



Exploration of masculinities in academic organisations: A tentative typology using career and relationship commitment

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Abstract

In the Irish context and internationally a good deal of attention has been paid to the performance of masculinity among school students. However with a small number of notable exceptions, relatively little attention has been paid to masculinities in academic organisations. Drawing on a qualitative study in one university, this article proposes a tentative typology of masculinities in such an organisation. This typology involves two axes: career commitment and relationship commitment (with respondents classified as strong or weak on each dimension). Four types of masculinities are identified: Type 1: Careerist masculinity: Strong career and weak relationship commitment; Type 2: Enterprising masculinity: Strong career and strong relationship commitment; Type 3: Pure scientific masculinity: Weak career and weak relationship commitment; Type 4: Family oriented breadwinning masculinity: Weak career and strong relationship commitment. The titles careerist masculinity and family oriented breadwinning masculinity reflect generic characteristics. The titles of the other two types reflect the data derived from this particular sample. Since one of the important contributions of this article is an understanding of masculinities in an academic organisation, labels

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which relate to that context have been used. Although three of these types modify hegemonic careerist masculinity, they all reflect the persistence of an underlying system of male privileging in the changing landscape of higher education. This typology is seen as potentially having implications for theories and practices of motivation and management in academic organisations.

Keywords

Academic organisations, career, masculinities, relational commitment, typology

Introduction

The identification of multiple masculinities, including hegemonic, complicit, subordinated, marginalised (Connell, 1995), constructed within the context of unequal gender relations between men, as well as between men and women, opened up the possibility of a more critical and nuanced reflection on variation in types of masculinities within particular contexts. This was an important stimulus for this article focusing on different types of masculinities in a particular organisational context.

The concept of hegemonic masculinity, with its focus on culturally valued forms of masculinity which legitimate hierarchical gender relations between men and women (Connell, 1987; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Messerschmidt, 2012), has been hugely influential despite being widely critiqued (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Hearn, 1996, 2004, 2014; Messerschmidt, 2012; Schippers, 2007). Two of the most relevant criticisms involve the absence of a focus on masculinity at the micro level (Christensen and Jensen, 2014), and the initial tendency (reversed by Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) to fail to focus on hegemonic masculinities at the organisational level. Drawing on data collected as part of a wider cross-national study of the gendering of careers and constructions of excellence in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM disciplines), this article proposes a typology of masculinity among academic and research staff in one university. It raises questions about whether this typology reflects changing forms of masculinity that still implicitly include male privileging.

Messerschmidt (2012: 65) claims that hegemonic masculinities are always open to challenge and that change often inspires new strategies in gender relations and results in new configurations of masculinity. Thus a widespread movement by western universities from collegial to managerial structures (Lynch et al., 2012; Morley, 2013; O'Connor, 2014) implicitly raises questions about its implications for changing constructions of masculinity. The article challenges the assumption underlying managerialism that, at the micro level, male university staff uniformly endorse careerism (Collinson and Hearn, 1996). This article is also seen as raising issues about the impact of structural position on ways of 'doing masculinity', and the implications of this for mechanisms of managerial control.

Hegemonic features are those that serve the interests of those in a dominant position, legitimate their ascendancy and encourage consent and compliance (Gramsci, 1971; Schippers, 2007). Hegemonic masculinity has increasingly been seen as varying in content within and across societies and organisations (Collinson and Hearn, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005: 853) argue that gender

relations are always arenas of tension, and that a given pattern of hegemonic masculinity 'is hegemonic to the extent that it provides a solution to these tensions, tending to stabilize patriarchal power or to reconstitute it in new conditions'. 'Doing masculinity', even when it occurs in an organisational context (Wharton, 2012), reflects and reinforces wider gender status beliefs (Frazer, 2008; Ridgeway, 2011), which place greater value on masculinity than femininity (albeit that various types are differentially valued). It is theoretically possible that new forms of masculinity may erode patriarchal privileging: a 'patriarchal dividend' in terms of a 'material dividend', 'honour prestige and the power to command' (Connell, 1995) and a gendered culture of entitlement (Lewis and Smithson, 2001).

Nationally and internationally a good deal of attention has been paid to the performance of masculinity among school students (Frosh et al., 2002; Ging, 2005; Willis, 1977). It is thus surprising that, with a small number of exceptions (such as Haywood and Mac an Ghiail, 2012; Messerschmidt, 2012; Thornton, 1989), little attention has been paid to 'doing masculinity' by university staff.

In summary, this article is concerned with describing variation in such masculinities at a micro level. Drawing on data from the qualitative study, a tentative typology is proposed which unravels constructions of masculinity that do/do not comply with hegemonic constructions. It is suggested that although it is theoretically possible that enactments of masculinities may not involve gendered power (Christensen and Jensen, 2014), in practice patriarchal privileging persists.

The national and organisational context

Ireland has traditionally been a very patriarchal society. The gender order (Thurén, 2000) has been seen as having a wider scope, a stronger force and being more hierarchical than in Sweden (O'Connor and Goransson, 2014). In Ireland, even yet, men are over-represented in decision making structures (making up 85% of those in the House of Parliament [Dáil]: CSO, 2014). Married women were legally obligated and/or socially encouraged to resign from paid employment on marriage up to 1973 (O'Connor, 1998). These patterns changed particularly in the Celtic Tiger period (1997–2007). By 2014, there was relatively little difference in the proportion of men and women in paid employment (66% for men and 56% for women: CSO, 2014). However, men's working hours on average are longer than women's (39 hours versus 31 hours for women). Married men work even longer hours and roughly one-third of households still have a sole main breadwinner (CSO, 2014). What limited evidence there is in an Irish context suggests that constructions of adult hegemonic masculinity are rather narrowly focused: involving breadwinning, physical contact team based sports, aggressive behaviour, lack of emotional vulnerability, toughness, absence and fear of intimacy (Barnes, 2012; Cleary, 2005; Ging, 2005; McCormack and Gleeson, 2012; Ni Laoire, 2005; O'Connor, 2008, 2014; O'Connor et al., 2002).

Public universities in Ireland are at a point of transition from collegiality to managerialism. Collegiality, the traditional model in universities, has been described as governance 'by a community of scholars' (Meek, 2002: 254). In the collegial model, formal decision making is through a committee structure in which academics are strongly represented and which preserves their professional autonomy, while their authority is exercised 'through expertise, peer equality and consensus decision making, all operating through white middle

class male academics' (Hearn, 2001: 76). Managerialism reflects the influence of neoliberalism and 'involves governing through enacting technical changes imbued with market values' (Lynch, 2014). It has been linked with decreasing state support in an increasingly neoliberal context which has introduced bureaucratic procedures to assess academic performance. The implications of such developments for constructions of masculinity among university staff is unclear. Miliband (1982: 87) uses the word intellectuals 'to denote the people who are mainly concerned with the formation, articulation and dissemination of ideas'. Anti-intellectualism in Irish society, where issues or positions that do not lead to action are described as 'purely academic' (i.e. irrelevant), further complicates the issue. However the close relationship between intellectuals and power in Gramsci's (1971) work sits uneasily with a traditional scientific discourse with its stress on objective knowledge created by degendered scientists (Rhoton, 2011).

Typically in the academic organisation being studied, as in most other Irish universities, there is a general academic and a separate research career trajectory. The academic career path is hierarchical, consisting of five core academic levels, ascending from entry (lecturer), to the top academic position (full professor), with an incremental (and increasing) salary range at each level. Access to the entry (lecturer) position is by open competition with access to other positions, apart from that of (full) professor, being substantially in terms of internal promotion. All of these are identified as academics. The research career trajectory (in contrast to that existing in many other countries) is completely separate from the academic one, has a much more attenuated career structure and is more project based. As in most other Irish universities, that research career consists of three positions: postdoctoral researcher, research fellow and senior research fellow. Officially each of these research positions is short term (typically two to five years). These are identified as researchers. The Irish government has positioned postdoctoral positions as opportunities for skills development (Forfas, 2008) rather than (as in the past) a preparation for employment in higher education institutions. There is no institutional mechanism for moving between these positions, with access to them being dependent on funding, typically through the grant holder located on the academic hierarchy.

Methodology

This research was conducted as part of a wider cross-national study exploring gender relations in seven academic organisations (mainly universities). The data in this article were part of a wider study of one Irish university which involved 60 interviews with men and women at different levels and functions. It included an examination of the career trajectories of men and women at early, mid and senior career levels. Masculinity was not the focus of this research, but was one of a number of themes that emerged from detailed thematic content analysis of the interview data in that organisation.

This article draws on data collected from a purposive sample of men ($n = 18$) located mainly but not exclusively at the lower echelons of the academic and research career hierarchies in STEM disciplines (areas of predominantly male employment in male dominated hierarchical structures). Three men with positions at each of postdoctoral researcher, research fellow and senior research fellow on the research trajectory; and lecturer (level 1), lecturer (level 2) and professor (level 5) on the academic hierarchy

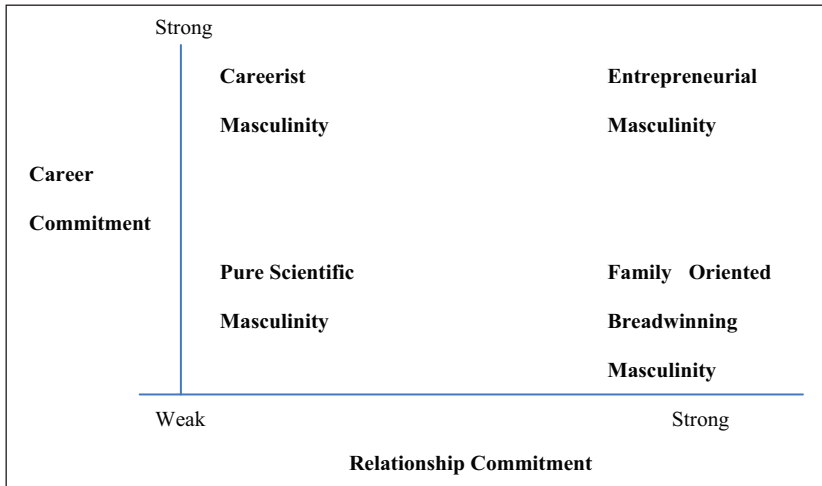


Figure 1. Tentative typology of masculinities in academic organisations.

participated in in-depth, qualitative, semi-structured interviews which explored their career histories, achievements and aspirations. The respondents were selected through purposive sampling and none refused to participate.

The study was approved by the relevant ethics committee. Interviews lasted between one and two hours. Pseudonyms are used and in the interests of confidentiality, identifying information is removed. All the interviews were tape recorded and transcribed and the interviewees were all offered the opportunity to edit the transcripts so as to eliminate any possible identifying details. Hearn (1996) has stressed the importance of deconstructing dominant constructions of masculinity. This is particularly relevant in contexts where it has been assumed that career commitment is a life-long component of masculinity and that work/life balance issues do not affect men. In looking at men's orientations and practices regarding their work and careers, two dimensions were identified: career commitment and relationship commitment and these were used to form a typology. This typology was developed inductively. Each transcript was assessed by the authors on each dimension, and further represented as either strong or weak (see Figure 1). A case based analytic approach was used to allocate the cases to the four quadrants while a qualitative analysis of each transcript focused on the ways in which it both fitted a particular quadrant and spoke to a particular form of masculinity. A thematic analysis across the cases also afforded the opportunity to identify other themes and patterns within the data. The approach sought to ground interviews in the 'lived reality' of participants' experiences. The richness of the data facilitated theoretical development concerning types of masculinity rather than claims about the generalisability of these types. This typology is designed to speak to the meta level of theory. It is a way of organising cases on a small number of dimensions for the purposes of conceptual illumination. Typologies can be criticised for being static. However masculinities are performed at a moment in historical time, in the context of those that are culturally available at that time.

The first axis represents career commitment. Implicitly underpinning the concept of career is the idea of a positional hierarchical career path. Career is defined by Blau (1985 [2011]) as having the same meaning as vocation, occupation or profession. Carson and Bedeian (1994) developed a three-dimensional model of affective career commitment: including an emotional attachment to this vocation (Blau, 1985 [2011]), career planning (London, 1985) and career resilience including steadfastness (Lydon and Zanna, 1990). These elements underpinned the assessment of these men's career commitment.

The other axis represents relationship commitment, focusing on the prioritisation of relationships in situations of actual or potential perceived conflict between such relationships and paid work. This might be on an ongoing basis, as reflected in issues surrounding the reconciliation of work and family, or on a more episodic basis, involving, for example, decisions about relocation or advancement which are perceived as impacting on relationships.

The analysis of cases that fell into each quadrant suggest four types of masculinity :

Type 1: Careerist masculinity: Strong career and weak relationship commitment.

Type 2: Enterprising masculinity: Strong career and strong relationship commitment.

Type 3: Pure scientific masculinity: Weak career and weak relationship commitment.

Type 4: Family oriented breadwinning masculinity: Weak career and strong relationship commitment.

Titles referring to careerist and family orientation reflect generic characteristics. The names of the other two types reflect the data derived from this particular sample. Since one of the important contributions of this article is an understanding of masculinities in an academic context, labels which relate to that context have been used. Type 1 Careerist masculinity and Type 3 Pure scientific masculinity represent traditional, typical forms of masculinity in academia; Type 2 Enterprising masculinity and Type 4 Family oriented breadwinning masculinity are emergent as hegemonic masculinities change within the wider society. Men may move between these types in different contexts or at different life course phases, and institutions may/may not change to permit this to happen. Within the university from which respondents were drawn, Family oriented breadwinning masculinity was the most common type and is hence most extensively discussed below. It can be seen as exemplifying a point of tension between paid work and family: a tension that has been widely discussed in the case of women but (with a small number of notable exceptions such as Harrington et al., 2010; Reddick et al., 2012) is often ignored in the case of men.

Type 1: Careerist masculinity: Strong career and weak relationship commitment

Those in this type have similarities with Collinson and Hearn's (1996) depiction of the enactment of Careerist Masculinity. Organisations in general and the academy in particular have been depicted as 'greedy' organisations (Kvande, 2011; Morley, 2013). Beck (1992: 114) suggested that there was no tension between constructions of masculinity and men's economic role: 'In the stereotypical male gender role as "career man", economic

individualisation *and* masculine behaviour are joined together'. This kind of careerist masculinity can be seen as the most culturally valued in managerialist structures: representing as it does a valorisation of the organisation and the career structures within it. Those in this category were characterised by strong career commitment and a prioritisation of it over relational concerns (with resonances of Thornton's [2013] 'Benchmark Man' and Lynch et al.'s [2012] 'care-lessness'). Thus, as Danny (male academic) saw it, career opportunities were conditional not only on ability but on a willingness to prioritise career demands such as those related to family geographical mobility: 'If you have the appetite and the ability and [are] prepared to uproot your family and bring them with you. And take the pain in that sense. Yea there are definitely opportunities.'

In a university context a strong career commitment was seen as necessary to achieve research output. Dale (male academic) claims that a successful academic career requires 'in my case a ... kind of single mindedness, concentration, the [scientist's] ability to go all OCD [Obsessive Compulsive Disorder] and concentrate on something to the exclusion of everything else'. His career had been characterised by a postgraduate degree, a postdoctoral position outside Ireland and extensive travel: all of which he saw as conducive to moving upwards in the career hierarchy. He had married and had children relatively late in life which he also sees as crucially important in enabling him to prioritise his career (and facilitate his research output, which has been a key element in furthering that career). He demonstrated his success at career planning with a rapid meteoric rise in the career hierarchy: 'from 2005 to ... 2007 was I suppose an acceleration period because I went from being a lecturer to a senior lecturer to a professor in fairly short order'. Even though he is now established in his career, Dale acknowledges that it would be impossible for him to maintain his level of career commitment if parenting was equally shared: 'I couldn't do it without the support of my wife ... Yea she puts a lot of time and energy into it. So, if we were sharing that more equally for instance it would make a big difference to me.'

This kind of masculinity reflects and reinforces the existence of male networks. Networking in a paid work context tends to be seen in terms of its usefulness as a political strategy for advancement. Thus as part of organisational politics, it is linked 'to the processes by which any elite group maintains power' (Mackenzie Davey, 2008: 667), with men tending 'to help their own sex in an unintentional "matter-of-fact" way' (van den Brink and Benschop, 2012: 521). Thus, men such as Wayne (male academic) were very comfortable networking, saw it as 'work' and saw themselves as having extensive networks. These men were currently in the more senior positions.

There were indirect indications that gender based discrimination was still implicitly accepted by those who endorsed careerist masculinity in these masculinist structures. Thus for example, Wayne (male academic) highlighted the problems created by a postdoctoral researcher who became pregnant less than a year into an industry based project. As he saw it: he 'had to fight with the agency to get the maternity leave allowed, so they gave us a small extension on the project, but the industry wasn't happy ... the project never recovered'. Furthermore, he suggested that this affected his future hiring intentions: 'if I have another project, do I go for a woman who is not child bearing? Forty-five and upwards? Or a guy or a girl who's in the early twenties, single, do you know what I mean?' It is clear that he will be reluctant to employ younger women who may become pregnant. Although such an attitude does not discriminate against all women, it does

effectively discriminate against the majority, since the level and salary attached to early research career positions (such as postdoctoral ones) is such that they are most likely to attract younger people at the start of their careers.

Those in this type were typically at the top of the academic career hierarchy and exemplified a careerist masculinity characterised by strong career commitment at the expense of relationship commitment.

Type 2: Enterprising masculinity: Strong career and strong relationship commitment

Those in this type adopted enterprising practices and refused to accept the form of hegemonic masculinity that required prioritisation of career over relationship commitment. They can be regarded as providing potential new kinds of role models in that they tried to maximise the opportunities and rewards from both. Perhaps more than any other type, these are high in career resilience and see themselves as being willing to take risks (London, 1985). One might expect that only those on the research track, with its absence of clear career paths, might be in this type. Surprisingly, however, those in this category included both them and those from the structured academic context. These men manipulated time to enable them to maintain a high level of career and relationship commitment. They used informal arrangements to enable them to meet their domestic responsibilities without availing of formal work/family policies. Similar processes were evident in studies by Kjeldal et al. (2005) and Padavic et al. (2012).

Troy (male academic) describes his priority as his family. He stressed the flexibility he had in the academic environment which enabled him to be available to collect children or to pick up the slack when they were sick by dropping them round to their grandparents, thus illustrating the limited extent of his actual hands-on commitment. He regards his relational concerns as influencing his career choice: 'I came from industry and I did a PhD. I've a young family. I guess it was actually paradoxically easier to do a PhD because we'd get up early in the morning ... I'd do it when we were on holidays.' Troy also demonstrates a high level of career planning: 'I have goals in mind for the next ... I think I'm going to make one more significant career change.' He has a high level of career commitment and seeks new challenges every 10 years or so. His commitment is reflected in his day-to-day work schedule:

I think I work too hard at it ... About seven days a week but I'm in a lucky position. Because of this career path I can't distinguish work from pleasure, so I get a lot of pleasure from writing papers and presenting them, so I would do that on a Sunday evening, I would do it on a Friday evening, so I do things like that, that other people would find laborious. (Troy, male academic)

It appears that, like the male academics in Rafnsdóttir and Heijstra's (2011) study, time flexibility is used to protect his own priorities, reflecting a sense of entitlement which can be seen as a 'patriarchal dividend' (Connell, 1995).

Glen (male researcher) also demonstrates an enterprising type of masculinity insofar as he had moved from a highly paid prestigious permanent job in industry to a lower paid contract job in the university to facilitate his greater involvement in the family. Reflecting

his career commitment, he used that opportunity to negotiate funding for a business qualification: arguably reflecting a strong sense of entitlement and the limited time horizon he implicitly saw as being involved in prioritising family demands. Nevertheless, by changing his job and thus reducing travel time, he ensured that he spent considerably more time with family and had greater flexibility as regards child care:

... a lot of my work ... involved a lot of travel so I was on four flights a week, probably 40 to 50 weeks of the year ... One of the driving forces behind why I took this role is basically because of two small ... two smallies under two or just about two, ... so they're the centre of the universe now I suppose for me, from my perspective at the moment. (Glen, male researcher).

He is happy to prioritise them by taking a contract position at a lower salary, although this means that his position as breadwinner is precarious. Thus he exemplifies a slight but significant change in 'doing man'. He had become a parent relatively late in life (at 40 years) and so this may have affected his perception of its importance. He saw his wife as a huge influence in his life and her career was very much on the rise. Thus in terms of the family's financial well-being it was possible for him to be a risk taker in terms of breadwinning.

Glen's career, like Troy's, demonstrates a restless seeking for new challenges, in his case every three to four years, and he expects to continue doing that over the next 10 years: 'they say that even if you get to the most senior job, you've just gotten to the job that you're slightly under-qualified to do and that's the job I want to get to'. He recognises that he is currently overqualified for the job he is in but he is making optimum use of the opportunities to enhance his future career prospects: 'I don't mean to sound arrogant but that's basically where I see it, you know I position myself for a better role in industry if I were to go back there' – demonstrating his high levels of career identity and career planning.

Paradoxically, cases of enterprising masculinity appeared both in the academic and research contexts, despite their very different career paths. In both cases the men had made career choices which reflected high relationship commitment while retaining high levels of career commitment.

Type 3: Pure scientific masculinity: Weak career and weak relationship commitment

Kvande (2011: 17) refers to the duality of knowledge work which can be 'both seductive and greedy at the same time'. Scientific careers in particular have been depicted as necessitating a lifestyle characterised by total availability and mobility which precludes caring commitments and makes the maintenance of personal relationships extremely difficult. It has been argued that,

Western Science and technology are culturally masculinised. This is not just a question of personnel ... The guiding metaphors of scientific research, the impersonality of its discourse, the structures of power and communication in science, the reproduction of its internal culture, all stem from the social position of dominant men in a gendered world. (Connell, 2005: 6)

The men in this type were broadly uninterested in status, with low levels of career planning or concern with positional titles:

I could not care less if I was called dustbin man. It's just a title. It might help you in forming applications and stuff like that. But as for my own success, your own personal ego or anything it doesn't have any impact ... other than that title was associated with a salary scale, that's the only impact. (Arthur, male researcher)

Arthur had brought in his own funding for over 10 years and was now effectively in a permanent research position, but without any further possibility of career advancement. For him, the enjoyment of the work itself was critical: 'I enjoy what I do, I really do, I really enjoy it ... I enjoy doing what I am doing.' He accepts the absence of a career path on the research side because of his enjoyment of his work: 'It's just the system, get on with it, if you don't like it go somewhere else. I would prefer to be doing what I am doing: everything has plus and minus sides' (Arthur, male researcher). For Bryan (male researcher), the crucial thing is also the enjoyment of the work and he sees career advancement as reducing the actual time available for research and other frontline activities which are what he really enjoys: 'The higher and higher you get up in science the less, the less research you do. And I enjoy doing the research' (Bryan, male researcher). In the absence of any interest in moving upwards in the organisation, networking was unimportant and was reflected in an aversion to politicking.

Potentially scientific constructions of masculinity might be well positioned to be culturally valued in a university context since they assert a construction of masculinity whose basis is gender-neutral scientific expertise. However, there were occasional suggestions that the passionate totally committed concept of the (implicitly male) scientist was being replaced by a more bureaucratic managerialist one: 'Yeah, just tick the boxes, you know, rather than doing good work, tick the boxes and get your promotion ... which is something that doesn't appeal to me ... at all, I'd rather do good work' (Carl, male academic); 'there's also groups that are just ticking the box' (Bryan, male researcher). Bryan rejects the managerialist focus on research output in terms of number of publications. As a scientist he sees quality research as research that: 'answers a question and raises many more questions ... very good research gives you ... many, many more questions' (Bryan, male researcher).

For these men, the key thing was the enjoyment of their scientific work: exemplifying the traditional construction of the academic as preoccupied with their discipline. They demonstrate a breaking of the link between organisational position and masculinity, and are indifferent to managerialist rewards or sanctions. Easy to motivate, they nevertheless constitute a challenge to careerist masculinity in universities. Finally, this group included both those in research positions, with very limited career prospects, as well as those in the academic hierarchy, with its clear career paths.

Type 4: Family oriented breadwinning masculinity: Weak career and strong relationship commitment

Men in this type appear to be similar to Harrington et al.'s (2010) family focused workers and Brannen and Nilsen's (2006) family men who were the main breadwinners and prioritised the

family outside 9–5 p.m. Family constituted an alternative source of meaning and value to these men, albeit that they did not feel ultimately responsible for child care or domestic activities, and none had considered giving up full-time employment or even working part-time for a substantial period of time. They attempted to manage the competing demands of paid work and family by compartmentalisation (as in Reddick et al., 2012).

For Lynch et al. (2012) academia is premised on the care-lessness of those who work there. There is evidence that this has begun to be challenged (see men in management roles: Ford and Collinson, 2011; and early career male academics seeking tenure: Reddick et al., 2012). In this study, those in this category prioritised their family over their career in important decisions and had little career ambition in the sense of wanting to move upwards in the career hierarchy. Nevertheless they continued to work full-time and retained an unproblematic equation between masculinity and paid employment, reflected in their implicit endorsement of full-time breadwinning. However even those men who had a more active commitment to child care saw it very much as an activity usually taking place after working hours, although one which could, in their wife's absence due to work related commitments, include finishing work early to collect the children. Thus, for example, Victor prioritised family after the working day ended, with any earlier involvement being depicted as activated by a phone call from his wife, thus indicating that implicitly, the responsibility for child care usually rested with her:

I have four kids and I like to spend time with them. I'm home every evening. We eat together. I do the baths. I read them books. I read them stories at night. I do all of that. My wife is an X and she has a very busy [role] so it would be fairly regular that she would phone me and ask me if I would collect the kids so it might mean I'd have to leave around half four. (Victor, male academic)

Men in this category referred to the cost of prioritising career advancement over their family and indicated that this was a price that they were not prepared to pay:

... it's a sacrifice that I'm not willing to make ... I look around at what people have to do around here to get promoted and I don't want to, because I won't see my family as much as I want to. That is black and white for me. (Victor, male academic)

Similarly, Danny (male academic) problematised an unthinking commitment to career success at any price: 'I can go further but do I really want to and give up a certain work/life balance?' This group included those in permanent academic positions as well as those on research contracts – underlining the fact that the security of their position as a breadwinner was of surprisingly little concern. Thus Walter stresses the overall positive impact of his current lifestyle on his children, despite the precariousness of his employment:

... a lot of our fulfilment comes from the fact that the kids are really well set up, have a fantastic time, lots of friends and you know that's great and makes us feel settled. In terms of research itself ... there's a finite end ... But I'm not desperately concerned about that. (Walter, male researcher)

Relational ties include not only children, but also ageing parents and other relatives. There were occasional references to such ties as effectively inhibiting men's work options. This was

simply presented in a pragmatic way. Thus for example Vincent (male researcher), in a family of all boys, took a temporary year long position when his father was chronically ill 'in order to be closer to him to help sort that out'. However, it did not involve any consideration of giving up paid employment even for that period. For others, caring had moved entirely into the realm of 'caring about' (Tronto, 1993) insofar as their decisions were influenced by their relationships with partners and relatives: people for whom they had no 'caring for' responsibilities, but whose options and lifestyles would be affected by their decisions.

Women constitute half of those in professional positions in Ireland and 50% of couples are now dual career couples (Lunn and Fahey, 2011). There were occasional comments by men who indicated that they were aware of the difficulties experienced by women in having a geographically mobile career and accommodating it to their husbands' career track: 'Yea. I think it's more difficult potentially for women because there's probably a husband who's got his own career track' (Vincent, male researcher). In other cases, men expressed relational concerns. For example, Johnny (male academic) and his partner had initially relocated to the UK and this had seriously impacted on his partner's career: 'so the choice was to come back to the department role here for her ... so certainly yea for family I came back here really'. This implicitly suggests a basic reciprocity in the dyadic relationship rather than a prioritisation of the male breadwinner's career which has historically and stereotypically been the norm.

Some of those in this type rejected the notion of linear careers or moving up the organisational hierarchy. Thus for example Walter (male researcher) rejected the very idea that he might think in terms of the highest level that he might aspire to in the hierarchy: 'I reject the question because it talks about levels and I don't ... I'm not interested in position ... Yeah, I'm entirely unflustered by having level, it comes with money, but ...'. Similarly Victor (male academic), although he appreciated his current salary, was unimpressed with status: 'I've no interest in career advancement'. For these men, the organisation was perceived in rather instrumental terms as a facilitator of their breadwinner status. Insofar as advancement is not desired, networking becomes an irrelevant activity: with Walter (male researcher) describing himself as 'allergic to it' while others saw themselves as 'no good at it' (Danny, male academic).

Most of these men worked in male dominated areas. Some noted the existence of patterns that implicitly challenged their own views that gender did not matter or that such differences as existed reflected biological realities such as maternity. Thus, for example, as scientists they recognised that the presence of women in some disciplines varied between sectors, cross-nationally and over time. However as in the case of young Irish adults (O'Connor et al., 2002) they were slow to name discrimination and to do anything about it: 'it's hard not to recognise that she's the only female and she's the one excluded, you know. For her, I see it as being a really significant issue' (Victor, male academic). Thus although these men suggest a challenge to hegemonic careerist constructions of masculinity in some ways, they are effectively complicit in other ways.

Family focused masculinity combined strong relationship commitment with a weak level of career commitment. To a considerable extent they avoided the pressures of both domains, while retaining a traditional commitment to breadwinning and to full-time work. They included not only those from the hierarchical academic arena who were relatively indifferent to managerialist rewards; but also those who were indifferent to the uncertainty and instability of careers in the research context.

Discussion and conclusions

A great deal of research has focused on hegemonic masculinity (Messerschmidt, 2012). In this article the focus is at a micro level, looking at the ways in which men in academe, through the practices of their daily lives, enact various kinds of masculinities. In a context where little attention has been paid to the enactment of adult masculinity, it proposes a tentative context and time specific typology of masculinity based on two dimensions: career commitment and relationship commitment. This typology is based on a purposive sample of men at different levels of the academic and research hierarchies, and draws on interviews concerning these men's scientific careers and the relationship of careers to their family lives. It challenges stereotypical constructions of masculinity and yet reveals the persistence of patriarchal privileging in individual men's lives.

Universities as knowledge based, but increasingly managerialist organisations, operate with three objectives: teaching, research and organisational efficiency. It is implicitly assumed that all those involved in these organisations are motivated by a desire to progress in the career structure. Type 1, Careerist masculinity, was only characterised by those at the top of the academic hierarchy. Equally however the kind of passionate commitment to science (Type 3) which has been seen as characteristic of universities, was a minority pattern in this small study. New forms of masculinity are represented in the typology. Type 2, Enterprising masculinity, demonstrates a high degree of individualism regarding career management, combined with high relational concerns, in an enterprising approach which maximises both career and relationship commitment. This is commitment to a 'reflexive project of the self' rather than to discipline or organisation, following Bauman (2000), Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2001) and Giddens (1991: 5). Type 4, Family oriented breadwinning masculinity, was the most common among those in this small study. Relationship considerations impacted on their careers. None of them however considered giving up full-time employment or even working part-time for a substantial period of time. Caring was included in their commitment to a breadwinner status, rather than replacing it. Their relationship commitment blunted the edge of their commitment to paid employment; but it also remained limited.

Perhaps the most surprising thing to emerge from this study is that with the exception of Type 1, all of the other types occur both in the traditional academic hierarchy as well as in the more fluid research structure with its limited career hierarchy. This raises issues about the conditions under which career structures affect the practices involved in masculinity. Structures related to motivation and management, which presume that all of those in academia are interested in moving upwards in the positional career hierarchy, are based on concepts of employment and careers which are effectively rejected by the majority of these respondents.

One of the characteristics of hegemony is that those in dominant positions do not see the world in gendered terms. Despite variation in ways of 'doing man' the organisational structures and culture, although ostensibly non-gendered, remain primarily masculinist. Thus, 'in simply going along with institutionalised features of the gender order, men perpetuate masculinism, a bias in favour of men' (Yancey Martin, 2003: 360). There is some evidence that even among men who would be seen by their colleagues as pro-feminist, there is a reluctance to forego the material, interactional or ideological privileging of masculinity or to change the structures which perpetuate it (Armato, 2013; Keamy, 2008). Although three

of these types modified careerist masculinity, they all exemplified the persistence of an underlying system of male privileging. Thus Pure scientific masculinity (Type 3) embraced a lifestyle rooted in a rather monastic culture and a weak commitment to relational ties: a practice which is implicitly premised on a gendered division of labour between the valorised public and implicitly devalued private areas. Family oriented breadwinning masculinity (Type 4) implicitly maximised patriarchal privileging in both contexts: avoiding the long hours and competitive culture of Careerist masculinity, while at the same time avoiding overall responsibility for domestic and child care activities or indeed for the renegotiation of organisational policies to reconcile work and family. Enterprising masculinity (Type 2), while breaking the link between corporate position and masculinity, implicitly suggested the importance of flexibility combined with a sense of entitlement: a combination which is itself a reflection of patriarchal privileging (Lewis and Smithson, 2001; Rafnsdóttir and Heijstra, 2011). Thus patriarchal privileging remains effectively unchallenged and unchanged (Hearn, 1996, 2004, 2014). Although it is theoretically possible that constructions of masculinity may not be based on patriarchal gender relations (Christensen and Jensen, 2014), at least in this small study it was clear that patriarchal privileging underpins them all, although some types do represent new forms of masculinity.

There are obvious limitations in that the study only focuses on masculinities in one Irish academic organisation. It is possible that different types might emerge in other kinds of academic or non-academic organisations or in other national contexts. It is striking that none of the men demonstrate the truly relationally oriented masculinity in Brannen and Nielsen's work (2006). This may reflect the fact that the typology is derived from data on men in a particular material context (Hearn, 2014), characterised by a particular kind of paid employment, in a particular societal context. The extent to which the model is potentially transferrable to other sectors needs to be explored. The labels of two of the types (Pure scientific masculinity and Enterprising masculinity) specifically refer to forms of masculinity in an academic context. Hence their titles might need to be more generic so as to include the characteristics and experiences of men in other contexts. However since one of the important contributions of this article is to an understanding of masculinities in an academic context it seemed important to retain labels which were closely related to this situational context. Finally, this article is simply concerned with describing this typology; explanations as to why particular men are in particular quadrants lie beyond its scope.

In summary, new ways of doing masculinity are being practised in the changing landscape of higher education. Risman and Davis (2013: 747) asked if 'we could explore when people refuse to do gender whether they "undo" it or simply do gender differently, forging alternative masculinities and femininities'. This article demonstrates that men are doing gender differently, and some men are forging alternative masculinities, but in a way which still preserves masculine privileges. The typology has implications for theories and practices of motivation and management in the academic environment. It contributes to an understanding of theoretical sense making at the micro level (Christensen and Jensen, 2014) and hence ultimately to the study of men and masculinities, including the persistence of patriarchal privileging.

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Résumé

Une attention particulière a été portée au fonctionnement des masculinités chez les lycéens dans le contexte irlandais et international. Cependant, à quelques exceptions notables près, peu de projets de recherche se sont penchés sur les masculinités dans les institutions universitaires. En s'appuyant sur une étude qualitative menée dans une université, cet article propose une tentative de typologie des masculinités dans ces organisations. Cette typologie s'articule autour de deux axes : l'engagement professionnel et l'engagement relationnel (les répondants sont classés comme forts ou faibles selon chaque dimension). Quatre types de masculinité ont été identifiés : type 1, masculinité carriériste : engagement professionnel fort et engagement relationnel faible ; type 2, masculinité carriériste : engagements professionnel et relationnel forts ; type 3, masculinité purement scientifique : engagements professionnel et relationnel faibles ; type 4 : masculinité soutien de famille : engagement professionnel faible et engagement relationnel fort. Les intitulés de masculinité carriériste et de masculinité de soutien de famille présentent un caractère générique alors que les deux autres intitulés découlent des données issues de cet échantillon particulier. L'une des importantes contributions de cet article est de comprendre les masculinités dans les institutions universitaires et leurs attributs utilisés dans ce contexte. Bien que trois de ces types contestent l'hégémonie carriériste masculine, ils reflètent tous la persistance du système sous-jacent des privilèges masculins dans l'univers changeant de l'enseignement supérieur. Cette typologie peut être considérée comme pertinente pour les théories et les pratiques de gestion et de motivation au sein des institutions universitaires.

Mots-clés

Typologie, masculinités, institutions universitaires, carrière, engagement relationnel

Resumen

En el contexto irlandés e internacional, una buena parte de la atención se ha prestado a las performances de masculinidad entre los escolares. Sin embargo, con un pequeño

número de excepciones notables, se ha prestado relativamente poca atención a las masculinidades en las organizaciones académicas. A partir de un estudio cualitativo en una universidad, en este artículo propone una tipología tentativa de las masculinidades en dicha organización. Esta tipología involucra a dos ejes: el compromiso profesional y de compromiso relación, con los encuestados clasificados como fuertes o débiles en cada dimensión. Se identifican cuatro tipos de masculinidades: Tipo 1: masculinidad Carrerista: carrera fuerte y débil compromiso de relaciones; Tipo 2: masculinidad Emprendedora: carrera fuerte y fuerte compromiso de relaciones; Tipo 3: Pura Masculinidad Científica: carrera débil y débil compromiso de relaciones; Tipo 4: Masculinidad orientada a la familia y a ganarse el pan: la carrera débil y fuerte compromiso de relaciones. Las denominaciones de masculinidad carrerista y masculinidad orientada a la familia y al ganapán reflejan características genéricas. Los títulos de los otros dos tipos reflejan los datos derivados de esta muestra particular. Dado que una de las importantes contribuciones de este artículo es la comprensión de las masculinidades en una organización académica, se han utilizado las etiquetas que se refieren a ese contexto. Aunque tres de estos tipos modifican la masculinidad hegemónica carrerista, todas ellas reflejan la persistencia de un sistema subyacente de privilegio masculino en el panorama cambiante de la educación superior. Esta tipología es vista como potencialmente teniendo implicaciones para las teorías y prácticas de la motivación y la gestión en las organizaciones académicas.

Palabras clave

Tipología, masculinidades, organizaciones académicas, profesionales, relaciones de compromiso