are recurring tensions between the domination of heterosexuality and homosociality/homosexuality and between asexuality and sexualization/the eroticization of dominance and hierarchy.[5]

In the examination of the way that gendered power relations in organizations are reproduced, subjectivity has become a central concern. This increasing focus on subjectivity has also reflected and reinforced a growing interest in multiplicity and diversity. For example, Henriques *et al.* (1984) have critiqued the unitary and rational subject found in much social science. They conceptualize subjectivity as embedded in prevailing power

relations, discourses and practices and as a specific, historical product that is ambiguous, fragmentary, discontinuous, multiple, sometimes fundamentally non-rational and frequently contradictory. This approach is particularly relevant to the analysis of gendered power, men and masculinities, not just in the sense of acknowledging subjective variation, for example in the different 'types' of men and masculinities (or women and femininities), but also in the way that these are perceived and experienced and may shift over time and place.

Increasingly research highlights the way that men in organizations often seem preoccupied with the creation and maintenance of various masculine identities and with the expression of gendered power and status in the workplace (Willis 1977; Knights 1990; Collinson 1992). Men's search to construct these identities often draws upon a whole variety of organizational resources, discourses and practices. This 'identity work' (Thompson and McHugh 1990) also appears to be an on-going, never-ending project which is frequently characterized by ambiguity, tension and uncertainty (Brittan 1989). Masculine identities constantly have to be constructed, negotiated and reconstructed in routine social interaction, both in the workplace and elsewhere. These identities also have to be achieved (Kerfoot and Knights 1993). Various studies have highlighted the fragility and precariousness underpinning and surrounding masculine identities that superficially appear strong, authoritative and self-assured. Masculine identities have been shown to be threatened by social and economic forces such as new technology (Cockburn 1983; Baron 1992), unemployment (Walter 1979), feminism/ equal opportunity initiatives (Cockburn 1991) and intensified class and status divisions within organizational hierarchies (Sennett and Cobb 1977).

However, it is not simply these visible events, changes and processes that seem to threaten masculine identities. Attempts by men to secure and hold on to clearly defined and coherent identities may in themselves further reinforce this sense of threat. For, as critical writers on subjectivity have emphasized (Knights 1990; Willmott 1990; Collinson 1992), an irreducible ambiguity characterizes the processes by which *all* social identities are constructed and reproduced. The dual experience of 'self' and 'other' as both subject and object is a central and highly ambiguous feature of human subjectivity which is reinforced by the multiple nature of identities (Kondo 1990). In so far as attempts to construct and sustain particular identities frequently seem to be intended to deny this ambiguity and uncer-

tainty, they are likely to be unsuccessful. Given the socially constructed, multiple and shifting character of identities, these attempts may reinforce the very uncertainty and ambiguity they are intended to overcome.

So far we have tried to highlight the importance of naming men as men in developing a critical analysis of the gendered power relations of organizations. This section has focused in particular upon the recent interest in multiple masculinities and its related implications for patriarchies, sexualities and subjectivities. These developments share a growing awareness of the analytical importance of diversity and multiplicity for our understanding of gendered power and men in organizations. However, as the following section elaborates, this emphasis on difference and 'multiple masculinities' in organizations does carry with it a number of interrelated uncertainties and unresolved difficulties which need to be acknowledged.

Multiple masculinities

Although the focus upon multiplicity and diversity has made a valuable contribution to the analysis of men and masculinities in contemporary organizations, it also raises significant analytical problems. These are addressed below as we seek to develop a framework for further study. The following discussion outlines four main areas of conceptual difficulty that, we believe, need to be examined.

(i) Exclusion

First and foremost, there is the danger of the emphasis upon difference and pluralized masculinities becoming a new, and perhaps more sophisticated means of forgetting women, of losing women from analysis and politics. We must guard against the possibility of these critical studies being sidetracked by a narcissistic preoccupation with talk exclusively about men. The analysis of men and masculinities is likely to be enhanced, we contend, when the relation to women and femininity is acknowledged. This exclusionary tendency is a serious difficulty with the aforementioned 'men's studies' approach advocated by Bly (1990) for example. A further problematic tendency here is for men to redefine themselves exclusively as *victims* of historical processes, the likely outcome of which is that women are either blamed for men's problems

or are rendered invisible and are excluded as participants in and subjects of discourse.

(ii) Differences

Second, a focus on difference can collapse into a descriptive preoccupation with 'types' and objectified categories of men which generates the response 'so what?' A more sophisticated critique might be that typologies themselves constitute a masculine and or managerial preoccupation with the control of the world and the meanings in it; a totalizing exercise intended to achieve a kind of closure.[6] Categorization in itself fails to address either men's lived social experience as men, or the fluidity, shifting and changing character of all social relations, identities and practices (Kondo 1990). Static categorization also has difficulty in acknowledging the sheer complexity of the very large number of possible permutations and interrelations of types of men in organizations. The numerical combinations are themselves complicated by the diversity of ways in which interrelation can exist and develop.

An important contribution in this regard has been made by Connell (1985, 1987) who criticizes several strands of feminism for relying upon the two absolute and undifferentiated categories of 'women' and 'men'. 'Categorical theory' (1987, p. 54), as he terms it, neglects the processes and practices by which these categories are constituted. Supporting this perspective, we argue that although a recognition of multiple masculinities may facilitate the deconstruction of the category 'man', it could simply reproduce precisely the same problem of categorization in a pluralized form.

To avoid this problem, we suggest that analyses need to reflect and explore the dynamic, shifting and often contradictory social relations and identities through which men's differences, and their perception of differences, are reproduced and transformed in organizational practices and power asymmetries. The foregoing analysis of 'identity work' in organizations suggests that men appear to attempt to define themselves and their difference, status and power through the subjective processes of identifying with some men (e.g. with a specified group or with individuals) while simultaneously differentiating themselves from others (e.g. from other men and from women). These processes of identification and differentiation frequently seem to characterize men's routine relations, discourses and practices.[7]

On the shopfloors of male-dominated workplaces, for example, the informal interactions between men manual workers are frequently highly aggressive and derogatory, humorous yet insulting, playful yet degrading (Hearn 1985; Collinson 1992). New members are teased and tested to see whether they are 'man enough' to take the insults couched in the humour of 'piss taking'. Those who display a willingness to 'give it and take it' are accepted into the masculine sub-culture, membership of which in turn is then believed to differentiate individuals from other groups such as white-collar employees and managers 'who never have a laugh and a joke' (Collinson 1988).

Hence men manual workers frequently seek to maintain masculine identities and their sense of difference through these simultaneous discourses and practices of identification and differentiation within identity-threatening organizational conditions of persistent job insecurity, low status and tightly controlled jobs. Patriarchal shopfloor discourses and practices, including those related to men's sexuality, appear to be fundamentally shaped by these subjective concerns with defining 'self' and 'other'; i.e. the creation and protection of masculine working class identity in organizational conditions of its erosion. These concerns, however, are not only frequently contradictory, but can also shift and change over time and space (Kondo 1990). Processes of identification and differentiation underpinning identities and subjectivities are by no means static or unambiguous, but are liable to shift, sometimes in unforeseen and contradictory ways. However, identity work and the preoccupation with difference is by no means the exclusive concern of men. This raises questions regarding the meaning of masculinity to which we now turn.

(iii) Meaning

The concept of masculinities remains somewhat vague and imprecise, lacking in definition (indeed this is the case in its singular as well as pluralized form). Does it refer to behaviours, identities, relationships, experiences, appearances, discourses or practices? If it includes all of these, precisely how does it do so? Are masculinities irreducibly related to men or are they discourses in which women can also invest? If the latter, in what circumstances and how? While a greater understanding of these processes has been developed, the meaning of masculinity/masculinities still remains unclear. In particular, many studies in this area have emphasized the discursive, ideological and symbolic aspects of masculinity thereby rejecting essentialist or deterministic perspectives.

A minority have also focused upon the material and economic dimensions of men's power and identity in organizations. Suffice it to say here, that for us any adequate account would examine *both* the material and discursive features of particular masculinities and their interrelationship in specific practices (Collinson 1992; Hearn 1992b).

It could be argued, however, that women in organizations behave in similar ways to men, invest in equivalent discourses and engage in analogous strategies of power and identity. On all-female shopfloors, for example, research suggests that women often swear and participate in aggressive and sexualized forms of behaviour (Pollert 1981; Cavendish 1982; Westwood 1984). Such practices do indeed display similarities with those of men in the all-male shopfloor settings mentioned earlier. Since issues of gender and/or masculinities are by no means exhaustive of the social relations and practices in which they are embedded (Kerfoot and Knights 1993), it seems reasonable to assume that certain commonalities may exist between men's and women's experience of and response to subordination, for example in relation to class and control. This in turn raises the question 'what is specifically masculine about particular masculinities?'

While trying to steer clear of an 'essentialist' or 'categorical' line of argument, gender differences have to be acknowledged when we also consider the phenomenological accounts of employees themselves and the gendered power relations through which their lives are constructed. So, for example, we know that men shopfloor workers are likely to insist explicitly and reflexively that their intimidatory and derogatory 'piss-taking' is central to their class cultural evaluation of the masculinity and 'manhood' of self and other. According to the men themselves, masculinity has to be proved. Men have to 'be able to give it and take it' (Collinson 1992, p 110). A phenomenological focus upon the accounts, meanings and gendered self-identities of employees themselves is therefore an important concern in the analysis of gender, women and men in employment.

So too is a recognition of the asymmetrical power relations between men and women both in paid employment and the domestic sphere. These patriarchal relations are likely again to shape and differentiate the cultural relations, concerns, discourses and identities of men and women in employment, even where they are engaged in similar work, such as shopfloor employment. How to conceptualize these power relations in the workplace constitutes our final concern which we elaborate below.

(iv) Power

The emphasis upon multiple masculinities raises important questions regarding the way that we analyse workplace power relations and the practices through which they are reproduced. As the previous discussion outlined, teasing out the relationship between masculinities and other key features of organizations and, in particular, other social divisions and inequalities, requires further attention. Rarely, if ever, is it possible to reduce complex organizational processes and power relations *exclusively* to issues of gender and/or masculinity. Managerial control and labour resistance, for example, might in certain cases be shaped by specific masculinities, but they will not be totally determined by them. A central argument of this paper is that particular masculinities are frequently embedded (but often unacknowledged) in organizational power relations, discourses and practices. To focus upon gender and/or men and masculinity will not provide a complete account of these complex processes, but equally their neglect often renders critical analyses of power relations fundamentally flawed.

In emphasizing multiple masculinities there is a danger of excluding other social divisions and oppressions in organizations and above all the interrelations of these divisions and inequalities. On the one hand, it is important to acknowledge the way in which masculinities can change over time, could be shaped by underlying ambiguities and uncertainties, may differ according to class, age, culture and ethnicity etc. and might also be central to the reproduction of these other social divisions (and vice versa). Yet on the other hand, this emphasis upon multiplicity and difference ought not to degenerate into a diversified pluralism that gives insufficient attention to structured patterns of gendered power, control and inequality. As Cockburn writes, a focus upon multiple masculinities should not 'deflect attention from the consistency in men's domination of women at systemic and organizational levels, from the continuation of material, structured inequalities and power imbalances between the sexes' (1991, p. 225). She argues that this increasing emphasis on difference, plurality and multiplicity needs to retain a focus upon the structured asymmetrical relations of power between men and women.

Hence, within critical studies on men and masculinities there appears to be an unresolved tension between the analysis, on the one hand, of multiplicity and diversity and on the other, of men's structured domination, their shared economic and symbolic vested

interests and sense of unity within patriarchal societies and organizations. We refer to this unresolved and somewhat polarized debate as the unities and differences between men and masculinities (Hearn and Collinson 1993). Here a particularly important question is whether the unities or differences should be attributed analytical primacy? And how are they to be related? We would argue for the need to examine *both* the unities and differences between men and masculinities as well as their interrelations. By examining these processes *simultaneously*, we can develop a deeper understanding of the gendered power relations of organization, the conditions, processes and consequences of their reproduction and how they could be resisted and transformed.

On the one hand, men's power in organizations is maintained through their unification and identification with each other. Men are frequently united, though not necessarily consciously, by dominant sexuality, violence and potential violence, social and economic privilege, political power, shared concerns and interests and culturally based values. Cockburn (1991), for example, reveals how men resist equal opportunity policies in organizations by generating institutional and cultural barriers to women's 'progress'. She concludes that organizations are dominated by a group that has the power to define all other groups as inferior, 'It is a white male heterosexual and largely able-bodied ruling monoculture' (1991, p. 219).

One way of understanding such unities or potential unities of men is through the concept of gender class. Just as there may be a gender class of women, so it might be possible to identify a gender class of men, whether seen in terms of biological reproduction (Firestone 1970; O'Brien 1981), sexuality (MacKinnon 1982) or household relations and work (Delphy 1977, 1984). All of these and indeed other social relations could be interpreted as possible social bases of the gender class of men (Hearn 1987, 1992b). Up to now, there has been far more attention to the implications of gender class analysis for women than for men.

On the other hand, however, the idea of a unity of men is *also* problematic (Brittan 1989). Indeed one of the ways that men's collective power is maintained is through the perpetuation of the assumption of hegemonic forms and of men and masculinities as the most important or sole form. The persistence of the assumption of white heterosexual able-bodied men to the exclusion of other kinds of men remains a major issue for practical politics and theoretical analysis. From this perspective, the notion of a 'monoculture' is difficult to sustain

given the hierarchies, 'pecking orders' and stratified differences that exist even between white male heterosexual and largely able-bodied men. Instead of there being just one kind of men, dominant or otherwise, there are many different ways in which particular kinds of men and particular kinds of masculinities are reproduced, often in relation to other social divisions. Some of these are listed below (see Table 2).

We argue that these differences must be examined in connection with the stated unities that co-exist between men in organizations. It is important to take analytical account of both the unities *and* differences between men and masculinities as well as the ways that these overlap and are often interwoven in specific organizational processes and practices. This, we believe, could contribute important insights into the conditions, processes and consequences of gendered power relations in organizations and the ways that these are reproduced, rationalized and/or resisted.

To take just one example, we would suggest that the failure to recognize the embeddedness, flexibility and dominance of these multiple masculinities within conventional power relations in organizations is a major reason for the ineffectiveness of many equality initiatives. The possibility of sabotage by men at various hierarchical levels (and sometimes women too) in the construction of many programmes, has only recently begun to be addressed (see Collinson *et al.* 1990; Cockburn 1991). Buswell and Jenkins (1993), for example, contend that equal opportunity programmes often become merely a vehicle for men managers 'to talk to other men' and to deny that gender inequalities continue to exist. Such programmes not only unite men, but also individualize and divide women, particularly between 'full-time achievers and the the rest' (1983, p. 14).

A parallel debate concerning 'sameness' or 'difference' has been a recurrent concern in feminist theorizing about women and men (Banks 1981). Should women be treated as similar to or as different from men? Some writers have sought to emphasize sameness and deny women's difference (e.g. Kanter 1977; Rosener 1990), while others advocate the celebration of women's difference both from men and between women (e.g. Gilligan 1982; Griffin 1982). Bacchi (1990) criticizes the polarized nature of these debates, arguing that a concern with sameness *or* difference 'places unacceptable boundaries on the possibilities for change' (1990, p. xv) and distracts attention from the pressing need for institutional transformations in gender relations based on specific policy initiatives.[8]

Table 2: *Types of differences between men and between masculinities*

[i]	*age*, or more precisely age-ness (referring to the social construction of age). Thus there are 'young men', 'middle-aged men', 'old men', and many more particular types and these change over time.
[ii]	*appearance*, e.g. 'smart', 'transvestite', 'rough'.
[iii]	*bodily facility*, e.g. 'men with disabilities', 'able-bodied men', 'strong', 'weak'.
[iv]	*care*, e.g. 'professional', 'soft man', 'real man'.
[v]	*economic class*, e.g. 'unemployed', 'working class', 'proletarian', 'shopfloor', 'middle-class', 'petit bourgeois', 'manager', 'bourgeois'.
[vi]	*ethnicity*, e.g. 'black', 'white', 'Jewish', 'Chinese'.
[vii]	*fatherhood and relations to biological reproduction*, e.g. 'fathers' and 'boys'.
[viii]	*leisure*, e.g. 'golfer', 'drinker'.
[ix]	*marital and kinship status*, e.g. 'husbands', 'bachelors', 'divorcee', 'widower', 'uncle'.
[x]	*occupation*, e.g. 'fitter', 'salesman', 'fireman'.
[xi]	*place*, e.g. 'British', 'West Coast', 'Geordie'.
[xii]	*religion*, e.g. 'Moslem', 'atheist'.
[xiii]	*sexuality*, e.g. 'gay', 'bisexual', 'narcissist', 'heterosexual', 'celibate'.
[xiv]	*size*, e.g. 'tall', 'short', 'small', 'big'.
[xv]	*violence*, e.g. 'violent', 'sissy', 'military'.
[xvi]	*personality*, e.g. 'aggressive/passive', 'anxious/confident', 'quiet/garrulous'.
[xvii]	*biography*, e.g. family background, employment history.

Rejecting the reduction of women to a unitary category, Cockburn (1991) insists that women have 'identities formed in gender processes that vary according to whether they are black or white, whether they are lesbian or heterosexual and whether or not they experience disabilities' (1991, p. 3). Drawing upon Bacchi's work, Cockburn criticizes the polarized character of feminist debates that emphasize the importance of *either* sameness or difference. Favouring an analytical framework incorporating both dimensions, she argues that women can be the same *and* different from each other and from men 'at various times and in various ways' (1991, p. 10).

As we have tried to demonstrate, a somewhat similar unresolved debate has characterized critical studies on men and masculinities. Drawing upon the arguments of Bacchi and Cockburn, we emphasize a corresponding need to acknowledge these tensions and to consider the unities, differences and their interrelations in developing an analytical framework for critical studies on men and masculinities. Thus in organizations there are tensions between the collective power of men and masculinities, and differentiation amongst men and masculinities. Of especial importance are the differentiations between men and between masculinities that are in part defined by other social and organizational divisions and inequalities such as those between managers and workers.

In sum, the analysis of gendered power relations continues to be characterized by various conceptual difficulties. We suggest that the increasing emphasis on multiplicity and differentiation needs to be combined with a consideration of men's unities and their interrelations. In order to develop the critical analysis of gendered power relations and men and masculinities in contemporary organizations, we also argue that an examination of the relations, discourses and practices of managers *and managements* constitutes a potentially illuminating as well as frequently neglected area. A great deal of critical work on gender in employment has explored the experience of subordination, and of being managed, while comparatively less attention has been paid to the gendered conditions, processes and consequences of those who exercise considerable hierarchical power in organizations. While

much of the literature on management has neglected gender issues, critical studies on gender have frequently failed to examine management and managers. Drawing upon the foregoing theme of unities and differences between men and masculinities, the following section seeks to highlight some of the key issues to be addressed in the analysis of organizations and managements.

Multiple masculinities and managements

So, how are these multiple masculinities historically embedded in organizational practices? What would a simultaneous emphasis upon unities and differences look like? We will now elaborate and illustrate our argument that various masculinities are central to the exercise of gendered power in organizations. In this section we outline several masculinities that seem to remain pervasive and privileged in organizations broadly and management more specifically, and examine their reproduction through the subjective search to identify and differentiate self. This brief account is by no means intended to be exhaustive, but rather seeks to be suggestive of new ways of analysing men and masculinities and thus power relations in contemporary organizations. It is concerned to emphasize not only how various masculinities frequently shape managerial practices, but also the way what managerial practices can impact on the emergence of various masculinities in the workplace.

In what follows we identify five discourses and practices of masculinity that appear to remain pervasive and dominant in organizations: authoritarianism; paternalism; entrepreneurialism; informalism and careerism. These are particularly interrelated with different managerial styles. Seeking to illustrate the way that power is routinely exercised in organizations, they are presented in an ideal-typical and discrete way, whereas in practice they are likely to overlap and co-exist within specific processes. We will now consider each in turn.

Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism is typically but not exclusively related to those in positions of seniority. It is characterized by an intolerance of dissent or difference, a rejection of dialogue and debate and a preference for coercive power relations based on dictatorial control and unquestioning obedience. Maddock and Parkin (1993) refer to this as the 'barrack yard culture'

highlighting the way in which aggressive masculinity is deeply embedded in such autocratic practices.

Based upon bullying and the creation of fear in subordinates, authoritarianism celebrates a brutal and aggressive masculinity; a criterion by which self and others are judged. It is therefore a primary source of identification with and differentiation from others. Hostility is aimed at those who fail to comply with this aggressive masculinity, e.g. women and any men as individuals or in groups that possess little institutional power and status (e.g. black people). In dismissing these groups as 'weak', those who invest in authoritarianism try to differentiate and elevate their own masculine identity and power. The coercive regime of Harold Geneen at International Telephone and Telegraph is a vivid illustration of an authoritarian, highly masculine style of management (see Morgan 1986, pp. 125–6; Pascale and Athos 1982).

Paternalism

By contrast, in paternalism, men eschew coercion and seek to exercise power by emphasizing the moral basis of cooperation, the protective nature of their authority, the importance of personal trust relations and the need for employees both to invest voluntarily in their work task and to identify with the company. Highlighting the interdependent nature of hierarchical relations, paternalism engages in the 'pretence of equality for the purpose of securing instrumental gain' (Kerfoot and Knights 1993, p. 670). It is also a specifically masculine discourse of control that draws on the familial metaphor of the 'rule of the father' who is authoritative, benevolent, self-disciplined and wise.

A central self-justifying claim of paternalism is that power is exercised in positive ways which enhance subordinates' self-interests. Such practices are usually represented by their perpetrators as 'benefitting' and 'protecting' their victims (Pollert 1981; Lown 1983; Bradley 1986). 'Power is exercised for the "good" of the recipient' (Kerfoot and Knights 1993, p. 665). Paternalism frequently has the effect of reinforcing employees' compliance and legitimizing managerial prerogative both for those who are excluded (or 'protected') from decision-making and for the decision-makers themselves (Collinson et al. 1990).

Investing in paternalism, managers seek to differentiate themselves from women and identify with other men. Older men in particular are likely to be paternalistic towards their younger male colleagues. Maddock and Parkin (1993) term this 'The Gentleman's

Club': a polite, 'civilized' and exclusive male culture where women (and indeed younger men) are kept firmly in established roles by older male managers who are courteous and humane. So long as women conform to conventional notions of female identity, they will experience little hostility. Within these protective practices, women are treated as too 'delicate' and 'precious' to be involved in the so-called harsh world of business (Collinson and Knights 1986). Such practices can be traced back to a 19th century middle class conception of masculinity in which men are expected to behave in accordance with 'gentlemanly principles' and where authority was ascribed on the basis of seniority, social privilege and birthright.

Entrepreneurialism

By contrast, entrepreneurialism articulates a 'hard-nosed' and highly competitive approach to business and organization and is associated with more recent management styles. Prioritizing performance levels, budget targets, 'penetrating new markets and territories' profits, production and costs, entrepreneurialism elevates economic efficiency and managerial control at the expense of all other criteria. Within this discourse, men as managers identify with other men who are as competitive as themselves, willing to work at a similar pace, endure long hours, be geographically mobile and meet tight production deadlines. These requirements tend to exclude some men who are not considered 'man enough' or predatory enough to satisfy them and most women, whose employment, particularly in senior positions, is often seen as incompatible with entrepreneurial concerns.

Differences between men regarding entrepreneurialism are likely to be articulated along the axis of age, often with younger men being more willing to invest in this discourse than their older counterparts, many of whom may be more comfortable with a paternalistic workplace culture. This is illustrated by the selling function of many organizations where men over forty-five (approximately) find it increasingly difficult to compete for business with younger colleagues and thus to perform according to the expectations of their employer. Many older men in sales and middle management have lost their jobs in the retrenchment of the late 1980s and early 1990s.[9] For the younger men who remain, however, their performance is likely to be increasingly monitored, evaluated and stratified. Embroiled in the struggle to be constantly productive and achieving, their masculine identities are likely

to be precarious and insecure 'constantly preoccupied with purposive action in the drive to be "in control"' (Kerfoot and Knights 1993).

Equally, within this discourse of gendered entrepreneurialism, pregnancy and domestic commitments are often treated as taboo because they are perceived to challenge and even undermine everyday business practice and the taken-for-granted masculine discourse of control that separates 'public' and 'private' life (Martin 1990).[10] Returning to our example of selling, research suggests that a deep-seated antagonism to women's conventional domestic commitments frequently pervades this organizational function. Only those women who can comply with the male model of breadwinner employment patterns are likely to be acceptable within this dominant discourse. These women are liable to be divorced with dependent children. Hence, like young salesmen, they are perceived to bring their motivation with them, they are 'needy and greedy' (Collinson and Knights 1986).

Informalism

Research has conclusively revealed the way in which men often try to build informal workplace relationships with one another on the basis of shared masculine interests and common values (e.g. Cockburn 1983; Gray 1987; Collinson 1992). Within these informal relationships men are often concerned to identify with other men within the 'in-group', while simultaneously differentiating themselves from other groups of men and from women. Typically, the informal currency between men at various hierarchical levels will concentrate on humour, sport, cars, sex, women and drinking alcohol. In the worst cases, these informal and aggressive dynamics of masculinity in the workplace may also result in sexual harassment, the reduction of women in the organization to sexual objects and, where career successful, the undermining of their competence on the grounds that they must have used their sexuality to secure hierarchical advance.

The conditions, processes and consequences of informal relationships between men are not merely confined to working class employment settings such as those outlined earlier (Scase and Goffee 1989). Maddock and Parkin (1993) refer to this informalism that tends to exclude and subordinate women as 'the Locker Room Culture'. They argue that 'It is not just junior women who are subjected to Locker Room Culture, women with power but who are isolated as chief executives or directors tell us that they have to listen to endless references to sport and sex in both formal and informal

situations' (1993, p. 5).[11] Moreoever, these informal relations between men frequently transcend organizational boundaries. Relationships are developed with men working in other organizations, for example through occupational meetings (e.g. regional meetings of the Institute of Personnel Management) and through leisure/sports groups (e.g. squash, cricket, football, golf clubs).

A particularly familiar example of the influence of informal social relations on employment practices can be found in academic work. In the aforementioned article by Morgan (1981), he describes the influence of informal interactions between male academics, particularly those conducted in the faculty club, staff bar or local pub. He argues that such informal dynamics frequently counterbalance the potentially divisive tendencies of 'academic machismo' (discussed earlier). Arguing that the pub is still perceived as a male dominated arena, Morgan refers to this tendency of men to feel more at ease in other men's company as 'male homosociability'[12] (1981, p. 102). While the exclusion of women (and some men) from these informal interactions and relationships need not always be deliberately intended or acknowledged, he argues, they are likely to have these effects. This can be particularly important, according to Morgan, because social drinking between academics can provide an enormous amount of valuable work-related as well as personal information.

So far, we have discussed four discourses and practices of masculinity that seem to reflect and reinforce a simultaneous sense of unity and differentiation for men in organizations. Indeed these unities and differences appear to be mutually reinforcing. However, they are also quite fragile, precarious and shifting. Accordingly, they do not always establish the mutual trust, cooperation and loyalty that is claimed for them. The depth and extent of these shared unities and masculine identifications between men should therefore not be overstated. One primary reason for the fragility underpinning these unities is the extent to which more individualistic and competitive concerns also simultaneously characterize men and masculine discourses in organizations.

Careerism

Competition between men in organizations can take many symbolic and/or economic forms. In the case of middle class masculinities especially, competition is often expressed in the widespread preoccupation with hierarchical advance; careerism. The search to validate masculine identity through upward progress

inevitably intensifies competition within organizations. Careerism can become a primary orientation to work characterized by an excessive concern with impression management and the differentiation and elevation of self. Such competitive strategies often reflect the way in which (middle class) men in organizations routinely define themselves and are defined as the privatized breadwinner whose primary purpose is to 'provide' for their families. Competition for career progress comes to be synonymous with conventional masculinity. Upward mobility can therefore become a key objective in the search to secure a stable masculine identity. A 'successful' career may be an important medium through which middle class men seek to establish masculine identities in the workplace. Yet careerism is also likely to intensify the threat to such identities in the current conditions of 'delayering', widespread redundancies and extensive career bottlenecks.

Committed to upward progress, men in organizations are willing to work longer hours, meet tight deadlines, travel extensively, participate in residential training courses and move house at the behest of the company. These work demands are likely to be incompatible with domestic responsibilities. Seeking to comply with the increasingly unrealistic expectations of corporate cultures and of 'total quality management', for example, men in junior and senior management frequently depend upon the support of wives to manage all domestic and familial matters. Paradoxically, attempts to create a corporate culture in the workplace can therefore distance aspiring men from their own domestic concerns and responsibilities. The search for the 'happy family' in employment may be at the cost of an increasingly unhappy family in the domestic sphere. In consequence, the pressure to conform to corporate demands, combined with individuals' own concern with career progress, creates deep-seated divisions, not only between men employees, but also between their paid work and home life.

These differences, divisions and conflicts between men and multiple masculinities in organizations are particularly acute within the managerial function. Contrary to the views of earlier critical writers on management who tended to emphasize the function's unity, homogeneity and omniscience (e.g. Braverman 1974; Edwards 1979), there are a great variety of real and potential differences, divisions and/or conflicts within and between managerial groups and hierarchies. Managerial differences, for example, may be related to hierarchical position, age, industry and organization, region and country and, in

particular, discipline and function. They may also be significantly shaped and reproduced through multiple masculinities.

Managerial differences can quickly turn into sources of conflict. For example young managers adhering to an 'entrepreneurial' philosophy may be in conflict with older managers who prefer a more 'paternalistic' style. Similarly, marketing managers may be struggling for power and influence with their managerial counterparts in production or accounting, as Armstrong (1984, 1986) has revealed in relation to the managerial professions of accountancy, engineering and personnel. A manager in sales may see a colleague in the same function as a serious threat to hierarchical progress such that career rivalry significantly shapes future behaviour.

These differences and conflicts between managers may be related to structural struggles for organizational power and influence and/or they may be shaped by the identity preoccupations of individual managers concerned with self-differentiation, self-elevation and the negation of others. In either case, we argue that multiple masculinities may well shape the motives, processes and outcomes of these intra-managerial conflicts for organizational power, status and identity. The growing critical literature on difference, division and conflict within managerial hierarchies (e.g. Child 1985; Hyman 1987; Armstrong 1984, 1986) has tended to neglect the influence of masculinities within and between managerial hierarchies despite the latter's continued dominance by men. It has also failed to address the way that these managerial alliances, differences and conflicts are likely to shift considerably over time and place.

In sum, we suggest that further research could critically examine the tensions and conflicts within these managerial hierarchies and their interrelationships with gender dynamics broadly and multiple masculinities more specifically. Further analyses might critically examine the way that multiple masculinities may be *both* a crucial basis for alliances and unities between men managers and a source of tension, division and conflict within and between managerial hierarchies. They could examine the ways in which managerial roles and identities are developed through gender relations and masculinities and indeed the ways in which particular masculinities are constructed through managerial roles and identities. Ideally these analyses would present theoretically informed case study accounts of specific organizational practices. By developing analyses of men as managers and managers as men, we may in turn produce innovative and more sophisticated accounts of the conditions, processes and consequences of power relations in contemporary organizations. In doing so we may also enhance our understanding of the management of specific gender issues in organizations, such as the extent and nature of barriers both to equal opportunity initiatives (see, for example, Buswell and Jenkins 1993) and to the management of sexual harassment cases (see, for example, Collinson and Collinson 1992).

Conclusion

This paper has sought to contribute to the growing interrelated concerns to name men as men and to examine the gendered nature of power relations in contemporary organizations. In particular, it has considered the value, problems and unresolved difficulties of focusing upon multiple masculinities as they emerge in organizational processes of control, compliance and resistance. We have outlined several dominant masculinities that seem to remain pervasive, persistent and privileged especially (but not exclusively) within the discourses and practices of managers and management. In addition to identifying these masculinities, we have been concerned to examine the conditions, processes and consequences of their reproduction in routine organizational practices.

These masculinities in contemporary organizations have been shown to be characterized by contradictory tensions. On the one hand, men often collaborate, cooperate and identify with one another in ways that display a shared unity and consolidate power between them. Yet on the other hand, these same masculinities can also be characterized simultaneously by conflict, competition and self-differentiation in ways that highlight and intensify the differences and divisions between men. There seem to be deep-seated tensions, ambiguities and contradictions at the heart of these dominant masculinities in the workplace. All the more so when we recognize that men often seek to construct a collective sense of unity and identification with some men, based upon their differentiation from women (and other men). In consequence, these unities between men should not be overstated since they are often precarious, shifting and instrumental. Hence we conclude that more analytical attention should concentrate upon the unities, differences and interrelations between men and masculinities as they are reproduced historically in organizational practices.

This is especially the case in the area of management where analyses of gender and masculinity have been particularly neglected both by conventional and radical writers alike. Studies in this area have the potential to develop new forms of analysis of power in organizations. For example, more work could focus upon the conditions, processes and consequences of men's networks in managerial hierarchies. Relatedly, the impact of 'mentoring' between older and younger managers and the transferring of power from one generation of men managers to another could receive much more detailed attention (Roper forthcoming). In turn, this focus upon mentor-protegé relations might lead to further examination of management succession practices. Work is also needed on the way that different masculinities may be deeply embedded historically in the nature and definition of specific managerial functions such as marketing (Morgan forthcoming); and accounting (Lehman and Tinker forthcoming). This could also highlight the relationship between particular notions of rationality, masculinity and management.

Currently, there is a growing organizational interest in performance-related pay, appraisal and evaluation. These managerial practices of surveillance may also constitute an exercise of gendered power within organizations (Kerfoot and Knights forthcoming). For in classifying, distinguishing and dividing individuals one from another, these evaluative processes may well reflect and reinforce particular masculinities within organizational practices. Here again, further analysis would be useful.

Research might examine not only the unities, commonalities and mutual identifications between men and between masculinities, but also the various ways in which these are threatened by current developments in organizations. For example the current tensions in many organizations between different styles of managers and of managing are particularly important to explore. Contemporary interest in new managerial initiatives such as total quality management (TQM) and 'empowerment' presuppose an entirely different way of managing that may be antithetical to the masculine and hierarchical identities and notions of authority of conventional management.

Similarly, equal opportunity initiatives, the need to compete with women for particular jobs, career bottlenecks and redundancies all constitute significant challenges to men's conventional gender identities. Widespread organizational downsizing, short-term contracts and work intensification seem to be reinforcing the fear, anxiety and insecurity of

middle-range men managers in particular, who are increasingly having to recognize that their working lives are constantly being evaluated and are often outside of their own control. One possible response to these economic and symbolic pressures will be to engage in further practices of impression management. So, for example, recent research by one of us in a financial services organization has found that some men in management are leaving their jackets on their chairs overnight to give the impression that they are still at work and thus that they are highly committed and working long hours. Increasingly, in this company managers recognize the primary importance for organizational survival of 'personal reputation' and thus the need to manage appearances. They are also aware of the precariousness and fragility of their reputations, which tend to be based on very recent events and work output.[13] The gendered nature of impression management in organizations could therefore be an illuminating focus for future research.

Finally, it is equally important to examine the *consequences* of men's continued dominance of organizational processes. This could lead to critical analyses in organizations for example; of the lack of long-term vision in policy, strategy and investment decisions, low employee morale, poor communication and negative working relationships, the absence of research and design initiatives and creativity (e.g. regarding ecological issues), the increasingly large salaries of senior managers and board members and even the proliferation of white collar crime and corporate corruption. While the negative consequences of organizational and managerial practices could not be explained exclusively in terms of the persistent dominance of men and masculinities, this may well play a significant interrelated role in their reproduction.

Furthermore, deploying a broader than usual definition of 'management' (see Collinson 1992), attention could usefully be paid to the management of paid work and the domestic sphere, of 'public' and 'private' life (Wajcman 1993). All employees are involved in managing themselves and the relationship between paid work and home. A crucial aspect of this management process, as feminist writers have reminded us, is the organization of child care; a responsibility that men and managers have generally avoided and have left to women.

Men as managers and managers as men have frequently 'distanced' themselves from children and family responsibilities thereby reinforcing their sense of separation between paid work and domestic life. Within

organizations, such 'distancing' strategies are often interpreted in a positive light as evidence both of commitment to the company and of strength in the individual displayed in their ability to control 'private life' by keeping it separate from employment. Men often feel compelled[14] to accept organizational requests to be geographically mobile, for example, despite the likely disruptive consequences that will ensue for children, relatives and wives (who may be pursuing their own careers).

Individuals are frequently evaluated in organizations according to their ability to control their lives by retaining a separation between 'home' and 'work'. Given the increasingly evaluative nature of organizational practices, men believe that they cannot afford to be seen as 'out of control', as being unable to separate 'work' from 'home'. Hence they invest in displaying a distance from the domestic sphere and thereby reproduce and reinforce the deep-seated 'masculinity' of shopfloor, office, managerial and boardroom cultures. These kinds of pressures and demands can contribute significantly to the breakdown of marriages and lead to divorce. Accordingly, further research on this issue may 'bring home' to men (in more ways than one) the importance of critically examining the conventional masculinities that remain so pervasive in contemporary organizations.

In turn these arguments highlight the way in which time and its management are often gendered. Women's and men's experience of managing time are frequently very different. Women typically have to manage and juggle a 'plethora of timetables' (Buswell and Jenkins 1993, p. 9) that overlap between paid work and domestic responsibilities. By contrast, men's notions of time often involve the subordination of other aspects of their lives to their employment. Residential training programmes, working on days off, unplanned overtime, moveable shifts and long hours all reflect and reinforce the dominant masculinity of workplace (and managerial) culture. As Buswell and Jenkins (1993, p. 9) remind us, men's understanding of time 'seems to be based on the patriarchal notion that home hinders "proper" work', while in practice their time is often made available by women's labour and flexibility.

To conclude, this paper has been concerned to name men as men and to highlight some of the interrelationships of gendered power and multiple masculinities with a whole variety of organizational roles, relations, processes and practices. These are frequently mutually embedded and mutually constituting. More research studies are needed that critically examine the conditions, processes and consequences through which the power and status of men and masculinities are reproduced within organizational and managerial practices. Indeed, the presentation of such work at academic conferences should help to challenge the sort of reactions by men outlined at the beginning of this paper.

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. Indeed his paper which was presented in the postmodernist stream, actually addressed important gender issues. It was therefore an exception that proved the rule.
2. Having said that, we agree with Morgan's point that 'bringing men back in' and 'taking gender into account' is by no means a straightforward task, particularly because it requires a reflexive form of analysis especially for men. As he elaborates, 'In case, in what is to follow, I may appear to be adopting an "holier than thou" attitude towards my male colleagues let me say that I am describing practices and attitudes which I recognise within myself and in which I have participated' (Morgan 1981, p. 101). In writing this paper, we would concur with these sentiments. As one reviewer reminded us, this is a paper written by men, writing about men and naming men as men!
3. A slightly different set of structures has been highlighted by Hearn (1987, 1992b), as follows: reproduction of labour power, procreation, regeneration, degeneration, violence, sexuality, and ideology. The specification of six structures should not be seen as sacrosanct. The main point is that patriarchy may be better understood as diversified and differentiated rather than unified and monolithic.
4. These approaches draw upon and re-write traditional psychoanalytical approaches by focusing on the central role of language and the key concept of desire (see Easthope 1986). Neo-Lacanian psychoanalytic theory has been very influential in constructing subjectivity and sexuality as very much about each other; whereas there is no necessary reason why this should always be the case.
5. This increasing focus on sexuality does not necessarily bring with it an individualistic perspective. Post-structuralist and related approaches have been at pains to show that sexuality may be experienced in relation to individual identities but it simultaneously operates trans-individually not least through structured discourse. Thus sexuality may be that which is felt to be most one's own

(MacKinnon 1982), yet is equally open to deconstruction.

6. This critique could actually cover a great deal of academic work. Moreover, it could be argued that the construction of 'types' and the objectification of subjects informs and is reproduced through conventional hierarchical relations.

7. Such identity processes, of course, are partly institutionalized in the hierarchical structures of organizations which unite and differentiate individuals by stratifying them according to gender, ethnicity and various other inequalities. These hierarchies, however, are reproduced by individuals' concern to sustain identity and difference through the subjective processes of identification and differentiation.

8. Bacchi (1990) also argues that writers such as Banks (1981) distort the history of feminist thought by reducing it to a simplistic dichotomy between sameness and difference. On the basis of a detailed historical analysis, she suggests that feminists have only used such arguments for strategic and political reasons to promote change. Within various unattractive alternatives, these have been the only appropriate arguments to use to improve women's lives. They constitute only a partial representation of detailed feminist analyses.

9. In the U.S. context, Cascio (1993, p. 96) has argued that 'Nearly a million US managers earning more than $40,000 a year lost their jobs in 1991, and, in fact, each year for the past three years, between one and two million middle managers were laid off'.

10. In practice, of course, a similar concern to separate 'business matters' from those of pregnancy and domesticity frequently characterizes authoritarianism and paternalism.

11. Indeed, it is frequently the case for example that being the supporter of a particular soccer club or other sports team can become an important aspect of men's identity within the workplace.

12. Here Morgan draws on Lipman-Blumen's definition of homosocial as 'the seeking, enjoyment and/or preference for the company of the same sex' (Lipman-Blumen 1976, p. 16, cited in Morgan 1981, p. 102).

13. In this company several managers have stated in research interviews that 'you are only as good as your last piece of work'. This culture of fear and anxiety in management is of course reinforced by the extent to which men seek to invest their sense of identity in the workplace. Accordingly, any change or negative aspect of work can constitute a threat to identity. It can literally 'man-age'.

14. Given the nature of contemporary work organization, in many respects this sense of compulsion is probably a very appropriate feeling. Hierarchical progression is a pervasive and taken for granted practice in most organizations. Overt resistance to career structures will frequently be self-defeating. Where individuals will have more discretion is in the extent to which they seek to invest a sense of identity in hierarchical advancement.

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