

Men as Managers, Managers as Men

*Critical
Perspectives
on Men,
Masculinities
and
Managements*

edited by
David L. Collinson
and Jeff Hearn



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Preface

It is both rather strange and quite predictable that such an obvious matter as the relationship between men, masculinities and managements should be a subject for silence. This cannot be explained by either carelessness or conspiracy: the silence around these issues is built into the very process of their reproduction. The pervasiveness and taken-for-grantedness of this silence reinforce one another. It is another problem that has no name (cf. Friedan, 1963). Having worked separately for many years on questions of gender relations, men, sexuality, organizations and management, we realized in 1989 that we were thinking on very similar lines around the need to focus on the massive links between men, masculinities and managements. This led to the decision to work on these latter questions both in our own joint and separate research and writing and in co-editing this book.

The process of producing this book has run from 1992 to the end of 1995. It has involved contributors drawing upon a diversity of perspectives – from social psychology, sociology, history, accounting, organization analysis and management theory, to women's studies, studies on gender and critical studies on men. All the contributors have been committed to rethinking their work in ways that can analyse both men *and* managements without re-excluding women. This has often been a demanding intellectual, political, practical and personal project. Accordingly, we would like to thank all the contributors for their willingness to engage in this process over the past few years. Addressing men, masculinities and managements *simultaneously* does seem to produce the effect of questioning concepts, assumptions and disciplinary boundaries.

Finally, we would like to thank Sue Jones for her encouragement and support of the initial idea, and Margaret Collinson for her constructive criticism throughout.

*Leamington Spa
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Breaking the Silence: On Men, Masculinities and Managements

David L. Collinson and Jeff Hearn

Most managers in most organizations in most countries are men. Yet the conditions, processes and consequences of men's historical and contemporary domination of management have received little scrutiny. There has been a strange silence, which we believe reflects an embedded and taken-for-granted association, even conflation, of men with organizational power, authority and prestige. This book examines why and how the association of men and managements persists both in 'theory' and 'practice' and explores the consequences of these interrelationships for organizations, employees and managers themselves. Acknowledging the multiple and diverse meanings of management, the volume brings together a wide variety of contributions from three continents to examine management theories, the institution and occupation of management itself, and the power, functions and practices of men as managers and managers as men. By highlighting the interrelations of men, masculinities and managements, this book seeks to break the silence and to develop new perspectives, understandings and approaches that can more adequately analyse the conditions, processes and consequences of 'man'-agerial work.

It is important to begin by examining the scale of men's 'occupation' of management from the boardroom to junior levels. Women comprise less than 5 per cent of senior management in the UK and US while in Australia and many other countries, it is closer to 2 per cent (Sinclair, 1995). A Hansard Society Commission survey (Hansard Society, 1990) found that only 5 per cent of the UK Institute of Directors and less than 1 per cent of chief executives were women.¹ Despite slow but steady progress by women into more junior managerial hierarchies within UK corporations in the 1980s, recent research suggests a reversal in these trends. The 1994 National Management Survey (Institute of Management, 1995), for example, found a fall in the number of women managers from 10.2 per cent in 1993 to 9.8 per cent in 1994. While women constituted only 2.8 per cent of directors, they were: concentrated in junior managerial grades, twice as likely as their male counterparts to have resigned in the previous twelve months and paid less than their male counterparts by an average of 15.2 per cent. A 1992 survey of forty-three broadcasting organizations across the twelve member states of

the European Community found that women comprised under 11 per cent of management at the top three levels (Equal Opportunities Commission, 1992).

Research in the United States suggests that those few women who reach senior managerial positions are much more likely than their male counterparts to report feeling stressed and burned out, as a result of juggling work and a disproportionate load of family obligations (*New York Times*, 1993). They are also less likely than their male counterparts either to receive training (Tharenou et al., 1994) or to be assigned tasks with high responsibility, visibility and the opportunity to demonstrate the levels of competence needed for future advancement (Ohlott et al., 1994). Moreover the few women in US corporations who become company directors are often channelled into 'peripheral' committees like public affairs while their male counterparts sit on committees deemed central to corporate governance such as executive and finance committees (Bilimoria and Piderit, 1994). Hence, although not all managers are men, the male domination of most hierarchical levels within management tends to persist not only historically, but also across different societies. The development of transnational organizations, international trade, communication and world financial systems is likely to reinforce the globalized nature of these male-dominated networks and processes.

Reflecting and reinforcing this numerical dominance is a masculine or masculinist imagery that frequently pervades the managerial function and perceptions of it. This gendered imagery is reflected in the etymology of the verb to 'manage' derived from the sixteenth-century Italian word *menagerie*, which meant handling things and especially horses (Williams, 1976). As Mant (1977: 20) argues, 'In this derivation it was ultimately a masculine concept, to do with taking charge, directing, especially in the context of war.' Indeed throughout the history of management thought and practice there has been a recurrent association between gender, hierarchy and organization on the one hand and militarism and warfare on the other. Early management writers tended to draw on military experience and language when making sense of organizational problems (Morgan, 1986; Shaw, 1990). Central to such thinking was the prioritization of the leader and manager as heroic warrior (Grint, 1995). The masculinity of this imagery is illustrated more recently by a 'Heathrow management text' (Burrell, 1992b) that applies to contemporary business the 2,500-year-old teaching of Sun Tzu on military strategy and the management of warfare (Krause, 1995). Its prescriptions on the 'Art of War for Executives' and the ruthless 'Principles of Success' regarding competitive strategy and 'defeating the enemy' are deeply imbued with masculine images and assumptions.

Biographies and autobiographies of famous twentieth-century entrepreneurial male managers/owners such as Ford (Ford, 1923; Sward, 1948; Beynon, 1980), Iacocca (Iacocca, 1984), Geneen (Geneen, 1985) and Maxwell (Davies, 1992) often reveal an evangelical, personal and lifelong preoccupation with military-like efficiency, ruthless practices and autocratic

control. Many of these accounts of dictatorial business leaders also demonstrate how the managerial search for efficiency can become an all-engulfing obsession. Equally, they implicitly disclose the masculine assumptions and practices that frequently predominate in management. Morgan argues that from an early age Frederick Taylor (1947) was an obsessive anal-compulsive character 'driven by a relentless need to tie down and master almost every aspect of his life' (1986: 204). Scientific management, one of the most influential managerial theories of the twentieth century, is found to be the product of 'a disturbed and neurotic personality' (ibid.: 205). The life history of Howard Hughes, the American innovator, entrepreneur and tycoon, is an extraordinary example of these obsessive tendencies towards control and mastery (Drosnin, 1987). Driven by a fear that his father did not respect his achievements, Hughes created a massive business empire that increasingly reflected and reinforced his concern with personal control and efficiency. He prescribed in minute detail the rules of behaviour to which his employees should adhere. Hating emotion of any kind, Hughes sought to control not only the women in his personal life, but also those who starred in his films, closely defining and monitoring their daily routines. His detachment, isolation and obsession with control grew to the point where he could no longer bear to breathe the air of other human beings because they might be germ carriers. Consequently, Hughes had his headquarters hermetically sealed and in his later years he lived totally alone in a room that was neither cleaned nor ever saw the light of day. His life history illustrates the self-defeating consequences that can ensue from an obsession with personal control through autocratic management. We would argue that the preoccupations of all these famous male entrepreneurs with work, discipline and emotional control are also indicative of highly masculine modes of thought and behaviour that prioritize 'mastery' over self and other.

In the 1980s especially, journalistic profiles of male executives or 'captains of industry' consistently presented 'heroic', 'macho'² images emphasizing qualities of struggle and battle, a willingness to be ruthless and brutal, a rebellious nature and an aggressive, rugged individualism (Neale, 1995).³ Managers and senior executives were frequently depicted and portrayed themselves as 'hard men', virile swashbuckling and flamboyant entrepreneurs who were reasserting a 'macho' management style that insisted on the 'divine right of managers to manage' (Purcell, 1982; see also Mackay, 1986; Edwards, 1987; Denham, 1991). Masculine, abrasive and highly autocratic managerial styles were widely valued and celebrated as the primary means of generating corporate success. 'Man'-agement came to be defined in terms of the ability to *control* people, events, companies, environments, trade unions and new technology. In the 1990s, managers and their performance are increasingly being evaluated. One central criterion of these evaluation practices is the masculinist concern with personal power and the ability to control others and self.⁴ Such masculine discourses are also embedded in conventional managerial language which is

frequently gendered, for example both in terms of highly (hetero)sexualized talk about 'penetrating markets' and 'getting into bed with suppliers/customers/competitors', and in the extensive use of sporting metaphors and sexual joking in making sense of and rationalizing managerial decisions and practices (Scase and Goffee, 1989; Collinson et al., 1990). Designed to measure performance, annual revenue, sales and productivity figures are often treated as symbols of corporate and managerial virility (Gherardi, 1995). Equally, managerial presentational styles (especially those of management consultants) which emphasize 'professional', 'competent' and 'rational' self-images infused with an air of total confidence, detachment and control frequently reveal masculine assumptions, particularly when presenters use sexist and racist jokes as 'icebreakers' (Cockburn, 1991). Participation in male-dominated sports can significantly shape managerial interactions and indeed career progress within and between organizations, networks, labour markets and professional alliances where men seek to relate to one another as colleagues, employees, clients and customers, as well as competitors and team-mates (Jackall, 1988). A considerable amount of business is also conducted through the 'entertainment' of client 'guests' in male-dominated sporting spheres such as tennis and golf clubs, in 'executive boxes' at football grounds and in the men-only business clubs of which many managers and executives are members (Elliott, 1959; Rogers, 1988; Allison, 1994).

Despite – possibly even because of – this frequently pervasive association between men, power and authority in organizations, the literature on management (and indeed organization theory) has consistently failed to question its gendered nature. Here again images of middle and senior management seem to be imbued with particular notions of masculinity. Whether we refer to the 'ideal'⁵ *prescriptive* models of management of early academic writers (for example Barnard, 1938; Fayol, 1949; Simon, 1945), *descriptive* accounts of managerial work (for example Mintzberg, 1973; Stewart, 1976a; Drucker, 1979) or even more *critical* contemporary analyses (for example Willmott, 1987; Reed, 1989; Mangham and critics, 1995), the masculine imagery of management and managers seems to be taken for granted, neglected, and thereby reproduced and reinforced.⁶ This neglect is illustrated by the unreflexive use of book and chapter titles such as: 'The organization man' (Whyte, 1956); 'Men who manage' (Dalton, 1959); 'A thinking man's management', 'Manager for himself' (Sampson, 1965); 'The men at the top' (Elliott, 1959; Burns and Stalker, 1961); 'The man and the corporation' (Guzzardi, 1966); and 'The manager and his work' (Drucker, 1979). Failing to consider the gendered questions to which their titles seem to allude, all of these studies tend to say a great deal more about management than they do about men.

Yet, there is another derivation of the verb to manage, drawn from the French *ménager*, an eighteenth-century meaning which Mant (1977: 21) sees as 'a more gentle, perhaps feminine usage' emphasizing careful house-keeping and domestic organization.⁷ Developing this theme, Wensley (1996)

has recently identified several important implications of Mrs. Beeton's (1861) *Book of Household Management* for the analysis and practice of corporate management in the 1990s. This alternative meaning makes a point which is central to this volume, namely that management, as a function, profession and practice, need not *inevitably* be dominated by masculine styles, discourses or processes generally, or by men in particular. Feminist writers have questioned the inevitability of this association between men, management and power by demonstrating how management often excludes women, especially those who are black and/or from ethnic minorities (DiTomaso, 1988; Bell and Nkomo, 1992). This book attends to the Other side, that is taken for granted in mainstream discourses, and is theorized implicitly and sometimes explicitly in feminist discourses; the problem of men, masculinities and managements, of men's continued domination of management.⁸ Its purpose is to examine critically the conditions, processes and consequences of men's persistent dominance of management. Why, when we 'think manager' do we still tend to 'think male' (Schein, 1976)? In order to highlight how such questions are neglected in the literature, this first chapter reviews some of the studies that conceptualize management, gender, men and/or masculinities in the workplace from prescriptive, descriptive and particularly from critical perspectives. Seeking to demonstrate the importance of breaking the silence, we begin by briefly considering the ever-proliferating dominant discourses on management.

Dominant discourses

Facilitated by the separation of ownership and control (Berle and Means, 1932), the growth of management and large-scale organizations has been one of the most significant features of modern society (Burnham, 1945; Chandler, 1977; Pollard, 1965). Indeed Mintzberg (1989) has characterized the twentieth century as the 'age of management'. The emergence of management as the central organizational activity of modern corporations is reflected in the burgeoning literature, especially from the United States, that explores the assumptions, responsibilities and practices of contemporary managements (for example Likert, 1961; Sayles, 1964; Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967; Child, 1969; Mintzberg, 1973, 1989; Drucker, 1979; Kotter, 1982; Cole, 1982; Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Stewart, 1986; Kreitner, 1989; Bennis, 1989; Hannaway, 1989). Adopting a prescriptive and/or descriptive perspective, conventional discourses rarely question managerial power, the elitist nature of most decision making in organizations or the terms and conditions of employment that are associated with the function. While these dominant modes of analysis are immensely varied, most share a reluctance to explore questions of gender that would otherwise tend to disrupt taken-for-granted ways of thinking about management.

This neglect can be seen in the development of management theory, from scientific management to human relations, systems and contingency theories, and more recently population ecology and institutional perspectives. It is also evident in recent broad-ranging reviews of the management literature (Hales, 1993; Thomas, 1993). In conventional organizational psychology, where the major contribution to the prescriptive study of leadership has emerged (for example Fiedler, 1967; Vroom and Yetton, 1973), a pervasive domain assumption has been that leadership is synonymous with men and that gender is not an issue worthy of exploration (Hearn and Parkin, 1988). A recent review of the leadership literature in organizational psychology (Hollander and Offerman, 1990) devotes only two sentences to women in organizations and totally neglects issues of men and masculinity in relation to power and leadership. Within the foregoing dominant discourses, management is usually presented as if it is a gender-neutral activity, whereas in reality it is clear that managerial hierarchies remain largely dominated by men in most organizations and sectors.

The empirically based descriptive work of Mintzberg (1973, 1975, 1983, 1989) has been particularly influential in the dominant discourses on management. Challenging the prevailing highly rational, objective and 'scientific' view of management, Mintzberg reveals a less ordered, inherently subjective reality characterized by political alliances and strategies played out by managers in their search for power, influence and organizational security. In many ways, such descriptions of managerial work are similar to those of Dalton's (1959) classic study which graphically examines the hidden agendas of intra-managerial collusion and conflict. While both authors may be writing primarily (or even exclusively) about men, they fail to analyse men and masculinities as socially produced, reproduced and indeed changeable. We are given no indication of how men managers are socially constructed *as men* through either the practice of managing or the impact of other social forces such as the processes of boys becoming adult men, the organization of domestic life or broader cultural and religious practices. Mintzberg uses 'manager' and 'he' interchangeably throughout his influential text, and even when he critiques the 'Great Man' theory for revealing 'almost nothing about managerial work' (1973: 12) he remains silent about its inherently gendered imagery and assumptions. Hence while both writers explore the alliances, interrelations and conflicts within management, neither questions the gender of those about whom they write or the hierarchical power of management, nor do they locate the function in its structural position within the organization. Yet relations between men in senior organizational positions, whether conflictual, co-operative or both, are frequently highly gendered. As this text seeks to illustrate, within, between and across managerial and organizational hierarchies, masculine discourses and practices are often a crucial basis for alliances, divisions and conflicts between men in senior positions.

Having highlighted this tendency to ignore gender completely in the dominant discourses on management, we also emphasize that this book is

not intended to be an extension of the 'women in management' literature that characterizes much of the debate on gender and organizations (for example Loden, 1985; Jelinek and Adler, 1988; Helgesen, 1990; Rosener, 1990; Sekaran and Leong, 1992; Fagenson, 1993). Such analyses have also tended to neglect a critical examination of the hierarchical and/or gendered power and practices of either men as managers or managers as men. Their recurrent emphasis upon women's different ways of organizing, managing and leading and the need to develop women's skills to fit into contemporary managerial hierarchies reflects a focus primarily upon women that is always in danger of blaming the victim and/or essentialism. Recent research has found few consistent differences between female and male managers in terms of managerial behaviours, commitment, decision style, stress or subordinates' responses (Powell, 1988; Donnell and Hall, 1980; Boulgarides, 1984).

Primarily concerned to prescribe more effective techniques of managerial control, dominant discourses on management fail to address two interwoven forms of organizational power: the first related to hierarchy and management and the second related to gender and men. By contrast, more critical studies have questioned the conditions, processes and consequences of various aspects of control within the workplace. In particular, they have generally examined and problematized either *managerial* power, control and ideology or *men's* power, control and ideology. Possibly reflecting the difficulties of integrating their respective insights, these two critiques have tended to develop quite separately, their interrelations and overlaps remaining relatively underexplored. The next two sections of this chapter will briefly review the respective insights of critical studies: of management and of gender. Each of these overall perspectives provides a partial critical analysis of the interrelations between hierarchical and gendered forms of power and control in organizational practices. The third section considers the relatively few critical studies that have sought to develop a more integrated analysis of gender, men and managements.

Management without gender

Critical analyses of management emerge from critiques of dominant discourses. They seek to make explicit and then to question management's extensive power and control. Inspired by Braverman's (1974) analysis of the labour process, writers such as Friedman (1977), Edwards (1979) and Burawoy (1979, 1985) highlighted the structural economic imperatives of capitalist production and emphasized how managerial practices are shaped by a primary concern to control the labour process based on the separation of conception and execution. This perspective regards managers as the bearers of an economic logic in which labour is controlled and directed for the benefit of profit and sectional interests (Nichols, 1970; Marglin, 1974).

Increasingly, critical writers have also recognized that an exclusive focus on the structural basis of managerial power tends to attribute a unity, homogeneity and omniscience to management that fails to address the complex realities of the function. Accordingly, recent contributions have contextualized managerial power and discretion within broader social, economic and political conditions (Willmott, 1984, 1987; Hales, 1986; Linstead et al., 1996). Through an additional focus on subjectivity and agency, they have also examined the diversity, differences and contradictions that can characterize managerial hierarchies (Knights and Willmott, 1986). For example, dependence on the agency and consent of labour limits managerial control (Hyman, 1987) and sustains the possibility of employee resistance (Jermier et al., 1994). Control strategies can therefore produce contradictory effects, generating employee opposition rather than compliance. Equally, it has been recognized that managers are concerned with sales and marketing, financial controls, the supply of components and product quality, as well as the control of labour (Kelly, 1985).

Research has also highlighted the way in which management can be fragmented between and within functions. For example, Armstrong (1984, 1986, 1989) explores the battle between the managerial professions of accountancy, engineering and personnel to secure ascendancy for their own approach to the control of the labour process. Strategic solutions to management's 'control problem' could therefore be competing and internally fragmented. Managers may also be highly sensitized to career advancement (Clements, 1958; Sofer, 1970). While this might generate motivation and co-operation, it can produce tension and conflict, power struggles and communication breakdowns as managers seek to differentiate and elevate themselves and their departments (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Various studies demonstrate how the following vertical and/or horizontal differences are routine characteristics of management: functional discipline and organizational specialism (Reed, 1989); hierarchical position and status (Collinson, 1987; Hyman, 1987); careerism and ambition (Offe, 1976); age (Collinson et al., 1990); cultures, countries and religions (Clegg, 1990; Hofstede 1993; Hickson and Pugh 1995); identity interests and orientations (Nord and Jermier, 1992; LaNuez and Jermier, 1994). Jackall (1988) reveals how such differences between corporate managers are often the medium and outcome of intense rivalry, anxiety and competitive strategies to secure power and status. Outlining the patronage, intrigues, conspiracies and impression management characterizing relations within management, he describes how managers seek to survive by 'currying favour' with senior managers and 'managing reputation' (e.g. 'team player', 'promotable', 'buoyant optimist') with colleagues. Despite highlighting important contradictions within managerial hierarchies, Jackall's study, like many of those discussed in this section, would be greatly enhanced by a gender analysis of these processes (see also Martin, Chapter 10, note 8, in this volume, pp. 208–9). For, as Legge (1987) demonstrates in examining the historical development of personnel management as 'women's work', these intra-

managerial struggles can also reflect and reinforce specific competitive masculinities that subordinate women.

Critical analyses of management examine the function's overriding concern with the control of labour and the extraction of production and profit. Recent contributions also consider the differences, fragmentations and contradictory organizational and subjective effects of managerial control. Yet this literature has not given sufficient attention to the continued predominance of men in managerial positions at various hierarchical levels, the relatively limited presence of women and the processes, networks and assumptions through which the latter are intentionally and unintentionally excluded and/or subordinated. Indeed in many cases these gendered processes are totally neglected.⁹ The challenge to managerial power and control posed by critical analyses requires further consideration of gender, men and masculinities in organizations. It is to the literature which more explicitly considers gender that we now turn.

Gender without management

Adopting a wide range of theoretical and methodological perspectives, including Marxist feminism and dual systems approaches, feminist studies constitute *the* major influence in developing the explicit analysis of gender in organizations. Feminist writers focusing on patriarchy as a separate system of men's control over women (Hartmann, 1979b; Cockburn, 1983; Walby, 1986b, 1990) reveal how organized groups of male workers (in the United States and the UK in particular) have historically opposed the entry of cheap female labour by demanding the 'breadwinner wage' and by controlling both the provision of training and gendered definitions of skill. They disclose how male workers contribute to the segmentation of labour markets and to the way in which 'skill has become saturated with sex' (Phillips and Taylor, 1980: 85), wherein men are associated with skilled work and women are automatically regarded as unskilled labour. Middle- and working-class men have exaggerated and mystified their own skills so as to secure job demarcation and labour market closure (Witz, 1986).¹⁰

In a similar way to the post-structuralist developments in critical management studies, recent feminist analyses develop more sophisticated accounts of gendered power relations that combine a focus on structure with that of agency, contradiction and difference (for example Hollway, 1984a; Ferguson, 1984; Pringle, 1988; Martin, 1990; Kondo, 1990). Examining the contradictions of male power and control as well as highlighting female agency and resistance, such studies criticize theories of patriarchy for treating 'men' and 'women' as unified groups and undifferentiated categories. For Connell (1985, 1987), such 'categorical' (1987: 54) theories about patriarchy neglect differences and relations that can shift over time and place. Exclusively structural analyses of gender relations caricature men's power and women's subordination and ignore the

analytical significance of the organizational practices through which these categories are constituted. Post-structuralist feminism has increasingly recognized men's and women's diverse, fragmented and contradictory lives in and around organizations. Attention has focused on gendered subjectivities and their ambiguous, fragmented, discontinuous and multiple character within asymmetrical relations. In deconstructing or decentring 'the subject', some writers argue that all subjectivities are fundamentally non-rational and frequently contradictory (Henriques et al., 1984).

Informed by this growing interest in gendered power, subjectivity and agency, critical studies on men highlight not only male power, but also the material and symbolic differences through which that power is reproduced. They argue that both men and masculinities (or femininities) are by no mean homogeneous, unified or fixed categories but diverse, differentiated and shifting (Connell, 1987, 1995; Hearn, 1987, 1992b; Hearn and Morgan, 1990; Morgan, 1992). Hence the preference for the term *masculinities*, rather than just masculinity (Carrigan et al., 1985). These studies examine relations between men themselves as well as between women and men (Brod, 1987; Chapman and Rutherford, 1988; Kimmel and Messner, 1989; Segal, 1990). Likely to vary in specific situations, in different historical times, in various cultural milieux, particular masculinities may also be internally contradictory and in tension (Brittan, 1989). Paralleling developments in the critical analysis of management, this diversity and heterogeneity of men has been shown to include differences and competing divisions according to age; class; ethnicity; religion; bodily facility; sexuality; world view; region; nationality; appearance; paternal/marital kinship status; leisure; occupation and career; size; and propensity for violence (Hearn and Collinson, 1994). These debates have in turn led to critiques concerning the increasing diversity of what is meant by 'masculinity', the imprecise nature of some usages, and the need to focus on 'men's practices', material and discursive (see McMahon, 1993; Hearn, 1996).

Yet most of the foregoing gender analyses have not applied these insights to men in positions of formal organizational power, such as management. This is particularly surprising in the case of critical studies on men, given their recurrent focus on the way that 'hegemonic masculinities' (for example white, heterosexual, middle class) may dominate other masculinities (for example black, gay, working class). When we try to apply the notion of 'hegemonic masculinities' specifically to *organizational* analysis, its meaning is not always obvious. For example, white, male-dominated shopfloor masculinities may be simultaneously hegemonic in terms of gender or ethnicity but subordinated with regard to class and hierarchy (Collinson, 1992). Masculinities (for example white, gay masculinities or black, middle-class masculinities) can carry internal contradictions between elements confirming or undermining power and identity. In a gender, hierarchical and class sense, however, it is men in management, especially those in accounting, engineering and strategic functions, who often most closely represent 'hegemonic masculinity/ies' in the workplace. While their

attempts to control employees, colleagues and self may produce contradictory effects, men's organizational dominance both as managers and as men needs further detailed analysis.¹¹

Typically, it is with the managerial function that organizational power formally (and often informally) resides. In most contemporary organizations, managerial prerogative in key decisions remains the taken-for-granted norm. Whether decisions concern strategic issues of capital investment, product development, pricing, market position and so on, or human resource matters such as recruitment, supervision, promotion, appraisal and training, managements' influence over these practices remains unquestioned and unchallenged even by trade unions. This assertion of managerial prerogative itself can be seen as part of a highly masculine discourse. Managerial masculinities are also hegemonic within organizations in the sense that these senior positions enjoy comparatively high salaries and ancillary remuneration packages through secretarial support, share options, company cars, pensions, extensive holiday entitlements and other material and symbolic benefits. Even when they are dismissed, managers frequently receive substantial 'golden handshakes', and poor performance does not seem to prevent re-employment in other lucrative, high-status managerial positions (Pahl, 1995).

There are also innumerable ways in which the authority and status of manager can signify 'men' and indeed vice versa, just as there are many signs that can simultaneously signify the power of both 'manager' and 'men'. These cultural processes of signification include the size and position of personal offices; the office furniture and the display of pictures, paintings and plants; the use or control of computers and other technological equipment; and of course the choice of clothing. While business suits appear to have a transnational significance, their style, cut and cost are also important, not least as a means of managing impressions through 'power dressing' (Feldman and Klich, 1991). The colour and style of shirts, braces, shoes and socks as well as the size and pattern of ties (see Gibbings, 1990) can all carry totally embodied and context-specific meanings for both managers and men that may reflect and reinforce their organizational hegemony. In the 1980s, for example, male managers in the UK often 'dressed for success' with very bright yellow and pink ties and deep red trouser braces.

Men's continued domination of senior positions results in many interconnections between particular masculinities and managerial practices, for example paternalism, entrepreneurialism, careerism and personalism (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Specific managerial masculinities, such as paternalism, may not only reinforce the power of those men concerned but also confirm the 'rights' of management and men to manage. In practice, both managers and men frequently seem to take for granted these asymmetrical power relations, often disregarding the hierarchical nature of organizational life and/or neglecting its gendered character. It is with these frequently taken-for-granted 'hegemonic masculinities' of management, as they are reproduced through formal and informal power dynamics, their

interrelations, networks and practices, that this book is primarily concerned.

Our brief review of the critical literatures on management and gender suggests that both perspectives have become increasingly sophisticated in their analyses of power and control. Acknowledging the asymmetry of managerial and male power, they recognize the multiple, ambiguous and differentiated nature of organizational and gendered relations as well as the contradictory consequences of managerial and men's control. Although men's power as managers should not be underestimated, it is more contradictory, precarious and heterogeneous than often it at first appears. Power relations are fragmented, shifting, partial, incomplete and characterized by disjunctures and multiple subjectivities (Kondo, 1990). Despite such insights, most of these critical studies have not explicitly considered the interrelations of men, masculinities and managements. Critical management studies explore managerial power without considering gender, while many feminist and related studies problematize men and masculinity but do not examine the power and practices of managers. We continue to be confronted by a dualism between critical studies of *either* management *or* men. Highlighting how labour resistance itself can simultaneously constitute a form of control over women, feminist analyses of male-dominated trade unions have made some links between these two separate forms of critical analysis. However, these studies have given little, if any, regard to the possible exclusionary practices of managers and their justifications and rationalizations. They seem to overestimate the labour market power of organized labour and underestimate that of management, especially in the United States where the influence of trade unions has declined dramatically in recent years (see also Brenner and Ramas, 1984). Equally, as Acker (1989) argues, they tend to subscribe to a 'dual systems' perspective that artificially separates the analysis of 'patriarchy' from 'capitalism'. The next section considers a few exceptional studies that *have* attempted to overcome this dualism by examining either gender *and* management generally or in a very few cases the persistent dominance of management by men and masculinities more specifically.

Gender, men and management

A path-breaking study, which pre-dates many of those discussed in the previous section, is Rosabeth Moss Kanter's *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977; republished in 1993). Its explicit focus on the interconnections between men as managers and managers as men probably makes it still *the* most relevant text for our concerns. Kanter argues that scientific management, with its emphasis on rationality and efficiency, is infused with an irreducible 'masculine ethic' which assumes that only men have the requisite qualities of the 'new rational manager': a tough-minded approach to problems, analytical abilities to abstract and plan, a capacity

to subordinate personal concerns in order to accomplish the task and a cognitive superiority in problem solving. Despite its emphasis on the social group rather than economic remuneration, human relations theory also rests on the image of the rational manager who remains, 'the man who could control his emotions whereas workers could not' (Kanter, 1977: 24).¹² Stereotyped as 'too emotional', women are consequently excluded from managerial positions with the exception of the few who display an ability to 'think like a man'. Meanwhile, men's managerial careers are often constructed with the help of the invisible support of women as secretaries and wives (see also Finch, 1983; Grey, 1994).

Revealing some of the organizational processes through which the power of men and managers can be reproduced, Kanter refers to 'homosexual reproduction' (1977: 48) to describe the practices that exclude women from managerial posts and 'homosocial reproduction' (ibid.) to characterize the processes by which certain managers and men are selected and differentiated according to their ability to display appropriate social credentials. In the former case, Kanter suggests that senior managers frequently appoint in their own image. Men are selected for managerial positions because they are perceived, especially by male selectors, to be more reliable, committed and predictable, free from conflicting loyalties between home and work. In the latter case, Kanter argues that the extensive pressures on managers to conform to corporate expectations and demands can exclude not only women, but also many men. Emphasizing the difficulty of formally identifying the necessary criteria for effective managerial performance, she contends that social credentials can become substitutes for ability measures. Suggesting that the typical profile of managers is 'invariably white and male, with a certain shiny, clean-cut look' (1977: 42), Kanter draws upon Dalton's (1959) classic study to argue that US managers are usually Protestant, from an elite school, often members of the Masonic order and of prestigious sports and country clubs, Anglo-Saxon or Germanic in origin, and Republican. Only certain types of men, it seems, display the necessary commitment, trustworthiness and potential to be a manager.

Kanter's notions of homosexual and homosocial reproduction usefully *describe* how the power of men as managers and managers as men may persist in organizations. Raising important questions regarding the ways that managerial nepotism and favouritism can be mediated through gendered informal criteria, channels and procedures, she shows how elitist practices in management (for example, related to school, family, university, religion and class connections) may exclude women and other minority groups (see also Ibarra, 1995). Yet her study is less valuable in helping to *analyse* these persistent interrelations and networks (see also Pringle, 1989; Acker, 1991; Witz and Savage, 1992). Kanter explains homosexual and homosocial reproduction with reference to what she believes is the nature of management itself, namely its inherent and pervasive uncertainty. She argues that conditions of market uncertainty reinforce the corporate

requirement for trustworthy employees, particularly those in high discretion positions. It is the 'uncertainty quotient in managerial work' that leads managers 'to develop tight inner circles excluding social strangers; to keep control in the hands of socially homogeneous peers; to stress conformity and insist upon a diffuse, unbounded loyalty' (1977: 49).

Subscribing to a Weberian conception of power that eschews notions of domination in organizations, Kanter does not consider that the senior managerial concern with predictability and control of (managerial) subordinates may *also* be related to the highly competitive and contradictory nature of capitalist organizations, the preoccupation with appropriating private profits through socialized production and/or the concern to sustain a middle-class career, masculine identity and sense of personal power.¹³ Equally, it is not merely management but all organizational members who are likely to be exposed to unpredictability and uncertainty. Men, especially, may try to manage this uncertainty by seeking, through 'identity work' (Thompson and McHugh, 1995), to *control* social relations and particular notions of self (Collinson, 1992). Their attempts to establish a stable and well-defined sense of masculine identity frequently involve defining oneself and one's masculine/hierarchical difference, status and power through the subjective processes of *identifying* with some men (for example with a specified group or with individuals), while simultaneously *differentiating* themselves from others (other men and from women). Such attempts to control identity can often characterize men's routine relations, discourses and practices as they are embedded in the reproduction of inter- and intra-organizational networks and asymmetrical power relations. Between men managers, for example, these formal and informal relations, networks and alliances may involve mutual identification through old school, university or professional association connections, kinship or religious ties, shared sporting interests or even heterosexist joking relations (Jackall, 1988).¹⁴ Yet this search for predictability can entrap individuals in a self-defeating and unachievable preoccupation with trying to maintain control and stable hierarchical and masculine identities in a changing, highly complex world. Entrapment is likely to be intensified by the difficulty that men (managers) often face in conceding that they may not be in full control of others, of events or even of themselves. The combined assumptions that managers are employed to control organizations and their environments and that being in control is a central characteristic of men and dominant masculine identities, often precludes the possibility of reflecting upon the contradictory nature of the processes in which managers and men are embedded. The consequence can be intensified levels of stress and anxiety.

In explaining the managerial preoccupation with control, predictability and order, the (middle-class) *masculine* discursive practices of senior managers could be as important as unpredictable organizational and market forces. Within patriarchal organizations, men may seek to differentiate self and exercise power and control over other men as much as they try to control women. Why this might be so is not addressed by Kanter.

She does not *explicitly* analyse men and/or masculinity(ies). Artificially separating 'power' from 'sex' (1977: 202), Kanter contends that what appear to be differences between men and women in organizations are related not to gender, but to work position and the structure of opportunity. In seeking to deny difference, she fails to recognize how power in organizations is frequently heavily gendered. Her concern to separate 'sex' from 'power' reflects and reinforces a neglect of the way that particular masculinities may be embedded in and might help to reproduce and legitimize managerial power and authority.

While few writers have sought to develop Kanter's ideas on 'homosexual' and homosocial' reproduction within management, others, often informed by more critical theoretical perspectives, have begun to examine the gendered nature of the function. In the main they have tended to emphasize the oppressive nature of masculine managerial cultures from the perspective and experience of women managers. Martin (1990) shows how women managers can be forced to organize Caesarean operations to fit in with both the launch of new products and the masculine expectations of senior management. Calás and Smircich (1993) predict that more junior managerial positions, confined to national-level concerns, will continue to be feminized, downgraded and deskilled, while men move into and colonize the more powerful, prestigious and strategic globalized functions of transnational corporations. Exploring women managers' strategies for acceptance within male-dominated managerial hierarchies, Sheppard (1989) concludes that neither resisting nor trying to blend into the dominant male culture was effective (see also Scase and Goffee, 1989; Davidson and Cooper, 1992). Frequently experiencing a 'no-win' situation (Cockburn, 1991), women managers may decide to resign, possibly to become self-employed (Goffee and Scase, 1985; Kanter, 1993). Marshall (1995) found that the dominant reasons why some women managers decided to 'move on' were: male-dominated organizational cultures (characterized by hostile, tense relationships, isolation and stress), seeking more balanced lifestyles and avoiding roles that had become impossible or demotivating. Often surprised at the highly aggressive, sometimes vindictive territorial and status-conscious processes within the male-dominated ranks of senior management, women managers felt isolated, excluded, placed under attack and/or continuously being tested on masculine criteria of success such as toughness, political skill and total commitment (see also Davidson and Cooper, 1983). Disillusionment with senior male managers was a primary influence on their decision to leave.

Another response might be to strive for professional credentials, for example through obtaining MBA degrees. Yet Sinclair has argued that the current culture of the MBA 'is a powerful agent for the perpetuation of the masculinity of management' (Sinclair, 1995: 310). Women students often experience MBA programmes as exclusionary and disempowering. Sinclair argues that in terms of curriculum and course content, pedagogical methods, learning styles, valued careers and the understanding of private

lives, dominant MBA cultures are often deeply imbued with masculine values and practices. Reflecting and reinforcing the masculinity of management in theory and practice, large MBA classes can be conducted in a gladiatorial atmosphere with teachers who intimidate and cajole students, often receiving highly positive feedback (Burrell, 1992: 70). Similarly, T. Watson's (1994) ethnographic study of managerial practices reveals how expectations of working long hours, especially in the evening, can marginalize women managers. Men managers deliberately stayed at work late into the evening, artificially extended meetings during the day and criticized those managers, especially women, who left, for example at 7.15 p.m. (even though women managers might begin work much earlier in the morning). Watson does not, however, examine these processes as part of an explicitly critical examination of men, masculinity and management. Indeed, notwithstanding the foregoing accounts that examine women's experiences in male-dominated managerial cultures, there are still very few studies that focus primarily on the interrelations of men, masculinities and management in contemporary organizations.

This neglect is all the more important in the light of changing forms and practices of management worldwide. These include the introduction of more tightly controlled performance targets and work schedules for managers themselves, their increasing employment on fixed term, insecure contracts and the possible proletarianization of some, perhaps many, managers (Smith, 1990; LaNuez and Jermier, 1994). While this applies most obviously in the private sector, with the intensification of the world competitive system, it is equally relevant to state organizations, with their own economic imperatives, internal markets and transformation through the application of private sector methods. This increasing tendency across private and public sectors for managerial work to be intensified, measured, evaluated and even delayed problematizes the view discussed earlier that management constitutes the most clear-cut form of hegemonic masculinity (Collinson and Collinson, 1995). In the changing organizations of the 1990s, managers are self-evidently objects as well as subjects of the organizations which they constitute. These empirical patterns require more sophisticated analyses that incorporate the contradictory and ambiguous practices through which are reproduced the authority and status of men as managers and managers as men.

Among the few studies that have tried to 'break the silence'¹⁵ on men and management are several written by contributors to this volume. Roper (1991, 1994a) considers how men managers in the post-war era frequently identified strongly with machinery and products. Undervaluing the role of labour in the manufacture of products, male managers engaged in a kind of fetishizing of the masculine self through the idolization of products. These managers were persistently concerned to display confidence and control and to conceal anxiety and self-doubt. Similar themes are developed by Kerfoot and Knights (1993) who contend that paternalism and strategic management are concrete manifestations of historically shifting

forms of masculinity in operation. Arguing that these managerial approaches both reflect and reinforce 'discourses of masculinism', they suggest that 'paternalistic masculinity' and 'competitive masculinity' have the effect of privileging men *vis-à-vis* women, ranking some men above others, and maintaining as dominant certain forms and practices of masculinity. Highlighting the self-defeating nature of the search for masculine and managerial identity in these discourses of control, they show how the desire for a secure and stable sense of self tends to reproduce rather than eliminate anxiety and insecurity.

Our own work has included studies of the historical establishment of management in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Hearn, 1992b); the relationship of multiple masculinities, the variety of discourses of masculinity/management (Collinson and Hearn, 1994, 1995, 1996); the ways in which (men) managers can routinely discriminate against women in contemporary recruitment and promotion practices while also privileging male candidates (Collinson et al., 1990); how men managers can mismanage cases of sexuality and sexual harassment as well as engage in sexual harassment of women colleagues (Collinson and Collinson, 1989, 1992, 1996; Hearn and Parkin, 1995); how the working of long hours can become a test of manhood, with some men managers enjoying 'the buzz' of staying late at the office such that management is re-colonized as an inherently masculine function (Collinson and Collinson, 1995) and the possibilities of simultaneously changing men and management (Hearn, 1989, 1992a, 1994a).¹⁶ It is against the background of these wide-ranging debates on gender, men and management that the present volume was conceived and developed.

Men as managers, managers as men

The following chapters present new theoretical, historical and empirical analyses of men, masculinities and managements which propose a radical reformulation of the way that management is analysed. Together, they argue that theorists of management should explicitly turn their attention to the genderedness of those in positions of hierarchical power within organizations. This applies both to the *content* of managements (for example how many men are present, with what power and authority, on what conditions) and to their *form* (for example how these distributions relate to the style, organizational process, hierarchy, culture, traditions, strategies and practices of managements). In pursuing this new intellectual current in the analysis of management, these chapters examine two interrelated sources of men's power: first as managers and second as men. Demonstrating that the hierarchical and gendered power of men managers is not homogeneous, monolithic or inevitable, they also recognize that gender issues are characterized by asymmetrical power relations which are both material and discursive.¹⁷

While the contributors take different theoretical perspectives, they all share the view that gender relations are socially constructed and therefore historically and culturally variable. Equally, they seek to problematize the conditions, processes and consequences of workplace control strategies by managers and men (over, for example, labour, other men, women, technology and self). Although concerned to highlight the neglect of gender, men and masculinities in much of the relevant literature, the following chapters do not suggest that management or indeed organizations are the product simply of gender relations – hence the interrelated focus on other questions such as class, culture, hierarchy and sexuality. While management and managerial functions are usually highly gendered, they are not exclusively so. Conversely, all the contributors insist that in the analysis of management the complete neglect of gender, men and masculinity can no longer be justified or sustained.

The initial four chapters examine men, masculinities and managements through historical and theoretical work.¹⁸ Chapters 2 and 3 reread from the perspective of gender and men the classical theories of twentieth-century management. In Chapter 2 Wendy Hollway focuses on the specific historical transition from scientific management (and the management of ‘factory hands’) to human relations (and the management of ‘sentimental workers’), through the lens of the effects of competing masculinities. Rereading previous work (Hollway, 1991), she develops an analysis of the transition from the disciplining of bodies (scientific management) to self-regulation (human relations) in terms of diverse masculinities. This is pursued through the application of psychoanalytic theory located within a social analysis of gender, and in particular asymmetrical power relations, both between women and men, and between men. Highlighting the reproduction of ‘defensive masculinities’ (p. 40), Hollway outlines a variety of forms of splitting, desire for control and mastery over the other. Attending to the implications of her analysis for women in management, Hollway concludes that forms of masculine psyche are not to be subsumed within a structural gendered division of labour; they themselves are partly determinant of gender and gender relations in organizations and managements.

In the next chapter, David Morgan builds on his own earlier work (Morgan, 1992) and that of others (for example Sydie, 1987; Bologh, 1990), to present an extended critical reflection on the modern history of bureaucracy, and in particular its sociological study. His main purpose is to reread and re-engage with classic contributions in order to show some of the concealed themes around gender that lie within these apparently genderless texts that subsequently influenced the theory and practice of management. Additionally, men were and are more likely to carry out managerial functions within bureaucracies, while bureaucracies were, and are, major sites for the development and elaboration of modern masculinities. Morgan engages with these issues through a number of interrelated themes: ideal types, the dynamics of bureaucracy, dysfunctions of bureaucracy, rules and