

There's a Dad for That!

Naming Men in Work-Life Balance and Entrepreneurial Decision-Making

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I declare that this thesis is all my own work and has not been submitted in the
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Dedication

“Imagine life as a game in which you are juggling some five balls in the air. You name them – Work, Family, Health, Friends and Spirit and you’re keeping all of these in the air.

You will soon understand that work is a rubber ball. If you drop it, it will bounce back. But the other four balls – Family, Health, Friends and Spirit – are made of glass. If you drop one of these; they will be irrevocably scuffed, marked, nicked, damaged or even shattered. They will never be the same. You must understand that and strive for it.

Work efficiently during office hours and leave on time. Give the required time to your family, friends and have proper rest. Value has a value only if its value is valued.”

Brian G. Dyson
CEO
Coca Cola Enterprises Inc
1986-1991

I dedicate this PhD to my family.

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Abstract

This thesis explores work-family balance in relation to entrepreneurial decision-making using men and masculinities literature as the lens of critical analysis. This research critically examines men's subjective work-life balance experiences by evaluating their attempts to navigate between their fatherhood and entrepreneurial goals. There has been a flood of research since the introduction of Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) sources of conflict between work and family where the central focus is often women's experiences (Hammer et al., 2011, Byron, 2005, Thompson et al., 1999). Many western countries, such as Canada, are attempting to create equal opportunities for both men and women at work and at home. This work highlights men as men by using men and masculinities as a lens for critiquing work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making to emphasise Canada's shift in fatherhood ideologies and the political push to include men in work-life balance discussions.

The findings of this research highlight some men's approach to work-life balance and demonstrates the importance of using Hearn's (2004) concept of the *distinction* aspect within the hegemony of men as a tool of critical analysis. This thesis builds on men and masculinities research by including competition and men's interpretation of *distinction*. This finding demonstrates that both internal and external social hegemonic perceptions for gaining and maintaining power and control create an opportunity for some men to view work-life balance as a source of *distinction*. This thesis reveals that shifting ideologies concerning men's domestic selves, hegemonic masculinities, and men's power negotiations with other men and women are challenging traditional masculinities embedded in entrepreneurship.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Synopsis

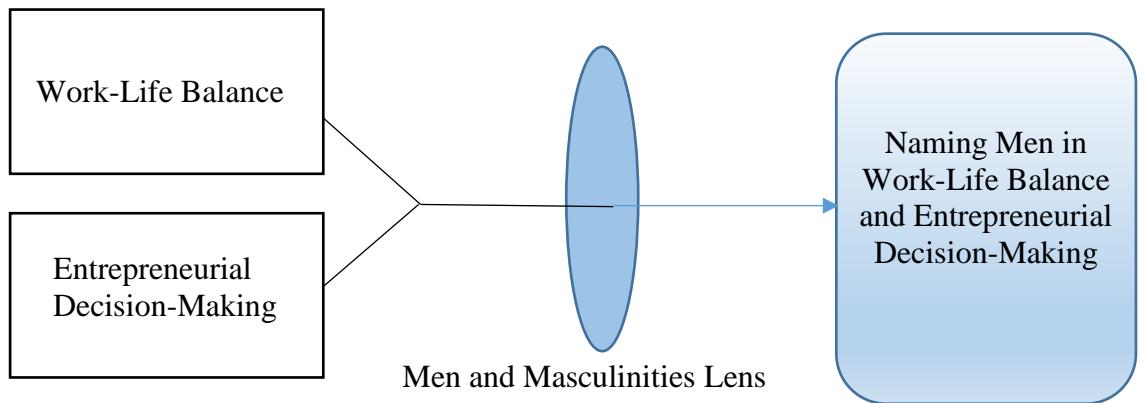
This thesis presents a critical examination of work-life balance decisions of men who are navigating between their fatherhood and entrepreneurship objectives. There is a plethora of work on women and work-life balance. Some academics point to gendered assumptions that women are the primary caregivers as a reason for this focus (Özbilgin et al., 2011, Emslie and Hunt, 2009, Lewis et al., 2007, Swanberg, 2004). However, there was less of a focus on men and work-life balance despite the attempts of institutions and governments to promote shifts in parental behaviour expectations of men. Men became the subject of research in the early 2000's as some started to notice an increase in men's participative parenting (Marshall, 2008, Findlay and Kohen, 2012, Huinink, 2010). A recent BBC news article states that one third of men in the UK are struggling to balance work and family. Furthermore, a number of men state that they would opt for a careers that pay less and use less of their skills if the job included better work-life balance options (Espinier, 2017). This is echoed in Canada where some news agencies are reporting that men are willing to give up lucrative careers to be with their families (Kozicka, 2017).

In 1990, a 10-week paternal leave was added to Canada's maternity leave legislation and in 2001 the paternal leave benefits were expanded to 35-37 weeks as part of Canada's commitment to promote gender equality (Lero, 2015, Pulkingham and Van Der Gaag, 2004). In the 2017 federal budget, the Canadian government announced that it will be extending parental leave benefits to 18 months starting in 2018 (Kohut, 2017). However, many women are still choosing entrepreneurship as their alternative solution to combating challenges to establish work-life balance (Eddleston and Powell, 2012, Ahl, 2006, Mirchandani, 2002, Marshall, 1995). This

leads to questions of how fatherhood and entrepreneurship interrelate with men's actual work-life balance decisions. In the remainder of this chapter, I establish the context of this thesis and rationale for pursuing this research by providing my observations and personal motivations for highlighting gaps in the literature relating to work-life balance and men's decision-making. The research questions used in this thesis are informed, in part, by my own observations concerning the disconnect between assumed fatherhood ideologies in western cultures and actual decisions being made by fathers. Finally, this chapter provides a map to the overall structure of this thesis with a brief synopsis of each following chapter.

Figure 1.1.1 illustrates how work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making are combined in this thesis by using men and masculinities as a lens for the critical analysis of men's actual entrepreneurial choices concerning work-life balance. Men and masculinities, with a focus on fatherhood, are used to critique and contribute to rethinking the hegemonic perspectives and embeddedness of work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making. I use the term hegemony to refer to overarching dominant ideologies that are assumed and taken-for-granted in the everyday practices performed with consent and without coercion. This means that this thesis uses terms such as the hegemony of men, hegemonic masculinities, hegemonic perspectives, and others to highlight the nature of hegemony as being an *assumed* individualistic maintenance of power and control within relationships.

Figure 1.1.1 Research Focus



This work highlights Collinson and Hearn's (1994) naming of men as men by using men and masculinities as a lens for critiquing work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making in order to emphasise the need to reduce barriers holding back academic literature concerning gender. Collinson and Hearn (2014) believe that shifting the focus from the hegemony of masculinity to the hegemony of men increases opportunities to concentrate on critically analysing men's hegemonic domination in the gender order. As a result, this research critically examines both the sociological and psychological perspectives concerning men, masculinities and fatherhood to help fill gaps in the literature concerning men, work-life balance, and organisational decision-making.

1.2 Context and rationale

In recent years, there has been a flood of research where the central focus of work-life balance analysis has focused on women (Hammer et al., 2011, Byron, 2005, Thompson et al., 1999). The goal of this research is to shift the focus on men's work-life balance decisions to reflect observed shifts in many western cultures that are attempting to create equal opportunities for both men and women at work and at home (Özbilgin et al., 2011). Initiatives by both the Canadian federal government and

provincial organisations have included men in their promotional materials which encourage balancing the demands of childcare and domestic labour with employment responsibilities. This thesis aims to fill in a gap in work-family balance, men and masculinities, and entrepreneurial decision-making literatures by addressing shifts in fatherhood ideologies in Canada.

Figure 1.2.1 Alberta Dad's Poster (Dad Central, 2015)

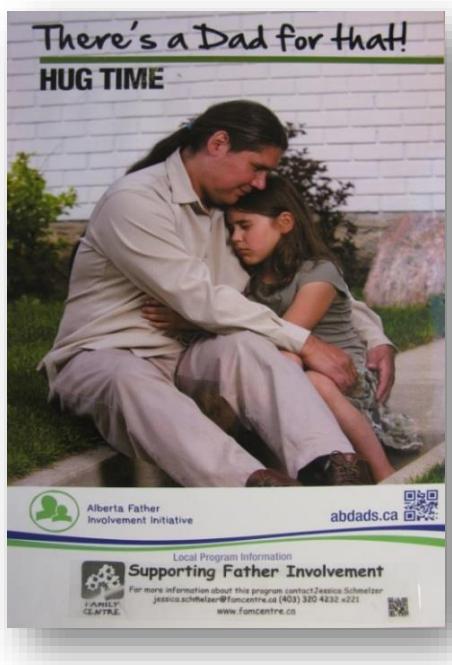


Figure 1.2.1 illustrates a provincial organisation's initiative to encourage Canadians to shift their assumptions regarding women as the primary organisers of childcare by reminding people that 'there is a dad for that' (Dad Central, 2015). This poster was placed in a family recreation centre in southern Alberta. This positioning facilitates maximum viewing of their target audiences including fathers, mothers, and children while they are participating in family activities such as swimming at the public pool. Initiatives like the one represented by Figure 1.2.1 not only demonstrate shifting fatherhood ideologies in Canada; they also push to continue to change gendered assumptions regarding the domestic participation of men. This poster is a

symbol of change in the discourse of fatherhood that encourages men's involvement in childcare. These perceived shifts in western social expectations of fathers influenced my decision to critically analyse the complex and variable social expectations regarding gender and work highlighted by Smart and Neal (1999).

In 2013, only 12.2% of Canadian fathers outside of Quebec choose to exercise their parental leave benefits despite legislative reform that includes men (Lero, 2015). However, the percentage of fathers in Canada taking parental leave dramatically increases to 30.8% if Quebec is included in the statistics. The differences in parental leave rates between Quebec and the rest of Canada have been attributed to Quebec's removal of a two week waiting period for parental benefits that the rest of the country's leave legislation still maintains (Marshall, 2008). In 2005, Quebec's provincial government negotiated with the Canadian federal government for control of parental leave legislation. This allowed Quebec's provincial government to develop parental leave legislation that would be separate from the legislated policies required in rest the of Canada (Marshall, 2008). However, differences in parental leave figures for men from province to province may also be a result of more advanced shifts in the discourse of fatherhood and men's involvement in childcare. English speaking Canada's slow uptake of men choosing to opt for parental can also be seen as a demonstration of traditional hegemonic fatherhood ideologies resisting social change. Furthermore, the dramatic differences in fatherhood ideologies between Canadian provinces demonstrate variable social expectations of fathers that can contribute to uncertainties and conflicts for men attempting to establish their identities as fathers.

The primary purpose of this research is to shed new light on work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making research by naming men as men (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Work-life balance has largely ignored men and masculinities and tends

to generalise parental behaviour expectations based on the assumed hegemonic ideologies that relegate women to the position of primary caregiver. Assumed hegemonic ideologies are implicit gendered social expectations that are used to establish, maintain, and normalise hierachal power relationships (Connell, 2005, Hearn, 2004). This thesis focuses on one assumed hegemonic ideology concerning the traditional sexual division of labour in work-life balance research by highlighting the continued Parsonian expectation that women prioritise family and men prioritise work (Williams et al., 2016, Gatrell et al., 2013, Kossek et al., 2011). Gatrell et al. (2013) observed research silo effects between social and psychological research regarding work-family balance. I chose to investigate male entrepreneurs for two reasons. First, I believe that hegemonic masculine assumptions in the parenting literature has created a research silo effect separating the study of men and masculinities, work-family balance and entrepreneurial decision-making. Second, I believe that entrepreneurship provides men with an added perception of control concerning decision-making and the development of their organisations' work-life balance policies compared to that of a junior or senior level manager in a large corporation.

My focus on work-life balance decisions of men and their interactions with gendered assumptions regarding fatherhood was chosen for this thesis as a recognition of the fluidity of life. This means that this thesis recognises that men's decisions concerning work and family are not situated in a vacuum (or silo) and that factors such as social expectations and individual perceptions are likely to fluctuate. Ford and Collinson (2011) discuss how the academic insertion of artificial boundaries between work and life are exaggerated in the discussion of work-life balance. This thesis focuses on the micro level of individuals' subjective experiences and their perceptions of meso and macro level social norms for entrepreneurship and fatherhood. This

experiential lens provides an opportunity to blend psychological and sociological theories concerning work-life balance, entrepreneurial decision-making, and men and masculinities. Embracing the complexities between work-life balance, decision-making, and men and masculinities by naming men as men is an important factor in highlighting and questioning hegemonic assumptions concerning men's responsibilities as both fathers and entrepreneurs.

Holter (2007) stated that the challenge when investigating work-life interaction is to "integrate personal and professional evidence better" (p.426). Holter (2007) believes that better integration of personal and professional evidence will help to capture the interactions and relations between the production and reproduction of assumed hegemonic masculinities. This call to improve the integration of personal and professional evidence suggests that this research has an opportunity to embrace complexities in organisational theory and research. This thesis uses the psychological research structures of work-life conflict as a guide for developing a novel platform for sociological analysis. My choice to blend psychological and sociological perspectives concerning work-life balance was inspired by the idea of accepting the fluidity and complexities of life. I believe that incorporating life's complexities as part of the data analysis encouraged me to critically examine men's work-life balance decisions more closely than if I had chosen to focus on men's decisions in isolation.

The interaction of work and family offers an opportunity to challenge hegemonic assumptions regarding men, masculinities, and fatherhood that are embedded in discussions about entrepreneurship and organisational decision-making. For instance, critically analysing gendered assumptions around work and family interactions creates an opportunity to pursue further questions regarding organisational policy development revolving around the work-family interface.

Collinson and Hearn (2005) believe that work, organisations, and management continue to be the driving force behind the construction of men, masculinities, and men's power. This thesis' focus on entrepreneurs and the acknowledgement of their power position as organisational leaders emphasises men as men in power positions as a platform for understanding the hegemony of men. Focusing on men as men opens the door for critically analysing the relationship between men as a social category and men as agents of social practice as highlighted by Hearn (2004) while furthering insights regarding gendered structures influencing work and life interactions. Finally, embracing the complexities of using a psychological framework of work-family conflict while critically analysing hegemonic masculine social structures creates an opportunity to explore interactions between assumed hegemonic organisational social structures and organisational psychology.

As a father of three children, the importance of this research starts with the acknowledgement that I struggle with balancing work and family on a daily basis. This personal struggle is an important factor as a motivator for conducting research on how social constructs may influence my own decision-making processes regarding work and family matters. For example, I discovered that one of the reasons for pursuing a PhD was to increase my ability to provide for my family by giving myself the potential to attain a career in academia. The desire to provide still acts as a motivator for me even though my spouse has been more than capable of providing financial stability for our family through her own career and academic successes. At the same time, observing my friends in academia has shown me that an academic career can provide the flexibility to allow for greater family involvement. For example, I have witnessed friends with academic positions that often shift their research schedule to accommodate children's functions. However, a research career

also has the potential to consume you. I have also seen friends abandoning their families in their pursuit for distinction in their academic fields. This severe difference in approach to balancing family and career highlights the importance of the question of how men perceive and interact with both traditional hegemonic and shifting masculinities around fatherhood identities.

1.3 Approach

This thesis uses men and masculinities as a filter for investigating men's work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making. This allows for a critical analysis of the complex relationship between men and masculinities. Hegemonic behaviour expectations for men are social practices that are disseminated by men to facilitate their continued dominance over women. This definition is based on Connell and Messerschmitt's (2005) original concept of hegemonic masculinity as being a configuration of gendered practices that allows men to maintain dominance over women. However, shifting fatherhood ideologies have created an opportunity where competing behaviour expectations for fathers exist based on men's parental desires. My goal as a researcher is to explore men's experiences as business owners and fathers by investigating men who are attempting to both navigate between and change perceived domestic and entrepreneurial behavioural expectations. Semi-structured interviews were used to extract how these men perceive fatherhood and entrepreneurial behaviour expectations by investigating their approach to work-life balance. In this thesis, the relationship between men and domestic and entrepreneurial masculinities is examined through the lens of male entrepreneurs with dependant families.

Focusing on and embracing the interactive overlaps and complex tensions between three areas of research creates a platform for this thesis to critically examine

entrepreneurial decision-making and work-life balance while using men, masculinities and fatherhood as the lens of analysis. Men, masculinities and fatherhood are used to critique and contribute to rethinking the hegemonic perspectives and embeddedness of work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making. The critical analysis of the interrelationships connecting work-life balance, entrepreneurship, and men and masculinities highlights an interactional complexity to management research. For example, this investigation of entrepreneurial work-life balance decisions is framed around the psychological framework of work-family conflict developed by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) while simultaneously using sociological perspectives as the frame of reference for focusing on the development and maintenance of hegemonic sociological structures involved with men's work-family balance choices. The geographic areas represented in this study include the Canadian provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Ontario, with the majority (68%) of the interviews conducted in southern Alberta. This research concentrates on entrepreneurial fathers who are the primary decision-makers for their organisations. Focusing on these high-level decision-makers highlights hegemonic assumptions made in the process of decision-making of men whose decisions directly affect the direction of the organisations they own and operate.

The hegemony of men refers to the formation and maintenance of the social group of men and the 'taken-for-granted' power or domination of the group in the development of social norms (Hearn, 2004). Hegemonic assumptions are the taken-for-granted traditions concerning power relations between individuals or groups during social interactions. These traditions for determining power and distinction in relationships are often based on factors such as sex, age, or financial status. Using men and masculinities as tools for investigating work-life balance and entrepreneurial

decision-making incorporates perceived shifts in social expectations for men in the domestic setting. Investigating men's response to shifting domestic expectations of fathers opens the door to critically analyse how hegemonic assumptions of men are used to either resist or embrace perceived shifts in work-life balance social expectations for men. Focusing on men, and 'naming men as men' (Collinson and Hearn, 1994), is used to challenge gendered assumptions in work-family balance and entrepreneurial research by acknowledging hegemonic assumptions. Acknowledging men's assumed position of power in negotiations concerning gender and family behaviour expectations creates an opportunity to expand the knowledge of power relationships between men. This thesis challenges the assumption of a single generalisable masculine dominance of men by highlighting Collinson and Hearn's (1994) recognition of the interactions between multiple masculinities and masculine identities in social and business situations. The importance of recognising multiple masculinities in the analysis of men's work-life balance strategies is that it accepts the possibility of multiple fatherhood and entrepreneurial strategies. These multiple strategies can work in conjunction with one another, or they can conflict with masculine assumptions concerning fatherhood and entrepreneurship, depending on the social or business situation (Collinson and Hearn, 1994)

1.4 Statement of problems

Holter (2007) emphasized that assumptions regarding men and masculinities are suppressing the advancement of academic literature when he proposed the need to go beyond picturing men as "disembodied, non-encumbered, or neutrals in their work" (p.426). Holter furthers his call for the critical examination of men by suggesting that men are often framed as being the focus of gendered research without actually being critically examined. For example, Wajcman (1998) investigates

masculine assumptions in management behaviour expectations by examining organisational culture and the sexualisation of women. As part of this investigation, Wajcman (1998) highlights the assumption that feminine management styles, such as being more nurturing, are being interpreted as part of what women do. The distinction between feminine and masculine management styles are often translated into differences between female and male management styles. These differences are identified with the assumption that men control the organisational archetype of what it means to be a successful manager. The problematization of masculinities is that “the notion of biological male is no longer the basis for masculine gender” (p.6) (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). This means that the meaning of multiple masculinities and hegemonic masculinities is unclear and can be broadly understood (Donaldson, 1993). For example, masculinities can be interpreted on an individual basis as an accumulation of behaviour patterns that coincide with perceived dominant behaviour systems and social constructs designed to grow and maintain power in relationships. In other words, the representation of a masculine individual is no longer anchored to their biological sex; but can be interpreted by how the individual negotiates for and maintains power (Collinson and Hearn, 2005). However, men are represented as being both a social category formed by gender systems and individual agents of social practice (Connell, 2005, Hearn, 2004, Collinson and Hearn, 1994).

This thesis critically analyses how men attempt to both embody what they believe is masculine and attempt to control how different forms of masculinities (such as hegemonic, subordinate, etc.) are interpreted by others. For example, Connell (2005) discusses institutional teachings of men and boys using strategies ranging from mild disapproval to violence as a method for ensuring that desired masculine behaviours are repeated by men in organisations. Men’s assumed hegemony translates

to the ability to control and reinforce change in ‘men’s behaviour’ by forcing repetitive demonstration of new behaviour expectations through the threat of disapproval or violence. The heroic man is often portrayed in entrepreneurial and leadership research regarding organisational change and advancements, offering a demonstration of individual agency (Fauchart and Gruber, 2011, Cogliser and Brigham, 2004, Yukl, 2002). For example, both entrepreneurial and leadership research focus on influence as a determinant for gathering support for changes to organisational direction and for gathering resources for creating new ventures (Cogliser and Brigham, 2004). Embedded masculinities in entrepreneurship focus on the unique qualities of men as the masters of the business domain by highlighting their ability to rationalise and take risks (Achtenhagen and Welter, 2011, Weiskopf and Steyaerd, 2009). At the same time, research regarding shifts in fatherhood ideologies in Western European and North American cultures has been limited due to both gendered assumptions relegating work-life conflict to women and to the reality that women face greater pressure to undertake the double burden of work and family (Hammer et al., 2011, Özbilgin et al., 2011, Thompson et al., 1999). The limited focus on current shifts in fatherhood ideologies in work-life research has provided an opportunity to critically analyse men and hegemonic assumptions concerning men’s agency in challenging traditional masculine ideologies.

1.5 Research question(s)

The primary goal of this research is to critically analyse men’s attempt to develop a balance between their commitments as entrepreneurs and as fathers (being promoted by the Canadian government). Highlighting men’s perceptions, decisions, and practices regarding their work and domestic social spheres creates an opportunity to critically analyse the interaction between the hegemony of men and masculinities

(Holmgren and Hearn, 2009, Connell, 2005, Hearn, 2004, Lupton, 2000). Connell (2005) discusses gender configuration as a process of an individual life course formulated through the configuring practices of learned gendered behaviours. These learned gendered behaviours are often configured through social relations and institutional social constructs. Focusing on the interaction between the social expectations of the categorisation of men and what men are actually choosing to do sheds light on the process of gender configuration as masculine constructs (such as fatherhood) shift.

The primary focus of work-life balance and work-family conflict is women's struggle to overcome and remove hegemonic masculine social constructs assumed in the business environment. The focus on women largely portrays men as a social category (McElwain et al., 2005, Emslie and Hunt, 2009, Gatrell, 2005, Singleton and Maher, 2004, Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). However, emerging research is attempting to focus on men and men's desires as part of challenging assumed hegemonic masculine structures revolving around work and parenthood (Özbilgin et al., 2011, Aarseth, 2009, Gatrell and Cooper, 2008). This research uses men's desire and assumed agency in challenging and shifting hegemonic structures concerning men's work-life balance decisions in an attempt to make real change in the future development of work-life policies in organisations. Entrepreneurship, business management, and organisational-decision-making is often the focus for researchers investigating embedded gendered social structures which are demonstrated through both managerial and employee behaviours (Bazerman and Moore, 2009, Collinson and Collinson, 2004, Harrison and Pelletier, 2000, Collinson and Hearn, 1996a, Zey, 1992, Simon, 1979). However, the conclusions drawn from both managerial and employee behaviours are either attributed to men through social categorisations, or are

formulated to men in such a way that agency is questioned (Reckwitz, 2002, Collinson and Hearn, 1994).

Collinson and Hearn (1994) assert that research involving masculinities and the workplace demonstrates men's "preoccupation with the creation and maintenance of various masculine identities and with the expression of gendered power and status" (p.8) which leaves little room for change. Naming men as men as Collinson and Hearn (1994) suggest provides an excellent opportunity for the further analysis of social hegemonic pressure on men to conform to behavioural expectations. However, it also opens the door to expand the literature regarding men as individual agents of social structures during a time of shifting masculine ideologies towards fatherhood. Critically analysing the social categories of entrepreneurship and men by making them the focal point for observing the reconstructions of hegemonic masculinities will shed some light on men's behaviours as individual agents seeking to gain power and control. This is done by examining men's stories of their social interactions as both fathers and entrepreneurs during key work-life balance decision-making moments.

The primary research question reflects this research's goal by focusing on the interrelation between men, masculinities, work-life balance, and entrepreneurial decision-making. Therefore, the primary research question is:

How do assumed hegemonic masculinities associated with fatherhood and entrepreneurship interrelate with men's actual entrepreneurial decision-making within the context of work-life balance?

This research incorporates hegemonic masculine behaviour expectations and desire during decision-making as a medium for focusing men's work-life balance conversation. As a result, there are a number of additional questions that highlight

men's shifting domestic behaviour expectations, obligations, and desires. Some questions include:

Do shifting domestic desires of men create an opportunity to change entrepreneurial decision-making processes?

Are shifting masculine assumptions around fatherhood contributing to changes in men's entrepreneurial work-family balance decisions?

These additional questions help to focus this investigation on the primary research question by highlighting how men create, maintain, and navigate between their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves in both domestic and organisational settings. Focusing on men as men creates a platform for the critical analysis of the sociological and psychological relationship in which men are seen as both agents of change and carriers of social practices in embedded masculinities associated with entrepreneurship and the work-life relationship.

1.6 Thesis structure

This thesis critically examines the work-life balance perspectives of men who are navigating between fatherhood, entrepreneurship, and work-life choices. Three distinct research areas are highlighted: men and masculinities, work-life balance, and entrepreneurial decision-making. This thesis is broken down into three parts: literature reviews, methods, and themes and results. The literature review chapters include chapters two, three and four which highlight work-life balance, men and masculinities, and entrepreneurial decision-making literature. The second section (chapter five) establishes the research paradigms and the method of research. The third section includes chapters six through nine. This section focuses on themes for critical analysis highlighted in the literature review chapters and establishes a new perspective in

work-life balance research while simultaneously contributing to men and masculinities and entrepreneurial research.

1.6.1 Literature reviews

Chapter two provides an overview of relevant literature in work-life balance and work-life conflict research. A particular emphasis is on the differences in the psychological and sociological perspectives in these areas. This chapter merges the psychological and sociological perspectives by using a psychological platform for investigation while simultaneously using a sociological perspective of analysis. Gaps in the literature are demonstrated by highlighting that the majority of research focuses on women's assumed role as the primary caregiver.

Chapter three examines men and masculinities research by highlighting the shift in discourse from the feminist platform of a single overarching patriarchy to hegemony of masculinities which acknowledges the complexities of masculinities by introducing multiple levels of masculinities such as subordinated masculinities (Carrigan et al., 1985). This chapter focuses on Hearn's (2004) concept of the *distinction* aspect within the hegemony of men as an example of multiple levels of masculinities. Hearn (2004) defines *distinction* as a relationship process in which men rank or position themselves in their relationship with other men, women and children. In simple terms, *distinction* is the ranking of men within the hegemony of men. The word distinction can be used in a variety of ways. To avoid confusion, distinction is italicised to alert the reader when it is being discussed as an aspect of the hegemony of men. Collinson and Hearn's (1994) identification of five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities in management are used as an example of men's strategies for creating and maintaining *distinction*. Men's multiple strategies for *distinction* are used to introduce and highlight shifting masculine ideologies regarding men and

fatherhood. This chapter introduces men's construction of domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves as an alternate framework for building and maintaining *distinction* within the context of work-life balance.

Chapter four further highlights hegemonic masculine assumptions by critically evaluating embeddedness in entrepreneurship by focusing entrepreneurial decision-making's realities and assumptions. Embeddedness is the normalisation of hegemonic ideologies within assumed social structures of entrepreneurship. This is done by highlighting the assumption of men's rationality and work focus as foundation for developing theories regarding entrepreneurial decision-making. Work-life balance and shifting fatherhood assumptions concerning men's participation in the home are used to highlight gaps in the literature that virtually ignore complex social interactions incorporated in the entrepreneurial decision-making process. The chapter concludes by evaluating alternative perspectives of power relationships for men attempting to balance work and family.

1.6.2 Methods

Chapter five establishes the research paradigm, sample selection, data gathering method, data analysis, research exemplars, ethical considerations, and the interview guide used. The research paradigm is established by describing how Burrell and Morgan (1979) and Easterby-Smith et al. (2008) would categorise this thesis based on their research paradigm matrixes.

1.6.3 Discussions and conclusions

Chapter six highlights how men perceive, analyse, and navigate work-life balance decisions based on their interpretation of their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. A critical analysis of men's actual decision-making processes is framed around Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) sources of conflict: time-based, strain-

based, and behaviour-based conflict. This is followed by a perspective shift to a work-life balance framework by highlighting some men's desire to prioritise domestic responsibilities above or equal to their entrepreneurial goals.

Chapter seven focuses on men's approach to establishing their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. Hearn's (2004) concept of *distinction* is highlighted in discussions regarding men's perceptions of power and control, hegemonic masculine resistance to social change, and men's masculinisation of the home.

Chapter eight highlights domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves as the foundation for entrepreneurial decision-making concerning business growth decisions, organisational relationships, and spousal relationships in both the domestic and entrepreneurial setting.

Chapter nine summarises the research themes and findings discussed in chapters six through eight. These findings are brought together to shed light on gaps found in the literature as a result of maintaining research silos between work-life balance, men and masculinities, and entrepreneurial decision-making. This is done by re-establishing central arguments in the previous work-life balance, men and masculinities, and entrepreneurial decision-making chapters. Lastly, the contributions and limitations of this research are discussed and the prospects for future research are presented.

Chapter 2: Work-family conflict to work-life balance

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight opportunities, goals, and objectives for contributing to work-life balance research by naming men as men in the critical analysis of actual work-life balance decisions. Opportunities for contributing to work-life balance literature are demonstrated by highlighting the differences in perspectives between psychological and sociological research concerning the work-family conflict and work-life balance. The persistence of gendered assumptions regarding the work-life balance in research are brought to the forefront by highlighting men and masculinities concerning shifting fatherhood ideologies in western cultures. This is done by giving a brief history of work-family conflict and work-life balance research while emphasising the importance of responding to calls for the inclusion of men and men's desires as fathers. This chapter establishes men in work-life balance discussions by naming men as men and highlighting the importance of questioning hegemonic assumptions regarding gender, work, and family.

The relationship between work and family has been extensively researched for over 40 years (Williams et al., 2016). Coinciding with feminist movements, work-family conflict studies were introduced because of women's increased labour market participation in the 1970s and 1980s (Gatrell et al., 2013, Fleetwood, 2007, Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). However, it has been recognised that organisational psychology literature has had a surprisingly low impact on policies and practices of organisations concerning work-family conflict (Williams et al., 2016, Gatrell et al., 2013, Kossek et al., 2011). Gatrell et al. (2013) state that the perception of work-life balance is still framed as problematic as it continues to be associated with reducing negative interference that non-work events have on the work sphere. This negative perception

continues despite research demonstrating the enriching effects that work-life balance has on individuals *and* businesses concerning health benefits and employee retention (Moen et al., 2011, Kelly et al., 2008, Anderson et al., 2002).

There are many terms used to describe social and psychological interactions between work and non-work experiences that an individual or group may encounter. For example, different descriptions include work-family conflict, work and family practices, work-family balance, work-life integration, work-life interface, work-life conflict and work-life balance. Each can signify subtle differences in research perspectives and interpretation (Gatrell et al., 2013, Lewis et al., 2007). For this research, the terms work-life conflict and work-life balance are used as umbrella terms to reflect either the negative (conflict) or positive (balance) perspective that an individual has during the process of discussing their experiences between work and non-work events including those outside of the family sphere. The work-family conflict perspective has been criticised for its inability to look at the conflict as a structural problem (Williams et al., 2016) especially concerning assumed hegemonic ideologies. However, work-life conflict has been chosen in an attempt to reflect both the psychological framework of investigation associated with work-family conflict, such as a binary system of choice between work and family, and the sociological perspective of analysis used in this research. Work-life conflict is used to reflect the negative experiences that individuals have while attempting to navigate between perceived and unperceived multiple hegemonic structures encountered in everyday life. However, work-family conflict is discussed during specific areas of this review as Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) focus was focused around the work-family relationship. Like work-family conflict, work-life balance is also a contested term as it can be viewed as a gendered ideology that assumes women are less passionate

entrepreneurs and workers, as they are not solely focused on work (Gatrell et al., 2013, Brush, 2004). Gatrell et al. (2013) acknowledged this contention, but suggest that the familiarity of the term work-life balance combined with its ability to encompass the range of approaches reflected by the multiple terms listed above makes it the most appropriate for discussing the positive outcomes of navigating between work and non-work life events.

The use of work-life conflict as the catalyst for exploring both hegemony of men and entrepreneurial decision-making started as a novel idea for giving men a resource to use for reflecting on themselves as men and entrepreneurs. Men's self-reflection concerning fatherhood and entrepreneurship encouraged a deeper exploration into a topic of how men approach navigating between their work and family lives. This reflection process covers multiple perspectives regarding the relationship between work and life ideologies which include the negative perspective of work-life conflict, the positive perspective of work-life balance, and gendered assumptions associated with work and family. As a result, this chapter will follow the same path of discussion starting with work-life conflict and moving towards gender assumptions in work-life policy development and work-life research perspectives.

2.2 Work-life conflict perspective

The foundation of work-life conflict theory was developed in the 1950s as a result of Parsons's (1956) 'structural functionalism' that divided paid and unpaid labour along gendered sex roles (Gatrell et al., 2013, Featherstone, 2009). Work-family conflict research exploded in the 1980s and Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) 'Sources of conflict between work and family roles' was an influential article that established a foundation for a multitude of work-family research articles revolving around the concept that work and family roles are incompatible and competing over

the scarce resources of the individual (Williams et al., 2016, Jain and Nair, 2013). This framework of observation continues to be the most common basis of work-life conflict research (Williams et al., 2016). The examination of work-life conflict maintains its structural functionalism assumptions that women are expected to abide by hegemonic masculine structures that relegate them into the home. The low impact that work-family conflict literature has had on organisational policies and practices has stagnated the growth of work-life conflict research as it has to continuously reiterate problematized foundations associated with reducing negative interference that non-work events have on the work sphere (Williams et al., 2016, Gatrell et al., 2013, Kossek et al., 2011). For example, modern research still has to focus on challenging assumptions that women's participation in the work force has a negative impact on men's well-being as the primary breadwinner (Özbilgin et al., 2011, Parasuraman et al., 1989).

Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) theorised that there are three categories of work-family conflict which are time-based, strain-based and behavioural-based conflict. Time-based conflict represents the difficulties individuals experience when attempting to organise multiple and overlapping schedules associated with career and family obligations (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). For example, having a late business meeting that overlaps with a parental responsibility such as driving a child to football practice would be a case of time-based conflict. Strain-based conflict is defined as the strain that one duty has on the performance of another (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). An example of this is the effects that work stress has on the performance of parental obligations. Stress issues at work may cause a person's stress level to spill over into the family domain which can create hardships due to their frustrations being taken out on family members. Finally, behavioural-based conflict is created by the incongruent

behavioural expectations between work and family. For example, Collinson and Collinson's (1997) study of an insurance company demonstrates how organisational management behaviour practices can favour "more aggressive 'macho' traits" which include aggressiveness, ruthlessness and coerciveness. However aggressiveness, ruthlessness and coerciveness are not described as traits used in parenting (Runté and Mills, 2004). It is this conflict between expected hegemonic masculine behaviours and shifting domestic expectations for men that creates a platform for investigating work-life conflict as a social structure interaction between conflicting hegemonic masculinities and entrepreneurial decision-making practices.

Work-life conflict research continues to build on the problematisation of the work and life interface. For example, Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) state that "extensive time involvement in a particular role also can produce strain symptoms" (p.81). These complexities were demonstrated by Carlson et al. (2000) which revealed multiple interrelations between the various types of work-family conflict. For instance, prolonged time-based conflict can transform into strain-based conflict as an individual is no longer able to cope with a complex schedule. The focus on interrelations between Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) work-family conflict categories created an opportunity to focus on the interactions between work and non-work social spheres. Directional work-life conflict research surfaced as a way to predict conflict between work and family by understanding the cause and effect of conflict. Directional conflict is represented as work to family conflict (WFC) and family to work conflict (FWC). These directional work-family conflict perspectives reveal complex relationships between the work and family decisions with regards to an individual's 'feminine traits' and their 'family role' (Powell and Greenhaus, 2010a, Powell and Greenhaus, 2010b). However, WFC and FWC research has been

challenged because gendered assumptions can be demonstrated as a factor in differences in conflict between men and women. For example, Byron (2005) suggests that “because women tended to take on greater responsibilities for childcare, mothers experience more distress from the greater workload but only when they are also highly involved in their work” (p.192). Some psychological research demonstrated that there was little to no difference between men and women’s experience of conflict until parenthood was a moderating factor (Eby et al., 2005). Sociological researchers’ challenges of gendered assumptions highlighted limitations of using the work-life conflict categories as a platform of investigation (Williams et al., 2016, Gatrell et al., 2013, Kossek et al., 2011). For example, some WFC research focusing on the family’s influence on organisational decision-making attempts to shift the focus away from a discussion of gendered assumptions to an individual’s ‘family-relatedness’. Family-relatedness refers to the extent to which an individual’s decision-making processes at work are influenced by family (Greenhaus and Powell, 2012, Powell and Greenhaus, 2012). However, shifting the discussion away from gendered assumptions risks reinforcing hegemonic structures assumed in both management and entrepreneurial behaviour expectations. As a result, this research’s goal of using a psychological platform for sociological analysis gives a unique opportunity to shift hegemonic assumptions of analysis to work-life conflict research. To do this, the following review of time-based, strain-based and behaviour-based conflict literature will question some of these psychological assumptions by interjecting sociological arguments into the discussion.

2.2.1 Time-Based Conflict

Time-based conflict describes the difficulty in scheduling and completing requirements demanded by a person’s competing work and family obligations.

Conflict arises when competing obligations need to be satisfied at the same time which leads to the double booking of an individual's schedule. Work-family conflict specifically investigates the difficulties people may encounter in juggling work and family obligations. Work-family studies focusing on time-based conflict originated as an examination of time conflicts between the work and domestic sphere that women were experiencing. These time conflicts were seen as disruptive and were attributed to women leaving assumed traditional family models which relegated women to the home (Singleton and Maher, 2004). Work-family conflict's original focus on women makes it difficult to discuss time-based conflict without critically evaluating gender assumptions made in theorising. For example, Keith and Schafer (1980) wrote that the separation of gender differences in work-family conflict research began to surface when studies reported that the number of hours worked by the male spouse directly influenced the level of work-family conflict for the employed mother.

Researchers such as Gatrell and Cooper (2008), Gorman-Murray (2008), and Tomkiewicz and Hughes (1993) believe that gender assumptions in work-family conflict studies are a reflection of the embodied nature of motherhood which confines women to the domestic setting. The assumption that women will leave the workforce to raise children is emphasised by time commitment expectations that some businesses have on management. The demonstration of the relationship between flexible work schedules and limited career development opportunities is one example of how the combination of organisational policies and culture can create greater time-conflicts between family and work schedules (Gatrell and Cooper, 2008, Hochschild, 1997). For example, the workplace face-time demands for career advancement combined with the social assumptions that women are the primary caregivers creates an adverse environment for women attempting to schedule the dual obligations of work and

home. However, sociological work-life balance research has shifted to include both mother and fathers in the investigation of the interaction between paid work and family involvement in child rearing (Gatrell et al., 2013). Research is demonstrating that dual obligations between work and home are increasing for men who are attempting to be more involved in their family sphere which demonstrates a shift away from traditional gendered fatherhood ideologies (Donald and Linington, 2008, Parasuraman et al., 1989). As a result, work-life balance research using the sociological perspective is beginning to reveal complex and variable social expectations regarding gender, paid work, and unpaid work (Gatrell et al., 2013, Gatrell, 2007, Smart and Neale, 1999, Hochschild, 1997). For example, researchers demonstrate that women are using embedded masculine assumptions of entrepreneurship regarding power and control of work schedules to reduce time-based conflict by establishing work hours around family needs (Eddleston and Powell, 2012, Marshall, 1995).

2.2.2 Strain-Based Conflict

Strain-based conflict is measured by the effect one task has on the performance of the other task. Strain-based conflict is often linked to time-based conflict in work-family studies because of the increased stress that people report when discussing the difficulties of scheduling work and family responsibilities (Carlson et al., 2000, Williams and Alliger, 1994, Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). Interest in strain-based conflict research has increased because evidence illustrates that there is a correlation between the level of work stressors and the likelihood of decreased emotional health (Gatrell and Cooper, 2008, Burke and Greenglass, 2001, Barling and Rosenbaum, 1986, Abdel-Halim, 1982, Burke and Bradshaw, 1981). Emotional health can be measured through the occurrence of symptoms such as tension, anxiety, fatigue,

depression, irritability and job burnout. Studies show that the supervisory relationship can have a significant effect on strain-based conflict. For example, if a supervisor is supportive of work-life balance then strain-based conflict is reduced (Boyar et al., 2003, Warren and Johnson, 1995). Boyar et al. (2003) state that “providing family friendly policies may minimize the stress from the family domain and limit the interference between work and family and allow employees to focus on work activities” (p.187). In other words, having supportive family policies increase an organisation’s productivity by reducing controllable stress factors of workers.

2.2.3 Behaviour-Based Conflict

Behaviour-based conflict describes the difficulty in which an individual is able to shift from one behaviour expectation to another when shifting between work and non-work social situations. It is this inability for an individual to adjust their behaviour between work and family that is the root to the construct of behavioural-based conflict (Carlson et al., 2000, Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). However, an interesting problem arises when one is expected to act in a hegemonic masculine way as a manager and then is asked to create a policy that promotes family care. It is difficult to have any type of gender neutral discourse involving work-family organisational policies if managers, regardless of gender, are expected to act in a hegemonic fashion. Multiple studies have demonstrated a small minority of employees reported no interest in flexible policies regarding work-family issues; however the minority discussed was among the most senior and most highly paid within the organisation which dictated to lower level management that work-family policies were for ‘wimps’ (Kellogg, 2011, Blair-Loy and Wharton, 2004). For example, Collinson and Collinson (1997) established that middle managers used extended evening working hours instead of coming in early as a method for displaying

commitment, endurance, and toughness because there was more likely that higher level managers would be around to notice them staying in the office longer. This hegemonic behaviour expectation of longer working hours in order to exhibit toughness and dedication to the workplace increases a manager's chance to experience time-based conflict; but it also conflicts with shifting fatherhood behavioural expectations of being a nurturing parent. However, Carlson et al. (2000) state that "more research is needed to clarify the meaning of behaviour-based conflict and subsequently its measurement" (p.270) which may affect how behaviour-based conflict is interpreted. For example, they believe that different behaviours are necessary between work and home; but that differing behaviour expectations does not necessarily reflect conflict.

The concept of hegemonic structures combined with the construct of physically and mentally strong men is associated with high organisational work performance. This subtext of men and masculinities to organisational performance is a reflection of the embodied nature of fatherhood and employment (Gatrell and Cooper, 2008, Collinson and Collinson, 2004). The embodied nature of men as provider is so compelling that fathers who interpret 'family man' as a parent who spends weekdays with his children instead of work have their masculinities called into question (Gatrell and Cooper, 2008, Hochschild, 1997). The pressure for men to remain within hegemonic masculine behaviour expectations while attempting to expand their responsibilities as parents creates an interesting conflict. On one hand, men can use shifting cultural expectations of increasing their domestic responsibilities as an opportunity to prove themselves as 'better' fathers than their counterparts; on the other hand, men can decide to prove their loyalty to hegemonic traditions of their peers by choosing to build their domestic and entrepreneurial masculinities through their work

obligations. For example, men choosing to expand their masculine identities through shifting cultural expectations can use the home “to negotiate alternative masculinities, where they could be expressive, emotive and engaged in domestic labour and child care” (p.369) (Gorman-Murray, 2008). Gorman-Murray (2008) states that the new model of hetero-masculinity created through men’s increased participation in domestic activities has been built by “creating masculine models of domesticity related to spiritual and moral well-being, shared domestic labour and fathering” (p.372). These shifting behavioural expectations create an opportunity to increase situations of behavioural-based conflict because of competing behaviour demands of domestic and work obligations.

Many investigations of dual income families focus on the middle class and ignores groups such as single parents and families with lower or higher incomes (Gatrell et al., 2013, Özbilgin et al., 2011). The participation criteria for this research is that men had to own their own business and have dependent children in the home. The entrepreneurial requirement allowed for the men to discuss hegemonic assumptions associated with their positions as entrepreneurs; but it did not set minimum or maximum limitations for income level in order to promote the opportunity to discuss *distinction* relationship between entrepreneurs. The requirement of dependants in the home was open to single, married, or divorced fathers; however, only heterosexual men in married relationships chose to participate. The relationships between entrepreneurship, life goals, and family duties creates a platform of investigation that focuses on how men interpret, adapt, and navigate both positive and negative work and non-work situations.

The work-life conflict perspective has been adapted to investigate positive outcomes of the work-life interaction which has been dubbed work-family enrichment

(Powell and Eddleston, 2013, Greenhaus and Powell, 2006, Carlson et al., 2006).

Work-family enrichment identifies that support from both business and family are a major factor in promoting work-family enrichment. For example, the requirement of adaptability and flexibility associated with child rearing is used to promote work flexibility of the organisation. Promoting adaptability and flexibility in both the domestic and work spheres is framed as enriching for individuals because it gives them more tools to simultaneously perform their duties as employees and as parents while increasing family awareness in organisations (Powell and Eddleston, 2013, Greenhaus and Powell, 2006, Carlson et al., 2006). Occupational flexibility and desire to maintain quality time with family is a significant motivator for women to choose entrepreneurship. The need for occupational flexibility to balance both women's desire to work and maintain perceived family rearing responsibilities is a key factor in the decision to seek power over their work schedules as entrepreneurs (Berdahl and Moon, 2013, Moen et al., 2011, Gundry and Welsch, 2001, Orhan and Scott, 2001).

2.3 The work-life balance perspective

Greenblatt (2002) defines work-life balance as an acceptable level of conflict between work and non-work while McMillan et al. (2011) describe work-life harmony as the positive and enriching perspective of work-life balance. Similar to previous research, the term work-life balance is being used in this review to denote work-family balance and other terms that are focused on balancing or enhancing the relationship between work and non-work responsibilities (Gatrell et al., 2013, Wierda-Boer et al., 2009, Wierda-Boer et al., 2008, Lewis et al., 2007). Sociological reviews of work-family literature reveal that research is still being undertaken using assumed Parsonian gendered confines which established the traditional nuclear family model (Williams et al., 2016, Gatrell et al., 2013). However, shifts in fatherhood ideologies

in some western cultures has led to the perception of *desire* for some men to enhance their paternal roles and responsibilities (Gatrell, 2007). Today's organisational ideologies towards employees and organisational work-family policies are based on traditional family ideologies that are no longer relevant because they do not consider shifting desires (Williams et al., 2016). Williams et al. (2016) establish that organisations assume that people are always available for work even though dual income families are now the dominant family structure. Research has demonstrated that these traditional hegemonic masculine assumptions are simultaneously deterring flexibility for men wanting to engage with family as well as discouraging women from working long hours out of concern for families (Williams et al., 2013, Gatrell and Cooper, 2008). The discouragement of women to work long hours has led to the examination of how these gender structures have encouraged women to use entrepreneurship as a tool to shape career initiatives around their desire for work-life balance (Ahl, 2006, Mirchandani, 1999, Marshall, 1995).

Williams et al. (2016) believes that one reason for the slow adoption of shifting fatherhood ideologies is because those who built their *distinction* around work are being threatened by those who are now choosing to redefine work's role in the creation of men's masculine selves. Sociological research is starting to include men in work-life discussion because of shifting perspectives on gendered paid and unpaid labour in some western cultures (Wierda-Boer et al., 2009, McElwain et al., 2005, Burke, 1998). As part of including men, some researchers are highlighting dilemmas for managers attempting to establish work-life balance especially when work-family policies are bolted onto existing policies without consideration for re-balancing work and home perspectives and cultures of both employees and managers (Ford and Collinson, 2011). McDowell (2005) state that "the very definition of hegemonic

masculinity in industrial capitalist societies is bound up with labour market participation" (p.17). Including men into work-life discussions can result in the critical analysis of men and masculinities. Research focusing on the perception of a shifting fatherhood masculinities suggests that a 'new man' has emerged in the work/home boundary as a result of "western women's greater workforce participation since the 1960s" (p.371) (Gorman-Murray, 2008). The contradiction between hegemonic masculinities construction and men's shifting domestic responsibilities is an excellent opportunity to explore the interaction between the construction of domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves in work-life conflict research. The hegemony of men and the *distinction* processes associated with hegemonic masculinities can be highlighted by giving men the opportunity to discuss how they, as individuals, navigate through the ambiguity of masculinities and identities construction. Highlighting the construction of masculine selves helps to further demonstrate the complexity of the relationship between competing hegemonic behavioural expectations for men and the effect that masculinity and masculine ideologies have on *distinction* processes. For example, Gatrell (2007) states that child-related sources of situational power to influence divorce related decision in men's favour to who gets what has emerged with the arrival of participative fathers. Children are now more often the source of *distinction* power struggles between parents especially in divorce situations.

Psychological researchers' attempt to tackle the problem of gender in work-life research has created an assumption that work-life conflict conclusions are gender neutral (Lewis et al., 2007). For example, Powell and Greenhaus (2006) conclude that "individuals would be more likely to try to reschedule an activity when both the work role and family role were highly salient to them" (p.1197). However, this conclusion

fails to recognise differing social underpinnings within the work-life decision for both men and women. The effect governmental family policies have on work-life conflict can be debated when discussing assumed social gender expectations. The low percentage of men opting to use their rights as fathers to take parental leave demonstrates a complex social system that extends beyond written rule and regulations by both government and organisations. In Canada, the rate of men applying for parental leave has been on a slow upward trend over the past fifteen years (Findlay and Kohen, 2012, Huinink, 2010, Marshall, 2008). This may be a sign that social expectations for fathers are either pressuring men to move beyond the responsibility of provider or it can indicate a shift in men desire to build their masculine selves to include participative parenting. Shifts in fatherhood ideologies and masculine identities have been recognised by previous research which suggests that some men desire to build masculine selves that are linked to caregiving and family participation (Gatrell et al., 2013, Holter, 2007).

2.4 Highlighting men, masculinities and hegemonic assumptions

Gendered expectations and assumptions surrounding work and family have been reflected in research regarding culture and have been significant in encouraging work-family conflict problems for women (Hammer et al., 2011, Thompson et al., 1999). For example, research measuring the negative effects of emotional strain spill-over from domestic and work spheres are significantly more pronounced for women than for men which is explained by stating that women “are likely to have a greater combined work and family workloads than employed fathers” (p.861) because women are “bearing greater responsibility for household demands in the evening than men” (p.861) (Williams and Alliger, 1994). It has been revealed that male entrepreneurs often receive more support from their spouses due to gendered structures supporting

the breadwinner model (Eddleston and Powell, 2012, Parasuraman et al., 1996, Goffee and Scase, 1985). Men choosing to adopt traditional fatherhood models of provider often have their spouse in place as family caregiver which leads to more financial pressure on the business. This demonstrates the effect of family structures on business strategies (Wolfinger et al., 2009, Orser and Dyke, 2009, Pavalko and Elder, 1993).

The hegemonic assumption that women should bear greater responsibility for household demands creates an expectation that women will maintain home responsibilities while simultaneously offering researchers a distorted platform of analysis. Psychologically based organisational research has been effective at formulating the relationships between work and family obligations by demonstrating women's struggle to cope with gendered assumptions regarding paid and unpaid labour (Gatrell et al., 2013, Keith and Schafer, 1980). It has been observed by researchers that the positivist tradition in work-life research often assumes that the life part of the equation consists of domestic and family life and neglects non-work factors such as leisure activities, religious affiliation and cultural differences (Özbilgin et al., 2011, Lewis et al., 2007, Eby et al., 2005). Furthermore the positivist tradition seems to be focused on women's experiences and expectations of domestic life while ignoring recognised social shifts regarding fatherhood (Özbilgin et al., 2011). The inclusion of men in the sociological analysis of work and life has also been limited even though it has been recognised that a growing proportion of men are experiencing difficulties balancing work and family responsibilities (Gatrell et al., 2013, Özbilgin et al., 2011).

Collinson and Hearn (1994) state that men's "preoccupation with the creation and maintenance of various masculine identities and with the expression of gendered power and status in the workplace" (p.8) reflects traditional hegemonic ideologies that

are still being promoted by organisations today (Williams et al., 2016, Gatrell et al., 2013, Kossek et al., 2011, Hearn, 2004). However, time-based conflict for men is being recognised as a result of men's increasing parental obligations which are highlighted through analysing work-life conflict situations through the eyes of couples and men (Radcliffe and Cassell, 2014, Burke, 1998). Korabik et al. (2008) stated that gender needs to be integrated more into work-life research to reflect the complexities of gendered assumption at work and in the domestic domain. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (1995) introduced a shift in sociological perspective of work-life balance literature by introducing the idea that both mothers and fathers may regard the relationship with their children as their central focus. This parental desire to prioritise relationships with children over career development for both parents demonstrated a shift in social assumptions regarding fathers and fatherhood (Gatrell et al., 2013). However, it has been demonstrated that some fathers are still frustrated by the lingering effects of traditional fatherhood expectations of the organisations they work for when attempting to undertake a greater allocation of parental duties (Gatrell et al., 2013, Özbilgin et al., 2011, Miller, 2011).

The upward trend of Canadian men choosing to exercise their legal rights to parental leave demonstrates a natural interrelation between men and masculinities, business decision-making, and work-life research. This is because the choices men make while exploring and creating their masculine selves can act as a new platform for work and life decisions that includes the critical analysis of gendered assumptions. Pedulla and Thébaud's (2015) findings suggest that the majority of young men and women prefer an egalitarian structure to work and family when that option is available. This result maintained itself regardless of their education level; however, women were more likely to opt for an egalitarian relationship structure than men as a

whole. The interrelation framework between men, masculinities, and work-life decisions can help shed light on why men are less likely to deviate from traditional hegemonic ideologies of masculinity. Friedman's (2015) conclusion that encouraging a "movement of women into traditionally masculine roles, without comparable movement of men into feminine roles" (p.150) reflects an asymmetrical approach to gender-related change which may be a source of men's resistance. The binary system of choice between work and the home may be presented as a binary system of choice between being masculine or feminine.

Investigations on the possible influence that the construction and maintenance of masculine identities has on organisational decision-making have been limited to authoritarian masculine practices and bullying (Maier and Messerschmidt, 1998, Collinson and Hearn, 1994). The authoritarian concept of maleness or masculinities affecting the decision-making process was further examined following the space shuttle Challenger disaster in 1986 (Messerschmidt, 1996). However, these research platforms analysed the construction and maintenance of hegemonic masculinities within the confines of power relations in the workplace. Researchers suggest that the focus of research on men and masculinities should shift to include masculine identities construction in the domestic setting to reflect shifting fatherhood ideologies (Gorman-Murray, 2008). Gorman-Murray (2008) state that there are "shifting relationship(s) between masculinity and domesticity" (p.367) and recognise that researching masculinities at the home/work boundary will provide opportunities to contest hegemonic masculinity through 'masculine domesticities' and 'domestic masculinities'. Masculine domesticities refer to the way in which men's changing engagements with domesticity can refashion dominant discourses of the home. Domestic masculinities refers to the way in which changing homemaking practices

have (re)configured masculine identities (Gorman-Murray, 2008). The (re)configuring of masculine identities through domestic masculinities is contradictory to the traditional methods of building a masculine identity(ies) through work and organisational cliques identified by Collinson and Hearn (1994). Hearn and Niemistö (2012) identify that hegemonic assumptions regarding men revolve around ‘white, heterosexual, able-bodied and fatherly men’ and that *distinction* between differing men is based on age, class, sexuality and *fatherhood*. Using work-family conflict as a discussion point makes it possible to investigate domestic masculinities and draws attention to how men’s identities may be built through both domestic and organisational means. Investigating decision-making practices of men in organisations without limiting the scope to gendered assumptions of the traditional business models provides an opportunity to demonstrate outside influences, such as fatherhood and domestic ideologies, on entrepreneurial decision-making processes.

Gatrell et al. (2013) state that “mono-disciplinarity within organisational psychology and sociologies of work family practices have perpetuated the embedding of these classes and gendered assumptions within work-life balance research” (p.301). As a result, Gatrell et al. (2013) recommend that three factors need to be considered to correct the continued perpetuation of class and gendered assumptions. These recommendations are that research needs to embrace and expand the definition of work-life beyond a problematic focus, include the analysis of work-life beyond work-rich parent couples, and embrace transdisciplinary perspectives (Gatrell et al., 2013). Ozbilgin et al. (2011) echo this concern by stating that “failing to offer conceptions of family and other non-work-related involvement that are closer to reality leads to legitimisation, prioritisation and, ultimately, reification of ‘traditional’ forms of family in social and organisational theorisation” (p.178-179). Researchers warn that the

continued use of gendered and family assumptions in work-life research has created blind spots in the work-family literature which in turn could have some very negative effects on the organisational development of work and family policy (Özbilgin et al., 2011, Swanberg, 2004, Lewis et al., 2007). This leads to the call for an intersectional approach to work-life research. The demand for intersectional research includes opening the definition of family responsibilities to include non-work commitment beyond child rearing responsibilities to more accurately portray life experiences. Furthermore, it has also been stipulated that the hegemonic embeddedness of entrepreneurship needs to be challenged as a matter of radically shifting entrepreneurial structures that supports a domestic foundation in order to create opportunities for realigning entrepreneurial goals with domestic goals as a method for reducing work-life conflict (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003). This study of individuals' work and non-work interactions addresses the need for work-life literature to investigate how an individual's work and life balance objectives are affected by the context of their particular situation. The approach of including shifting context between an individual's religious beliefs, access to power, and economic stability will emphasise hegemonic assumptions being used in work-life decisions (Özbilgin et al., 2011).

Work-life balance interaction in a gendered perspective reveals that having control and power related to job autonomy is associated with less time-based conflict; however, this result was only in the case of women (Hofäcker and König, 2013, Duncan and Pettigrew, 2012). Male entrepreneurs tend to have their work-family conflict situations increase with regards to both time and strain-based conflict once they enter into their own business. This is theorized as being the result of hegemonic assumptions (König and Cesinger, 2015, Duncan and Pettigrew, 2012). As a result, women are perceived as being better prepared to balance their economic and personal

goals (DeMartino and Barbato, 2003, Parasuraman et al., 1996). König and Cesinger (2015) found that strain-based conflict for women was significantly lowered once they reached an age where they are likely to become emptynesters. Traditional gendered norms and hegemonic assumptions put the responsibility of work-life balance on women when children are present as they are seen as the main organisers of childcare (Byron, 2005). Researchers recognise that new organisational work-life policies are ineffective at changing trends in men's work-life balance decisions because of competing assumed hegemonic ideologies concerning work and building *distinction*. Some men still resort to traditional methods for building their identities such as using feats of strength, stamina and devotion to work to gain distinction amongst their peers (Kellogg, 2011, Blair-Loy and Wharton, 2004, Hochschild, 1997). The process of building *distinction* is framed as a contest where the rules are dictated around written and unwritten business policies. Kellogg (2011) highlights how *distinction* processes of resident surgeons in the United States were built from demonstrating an ability to stay focused in surgery even after 24 hour shifts. However, it was also demonstrated that *distinction* contest rules are able to evolve in response to changes to organisational policies. Kellogg (2011) reveal that *distinction* contest rules for surgeons adapted from a demonstration of stamina to a demonstration of efficiency under an organisational policy limiting the maximum working hours of surgeons.

The adaptation of traditional hegemonic platforms of *distinction* such as stamina demonstrates many complexities and contradictions in the perceived shifts in fatherhood ideologies. Hearn and Niemistö (2012) conclude that highly progressive childcare legislation in many Nordic countries are susceptible to men's hegemonic resistance to this attempt to fundamentally change power relations between domestic and nondomestic labour. Hearn and Niemistö (2012) believe that a 'strong state

childcare provision can be a means of spreading childcare more widely among women' instead of fundamentally shifting men's *distinction* processes. Williams et al. (2016) believe that the examination of identities and masculine selves is the way to connect sociological research concerning social structures and psychological research regarding managerial behavior. This thesis uses the *distinction* aspect within the hegemony of men to highlight men's work-life balance and entrepreneurial decisions as a means to investigate the possibility of men's resistance to change in power relations around domestic and nondomestic labour.

2.5 Discussions: Goals and objectives

This research's goal of investigating men's work-life balance experiences fits with critically analysing persistent gendered assumptions in both academia and organisational policy development concerning work and the home. Previous literature in work-family conflict continues to develop the relationship between the individual and their perceptions of conflict between work and family. However, much of the analysis continues to be based on gendered assumptions that women are the primary caregivers of the family unit. Research that has this assumption tends to focus the work-family relationship around women's assumed predisposition to adjust their work schedules around domestic responsibilities (Gatrell and Cooper, 2008, Gorman-Murray, 2008, Tomkiewicz and Hughes, 1993). This chapter highlights hegemonic gendered assumptions concerning childcare by demonstrating the need to critically analyse fatherhood assumptions regarding desire. By doing so, this thesis can focus on how men's perceptions of shifting fatherhood ideologies concerning participative parenting contributes to men's work-family decisions.

Using shifting hegemonic ideologies as a platform for investigating how men develop their masculine selves and their perceptions of fatherhood, work-family

conflict/balance, and entrepreneurial decision-making is a step forward in connecting sociological and psychological research pertaining to the work-life interface. The interrelation between work-life conflict/balance, men and masculinities, and entrepreneurial decision-making gives the opportunity to simultaneously challenge hegemonic assumptions concerning fatherhood and investigate businesses' slow adoption of inclusive work-life balance cultures for both men and women.

Chapter 3: Men: masculinity to masculinities

3.1 Introduction

This research critically examines hegemonic masculinities and the hegemony of men by using work-life balance and entrepreneurship as a discussion point to answer calls for research to explore the construction of masculine selves and men's relationship to hegemonic assumptions (Connell, 2005, Hearn, 2004). Gathering men's stories regarding their involvement with entrepreneurship, family, and work life balance opens the door for the critical examination of hegemonic masculinities through the process of naming men as men, one of the two genders in social relationships. Collinson and Hearn (1996b, 1994) established that naming men as men raises questions regarding the idea of a single generalizable masculine dominance because of the potential of subversion of men by other men. The subversion of men by other men questions the rationality of a single patriarchal power structure by highlighting the concept of multiple masculinities. For example, Collinson and Hearn (1994) problematize masculinity and argue that the biological male is no longer the basis for masculine gender because the critique of men leads to a critique of embedded masculine values in the structure, culture and practices of organisations. Masculinity can be represented in how both men and women negotiate for and maintain power (Collinson and Hearn, 2005). However, focusing on what men actually do opens the door for the critical analysis of relationships between men, masculinities and embedded masculine structures of entrepreneurship.

This chapter highlights opportunities, goals, and objectives for contributing to men and masculinities research while simultaneously establishing naming men as men as the filter for work-life balance analysis. Opportunities for building on men and masculinities theory is presented by reviewing the discourse of men and masculinities

in sociological research and highlighting the shifts in perspective of the category of men. Reviewing the shifts in discourse of men in sociological research involves a discussion of early theories of patriarchy, hegemonic masculinities, and the hegemony of men. This is offered through the review of Collinson and Hearn's (1994) identification of five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities. These five discourses and practices are used as a categorisation of men's behaviour in the pursuit of *distinction* (2004).

This chapter establishes assumed hegemonic masculine ideologies as a method for critically analysing men's identities and identity construction processes with regards to distinction and men's work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making. Hearn (2004) theorised that there are seven aspects of the hegemony of men. My research was able to identify each aspect as part of the analysis of the data; however, I choose to focus on Hearn's (2004) concept of *distinction* because the development and maintenance of power was emphasised by the majority of interviewees during their explanations of their fatherhood and entrepreneurial decision-making. Many of the research subjects focus on their association with entrepreneurship (and the assumed power and *distinction* that is associated with entrepreneurship) during their explanations of their attempts to navigate between their work and domestic spheres. This focus on *distinction* allows for the analysis of intra-relationships between differing *distinction* ideologies between men, as well as men and women, with regards to work and the home.

3.2 The discourse of men and masculinities research

Feminists' early theorising of men's power and status discusses masculinity as a single overarching patriarchy that influenced the structure, culture, and practice of organisations by embedding itself into the ideologies of work (Walby, 1990, Walby,

1986). It is argued that the overarching patriarchal structure legitimises and naturalises the interests of men and subverts the interest of women (Gramsci, 1992, Walby, 1990, Walby, 1986). Although Gramsci's (1992) theory of naturalisation does not specifically discuss the domination of men over women, it does discuss general hegemonic assumptions linked to the idea of patriarchy and a dominant masculine structure. Connell (2005) builds on these ideas of patriarchy by describing hegemonic masculinity as the process of 'configuring practices through time, which transform their starting points in gender structure'. Connell's (2005) theory of configuring masculine practices over time as a point of transforming gender structures creates a shift from the discussion of a single dominant masculinity or patriarchy into a discussion of hegemonic masculinities.

The term hegemonic masculinity was coined by Connell et al. (1982) during their investigation of the inequities of the Australian high school system based on a student's gender and economic status. Connell and Messerschmitt (2005) state that the original concept of hegemonic masculinity was the understanding of "practices that allowed men's dominance over women to continue" (p.832). However, Connell (2005) develops the concept of hegemonic masculinities by redefining it as "the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (p.77). This definition of hegemonic masculinities has influenced several branches of research such as dynamics of bullying in the classroom, violent crimes against men and women, media representation of men, and organisational research involving managerial decision-making (Murgia and Poggio, 2013, Knights and Tullberg, 2011). However, Collinson and Hearn (1996b) have also stated that we as researchers must be cautious with

notions of patriarchy and should at a minimum recognise masculinities and men's power relations as diversified and differentiated. The focus on gaining and maintaining control through hegemonic masculinities has created an opportunity for investigating masculinities (or men) that do not fit ideal hegemonic ideologies. In fact, Corrigan, Connell, and Lee (1985) developed the idea of subordinated masculinities ten years earlier as a way of conceptualising the social relations of gender order without focusing on sex differences. For example, hegemonic assumptions of organisational leadership include being straight, white, and male; however, some gay men fall under the category of being white and are in fact male. The label of being gay subjects some of these men to being classified as inferior or subordinate to assumed hegemonic ideologies regarding organisational leadership which can damage opportunities for *distinction*.

Theorising multiple masculine identities as being flexible and in a constant shift creates a fluid perspective of an individual's adaptability of masculine selves during changes to social expectations (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Opportunities for negotiating the reconstruction of masculinities occur during routine social interactions in both work and other social spheres. Social divisions allow individuals to adapt their identities in accordance with their perceived shifts in power relationships. Some social triggers identified as cues to redefine masculine selves are differences in age, economic class, fatherhood, and religion. For example, Norris (2015) discusses how men redefine their masculine selves as they get older. For example, one man stated that he was more comfortable with a lower paying job because of his age. He stated that his new job could be considered a retirement job instead of being a result of his reduced employability (Norris, 2015). This redefinition of his masculine identity gave

him the opportunity to shift his perspective from a negative reflection on his masculinity(ies) and employability to a rite of passage.

Hearn (2004) argues that the hegemony of masculinities framework has limited applicability and seeks to shift discussions to the hegemony of men. Hegemony is a term used to provide a way to discuss overarching ideologies at the level of everyday, taken-for-granted ideas and practice performed with consent and without coercion. Hearn (2004) suggests that it is hard to identify hegemonic masculinities because there is little that is counter-hegemonic. He uses an example of attempting to label parenting as an intensification, or not, of hegemonic masculinity to demonstrate the difficulty in the identification process for researchers (Hearn, 2004). Hearn (2004) states that “the agenda for investigating the hegemony of men in the social world concerns the examination of that which sets the agenda for different ways of being men in relation to women, children and other men, rather than the identification of particular forms of masculinity or hegemonic masculinity” (p.60). Collinson and Hearn (2005) believe that the emphasis on multiple masculinities is about critically examining power differences between men as well as women and men. Hearn (2004) argues that a focus on men is required to enhance critical studies on men which have been criticised for doing little to reveal complex patterns of everyday social interactions. This research argues the importance of filtering the concept of masculinities through the male subject who is creating a foundation for his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. Hearn (2004) hopes that using the foundation of the hegemony of men will lead researchers to critically examine and question common ways in which men are categorised in hegemonic research. For example, as researchers we must ask what influence government, medical science, religion, and business have in a culture’s normalisation of hegemonic masculine

assumptions. Being aware of the social bases of knowledge such as national, regional and cultural context can facilitate critical analysis. Changing the theoretical perspective from the hegemony of masculinity to the hegemony of men shifts the viewpoint in which past social theories can be analysed and future research can be framed (Hearn, 2004).

One benefit of critically examining men and masculinities through the process of naming men as men in social discussions is that it creates an opportunity for behaviour-specific research. Investigating men's perceptions of appropriate masculine behaviours in varying social settings can demonstrate the interaction between work-life balance, the construction of masculine selves, and entrepreneurial decision-making by highlighting men's interpretation of their social standing as entrepreneurs in both personal and business relationships (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Focusing on the interrelationship between business and family decisions creates an opportunity to further develop the literature surrounding men and hegemonic masculinities. This research critically evaluates power relationships between men, as well as between men, women, and children as part of the analysis of men, masculinities, and masculine selves. These power relationships come to light as men discuss their relationships with their families, employees, and clients while simultaneously evaluating their abilities and responsibilities as fathers and entrepreneurs. This work highlights how men attempt to establish and navigate their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves through changing social expectations regarding fatherhood while simultaneously maintaining power expectations of entrepreneurship. Hearn's (2004) concept of the *distinction* aspect within the hegemony of men is used as the foundation for analysing these power relationships by incorporating Collinson and Hearn's (1994) identification of five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities within the

analysis. Hearn (2004) describes seven aspects of the hegemony of men as the basis for elevating and maintaining men's social power; however, the *distinction* aspect is the focus of this thesis as it pertains to how men perceive, evaluate, and rank hegemonic and subordinate masculinities as a method for evaluating social relations of gender order concerning power.

Hearn's (2004) description of the *distinction* aspect explains how men have developed a system of "distinctions and categorizations between different forms of men and men's practices to women, children and other men" (p.60). Essentially, *distinction* is the process in which men will rank, or position, themselves and others within their family, workplace and society in general. In this thesis, critical analysis of a key management decision highlighting *distinction* offers some insight into the effects that hegemonic pressures may have on men as managers. Hegemonic conflict relating to building and maintaining *distinction* can have strong influences on men's work-family decisions. These influences demonstrate both men's attempts to strengthen their hegemonic position as well as some men's active resistance to hegemonic pressures in management when it no longer corresponds with social processes regarding domestic obligation. The incorporation of the work-family balance issue highlights conflicting hegemonic ideologies that men can face while going through a decision-making process. Men's decisions may have multiple impacts on *distinction*, or power rankings, in and out of their organisations (Collinson and Hearn, 2005, Hearn, 2004, Remy, 1990). Shifting domestic responsibilities for men creates an opportunity for them to build *distinction* among their peers at work through the use of behaviour expectations regarding fatherhood. For example, Rice (2008) noted that some men who chose to take parental leave felt it necessary to state that this choice demonstrated that they were better fathers than their co-workers. These men

also stated that being a ‘better father’ was more than just being a provider to the family. Comprehending the hegemony of men with a psychological twist highlights the nature of hegemony as being an individual’s maintenance of power and control within relationships. Although this may not have been the intent of Hearn’s definition of *distinction*, *distinction* within the hegemony of men can suggest both an internal and external process involving the ranking of men. Ranking of oneself amongst others as a method for determining the need for acquiring and maintaining power and control for future social interactions and negotiations for power and control can be interpreted as a process for formulating men’s identity(ies).

My analysis of the *distinction* process incorporates Collinson and Hearn’s (1994) concept of five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities in business. These discourses and practices are *authoritarianism*, *paternalism*, *entrepreneurialism*, *informalism*, and *careerism*. A comprehensive definition of each of these discourses and practices is included in the following paragraphs; however, Table 3.2.1 can be used as a quick reference.

Table 3.2.1 Five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities

Discourse / Practice	Definition
1. Authoritarianism	Unquestioning obedience ensured through hostile tactics
2. Paternalism	Relationships are created by acting as a father figure or mentor
3. Entrepreneurialism	Highly competitive approach to business based on economic results and efficiency competition
4. Informalism	Relationships are created through ‘masculine’ interests such as sport, sex, humour, cars, and alcohol
5. Careerism	Focused on moving through the hierarchical ranks of an organisation with a high impression management concern

Authoritarianism is characterised by the use of coercive power in controlling a relationship (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). In this context, relationships are based on an unquestioning obedience which is ensured through bullying and hostile tactics toward those who fail to comply. Authoritarian hegemonic tactics such as physical violence and intimidation have been demonstrated as tools for gaining and maintaining control in both the classroom and the boardroom. For example, the practice of moving control from one person to another was observed in the analysis of boys being bullied for being labelled as a member of subordinate groups in school social circles. Mills (2001) demonstrated that schoolboys discovered that they could shift their position in the school hierarchy by implementing tactics of physical violence against people attempting to subordinate them. The difficulty in researching hegemonic masculinity as a form of men's control in social groups is that it is easy to fall into the trap of creating a broad character typology of men that in turn reinforces the normalisation of male social dominance (Connell, 2005). Naming men as men is used to avoid this trap because doing so acknowledges the potential of subversion of men by other men while simultaneously opening the door to discuss alternative masculinities and social practices.

The second of Collinson and Hearn's (1994) identified five discourses and practices is paternalism. Paternalism is characterised through the use of cooperation and personal trust relations in order to build power within a group. This means that power is gained by building relationships that are created through the enhancement of a subordinate's self-interests by acting as a father figure or mentor (Collinson and Hearn, 1994, Kerfoot and Knights, 1993). Paternalistic hegemonic tactics have been demonstrated by men as tools for gaining and maintaining control in management

through the use of friendship cliques within an organisation. For example, the practice of clique systems developing within organisational politicking for power can heighten an individual's desire to fit in within the 'right' group. An individual's desire to fit into a group creates and preserves the leader of that group's control over the individual's behaviour. This is because new members are required to demonstrate certain behaviours in order to be accepted as members (Costas, 2012).

Entrepreneurialism is Collinson and Hearn's (1994) third identified practice, and is characterised through a 'hard-nosed' and highly competitive model approach to business and organisation through the prioritization of performance levels, budget targets, market expansion, and economic efficiency (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). The focus on hegemonic masculine identity construction based on competition measured by economic results and efficiency has been identified as one of the factors for producing predatory environments within organisations. An example of this is Enron's biannual 'rank and fire' performance ranking system of evaluation that was part of the entrepreneurial cultish behaviour that promoted cutthroat behaviours of its employees and managers (Tourish and Vatcha, 2005). This system of performance ranking based on budget targets, sales, and market expansion created an environment that favoured the single young male by promoting long hours in order to ensure both business survival and high salaries. Enron's greed-driven motivational tactics offering high-level compensation packages to elite sales personnel was used as evidence for promoting *distinction* and special status. Entrepreneurialism as part of the *distinction* process helps to secure and sustain hegemonic masculine identities by displaying financial success in highly competitive and unstable performance evaluations (Collinson and Knights, 1986, Knights and Tullberg, 2011).

The fourth of Collinson and Hearn's (1994) identified five discourses and practices is informalism. Informalism is characterised through the process of building informal workplace relationships through the basis of 'masculine' interests such as sport, sex, humour, cars, and drinking of alcohol (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). This form of hegemonic masculine construction is often referred to as the 'boys club' or the 'locker room culture' because men often transcend organisational boundaries by injecting forums of business and male identity within informal gatherings based around viewing or participating in sporting events (Knoppers and Anthonissen, 2005, Collinson and Hearn, 1994, Bird, 1996). The use of traditionally masculine platforms such as sports clubs and pubs creates an environment that reinforces the unity and differentiation of men which in turn perpetuates the hegemony of men. This is because traditional masculine social arenas have a tendency to create barriers of entry for some men and women.

Finally, careerism is Collinson and Hearn's (1994) fifth conceptualised practice. Careerism is characterised by the preoccupation with moving through the hierarchical ranks of an organisation. This form of hegemonic masculine identities construction often manifests itself through competition for promotion with a high concern for impression management and the differentiation and elevation of *distinction* (Collinson and Hearn, 1994, Knoppers and Anthonissen, 2005). Men may engage in image management tactics that include increased face-time at work, decreased domestic participation, and increased demonstrations of masculine prowess. An increase in work face-time often means committing to long working hours, extra training sessions, and extensive travel (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). This increased work commitment also enforces hegemonic ideals such as the male 'breadwinner' because the decreased commitment to domestic responsibilities often drives the

female spouse into the home in order to pick up the slack. Increased demonstrations of male prowess are demonstrated through physical toughness. This can involve the ability to engage in hard physical labour for a longer period of time; however mental strength can also be used as a tool for *distinction*. For example, displaying an ability to stay mentally focused on a task for long periods of time in order to make tight deadlines can also be used to demonstrate toughness (Collinson and Hearn, 1994, Knoppers and Anthonissen, 2005).

Using Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities in business as part of demonstrating traditional hegemonic assumptions regarding men's *distinction* processes helps to critically analyse the relationship between the categorisation of men, masculinities, and agency. This is because the five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities within the *distinction* aspect can be seen as assuming men have agency in *distinction* processes. Agency is the ability of an individual to make choices and act independently of hegemonic assumptions in social structures. This thesis asks if the assumption of men's agency and reflexivity in the formation of new hegemonic assumptions in entrepreneurship with regards to work and family behavioural expectations continues to blur the line between hegemonic masculinities and the hegemony of men.

3.3 Men and masculinities

Men and masculinities have been implicitly studied in many sociological areas; however, studies on men are not explicitly mentioned as a topic within the feminist literature until the early 1970's (Hearn and Morgan, 1990). Kimmel (1990) suggests that the appearance of studies on men in the feminist field "signalled the problematisation of masculinity" (p.93). The problematisation of masculinity is the lack of recognition of one's gender and position as a researcher while undertaking

studies on men. I believed that sociological research on men by men will contain invisible social undertones if researchers do not critically evaluate their position in the research. Kimmel (1990) states that “marginality is visible, and painfully visceral. Privilege is invisible, and painlessly pleasant” (p.94). Researchers in privileged positions, such as being a member of a privileged sex, need to critically evaluate their socialised preconceptions in order to minimise the infiltration of established social norms into their research. Marginalization and gendered effects on power in negotiations has been investigated using the viewpoint of women attempting to succeed in male orientated business structures. (Moller, 2007, Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, Connell, 2005, Iannello, 1992).

To some researchers, the practice of gender inequality through men's dominance is so entrenched in the social, economic and cultural relations that these behaviours are seen as normal (Holmgren and Hearn, 2009). For example, Holmgren and Hearn (2009) state that “much of men's practices, in public and in private, are commonly not seen as gendered” (p.404). Hearn (2005) states that the study of men “needs to be less ethnocentric, less national(istic), and more fully located in the transnational context” (p.66). Hearn develops this statement by suggesting that a more critical postcolonial perspective needs to be applied in evaluating the construction of male hegemonic social systems because many male sociologists forget that they are objects of study (Hearn, 2005). This would indicate that a shift in the study of masculinities requires the researcher to understand *men's behaviours* within the hegemony of men in order to begin the process of theorising men and men's practices (Moller, 2007, Hearn, 2004, Hearn, 1998, Kimmel, 1990).

Naming of men by men in social research has raised some interesting questions about the possible research and social implications. For example, Jalna

Hanmer (1990) stated that she expected the studies on men would be “used against women’s studies in the sense that funding is available for research, teaching, action, employments, and promotion is likely to go to men, for men, or for the promotion of analyses that do not fundamentally critique the social power of men” (p.452). This opinion was echoed by other researchers who are involved in the critical studies on men, masculinities and social theory (Hearn and Morgan, 1990, Remy, 1990).

Alternatively, Hanmer (1990) believes that the study of men within the framework of feminist theory allows for the “naming men, as men, as *one of two genders*” (p.452), which in turn can further open the door for critical examinations of men’s taken-for-granted position in current and past social theories. One purpose of this critical examination of men’s taken-for-granted position in social research is to evaluate the positioning of men’s gender consciousness (Holmgren and Hearn, 2009, Messner, 1997).

Gender-specific research involves looking specifically at men and men’s behaviour at work and at home. These studies delve into questions involving power relationships between men, men and women as well as men in differing social classes (Knights and Tullberg, 2011, Hearn, 2004, Abercrombie and Turner, 1978). Furthermore, behaviour-specific research focuses on the formation and maintenance of *distinction* within the hegemony of men by examining men’s relationships between themselves and women. For example, research on the exclusion and subordination of women through the formation and maintenance of hegemonic social fraternities demonstrates the fraternity’s desire to ensure “self-interest of the association of men itself” (p.44) (Remy, 1990). Men being accepted into a social fraternity, such as becoming one of the guys in a male dominated work group, will often have to prove their *distinction* by displaying behaviours that are congruent with the fraternity’s

agendas. These ritualistic behaviours reinforce the hegemony of men by disseminating the agendas of men's *distinction* processes through the repetition of the expected behaviours (Hearn, 2004, Remy, 1990).

The evaluation of men's *distinction* processes involves breaking down the gender consciousness into three categories; the recognition and opposition of men's privileges, the recognition of the cost of masculinity, and the recognition of the differences between and among men (Holmgren and Hearn, 2009). Recognising and opposing men's privileges is a gender-conscious activity that is used to benefit feminist research by surfacing institutionalised, or normalised inequalities (Holmgren and Hearn, 2009). An example of this is the recognition that hegemonic masculinities in social structures create unbalanced power relations between men, as well as between men and women (Moller, 2007, Connell, 2005, Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Prioritising the cost of masculinity involves analysing policies and politics of society and evaluating the costs in regards to men's rights. This position may choose to support gender equality politically if there is an opportunity for men's personal gain regardless of the social implications for women (Holmgren and Hearn, 2009, Rice, 2008). For example, some men may choose to support equal rights between men and women with the hopes of being able to gain access to parental leave policies with no consideration of the possible impacts on women (Gatrell, 2007). The third position, highlighting men's differences, involves "emphasising specificities and differences between men, by sexuality, racialisation and so on" (p.405) (Holmgren and Hearn, 2009). This research focuses on analysing the decision-making processes of men as entrepreneurs and leaders of their organisations in an attempt to highlight and emphasise differences between men with different goals concerning their work-life balance relationship.

Wetherell and Edley (1999) classify three behaviours that men use with regards to impression management, hegemonic masculinities, and the construction of masculine selves. The three impression management tactics are heroic, ordinary, and the rebellious stance. The heroic production of masculine selves involves presenting themselves as closely coinciding with the heroic masculine persona. For example, men may attempt to demonstrate how physically strong or brave they are through stories of their accomplishments. The ordinary production of masculine selves involves the separation of domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves from certain popular masculine ideals in order to emphasise that they are normal or average men. This separation is done by critiquing some masculine stereotypes as being too macho in order to distinguish themselves as individualistic and rational. However, men's attempts to separate themselves from one stereotypical hegemonic masculine ideal may be done in order to invest in another. For example, a man may separate himself from the masculine ideal of physical strength and agility by rejecting success in sports as a method for measuring manhood in favour of emphasising intelligence or knowledge as the favoured masculine ideal.

The rebellious pattern for men defining themselves involves the contravention of social expectations of macho masculinity. This violation of masculine behaviour expectations involves an individualized resistance because it is presented as a character trait instead of a political strategy to gain hegemonic status. The presentation of individuality involves the identification of hegemonic value of autonomy and independence. For example, a man may present his desire to do the cooking in the family as a badge of courage or inner strength against popular social hegemonic ideals. This may not be done to celebrate his willingness to do a potentially demeaning or mundane activity, but as a method of emphasising his determination

and/or difference. These three impression management tactics range from matching their masculine selves to the culturally popularised masculine personas to a complete rejection of the masculine ideals. However, all three impression management tactics can be viewed as a hegemonic tactic used to develop hidden hegemonic *distinction* processes (Wetherell and Edley, 1999).

Investigations into the possible influence that the construction and maintenance of masculine identities has on organisational decision-making have been limited to authoritarian masculine practices and bullying (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Some researchers believe that the focus of research on men, masculinity and masculinities should include masculine identity construction in the domestic setting which includes the inter-relational and co-constitutive relationship links between masculinity and the home (Gorman-Murray, 2008). Marx and Engels (1969) describe the conflict between the hegemonic class and the proletariat as an uneasy social relation. As new production forces emerge then social relations must accommodate. For example, the shift from communal property to feudal property ownership shifted the social relationship between the hegemonic class and the labourer. The idea of an uneasy relationship between the hegemonic class and the labourer can be transferred to the relationship between the embedded masculine ideologies of entrepreneurship and the emergence of the participative father. Collinson and Hearn (2005) believe that shifting masculine identities can be further threatened by governmental initiatives concerning female employment and gender equality in parental leave benefits. Emerging fatherhood ideologies that promote men's participation in the home as both domestic labourer and childcare providers represent a new production force in the form of a new expected social relationship between work and the home. Gorman-Murray (2008) concludes that masculinity and domesticity is undergoing a shifting

relationship and recognises that the study of masculinities at the home/work boundary will provide opportunities to contest hegemonic masculinity through “masculine domesticities” and “domestic masculinities” created in the home.

Masculine domesticities refer to the way in which men’s changing engagements with domesticity can refashion dominant discourses of the home. Domestic masculinities refers to the way in which changing homemaking practices have (re)configured domestic masculine selves (Gorman-Murray, 2008). Marx (1961) states that effective action for change stems from the awareness of the conflict between productive forces and social relations. Being aware of embedded masculine assumptions within entrepreneurship and the conflicting political social expectation for fathers to be participative parents creates an opportunity to critically analyse the change process within Hearn’s (2004) concept of *distinction*. The (re)configuring of domestic masculine selves is contradictory to the traditional methods of building a masculine identity(ies) through work and organisational cliques identified by Collinson and Hearn (1994); however, using work-family balance as a point of interaction makes it possible to draw attention to how men’s domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves are formulated by navigating between both fatherhood and entrepreneurial behavioural expectations. Investigating entrepreneurial decision-making practices of male entrepreneurs without limiting the scope to gendered assumptions of traditional business models provides an opportunity to highlight men’s actual decision-making processes. For example, Eddleston and Powell’s (2012) research of women’s managerial methods highlights how some women are able to shift negotiation skills learned in the home to their managerial repertoire. Focusing on men’s work-family balance ideologies allows for an examination of skills that may be transferred from work and into the home.

3.4 Construction of the masculine selves

The focus on men's construction of differing masculine identities is represented by the use of the term masculine selves as an identifier of the relationship between the individual and their perceived social expectations. Oyserman et al. (2012) describe the self as the conglomeration of self images, self feelings, and self concepts which includes the multiple identities that are used to define who one is. Knights and Wilmott (1999) define identity as the status that is widely ascribed to a person and distinguishes internal processes of identity construction as self-identity. This research uses the term *masculine selves* as a representation of an individual's internal process of defining 'masculine' concepts such as fatherhood and entrepreneurship and how they relate their definitions to their own self images, self feelings, and self concepts. The pluralisation of self to selves establishes a platform of analysis that recognises the possibility of conflicting hegemonic masculine ideologies that are present in both the entrepreneurial and fatherhood constructs. Collinson and Hearn (1994) state that men's masculine identities are in constant flux and adaptation because men often reconstruct their identities based on social situations. The process of naming men as men in this research facilitates a critical analysis of how some men construct their masculine selves in order to align, navigate, and challenge embedded masculine values in the structure, culture and practices of work-family balance ideologies embedded in entrepreneurship. The shift of analysis from hegemonic masculinities to the hegemony of men while recognising the existence of assumed masculinised social structures embedded in entrepreneurship provides an excellent opportunity to blend sociological and psychological perspectives for analysis. This interest in men's perspective of their work and life environments provides an opportunity to both analyse the men's perceived hegemonic masculinities regarding expected social

behaviours and the construction of domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves by the individual as they discuss how they respond to these perceptions.

Smith and Sparkes (2008) describe qualitative researchers' conceptualisation of selves and identities as being organised along a continuum. The continuum of the construction of selves has an entirely internalised process on one side of the continuum and a completely externalised process on the other side, with all variations in between. The theory of a continuum of perspectives on selves and identities creates an inverse relationship in how researchers believe selves and identities are constructed as well as the relationship between the individual and society as a whole. For example, on one side of the continuum, the construction of selves and identities is believed to be a process that is internalised by the individual and that the social arena in which the individual operates is influenced by the individual's decisions and behaviours. On the other side of the continuum, some researchers conceptualise the construction of selves and identities as being a reactionary process of the individual based on the influences of external social forces. This research conceptualises men's construction of masculine selves as a continuum between internal and external process for navigating distinction opportunities. This conceptualisation of an adjustable continuum permits the analysis of domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves to shift based on the perspective of the interviewee. For example, the analysis of masculine selves can shift to focusing on an internal process of construction when the interviewee suggests that his actions are based on an internal desire or the analysis can shift to an evaluation of external forces when an interviewee discusses a need to fit in. By doing so, this research can reflect on the relationship between the individual psychological perspective on selves and identities while using a sociological perspective of masculine selves constructed on the basis of assumed hegemonic social norms.

Looking at the individualistic side of the inverse relationship supports the conceptualisation that societal norms can be malleable. For example, Blumer's (1986) situational approach to the development of masculine selves focuses on the individual as the driving force in the relationship between internal processes and external social expectation. This is because the individual is able to pick and choose what perceived social norms are best suited for them and act accordingly, which will in turn shift social expectations. Expanding on this idea, this research can evaluate individuals with 'revolutionary fatherhood ideologies' within a social group as possible focal points of change in assumed hegemonic masculine structures. An example of a revolutionary fatherhood ideology would be an individual projecting their desire to be an involved nurturing parent and establishing the home as the focal point of constructing their masculine selves, rather than work. This expands on Gagnon and Collinson's (2016) suggestion that individuals can draw on cultural differences as a platform for resistance. However, critically analysing individual recollections of being able to influence the behaviours of their social group can lead to new theory development regarding social change of and the hegemonic normalisation of men in social relationships.

Alternatively, societal pressures of conformity to assumed hegemonic structures have been conceptualized and found to influence the process in which individuals build and maintain masculine identities (Knights and Tullberg, 2011, Hearn, 2004, Collinson and Knights, 1986). Butler (2006) believes that self-identities are an illusion that shifts across the confluence of discursive currents of social gendered norms. This perspective gives the individual little agency in how they form individualist ideologies. This leads to an individual constructing their identities on gendered ideologies revolving around one's sex. More recent critical studies regarding

organisations and identities further demonstrate how identities can be shaped by dominant organisational discourses and practices (Kenny et al., 2011, Thomas, 2009, Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). One example is the use of men's desire as an indicator of agency for men who want to shift their organisational and fatherhood identities to challenge traditional organisational discourses and practices concerning parental leave policies and men (Williams et al., 2016, Gatrell, 2007). However, critical analysis of identity processes are significantly under explored (Gagnon and Collinson, 2014).

Some researchers theorise the construction of masculine selves as a process of conflict between a desired internal representation of the ideal selves and the perceived commitment to others through cultural influences (Smith and Sparkes, 2008, Bruner, 2003, Wetherell and Edley, 1999, Wetherell and Maybin, 1996, Mead, 1934). Bruner (2003) and Smith and Sparkes (2008) stated that the nature of selves and identities is an intertwined process where both cultural influences and individual processes have an equal importance. This means that identities and selves are both social and individual because a person can draw on narrative resources available to them within a cultural or social circle while simultaneously internalising their own goals and objectives in the form of an individualistic desire (Smith and Sparkes, 2008).

Researchers working within the traditional symbolic interactionist perspective acknowledge the possibility of a reciprocal relationship between the construction of masculine selves and assumed hegemonic processes. For example, identity-discrepancy theory states that if a person picks and chooses an identity that creates inconsistencies in expected social feedback then this can create stress for the individual (Norris, 2015, Marcussen, 2006). For example, a man who identifies himself as a 'good father' based on his status as a provider may have increased stress if feedback from his social group measures being a 'good father' as being a more

involved parent. This stress can alter how the individual identifies themselves in the future or contribute to psychological disorders such as depression (Burke and Stets, 2009). Burke's (1980) earlier work describes an individual's self-concept as an idealized view of self which is relatively unchanging; however an individual also has multiple selves that are imported into situations that are subject to a constant flux based on social influences. This idea can also be blended with the way men develop masculine identities based on their shifting social environment between work-life balance situations. This leads to a two-tiered view of self and selves in which the situational self is a representation of 'me' and 'I' represents an internalised group of standards which is more individualistic (Smith and Sparkes, 2008, Wetherell and Maybin, 1996, Mead, 1934).

Some psychological perspectives have differing opinions of the individual versus societal construction of selves. These differing opinions are based on how a person approaches anchoring their definition of selves with others in their social circle. The process of defining selves in relation to others was coined by Markus and Kitayama (1991) as self-construal. Markus and Kitayama (1991) recognise that more self-construal processes may be discovered as research continues in this field. The conceptualisation of self-construal began as a binary system of either being independent self-construal (IndSC) or interdependent self-construal (InterSC). IndSC is the process of self-discovery that internalises the self in relation to others (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). This means that a person with a high degree of IndSC will reflect on the self as independent from others and internalise their goals and objectives as their own. Individuals that have a high independent self-construal might attempt to frame themselves based on their individuality from the group. For example, a person might state that they are a great singer to show their uniqueness from others. InterSC

is the process of self-discovery through the ability to fit into a group (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). This means that a person with a high degree of InterSC will reflect on the self as dependant and interconnected with others and externalise their goals and objectives by linking them to their relationships with others. For example, a person might state that they are in a choir to demonstrate their belongingness to a group. These two differing ways of interpreting the self are not only internal manifestations of a person's reflection, but can also be affected by outside social norms dictated by a person's culture or surroundings. For example, (Markus and Kitayama, 1991) attribute IndSC to western cultural upbringing such as Canada and InterSC to eastern cultures such as Japan.

The recognition of cultural influences on the psychological perspective of self makes it difficult to distinguish between self-construal and the individualism and collectivism research involving cultural differences (Cross et al., 2011). Individualism and collectivism are categories within a process of recognising overall cultures as being either independent or interdependent in nature which can affect the development and perspective of self (Triandis, 1989). The *distinction* between self-construal and individualism and collectivism research is the focus on the development of self. Cross et al. (2011) highlight this by suggesting that self-construal focuses on the individual within a group whereas the individualism and collectivism focuses on the overall group culture. The recognition that measured self-construal differences could be a result of gendered differences between cultures spurred research in the area of relational-dependent self-construal which is the degree in which an individual defines self with regards to close relationships with others (Cross et al., 2000).

3.5 Discussions: Goals and objectives

This research's goal of investigating men's individual relationships with others fits within critically analysing psychological and sociological theories regarding the creation of masculine selves and identities. Previous literature has questioned the significance of the relationship between the individual and perceived social constructs by analysing resistance where control is normative such as with hegemonic masculinities. For example, researchers demonstrated how men's attempt to resist hegemonic masculinities accidentally reinforced existing masculinised organisational norms (Fleming and Spicer, 2007, Collinson, 1992). Gagnon and Collinson (2014) believe that accidental reinforcement of hegemonic masculinities by active resistance is due to individuals failing to recognise embeddedness of behavioural expectations while attempting to create change. Additionally, the attempt of some men's magazines to ridicule men for shifting their domestic identities to being an involved parent and domestic labourer has ironically been interpreted as an attempt to pressure men to conform to shifting domestic ideologies. For example, Benwell (2004) discusses how men's magazines attempts at humour by suggesting the kitchen could be masculinised by offering a five pointed ninja pastry cutter can both highlight the absurdity of normalised masculinities regarding domestic labour and provide an excuse for men's poor behaviour concerning shared domestic duties. Critically evaluating processes by which some men enter or ignore the domestic domain by investigating their work-life balance challenges creates an opportunity to analyse cases of resistance and irony. However, it also provides an opportunity to uncover how perceived hegemonic masculinities fit some men's desire for work-life balance.

Reviewing the discourse of men and masculinities research demonstrates an opportunity for this thesis to expand upon power relationships between men, as well

as men and women, through the explicit identification of men via the focus on fatherhood and work-life decisions. The men interviewed reflect on what factors they include in their business and family decisions such as their perceptions on client relationships, spousal relationships, fatherhood ideologies, economic factors, and community affiliations. The use of the work-life relationships as a stage for bringing masculinities and decision-making research together promotes behaviour-specific research focused on men's perceptions of the formation and maintenance of hegemonic masculinities and the hegemony of men. For example, this research critically evaluates psychological and sociological theories regarding the process of establishing masculine selves and identities by focusing on men's perceived business and parental obligations. Investigating fatherhood ideologies is used as an important tool to investigate how men create, maintain, and alter their masculine selves while interacting with different communities, social values and traditions. At the same time, highlighting some men's desire to redefine and promote fatherhood ideologies to an engaged and nurturing co-parent style within their social communities is used to critically analyse men's agency regarding hegemonic social structures.

This chapter highlights the hegemony of men by demonstrating the possibility of past entrepreneurial research normalising processes of *distinction* of men perceiving, evaluating, and navigating differences in social status within their organisations. Critically analysing these *distinction* processes highlights hegemonic assumptions that affects underlying social structures regarding entrepreneurial decision-making processes. Critically analysing *distinction* processes during discussions of actual entrepreneurial decision-making opens the door to answering how assumed hegemonic masculinities associated with fatherhood and entrepreneurship interrelate within the context of work-life balance.

Chapter 4: Entrepreneurial decision-making: Realities and assumptions

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight opportunities, goals, and objectives for contributing to entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial decision-making research while simultaneously continuing discussions concerning work-life balance and gendered expectations. Opportunities for building on entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial decision-making theories are presented by reviewing the discourse of men and embedded masculine assumptions in entrepreneurial research. Embedded masculinities in entrepreneurship are critically evaluated by highlighting perceived shifts in behavioural expectations in western culture concerning fatherhood and participative parenting. This chapter further emphasises the hegemony of men by focusing on entrepreneurship and the entrepreneur's assumed power and control concerning social change.

Fauchart and Gruber (2011) proposed that there are three types of entrepreneurial identities which are: Darwinian, communitarian, and missionary. The Darwinian identity revolves around the entrepreneur focusing on ensuring their venture's success through profitability. The communitarian identity signifies an entrepreneur that is focused on a community of clientele in which their products enhances the community as a whole. For example, an entrepreneur is involved in a particular sports community may have developed a product that helps to prevent injury and wants to market their product to others to improve the safety of their sport. The missionary identity refers to entrepreneurs that are focused on using their organisation(s) as an agent of societal change. For example, an entrepreneur may move into entrepreneurship to ensure that his organisation leads the way towards

developing progressive environmental policies in an attempt to influence stricter government policies to force improvements in their industry (Fauchart and Gruber, 2011). The focus on work-family balance in combination with entrepreneurial identities allows men to reflect on how they process entrepreneurial decision-making when information they acquire overlaps their domestic and entrepreneurial selves. The ingrained belief that one must make an either-or decision between the work and family spheres actually highlights the complex integration between these two domains as it may seem impossible to navigate between the two. These complexities surface when men and women feel compelled to analyse their complex lives and attempt to fit their analysis within a socially constructed binary framework of choice (Malach-Pines and Schwartz, 2008).

Analysing men's decision-making practices as entrepreneurs emphasises the embedded nature of entrepreneurs' business decisions with regards to assumptions of rationality. Highlighting hegemonic masculinities and masculine assumptions that perceive men as rational and women as emotional is crucial in promoting change in how we approach research regarding entrepreneurial decision-making (Connell, 2005). This sentiment is echoed by Malach-Pines and Schwartz (2008) when they recognised that the continued separation between work and domestic spheres in work-life research can be attributed to gendered assumptions involving rationality, career, and the workplace. As part of the evaluation of rationality, this chapter investigates the progression of research based in economic theory focusing on the decision-making processes and tendencies of managers faced with business decisions. Entrepreneurial decision-making takes place in very dynamic situations; however a foundation has been built on a binary gender-based system (Malach-Pines and Schwartz, 2008). Investigating the assumptions of the hegemony of men embedded in economic

decision-making theory creates an opportunity to delve into how these assumptions create a gendered binary system of analysis for the decision-maker with regards to work-life balance. The assumption of a binary choice between work and family provides an inadequate foundation for the creation and promotion of business decision-making strategies as it does not reflect the realities of work and parenthood for many people. One goal of this research is to challenge hegemonic assumptions and evaluate the decision-making practices of male entrepreneurs by recognising life fluidity, along with domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves, as integral pieces in the entrepreneurial decision-making process.

In current research, complex social systems involving decision-making are being evaluated through a simplified lens of analysis that compares men and women decision-makers based on either or decisions revolving around work *or* family. This means traditional hegemonic assumptions regarding male and female predispositions towards work and family creep into research analysis of decision-makers. Assumed gendered social structures become the basis for analysis which does not allow for an integrated evaluation of work *and* family. Critical evaluation of men's entrepreneurial decisions while challenging hegemonic masculine assumptions gives an opportunity to highlight complex interrelations between an individual's work and life spheres that may be otherwise concealed. However, this analysis must also be aware of the potential of shifting hegemonic assumptions associated with participative fathers while challenging traditional hegemonic assumptions.

Jack Welch, the former CEO of General Electric was quoted as saying that there was “no such thing as work-family balance... there are work-life choices, and you make them, and they have consequences” (p.1) (Silverman, 2009). Mr. Welch furthered this statement by explaining that he felt that individuals would never rise to

the top of the corporate ladder if they were not completely focused on their career. He did concede that a ‘nice career’ was available for those wishing to split their focus between work and family but not at the top. Mr. Welch’s sentiments regarding work-family balance are not directed at the entrepreneur *per se*, but he does demonstrate the ingrained belief that an individual cannot mix their business and domestic spheres. This is further highlighted by research showing that hegemonic groups perceive women and other minority groups as not real entrepreneurs or sub-entrepreneurs as they are linked to non-business spheres (Verdijjn and Essers, 2013).

The assumption of power and control in entrepreneurship is often a key reason for potential entrepreneurs to create a business venture. For example, many women have stated that power and control regarding flexibility in working hours was a key factor in their decisions to move into entrepreneurship (Eddleston and Powell, 2012, Heilman and Chen, 2003, DeMartino and Barbato, 2003, Arai, 2000, Marshall, 1995). Assumed hegemonic masculine ideologies have been recognised as being heavily embedded into the concept of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurial ideologies embrace hegemonic notions of rationality, risk taking, optimism, and specialness towards men and masculinities as a method of symbolism for leadership in the business community (Achtenhagen and Welter, 2011, Weiskopf and Steyaerd, 2009, Ahl, 2004, Carter et al., 2003, Thomas and Mueller, 2000). The embeddedness of masculinities in entrepreneurship provides an opportunity to critically analyse the politically charged power relations that hegemonic assumptions can create during men’s decision-making and *distinction* processes (Verdijjn and Essers, 2013, Goss et al., 2011, Hearn, 2004). The definition of entrepreneur used for the purpose of this research is ‘the creator of new business ventures’. Using this definition for the critical analysis of the decision-making practices of male entrepreneurs offers an opportunity for men in different

stages of business development to voice their perspectives regarding embedded masculinities and assumptions, work-life balance, and power and control. The following three sections in this chapter reflect these perspectives.

4.2 Economics and the decision-maker: Embedded masculinities

Economic decision-making theories such as rational decision-making were developed in an attempt to predict consumer and organisational behaviour patterns. Organisational decision-making is based on economic models of profitability with the assumption that decision-makers will attempt to rationalise the optimal economic outcome on behalf of the organisation (Eastwell et al., 1987, Simon, 1984, Edgeworth, 1881). Rational decision-making is an extension of choice maximization where a decision-maker will analyse all options available and select the most optimal choice that results in the highest level of satisfaction for the least amount of expenditure.

Optimization is a crucial part of the use of rational behaviour theory in attempting to predict an individual's behaviour because of the assumption that motives of action are driven through self-interests and desires (Eastwell et al., 1987). Many organisational behaviour theories adopt economic models in an attempt to create organisational decision-making procedures that maximise the economic viability and growth potential of business. Several multi-step rational decision-making processes have been developed which include problem identification, identifying decision criteria, weighing criteria, generating alternatives, and evaluating alternatives based on the rational criteria of optimisation (Bazerman and Moore, 2009, Eastwell et al., 1987, Edgeworth, 1881). However, a critique of this process is that an individual must have access to all alternative's costs and benefits with the ability to process a potential vast amount of information in order to make a complete evaluation. It is also acknowledged that not all information may be available which compels the decision-

maker to attempt to approximate the rational process. The omnipotent decision-maker requirement for rational decision-making is acknowledged as an unrealistic basis for decision-making theory that attempts to represent how a manager, or anyone else, makes decisions (Simon, 2001, Teece and Winter, 1984, Simon, 1979). Simon (2001) suggests that utility maximisation theories “consist of quite brilliant theoretical work ... that gives a very wrong picture of how human beings actually make decisions in economic and other matters” (p.309).

Bounded rationality challenges the ability of rational decision-making models to predict actual behaviour of real people by attempting to interpret the goal of the decision-maker. Herbert Simon (1957) defined the principle of bounded rationality as “the capacity of the human mind for formulating and solving complex problems is very small compared with the size of the problems whose solution is required for objectively rational behaviour in the real world—or even for a reasonable approximation to such objective rationality” (p.198). A key difference between bounded rationality and rational decision-making is that in bounded rationality there is a shift in the goal of the decision-maker. Rational decision-making sets the decision-maker’s goal as utility maximization which means that the decision-maker will always choose the most profitable solution for the business. However, bounded rationality shifts the goal of the decision-maker to that of determining a solution which is good enough to accomplish predetermined goals of the organisation. This means that the decision-maker will stop searching for alternatives once a solution has been found that satisfies a problem’s parameters. The shift from utility maximization to needs satisfying is called satisficing (Bazerman and Moore, 2009, Eastwell et al., 1987, Simon, 1957). This good enough approach to decision-making was developed with the assumption that managers would rationalise their decision based on the financial goals

and needs of the organisation (Gigerenzer, 2008). Decision-making processes taught in business schools follow rational decision-making guidelines in order for the manager to choose the best alternative for their organisations (Robbins et al., 2009). However, the potential for managers and entrepreneur to intentionally make suboptimal business decisions for personal benefit is not considered in these models; thus, highlights that utility in decisions is subjective.

Comparisons between the value and usefulness of the rational and bounded rational models of behaviour are divided into two categories. These categories are divided by what decision-makers *should* do and what they *actually* do (Bazerman and Moore, 2009). Furthermore, Zey (1992) states that rational decision models “fail to acknowledge that our utility may be a result not only to our own welfare but also of the welfare of those for whom we care” (p.13). The acknowledgement of other people’s welfare in a decision may lead a manager to risk their career status by choosing a suboptimal alternative for a business in order to minimize the detrimental effects to others affected by the decision. The observation that outside factors can encroach into business decisions ties into the analysis of men’s decision-making practices while considering perceived shifts in domestic masculinities and fatherhood responsibilities. The acknowledgement of decision-makers considering the impact of utility to other people highlights the high level of subjectivity of the decision process. The existence of high levels of subjectivity creates nearly impossible circumstances for positivistic measures to determine specific quantifiable measurements other than economic after-effects. Recognising variations in the decision-making processes of managers led to the development of other decision-making theories such as the naturalistic decision-making models.

Lipshitz et al. (2001) define naturalistic decision-making (NDM) as an “attempt to understand how people make decisions in real-world contexts that are meaningful and familiar to them” (p.332). NDM represents a shift in decision-making research from a *why* do decision-makers deviate from rational models to *how* do decision-makers navigate through real life decision-making events, in an attempt to predict future outcomes (Lipshitz et al., 2001). Proficiency is further elaborated by Zsambok (1997) as decision-makers incorporating their experiences into a decision in a field setting in order to problem solve. NDM models have been developed by focusing on experienced decision-makers’ past decisions and matching future decision-making to parameters used. NDM uses five factors: proficient decision-makers, process orientation, situation-action matching decision rules, context-bounded informational modelling and empirical-based prescriptions (Lipshitz et al., 2001). This research focuses on the first three factors of NDM because of the focus on the perceptions of the individual.

The proficient decision-maker factor is identified as how people use their experience to make complex decisions in the field. NDM research breaks down the concept of expertise into process orientation and situation-action matching. Process orientation attempts to illustrate the cognitive process of expert decision-makers by describing what information is needed, how information is interpreted, and what decision rules are used (Lipshitz et al., 2001). This means that the focus is on how decision-makers go about coming to their conclusions and not what they decided. In the context of this research, process orientation is used to establish the relationship between men’s masculine selves and their perspective towards establishing work-life balance by establishing the context in how different masculine selves seek, evaluate, and filter information. Situation-action matching involves incorporating the

experience and expertise of the decision-maker into the decision-making process.

Studies indicate that experienced decision-makers have an increased ability to match appropriate, or superior, solutions to problems by matching similar past decision-making outcomes to a current situation (Lipshitz et al., 2001). This matching system used by experienced decision-makers eliminates past sequential choice analysis and allows for quick decisions to be made based on previous results experienced.

Proficient decision-makers use their ability to recall an appropriate decision through their experiences because the decision-maker has learned what the alternatives are and which one has the best outcome for a particular situation. Situation-action matching opens the door for entrepreneurial decision-making to revert back to a ‘good enough’ approach of bounded rationality (Bazerman and Moore, 2009, Eastwell et al., 1987, Simon, 1957).

Focusing on the process and characteristic of decisions involves incorporating the experience and expertise of the decision-maker into the decision-making process. However, NDM’s inability to be generalized into a one-size-fits-all decision-making model comes into question because differences in individual experiences change the way different managers analyse critical requirements of future situations (Lipshitz et al., 2001). The purpose of NDM is to create methods of ‘actionability’ for the end user by establishing compatibility between theoretical decision-making models and practical processes (Lipshitz et al., 2001). The goal of creating compatibility between academic and practical decision-making models introduces complexities in the decision-making process. Naming men as men in the analysis of decision-making processes of entrepreneurs will highlight masculine assumptions that are incorporated in decision-making processes, which is one of these complexities.

I believe that there is a significant possibility rationalised decision-making and NDM theories ignore the domestic sphere which translates to underestimating the measurement of decision-maker experience. For example, experience as a parent organising children's events is not included as organisational experience in the work sphere. Examining the concept of NDM by expanding the boundaries of the decision beyond the confines of the business recognises that families and businesses are 'inextricably intertwined', especially with regards to entrepreneurship (Aldrich and Cliff, 2003). Investigating the decision-makers' perceptions of possible interconnections between work and family by exploring how they observe businesses in relation to their domestic masculinities highlights complex entrepreneurial decision-making processes for fathers who desire to be involved parents.

Investigations around the influence that masculine identities, or masculine selves, have on organisational decision-making have been limited to authoritarian masculine practices such as bullying (Connell, 2005, Collinson and Hearn, 1994). However, the Canadian government's shift to promote participative fatherhood ideologies and domestic behavioural expectations for men creates an opportunity to shift the investigative platform concerning organisational decision-making. The investigative platform can now include the domestic sphere in an attempt to gain a more complex perspective of the organisational decision-making process.

The process of naming men as men in the study of gender is a method for destabilising assumed gender categories that can surface in entrepreneurship research (Bruni et al., 2004b, Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Bruni (2004b) and others identified binary systems of categorising social, material and discursive practices through a process of assigning feminine or masculine attributes to behaviours. The either or social categorisation of labelling social activities as either masculine or feminine

limits how women are perceived as entrepreneurs because of assumed hegemonic masculinities embedded in entrepreneurship. Malach-Pines and Swartz (2008) observed that twice as many men over women report that they were intending to or have already started business. From this observation, Malach-Pines and Swartz (2008) conclude that gender differences are explained by reiterating evolutionary ‘hunter-gather’ and other theories to demonstrate the requirement of aggressive behaviour in entrepreneurship. Concluding that women are fighting evolutionary processes constructed through the use of a binary system of thought creates an environment of attempting to shift women’s behaviour to be more masculine in order to be successful entrepreneurs. This suggests that women are required to behave like men in order to be successful entrepreneurs supports observations that embedded hegemonic masculinities in entrepreneurship exerts immense pressure to conform. However, traditional embedded hegemonic masculinities in entrepreneurship are no longer running parallel with shifting domestic masculinities of contemporary family life (Bowman, 2007).

The use of language within generalisable economic models of rationality in organisational decision-making literature creates perspective thinking which supports hegemonic assumptions and the practice of doing gender in entrepreneurship. For example, the maintenance of organisational goals and objectives are supported via hegemonic masculine assumptions that men are predisposed to thinking with a business oriented rational mind within the business sphere while their private lives are suppressed in order to reduce interference with work (Bruni et al., 2004a, Bruni et al., 2004b). This assumption creates a framework of discursive constructs of business decision-making as male. Hegemonic masculine assumptions of economic rationality intrinsically connect work with masculinity and are pervasive in the generalisation of

business decision-making and entrepreneurship literature (Bruni et al., 2004a, Bruni et al., 2004b). Focusing on generalisability shifts how researchers discuss business decision-making because the perceptions of individuals are lost. An example of this generalisation is found in the attempt to create decision-making processes. The promotion of multi-step rational decision-making processes such as those taught in management schools have been developed in an attempt to help managers identify decision-making criteria for calculating the most optimal alternative for the business (Bazerman and Moore, 2009, Eastwell et al., 1987, Edgeworth, 1881, Hitt et al., 2009). The creation of these so called gender-neutral rationalisation models has maintained discursive constructions of entrepreneurship as a male construct which sustains a supposedly generalisable model of economic rationality in business decisions. However, these generalisable models do not account for the perception of men's shifting fatherhood goals and responsibilities.

The separation between work and life implies that decision-makers can only focus on analysing optimal business outcomes while operating within the business sphere. This means that the domestic sphere must be completely independent from work which further entrenches hegemonic assumptions that men's place is at work and that men are rational by nature. However, value can be perceived differently from one decision-maker to the next. For example, a decision-maker may choose a less economically profitable direction for their business in order to gain a non-economic commodity like leisure time. This move away from focusing on economic value as the basis for entrepreneurial research highlights complexities in the decision-making process ignored by traditional models. Social influences such as perceived shifts in domestic masculinities for men facilitate the problematisation of examining decision-making using traditional assumptions because critical examination can highlight

individual perceptions of social constraints and subjectivity of value. Investigating organisational decision-making within a work-life balance framework allows for factors outside the traditional framework of business decision-making investigations to surface. Allowing these factors to surface offers a more detailed picture as to how decisions are actually made in real world entrepreneurial situations.

4.3 Entrepreneurial work-life balance: Shifting assumptions

The examination of work-family conflict originated as a result of an increasing number of women entering the workforce while still attempting to maintain culturally expected responsibilities in the home. The ‘new man’ suggested by Singleton & Maher (2004) emerged in the work/home boundary as a result of “western women’s greater workforce participation since the 1960s” (p.371). The new man concept is based on men’s acceptance and desire to enter the domestic sphere as a fully participative parent. More studies are including men in work-family conflict research because of the increased domestic labour and child-rearing expectations associated with the new man concept (Wierda-Boer et al., 2009, McElwain et al., 2005, Burke, 1998). As a result, McDowell (2005) believes that queries regarding men, masculinities, and hegemonic assumptions are being raised because “the very definition of hegemonic masculinity in industrial capitalist societies is bound up with labour market participation” (p.17). The contradiction between traditional hegemonic masculinities construction and men’s shifting perspectives regarding domestic responsibilities offers an excellent opportunity to explore interactions between the constructions of masculine selves and work-life balance. Men discussing how they as individuals navigate through the ambiguity of masculinities and the construction of masculine selves further demonstrates the complexity of the relationship between

entrepreneurial behaviour expectations in decision-making and domestic masculine selves.

Analysing men's perceptions regarding family and entrepreneurial responsibilities provides a platform of analysis of hegemonic masculine assumptions embedded in entrepreneurship (Murgia and Poggio, 2013). It has been concluded by some that the interrelationship between entrepreneurship and masculinities are 'parallel performances' that are sometimes indistinguishable (Bruni et al., 2004a). These parallel performances result in entrepreneurship studies facilitating the continued reproduction of masculine assumptions in business even when the focus is on female entrepreneurship. For instance, some studies that focus on female entrepreneurship highlight the contrasting processes of femininity and entrepreneurship through women's attempt to integrate work and family while creating and operating a business venture. For example, one survey of MBA students found that the number one reason for women to choose the entrepreneurial path was to create a career that was able to incorporate flexibility in order to meet current and future family obligations (DeMartino and Barbato, 2003). Research revolving around female entrepreneurs has used the topic of work-family balance as a method for discovering how women perceive hegemonic obstacles in business and why they chose entrepreneurship as a platform to navigate perceived barriers. Many studies on entrepreneurial mothers demonstrate entrepreneurship as the catalyst for women to navigate around hegemonic obstacles while also promoting a fit between business and family lives (Eddleston and Powell, 2012, Heilman and Chen, 2003, DeMartino and Barbato, 2003, Arai, 2000, Marshall, 1995). The desire for flexibility is based on the perception of assumed hegemonic gender expectations that women should be maintaining traditional domestic identities while also pursuing a career in simulated

entrepreneurship (Verduijn and Essers, 2013, Essers et al., 2010, Bruni et al., 2004b, Ahl, 2004, Marshall, 1995).

Murgia and Poggio (2013) revealed the importance of the managerial role in demonstrating how hegemonic practices and attempts of resistance can affect the implementation of cultural changes. It has been emphasised that gendered attitudes towards entrepreneurship make women invisible due to embedded masculine assumptions (Murgia and Poggio, 2009, Bruni et al., 2004b). Families are being invisible in entrepreneurship literature based on the extension of gendered attitudes and assumptions towards women and the domestic sphere. Many family business studies exemplify the embeddedness of entrepreneurship literature by the focusing on the business rather than on the family, which the family is treated as a ‘non-emotional entity’ (Bruni et al., 2004b). Focusing on a patriarchal leadership with regards to business operations often leads to subverting female partners to the management of the domestic sphere. However, recent studies that include women have reported that there are decreasing gender differences between men and women in entrepreneurship. Researchers connect this trend to a demonstration that women are now evaluating their abilities and traits to be similar to their male counterparts (Malach-Pines and Schwartz, 2008). However, this may not be an indication of a reduction in gender differences but rather an indication that women entering the world of entrepreneurship are accepting and learning to behave in accordance with embedded hegemonic masculine constructs. DeBruin et al. (2007) demonstrated that the majority of academic studies regarding women entrepreneurs use positivistic approaches that restrict the flow of valuable information regarding the dynamic social interactions in the workplace and the domestic sphere. However, one thing that is highlighted by these positivistic approaches is the assumed masculine ideology of power and control

associated with entrepreneurship. This perceived power and control of entrepreneurship is associated with the ability to demand flexibility in the work domain while simultaneously promoting a strong career trajectory as an entrepreneur.

Researching the family embeddedness perspective of entrepreneurship holds promising avenues for future research on women's entrepreneurship (deBruin et al., 2007, Aldrich and Cliff, 2003). Entrepreneurship scholars are drawing attention to the embeddedness of entrepreneurship and family with regards to work-life balance (deBruin et al., 2007). The focus on the embeddedness of masculinities and entrepreneurship is starting to suggest that any gender differences in organisation development with regards to entrepreneurship may have less to do with the sex of the business owner and more to do with environmental influences (deBruin et al., 2007). Researchers tend to study women using men as the standard of comparison; this practice further embeds masculine assumptions even while highlighting women's entrepreneurial experiences (Murgia and Poggio, 2013). The possibility of alternate forms of entrepreneurship based on differing concepts of gender expectations may be highlighted through social perceptions of shifting fatherhood masculinities (Bruni et al., 2004a). This is due to the recognition that current concepts of entrepreneurship are based on an 'archetype of social action' as well as an 'institutionalization of values and symbols' that can be related to gendered assumptions (Bruni et al., 2004a).

Links between the archetype of social action based on gender and the production and reproduction of gendered social processes in entrepreneurial behaviour demonstrates the influence that culture has on behavioural expectations during business decision-making processes (Connell, 2005, Bruni et al., 2004a, Collinson and Hearn, 1994, Collinson and Hearn, 1996a). This cultural influence can be seen in many western cultures, including Canada's, through the symbolisation of the male as

being more risk tolerant and more likely to initiate business entrepreneurship. The consideration of alternative forms of entrepreneurship that move away from traditional gendered archetypes are starting to surface through the realisation that some desired behaviours in entrepreneurship, such as flexibility and adaptation, are more associated with the feminine and the female (Fletcher, 2004). New ideals of fatherhood which are being adopted by some men demand flexibility between work and family. This counters hegemonic assumptions that promote discursive practises of marginalising men and women who are unable to take part in entrepreneurship due to domestic commitments (Bruni et al., 2004a, Martin, 2001).

Acknowledging the family embeddedness perspective while also naming men as men demonstrates the importance of embracing the complexities of life in organisational decision-making research. Introducing work-life balance as a topic during the interviews of male entrepreneurs gives this research a catalyst for discussing their ideologies as fathers and entrepreneurs. Bruni et al. (2004b) identified that gender-neutral studies in entrepreneurship constructed on unstable hegemonic masculinities make models of economic rationality ill-suited to today's research requirements. Investigating traditional hegemonic masculinities that focus on men's place in the business sphere through the eyes of the entrepreneur will help to reveal actual decision-making practices of major decision-makers (Bowman, 2007, deBruin et al., 2006). Verduijn and Essers (2013) called for the critical analysis of policy makers such as entrepreneurs to investigate the effects of taken-for-granted hegemonic assumptions that are continuing the hegemonic ideologies used to formulate work-life policies in business. The critical analysis of men's perceptions and decisions regarding entrepreneurship flexibility and its relationship to their views of fatherhood represents a destabilisation of hegemonic masculinities. Naming men as

men focuses analysis on the construction of alternative entrepreneurial decision-making practices while simultaneously challenging decision-making theories constructed by ignoring complex gendered assumptions (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Investigating men's entrepreneurial decision-making through emphasising men's navigation between domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves embraces the complexities of the hegemony of men (Hearn, 2004). By embracing complexities, entrepreneurial decision-making research can highlight tensions of *intra-relations* between differing *distinction* processes within the hegemony of men with regards to entrepreneurial goals and the entrepreneur (Hearn, 2004).

Delving into the paradoxes, contradictions, and tensions of entrepreneurship and hegemonic masculinities as a method for uncovering and critically analysing assumptions in entrepreneurial decision-making has had limited research (Verdijin and Essers, 2013). Jones and Spicer (2009) discuss entrepreneurship as being politically charged and used as a cure all for gendered and other economic and political problems. Acknowledging the complexities of the interrelationship between masculinities, entrepreneurship, and work-life balance helps the critical analysis of entrepreneurship and its decision-making practices by focusing on why some men challenge and some men conform to hegemonic behavioural expectations when attempting to establish their work-life environment. It is theorised that women who adopt 'a strong female image' transfer that image to how they approach making decisions regarding their organisation's growth. This can translate to a nurturing environment towards growth or through the assumption that growth decisions are made based on factors outside of the work sphere. The gendered perspective of the entrepreneur has strong influences on organisational decision-making processes for organisational growth as well as client and employee relations (Brush, 2004, Bird and

Brush, 2002). Attempting to establish how men perceive and navigate assumed and shifting hegemonic structures regarding work and family by using the idea of a strong female image as an example is an intriguing idea. Critically analysing men's perceptions of their masculine selves in relation to how hegemonic masculine ideologies embedded in entrepreneurship frame the investigation of how men plan, initiate, and maintain decisions regarding employee and client relations, work-life policy development, and business growth orientation.

Entrepreneurship is romanticised as being the key driver for both economic and personal growth (Verdijjn and Essers, 2013). However, Morris et al. (2006) stated that growth orientation is a complex phenomenon that may well be influenced by gender. The recognition of complex social and gendered systems as a platform for entrepreneurial decision-making is not new. Entrepreneurship has often been highlighted as being embedded with hegemonic masculinities through research done on trait theory, women in entrepreneurship, and others. Women's domestic identities are used as a platform for women's entrepreneurial decision-making process by evaluating the individual's desires towards integrating their domestic and work spheres. It is often shown that women successfully combine domestic and entrepreneurial selves and use this strong female image as a platform for strong business sense. The new feminine style of business separates itself from the 'one size fits all' ideal of what is required for entrepreneurial decision-making success signals a separation from the gendered subtext of entrepreneurship (Verdijjn and Essers, 2013, Essers et al., 2010). At the same time, fragmenting from the expected decision-making process of the ideological entrepreneur reinforces the ideology because some women are now finding that they are not considered 'true entrepreneurs' (Verdijjn and Essers, 2013, Essers et al., 2010). The fragmentation of entrepreneurship leads to Hearn's

(2004) concept of the *distinction* process in the hegemony of men. The identification of not being a ‘true entrepreneur’ is a way to tier entrepreneurship into rankable levels in which an individual can be evaluated. However, a critical evaluation of men’s decision-making practices while recognising men’s domestic and entrepreneurial selves has only been addressed by a few studies (Verduijn and Essers, 2013, Jones and Spicer, 2009, Ogbor, 2000).

Traditional and assumed processes for gaining *distinction* within the hegemony of men are often portrayed as the ability to gain power through work (Hearn, 2004). Power is obtained through formal constructs which provide authoritarian decision-making authority in the workplace (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Additionally, power is obtained outside of the workplace sphere as a result of the economic benefits of progressing through the corporate ladder. However, shifting perceptions towards men’s involvement in the home as fathers has the potential to disrupt this assumed hegemonic process. For example, Canadian interest groups, like the one referred to in the introduction, are promoting men’s involvement in the nurturing process of parenthood. This demonstrates the potential for disruption in traditional hegemonic processes. Men’s desire to follow the example of being an involved parent while simultaneously being in an autonomous position of the business owner may impact the entrepreneurial decision-making process. These individuals may choose goals that favour work-life balance which could shift the perspective and assumptions of the decision-maker (Verduijn and Essers, 2013, Gatrell et al., 2013). Morris et al. (2006) found that growth orientation is stronger with female entrepreneurs with a strong female identity because they believe that women’s intrinsic desire for personal growth pulls them into high growth entrepreneurial ventures, leading to a stronger strategic focus on the business. However, this

conclusion doesn't consider the work-life balance desires of these women as a focal point in their decision-making process.

The analysis of male entrepreneurial decision-making processes while considering work-life balance factors allows for the investigation of how men navigate between their domestic and entrepreneurial selves through their business decisions. The analysis can attempt to interpret the processes in which these men attempt to create a balance between their masculine selves while also reducing conflict between their work and family spheres. Traditional conflict reduction strategies between work and family spheres include the elimination of one of these spheres from interactions with the other. This is, of course, the root of many sociological theories regarding hegemonic masculinities because of the recognition of assumed gendered responsibilities pushing women into the domestic sphere allowing men to focus on creating and maintaining *distinction* and power through work and money. However, this elimination process is not an option if men desire to be involved in both entrepreneurial and expanded fatherhood responsibilities. Analysing the decision-making process of men also provides a platform for investigating how men organise and evaluate their masculine selves in an attempt to reduce competing masculine identities, time demands, and other obligations.

Women entrepreneurs are often faced with a gender-based domestic division of labour that must be balanced in order to maintain work-life balance. This means that competing responsibilities perceived by women may influence their choices as entrepreneurs to cap or slow their organisation's growth in order to maintain the ability to be involved in childcare (Still and Timms, 2000). Men are also running into obstacles with gendered ideologies regarding entrepreneurship when they present their desire to be more domestically orientated (Gatrell, 2007, Gatrell and Cooper, 2008).

Men that are deciding to be more involved with their families are discovering that assumed hegemonic *distinction* processes and rules are creating instances where others view them as less ‘manly’. Examining men’s decision-making practices revolving around work and family highlight how processes involving *distinction* within the hegemony of men evolves during shifts in masculine ideologies. Morris et al. (2006) suggest that some female entrepreneurs shift to modest growth or stable income models in order to sustain a good enough income as a means to establish and maintain work-life balance. This ‘good enough’ rationalisation approach demonstrated by women as an approach to establishing work-life balance may be an indicator as to how men approach their own work-life balance strategies.

4.4 Power and control: The entrepreneurial decision-maker

There is a consistent theme in family business and entrepreneurship literature that positions women in the operations of the domestic sphere. This is used throughout the literature to highlight the difficulties in balancing work and family (Murgia and Poggio, 2013). The continued focus on women as the responsible partner in promoting work-family balance reinforces hegemonic assumptions that women’s natural place is in the domestic sphere and that the domestic sphere is their primary social responsibility. Murgia and Poggio (2013) believe there is still a “symbolic order of gender based on the assumption that women are feminine and men are masculine, and in which the former are more engaged in the private sphere and (unpaid) care-work and the latter are engaged in the public sphere and paid work” (p.420). The identification of the domestic sphere as women’s primary responsibility has contributed to reducing women’s credibility as entrepreneurs. However, highlighting masculine assumptions regarding women’s domestic responsibilities while also demonstrating some women’s ability to perform effectively in both the domestic and

business spheres can be used to exemplify the inefficiencies of masculine business models. That is, women who succeed in satisfying both business and family obligations serve as an example of the inefficiencies of hegemonic structures that only operate within the business sphere (Murgia and Poggio, 2013).

Malach-Pines and Schwartz (2008) suggest that the entrepreneurship selection process ‘screens out’ those who do not have the required traits to be an entrepreneur. They further suggest that the screening out process is accomplished through the process of ‘doing gender’ by conforming to embedded masculine assumptions regarding social expectations of masculinity and hegemonic masculine behaviours in entrepreneurship. (Murgia and Poggio, 2013) state that what is taken for granted in masculine hegemonic systems is the “sharp separation between home and work, with the value set on the sole and ‘rational’ nature of work and its priority over the private sphere” (p.418). Prioritising the business sphere based on the assumption that masculinity is associated with rationality and the ability to successfully engage in the public sphere provided men with a social justification to overlook the domestic sphere during the decision-making process. This thesis argues that hegemonic masculine assumptions in entrepreneurship completely ignore the interplay of multiple masculine selves, especially with regards to shifting fatherhood expectations.

The strength of the masculine archetypes can create tension between the narrative of entrepreneurship and the realities of business relations. The assumption that entrepreneurs must be strong individuals with the ability to forge their businesses on their own often counters the reality of the necessity of relying on social networks to help support business development. The tension between balancing masculine archetypes and assumptions with the reality of building business networks can sometimes surface via an individual’s narrative. For example, Bowman (2007)

discusses how one entrepreneur stated that he built this business on his own despite acknowledging that his business partner provided a two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the business demonstrates how some men continue to promote maintaining assumed hegemonic masculine ideals while downplaying the importance of community, family, and others during major decisions regarding the creation and development of business ventures. The maintenance of the illusion of the ‘heroic entrepreneur’ is created in order to conform to hegemonic structures that have built an environment that downplays the integration of work and family. However, research has shown that there is little distinction between business, family and social time due to the inability to separate from business technology such as the cell phone (Bowman, 2007). Examining the integration between work and family through the eyes of the male entrepreneur helps to highlight the complexities between differing hegemonic masculine selves and expectations regarding both work and family.

The complexities of masculine selves construction are being brought to the forefront due to perceived shifting expectations and desires of fathers in Canada. The process of constructing domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves as both an engaged father while demonstrating a strong independent entrepreneurial image creates a complex environment to navigate. For example, a recent article in a major business newspaper in Canada stated that it was much more commonplace to see men struggling with work-family balancing because “men are stepping up to the plate in every way imaginable” (p.1) when it comes to childcare (Eichler, 2013). At the same time, there is an emerging social belief in Canada that fathers are becoming more inclined to express the desire to be engaged with their family. As business owners, men are in a position of power in determining the direction and business practices of their organisations. Murgia and Poggio (2013) concluded that managerial power and

control relations are permeated by practices of hegemonic masculinities and have a strong influence in subjugating organisational members by using dominant culture behavioural expectations. However, highlighting the perceived shifting domestic masculinities may help to demonstrate the role that narratives play in the study of organisational change and of the practices of resistance that oppose traditional masculinities embedded in entrepreneurship. The narratives of entrepreneurs faced with shifting domestic expectations in Canada could be used as “significant instruments for the reproduction and establishment of hegemonic practices and, at the same time, they can prove to be effective instruments for deconstructing and dismantling dominant gender subtexts” (p.422) (Murgia and Poggio, 2013).

The question of power and control in entrepreneurship is raised because of the well documented embeddedness of masculinities in entrepreneurial ideologies. The investigation of how male entrepreneurs are interpreting and responding to shifts in the political landscape with regards to fatherhood has a key responsibility: a critical analysis of entrepreneurship must be carried out in order to disassociate with the rhetoric of the ideal that entrepreneurs are a powerful, and optimistic venture creator (Jones and Spicer, 2009, Armstrong, 2005). Using work-life balance as a focal point in the analysis of entrepreneurial power and control evaluates relationships involved in entrepreneurial decision-making practices. Work-life balance is used as a means to shed light on how men perceive *distinction* within their professional and personal relationships. For example, Jones and Spicer (2009) discuss the power associated with the term entrepreneur because of the hegemonic masculinities embedded in the entrepreneurial process. ‘Feminine’ aspects of entrepreneurship are rarely promoted (Ahl, 2006, Ahl, 2004); however Bruni et al. (2004b) feel that women are portrayed as

supportive, flexible and dependent entrepreneurs because of their experience with everyday coordination of work and family.

Women's flexibility in entrepreneurship is theorised as being the result of gendered ideologies that women have honed this ability through the gendered expectation of having to juggle multiple supporting roles in the home and workplace. At the same time, women have been perceived as less passionate entrepreneurs because of the expectation of having to also focus on the home (Brush, 2004). Entrepreneurship seems to have unquestioned elevating powers of hegemony through embedded masculinities associated with running your own business (Verdijjn and Essers, 2013). However, the attempt to lower women's *distinction* as entrepreneurs through the classification of being less passionate or not real entrepreneurs allows this research to take the idea of 'entrepreneurial passion' and turn it into a hegemonic platform for analysing the perceptions towards men who are actively seeking to balance work and family through entrepreneurship. This research critically analyses the *distinction* processes within the hegemony of men and its effect on men who are actively choosing to balance work and family

Some men's perceptions of shifts in assumed masculine assumptions towards fatherhood have given women the potential to be viewed as groundbreakers in establishing effective and efficient methods for achieving work-life balance. Women's experience with challenging organisational parental leave policies and other work-life policies have started to be addressed through new Canadian employment laws. This experience with promoting a shift in work-life balance perceptions gives women an opportunity to be leaders in helping new entrepreneurs establish their organisation's policies regarding work and family. All of the men interviewed in this study have a minimum of their spouse as a resource for making decisions regarding policies that

reach beyond the legal minimums of employment laws that are most beneficial to the organisation and its employees. Women's perceived expertise in balancing work and family gives this research the opportunity to investigate power relations between couples during entrepreneurial decision-making. However, power relations in entrepreneurial decision-making go beyond female vs male relationships because the *distinction* process encapsulates the categorisations between different forms of men (Connell, 2005, Hearn, 2004, Collinson and Hearn, 1994).

The categorisation between different forms of men in the *distinction* process focuses this research on establishing the *distinction* process of entrepreneurs who seek out relationships with other men who hold expert knowledge. For the entrepreneur, seeking expert opinion involves allowing others into the business in order to help evaluate how information is processed during a business decision; however, it also involves granting others hierarchical *distinction* by acknowledging their expertise. The heroic interpretation of the entrepreneur as being a forerunner in ingenuity and organisational leadership suggests that entrepreneurs have the power to either maintain or change hegemonic norms involving organisational structure. This type of interpretation of the entrepreneur can create an exaggeration of expertise and abilities for entrepreneurs of being able to do only good for business change and the overall economic environment (Jones and Spicer, 2009, Armstrong, 2005). Countries that pursue political agendas promoting entrepreneurship are expecting entrepreneurs to create a positive environment for both economic and social growth. This positive outlook may allow for entrepreneurs to over exaggerate their own expert opinions regarding organisational development decisions. This potential for conflict between outside business experts, such as accountants, and the entrepreneur creates an opportunity to analyse how the men in this study establish and maintain these

relationships. Research has found that many women were motivated to become entrepreneurs because it allowed them to do what they wanted to do because of the hegemonic assumptions associated with entrepreneurship (Morris et al., 2006, Orhan and Scott, 2001).

4.5 Discussions: Goals and objectives

This chapter highlights opportunities, goals, and objectives for contributing to entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial decision-making research by naming men as men in the critical analysis of entrepreneurship's embedded masculinities. Opportunities for contributing to entrepreneurial decision-making literature are demonstrated by highlighting embedded masculine assumptions in organisational and business decision-making based on gendered economic theories. This chapter challenges hegemonic assumptions in entrepreneurial decision-making research by introducing work-life balance and shifting fatherhood ideologies into the discussion. Critically analysing men's desire for independence in their choice for work-life balance reveals a source of conflict for entrepreneurs during the decision-making process because of the potential for negatively affecting men's *distinction* as entrepreneurs. Highlighting the potential for change to men's *distinction* processes opens the door for investigating whether shifting domestic desires of men are creating opportunities to change entrepreneurial decision-making processes.

Chapter 5: Methods

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the research paradigms, methodologies, and methods utilised in this thesis while exploring work-family balance and entrepreneurial decision-making by naming men as men in the discussion. As the researcher, I must be able to reflect on the research paradigm used in this study to fully understand the basic belief system behind my research question (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). It is the discovery of the basic belief system(s) behind my research that helps guide me, as the investigator, in formulating an ontological and epistemological perspective that is used to formulate the methods used in this thesis. This chapter explores data gathering, sample selection, and data analysis methods used in this thesis, and reflects the methodologies of this research. Finally, this chapter considers the ethical considerations of the methods used in this thesis as a technique for minimising the potential negative impact that this research may have on the interviewees; as well as the academic, political and social environments.

5.2 Research Paradigms

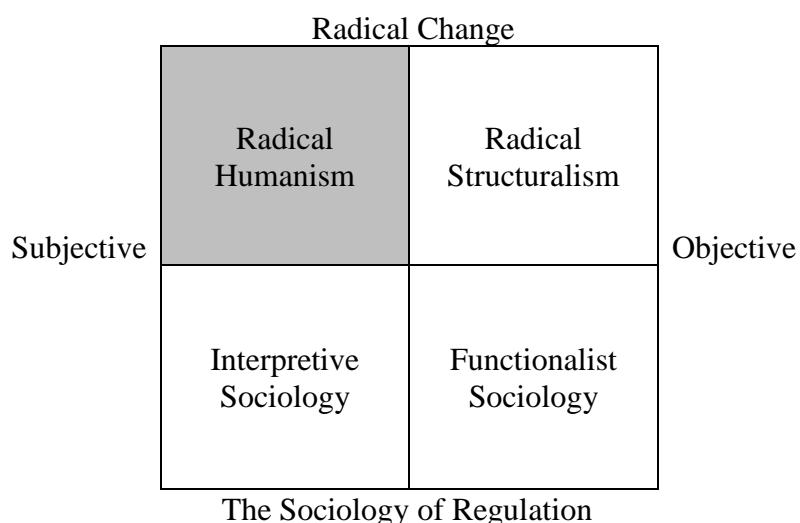
Guba and Lincoln (1994) believe that the “basic beliefs that define inquiry paradigms can be summarized by the response given ... to three fundamental questions” (p.108). Guba and Lincoln’s (1994) first question asks the researcher to define their ontological standpoint by defining the nature of reality which determines what can be known about the reality defined. Crotty (1998) defines ontology as the study of being that focuses on defining the kind of world that is being investigated, the nature of existence, and the structure of reality. For this thesis, the question of reality can be answered through individual construction of realities that are specific to personal experiences. The research questions in this thesis ask how perceived

masculine ideologies combined with masculine selves interrelate during men's decisions-making practices in entrepreneurship. The focus of this research on an individuals' construction of reality positions this study in the relativist ontology which is part of the broad constructionist paradigm (Carlson et al., 2000). The constructionist paradigm assumes that the construction of reality is relative to an individual's localised interpretation of social expectations involving perceived (or non-perceived) masculine ideologies in and out of organisations. The masculine focus of this constructed reality is based on fluctuating interpretations as to what it means to be a father and an entrepreneur. This study focuses on the individual's interpretation of their responsibility as an influential decision-maker in both the home and work contexts. Discussing the constructionist paradigm as part of examining the ontology of this research demonstrates a blending of the ontology and epistemology highlighted by Crotty (1998) when he states that this often causes researchers trouble in keeping them apart conceptually. Thus, Crotty (1998) labels the ontological process as establishing the theoretical perspective of the research. The theoretical perspective refers to the way in which the researcher looks at the world and makes sense of it. Crotty (1998) explains this by stating that the theoretical perspective 'embodies a certain understanding of what is entailed in knowing, that is, how we know what we know' which describes the philosophical stance of the research. The theoretical perspective of this research is focused on the direct experience of men's construction of reality with regards to their interpretation of their masculine selves and their social interactions with work and family. Many would suggest that this theoretical perspective describes the philosophical stance of phenomenology.

The linkage between the ontological and epistemological perspectives in this research makes it difficult to separate between the creation of the subject's 'reality'

during the investigative process and the nature of what is defined as real (Watson, 2001, Marshall, 1995, Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Epistemology is described as the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and methodology (Crotty, 1998). In other words, it is a philosophical foundation for determining what knowledge is and the legitimacy of that knowledge. Lincoln and Guba's (1994) second question involves the researcher's relationship with their subjects and how this relationship builds knowledge. This epistemological question can be answered by the constructionist assumption that any findings associated with an individual's reconstruction of events is dependent on the transactional relationship between the researcher and the subject (Carlson et al., 2000). For example, factors such as the researcher's choice of questions, their sex, race, and demeanour can all have an impact on the study's findings. However, Crotty (1998) make a distinction between *constructionism* and *constructivism*. Constructionism focuses on the collective generation and transmission of meaning while constructivism focuses on the individual's meaning-making process. Using this distinction, this research would be classified as constructivist research.

Figure 5.2.1: Sociological Paradigms (Burrell and Morgan, 1979)



As *Figure 5.2.1* illustrates, Burrell and Morgan's (1979) four paradigms for organisational research suggests that a researcher can position themselves between two dimensions. The four paradigms of organisational research has been criticised for its assertion that researchers cannot use two or more paradigms as this contradicts the foundation of radical humanism (Gioia and Pitre, 1990). However, this model can still be used as an excellent tool for conceptualising different perspectives of research. Burrell and Morgan (1979) would categorise this research within the radical humanist paradigm because the radical humanist paradigm is subjective in nature with an emphasis on transcending "the limitations of existing social arrangements" (p.32). Being subjective while critically analysing current organisational and social theories allows for the opportunity to expand on, or shift, current theories through explanation of individual consciousness within the realm of both the participants and the observer (Watson, 2001, Marshall, 1995, Burrell and Morgan, 1979). I conducted my interviews with open ended questions to allow for discussion between myself and the interviewees, in order to immerse myself in the realm of the participant.

The "critique of the *status quo* in social affairs" (p.32) in order to create change in social structures is the basis of the radical change dimension of radical structuralism and radical humanism (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). The radical structuralism paradigm still holds the belief that there is a "concrete nature of reality that exists outside the minds of men" (p.32) and draws little connection between this concrete reality and the human mind (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). In fact, radical structuralism is presented as the only paradigm that is concerned with investigating the contradictions between 'reality' and the human mind to explain social change. However, the development of further research methods involving change and

organisational structures has expanded the ways in which these contradictions can be investigated. For example, Willmott (1993) states that limiting analysis to four mutually exclusive paradigms “strongly endorses a restriction of analysis” (p.682) because researchers are confined by the structures created in Burrell and Morgan’s 2x2 matrix. However, acknowledging the limitations of confining research to these exclusive paradigms creates an opportunity to include breaking these paradigms as part of radical humanism.

The first dimension in Burrell and Morgan’s (1979) sociological paradigms is the subjective-objective dimension. This is demonstrated via the researcher’s ontological, epistemological assumptions and their chosen methodologies. For example, a researcher with an objective viewpoint will have an epistemological assumption that there is a single ‘truth’ or ‘reality’ which can be measured and analysed by using a strict regime of scientific controls. This means that an objective researcher will endeavour to uncover the ‘truth’ by attempting to control the environment of the study in order to reduce potential modifiers that are not seen as part of the study. Reducing modifiers allows the researcher to attempt to correlate behavioural shifts to specific stimuli. These correlations are then used to formulate ‘generalisable’ theories regarding human behaviour. However, a researcher with a subjective perspective will have an epistemological assumption that there is no ‘truth’ and that ‘reality’ is constructed through an individual’s experiences. This contrasts with the objective viewpoint because of the belief that each individual will interpret stimuli differently based on factors beyond the control of the researcher.

The second dimension is the regulation-radical change dimension. This refers to the researcher’s views and interpretations of the nature of society (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). For example, researchers who follow the sociology of regulation will

organise their research to explain how societies or societal structures can continue through social cohesion even when there may be opposing pressures or forces outside the organisation. This social cohesion is determined through the principles of biological and evolutionary assumptions that humans evolved to be herd or group animals which influences our social behaviour. However, researchers working in the sociology of radical change dimension are more focused on how and why individuals challenge and alter oppressive societal norms. The radical viewpoint of agency within societal structures offers a contrast to the idea of generalisable human social behaviour because individual agency shifts control from social structures to the individual in determining social interactions. The shift in control to the individual creates an environment where one can challenge and alter assumed sociological traditions dictated by organisational structures (Iannello, 1992, Burrell and Morgan, 1979).

One of the reasons that the functionalist paradigm is currently the dominant paradigm is because of its affiliation to the natural sciences. This paradigm's sociology of regulation dimension is derived from the principles of biology and evolution. This foundation in the biological sciences dictates that there is only one society that is valid because all mankind has evolved together as one species which determines our social behaviour. The functionalist view of a natural social regulation combined with its objective position of there being only one 'reality' or 'truth' makes for a natural fit for attempting to generalise human social behaviour. This is because the scientist can emphasise social stability through the demonstration of a natural equilibrium in social process and structure. Social scientists operating in the functionalist paradigm can attempt to measure human behaviour through controlled 'scientific' experimentation dictated by 'hard' science traditions such as using statistical analysis of data collected through structured surveys. However, there have

been many challenges to the functionalist paradigm, critiquing both its objective approach to data gathering and its traditions rooted in the sociology of regulation.

Firstly, researcher objectivity in sociological exploration is called into question because of the problem with researchers ignoring or attempting to limit the interference of their value systems on their conclusions (Canagarajah, 1996). A researcher's personal value system is perceived as "an active force which determined the way in which scientific knowledge was obtained" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Researchers attempting to use alternate forms of data gathering and sense-making have challenged the idea of objectivity because of the belief that a researcher's involvement in the process of data gathering is an integral part of how data is transmitted and received between the subject and the researcher. For example, Watson (2001) and Marshall (1995) both state that the process of the story exchange between their subjects and themselves is significantly affected by their individual moral structures as well as the researcher-subject relationship. The interpretive sociology paradigm attempts to acknowledge this subjectivity with the interpretation of data by "Dilthey's (1833-1911) solution" allowing for the "internal processes of the human mind" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). However, the interpretive sociology paradigm is still rooted in the idea that there is only one valid social reality and its assumption ignores the problems of conflict, domination, contradiction and change (Willmott, 1993). Therefore, the focus for a researcher operating within the interpretive sociological paradigm is to understand the human mind and feelings of their subjects as they attempt to adapt to a predetermined social order. It is believed that understanding the process of the human mind during social interaction will lead to understanding the predetermined human social system.

Secondly, the functionalist's position in the sociology of regulation dimension has been questioned by several researchers concerned with the idea of the lack of human free will or control in determining behaviour within society. It is assumed that the patriarchal organisational structures are acting as the foundation for organisations to limit women, ethnic minorities, homosexual and other subjugated people's ability to establish equality in the workplace. Some researchers believe that these assumptions should be altered by challenging the foundations of the functionalist's position through the critical examination of the patriarchal assumptions (Gatrell and Cooper, 2008, Connell, 2005, Hearn, 2004, Collinson and Hearn, 1996a).

The thesis's three research questions highlighted in section 1.5 are concerned with the interactions between men, masculinities, work-life balance, and entrepreneurial decision-making focus on how individuals interact with culturally dominant norms of entrepreneurial decision-making when faced with a prospect of having agency. Questioning entrepreneurial decision-making by both recognising hegemonic masculine structures embedded in entrepreneurship and an individual's agency in triggering a revolution against these structures is not restricted by Burrell and Morgan's matrix. Recognising the dynamic processes of theory development going beyond the limitations of following either the humanist or interpretive paradigms is not only possible, but is a necessary condition of theory development (Canagarajah, 1996). This is furthered by the position that social structure and human agency are interdependent, which counters the exclusivity of the paradigm matrix (Giddens, 1993, Gatrell, 2005). An example of this is illustrated by Gatrell's (2005) investigation of mothers who are both actively fighting organisational constraints on career and motherhood but at the same time being resigned to conform to social domestic expectations involving housework.

Figure 5.2.2: Epistemology and Research Style (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008)

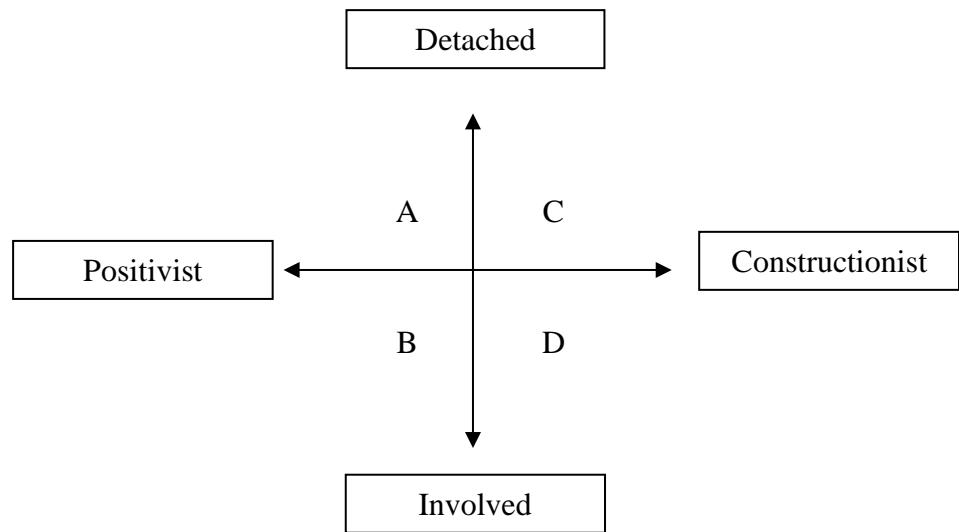


Figure 5.2.2 illustrates a research design grid devised by Easterby-Smith et al. (2008) that is similar to Burrell and Morgan's (1979) social paradigms of research analysis. This research grid also categorises research over the two dimensions of ontological perspectives and researcher involvement. The first dimension used in the research grid is the competing positivist and constructionist ontological perspectives (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). This is similar to the objective versus subjective paradigms suggested by Burrell and Morgan (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). However, the second dimension used for the research grid shifts the focus away from the purpose of the research to the researcher's involvement (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). Researcher involvement is defined as either detached or involved. This is based on how researchers interact with their research subjects. A detached researcher will attempt to limit their interactions with the subject as a method to reduce their influence on the subject, whereas an involved researcher will participate with their subjects during the study process (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). This research would be classified as using the 'Involved-Constructionist' (Quadrant D) approach because

of the heavy involvement of the researcher in the discussions about the subjects' personal experiences. My involvement as the researcher is part of the construction of the subjects' personal stories because their discussions that explore their approach to work-life decision-making have been influenced by my line of questioning and my methods for seeking clarification.

The combination of the involved-constructionist and the radical humanist creates an involved radical-constructionist approach to research. The involved radical-constructionist combined approach is the best description for this research's foundation for investigation because the constructionist and involved- radical paradigms need to access the participant's actual, not hypothetical, reasoning for their choices. Gathering data from participants who have experienced major entrepreneurial decision-making with regards to work-life balance increases the credibility of this study because the events in the decision-making processes are what the participant actually perceived as real. Burrell and Morgan's (1979) radical humanist paradigm is an excellent match for studying the effect of masculinities and masculine selves during entrepreneurial decision-making processes because it challenges fatherhood and entrepreneurial assumptions. Including hegemonic masculinities in the discussions highlights the individual's actual perceptions of what social expectations have on their interaction with their organisations. Individual perspectives on issues such as work-life conflict and balance create an opportunity for a valuable interpretation of what is considered central to their organisational decision-making processes. Allowing for different opinions regarding men's entrepreneurial decision-making practices in relation to their organisational and domestic environments creates a rich and detailed picture of the interaction between men, masculine selves and decision-making.

The subjective format associated with the radical humanist paradigm allows for the formulation of open-ended questions as a tool to gather rich, in-depth data surrounding factors considered in entrepreneurial decision-making and processes concerning work-life balance. Transferability of results is created by the data gathered for this research because it gives insights into how some men's entrepreneurial decision-making processes as fathers could be used by other men in similar situations. The creation of transferability of results allows for the opportunity to build on current men and masculinities, organisational decision-making and work-family theories (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). For example, the limited work that has been done regarding hegemonic masculinities and entrepreneurial decision-making demonstrated how men felt pressured to conform to positions of power in the decision-making process. This which led to, for example, the space shuttle Challenger disaster (Maier and Messerschmidt, 1998, Messerschmidt, 1996). The illustration of hegemonic masculine structures and the pressure to conform are unique to each participant's interpretation of their masculine selves and their interpretation of how they reacted to the assumption of expected hegemonic behaviours.

5.3 Data Gathering

Interviews were conducted using techniques similar to the 'long interview method' for gathering data to help facilitate a transactional investigation (McCracken, 1988). The long interview method can use a semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions to obtain information from the interviewee. Open-ended questions are designed to promote a full and comprehensive answer that is constructed by the interviewee instead of giving a predesigned set of answers such as those encountered in a survey format. The essential purpose of the long interview method is to probe the respondent's initial answers in order to gain additional knowledge as to

why and how specific decisions were made or why the respondent feels the way they do about a topic. For example, the opportunity to probe a number of interviewees' responses regarding their interpretation of their masculine selves, masculinities, and fatherhood arose when discussing work-life conflict/balance surrounding entrepreneurial decision-making. An important reason for doing this study is to highlight the pitfalls of researching organisational decision-making within the vacuum of the organisation. Using open-ended questions reduces the potential of restraining the interviewee's responses which increases the complexity of their answers and facilitates a rich picture of the decision-making processes of entrepreneurs attempting to build their organisations.

As an interviewer, I attempted to limit any impressions of judgement during the interview process. I did not want to cause the interviewee any feelings of being judged and attempted to monitor my nonverbal communication, such as body language. In fact, I did my best to encourage the interviewee to elaborate as much as possible without fear of being criticised. I gave special attention to watching for signs of impression management, topic avoidance, deliberate distortion, minor misunderstandings and incomprehension of questions to allow me to adapt the conversation. I am aware of the effect that these adaptations may have on the construction of my findings (Watson, 2001, Marshall, 1995). For example, some lines of questioning were avoided in order to make the interviewee more comfortable with the interview process, and this affected the direction of conversation. However, conversation direction regarding uncomfortable topics was often revisited by interviewees once they became more comfortable with discussing their work and family. Comfort levels were often obtained through the demonstration of interest regardless of opinions being expressed involving fatherhood and entrepreneurial

ideologies. I organised a simple interview guide to ensure that all points of interest of the study were covered. Probes were also added as dictated by the interview process. For example, I asked probing questions when difficulties with the progression of the interview or lags in the conversation were completed. However, most respondents required minimal probes for anything other than clarification because they seemed proud to talk about their businesses and families.

McCracken (1988) suggests that the first few questions of the interview should be simple in order to allow the interviewee time to get into the swing of the interview process. The interviews for this research started with asking the interviewee to introduce themselves to me as they would to someone they just met at a social gathering. This was followed by asking demographic questions regarding their business and family. Examples of some of the demographic questions were the number of employees their business supported, the number of dependants in the home, and whether their spouse was a business partner. The interview covered each of the topics of interest and their interrelations, but it allowed for the participants to describe their experiences in a subjective manner. The interview guide consists of a small checklist of topics that are of interest to this research while still giving the participant the freedom to express themselves in the manner that they felt was best to convey their experiences. Allowing interviewees the freedom to answer questions in their own words improves the credibility of the data gathered because the interviewee's answers are not restrained or restricted by an imposed predetermined answer set (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

5.4 Sample Selection

Interviews were conducted in the Canadian provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Ontario. The selection of subjects was based on sex,

entrepreneurial status, and domestic situation. The selected subjects were male entrepreneurs with dependents in the home. I was open to any interpretation of the term dependents, such as elderly parents or children. However, only one interviewee interpreted the word dependant to mean more than children in the household. Entrepreneurs were preferred over individuals in high level management because of the direct control that entrepreneurs have over the direction of their organisations. The process for selecting interview subjects that met the above criteria was a chain-referral sampling method known as snowball sampling (Goodman, 1961). This process involved identifying and interviewing subjects that I knew personally and that qualified for this study and then asking for referrals to people who would also qualify. The chain of referral method quickly shifted my subjects from being known personally by me to being unfamiliar to me.

The rationale for looking at entrepreneurs as the decision-makers is to highlight hegemonic masculinities embedded in entrepreneurship and their relationship to organisational decision-making practices. The secondary goal of this study is to explore the interrelationship between men's masculine selves and their interpretation of their entrepreneurial and domestic responsibilities. For example, shifting expectations of domestic responsibilities for some men in my research had an impact on how they approach organisational decision-making. Using entrepreneurs helped establish the reliability of the data involving the potential influence that men's work-family balance goals may have on their organisation (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

Twenty-two subjects were interviewed for an average of approximately two hours. McCracken (1988) stated that "for many projects, eight respondents will be perfectly sufficient" (p.17); however this research required significantly more than the suggested eight interviews to ensure the criteria of saturation was met (Denzin and

Lincoln, 2000). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) describe the saturation of data as the point when the data can no longer provide any new information to the analysis because previous data has already been previously categorised. The complexities of analysing the interactions of men, masculinities, work-life balance, and entrepreneurial decision-making created a higher saturation point. However, the goal of this research was to look beyond the development of categorisation of data and engage with individual experiences to the point of being able to establish a ‘thick description’ of a person’s experiences (Madison, 2005). Increasing the number of interviews allowed for additional data analysis which provided a greater variety of quotations. Being able to demonstrate observations by providing multiple examples helps to support and strengthen any conclusions of this research.

The following three tables provide brief descriptions of the subjects who participated in this research as part of adding a personalisation and context to the quotes used as points of analysis. The six descriptors used are name, company type, size of the organisation, spouse as a business partner, share control, and a defining quote. The names of the interviewees in the tables are pseudonyms that were picked from an online baby names website. The name representing the interviewee has no relationship to the ethnicity of the subject. Company type refers to the market that the organisations are operating in. The company types used are trade, construction, supply/retail, professional, information technology (IT), and entertainment. Trade refers to a specific trade in the construction industry. For example, this could mean that the company specialises in electrical, plumbing or any other building trade that require certification. This is different from the construction category which describes companies in the construction industry that either have multiple specialisations within the organisation or act as general contractors. The supply/retail category includes

organisations that sell good and products as either wholesalers or retailers.

Professional refers to the owner (and possibly their employees) requiring a professional certification via a minimum of a university undergraduate degree. This can include engineers, medical professionals, accountants and others. IT refers to organisations involved in the sales and or development of information technology such as computing hardware, software and other communication devices.

Entertainment refers to companies that sell products and or services that are used in the entertainment industry such as games, music and theatre. The company size descriptor is broken into small, medium and large. All the companies represented in this study have less than 100 employees and thus the small category refers to having between 1-9 workers, medium is between 10-29 employees, and large is having 30 plus employees. All the employee totals include the ownership because all of them are involved in the day to day operations of their organisations. The spouse as a business partner refers to the spouse of the interviewee being a shareholder and being involved in the operations of the organisations. Most spouses were included as shareholders for the purpose of income splitting for taxation benefits; however, they had zero involvement in the organisation's activities and were often given nonvoting shares. A 'yes' in this category was only given if the interviewee's spouse had voting shares and were involved in day to day activities. Share control refers to the voting power that the interviewee has in decisions requiring a vote. This can be represented as sole, majority, equal or minor shareholder. I did not represent this category with a percentage of shares owned because doing so risked identifying some interviewees in large shareholder groups in specific industries.

Table 5.4.1: Participative Parenting

Name	Company Type	Size	Spouse Partner	Share Control
Aiden	Trade	Small	No	Equal
Parenting Ideology:				
What I want is I want time with my family, my hobbies. I don't need to be wealthy.				
Olaf	IT	Medium	Yes	Major
Parenting Ideology:				
I was really attracted to how (my spouse) put our kids first. It drew me into that whole idea of what I could be as a man in a relationship with my children.				
Umar	IT	Small	No	Sole
Parenting Ideology:				
Provide as much as I can, be there as much as I can, try to balance the two.				
Ian	Professional	Small	Yes	Equal
Parenting Ideology:				
I've always wanted to have a close relationship with my kids and do a lot of stuff for them				
Madison	Entertainment	Small	No	Sole
Parenting Ideology:				
Every minute is determined by me is the way I look at it. If I do this interview for an hour or two then I need to make that up later with my kids so I don't miss out. I work at home three out of five days which is awesome.				
Quinn	IT	Small	No	Sole
Parenting Ideology:				
I'm a firm believer that you've got to do what you've got to do. If I have to stay home and nurse sick kids, I will stay home and nurse sick kids because that's what needs doing.				
Robert	Entertainment	Small	No	Equal
Parenting Ideology:				
My main responsibilities are setting up a work schedule that doesn't give me so much to do that I can't be a part of the family and just be a part of my kids' lives.				
Dan	Trade	Medium	Yes	Major
Parenting Ideology:				
I feel it is more important to be with the family instead of at work.				
Connor	Trade	Medium	Yes	Equal
Parenting Ideology:				
Spend as much time as you can with them, doing stuff that they are doing because when they are at school getting awards, that kind of stuff, that they notice if you're not there				
Leonard	Construction	Medium	Yes	Equal
Parenting Ideology:				
It's always quality of life for me. We maintain that 8 to 4.30 and we're not working weekends.				

Table 5.4.2: Canadian Traditionalist Parenting

Name	Company Type	Size	Spouse Partner	Share Control
Gareth	Trade	Small	Yes	Equal
Parenting Ideology:				
If you were a real man you provided for your family.				
Simon	Retail/Supply	Medium	No	Major
Parenting Ideology:				
Make sure they're safe, loved, well fed. I didn't spend much time with them because I was always at work.				
Troy	Retail/Supply	Large	No	Sole
Parenting Ideology:				
I bring the money home and put food in the fridge. We go on holidays two weeks a year and then every other week we go out for supper as a family.				
Nolan	Retail/Supply	Medium	No	Sole
Parenting Ideology:				
To take care of us now and our future when it comes to being financially stable. That's my sole purpose.				
Jayden	IT	Small	Yes	Equal
Parenting Ideology:				
My number one responsibility is providing for my family. I'm the chief bread winner and I have to make sure that we maintain our quality of life.				
Victor	Professional	Large	No	Equal
Parenting Ideology:				
My wife is the glue. In a relationship you need that cohesiveness to keep the family running and it allows me to kind of do what I do in terms of the job part of it.				
Paul	Trade	Large	No	Equal
Parenting Ideology:				
Well we never turn down work so I guess we just deal with it as it comes. Our wives know that we are pretty much unavailable during the summer.				

Table 5.4.3: Subcultural Modified Parenting

Name	Company Type	Size	Spouse Partner	Share Control
Ben	Construction	Small	No	Sole
Parenting Ideology: There are standards in the bible... There is some specific instruction for children and men and women, not all of them are politically correct. I'm fine with that.				
Hunter	Professional	Medium	No	Equal
Parenting Ideology: I think decisions based on work and family are influenced by religion I am in. There is a lot of push on family and family unity.				
Ethan	Retail/Supply	Medium	No	Equal
Parenting Ideology: We are stewards. We are there to equip them to become independent and self-sufficient. We are there to help them fail, to observe them fail, catch them if they fall, and stand them up to watch them fail again.				
Kyle	Construction	Medium	No	Sole
Parenting Ideology: I've got three kids and that is a big part of my life. We're part of a Church Organisation and within that organisation I have a responsibility to the youth.				
Frank	Professional	Small	No	Major
Parenting Ideology: Raising the child, teaching them right from wrong, and teaching what the bible says. The bible we believe has a lot of good advice. Advice for life. I mean that's part of the reason that my wife stays home.				

A defining quote is used for each subject in the table to demonstrate three categories of fathers, or parenting ideologies, which surfaced during the interview process. These categories of parenting ideologies are participative parenting, Canadian traditionalist parenting, and subcultural modified parenting. Fatherhood ideologies of the participants refer to the participants' definition of their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves concerning their perceived fatherhood and entrepreneurial responsibilities. The participative parent category refers to fathers who attempt to present themselves as desiring to establish work-life balance as a means to both contribute as a domestic labourer and build relationships with their families. For example, the participative parent usually displays a desire to be involved in everyday activities of parenthood. The Canadian traditionalist parent refers to men who describe

their job as a father as being the financial provider as a means of ensuring the health and safety of their families. For example, the Canadian traditionalist parent often refers to putting food on the table as their number one priority. In this thesis, the term traditionalist does not refer to ‘traditional’ forms of parenting such as those that may be observed in the indigenous community in Canada. Instead, the term traditionalist refers to fathers who are adhering to a more general traditional fatherhood ideology that establishes men as the financial provider of the family. Finally, the subcultural modified parent established their fatherhood ideologies based on specific rules of behaviour required by a community membership. For example, the subcultural modified parent will often refer to community expectations for taking days off work for family time as means for fathers to establish themselves as the family leader.

The first subject listed in each table will act as a spokesperson for these three categorisations of fathers throughout the analysis of men, masculinities, work-life balance, and entrepreneurial decision-making. Aiden, Ben, and Gareth were best able to articulate their differing ideologies as fathers and entrepreneurs. The remaining subjects will act as the supporting cast in demonstrating themes that surface in the analysis chapters. However, the categorisation of the men in this study does not reflect an expectation that each subject fits perfectly within their defined table. Nor does it completely define the subject’s outlook on their work and life ideologies. The categorisation process is used to highlight general themes that surfaced regarding the participants’ attempts to navigate between their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. For example, Ben displays many characteristics of a Canadian traditionalist parenting style but he often discusses his choices to divert this behaviour to his association with his religious community. This community recognition is what defines him as fitting best with the subcultural modified parenting category.

5.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis for this research was carried out using a multi-step approach. These steps follow Braun and Clarke's (2006) identified phases of thematic analysis which are: familiarising yourself with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the report. My phases of thematic analysis are laid out in Table 5.5.1 as a quick reference. However, a more detailed explanation of each phase is explained in the following paragraphs.

Table 5.5.1 Phases of thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006)

Phase	Description of the Process
Familiarising Yourself with the Data	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Made mental notes during interview• Wrote down mental notes after interview• Reviewed transcriptions for accuracy
Generating Initial Codes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Generated codes using research area's major topics• More codes were generated as subthemes were revealed during analysis• Code labelled 'other' used to capture interesting quotes that didn't 'fit' within initial codes
Themes Search	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Many quotes were coded using multiple codes which started to reveal more complex themes
Reviewing Themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Used a visual representation of my identified themes as a tool for confirming initial theme identification• Used rule, '<i>each interviewee must be represented in the thesis at least twice</i>' to ensure themes exist across entire data set• Reviewed preliminary results and final results with supervisors• Self-reflection
Defining and Naming Themes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Named themes reflected as chapter sections in each analysis chapter• Selected spokesperson for each theme regarding fatherhood ideologies
Producing Report	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Wrote thesis using themes and continually referring to my research questions as a guide• Redrafted thesis on numerous occasions to ensure clarity and as a review process with supervisors

I began to familiarise myself with the data by making mental notes during the interview process concerning the broad topics of interest. For example, one of the

broad topics of interest for this research is work-family conflict. I would make a mental note if an interviewee discussed a particularly stressful conflict between their work and family spheres because I would recognise their discussions as being part of work-family conflict. I wrote down notes after each interview was completed so that I could use the notes during my search for themes phase. The interviews were then professionally transcribed verbatim, and I reviewed the transcriptions while I listened to the corresponding audio. Checking the accuracy of the transcriptions helped me to further familiarise myself with the data as it allowed me to focus on what was being said in each interview without the distraction of running the interview.

The transcriptions were loaded onto an analytical program called Atlas-ti. Atlas-ti is a computer program designed for qualitative research that allows for quantitative adaptation; however, Atlas-ti was selected for its ability to code and organise quotes of multiple interviews by themes for a more in-depth analysis. I generated my initial codes by using topic headings in each area of research. For example, work-family conflict has three specific areas of research which are time-based, strain-based, and behaviour-based conflict. These three areas served as my initial codes for coding interviews that discussed work-family conflict. However, each of these code groups was periodically reviewed for potential themes within the broad categories. I also used a code labelled ‘other’ to capture quotes that were of interest but did not fit into the initial codes. New codes were added if subthemes were identified during my periodic review of the initial codes and the ‘other’ code.

The analysis of quotes tagged with multiple codes became the basis of a more complex theme search of interactions between the different research areas analysed in this thesis. These interactions were coded on Atlas-ti and reviewed by seeing whether other interviewees were also experiencing similar complexities and interactions

between the different research areas. For example, fatherhood ideologies concerning work-life balance were often discussed with entrepreneurial growth decisions. In particular, one theme focuses on how entrepreneurial decisions were made that would best suit both the subjects' family needs and organisational goals.

To review the themes, a spokesperson from each theme was selected from fatherhood ideologies that surfaced during the analysis process. However, I required of a minimum of two quotes per subject for analysis as a means to ensure prospective themes and trends were present beyond the core group. A visualisation technique was used after themes and quotes were identified through Atlas-ti. This approach involved organising selected quotes on a blank surface (my home office wall) to ensure the credibility and dependability of the themes recognised during the analysis stage.

Figure 5.4.1 is a photograph that shows my process of using a visual grouping technique for organising quotes to visualise my identified themes.

Figure 5.5.1 Theme Analysis



The major themes that revealed themselves in this research were categorised and named based on my observations of the theme. These names became the section headings in many of the analysis chapters in this thesis. For example, chapter seven's section titles are: creating masculine selves, power and control, hegemonic resistance, and masculinisation of the home. These titles were pulled directly from the themes named during the analysis phase.

Evidence of the social 'realities' that were investigated are the individual descriptions of experiences that the subjects describe as entrepreneurs and fathers. More specifically this research investigated how men function as business owners, fathers and decision-makers. As part of my analysis, I used Greenhaus and Beutell's (1984) three categorisations of work-family conflict for coding purposes and looked for possible shifts in discourse by the interviewee. Changes in discourse and assumptions occurred during topic shifts regarding entrepreneurial decision-making, domestic decision-making and organisational-domestic interactions. Being aware of discourse shifts and the verbal formulation of the subjects' experiences was an excellent source for revealing gender assumptions between entrepreneurial and domestic decision-making practices. Tracey and Riviera (2010) stated that using a discursive approach is a "robust way to understand the material policies and practices of work-life" (p.6) because it helps the listener to understand "the way that organisational power holders talk about family, work, and gender" (p.6). For this study, a partial discourse analysis was used as a reflection tool to analyse both the interviewer's assumptions in phrasing questions and the interviewees' assumptions in how they formulate answers. For example, shifts in discourse revealed gender assumptions between 'rational' decision-making practices associated with organisations and 'emotional' decision-making practices associated with the home.

A reflection technique was used to reduce the chance of misinterpreting the data. Reflection as a tool permitted the opportunity to confirm participant experiences during their decision-making process. Reducing the chance of misinterpreting the participant's experiences increases the credibility of the data because it helped to recognise any bias that I have. I promoted conversations with my supervisors, colleagues and subjects for their feedback on my interpretations of the data to ensure that any internal bias did not cause me to jump to conclusions. Furthermore, demonstrating to my supervisors, colleagues and subjects how I interpret the data required me to reflect on my involvement in the data gathering process and established the confirmability of any results because questioning my conclusions forced me to audit my data for potential bias or distortions (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006).

5.6 Research Exemplars

Watson's (2001) 'In Search of Management' and Marshall's (2002) 'Women Managers Moving On' are two exemplars that demonstrate similar philosophies that I adopted for examining men's decision-making practices as owners. In both studies, the researchers are heavily engaged with the participants of the study and are also directly involved in the construction of the research findings even though they use different methods for data gathering. I examine each of these studies in turn to demonstrate which aspects of each study's methods I incorporated to ensure that I engaged in my own research in the 'involved-constructionist' research domain (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008).

The first exemplar of research that uses the 'involved-constructionist' paradigm is Watson's (2001) research of manager activities in an organisation that has undergone a series of change initiatives in attempting to formulate a 'progressive'

management corporate culture. Watson (2001) uses ethnography to “add to the general body of knowledge about the human and social world and, at the same time, inform the practical understanding” (p.6) about how managers engage with contemporary organisational practices. Watson also realised that by using ethnography as his method of study he would be fully engaged with the organisation and its senior managers because he would also be a participating manager for the organisation for a year’s time. This meant that he needed to fully recognise that he was influencing those he was researching (Watson, 2001). The heightened self-awareness described as ‘reflexivity’ is an important aspect to the involved constructionist perspective because it helps to understand how a researcher’s presence in a study may influence its shaping of knowledge claims (Marshall, 1995). Watson (2001) believes that the deep involvement between a limited number of subjects in the firm also allows for “generalising about *processes* managers get involved in and about basic organisational activities” (p.7). However, my goal is not to adopt the objective, or positivist, view of generalising findings as an example of an underlying social ‘truth’ behind organisational decision-making.

The purpose of this study is to challenge hegemonic masculine organisational theories and assumptions by investigating men’s individual experiences navigating between organisational expectations involving decision-making and domestic expectations. Investigating these experiences may help understand some of the processes behind individual decision-making that may be shared by other individuals. Providing ‘thick descriptions’ or detailed accounts of individual decision-making processes demonstrates the transferability of their experiences and helps in proposing alternative organisational decision-making theories (Madison, 2005). Using the long interview method to build an involved-constructionist perspective of men’s decision-

making is similar to my second exemplar's goal of attempting to understand how and why some female managers choose to leave highly competitive 'masculinised' organisations (Marshall, 1995).

The long interview method's intention was to create an environment where the subjects of this study could share their experiences with me through the process of storytelling. The process of engaging in a conversation during the interview process is an example of how to allow people to engage with and construct perceptions of their work-life experiences. Watson (2001) describes the process of engaging in conversation with other people as part of the process to create a dialogue between the individual and their culture or social beliefs. This perspective highlights the function that the interviewer has in the construction of an individual's 'reality' during the storytelling process because their engagement with the interviewer process creates an environment in which the interviewee has to "negotiate reality with others through a cultural medium of discourse" (p.25) (Watson, 2001).

Marshall's (1995) study of women managers choosing to leave male-dominated organisational cultures in search of a different lifestyle or balanced life is an excellent example of how a researcher can collect the personal stories of her subjects while being engaged with the construction of knowledge. Furthermore, Marshall uses reflexivity to recognise that her assumptions about possible reasons for women leaving their management positions may not only limit how she engages her subjects, but may also limit who she selected in the study (Mason, 2002). This recognition of assumptions allowed her to let the inquiry process inform her about the topic which she believes increased her knowledge claims. For example, Marshall (1995) was able to expand her criteria for sampling from leaving the workplace to spend time at home to leaving work because they felt they had to regardless of reason.

This shift in criteria allows me to let the inquiry process inform me about the topic instead of controlling the process of discovery (Mason, 2002).

The process of reflexivity in the analysis process is a large part of the construction of knowledge for Marshall's studies. Unlike Watson's account of his studies, Marshall (1995) elaborates her use of self-reflection during the sample selection, interview and analysis processes. For example, Marshall (1995) states that she continued to reflect on her assumptions throughout the research process by initiating conversation with both practitioners and academics in order to encourage both positive and negative feedback. Marshall's (1995) process of feedback elicitation prompted the realisation that she "could appreciate theory and action in gender-related areas as ever-evolving" which allowed her to explore and construct her findings as "a kaleidoscope of potential interpretations". I also believe that this high degree of self-awareness through reflexivity is essential in negotiating the complexities of interaction between men and masculinities, organisational decision-making and work-family conflict.

Using conversation with my colleagues and supervisors as a method of self-reflection has already proven fruitful in organising and framing the way in which I unknowingly viewed men's involvement in the domestic sphere. For example, my assumption that men would only enter the domestic sphere through the outside pressures of shifting masculine expectations based around the changing discourse of fatherhood was challenged by one of my supervisors armed with numerous references to support an alternative viewpoint. This opposing view made me realise that there are men who may want to be more involved in the child rearing process out of the *desire* to be involved rather than the pressure to be involved. This recognition of my assumption about the reasoning behind men's choice to become an involved parent

shifted how I engaged with the interview process (Mason, 2002). I believe that allowing subjects to construct their own stories regarding masculinity, organisational decision-making and work-family conflict without me seeding ideas about ‘masculine pressure’ resulted in a much more full representation of individual ‘realities’ in their organisational decision-making processes.

5.7 Interview Guide

The interview guide in Appendix 2 is a representation of the three areas of interest used in investigating my research question. These three areas of interest are the organisational decision-making, work-family conflict, and the men and masculinities theories discussed in the previous three chapters. However, the interview guide has two other sections: *preliminary questions* and the *interconnection of topic*. The preliminary questions section is designed to establish a point of reference for the interview to start. These two questions allowed the interviewee to create their own story of who they are as a person and established a starting point for proceeding with the more difficult questions regarding my research topic. For example, I started my questioning around their responsibilities as a father when an interviewee established himself as a family man and wanted to talk further about his family life. Being flexible about the order in which each of these topics were discussed was essential in giving the interviewee the freedom to express their experiences and viewpoints about each topic without feeling railroaded into sensitive areas of discussion that may have caused feeling of mistrust or judgement. The interconnections of topic section contains further questions about the three research areas. Their purpose was to test the interconnection between organisational decision-making, masculinities and work-family conflict. Establishing an interconnection between these three topics helped in the construction of a deeper understanding of the complexities behind organisational

decision-making practises. Some of these complexities derived from the individual's definition of what it means to be a man and father because their definitions of fatherhood influenced their decision-making practices in the business. Other complexities revolved around the idea of shifting masculine definitions regarding some interviewees' domestic spheres during stories of work family conflict.

5.8 Ethical Considerations

Part of reflecting on the ethical considerations of this study involves evaluating the purpose of the research. As stated in the beginning of this chapter, the purpose of this research is to investigate how men function as entrepreneurs, decision-makers and fathers. The aim is to challenge hegemonic masculine organisational theories and assumptions by investigating men's individual experiences of navigating between organisational and domestic decision-making expectations. The intent behind challenging these theories is to create an opportunity for discussion, as well as building on the current academic research focused on management, men, masculinities and organisational behaviour. The ethical considerations for generating these discussions revolve around the potential negative impact that this study's results may have on the academic, political and social environments (Madison, 2005). Brabeck and Brabeck (2009) stated that feminist researchers are required to call for "the eradication of the misrepresentation, distortion and oppression resulting from a historically male interpretation of men's experiences" (p.40). However, I also believe that social research should be used to attempt to relieve subjugated groups of people from oppressive social assumptions. Naming men as men as one of two genders in this thesis creates an opportunity to critically examine hegemonic assumptions made during social interactions which opens the door for challenging oppressive social assumptions.

Some social ethical considerations that I addressed in carrying out interactive qualitative research involved maintaining the welfare of both the researcher and the subjects. This means that considered the potential for physical and mental negative impacts that this research may have had on all parties involved. On a physical level, I believe the potential for negative consequences is minimal because I am not asking my subjects to be involved in any form of strenuous exercise or potentially dangerous physical labour. All local area interviews were conducted at an office in the library at the University of Lethbridge to ensure a peaceful setting for the interviewees to contemplate their answers with minimal distractions. I conducted interviews located outside of the Lethbridge area in similar public facilities such as public or university libraries to allow for similar opportunities to be away from distractions. However, in some instances, it was not possible to conduct a face-to-face meeting. In these instances, I used Skype video conferencing to mimic a face-to-face interview with the interviewees so that I was still able to notice body language. The use of these public areas and Skype also gave assurances of physical safety for both my subjects and myself because of the presence of security personnel. I did not see any potential for physical threats or danger in interviewing this subject group, however all safety matters needed to be considered. I also believe that there was minimal potential for mental or psychological harm due to the interview process.

The semi-structured interview format is designed to allow the interviewee to reflect on past and present organisational decisions in order to help construct any processes that they utilise when faced with making business decisions. Negative harm that could result from participating in these interviews may include feelings of regret, guilt or anger about past or present situations involving work and family decisions. However, I believe that the non-judgemental environment that I provided did not

facilitate any long-term negative feelings associated with their story telling. The potential for psychological harm may go beyond the actual interview. For example, I believe that the greatest potential for mental harm for my subjects is during the process of building a working relationship between my subjects and me. This is because I feel that some subjects may have been uncertain as to the implications of their involvement in the study, which may have caused undue stress if communication between us is unclear. However, the relationship that I attempted to build with my subjects was based on trust and respect. I attempted to create a safe environment for my subjects and communicated their rights with regards to control over the data they provided. Developing and maintaining communication lines in the research process between my subjects and me reduced the potential for emotional distresses because they have a clear picture of how they fit in the research process. Furthermore, communicating to the subjects their rights with regards to control over their own data reduced any insecurity due to mistrust of the research process. Control over their own data allows the subjects to withdraw from the study at any time without fear of having their information stored or used in this or future studies. I realise that I asked my subjects to divulge potentially sensitive information about themselves and their organisations that has the possibility of being used in public domains such as academic journals. To reduce the potential of negative impacts for my subjects, I assured their anonymity and confidentiality while reporting my findings. I also ensured my subjects that security measures have been taken to protect my data (Ntseane, 2009). All information for this study is stored on password-protected computer systems to ensure anonymity and confidentiality of data. I removed all identifying characteristics of individuals and organisations while reporting my findings. I also considered the possible social and political implications that the

publication of factual data concerning the study population may have on the population (Madison, 2005).

I believe the potential social and political impacts of this study are limited to an academic level. For example, this study may facilitate further academic studies in management processes. These studies could include and embrace mediating factors, such as family and masculinities, instead of attempting to create artificial boundaries in order to establish simplistic models for managerial use. One of my goals as a researcher is to generate discussions that have researchers reflect on the implications of limiting boundaries in their research for the sake of simplicity. My goal for generating discussion is fuelled by my belief that there is an opportunity for growth, with no risk, in generating a reflective process that may change how we as academics approach research. On the other hand, there is a potential that industry managers may use this research as an example to develop further awareness of how organisations interact, or are part of the total social fabric. For example, industry may consider altering work-family policies to reduce women's assumed responsibility in the home.

Looking beyond academia and reflecting on the potential impacts that this study may have on society is a much more difficult task. This is because my own beliefs about how social systems currently work and how they should be changed are unlikely to be generalised to the population. However, the worst scenario possible for potential negative effects is that organisations may want to use this study to create policies that limit the ability for managers to make decisions that consider factors outside of the vacuum of generalised organisational goals. This would be instead of encouraging policy development that accepts that managers and workers have obligations outside of work. An attempt to limit a manager's ability to consider all factors during organisation decision-making may create a further divide between the

work and family social spheres. The creation of a further divide between work and family may facilitate further negative impacts on the potential for women's growth and fair treatment as managers and workers in organisations. However, the decision to limit my sample to men reflects one of the goals of this study, which is to investigate the relationship between work-family conflict and men's construction of hegemonic behaviour expectations. By investigating this relationship, I am demonstrating how hegemonic behaviour expectations can also distract male managers from using rationalised organisational decision-making tools. By demonstrating the actual decision-making processes of male managers, I can facilitate a number of discussions around the implications of relying on current organisational decision-making models for the training of managers. At the same time, I want to create a platform for furthering the discussion around the inappropriateness of using assumed gender expectations involving work and family. I intend to reduce the assumption that work-family conflict\balance are strictly a women's issue so that they can no longer be used as grounds for the subjugation of women in management. One way of demonstrating that work-family conflict is not just a women's issue is by demonstrating the pressures and desires that men face concerning work-family balance.

Chapter 6: Work-life: A balanced perspective

6.1 Introduction: Perspective of analysis

This thesis's critical analysis of work-life conflict is framed within Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) three sources of conflict structure. The identification of time-based, strain-based, and behaviour-based conflict themes does not reflect a willingness to continue gendered assumptions of neutrality that have been identified as having a negative effect on both work-life research and business policy development (Özbilgin et al., 2011, Lewis et al., 2007, Swanberg, 2004). However, it does reflect the comfort that both the interviewee and interviewees had with framing interactions between work and non-work social spheres. Smart and Neale (1999) state that sociological perspectives are revealing complex and variable social expectations regarding gender and work; moreover, the comfort with discussing work-life interactions as a negative relationship is a testament to the power of assumed social hegemonic structures.

Hegemonic gendered assumptions have been encouraging work-life conflict for women (Hammer et al., 2011, Thompson et al., 1999) as women are relegated into the home as the organisers of childcare (Byron, 2005). Time-based conflict studies regarding the disruption of traditional family ideologies are being challenged by the emergence of the 'new man' concept. The new man concept is a recognition that men are being required to fill domestic labour shortages created by women leaving the home which leads to a focus on men's construction of domestic masculine selves (Singleton and Maher, 2004). Focusing on men by naming men as men within the work-life conflict structure allows for the continued challenge of a single generalisable masculine dominance because men are being asked to reflect on their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves as individuals in their work-life interaction stories (Collinson and Hearn, 1994).

Hochschild (1997) stated that gendered assumptions and hegemonic structures are limiting change in perspective of work-life research. Hochschild (1997) proposes a need to shift masculine assumptions regarding fatherhood ideologies that reflect perceived changes. Canada has seen a gradual shift in perceptions regarding parental responsibilities for men and women within the last 20 years (Findlay and Kohen, 2012). Pedulla and Thébaud (2015) discovered that both young men and women prefer egalitarian structures around work-life balance; however women are still more likely to choose that option if it is available. Shift in perceptions towards parental responsibilities in Canada started to take form with the introduction of parental leave legislation in 1990 as a move towards promoting gender equality in the workforce (Marshall, 2008). Researchers are recognising that these shifts in gendered perspectives regarding paid and unpaid labour are leading to a need for the inclusion of men in work-life interactions analysis (Wierda-Boer et al., 2009, McElwain et al., 2005, Burke, 1998). In this chapter, Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) three sources of conflict are highlighted through the perspective of men who are raising children during a time of cultural change with regards to parenting and parenthood. The four sections of this chapter identify the gendered analysis of the three sources of work-life conflict plus the analysis of work-family balance.

This chapter critically evaluates men's stories concerning their perceptions of the three sources of work-family conflict introduced by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985). The analysis of work and family interactions moves to a work-life balance perspective by highlighting gendered assumptions concerning men and participative parenting. The analysis of actual work-life balance decisions of men demonstrates shifts in men's *distinction* practices because of some men's perceptions of shifts in fatherhood ideologies. The first section of this chapter investigates men's perceptions of time-

based conflict with regards to their perspectives of fatherhood responsibilities, work responsibilities, masculine selves, and perceived social expectations. The second section of this chapter identifies and investigates how men perceive and experience strain-based conflict between the work and domestic sphere. The third section critically analyses how men experience and navigate through problems of behaviour-based conflict. Friedman (2015) recognised an asymmetrical shift of gendered expectations for women as they have moved into the traditionally masculine domains of work. Women are being expected to shift their demeanours to fit more masculine identities while men are simultaneously resisting the domestic domain. The analysis of Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) three sources of conflict and work-life balance using a sociological perspective offers an extension of critically analysing domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves, men's navigation of hegemonic discourses and practices, and the framework in which they represent their desires as participative or traditional fathers. Finally, this chapter concludes by demonstrating that observations highlighted by naming men as men in a work-life balance analysis reveals the continued persistence of gendered assumptions in both work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making research.

6.2 Time-based conflict

Collinson and Collinson (1997) highlights Hearn's (2004) concept of the *distinction* aspect by demonstrating how men determined their ranking at work by competing over who was most committed to their jobs through demonstrations of stamina. Stamina was measured by men by working long hours in order to be seen as committed to the workplace. It was noted that managers used a number of impression management techniques such as ensuring others knew they worked from home to increase their *distinction* potential (Collinson and Collinson, 1997). The perception of

men's increased involvement in the home in Canada reflects shifts in fatherhood ideologies and the construction of domestic masculine selves. This shift in domestic masculinities is reflected in work-life balance research through the acknowledgement that men are also facing time-based conflict as a result of shifts in gendered perspectives (Radcliffe and Cassell, 2014, Burke, 1998).

The following six quotes in this chapter section demonstrate how some men perceive and process time-based conflict. Time-based conflict is defined in two parts. The first part of the definition describes how "time pressure associated with membership in one role may make it physically impossible to comply with expectations arising from another role" (p.78). The second part of time-based conflict is the "preoccupation with one role even when one is physically attempting to meet the demands of another role" (p.78) (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). In this study, 'role' is defined as the perceived responsibilities of the positions as parents and business owners. This definition means that a person may experience time-based conflict as a result of having overlapping time schedules between work duties and other responsibilities or if they are preoccupied with work or life responsibilities while attempting to do the other activity. These perceptions may vary from feeling a high degree of time-based conflict to not recognising any conflict at all.

This chapter establishes the format that is used throughout the analysis chapters. The three main characters, Aiden, Ben, and Gareth were recognised in chapter five as being the most articulate at describing their different fatherhood ideologies. Thus, they are used in the first three quotes. Three additional quotes selected from the remaining interviewees are used to support themes highlighted by Aiden, Ben, and Gareth. Aiden has expressed a desire to be a participative parent by actively rejecting the entrepreneurship stereotype as being work focused. Ben has

established his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves as being a subcultural modified parent in accordance with social expectations of his religious community. Gareth established himself as a Canadian traditionalist parent with a focus on his duty to provide financially for his family.

“There were months where I worked 260 or 300 hours and it came very close to costing me my marriage. To the point where I was being shown the door... I allowed my partner to really drive how much we did and what we did... My family is important to me. It is more important to me than what I do for a living” *Aiden*

“Being a father and a husband is something I struggle at. I have a really hard time leaving work at work. It is really nice to leave town for holidays because if I spend a week in town where my business is I end up stopping in at job sites and taking phone calls and it’s not much of a holiday.” *Ben*

“I think you want to be home as much as possible. You want to make as much money as you can as quick as possible. So that’s the deciding factor. Whoever is going to pay you more, that’s where you go. Like this job for me. Two weeks on and one off I found that works out the best for me. I am at home long enough. I still get to do stuff with the kids and I’m still making my money, still have my business, I’m still growing that way.” *Gareth*

The three quotes above demonstrate how Aiden, Ben and Gareth perceive time-based conflict in their lives and how they strategize to maintain an acceptable balance between their work and family domains. Aiden chose to move into entrepreneurship so he could mould his working schedule around his domestic schedule. Moving towards entrepreneurship as a means to achieve work-life balance has been recognised as a common reason for women to leave the workforce and pursue self-employment (Eddleston and Powell, 2012, Marshall, 1995). Aiden's experience with time-based conflict is a result of being pressured to cope with the high volume of prospective clients and work demands. Pressure from business clientele contributed to Aiden attempting to keep up with work demands by scheduling ten-hour work days with zero days off in a month. The increase in time-based conflict as a result of attempting to keep up with work demands has been demonstrated before in work-life balance research (König and Cesinger, 2015, Duncan and Pettigrew, 2012). It has been observed that men's experiences with time-based conflict situations tend to increase when they have control over their own working hours. This is often attributed to men being less prepared than women to balance work and family because of the assumption that women must maintain domestic responsibilities if they choose to enter the workforce (DeMartino and Barbato, 2003, Parasuraman et al., 1996). This means that researchers believe that women have had more practice at balancing work-life obligations as a result of performing the hegemonic assumption that women and men will view work-life balance from different perspectives. For example, women are often expected to maintain domestic responsibilities when entering the work-force which creates the perspective of fitting work around domestic demands. The assumption is that women will maintain a domestic central perspective and thus will resort to limiting work demands as a solution to reducing work-life conflict. On the

other hand, it is believed that men such as Aiden have been indoctrinated that masculinities are bound to labour market participation (McDowell, 2005, Collinson and Collinson, 2004) which requires searching for work-life balance from a work central perspective. Aiden's declaration of establishing himself as having a domestic centric perspective creates a potential conflict with his established domestic masculine selves and embedded entrepreneurial masculinities.

Aiden's concern with creating and maintaining his domestic masculine selves as a participative father is the focal point for his sensitivity towards time-based conflict. His experience with time-based conflict was a major factor in his decision to correct his work schedule. Aiden's spouse acted as the motivation for his decision to reduce his working hours because prolonged time-based conflict manifested into relationship problems resulting in strain-based conflict. Aiden reduced his work load by refusing to work more than forty hours a week, which is the Canadian cut-off before overtime pay is legally required. Aiden accomplished his reduction in hours by openly acknowledging his shift to a domestic centric perspective when facing work requests from clients. His solution of being more involved with scheduling and incorporating the power of the word 'no' into his negotiations with insistent clients reflects his resistance to being work focused.

Aiden's example demonstrates that his commitment to being an involved parent contributed to an increased perception of time-based conflict. His dissatisfaction with his work schedule is based on the conflict between his domestic masculine selves and his loss of control of his company's work schedule. Aiden's spouse played a huge role in reminding him of his commitment to family through the manifestation of strain-based through her lack of support. Aiden's spouse makes it clear that she believes that Aiden should not follow traditional hegemonic ideologies

of men being work centric. She demonstrated her displeasure in his inability to reduce work demands by applying a compelling argument revolving around the negative repercussions of a prolonged absence from his family. This created an opportunity for Aiden to realign his perspective back to a domestic centric perspective by choosing to focus on work-life balance.

Ben's approach to work-life balance is to trade time as a currency between himself and his spouse. This approach demonstrates that he is more comfortable with approaching work-life balance from a work centric position, but he is aware of his community's expectations regarding fatherhood responsibilities. Ben discusses his experience with time-based conflict through his perceived inability to "leave work at work". He admits that this is a problem for him because his preoccupation with work is interfering with his perceived responsibilities as a father and husband. However, Ben does not attempt to shift to a domestic centric perspective and feels that he can make up for this preoccupation of work through a complete disconnection during annually scheduled holidays.

Ben's strategy for a complete disconnect from work involves a physical separation from work that is far enough away as to not tempt him into re-entering into the work sphere. The time-based conflict solution of having make-up family time through holidays is a result of an assumption that his spouse will support his decision to fill in for his missed time commitment in the home. This assumption is based on his subcultural modified parenting ideology which is demonstrated in his defining quote in chapter five. Ben states that, "there is some specific instruction for children and men and women" in the bible which includes his obligation to be work centric while his spouse cares for the children. He feels that he is able to offer his spouse a holiday from her job as the primary caregiver by providing designated time slots during the

holidays to take over as the primary parent. Ben's experience with time-based conflict creates doubt in his abilities as a father and husband which triggers this solution. As a result, he can measure his commitment to work-life balance conflict by using leisure as a currency to pay off any instances of time-based conflict.

Gareth's experience with time-based conflict is limited to a philosophical belief that a father should be there for his family as much as possible. However, his work centric position regarding fatherhood is to provide monetary support to his family through his business's success. This Canadian traditionalist parent model is supported by his spouse, and his expectations in the domestic sphere revolve around "doing stuff" such as labour activities to maintain the home and play activities with his children. These activities include fishing, hunting, and purchasing sports equipment for his children's organised sports. Gareth has a philosophical view of "you want to be home as much as possible"; however, his perceived experience with work-life conflict is limited because he has negotiated a limited shared parenting responsibility with his spouse through the adoption of a traditional family model that divides paid and unpaid labour along gendered sex roles (Gatrell et al., 2013, Featherstone, 2009). Gareth feels that his ability to provide a high level of income for his family allows him to make up for his extended periods away from home because he is able to pay for family activities not available to families in lower income brackets.

Gareth's willingness to sacrifice family time to maintain a work-life balance that he can live with is a result of his assumptions regarding men's participation in the labour market. The embodied nature of fatherhood that is embedded in the assumption that men are judged on their ability to monetarily provide for their family (McDowell, 2005, Collinson and Collinson, 2004). The *distinction* process of the hegemony of

men is then linked to the ideology of the provider which allows men to seek high power positions, such as a business ownership as a method to create an opportunity for higher wages (Hearn, 2004). Gareth is able to justify the inconsistency of his belief that he has to be with his family “as much as possible” and his decision to work long hours by demonstrating he was able to accomplish a high level of *distinction* as a provider through his ability to build a successful and profitable business.

The next three quotes further demonstrate how some men perceive time-based conflict in their lives. These men examine time-based conflict by discussing the strategies they developed to maintain a work-life balance that is acceptable to them. The first quote is from Robert who is in his early thirties and is the sole owner of a small entertainment company. Robert is identified as a participative parent because of his statement that his main responsibility is to maintain a work schedule that encourages him to be a part of the family and his children’s lives. The second quote is by Victor who is in his early forties and is an equal partner in a large professional company. Victor is identified as a Canadian traditionalist parent because of his statement that his wife is the glue in his relationship because she keeps the family running and allows him to focus on work. The third quote is from Troy who established himself as a Canadian traditionalist father who is in his sixties and is the sole owner of a large retail/supply company.

“The inherent conflict is between the timing of the scheduling work far in the future versus home which is much more in the now. And that’s the thing that I have always dealt with the most that’s been the hardest thing to figure out is how to arrange scheduling for something which you’re booking so far in advance that it almost always seems that it will

be fine. You look down a year and a half in advance and you barely pay attention. Then you get there and you're like, 'oh my gosh what have I done!' and you're kind of committed to it. I think that's so far the hardest thing that I've had to deal with in my career and family life is trying to reconcile that." *Robert*

"I try to be involved when I can... I went to my daughter's basketball game and I worked here till 8:30pm and I went to her basketball game right after sort of thing. So I kind of caught most of that... Evenings and/or weekends that's probably when I get more of my, I guess, quality time with family." *Victor*

"Oh of course, any time you have a business with a family there's always some arguments and things like that. My wife said, 'oh my husband works too many hours in the business and has no time for the family.' You know it's always, always a problem. Mostly she just complains to me and I said, 'well we're trying to establish the business you know and we're looking in the future.' What we're doing right now is trying to make sure that business is good and we have to put time in that" *Troy*

In the first quote, Robert discusses his time-based conflict as a scheduling problem that is rooted in the fundamental differences between his home and business timetabling formats. The inability to predict family needs one to two years in the future combined with the non-urgent feel of scheduling work so far in advance creates moments of time-based conflict as his family needs shift in a way he has not

predicted. Robert establishes a similar strategy as Aiden with regards to negotiating contracts with potential clients. Robert establishes a domestic centric perspective by choosing to focus on attempting not to overbook clients based on his predictions of his family's future time requirements.

The difficulties in coordinating time demands between work and family that Robert experiences highlights perceived incompatibility between scheduling ideologies of clients and family. His clientele in the entertainment industry are on strict scheduling parameters because of events that are planned years in advance. Robert finds the rigidity of the entertainment industry difficult to mix with the fluidity of family time requirements. For example, unpredictable life events like sickness or school award ceremonies cannot be scheduled two years in advance. This is similar to women's experiences that women have when attempting to manage a career while also being the assumed parent that will sacrifice their work schedule for family.

Victor's comment in the second quote demonstrates that he perceives time-based conflict as an inconvenience. However, he does attempt to downplay the impact on his family by stating that he attends most of his children's functions and weekends are designated as family quality time. This means that Victor interprets time-based conflict as when work interferes during the designated family time. Family events outside of the designated 'family quality time' schedule are not necessarily subject to being evaluated by Victor as time-based conflict. However, he does recognise the importance of attempting to establish relationships with his family beyond the traditional provider model. Victor's established Canadian traditionalist parent model of fatherhood and the work-family relationship demonstrates that he views attempts to establish quality time as an added bonus for his children. He demonstrates this by stating that he attempts to attend some family events and that he reserves non work

days for family despite his perceived fatherhood expectations of being a financial provider. Like Gareth, Victor relies on his wife to take on the nurturing role in the domestic sphere so that he can focus on building his *distinction* through the success of his business and his ability to provide.

In the third quote, Troy states that his spouse recognises that there is time-based conflict between his work and life schedule. Troy recognises his spouse's unwillingness to support his Canadian traditionalist parenting model, but he does not attempt to adjust his behaviour because of his desire to maintain his *distinction* as a provider. Like Gareth, Troy attempts to maintain his Canadian traditionalist parent model by labelling his spouse's complaints as being irrational and incompatible with building and maintaining a business.

Victor and Troy demonstrate that time-based conflict is diminished for men who establish Canadian traditionalist parenting models because of assumed hegemonic structures that relegate women into the home. However, they both demonstrate that imbalances between work and family can begin to diminish their spouses' support of their hegemonic position as men which in turn forces them to reevaluate their actions within their established parenting models. In both cases, Victor and Troy choose to resist change to the domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves by arguing that their spouses' continued support of their careers as entrepreneurs is what makes it possible for their families to survive financially.

6.3 Strain-based conflict

Strain-based conflict is defined as a situation in which “the strain created by one (role) makes it difficult to comply with the demands of the other” (p.80) (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). Strain-based conflict is often linked to a decrease in emotional health due to stress (Gatrell and Cooper, 2008, Burke and Greenglass,

2001). For example, BBC News reports that a third of men in the UK are becoming increasingly stressed and feel burned out because of the hardship of attempting to balance work and family (Espinier, 2017). The health risks associated with long-term time-based conflict manifesting into strain-based conflict through prolonged stress prompted research into stress reduction for employees in the workplace. Boyar et al.'s (2003) analysis of work-family policies in business concluded that family friendly policies had a significant role in reducing stress in workers and resulted in improved productivity (Warren and Johnson, 1995). However, the adoption of family friendly policies by business has been relatively slow despite these academic results (Williams et al., 2016, Gatrell et al., 2013, Kossek et al., 2011). The power positions that the men in this research hold as entrepreneurs give them control over their work domain. Their perception of strain-based conflict gives some insight into how men navigate between their work and life domains when faced with the prospect of added stress.

The following six quotes demonstrate how some men perceive and cope with strain-based conflict. Aiden, Ben, and Gareth discuss their experience with strain-based conflict below. As a reminder, strain-based conflict is directional. Strain-based conflict can be experienced when work stressors affect the interviewees' ability to perform their perceived duties as parents, but it can also be experienced when domestic stressors interfere with work.

“I would blow up because somebody had started the dryer. It was always over stupid stuff. It really was. I mean anything. Or it was the stresses of the day slowly piling up and something at home would be the match.”

Aidan

“My company is not something that is really movable. Our reputation is here in town. Our employees are here in town. If I moved, my employees aren’t going to come with and my reputation would stay here. So there is no point in moving... My wife would prefer to live where she grew up... She wants me to be happy. She knows if I’m miserable. There is a saying ‘if mama ain’t happy nobody’s happy’. But in our house it’s ‘if daddy ain’t happy nobody’s happy’ or at least mama ain’t happy.” *Ben*

“At that time I had been working for a company. I hated it. I absolutely hated it. I was home on weekends but I was not happy. I was always upset. I was just miserable to live with. So my wife said, ‘you know, why don’t you try running your own operation for two weeks, just give it a try’. The stress level came from way up here to way down. I’m not near as upset as I used to be. When you’re working a dead end job, not making any money and you just barely scratch by, to all of a sudden having this extra money to throw around and buy these extra things, it’s so nice.” *Gareth*

Aiden’s quote is a classic example of strain-based conflict. In this case, his inability to control his temper at home is attributed to the build-up of stress from long working hours. Aiden’s time-based conflict overflows into strain-based conflict because he is stressed by long working hours (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). Long working hours interfered with his ability to accomplish his work-life balance goal that he set when he opened his own business. Both time-based and strain-based conflicts are a result of a conflict between his interpretations of his domestic masculine selves

as compared to the realities of his decision to accommodate client demands. Aiden's stress is a direct result of his work-life balance being out of alignment with his domestic masculine selves as a participative father. The combination of time and strain-based conflict acts as a trigger for Aiden to reevaluate his actions as an entrepreneur and parent in order to establish a balance between his established domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves.

Ben's discussion of his wife's desire to move to another town in order to be closer to her family is not a clear example of strain-based conflict; however, it does demonstrate the power of using stress as a negotiation tool. Ben states that this would be extremely detrimental to his business because he would essentially have to start over. The prospect of having to start over triggers Ben to use strain-based conflict as a negotiation tool on his wife in an attempt to keep their family in their current location. The threat of "if daddy ain't happy nobody's happy" is used to create a power position in the domestic sphere which allows Ben to maintain his current work-life balance situation. Ben's position may unknowingly create more strain-based conflict for him because of his previous admission of his internal struggling to be a 'good father and a husband'.

Ben's use of strain-based conflict as a tool for negotiating a work-life balance that suits his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves is interesting. Ben's threat of making domestic life miserable demonstrates the interrelationship between the hegemony of men and work-life balance. Ben's assumption of his spouse's support to maintain work-life balance for him through her commitment to the home establishes how hegemonic resistance continues to embed itself into both the work and domestic spheres. In this case, work to home strain-based conflict is used to establish subcultural modified parental domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves that fit

with Ben's pursuit for *distinction*. Ben is able to gain *distinction* through work as a successful entrepreneur and he is able to establish *distinction* in his community by providing them with jobs.

Gareth's quote regarding strain-based conflict is similar to Ben in that strain, or stress, is being used as a tool for maintaining his distinction opportunities as a business owner. Gareth's story about being miserable as an employee establishes that his desire to be in a power position in the work sphere creates strain-based conflict between work and family when he was not able to be work centric. His story demonstrates how his spouse recognised this source of the conflict and encouraged him to be an entrepreneur in order to alleviate strain in the home. Gareth and Ben's negotiation tactics with their spouses demonstrates an extension of Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of authoritarianism which is used for negotiating power in business management. However, Ben and Gareth transfer the practice of attempting to gain unquestioning obedience from their spouses by using strain and stress as a tool for maintaining traditional masculine fatherhood ideologies during work-life balance negotiations.

Gareth's story is also similar to Aiden's because it demonstrates how the misalignment of men's domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves with inconsistent behaviour creates strain-based conflict. Gareth established that his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves revolved around his ability to control and increase his economic position as a provider. However, Gareth was unable to control his working hours and income as an employee which manifested into using strain-based conflict as a tool for gaining his spouse's support. Aiden's long working hours were contrary to his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves because he established himself as a participative parent. Aiden re-established family friendly

working hours as a means to gain the support of his spouse in challenging traditional hegemonic assumptions regarding men's focus work for *distinction*.

The next three quotes further demonstrate how men perceive strain-based conflict between the domestic and work domains. The first quote is from Madison who in his late thirties and is the sole owner of a small entertainment company. Madison is identified as a participative parent because of his statement that establishing work-life balance through time management is the focal point of all of his decisions. The second quote is from Frank who establishes himself as a subcultural modified parent. Frank is a professional in his mid-forties who is a major shareholder of a small consulting firm. The third quote is from Paul who is in his early forties and is an equal partner in a large trades company. Paul is identified as a Canadian traditionalist parent because of his statement that he will never turn down work and that the family will have to adjust.

"I think I'm less intense at home most of the time. I don't know if intense is even the right word. I mean there's a level of focus I think that I feel I need to have when I'm at work that I don't have as much when I'm at home because my job is pretty cerebral. I'm in that, trying to make those connections between the business and the game of revenue and whatever the hell I'm working on. When I'm at home it's just way more comfortable so it's less. I'm pretty much the same but I just let more things go or it's just way more casual." *Madison*

"Part of the problem that I have is it's hard to leave the business at night. When I go home I'm always thinking about stuff. It's just the way I am.

My wife brings a totally different perspective on things and she is less attached to it. She sees probably things more objectively than I do, although she...I think we both recognize that she worries too much about me working too many hours. She's trying to always convince me to simplify my life instead of making it more complicated. Starting new businesses definitely complicates things.” *Frank*

“Our wives would say, ‘I’m tired of talking about work or can we talk about something else?’ or they’ll change the subject or something like that. Yeah so we, that’s where we kind of are now.” *Joe*: So who came up with the rule don’t talk shop at home? *Answer*: “They did, the girls did because it’ll consume you like it consumed the whole conversation.”

Paul

In the first quote, Madison establishes that he does not experience strain-based conflict most of the time because he is able to shift between work and family by adjusting his behaviour expectations. Madison uses his family time as a signal to recharge and relax from a day’s work which allows him to engage with his family in a less intense manner. Madison demonstrates the use of compartmentalisation as his tool for avoiding strain-based conflict. Madison’s use of compartmentalisation as a tool to achieve work-life balance is another example of using existing hegemonic structures as a negotiation platform for achieving their goals. Men’s association with compartmentalisation is well documented as a method for disassociating men’s work and life identities from each other in order to manage cognitive dissonance or behaviour-based conflict (Leary and Tangney, 2012). However, in the case of strain-

based conflict, Madison uses compartmentalisation as an attempt to disassociate himself from work by shifting his cerebral mind-set to being more casual.

Like Aiden, Frank's quote demonstrates how time-based conflict can transfer into strain-based conflict. In this case, Frank acknowledges that he struggles with leaving work at work and that this has created strain in the home because his spouse is actively demonstrating her concern for his wellbeing. Frank's realisation that he is creating stress for his spouse is transferring to him as a source for increasing his own stress. Frank attempts to downplay his experience with strain-based conflict by stating that she "worries too much". This downplay of strain-based conflict allows Frank to continue his focus on work which enables him to continue to align his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves with his religious community's perceptions of fatherhood responsibilities. Frank shifts the duty for alleviating stress-based conflict to his spouse by suggesting that she not worry so much.

The dismissal of strain-based conflict as being a minor irritant for his spouse further demonstrates the hegemony of men's interactions with the work-life conflict research as being a woman's issue. Frank's belief that his spouse is required to adjust her behaviour to alleviate his strain-based conflict further demonstrates hegemonic assumptions regarding his spouse's support of his decisions regardless of her feelings concerning simplifying his life. The assumption of his spouse's support becomes a tool for both Frank and his spouse for establishing work-life balance. Frank's spouse uses her support of the family to establish a less stressful environment at home while Frank uses his assumption that his spouse will care for the family as a way of reducing stressful entrepreneurial decisions such as starting a new venture.

Like Aiden and Frank, Paul's quote is an example of how time-based conflict leads to a strain-based conflict situation. In this case, strain-based conflict between

work and family arises during family events. Paul's spouse and his business partner's spouse express their displeasure with discussing work during family functions. The expression of displeasure is forceful enough that Paul and his partner interpret it as a threat to having an amenable relationship with their spouses which increases anxiety at family events. Paul and his partner negotiate a rule with their spouses to create a boundary between their business and their homes in order to alleviate the strain-based conflict. In this case, the spouses were able to position themselves to use strain-based conflict as a tool to remove perceived time-based conflict between family and the business schedules. By doing this, the spouses were also able to demonstrate to Paul that they are able to control time-based conflict by not allowing the work to enter into the family domain.

Paul demonstrates the use of compartmentalisation as his tool for avoiding time-based conflict through the threat of strain-based conflict. Paul's spouse's expectation that he could use compartmentalisation as a tool to achieve work-life balance demonstrates how some women can use traditional existing hegemonic structures as a negotiation platform. Paul's spouse uses the threat of rescinding her support of Paul's established domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves if he demonstrates that he cannot use compartmentalisation as a tool for relieving strain-based conflict. This threat promotes Paul's attempt to build his distinction as both a successful entrepreneur and family man by being able to demonstrate that he is able to carry out both responsibilities without demonstrating weakness through stress and strain-based conflict.

Paul's spouse demonstrates multi directionality of authoritarianism in work-life balance negotiations. Paul's spouse negotiates a separation from work and family functions through increasing stress in Paul's domestic setting. The threat of a hostile

relationship in the home facilitates and furthers embedded assumptions that men can and should compartmentalise their work and family spheres as a tool for maintaining balance.

6.4 Behaviour-based conflict

Runté and Mills (2004) stated that the traditional discourse concerning the business and home behavioural expectations for men are incompatible. Behaviour-based conflict between men's entrepreneurial and domestic masculine selves is highlighted when shifting fatherhood ideologies clash with the deep rooted traditional hegemonic masculinities embedded in entrepreneurship. The following six quotes demonstrate how some men in this study perceive and cope with behaviour-based conflict. Behaviour-based conflict occurs when "specific patterns of in-role behaviour may be incompatible with the expectations regarding behaviour in another role" (p.81) (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). As an example, Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) use stereotypical managerial behaviour expectations of self-reliance, emotional stability and aggressiveness versus home behaviour expectations of being warm, emotionally vulnerable, and nurturing as being conflicting. Aiden, Ben and Gareth identify what they perceive as social expectations of behaviour of fathers and entrepreneurs. They discuss their perceptions and strategies for coping with any conflicting behavioural expectations between work and family.

"You know what? I treat my daughter a lot like I treat employees. Wow.

I never even thought of that. I really do... I treat her like an adult. She

treats me the same way and it's one of those; it's a very male relationship

in my daughter's case. She really is the son I never had in many ways.

She has got the two emotions, happy and mad. So I can treat her in the

same way as that stereotypical guy bullshit. Sort of the ‘come on, get your shit together’ kind of thing” *Aiden*

“I have two separate systems, but more and more lately, I am finding that methods that I learn through work are actually making me a better father. It’s weird but things that I’m learning about my employees and how to relate to them and talk with them and stuff. I am able to take that and apply it to my kids and my wife. It’s weird. It’s actually going backwards for me. I would like it to be the other way around just because family should be more important than work and therefore, if you have problems, you should be learning tactics at home first. You should be able to apply those at work. For me it seems backwards and it feels a little backwards.” *Ben*

“I find I come home and sometimes the kids will do the littlest thing and I find myself just exploding. That’s when my wife has to rein me in. She’s like, ‘no, go outside, there is no reason for that. Go do something. There is just no reason for flipping on the kids like that’. When I’m at work I’m very ‘you are on my time’, I’ll yell at the guys to hustle their ass.” *Gareth*

The first quote by Aiden demonstrates the integration between men, the hegemony of men, masculine selves, and the perceptions of work-life conflict. In this quote, Aiden realises that his approach of masculinising his relationship with his daughter is similar to how he approaches his relationships with his employees. He

suggests that this masculinised approach has benefitted his relationship with his daughter because it has established a close relationship between the two. The masculinisation of the home approach to family relationship building has given Aiden the opportunity to reduce the potential for behaviour-based conflict. Aiden is able to maintain an alignment between his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves by demonstrating that traditionally masculinised behaviours associated with entrepreneurship can be developed to fit with domestic ideologies regarding nurturing and relationship building. Aiden's realisation that he is using this approach as a method for avoiding work-life conflict is justified by his insistence that treating his child 'like an adult' will benefit her ability to deal with men in the future because she will be used to men's stereotypical bullshit.

The reduction of behaviour-based conflict through the masculinisation of the home incorporates Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of informalism. The discourse of informalism in management anchors relationships by exhibiting behavioural expectations in 'masculine' interests such as humour. In Aiden's case, he is using informalism by ribbing his daughter with phrases such as 'get your shit together' as an attempt to create a strong relationship in the same way he is used to building relationships at work.

Like Aiden, Ben's quote demonstrates the integration between men's domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves with regards to behaviour expectations and the process of making work-life balance decisions. Ben demonstrates complex integrations in discussing his behaviour expectations for both his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves versus his actual behaviour with regards to relationship building in the home. Like Aiden, Ben realises that his attempts to masculinise the home are a method for building and negotiating family relationships.

Ben describes his attempt to reduce behaviour-based conflict by aligning his domestic masculine selves with his entrepreneurial masculine selves; however, he does feel guilty that shifting his domestic masculinities to fit with his entrepreneurial masculine selves worked for him. Ben's guilt seems to stem from his perception that his subcultural parental ideologies do not agree with his move to masculinise the home because family ideologies should be valued higher. He feels that what he did was "backwards" and thus he should be aligning his entrepreneurial masculine selves to being more nurturing at work in order to be perceived as a family focused entrepreneur.

Ben's realisation that he is applying relationship techniques learned at work to benefit his domestic relationships further demonstrates how informalism and assumed behaviour expectations can influence the masculinisation of the home. Ben's guilt demonstrates behaviour-based conflict because Ben is conflicted by his choice to introduce negotiation skills developed at work as a platform for building relationships at home. However, the choice to shift his behaviours is also recognised as a solution for achieving work-life balance because it gives Ben the opportunity to establish firm benchmarks with his spouse that would indicate he is achieving his goals as a parent. Ben and Aiden's use of entrepreneurial negotiation techniques in the home while simultaneously establishing family friendly work-life balance policies at work demonstrates their attempt to align their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves by compromising between behaviour expectations of both identities.

In the third quote, Gareth attributes his inability to quickly shift between his aggressive masculine behaviour as an entrepreneur and the behaviour expectations of home as the cause for needing a mediator for building relationships with his children. Gareth's commitment to a traditional work-family setting allows him to shift the

responsibility of “personnel relations manager” to his spouse while he is in the home because it is her domain. Gareth’s expectation that his spouse will support his traditional fatherhood ideologies relegates her to being responsible for establishing work-life balance for both himself and his spouse. Gareth’s reasoning for requiring a mediator is that he must rely on his spouse’s expertise as the domestic leader to provide him with coping mechanisms for dealing with children in frustrating situations. For example, Gareth states that his spouse will often send him away from his children to allow him time to reorganise himself in order to more appropriately deal with children.

Gareth’s negotiation with his spouse allows him to diminish his responsibility for his inappropriate behaviour at home by delegating his behaviour-based conflict to being his spouse’s responsibility. By doing this, Gareth is able to establish a work-life balance of sorts because he no longer has to worry about shifting his behaviour from one domain to the next. This quote also demonstrates the interrelationship between Greenhaus and Beutell’s (1985) three sources of conflict because it shows how behaviour-based conflict can lead to strain based conflict. In Gareth’s description, he states that his inability to cope with conflict with his kids has created a necessity for his spouse to de-escalate the situation to reduce stress in his domestic sphere while he attempts to adjust his behaviour away from his work standards. This also demonstrates a relationship between Collinson and Hearn’s (1994) concepts of authoritarianism and entrepreneurship because Gareth’s highly competitive and aggressive approach to career building creates the threat of behaviour-based conflict within his domestic setting. This threat of conflict at home allows Gareth to negotiate that his spouse is responsible for de-escalating tense family situations by appointing her as his “personnel relations manager” for his family.

The next three quotes further demonstrate how men perceive and cope with behaviour-based conflict. The first quote is from Simon who is in his early sixties and is a majority partner of a medium sized retail/supply company with one of his children. Simon is identified as a Canadian traditionalist parent because of his statement that he didn't spend much time with his children because he is always at work. The second quote is from Jayden who is in his late thirties and is an equal partner with his spouse in a small information technology company. Jayden is identified as a Canadian traditionalist parent because of his statement that his one responsibility is providing for his family. The third quote is from Ethan who is in his late forties and is an equal partner in a medium sized retail\supply company. Ethan is identified as a subcultural modified parent who believes that his job is to act as a steward in raising his children to become independent and self-sufficient.

“My next hurdle is I've got to be a boss, I've got to run this business and I've got to get my sons to look at me as the boss not the father. That is difficult when you have your wife involved too and she is a mother rather than your business partner... Every once in a while she comes in and she's a mother to these kids and my oldest boy can see past that and ignores it. My youngest boy can't so that does create some situations from time to time. So that is difficult and every once in a while I have to go to my youngest and say, ‘I'm your boss not your father.’” *Simon*

“I try to maintain calm even when I have a crappy day. I would do my best not to bring that on the kids. I've got a couple of sort of personal rules like when I come home from work... In my business we dress

pretty casual but when I come home from work I change my shirt anyway so that I kind of mentally tell myself I'm in home mode and not work mode. I remember hearing someone saying that lots of guys do that because you wear a suit at work and you forget to turn off. So I do that. I change my shirt when I get home. Which just more laundry but a fresh shirt makes me feel fresh and it's kind of a note that OK you're in home mode" *Jayden*

"As a parent we are stewards. We are there to equip them to become independents who are self-sufficient. Not to create dependence and not to discipline them, we are there to help them fail. To observe them fail and catch them if they fall, and stand them up to watch them fail again. So that by the time they are on their own, they can fail independently and carry on and hopefully with a meaningful life. To give them the ability to fail and the ability to experience things, even things that I wouldn't do, and have the tolerance for them to be that. So that they can gain their independence and are more equipped than if we overprotected them. I take into the workplace that the same holds true as far as I am concerned. Anything that works with the kids, I believe is directly transferrable and sustainable in the workplace." *Ethan*

Simon's quote demonstrates he believes that the source of his behaviour-based conflict derives from his spouse's relationship with their children in the workplace. He states that as the major shareholder it is his responsibility to remind his sons not to be confused by their mother's nurturing behaviour in the workplace. Simon feels that his

son needs to be able to compartmentalise his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves in order for the family and business settings to run smoothly. Research suggesting that women's participation in the workforce has a negative impact on men's position as breadwinner neglects to critically analyse sociological assumptions as part of their analysis (Gatrell et al., 2013, Özbilgin et al., 2011). For example, Simon's inability to shift his entrepreneurial masculine selves to a more nurturing approach when dealing with his son demonstrates an inability to see beyond traditional hegemonic assumptions regarding work and family. Simon demonstrates this inability to align his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves by revealing his concern for compartmentalising his masculine selves based on his physical location of being at work or at home. In this case, Simon believes that his youngest son's expectation of having his entrepreneurial ideas nurtured at work is misguided. This has caused Simon to shift his entrepreneurial masculine selves to an even more hardnosed persona as a means to correct his son. Simon's resistance to his wife's attempt to have him merge his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves demonstrates his resistance to changing traditional hegemonic ideologies.

Simon's attempt to teach his son to compartmentalise relationship expectations between the work and family setting are highlighted in his explanation of his own process. Simon describes the incompatibility between his duties as the major shareholder of the business and his responsibilities as a father by creating specific parameters for when he can shift between his domestic and masculine selves. He focuses on separating family and business by demonstrating that he employs Canadian traditional parenting assumptions as a guide. In Simon's case, he relies on traditional masculine assumptions and tactics to ensure that his decisions regarding business growth and hierarchy in the workplace are followed. These tactics are highlighted by

his insistence he has to behave “like a boss” in an attempt to reduce the chance of his sons challenging policy decisions being made for the business. This behaviour is similar to how other masculine tactics are used in the analysis of the Challenger catastrophe at NASA. Leaders within NASA protected unpopular decisions from being contested by engineers lower down in the business hierarchy through the perpetration of traditional hierachal rules of *distinction* (Maier and Messerschmidt, 1998, Messerschmidt, 1996). These traditional rules start with an authoritarian understanding of unquestioning obedience which are ensured through hostile tactics such as being fired for insubordination. Simon is able to use traditional rules of *distinction* to reduce the effect of his wife’s establishment of merging boundaries between work and home by creating an environment in the workplace that discourages challenges to his authority. Ironically, Simon does not choose to incorporate paternalism as a form of gaining distinction with his sons as he assumes that his status as their father gives him authority in the home. He feels that he must use a different discourse and practice of gaining distinction as their boss in order to reduce the integration of work and family.

Jayden’s quote demonstrates how he uses a daily routine as an indication to switch his domestic and masculine selves. His routine of changing his shirt is a way of combatting strain-based conflict, but he also discovered it is a good way to reduce the chances of behaviour-based conflict between work and home. Unlike Gareth, Jayden attempted to reduce the potential for behaviour-based conflict by seeking help in the work sphere. For example, Gareth relies on his spouse as the gauge for appropriate behaviour around the home; however, Jayden looked to his peers at work for help. Jayden has recognised shifts in *distinction* processes regarding work-family balance. He demonstrates this by referring to how men are looked upon favourably by other

men when they establish their ability to transition behaviours smoothly between their home and business social spheres.

Jayden shows an ability to maintain a Canadian traditional parent perspective while simultaneously adjusting his *distinction* processes to include his ability to shift his parenting style to a more nurturing persona while at home. This demonstrates a lack of predictability that social structures such as the hegemony of men has on men's actual behaviour towards *distinction* accumulation and maintenance while attempting to reduce behaviour-based conflict. Jayden and Gareth demonstrate their position as Canadian traditionalist parents but approach *distinction* acquisition in completely different ways. For example, Gareth assumes his wife will support him based on his expectations of the *distinction* process within the hegemony of men while Jayden uses compartmentalisation as a tool for altering his behaviour at work to maintain support from his spouse's. In the case of Jayden and Gareth, the discourses and practices of embedded masculinities developed by Collinson and Hearn (1994) are highlighted as the basis for creating different strategies for *distinction*. These different strategies are based on their desires towards family involvement and their interpretation of social expectations. For example, Jayden's description of how men are seen more favourably when they can smoothly transfer between work and family demonstrates his interpretation of shifts in fatherhood ideologies. Jayden's desire to reduce behaviour-based conflict for himself and his family is the basis for his inclusion of topics of family and fatherhood to the discourse of informalism. Fatherhood can be used as a topic of masculine interest if men desire to be more involved in the home while simultaneously maintaining distinction at work. On the other hand, Gareth demonstrates that his authoritarian practices can be transferred to the family to build support from his spouse for his work centric focus. Both strategies reduce behaviour-

based conflict while simultaneously maintaining their *distinction* as the family breadwinner, but result in very different behaviours towards work-family balance and interaction.

Finally, Ethan's quote demonstrates that he aligned his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves to be consistent with Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of paternalism which is used to reduce his chances at behaviour based-conflict. This alignment of the domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves as a paternalistic figure allows him to take a nurturing stance in the home while simultaneously creating a platform of *distinction* within his organisation. Ethan's alignment of his masculine selves to his subcultural modified parent ideologies allows him to reduce the chances of behaviour-based conflict because he doesn't have to change his *distinction* behaviours as he moves from one social sphere to another. Ethan discusses how his parental responsibilities of supporting learning and growth are directly transferable to the process of creating a learning environment in his organisation. Reclaiming the hegemony of men through masculinising family strategies regarding child rearing is demonstrated by Ethan's insistence that transferring nurturing fatherhood strategies to his business allows him to promote his platform for *distinction* at work (Gatrell, 2007). This strategy also demonstrates the interrelationship between paternalism and informalism. Like Jayden, Ethan uses fatherhood as a topic of interest at work to promote his attempts to act as a father figure. Ethan lays the foundation for stewardship and mentorship at work as a method for gaining distinction in both the work and family settings.

The previous six quotes demonstrate how some men either attempt to merge domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves or create a distinct separation between the two as a method to avoid behaviour-based balance. The interrelationship between

men, the discourse and practices of masculinities, and work-family conflict is revealed by many of the other men in this research when they discuss their strategies for work-life conflict avoidance. This work-family conflict avoidance demonstrates the importance of capturing the interactions and relations between the production and reproduction of assumed hegemonic masculinities between men and women, as well as the negotiations between men and women during a time of change in masculine perspectives. In this case, the ideologies of fatherhood and entrepreneurship are negotiated between the men quoted above and their spouses. These negotiations establish opportunities for men to further gain *distinction* by applying the five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities to the problem of reducing work-family conflict and negotiating work-life balance. The following section further analyses men's approach to navigating between their entrepreneurial and domestic spheres by shifting the perspective from work-life conflict avoidance to some men's desire for work-life balance.

6.5 Work-life balance

Work-life balance describes the attempt to balance or enhance one's relationship between one's work and life obligations. The perspective of men's desire to seek a non-confrontational relationship between their work and life spheres is often associated with women. Women are represented as attempting to maintain their assumed family rearing responsibilities while simultaneously building careers (Moen et al., 2011). Assumed hegemonic structures use the association with women to disregard the potential health benefits and limit potential for developing beneficial work-family policies and practices for both men and women (Williams et al., 2016, Gatrell et al., 2013, Moen et al., 2011, Kelly et al., 2008, Anderson et al., 2002). Adaptation of the work-life conflict platform has been used to investigate potential

positive outcomes which have been dubbed work-family enrichment studies (Chen et al., 2014, Powell and Eddleston, 2013, Carlson et al., 2006, Greenhaus and Powell, 2006). At the same time, Pedulla and Thébaud's (2015) sociological examination of work-life balance demonstrate that both young men and women would prefer to work for organisations that employ egalitarian work-life policies. There is a recognised need to negotiate alternate forms of masculinities which challenge assumed hegemonic ideologies regarding men and women's associations with work and the home. This is represented by the changes to the federal parental leave legislation and the "there's a dad for that!" campaign example found in Alberta, Canada (Dad Central, 2015). However, traditional structures of hegemonic *distinction* are making work-life practices for men resistant to change. This is because traditional hegemonic *distinction* processes are still embedded in the work sphere (Kellogg, 2011, Blair-Loy and Wharton, 2004). It is these *distinction* processes that use the embodied nature of motherhood and fatherhood to keep women linked to the home and men linked to work (Gorman-Murray, 2008, Gatrell and Cooper, 2008, Tomkiewicz and Hughes, 1993). Men's assumed link to work and work centric attitude creates a work-life balance perspective of incompatibility (Williams et al., 2016, Jain and Nair, 2013).

One challenge to assumed hegemonic ideologies regarding fatherhood is the introduction of desire for parental involvement for men (Gatrell, 2007). The desire to balance work-life for women has been extensively researched and is often portrayed as the motivator for women to enter entrepreneurship (Berdahl and Moon, 2013, Moen et al., 2011, Gundry and Welsch, 2001, Orhan and Scott, 2001). However, very little has been investigated using men's desire despite the recognition that men are choosing to have children as their central focus and are shifting their perspectives of fatherhood to a more nurturing model (Donald and Linington, 2008, Beck and Beck-Gernsheim,

1995, Parasuraman et al., 1989). Kellogg (2011) demonstrates that hegemonic *distinction* processes can evolve new rules for evaluating men's power position amongst peers at work. This shift in hegemonic parameters is demonstrated by men in this study including *distinction* discourses and practices developed at work in their analysis of their interactions with their domestic spheres. For example, the previous three sections in this thesis concerning work-family conflict highlight numerous instances where men analyse their distinction as fathers and entrepreneurs as a means of determining their strategies for negotiating between work and family.

The inclusion of masculine selves in the analysis of work-family balance uncovers complex and sometimes frustrating situations for the interviewees. However, glimpses into men's work-life navigation reveals conflicts between traditional and shifting hegemonic behaviour expectations for balancing work and life domains. The following six quotes demonstrate how some men perceive work-life balance as it pertains to their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. This includes highlighting how these men define work-life balance and how they interpret their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. The goal of this section is to further shift the positivist structure of Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) sources of work-family conflict away from assumptions regarding paid and unpaid labour as recognised by researchers in the sociological perspective (Gatrell et al., 2013, Keith and Schafer, 1980). This analysis includes work-life conflicts that are perceived by some of the interviewees to go beyond family and work. For example, leisure activities and religious affiliation are also included in the conversation. Aiden, Ben and Gareth highlight the discussion involving their perceptions of work-life balance by describing their experiences with fatherhood.

“I loved it. I wouldn’t trade that for anything. In fact, I wish I could have done that for all of them and stayed there right through. I loved doing that. I loved taking them places. I liked doing things with them. My wife and I have both said I am a better stay at home parent than she is. I am more suited to it. I loved it. It was great. With my youngest, my wife took the first three months and then went back to work, and I took the next three. I got some ribbing when I got back to work about “mommy” and stuff like that, but I can handle that.” *Aiden*

“My dad was a farmer and worked lots. I wish he would have spent more time with us doing things with us kids. He taught me how to work hard but I wish he would have spent more time with us kids doing stuff and that’s where I struggle the most, doing stuff with my kids and giving them the attention that they need. It is easy to follow in the footsteps that you’ve been raised in. It is difficult to change those but it’s also really important to change those.” *Ben*

“Two weeks in because you’re making enough money that way that it is worthwhile being away. I have that week off. In that week off I have that extra money now, now I can buy the things I want whereas I never had that money before and now I can buy extra things for the business, tools I need to make things better for myself. I can make it better for the family because I can afford the things that I could not afford before”

Gareth

In the first quote, Aiden aligns his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves as an act of being a crusader of change in hegemonic assumptions regarding the work-life dynamic of entrepreneurs. He starts defining his crusade by explaining his love of being the stay at home parent and finishes with his ability to be man enough to handle judgement by his peers. The introduction of desire as a motivator for men to be stay at home or participative fathers has been discussed before as a way of revealing shifts in masculine assumptions (Gatrell et al., 2013, Holter, 2007). However, this reveals a shift in tactics for *distinction* acquisition through the uptake of the hero persona. In a previous quote, Aiden's behaviour-based conflict reduction tactic of maintaining a masculinised persona at home to relate to his daughter is similar to his position regarding the implementation of work-life balance policies for his business. By aligning his domestic and entrepreneurial selves, Aiden introduces his desire to be a participative father as a component of reflexivity to assumed hegemonic masculinities in his attempt to attain work-life balance. Aiden simultaneously implements traditional hegemonic processes to protect his *distinction* as a man by demonstrating his heroic persona of building a positive relationship with his children while maintaining a hardnosed persona.

The introduction of desire allows this analysis to shift away from work-life balance within the confines of structural functionalism because it rejects the assumption of labour being divided along gendered sex roles of paid and unpaid labour (Parasuraman et al., 1989). Aiden establishes his desire to achieve work-life balance by expressing the joy he found while taking time off work to be a stay at home father. He expresses that he is not concerned with traditional hegemonic ideologies towards fatherhood by stating that he can handle disapproval from his peers in order to maintain his work-life balance. Aiden's rejection of perceived traditional

entrepreneurship masculinities in favour of promoting his ideal for heroic participative parenting demonstrates his strategy of adding fatherhood into the range of acceptable masculine topics within Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of informalism.

Previous research demonstrates that women attempt to use embedded masculinities in entrepreneurship as a platform for gaining power and control of work hours (Eddleston and Powell, 2012, Marshall, 1995). Many of these women face hegemonic resistance from the entrepreneurial community as not doing 'real entrepreneurship' because of their work-life balance desires or minority statuses (Essers et al., 2010).

However, Aiden's demonstration of his desire for parental involvement is masked through *distinction* posturing within traditional hegemonic ideologies embedded in entrepreneurial involvement. Aiden is able to maintain *distinction* by aligning his domestic masculine selves to his entrepreneurial masculine selves while simultaneously accomplishing his entrepreneurial goal of altering his business working hours around life goals.

In the second quote, Ben expresses his desire to be a nurturing father figure for his children. However, he acknowledges his internal struggles of wanting to follow in his father's footsteps as a good provider while simultaneously attempting to create work-life balance in accordance with his community's teachings regarding men and family. Ben's desire to follow his subcultural modified parent model is a source of his struggles because of his attempt to align his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves to an ideology that states he must both provide for his family as a Canadian traditional parent and be a participative father at the same time. The confusion for him lies in that his assumption of being the spiritual leader in his family requires him to be head of the household even though tradition states that the home is his spouse's domain. Ben's struggles to fulfil both the provider and participative parent ideologies

manifests into a desire to act as an example to those in his peer group. Ben transforms his opinion of “it’s really important” into a platform for furthering *distinction* within his community.

Like Aiden, Ben’s desire to follow fatherhood ideologies that are in alignment with his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves are highlighted when he attempts to shift *distinction* processes within the confines of the hegemony of men. Aiden’s declaration of “I can handle that” shows that he is comfortable with his new platform for *distinction* and that he is prepared to take on the change agent or hero role. Ben’s admission that he would be more comfortable following his father’s footsteps while simultaneously recognising the importance of his participation in the home demonstrates a conflict between his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. For example, Ben demonstrates his desire to follow the fatherhood guidelines of his religious community but has an internal conflict of what that means regarding changing his domestic masculine selves to something he is less familiar with.

The third quote demonstrates how Gareth interprets work-life balance and how he feels he has accomplished a balance of his own. Gareth interprets work-life balance as being able to provide for his family to the point that he can allow his family to be free in their choices for leisure activities while he is at home. He discusses his ability to buy the things he wants as measurement of freedom to do leisure activities with his kids and on his own. Gareth’s spouse maintains this traditional hegemonic interpretation of work-life balance by relieving him of a large portion of domestic responsibilities. By doing this, Gareth’s spouse has enhanced his perceived work-family balance because he does not have to worry about most work-family conflict situations (Eddleston and Powell, 2012, Parasuraman et al., 1996, Goffee and Scase, 1985). Gareth downplays his long periods away from home by focusing on the

increased accessibility to leisure activities he feels he provides for his family. Gareth feels that he can stay focused on his perceived duty as a provider as long as he is able to provide fun and entertainment for his family.

Gareth states (see Table 5.4.1) that his measurement for being a good father is defined by his ability to act as a provider. He demonstrates this definition of fatherhood by stating “that real men provide for their families”. As a result, his organisational decisions are based on an economic reasoning in which he uses the “real men provide” motto as a guide for his entrepreneurial decision to spend long periods of time away from his family. This traditional view of fatherhood contributes to his assumptions of the gender division of labour between work and home. The assumption that men act as economic providers for the family allows Gareth to adjust his business model to fit with the Alberta oil and gas industry’s demands for camp work. Camp work in Canada refers to the relocation of workers to isolated self-sufficient work sites located in remote parts of the country for extended periods of time. The willingness to accept these working conditions allows his business to gain top dollar contracts.

Gareth’s perspective that his major responsibility as a father is to provide for his family’s economic needs has directly influenced his decision to move his company to northern Alberta in search of lucrative contracts. Men possessing the provider interpretation of fatherhood often assume their spouses will adopt traditional motherhood responsibilities which relegates them to the home. The assumption of a one income family creates an environment where there is an increased financial expectation of the business (Orser and Dyke, 2009). This increased financial expectation placed on the business due to the family dynamics focuses Gareth’s business into a growth strategy to generate higher incomes. Gareth uses his company’s

high income as a means to develop his *distinction* as a provider and entrepreneur. The effect of financial growth expectations of the family on business strategies has been also documented by other studies on business behaviour when the male and female partners assume a traditional family model (Wolfinger et al., 2009, Pavalko and Elder, 1993).

The last three quotes of this chapter further demonstrate men's interaction between their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves and how this interaction translates to their desire to achieve work-life balance. The first quote is from Connor who spoke in the 'old habits die hard' section where he established that it is better to be family focused. Connor is a tradesman in his mid-thirties and is an equal partner of a medium sized company with his spouse. The second quote is from Kyle who also spoke in the 'old habits die hard' section where he established that his subcultural modified parent position is not negotiable when it comes to reserving weekends to promote family time. Kyle is in his early forties and is the sole owner of a medium sized company that is involved in the trades. The third quote is from Nolan who is in his late twenties and is the sole owner of a medium sized retail/supply company. Nolan is identified as a Canadian traditionalist parent because of his statement that his sole purpose as a father is to take care of his family by being financially stable.

"Well you have to be there for your kids, like whenever they need stuff and that kind of thing. I try to be there for like skating...like when they're doing their stuff they notice when you're not there" *Connor*

"Essentially I want to be free with my time to help other people with my ability. I can frame I can do all these things I've been taught because of

the construction industry. I want to be able to have that time so where a buddy calls or somebody calls and says hey I have a basement we can't afford all of it can you come and help us. We've decided to frame it. So I want to be in that position where I can kind of have the business succeed and grow but let it do it itself so that I can have my own time to help my family, help other people but yet still continue to run a business... I guess it's just me the way it brought up and I guess my faith or belief is there is a law, there's a way it's called law of consecration to where my ability can help out somebody else. That's where I want to set my company to grow so that I can have that financial mean to always help, always you know and then have that legacy for future" *Kyle*

"Well I don't know; I kind of find that I don't live to work basically, I work to live. I know I don't want to break my back all day long my entire life and I think a lot of construction companies they think I have to be out there all day long every single minute that I can swinging a hammer or do whatever I need to make money. I'm trying to pull myself back and set it up as just as any other regular company where you have your set hours and then you find a way to get your work done in those hours." *Nolan*

Connor establishes that his desire for work-life balance is due to fears that his children will suffer emotionally if he is not involved. He confirms this point of view by stating that, "they notice when you're not there". Connor's desire for work-life balance stems from his beliefs that the participative parent model increases the chance

of raising happy children. This belief system that a father needs to be a nurturing part of his kids' lives acts as the foundation for establishing his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. Like Aiden, Connor's declaration of a desire to be a participative parent acts as a heroic battle cry for men to stay at home and participate as a parent. Connor's statement that 'you have to be there for your kids' reveals a shift in his masculine assumptions regarding participative fathers (Gatrell et al., 2013, Holter, 2007). The phrase of 'have to' demonstrates that he fully expects his *distinction* as a man to be judged on his ability to be there for his children and that he judges other men using the same criteria. This phrase also demonstrates the interrelation between the discourse and practices of informalism and authoritarianism. For example, informalism is highlighted by Connor's recognition that fatherhood, and the responsibilities of fatherhood, is an acceptable topic of masculine interests. Authoritarianism's interaction with the topic of fatherhood creeps in with Connor's statement that men "have to be there for your kids" because he suggests that men will be negatively affected by not complying with the new fatherhood rules. Fathers can be directly affected by having their *distinction* as a father questioned by others, by missing out on desired relationship building opportunities with their children, or both.

Eby et al. (2005) stated that work-life balance research often neglects balance experiences of events outside the home domain. Kyle establishes his desire for work-life balance by demonstrating his interpretation of work-life balance as being about life beyond the family sphere. Kyle states that he wants to be able to use his talents in construction to help people in his community. To do this, Kyle wants to be comfortable enough financially that he is able to transfer work activities to volunteer activities in order to help other families establish their own work-life balance. Kyle's definition of work-life balance stems from his religious beliefs. He believes that his

ability to provide for his family beyond what is needed should be used to help provide for others in his social circles. In this case, the term ‘life’ in the work-life balance has been redefined as working to provide for those beyond the family unit. Kyle expresses his goal of aligning his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves so that he can incorporate work and life objectives together. This ties in with research showing that the combination of gendered socialisation and the gendered nature of work encourages women to start-up businesses for the purpose of achieving work-life balance (Ahl, 2006, Mirchandani, 2002). Kyle’s desire to be more community and family oriented encourages him to create a positive linkage between work and family in a similar way to that reported by women in entrepreneurial research (Powell and Greenhaus, 2006, Aldrich and Cliff, 2003). However, Kyle’s creation of a positive linkage between participating in the family and integrating the business to fit with his community goals establishes an environment to build *distinction* within his community as both a spiritual and humanitarian leader while simultaneously supporting his work-life balance. Kyle’s desire to establish himself as a spiritual and humanitarian leader within his community by featuring work-life balance as method of distinctions highlights how the discourses and practices of embedded masculinities remain in the process. Informalism is featured as the topics of fatherhood and work-life balance are introduced into the fold of masculine interests. Kyle uses paternalism as a means to act as a mentor to others in his community who are also attempting to establish work-life balance.

Finally, Nolan expresses his desire to be focused on life and that his duty as an entrepreneur is to provide enough income to grant him the freedom to do things outside of the work sphere. This “good enough” approach to acquiring income is also expressed by Aiden when he states that he doesn’t want a large company because he

isn't wired that way. In both cases, the ability to attain work-life balance stems from their view of domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves as crusaders against traditional hegemonic masculinities. The good enough approach demonstrates a weighing of value between income and life goals outside of the work sphere in an economic fashion. Nolan's comment that he works to live shows that he is willing to take on the challenges of being an economic provider until his economic goals are satisfied. At which point, Nolan shifts his focus to life goals outside of work.

The integration of Collinson and Hearn's (1994) identification five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities into the analysis of men's work-life balance decisions demonstrates the proliferation of men's hegemonic *distinction* processes developed in the work sphere. The introduction of fatherhood in informalism as an acceptable topic creates opportunities for *distinction* processes to seep into men's analysis of work-life balance and work-family conflict. Nolan's view of himself as a crusader against traditional hegemonic masculinities is in direct conflict with his declaration that he is a Canadian traditionalist parent. However, Nolan reflects on his implementation of formal business hours as a tool to combat pressure from clients to work longer hours. The formalisation of business hours is an indication of wanting to maintain life standards outside of work as a means to achieve work-life balance. This reflects the impact that a 'good enough' approach can have on the provider perspective when desire for the pursuit of nonwork interests are introduced.

6.6 Discussions and observations

The analysis of men's work-life perceptions reveal that men are experiencing work-family conflict when they choose to evaluate work and family as incompatible. Some men in this research are using time as a measuring tool for verifying their work-life balance initiatives. For example, Ben ensures his family is paid back for his long

working hours by scheduling holidays away from home so that his family can have his undivided attention as a father and spouse. Time-based conflict varies depending on whether men have a domestic or work based perspective of analysis. For example, both Aiden and Robert's attempt to schedule work around family has created higher perceptions of time-based conflict because of their perceptions of the difficulty of saying no to work contract requests. Both discuss a moment of realisation that they, as entrepreneurs, could say no to potential clients and were in a comfortable enough financial position to do so. However, both Ben and Victor approach time-based conflict by assuming they can make up for lost time and believe that a demonstration of trying to balance work and family will satisfy family time demands.

Strain-based conflict is used as a tool by both men and women to maintain and shift established distinction opportunities that fit with men's domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. For example, Ben and Gareth use strain-based conflict as a tool for maintaining their established work-family strategies by implying that life would be more difficult for their spouses if changes were made to their work sphere because they would react badly to the increased stress of balancing work and family. This behaviour reflects Collinson and Hearn's (1994) recognition of embedded masculinities in management practice being transferred to the home. For example, Ben and Gareth's use of authoritarianism during their work-life balance negotiations with their spouses to maintain their work centric focus shows how hegemonic assumptions at work can be easily transferred. However, spouses also used strain-based conflict as a tool for changing some men's behaviours concerning work-life balance by increasing the stress at home via domestic and marital conflict. For example, Paul describes a situation where his and his business partner's spouses implemented limitations for conversation topics during domestic events because of

their dissatisfaction with work overlapping designated family events. This demonstrates that hegemonic masculine practices, such as authoritarianism, are not limited to men's behaviours. Women are incorporating shifting fatherhood ideologies into the work-life balance discussion as a tool for encouraging change to the perception of value of the work and family domains.

Behaviour-based conflict solutions revolve around establishing a balance between men's domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. For example, the masculinisation of the home is used as a tool for some men to reduce behaviour-based conflict. Aiden, Ben, and others realised that they are engaging with their children and spouses using negotiation techniques they learned as entrepreneurs. However, others attempt to use fatherhood ideologies as their guide for treating employees. For example, Ethan uses his parenting philosophy for childhood learning as a method for creating opportunities of personal growth for his employees. The masculinisation of the home demonstrates the integration of the five discourses and practices of masculinities being used in negotiating with family members in the domestic sphere and as a tool for establishing *distinction* through informalism. This is discussed further in section 7.5, 'masculinisation of the home', in the men, masculinities, and masculine selves chapter.

It has been suggested that traditional *distinction* processes anchored to work are slowing change in work-life balance policy development in business (Williams et al., 2016, Kossek et al., 2011, Gatrell et al., 2013). However, some of the men in this study reveal the use of hegemonic *distinction* processes as their tool for change. Nolan demonstrates this by shifting the definition as to what it means to be a provider to include the ability to provide leisure time for both his family and himself. Assumptions in psychological research regarding paid and unpaid labour are

contributing to the resistance of challenging gendered assumptions because of the association of women with domestic labour and men with economic labour. Gatrell et al. (2013) highlight that academic perceptions of work-life balance are still being framed as problematic. For example, Gatrell et al. (2013) point out that work-family balance research often omits both men's desire to be engaged parents and enrichment opportunities for both parents choosing work-life balance opportunities. The inclusion of desire in this analysis reveals that some men are choosing to engage in the process of expanding *distinction* opportunities for men by reframing progressive fatherhood and domestic behaviour expectations as masculine. For example, most of the quotes above revolve around the ideology of fathers being available to their family. Nolan and Aiden demonstrate this by describing their goals to provide leisure time for their families as an opportunity to enrich their lives through meaningful relationships with their children. These extracurricular activities are used as a rationalisation for demonstrating what is good for them as fathers and what is good for the family.

Hearn (2004) warns that researchers focusing on hegemonic masculinities run the risk of reinforcing the hegemonic systems. He believes that shifting discussions to the hegemony of men will help to reduce the chances of this occurring. It is this process of men attempting to define what is masculine as a father and entrepreneur, and therefore acceptable to undertake as a man, that determines how men approach navigating work-life balance. Williams et al. (2013) state that traditional hegemonic masculine assumptions are simultaneously deterring flexibility for men wanting to engage with family and discouraging women from working long hours out of concern for families. However, the redefinition of involved fatherhood as masculine by some of the men in this study is used as a tool for reducing hegemonic pressures of inflexibility.

Traditional gendered ideas placing men in the workplace and women in the home are on the decline because of increased participation of women in the labour force (Donald and Linington, 2008). However, Miller (2011) states that undoing gendered assumptions does not occur in a vacuum. The demonstration of intra-relations between men's varying masculine selves and traditional fatherhood assumptions, modern fatherhood ideologies, and assumed hegemonic distinction processes in the workplace has highlighted the complexity of the relationship between the hegemony of masculinities and the hegemony of men. Men's desire to be participative parents has been demonstrated through men's attempt to masculinise the home and through entrepreneurial work-life balance initiatives. Furthermore, traditional hegemonic *distinction* processes and behaviour are in direct conflict with men's emerging demands to change the hegemonic *distinction* criteria to include co-parenting fathers. This means that the identification of intra-relationships within an aspect of the hegemony of men can be a focal point for the further investigation of shifting gendered work-family balance expectations. The following chapter continues to evaluate how men, masculinities, and masculine selves are integrated with work-life balance by reviewing how men approach their entrepreneurial decisions. The critical analysis of men's entrepreneurial decision-making will incorporate men's interpretation of their masculine selves and the continued competition for *distinction* through power and control.

Sociological perspectives of work-life balance highlight some men's desire as an internal motivator for the establishment of men as a change agent concerning organisational work-life policy development. Change in western cultural hegemonic assumptions regarding fatherhood behaviour expectations are highlighted by the emergence of conflicting *distinction* ideologies. This chapter demonstrates that

traditional fatherhood ideologies revolving around providing financial stability are still persistent and are resistant to viewing work-life balance as non-problematic. However, the inclusion of some men's desire to be participative parents reveals conflict in the perception of *distinction* opportunities for men engaged as both fathers and entrepreneurs.

Chapter 7: Men, masculinities, and masculine selves

7.1 Introduction: Perspective of analysis

This chapter focuses on Hearn's (2004) concept of the *distinction* aspect as a means to emphasise the complexities of the hegemony of men. The hegemony of men and the construction of masculine selves creates a foundation for critically analysing the categorisation of different forms of men and men's practices during work-life balance decisions. Collinson and Hearn's (1994) identification of five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities are applied in this chapter as part of discussing Hearn's (2004) concept of *distinction*. As illustrated on page 50 Table 3.2.1, Collinson and Hearn's (1994) labelling of their identified five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities in management are authoritarianism, paternalism, entrepreneurialism, informalism, and careerism. These five discourses and practices are utilised to critically analyse men's relationship with hegemonic behaviour expectations and their desires as both fathers and entrepreneurs. This chapter frames hegemonic behaviour expectations within these five possible discourses and practices to demonstrate how men may utilise embedded *distinction* practices when negotiating hierarchies of power with other men, women and children during work-life balance decision-making.

The critical analysis of men's formulation of their masculine selves creates an opportunity to examine both hegemonic masculine behaviour expectations perceived by men, as well as men's desire to conform or resist. Examining men as potential agents of change while investigating their interactions with assumed hegemonic structures creates a narrative for critically analysing men's work-life balance goals and their actual approach to entrepreneurial decision-making. Focusing on men's

discussions concerning work-life balance opens the door for investigating the complexities within the *distinction* aspect.

I assume multiple masculinities as part of my analysis which is used to critically analyse Hearn's (2004) concept of *distinction*. The analysis is done while focusing on what men actually do when faced with decisions that could affect their hegemonic position. Collinson and Hearn's (1994) identification of five discourses and practices of masculinities are used to conceptualise the *distinction* process. The first section of this chapter titled "creating masculine selves" investigates how the men construct their masculine selves as both fathers and as entrepreneurs. The construction of masculine selves is used as a foundation of my analysis for the next three sections which highlights men's *distinction* strategies regarding power and control, hegemonic change resistance, and domestic relationship strategies.

This chapter critically analyses the relationship between men, masculinities, and hegemonic assumptions regarding fatherhood and entrepreneurship. Four themes surfaced during the interview process: creating masculine selves, expectations of power and control, resistance to change, and men's association with the home. These themes are highlighted in the titles of each section in this chapter. My analysis reveals men's complex observations and internal conflicts concerning their perceptions of social behaviour expectations, *distinction*, and their own desires as fathers by highlighting some men's strategies for establishing work-life balance and reducing conflict. My analysis of men's actual interpretations of their positions as entrepreneurs and fathers relates to their masculine selves. Conceptualising entrepreneurial and domestic masculine selves highlights the persistence of assumed hegemonic masculinities in men's perceptions of power and control. These men's position of

power and control are viewed as being both assumed change agents for shifting work-life balance gender assumptions and as innovative entrepreneurs.

7.2 Creating masculine selves

The following seven quotes demonstrate some of the different strategies used to process and filter information during the construction of masculine selves. Men's construction of masculine selves may either coincide or conflict with their perceived social expectations of behaviours for men, entrepreneurs, and fathers. However, the explanation of both conflict and harmony between varying masculine selves helps the interviewee express what is important to them as individuals. The first three quotes of this section are from the three main characters of this research: Aiden, Ben, and Gareth. As we saw in the three tables numbered 5.4.1 to 5.4.3 (pages 114-116); Aiden is a tradesman in his late forties who is an equal partner in a small trades company. Aiden is identified as a participative parent because of his statement that all he wants is time with his family and hobbies. Ben is in his early thirties and is the sole proprietor of a small construction company. Ben identifies himself as a subcultural modified parent because of his statement that he abides by standards in the bible regardless of whether they are seen as politically correct in Canada. Finally, Gareth is in his early forties and is an equal partner in a small trades company with his spouse. Gareth identifies as a Canadian traditionalist parent and stated that only real men provide for their family.

"I don't mind the idea of getting up to three or four employees, even four or five. I really don't want to get bigger than that. I found that given the life I want to lead, a company with 20 employees and a million-dollar contract is more work than I want. I chose to go into business for

myself so I could live the life I want to live. I don't live for my job. I am not driven that way at all. I am not a go-getter. I'm not an entrepreneur. I chose to go into business so I can live a more relaxed life." *Aiden*

"The New Testament, just looking at the life of Christ. You can get a lot of standards to live by. Whether you believe in the higher being or not, there are standards in the bible. I think most of them are very generic. There is some specific instruction for children and men and women, not all of them are politically correct. I'm fine with that." *Ben*

"I don't know it's just that I was raised that the dad was the provider; you always provided if you were a real man. You provide for your family. My mom never ever went out working. She always took care of the family of six kids. But you know, the time I have had to spend at home with the kids I realize, oh my god, that's tough. It is work. It does mean something. It's not easy. I was laid off and on unemployment and taking care of the kids and I didn't want to be at home. I wanted to be out making money to take care of my family and it was bothering me. I was grouchy all the time and I was horrible to live with." *Gareth*

Aiden demonstrates that he is uncomfortable with the entrepreneur label by stating, 'I'm not an entrepreneur'. His insistence that he isn't 'wired that way' further establishes that he wants to align his entrepreneur masculine self away from the business aggressive entrepreneurial stereotype by ensuring that I understand that he rejects the label of entrepreneur. This rejection allows him to build his own set of

guidelines for establishing alternative masculine values in order to build *distinction* for himself as a father within his social circles. Hearn's (2004) concept of *distinction* describes a system of "distinctions and categorisations between different forms of men and men's practices". Collinson and Hearn (1994) stated that masculinities are often in a constant state of flux because of a person's shifting social situation. This continuous fluctuation of masculinities based on social situations leads to a creation of multiple fluid masculine selves. For example, Aiden's work-life perspective has created a gateway for him to change the perception of what it means to be masculine in his social networks. By doing this, Aiden attempts to alter the standards and benchmarks by which he is measured as an entrepreneur and father. Aiden's refusal to adopt the entrepreneurial label is an attempt to construct himself as a revolutionary against traditional hegemonic masculinities. This revolutionary persona is what he uses to shape how family, friends, colleagues, and clients perceive him with regards to gaining *distinction* through his work-life balance expectations.

Aiden's process for gaining *distinction* amongst his peers starts with introducing fatherhood as an acceptable 'masculine' topic. The use of informalism as a tool to disseminate his fatherhood ideologies creates an opportunity for Aiden to establish a foundation for building a revolutionary heroic standpoint with regards to his decision to start his own business. Aiden's refusal to adopt the entrepreneurial label highlights his use of informalism to disseminate his revolutionary viewpoint while he simultaneously benefits from the assumed agency of being both male and an entrepreneur.

Ben discusses how his religious beliefs and social circles influence and set guidelines for building masculine selves. In this case, his religious beliefs are used as the foundation for determining how men need to behave in order to gain *distinction*

among his peers. Ben's pursuit for *distinction* is highlighted by his relationship with his community, and is illustrated when he discusses his dissemination of community ideologies to younger members of his congregation. His hopes to demonstrate his loyalty to his community by seeking *distinction* through authorised methods. He demonstrates his loyalty towards his religious community by emphasising that he is not afraid to be judged negatively by others outside of his social circles. This strong stance used to protect his subculture's traditional hegemonic masculinities is a result of understanding that it will not negatively affect his masculine identities within his peer group. In fact, a staunch stance in his religious convictions will likely serve to help boost his *distinction* within his community.

Ben also uses informalism to establish a foundation for his fatherhood viewpoints. However, he uses established interests in his community, such as religious teachings concerning family and fatherhood, as a starting point to further his *distinction* within his community. Ben introduces paternalism concerning his relationship with community members to demonstrate both his loyalty to the community and his willingness to lead his community in the defence of their family ideologies.

In the third quote, Gareth establishes himself as a Canadian traditionalist parent when it comes to work-life balance and fatherhood responsibilities. He demonstrates his masculine selves by stating that he was raised to believe that only real men provided for their families. This traditional *distinction* process for gaining rank within the community narrows the categorisations of men to their ability to earn and accumulate wealth for the family to acquire possessions. Gareth describes a time when he was forced out of the provider responsibility via a layoff at work. The realisation that he may lose his title as a 'real man' negatively affected Gareth's

mental state which in turn created a poor family environment in his home. The pressure of not being able to maintain the status of provider in his family overrode the realisation childcare that is difficult work and could be recognised as valuable. Gareth's decision to become an entrepreneur is the result of not wanting to rely on others for an income. Gareth's desire to regain control over his work environment through entrepreneurship allows him to regain his *distinction* as a provider.

Gareth's negotiation with his spouse to enter entrepreneurialism was highlighted in section 6.3 'strain-based conflict'. Gareth's fear of not being viewed as a 'real man' translated into strain-based conflict in his domestic sphere because he was feeling miserable at home. The use of Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of authoritarianism to establish negotiating power in a work-life balance decision demonstrates the power that assumed hegemonic masculine assumptions have when men choose to resist perceived change in their desired position at work and in the home. Gareth uses strain and stress as a tool for maintaining traditional masculine fatherhood ideologies and to establish himself as an entrepreneur. These three quotes illustrate the three leading strategies in this thesis that interviewees use to establish and build their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. Aiden, Ben, and Gareth established their foundational beliefs and values with regards to creating and maintaining their masculine selves. These foundational values and beliefs regarding men, fatherhood, work-life balance and entrepreneurship inform their strategies towards their preferred work-life interactions. Their three strategies are: to actively reject traditional masculine hegemonic models as a point of rebellion, apply a modified traditional model established by a relationship with social cliques such religious affiliation, and the acceptance of traditional Canadian hegemonic masculinities. Aiden, Ben, and Gareth demonstrate how domestic and entrepreneurial

masculine selves are utilised as a platform for establishing *distinction* within the hegemony of men. These three strategies highlight a range of *distinction* strategies that range from rebellion to complete conformation with perceived hegemonic masculine ideologies.

The next four quotes further demonstrate the three strategies highlighted by Aiden, Ben, and Gareth. Olaf is a man in his late thirties who is a partner with his spouse. Their company is a medium sized information technology business. Olaf is identified as a participative parent because of his statement that he was attracted to how his spouse put their kids first and that it drew him into the idea of having a relationship with his children. Ian is in his late thirties and is a professional business partner with his spouse. Ian is identified as a participative parent because of his statement that he always wanted to have a close relationship with his kids. Frank is a professional in his mid-forties who is major shareholder of a small consulting firm. Frank is identified as a subcultural modified parent because of his statement that the Bible is full of good life advice and is the reason why his spouse stayed home to care for the children. Finally, Troy is a man in his mid-sixties and is the sole owner of a large retail/supply company. Troy is identified as a Canadian traditionalist parent because of his statement that his fatherhood duties are to bring home the money and put food in the fridge.

“I don’t know what the word would be to describe that sort of ‘what do you do for a living’, right. It’s more about and what about them as an individual versus having work define them. In our world that’s what defines most of us is what we do for a living but I’d rather find out about the individual behind the name rather than where do they work. That’s

what I'd hope others would do about me too. Owning a business is more of a lubrication for allowing me to have the free time to do what I enjoy and that's what defines me; not work per se." *Olaf*

"I would work a lot of late nights and sleep in until noon. I told myself how lucky I was that I could set my own schedule and work whenever I wanted to. At a certain point there was a bit of a crisis between my wife and myself. It was definitely a frustration for her and I think part of it was 'hey, you're a dad. You have to be here. We have a family and we have to have family time'. I thought, 'you know I should just work 9-5' and so I did. The kids were toddlers; I just said, 'this is crazy. I'm not going to try and work late. I'm just going to work during the day.' That was actually good because the kids could count on the fact that dad would be around in the evening to play and we would have a family dinner every night. It was good." *Ian*

"Raising the child, teaching them right from wrong, and teaching what the bible says. The bible we believe has a lot of good advice. Advice for life. I mean that's part of the reason that my wife stays home. I think if we were to have this conversation four or five years ago, I would have put more of an emphasis on making money and materialism. I think that there is more to life than money is one of the phrases. It's not all about accumulating as much as you can so you can retire as early as you can and live the easy life. I don't think it's the way it's supposed to go. I

think it's easy to fall into the trap of spending or putting too much value on money.” *Frank*

“It's kind of in my head. I'm brought up that the majority of people when they own a business spend most of their time in the business. Especially the men because the ladies always take care of family... I think because my kids were born in Canada they are more family orientated instead of money. I think money is not everything and they will spend more time, if they have a family, they will spend more time with the children.” *Troy*

Olaf exemplifies Aiden’s strategy of rejecting traditional hegemonic processes for assessing and achieving *distinction*. Olaf’s opposition of traditional hegemonic masculinities features his attempt to change the process of *distinction* by changing the rules for ranking his value as a man. Olaf expresses that he uses his new rules for ranking men’s distinction when he assesses other men and men’s practices concerning work-life balance. Aiden’s reaction against being labelled as a ‘go-getter’ or ‘entrepreneur’ is a rejection of his perception of traditional processes of *distinction* in the hegemony of men. Olaf further articulates this distain for traditional hegemonic *distinction* processes associated with entrepreneurship by refusing both to judge others and be judged by activities associated with work and income. Olaf’s comment does not mean he is not willing to participate in hegemonic *distinction* processes to determine a man’s character or value; however, there is a refusal to participate using traditional measurement tools such as the workplace and income. Olaf’s explanation of why traditional masculinities are not for him is that he establishes his domestic and

entrepreneurial masculine selves based on his social circle's criteria. *Distinction* is earned and maintained by establishing oneself during leisure and community activities and not based in the work sphere. Hearn's (2004) concept of *distinction* is being applied to determine and measure a man's rank between different forms of men; however, the criteria for *distinction* is dramatically different based on his shift in his work-life balance perspective. Olaf relates men's domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves to work-life balance decisions by demonstrating the fluidity of interactions between men, masculinities, and work-life balance. Shifts in how men build their domestic and entrepreneurial masculinities create tensions between work and life decisions because leisure and fatherhood activities are becoming a focal point for evaluation.

Olaf's explanation of establishing an alternative method for building and maintaining distinction within his community demonstrates the ease in which hegemonic masculinities can shift. Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of informalism is defined as the building of relationships through accepted masculine interests. However, 'masculine' interests are in a constant state of flux. Olaf uses this constant state of flux to establish fatherhood as a primary masculine interest in which he builds and maintains relationships with others. This allows him to establish rules of *distinction* for himself and his community.

Ian demonstrates how his relationship with his spouse can influence the construction of his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. Ian's construction process involves a self-evaluation of his *distinction* amongst his peers, his spouse, and other men and women. Ian expresses how his spouse informed him of her displeasure with his lack of family participation and demanded a change in his behaviour. This illustrates his spouse's influence with regards to his evaluation of *distinction* because

he demonstrates how women in his social circle triggered a re-evaluation of participative parenting. The re-evaluation of participative parenting is then done by determining how his work-life balance choice affects his *distinction*. Ian's internal review of his participation as a father caused him to recognise that he was not participating in his children's lives as he desired. This recognition translates into aligning his work schedule with his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves so that his kids could count on him being around in the evening to play and have a family dinner.

The re-evaluation of Ian's domestic masculine selves as a participative father translated into a shift in behaviour to be more physically present in the home; however, it does not represent a complete shift in his perception of his fatherhood ideologies and participative parenthood. Ian discusses his work schedule as being better for his involvement with his children with the assumption that his spouse will still be the main caregiver during his new working hours. He characterises his involvement as being the father as the one responsible for play and keeping his children occupied while his spouse continues as the domestic labourer. There is no discussion of participating in chores such as cooking, cleaning, or any other domestic functions traditionally associated with women. This indicates that the traditional hegemonic assumptions regarding the men, women, and their place in the home are still being used by both parents in this family. However, Ian's negotiations with his spouse did influence his perceptions of *distinction* enough to create a small change in his hegemonic assumptions. Ian's ability to connect socially with his children through play and family time is added to the *distinction* process as a way to demonstrate he is more than just a source of income.

Like Ben, Frank's reflection of his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves has strong social ties to his religious community. Frank establishes the Bible as his guide for his beliefs regarding his responsibilities as a father. He states that he uses religious teaching as a guide for adopting a family structure that relegates his spouse into the home while he maintains *distinction* as the moral guide for his children. Frank simultaneously uses his religious community as the foundation for defending against opposing fatherhood ideologies and as a means to gain *distinction* through his loyalty to his community. For example, Frank justifies his spouse staying home by referring to the bible as a source for 'good advice' for maintaining the work and family domains. Frank assumes that his spouse will support his position of power in both the home and at work based on their religious affiliation. Frank expands his responsibilities beyond being a Canadian traditional provider by referring to his expanded platform of *distinction* via his religious responsibility of acting as a moral guide and teacher to his children. For example, he states, 'teaching what the Bible says. The Bible we believe has a lot of good advice'. Thus, teaching and passing along this advice is his duty as a father and must be included in his construction of his domestic masculine selves. This position as faith teacher to his family grants him certain privileges as a leader in the household. He states that maintaining a religious family structure is more important than earning extra money because the value of *distinction* opportunities associated with his affiliation to his religious social community outweighs possible economic benefits.

Ben and Frank demonstrate how the discourse and practices of embedded masculinities of managers identified by Collinson and Hearn (1994) can be adapted to situations outside of the work sphere. For example, both Ben and Frank adapt the practice of careerism to relationship building within their religious communities. This

is done by demonstrating their loyalty to their community by acting as a protector of their beliefs from outside influences such as new federal parental leave legislation and ad campaigns like the “there’s a dad for that!” poster shown in the introduction chapter. Acting as a protector of the community allows Ben and Frank to increase their *distinction* within the community by elevating their position within their communities to a mentor.

Troy’s quote demonstrates how assumed Canadian traditional hegemonic masculinities influence how men reflect on their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. Like Gareth, Troy believes that his responsibility as a father is to ensure that his family has the best possible income. Troy maintains that being brought up in a traditional fashion results in a rigid mind-set that cannot be altered even though he perceives a shift in fatherhood expectations regarding participation in the home. This exemplifies the simplicity in how hegemonic masculinities and the hegemony of men are able to maintain hegemonic traditions of *distinction* to men’s advantage. However, Troy unknowingly contradicts himself because he assumes his children will adopt the shifting fatherhood ideologies regardless of being raised in a traditional family setting. He states that his children are affected by the new Canadian way of thinking because they were brought up around it and will recognise shifting opportunities for *distinction*. Troy recognises that change in hegemonic structures regarding fatherhood cannot be resisted indefinitely; however, he resists change in fatherhood ideologies by aligning his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves to the traditions of his childhood.

Three distinct fatherhood ideals that emerged in this analysis demonstrate the power that culture and subcultures can have within the *distinction* aspect of the hegemony of men. Media, different levels of government, religious communities, and

others disseminate assumed *distinction* processes for men and continue to facilitate discourses and practices of embedded masculinities observed by Collinson and Hearn (1994). This analysis highlights how some men interpret the media, government initiatives, and religious organisations and how they continue to attempt to build *distinction* using fatherhood as the platform. The media's representation of fatherhood usually involves a working man who uses his job as a means to support his family. Canadian federal government leaders are attempting to redefine fatherhood as participative parenting through both parental leave policy changes and through work-life balance initiatives (Bogart, 2016). Finally, subcultures, such as religious affiliations, are highlighted as some men's benchmark for establishing *distinction* as both fathers and entrepreneurs.

The following section highlights power dynamics in men's relationships with other men, women, and children. These discussions revolve around work and family social spheres and further highlight the potential for conflict between differing interpretations of domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves and its impact on relationship building and opportunities for *distinction*.

7.3 Power and control

Power and control is a major focal point for researching men and masculinities because power facilitates the critical examination of assumed hegemonic ideologies concerning men. Much of the research on power and control revolves around assumed hegemonic ideologies concerning men, masculinities, and their effect on the differences in social perceptions of *distinction* between men, women, and children (Connell, 2005, Hearn, 2004). Knights and Willmott (1999) describe power as a relation in which the actions of some people influence the actions of others, instead of a thing that can be acquired and used. This section uses the concept of domestic and

entrepreneurial masculine selves to explore why men choose entrepreneurship. Part of this chapter is focused on how men establish and maintain work-based relationships as a process of getting a more complete picture of the *distinction* process. This is done by linking the subject's business relationship goals with their entrepreneurial and domestic masculine selves. Collinson and Hearn's (1994) identification of five discourses of masculinities are incorporated into the analysis of *distinction* as a means of demonstrating how domestic and entrepreneurial masculinities relate to the strategies of gaining and maintaining power and control as a business strategy. The subject of work-based relationships revolves around business partners (including spouses), employees and clients. The men in this study have considerable influence and control over all aspects of their businesses. Power and control is identified as a major theme concerning their choice to move into entrepreneurship.

The first three quotes are from our main characters Aiden, Ben, and Gareth. As a reminder, Aiden is a tradesman in his late forties who is an equal partner in a small trades company. Aiden defines himself as a participative parent. Ben is in his early thirties and is the sole proprietor of a small construction company. Ben identifies as a subcultural modified parent who uses his religious affiliation as a guide for building domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. Gareth is in his early forties and is an equal partner with his spouse in a small trades company. Gareth is identified as a Canadian traditionalist parent.

“I wanted to be in control. That was part of the deal. You know, not complete control, I don’t have a problem saying this area is what I control, this is what you control, let me know how it’s going, let me know if you need help.” *Aidan*

“I rarely say I’m the owner unless there is a significant marketing advantage. But, for my own personal sake I hate saying I am the owner because it gets me into all kinds of awkward conversations and people, sometimes view ‘oh you’re the owner of a company? Ooooh’. No, I’m just another guy that just does construction. I like what I do. When I am around my employees in public I most often say I just work with them. Even though they are my employee, I don’t want to say this is my employee. I hate it when people use their position to try to gain social status. It just irritates me.” *Ben*

“I’m a hard ass. When I’m at work it’s ‘get her done’. I’m an asshole to work for I guess. Because if I make a good name for myself, people are going to see what I can do, see the work I put out, that just generates into more work for me. I’m more driven. I know if I make a good name, that makes the company a good name and it’s going to make me more money. It’s going to keep me working.” *Gareth*

Aiden states that the main reason for choosing to leave his job to start his own business was to give him power and control in his work sphere. Aiden does not specifically discuss working hours in this quote; however, this is an extension of his desire to be a participative parent. Aiden discussed his need to adjust his working hours to fit with his desire for work-life balance in the previous chapter. His desire to be in a position of power in the work domain is a result of his desire to adjust his work schedule to accommodate work-life balance. This reflects similar research that

explains why some women entrepreneurs left managerial positions for business ownership in the 1990s (Marshall, 1995). However, changes to parental leave policies in Canada in 1990 have slowly had an impact on how men and women perceive and negotiate their parental duties. Aiden stated previously that he rejects the entrepreneur label because he is uncomfortable taking on the embedded gendered persona linked to entrepreneurship; however, he recognises and enjoys the work-life balance benefits of being in an ownership position and having control of his own hours.

Aiden attempts to shift away from the perceived aggressive nature of the entrepreneur by stating that he is willing to share control with his business partner. However, Aiden accepts bureaucratic methods of sharing power and control in management through a partitioning of organisational duties. This demonstrates Aiden's recognition that his choice of adopting a progressive domestic masculine selves ideology towards work-life balance made it imperative that he has absolute power in his work domain in order to foster his domestic beliefs. Aiden's rejection of the embeddedness of entrepreneurship illustrates how he uses his *distinction* as an entrepreneur as a tool to alter the assumed behaviour expectations of men in entrepreneurship. Aiden believes that traditional fatherhood ideologies being broadcast by the media are no longer valid and that government initiatives to include fathers in participative parenting are the way forward. This creates an interesting relationship between hegemonic masculinities and the hegemony of men because Aiden recognises that popular hegemonic masculine assumptions concerning power and control are perceived as directly relating to him as a man. This recognition enables Aiden to use traditional embedded hegemonic masculinities regarding entrepreneurship as a tool for establishing himself as an agent of change in shifting the *distinction* processes for men in entrepreneurship who desire work-life balance.

Ben states that he is concerned with being viewed as flaunting his status as an owner because it irritates him when others do this to gain *distinction* in social settings. Ben adopts a colleague approach with his employees and remains within those boundaries when dealing with clients. Ben believes that this informal approach reduces the perception that he is flaunting his status. Ben's attempt to limit the use of his status as owner is a demonstration of rejecting perceived embedded masculinities associated with entrepreneurship. Like Aiden, Ben feels that using the status of entrepreneur increases the opportunity for others to associate entrepreneurship with both his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. Ben uses this technique of hiding his status as a way of signalling his ability to be approachable to those who may be intimidated by his status. However, he states that he will adopt the owner persona if he perceives a 'significant marketing advantage'.

Ben's valuation of each potential client that he encounters is used in his decision to demonstrate his *distinction* as an entrepreneur. Ben uses his awareness of the *distinction* process by only engaging as an owner with clients that he feels have enough influence to significantly impact his business success. His position as owner gives him a platform he feels he can use to negotiate for further *distinction* at work through attaining prosperous business relationships. However, Ben's limited use of his entrepreneurial status reveals an internal conflict between his desired domestic masculine selves and his recognition of the embedded masculine personas associated with entrepreneurship. Ben feels the need to adopt the entrepreneur persona when he is faced with influential clients even though he expresses his disdain for people who use their position, as business owners, for social gain. Ben states that he wants to reject the masculinities associated with entrepreneurship by being humble and easily approachable in both his domestic and entrepreneurial social circles. However, he

feels he is unable to maintain his rejection of embedded entrepreneurial *distinction* processes when faced with having to negotiate with other successful entrepreneurs.

Gareth's quote demonstrates that he has fully aligned his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves with his perceptions of traditional hegemonic masculine ideologies regarding men and women's responsibilities for work and family. In the previous section, Gareth asserts that he finds it emotionally difficult to be in a situation outside of his highly masculinised comfort zone. Gareth states his comfort with maintaining traditional embedded masculinities in entrepreneurship by adopting an aggressive workplace persona. This persona is designed to motivate his employees to accomplish his organisation's goals in order to impress high powered clients. Gareth's adopted persona represents two of Collinson and Hearn's (1994) identified discourses of masculinities embedded in business. Gareth's authoritarian approach to gaining and sustaining *distinction* as a business owner is similar to bullying tactics used by NASA's upper level management to ignore professional advice of engineers in order to maintain launch dates (Maier and Messerschmidt, 1998, Messerschmidt, 1996). However, Gareth's aggressive behaviour towards his employees is used as a method for controlling employee work schedules instead of being used to limit employee power of expert knowledge. Gareth's subordination of employees using aggression is done to inform clients that he is an effective, no nonsense businessman. This tactic is similar to Mills's (2001) observations of schoolboys attempting to gain power and control at school. Gareth uses authoritarianism as a way to gain *distinction* with deep pocketed clients. Gareth recognises that the competitive nature of his business is associated with having a limited number of potential clients with lucrative contracts. The limited number of deep pocket clients available to him highlights the use of careerism as an impression

management tool to entice these clients to continue to offer him lucrative contracts in the future.

Gareth's perception of having a limited number of potential clientele translates to managing his *distinction* opportunities within the work domain by demonstrating himself as a hard-nosed go getter. Gareth's use of careerism and authoritarianism is a platform for increasing his *distinction* with both his employees and his potential clients. This demonstrates his commitment to his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves because he can maintain his image as both an effective provider for his family and as a promising entrepreneur. Gareth's hardnosed authoritative attitude towards his employees leaves no doubts regarding his methods for gaining *distinction* as a business owner. He carries forward his managerial tactics as a method for gaining a competitive advantage within his industry by demonstrating his commitment to the work domain. Gareth's commitment to established traditional hegemonic masculinities regarding the work and family domain highlights the continued struggle for actual change in organisational power dynamics that have been extensively researched with regards to women facing glass ceilings (Murgia and Poggio, 2013, Murgia and Poggio, 2009, Connell, 2005, Orhan and Scott, 2001).

Knights and Willmott's (1999) description of power as a relationship between the actions of two or more people is evident in Aiden, Ben, and Gareth's reasoning for choosing entrepreneurship. All three men describe the social impact of the entrepreneurial label as a platform for establishing *distinction* in their personal and professional relationships. However, the perception of power and *distinction* is seen as a determinant as to how these men approach social contracts in relationships with others. For example, Aiden uses assumed embedded hegemonic masculine ideologies of entrepreneurship as a platform for determining how he approaches his relationships

with his business partner and clients. In this case, he uses his *distinction* as a partner to negotiate his area of control within the business while simultaneously developing rules for him and his partner to exchange business ideas, as illustrated by his comment ‘let me know how it’s going, let me know if you need help’. The emergence of shifting fatherhood ideologies which promote the participative father creates an opportunity to further review how men engage with power structures when attempting work-family balance.

The next three quotes further demonstrate how men perceive and maintain *distinction* through power and control in their business relationships while simultaneously attempting to maintain work-family balance. Dan is a man in his late forties who is a partner with his spouse; together they own and operate a medium sized trades company. Dan is identified as a participative parent because of his statement that he feels it is more important to be with family than work. Olaf is in his late thirties and is a partner with his spouse operating a medium sized information technology company and has previously been identified as a participative parent. Hunter is a professional man in his mid-thirties and is an equal partner in a medium company based on his and his business partner’s professional knowledge. Hunter is identified as a subcultural modified parent because of his statement that his work-family decisions are based on his religion.

“I thought I may as well start my own company where I have more control of how people that were working with me worked, and so I did.”

Dan

“My wife worked so hard to establish herself as part of the team...The bone of contention was the 51-49 share split. *Joe*: Did she ask why you needed control? *Answer*: Yes. *Joe*: What was your answer? *Answer*: I just need the hammer” *Olaf*

“She is an employee of my corporation and she would be a shareholder in my corporation as well. It’s pretty much even split but I have all the voting rights... The main reason is she has nothing to do with and she doesn’t know much about my trade so I don’t think she should have voting rights on that. She has a few years background with accounting”

Hunter

Dan’s comment is another example of Collinson and Hearn’s (1994) concept of authoritarianism in masculine relations. Dan’s desire for power and control is specific to his relationship with his employees. Dan expresses that there is an overarching power granted by his *distinction* as a business owner that allows him to control his employees’ work habits through constant monitoring. Dan is not threatening his employees directly with job loss; but there is an undertone of ‘my way or the highway’ concerning specific work standards. Dan’s desire to control employee work levels and quality is similar to Gareth’s desire for control. Dan’s trade is highly competitive due to limited clients in the region. He feels that maintaining a good reputation through his work production is vital in maintaining contracts where there are limited clients. However, unlike Gareth, Dan established his domestic masculine selves as being in favour of work-life balance. The use of his traditional embedded masculinities in business as a means of gaining power contradicts Manolova et al.’s

(2007) assumption that having a work-life balance focus decreases the desire for entrepreneurial growth. This disconnect demonstrates that men's alignment of their domestic and masculine selves is not equivalent to establishing similar behaviour process for both social spheres. Dan may feel the need to be more aggressive in the workplace to increase work efficiency so that he feels comfortable working less hours to accomplish work-life balance.

Olaf's quote is an excellent illustration of how his desire for total control in the work domain conflicts with his attempt to accommodate his wife's desire to be an involved partner in their organisation. Olaf's need to maintain his *distinction* as an entrepreneur is so strong that he is willing to risk his domestic relationship in order to acquire and maintain power and control in the workplace. His preoccupation with being the majority shareholder incorporates Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of careerism because he is so focused on the hierarchical rank of being the majority shareholder. His spouse, although reluctantly, concedes to Olaf's bid for power and chooses to support Olaf's hegemonic bid for *distinction*. Olaf's wife granted him the power position in order to fulfil Olaf's need for 'the hammer'. Olaf states that he recognises his spouse's sacrifice in conceding the major shareholder position by attempting to reduce negative perceptions towards his uncompromising stance. Olaf compliments his spouse's ability to establish herself in their organisation as a quality team member. However, Olaf further attempts to boost his *distinction* as the majority shareholder while simultaneously reducing his spouse's *distinction* by categorising her as an employee or 'part of the team'. This further demonstrates a possible disconnect between men's behavioural strategies at home and in the workplace when establishing domestic and masculine selves. However, this is not presented as behavioural-based

conflict by Olaf. Olaf seems comfortable with shifting between work and family regardless of his conflicting goals and objectives concerning work-life balance.

Hunter's position towards his spouse is like Olaf's. However, Hunter believes his spouse is unable to be fully engaged with the business because she is not a licensed practitioner of the business specialty. Hunter acknowledges that his spouse has management training as an accountant but he is unwilling to relinquish voting rights to her. Hunter believes that professional knowledge of the business's products and services is more important for a business decision-maker than business management training. The use of a professional licence as the foundation for creating a position of power and control within the business is an example of the *distinction* aspects in the hegemony of men (Hearn, 2004). Hunter agrees to split the shares between his spouse and himself because he sees a tax advantage for himself and his spouse. However, Hunter boosts his *distinction* by removing the threat of his spouse challenging future business decisions by refusing to transfer voting rights as part of the stock sharing/income splitting decision. This example demonstrates how some men use careerism as a method for gaining the top power position as an entrepreneur which in turn increases his hegemonic *distinction* over his spouse (Hearn, 2004, Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Hunter assumes his spouse will support his bid to not relinquish voting rights because he assumes that his tax advantage argument of an increased income for their family will appease her assumed family focus. Furthermore, Hunter's assumption that his spouse would relinquish power for the benefit of the family is supported by her concessions.

7.4 Hegemonic resistance: Old habits die hard

Hegemonic resistance continues the discussion of power and control by highlighting the potential internal conflicts of masculine selves with the embedded

masculinities of entrepreneurship. The topic of power and control described above disconnects between behaviour expectations of men establishing their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. Interviewees continue to discuss the difficulties of avoiding the use of embedded hegemonic masculine discourses and practices described by Collinson and Hearn (1994) even when some men desire a family-centric approach to work-life balance. Aiden and Ben continue their role as the main characters for the following discussion; however, Gareth is not used in the third quote because he has previously established himself as being faithful to traditional hegemonic masculine behaviours. For the third quote, Kyle takes Gareth's place because his quote establishes himself as being against establishing working hours that reduce his opportunity to spend time with family. Kyle is in his early forties and is the sole owner of a medium sized trades company. Kyle is identified as a subcultural modified parent because of his statement that his church organisation has a foundation of youth involvement and that his kids are a big part of his life.

“There were other solutions to catching up with our contracts. Schedule properly and don’t take on work we don’t need. Say no. That is an incredibly freeing word. ‘Will you do this for me? No. No, not now. Six months from now, absolutely.’ It really feels so good. I have learned a lot that way. My family is important to me. It is more important to me than what I do for a living. My business focus is some ways a coincident. I am not a passionate about what I do. It is not a hobby.” *Aiden*

“Even if they wanted to, I don’t agree with sending my guys up to Calgary and I stay here at home. That’s not fair. Employee or not I don’t

really care... I talk to them about how their families are doing and stuff like that. I think it's really cool when this past Christmas one of the wives of one of my guys called me up and said, 'hey, I want to give my husband tickets to a concert in Hawaii, do you think he'd be able to have 10 days off in January to go to the concert?' You know what? You don't get that opportunity more than once in a lifetime and so it was exciting to just say, 'yeah, just do it. I don't care. We'll figure something out. Just book it. Do it.' That was fun." *Ben*

"No, I do not feel pressured by my crews to work on the weekend any more. Even though that there is a thought that they do want to work; I don't feel that pressure. I think Saturdays is their argument day but they just know that Sunday is a day of rest and for family. Even if that pressure's there from other business to get a job done; they know that Sunday isn't going to be the day that they have to make it up. They'll try to make it up other ways." *Kyle*

Aiden's comment illustrates his frustrations with pushy clientele attempting to get him to squeeze small jobs in between his larger contracts. At first he was apprehensive to say no because of the potential for lost income; however, he found that being apprehensive encouraged his clients to be aggressive regarding work-schedules. Allowing aggressive clientele to dictate his work schedule created a work situation that was in contrast with Aiden's desire for work-family balance. Aiden's goal of being in control of his business and working hours is the main reason for his choice to move into entrepreneurship; however, he did not seem to anticipate his

clients being so demanding. He discovers that being firm with clients with his flat no answers gave him more power and control to shift his work-life situation away from the work centric format that he chose to reject. Aiden's comment that no is 'an incredibly freeing word' demonstrates his discovery of the power associated with being in an ownership position. His delight in this discovery is reflected by his statement that he maintains a dominant persona at work to create and preserve a balanced work-life environment for him and his organisation.

Wetherell and Edley (1999) discuss men's attempt to reject masculine ideals as an impression management tactic. The practice of careerism identified by Collinson and Hearn (1994) is used to develop strategies for gaining and maintaining *distinction*. Aiden seems to acknowledge his aggressive strategy for promoting change in masculine entrepreneurial practices as aggressive and highly masculine itself. He discusses the effectiveness of using unrelenting negotiation tactics. This can be interpreted as an intentional manoeuvre to gain further *distinction* within his peer groups by using his current *distinction* as an entrepreneur as a negotiation advantage. This means that men can use the hegemony of men to claim agency in promoting shifts in fatherhood and work-life balance assumptions.

Aiden's choice to challenge pressure to overbook his working days by displaying an uncompromising persona for preserving work-life balance allows him to drive negotiations regarding project scheduling. The use of aggressive tactics to protect his desire for work-life balance is a contradiction within itself because Aiden wants to shift the ideology of fatherhood to being flexible and more participative in the home. At the same time, Aiden uses his *distinction* as an entrepreneur to coerce clients using authoritarian tactics (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Aiden demands that clients adjust their project scheduling to meet his needs, or go elsewhere. Aiden

attempts to separate his stubborn approach to disseminating his work-life balance objectives from embedded hegemonic entrepreneurial masculinities. This can be interpreted as an example of the accidental reinforcement of hegemonic masculinities through active resistance (Gagnon and Collinson, 2014). However, Aiden seems to recognise his struggle as a father attempting to change hegemonic ideologies regarding entrepreneurship and family. As a result, Aiden implements a more dominant masculine persona to promote the importance of men maintaining a healthy work-life balance. This creates a dichotomy in his representation of masculine selves. On one hand, Aiden is promoting a more progressive stance towards men's involvement with family; but on the other hand, he is adopting a traditionally masculine aggressive technique in promoting his desire for change. This demonstrates how *distinction* and the discourse and practices of embedded masculinities can interrelate with the social category of men. For example, Aiden uses his status as a man and the embeddedness of entrepreneurship as negotiation tool for establishing change. This is because he can take advantage of his assumed agency as a man and as an entrepreneur.

Ben's affiliation with his religious community and his determination to abide by assumed hegemonic masculine beliefs and structures set by his community is an example of identity regulation as organisational control (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002). Ben's interpretation of his religious guidance for acceptable work-life balance traditions for men seems to go beyond being available for his duties as a paternal guide and teacher. In this case, Ben believes that men's fatherhood responsibilities include promoting work-life balance opportunities for his employees. On one hand, Ben demonstrates an extension of the social pressures being placed on individuals to conform to strong social norms. On the other hand, his identification with his

domestic and masculine selves gives him the opportunity to use paternalism as a tool to promote work-life balance while simultaneously boosting his own *distinction* within his community.

Ben establishes that his approach to employee relations and organisational policy regarding contracting work stems from an attempt to align his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. Ben first establishes that he believes that a father's responsibilities to his family dictate that he must establish work-life balance in accordance with his religious beliefs. Ben supports a Christian tradition of work-life balance that places paternal guidance and teaching as an important and vital responsibility for men with families. His commitment to his fatherhood ideologies are reflected by his unwillingness to bid on contracts that require him or his workers to be away from home beyond the established eight-hour workday and forty-hour workweek. He believes that assigning employees to jobs away from home would create a situation where work-life balance would be difficult. He illustrates this by relating a story that emphasises his commitment to promoting work-family balance for himself and his employees. He discusses his joy in planning a surprise leisure activity with an employee's spouse even if it inconvenienced his organisation's work schedule.

Ben's strategy to disseminate his work-family balance principles to his employees reflects the combined use of informalism and paternalism. The use of music and family holidays as a platform for relationship building with his employees allows Ben to demonstrate the benefits of maintaining work-life balance (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Ben's dissemination of his work-family ideologies to his employees through his informal and flexible approach to work relationships allows Ben to create a discourse for building *distinction* and control without appearing domineering. Ben

demonstrates this by stating that he refuses to have his employees be in a situation that would have them away from their families “even if they wanted to” because he doesn’t believe in it. He then describes his approach to promoting work-life balance by establishing relationships with his employee’s spouses to create a family friendly atmosphere for his workplace. Ben is using his employees’ spouses as a tool for persuading his employees to adopt his fatherhood ideology without appearing domineering. This further demonstrates how some men use their *distinction* as entrepreneurs for creating change to established hegemonic behaviour expectations. Ben’s strategy for disseminating his agenda is an example of how *distinction* can be used to limit the dissemination of competing fatherhood ideologies. Ben uses paternalism to shift his employees’ perspectives in line with his own regarding fatherhood family responsibilities (Collinson and Hearn, 1994).

Kyle’s quote further demonstrates Ben’s pattern of behaviour for ensuring that his fatherhood ideologies are used as the basis for creating work-family balance policies for his organisation. Kyle reveals that he initially felt pressure from his employees to work weekends in order to increase work productivity for the organisation which in turn would generate more income for both himself and his employees. However, Kyle uses his distinction as an entrepreneur to compel his employees to spend more time at home. Kyle explains that he is willing to use his position as the business owner to change his employees’ work-life balance situations to fit the model that he believes is correct. Kyle enforces his reduced work schedule on his employees using authoritarianism to shift his employees away from using the Canadian traditional provider perspective of fatherhood (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Kyle suggests that there are other ways to increase his organisation’s productivity other than by granting overtime to employees for working weekends.

Kyle demonstrates a blend of Aiden and Ben's strategies for creating change in assumed hegemonic masculine practices of entrepreneurship in order to align his work policies with his domestic masculine selves. Kyle uses Aiden's strategy of pushing back against client pressures by changing clientele expectations that his company will use weekends as potential solution for completing contracts more quickly. Kyle adopts Ben's strategy of using his *distinction* as the owner as a tool to create change in his employees' work-life balance behaviours. However, Kyle uses a much more authoritarian approach with his employees to create change in their work expectations. He explains that he uses religious teachings as a tool of negotiations with his employees and clients when negotiating work hours by demonstrating his ability to question men's *distinction* as a father. He states that his business policy for working hours was met with resistance by both his clients and his employees but they eventually gave up because they realised his inflexibility. The authoritarian approach used by Kyle is a more combative approach to creating change to his organisation's work-family policy. In this instance, Kyle's explanation of the process suggested that his stubbornness combined with his *distinction* as the owner was how he managed to shift the behaviours of others around him. The use of traditional masculine negotiation tactics to promote more nurturing fatherhood ideologies demonstrates the ease in which men fall into expected behaviours established by *distinction* processes within the hegemony of men.

The next three quotes further demonstrate how men in this interview use hegemonic masculine tactics as a tool for negotiating, promoting, and maintaining their organisational policies with employees and clients. Quinn is a self-declared family man in his mid-thirties who is the sole owner of a small information technology company. Quinn is identified as a participative parent because of his

statement that he is a firm believer that a parent should be an involved parent. Ian has already commented in this chapter, but as a reminder, he is a professional in his late thirties who is a business partner with his spouse. Ian identified himself as a participative parent. Connor is a tradesman in his mid-thirties and is an equal partner in a medium sized company with his spouse. The company specialises in his trade and his spouse is not a tradesperson. Connor is identified as a participative parent because of his statement that a father should spend as much time as they can with their kids because “they notice if you’re not there”.

“I try not to think of it too hard right now because then I just get annoyed that I couldn’t make the other companies do what I wanted them to do. I was an unsuccessful leader in making the changes that needed to be made in the previous two companies I was involved with. I think some of it was the lack of insistence on me being a leader. I’ve always been a reluctant leader. A leader by default. Sometimes I’ve managed to make it so that the default was me... Rather than going in and saying ‘I’m here to be the boss’! When I go back into this new business, it’s going to be for keeps. This is not to say that I will bulldoze people in my path but it’s about business is business. I’m actually going to make my company do the things the company needs to do.” *Quinn*

“I was always very involved. I always wanted to be. I would take care of all kinds of things; bathing the kids, putting them to bed, changing diapers. I did all that stuff and that was part of the plan. When we started talking about having kids we talked about that stuff and I said, ‘oh yeah’.

I didn't have any adverse reaction to being really involved. That's what I wanted, was to be really involved. So it was always a bit of a struggle because I said all those things and it sounded good to her to be co-parenting. It was all a good arrangement and a good plan but then when I became busy it would fall to her more. So there was a gap between what I said I was going to do and what I said I wanted to do in terms of child care and what I was actually delivering" *Ian*

"I could find all kinds of work and send guys all over the country if I wanted, but I don't think...like your family life and stuff...I think it's better if you're around your family" *Connor*

In the first quote, Quinn attempts to portray himself as a reluctant leader when he describes his involvement in a past business partnership. The reluctant leader persona is used to demonstrate his willingness to negotiate with others to make the best decision for the organisation. The idea of negotiating with others to come up with the best solution seems to align with his willingness to be flexible in his domestic situation, which is expanded upon in chapter eight. However, his statement, 'I couldn't make the other companies do what I wanted them to do' implies that he wasn't a reluctant leader and that he feels he failed to gain *distinction* as the dominant decision-maker in the partnership. Quinn's willingness to negotiate with his wife and kids on domestic matters versus his need to gain the dominant position at work illustrates a disconnect between Quinn's view of his domestic and work masculine selves. His attempt to gain a leadership position in his business partnership by positioning himself as a reluctant leader demonstrates how traditional discourses of

masculinities in business can be used to undermine organisational attempts to promote team decision-making. In this case, Quinn is unsuccessful at using careerism to remove the decision-making power from his business partnership because his attempt at impression management was unsuccessful. As a result, Quinn has decided to start another business where he is now the sole owner of the organisation.

Quinn's attempt to gain control of his original business partnership demonstrates how careerism can be used as a tool for attempting to gain power in an organisation (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Quinn's failed *distinction* attempt triggers his desire to change the platform of *distinction* so that he is less likely to be challenged. Quinn's choice to move from a partnership to a sole ownership position as an entrepreneur demonstrates a move from careerism to authoritarianism as part of shifting *distinction* building strategies. For example, Quinn stated he did not have the influence or power to dictate his organisation's decision-making processes because he felt that his partners would offer too much resistance so he made a business decision to leave the partnership and try again on his own.

Quinn chooses to use careerism in an attempt to become the most influential decision-maker by positioning himself as a reluctant leader. The reluctant leader strategy requires a high level of impression management to disguise Quinn's attempt to gain power within the partnership as a move that would be best for the company. However, Quinn quickly changes to an authoritarianism when he leaves the partnership to gain *distinction* as the dominant decision-maker in his new business. His new position as a sole owner of a new enterprise gives him the authoritative power over his employees to use job security as a threat. Quinn attempts to soften his position of wanting to dominate the decision-making process of his new business by saying he won't bulldoze people in his path; but he makes it clear that 'business is

business'. This declaration is a signal that Quinn intends to fully use the embedded traditional hegemonic masculinities associated with entrepreneurship as a tool for creating operational policies for his new organisation. Quinn's decision to use discourses and practices of embedded masculinities as a method for building *distinction* and control in the workplace is similar to Aiden's realisation of the power of using hardnosed negotiation tactics. This authoritarian practice is used by Quinn even while he is attempting to establish himself as nurturing and family oriented.

Ian expresses his desire to be a participative parent by aligning his domestic masculine selves with participative father ideologies that demand work-life balance. Ian attempts to align his domestic masculine selves with shifting fatherhood ideologies by focusing on being more involved with his children's upbringing. However, Ian and his spouse are both frustrated with the ease in which he allows himself to fall back on traditional fatherhood behaviours when he is faced with stressful circumstances. Ian presents himself as a man who desires participative fatherhood and states his frustration with his inconsistent behaviours. Ian continues to struggle with falling into traditional parental habits associated with fathers being focused on work centric *distinction* opportunities. The main work centric distinction opportunities for fathers are to demonstrate their ability at being a provider. The repeated disconnect between his actual behaviour and his parental desires results in Ian's spouse demonstrating her lack of support of his contradictory behaviour. The lack support creates a point of tension which causes Ian to focus his efforts towards aligning his desired behaviour with his actual behaviour.

Like Ben, Connor's approach to employee relations and organisational policy development stems from aligning his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves with being a participative parent. He summarises this by simply stating that he could

generate more work by sending employees on contracts out of town. Connor states that he resists the temptation of expanding his business to take on out of town projects because of his stance on fatherhood and work-life balance. However, unlike Ben, Connor does not discuss any signs of resistance from his employees regarding this stance. There could be several reasons for the lack of resistance such as having an adequate supply of work in town, hiring of likeminded employees, or simply not acknowledging employee resistance. Connor builds his organisation's work-life policies in a way that aligns with his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves without noticeably resorting to the discourses and practices of embedded masculinities.

The temptation for some men to fall into traditional masculine habits while creating family friendly organisational policies leads to the discussion of men's behaviour in the home once they have established themselves as participative parents. The following section discusses the alignment of domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves with domestic responsibilities while using traditional hegemonic discourses and practices associated with building *distinction* (Hearn, 2004, Collinson and Hearn, 1994).

7.5 Masculinisation of the home

The masculinisation of the home highlights and critically analyses some men's impulse to resort to traditional hegemonic masculine behaviours to support their desire to be participative parents. Masculinisation of the home investigates how some men establish and maintain domestic relationships with their families once traditional hegemonic fatherhood masculinities have been rejected. The maintenance of domestic relationships can include decisions regarding impression management with friends and family, relationship building with children, and interactions with spouses.

The first three quotes are from the main characters Aiden, Ben, and Gareth. As a reminder, Aiden is a participative parent tradesman in his late forties who is an equal partner in a small trades company. Ben is identified as a subcultural modified parent in his early thirties and is the sole proprietor of a small construction company. Gareth is a Canadian traditionalist parent in his early forties and is an equal partner with his spouse in a small trades company.

“You know what? I treat my daughter a lot like I treat employees. Wow. I never even thought of that. I really do... I treat her like an adult. She treats me the same way and it’s one of those; it’s a very male relationship in my daughter’s case. She really is the son I never had in many ways. She has got the two emotions, happy and mad. So I can treat her in the same way as that stereotypical guy bullshit. Sort of the ‘come on, get your shit together’ kind of thing” *Aiden*

“I have two separate systems, but more and more lately, I am finding that methods that I learn through work are actually making me a better father. It’s weird but things that I’m learning about my employees and how to relate to them and talk with them and stuff. I am able to take that and apply it to my kids and my wife. It’s weird. It’s actually going backwards for me. I would like it to be the other way around just because family should be more important than work and therefore, if you have problems, you should be learning tactics at home first. You should be able to apply those at work. For me it seems backwards and it feels a little backwards.” *Ben*

“I guess it’s just all in the way I was raised in that the dad was always the provider. If you were a real man you provided for your family and like my mom never ever went out working... The funny thing is when I was laid off from work I was at home and my wife had taken up a job. When my wife had days off we would go to the coffee shop and she was telling her girlfriends, ‘oh yea, this is my wife here, he’s doing all the cooking and cleaning’” *Gareth*

The first quote by Aiden was previously used in section 6.4 on behaviour-based conflict. Aiden realises that he has developed an entrepreneurial approach to building a relationship with his daughter. The use of hegemonic motivation tools developed at his workplace have transferred into his relationship with his daughter. For example, his willingness to use an authoritarianism approach to discipline or motivate his daughter to change her behaviour has allowed him to build a strong, no nonsense relationship with her. Aiden’s perception of his daughter being the “son I never had” gives him the opportunity to apply work-based discourses and practices of embedded masculinities to child rearing. Aiden’s experience of developing a close relationship with his daughter is in alignment with his desire to be a participative father. His ability to transfer traditional masculine behaviours associated with entrepreneurship into the home reinforces his choice to use hegemonic masculinities to change masculine ideologies. Aiden’s realisation that traditional masculine behaviours can be used to create change is used to develop a quasi-nurturing environment between himself and his daughter. Powell and Eddleston (2013) and Eddleston and Powell (2012) discuss women having family to business enrichment by

taking skills developed in the home and using them in their managerial repertoire. However, Aiden's comment demonstrates that some men are transferring discourses and practices of embedded masculinities in entrepreneurship to the home. Embedded masculine gender processes, such as Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of authoritarianism, are being used by some men to create stronger family and domestic relationships which would normally be evaluated as feminine.

Like Aiden, Ben's 'behaviour-based conflict' quote in section 6.4 is repeated to demonstrate the integration between work-life balance decisions and men's domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves with regards to behaviour expectations. Ben realises that he has transferred business techniques into his home to build and maintain relationships with his family. However, unlike Aiden, Ben states that he is uncomfortable with this realisation because 'it feels a little backwards'. Ben's domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves are anchored to his religious beliefs which dictate that he should be both the financial provider and teacher of the family. This means that Ben has a desire to balance his work and family life so that he can perform his required duties to the best of his ability. The process of negotiating work-family policies that fit with his religious beliefs has created an opportunity to use those negotiation tools with his own spouse and children. Ben recognises that he originally intended to transfer more open and nurturing relationship practices from the home to the workplace; but discovered that he has transferred entrepreneurial negotiation tactics into the home. In the power and control section, Ben discusses using the masculine discourse of informalism to create an interest in shifting his employees' views regarding the practices of fatherhood. In his discussions of tactics used in the home, Ben refers to paternalism and informalism as a negotiation tool to maintain family relationships. Ben becomes uncomfortable with his realisation of

using embedded entrepreneurial tactics in his relationship with his spouse and children because “family should be more important than work”. Ben believes that family relationships should not reflect highly masculinised discourses and practices found at work because their value should be ranked higher than work goals.

In the third quote, Gareth suggests that he is happier than ever since his decision to create a business that caters to the expanding oil and gas industry. His established *distinction* processes regarding fatherhood are based on traditional ideologies concerning his ability to provide. Gareth’s decision to move his company’s location away from his domestic location ensures a greater chance of securing high income work and his ability to provide for his family. This example demonstrates that not all the interviewees involved in this study were interested in entering the domestic sphere as a participative parent and were happy to be in a position where their spouses supported their position as the monetary provider. Gareth states that his happiness has increased since becoming an entrepreneur despite having to be away from his family for long periods of time while his business is stationed in work camps. Gareth’s spouse supports his choice to move his business to a lucrative market. As a result, Gareth does not perceive time-based conflict because he aligns his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves with his goal of being the ultimate provider.

Gareth continues to demonstrate his commitment to the traditional fatherhood masculinities that he learned from his parents. He states that his ability to sustain his responsibility as the family’s monetary provider is directly correlated to his reflections of his masculine selves. He demonstrates this by discussing his wife’s attempts to emasculate his manhood by teasing him in front of people in their social circles when he lost his job. Gareth’s perception of his spouse’s threats of emasculation motivated him to start his own business and take over as the monetary provider. Gareth’s

decision to move into entrepreneurship is not an example of an attempt to masculinise the home. However, it does demonstrate how the domestic sphere can be used to influence highly masculinised behaviour. Gareth's perception that his *distinction* was threatened by his inability to financially support his family is used by him to focus on *distinction* construction and maintenance at work. This strategy reinforces his position that the home is his spouse's domain. Gareth demonstrates how the potential loss of *distinction* can be used to resist shifts in hegemonic ideologies which in turn maintains traditional assumptions regarding the hegemony of men.

The next three quotes further demonstrate examples of the masculinisation of the home. Leonard is in his mid-forties and is an equal partner with his spouse in a medium sized construction company. Leonard is identified as a participative parent because of his statement that his focus is on the quality of life, not long working hours. Umar is in his mid-thirties and is the sole owner of a small information technology company. Umar is identified as a participative parent because of his statement that he must try to balance work and family. Jayden is in his late thirties and is an equal partner with his spouse in a small information technology company. Jayden is identified as a Canadian traditionalist parent because of his statement that his one responsibility is providing for his family.

"I tell my wife I started cooking because I was getting hungry. So then I started taking up cooking about 5 years ago. I'd got a barbecue and just started. 'if you're going to do a barbecue of steak what's the best way to do it.' And it's the analytical how do you do the best steak if you're doing a barbecue. Then it was let's get some cook books and let's figure it out. So then I started cooking. So now we're about

probably half and half in terms of who cooks the meals... So yeah now I do a bunch of cooking and the kids say, 'oh yeah who's cooking, well dad's cooking, oh good!' So they want my cooking versus my wife's right now" *Leonard*

"I had a conversation with one of our clients that is also a little bit of a family friend. I kind of felt like he was judging me on the not cooking thing. That sucked. No-one likes to be basically told that they're not performing a duty that they should be. I told him I don't enjoy cooking but that my wife does so I let her do it and he said that men he knew at the law firm did all the cooking when their wives became new mums. I was just trying to be polite by saying, 'OK that's interesting'. In the meantime, I'm thinking what doesn't he do around the home that I do? Like there's probably a balance there. Just because I don't cook dinner doesn't mean I don't do any of the work." *Umar*

"Sales and customer service is something I'm instilling every day but I think only certain guys pick up on it. Some of the older guys just have the experience of knowing that someone is paying for their time. I've never met an IT guy under 30 that thinks for a second about where the next job's coming from. I think having a family is a huge factor because the guys in my office that aren't married or don't have kids don't have the slightest inkling in sales." *Jayden*

Leonard's story exemplifies how hegemonic *distinction* processes of competition are creeping into the domestic sphere. Traditional discourses of men's hegemonic behaviours often treat domestic labour as 'women's work' and are used to emasculate other men to benefit their own *distinction*. However, Leonard uses domestic labour as a competitive opportunity in order to create a format for *distinction* opportunities. Leonard blends informalism and entrepreneurship to create a strategy that he can both incorporate the topic of participative fatherhood into an acceptable masculine topic and compete for *distinction* based on comparing domestic competencies. He frames his domestic responsibilities as a competition of *distinction* with his spouse by using his children's approvals as the scoring tool. He states that his children prefer his cooking and uses this to justify claiming the kitchen as his domain (Aarseth, 2009, Benwell, 2004, Hollows, 2003, Wetherell and Edley, 1999).

Men's ability to claim areas in the home as arenas for *distinction* competition can run the risk of being normalised over time. This would be much in the same way that masculinities have embedded itself into entrepreneurship (Aarseth, 2009, Moller, 2007, Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Displaying prowess concerning the domestic labour requirements of participative parenting, such as cooking, is used by some men to demonstrate their value as participative fathers. Leonard utilises traditional hegemonic behaviours regarding *distinction* competition while simultaneously attempting to maintain a progressive stance concerning shared parenting. The simultaneous use of progressive fatherhood ideologies and embedded entrepreneurial tactics reveals that the hegemony of men is both an external social structure of control and an internal source of conflict for men behaving as change agents. Some men are discovering that they have conflicting domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves that surface while they attempt to find work-life

balance. This surfaces as time-based, strain-based and behaviour based conflict when men discuss their process of negotiating work-life balance as we saw in the previous chapter. The creation of new rules of *distinction* is matched with traditional *distinction* processes within the hegemony of men and becomes normalised (Hearn, 2004). The categorisation of participative fatherhood and the *distinction* processes in the hegemony of men is applied to the domestic setting in the form of competency.

Umar's story about his interactions with a client regarding fatherhood competition further demonstrates Hearn's (2004) concept of *distinction* being applied to domestic labour and child rearing. Aarseth (2009) has previously discussed competitive attitudes as a means to manifest a dominant position in the home. Leonard highlights that competition can be directed at the spouse as means to conquer specific domains within the home. However, Umar demonstrates that competition for *distinction* in the domestic domain includes competing with other fathers. He does this by stating his willingness to compare himself with other men beyond cooking responsibilities to prove his worth as a participative parent. This highlights the transfer of Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of entrepreneurship from the work domain to the home. Umar's desire to demonstrate his commitment as a participative parent is demonstrated by his willingness to enter a competition of domestic duties with the man who questioned his unwillingness to cook. The *distinction* opportunities for entrepreneurs desiring work-life balance create shifts in the discourses and practices of embedded masculinities in entrepreneurship to include domestic responsibilities as a measurement tool (Knoppers and Anthonissen, 2005, Collinson and Hearn, 1994).

Jayden's assessment of fatherhood illustrates how some men maintaining Canadian traditional parent ideologies use their status as fathers as tools to compete for *distinction* at work. Jayden uses his ideology of fatherhood responsibilities as a

base for hiring, assessing, and promoting his employees in his business. Jayden believes that men adopting a provider mentality are more motivated by money when they become parents. Like Gareth, Jayden's assumption of traditional fatherhood masculinities allows him to use embedded entrepreneurialism practices for employee assessment that reflect his assumptions regarding fatherhood responsibilities. Jayden demonstrates that the home is being used as a promotional tool for men competing for *distinction* amongst work peers. Traditional processes of *distinction* do not involve masculinising the home directly because the domestic sphere is associated with women's work and not considered to be of value. However, fatherhood is being used to demonstrate the ability to provide financially. Raising the value of work-life balance and relationship building in the family domain has the potential to increase the desire for men to shift *distinction* processes. The promotion of *distinction* opportunities for men that move beyond economic valuation and into the domestic competency and competition may provide a foundation for shifting some men's perspectives concerning work-life balance.

7.6 Discussions and observations

The masculinisation of the home stems from traditional hegemonic *distinction* practices of men at work being transferred to the home. This is often done through demonstrating their commitment to shifting fatherhood ideologies and their competencies at domestic labour. Shifting fatherhood ideologies are normalising the process of men adopting discourses and practices of embedded masculinities in entrepreneurship for domestic participation. As a result, men like Umar and Leonard are incorporating increased responsibilities in the home into their framework for assessing *distinction*. Leonard and Umar demonstrate this alternate assessment process by revealing their willingness to use domestic responsibilities as an opportunity for

competition between themselves and other men and their spouses. These changes to assessing *distinction* between men, women, and children create an opportunity for alternative masculine ideologies to be used for creating and maintaining the hegemony of men.

Aligning alternative domestic masculinities with entrepreneurial masculine selves creates a foundation for building and maintaining *distinction* in which men can compete with men while maintaining traditional masculine ideologies regarding fatherhood. Adopting a participative fatherhood ideology while simultaneously shifting embedded masculine discourses and practices of entrepreneurship to the home allows some men to adopt the heroic persona for being a change agent. The masculinisation of the home is demonstrated through the incorporation of embedded discourses and practices of entrepreneurship into the discourse and practices of fatherhood. Aiden and Ben exhibit this by discussing how the negotiation and relationship-building techniques used in the workplace are being transferred into their homes during child and spouse relationship-building in the domestic sphere. This demonstrates both men's assumed hegemonic position as change agents in the formation of the categorisation of men. Men's hegemonic status is being used as the foundation for creating change in gender practices that encompass work-life balance. *Distinction* is used as tool for relationship-building outside of the work sphere. Transferring Collinson and Hearn's (1994) five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities to the home legitimises how men can maintain their dominant position over women, children and other men while demonstrating a progressive fatherhood ideology.

Gareth and Jayden demonstrate that men with traditional fatherhood ideologies are also able to use their domestic status as fathers as a means for gaining status in the

workplace. This is done by competing over who can provide the most financial support. The use of their status as fathers is a way of recognising the Canadian government's attempt to promote participative parenting without adopting a participative model. The recognition of social change does not translate to an attempt to masculinise the home, but it does represent a willingness to use the home as a tool to gain *distinction* through the display of economic status through work.

The inclusion of men, masculinities and masculine selves in the work-life balance discussion reveals that both domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves are being used to develop strategies in the competition for *distinction*. Emslie and Hunt (2009) identified that men are reassessing and reconfiguring their gendered identities as fathers. This thesis builds on this idea by demonstrating that the reconfiguration of gendered identities does not shift the men's processes of acquiring and maintaining *distinction*. For example, many of the men in this research use their desire to be participative parents as a foundation for challenging traditional hegemonic ideologies by extending their definition of a 'good father' beyond traditional economic provider requirements. This extended definition translates into the desire to define their domestic masculine selves based on their abilities to create a nurturing relationship with their kids, enjoy more leisure activities, and contribute to their communities outside of the work sphere. Collinson and Hearn (1996b) recognised that work and the workplace is the primary source of masculine ideologies. However, hegemonic assumptions concerning power and control and men are shifting into the domestic domain.

The three main strategies used by some men to demonstrate their process of establishing and building their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves are demonstrated by a number of interviewees. The first strategy of actively rejecting

traditional hegemonic processes for evaluating men was used by Aiden, Olaf, and Ian. The rejection of traditional masculinities takes place through a refusal to link oneself to the embedded traditional masculinities of entrepreneurship and by refusing to participate in *distinction* processes based on work and income. The rejection of traditional *distinction* processes reflects multiple competing masculine ideologies within men's domestic and work spheres. For example, Aiden's refusal to be associated with the embedded masculinities of entrepreneurship demonstrates that he has rejected the aggressive 'go-getter' masculine stereotype associated with business ownership. This means that Aiden has chosen to adopt a competing *distinction* process by stating that men don't have to take on the go-getter persona to be business owners. However, this does not mean that men desiring to be participative parents are rejecting the discourses and practices of embedded masculinities associated with maintaining the hegemony of men. Instead many of Collinson and Hearn's (1994) identified discourses and practices are transferred to men's perception of work-life balance.

The continued use of discourses and practices of embedded masculinities is demonstrated through Aiden and Olaf's use of informalism as a tool for establishing new rules of *distinction* for fatherhood. Making fatherhood an acceptable 'masculine' topic of discussion within their communities provides these men an opportunity to negotiate new rules for *distinction* acquisition and maintenance within the domestic sphere. Olaf's statement that he would 'rather find out about the individual behind the name rather than where do they work' demonstrates his willingness to participate in *distinction* processes within the boundaries of the hegemony of men, but he wants to establish a different set of criteria. Hearn's (2004) concept of *distinction* is highlighted by both Aiden and Olaf's perceptions of the dominant traditional model for fatherhood in Canada and their rejection of it. They both demonstrate competing *distinction*

ideologies through their ability to perceive similar opinions from other men as to what they see as the dominant behavioural model for men in entrepreneurship. They reveal the use of the *distinction* aspect of the hegemony of men as a tool for creating change in the perceptions of entrepreneurship and work-life balance for men by implementing the practice of informalism within their communities. Aiden and Olaf establish *distinction* opportunities in their desire to be participative parents by representing themselves as crusaders and better fathers. However, their change in parenting behaviours does not mean the rejection of embedded hegemonic discourses and practices associated with the work domain.

Ian states that he desired a close relationship with his kids and that he recognized that he would allocate more time at home. However, Ian's gendered assumption that he would continue to act as the provider while his spouse maintains the home is highlighted by his explanation of his involvement with his children. Ian states that his responsibility as a father is to be home for evening meal and to share in parenting by playing with his children in the evening. Ian and his spouse adopt this approach to work-life balance as method for both parents to build nurturing relationships with their children. This family formula is presented by Ian as a move toward shared parenting, but his assumptions towards domestic labour seem to remain the traditionalist ideology when he discusses his new family dynamic. Ian takes advantage of including participative parenting in his process for gaining distinction because he can associate himself with others rejecting traditional hegemonic masculinities. He does this while continuing to delegate domestic labour to his spouse. The process of cherry-picking *distinction* opportunities from the participative parenting model through informalism by only choosing the relationship-building side doesn't change the fundamental problem concerning the subordination of women. The

attempt of some men to gain *distinction* in the home without creating change puts women at a potential risk for men to assert hegemonic distinction practices at home as well as at work. This can be done by framing themselves as domestic experts with regards to childcare and domestic labour.

The subcultural modified parent models for establishing domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves were used by Ben and Frank. Both men use religious affiliation as a guide for reflecting on their masculine selves as both fathers and entrepreneurs; however, they both feel the need to defend their reflection process against perceived shifts in hegemonic ideologies regarding women. Canada's adoption of legislation that provides women equal rights in the workplace and promotes parental leave for both sexes is seen by Ben and Frank as the reason for the increase in two income households. Ben and Frank highlight their perceptions of changes in Canada's family ideologies regarding men and women's responsibilities towards work and the home by holding firm to their religious affiliations. In both cases, they state or hint that their position as the father is dictated by the wishes of a higher being and that their spouses accept their position in the home. Ben's "I'm fine with that" statement and Frank's "if we were to have this conversation four or five years ago, I would have put more of an emphasis on making money" statements demonstrates that feedback from valued social groups, such as religious communities, creates an alternative platform for gaining *distinction*. Both men recognise that their religious traditions towards men, women, and children may not be popular to people outside of their community; however, this realisation gives both men the opportunity to gain *distinction* as a defender of their communities. The opportunity to defend their communities' beliefs creates a solid foundation for Ben and Frank to defend their ideologies concerning their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. They

reinforce their *distinction* as leaders of their communities by implementing informalism and paternalism practices into the domestic sphere. Ben and Frank ensure that future work-family balance decisions will be duplicated by others in their community. They ensure this by including fatherhood as an acceptable masculine topic and by acting as religious leaders.

The third strategy used by men in establishing their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves is to maintain traditional hegemonic practices for building distinction. Gareth and Troy explain that they learned their traditional family perspective through their upbringing and wanted to model their own family after their parents' examples. Gareth establishes that "you always provided if you were a real man" was taught to him by his father. Troy's quote that, "I'm brought up that the majority of people when they own a business spend most of their time in the business. Especially the men because the ladies always take care of family" exemplifies his position. Like Gareth, Troy's quote regarding his choice to adopt traditional fatherhood and entrepreneurial masculinities is linked to him adopting his parents' family model. However, his comment of "I think because my kids were born in Canada they are more family orientated instead of money" reveals that he believes that outside influences can trigger change in hegemonic masculine ideologies and assumptions even though he chose the traditional path for gaining *distinction*.

Hearn's (2004) concept of *distinction* is present throughout the reflective process of the men in this thesis. For example, Olaf refuses to judge other men based on their work and income and insists on changing the terms of *distinction* for all men. His rejection of traditional masculinities is used as a tool for establishing himself as a leader in social change which in turn gives him an opportunity to raise his *distinction* as a male. Ben and Frank create *distinction* opportunities acting as protectors of the

community against outside pressure to conform to shifting gender equality initiatives in Canada. Frank demonstrates this by defending his position that his wife should stay home as a caregiver because of the risk of becoming too materialistic. Materialism is thought to be a form of greed which the Christian Bible warns its followers against. Frank further vilifies materialism by connecting it to Canada's rising trend of dual income families. He suggests that striving to make more money as a dual income family leads to a focus on money and wealth instead of caring for children and families. Gareth and Troy establish that their duties as fathers is to be economic providers. Being a provider gives them the opportunity to establish themselves as 'real men'. Highlighting that three differing fatherhood ideologies attempt to gain *distinction* within the hegemony of men demonstrates how Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of five discourses and practices interact within the *distinction* aspect. This interaction highlights how men filter opportunities for *distinction* within the hegemony of men to align with their own beliefs and affiliations.

Hearn's (1994) concept of the *distinction* aspect within the hegemony of men features how some men use *distinction* as a negotiation tool for both maintaining power and control, as well as creating opportunities for building distinction where others have not. This would be similar to the "it takes money to make money" analogy. For example, all the men in the power and control section of this chapter acknowledge that the appeal of entrepreneurship stemmed from a presumed control of their work sphere. However, some of these men furthered their *distinction* opportunities by using their status as entrepreneurs to demonstrate their abilities as parents. This demonstration of being able to build a successful business and fulfil their duties as a participative parent becomes a point of competition in the ranking of men.

Some men's perception of competition for *distinction* creates opportunities for conflict between traditional hegemonic masculine *distinction* processes based in the work sphere and new opportunities for *distinction* within the home. This is demonstrated by Aiden who reverts to traditional aggressive practices of negotiation in entrepreneurship as a means to create work-life balance for himself. Some men's use of aggressive behaviours to create opportunities for building and maintaining nurturing family relationships are not seen as a potential for behaviour-based conflict between the work and domestic spheres. However, these aggressive and competitive behaviours have found a niche in men's pursuit of work-life balance. This is because of the transferability of Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of five discourses and practices into work-life balance negotiations.

The final section of this chapter reveals that some men are using a process of masculinising the home as both a method for creating and maintaining *distinction*. This process is used to reduce behaviour-based conflict. Some men are using competition with other men, women and children as a means for creating *distinction* opportunities in the domestic sphere. For example, Umar states that he is prepared to compare his domestic participation with any of the other men in his work sphere to demonstrate that he is capable of fulfilling his entrepreneurial and domestic obligations. Leonard demonstrates his willingness to compete with his spouse by using his children as a gauge for determining who has the better domestic labourer skills. In this case, cooking becomes the activity of competition. In section 7.5, Aiden uses competition as a means to demonstrate his domestic skills when he states that he is 'more suited' to being a stay at home parent by highlighting that he was able to enjoy it more than his spouse. This demonstrates that men's interactions with assumed masculinities is a complex relationship. These men use hegemonic assumptions to

establish themselves as change agents in the negotiation of fatherhood ideologies. At the same time, these men re-establish *distinction* opportunities based on assumed hegemonic masculinities that equate masculine to men.

This creates an interesting relationship between hegemonic masculinities and the hegemony of men because Aiden recognises that popular hegemonic masculine assumptions concerning power and control are perceived as directly relating to men. This recognition enables Aiden to use traditional embedded hegemonic masculinities regarding entrepreneurship as a tool for expanding *distinction* processes into the home.

Chapter 8: Decision-making for the home and business

8.1 Introduction: Perspective of analysis

This chapter focuses on the entrepreneurial decision-making practices of fathers. The analysis of entrepreneurial decision-making is filtered through the perspective of men and by recognising the embeddedness of hegemonic masculine ideologies in entrepreneurship. The goal of this analysis is to critically evaluate complex social systems involved in the decision-making process, such as shifting fatherhood ideologies and responsibilities in Canada. Fauchart and Gruber's (2011) proposal of Darwinian, communitarian, and missionary entrepreneurial identities are used to help evaluate the embeddedness of entrepreneurship as a platform for men assuming their abilities as change agents. Each of Fauchart and Gruber's (2011) entrepreneurial identities has a concept of heroism as part of the embedded masculine foundation of entrepreneurship. For example, hegemonic perspectives of entrepreneurship as being strong and influential creates ideologies regarding organisational decision-making processes. Masculine ideologies are recognised as being deeply entrenched in entrepreneurship (Díaz-García and Jiménez-Moreno, 2010). For this research, the embeddedness of masculinities in entrepreneurship leads to my proposition that entrepreneurial ideologies are an extension of the hegemony of men. Many hegemonic decision-making processes are taught by business schools around the world (Brush, 2004, Bird and Brush, 2002). The continued reproduction of assumed hegemonic masculinities in management education could be a contributor to the low impact of new organisational literature regarding work-family conflict on policies and practices of organisations (Williams et al., 2016, Gatrell et al., 2013, Kossek et al., 2011).

This thesis offers a critical analysis of work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making decisions through the lens of men and masculinities. Two themes are highlighted in my analysis of decision-making: the formulation of masculine selves, and men's perceptions of gaining and maintaining power and control via *distinction*. The analysis of masculine selves and power and control are both done in two parts. Men's construction and application of both their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves are highlighted through the analysis of their decisions concerning business growth decisions and organisational relationships. The pursuit and maintenance of entrepreneurial power and control is critically analysed through actual relationship decisions concerning their spouses and hired business experts. This analysis reveals continued hegemonic assumptions concerning both entrepreneurship and the category of men. These assumptions help to further our understanding of how hegemonic masculinities associated with the categorisation of men, fatherhood, and entrepreneurship interrelate with men's agency concerning actual work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making processes.

The embeddedness of entrepreneurship embraces hegemonic masculine assumptions concerning rationality, risk taking, optimism, and specialness to men and masculinities (Achtenhagen and Welter, 2011, Weiskopf and Steyaerd, 2009, Ahl, 2004, Carter et al., 2003, Thomas and Mueller, 2000). At the same time, in the previous chapters this thesis has demonstrated that the assumption of specialness towards men are being applied as a foundation for *distinction* opportunities associated with agency and shifting fatherhood ideologies. The fatherhood perspective of men in this study are evaluated as a potential spark for masculine *distinction* competition. This is done as part of critically analysing embedded masculinities in entrepreneurial decision-making processes.

The previous two chapters highlighted the cultural reflex of men attempting to maintain *distinction* regardless of their parental desires was highlighted. For example, Leonard's quote regarding his abilities as a cook demonstrates that he is still susceptible to assumed hegemonic *distinction* ideologies and competitiveness. Leonard is identified as a participative parent and supports his spouse's position as a business partner, but he still falls into a competitive mindset for *distinction* when discussing his duties as a parent. De Bruin et al. (2007) suggest that the focus on embeddedness and entrepreneurship is the result of environmental influences regarding gender and has little to do with the sex of the entrepreneur. Thus, the process of evaluating men's resistance to embedded hegemonic masculinities in entrepreneurship through the analysis of their decision-making practices is an extension of the research concerning women entrepreneurs and their navigational strategies regarding hegemonic masculinities and work-life balance.

Malach-Pines and Schwartz (2008) recognised that gendered assumptions involving rationality, career, and the workplace are attributed to hegemonic masculine structures that influence work and family perceptions. For example, men are assumed to be more rational decision-makers because traditional social structures dictate that emotion and nurturing ideologies should remain outside of the business sphere as a means to focus on economic optimisation. Aldrich and Cliff's (2003) observation that entrepreneurship and family are intertwined inspired my critical analysis of how entrepreneurial fathers interpret, frame, and navigate between organisational decisions and work-life balance. The analysis of men's approach to entrepreneurial decisions regarding business growth, family values, and spousal impact includes men's perceptions of Canada's political agenda of promoting fatherhood and parental involvement. Including Canada's political agenda while investigating masculine

embeddedness in entrepreneurship highlights the interaction of conflicting social ideologies during social change and their impact on decision-makers (Jones and Spicer, 2009, Armstrong, 2005). Evaluating men's perception of relationships external to their business provides insight as to how shifting gendered assumptions are being interpreted during entrepreneurial decision-making.

This research has revealed two themes: the **interpretation of masculine selves** during the decision-making process and men's struggle for **power and control** as a function of *distinction*. These two themes are each broken down into two subthemes. The interpretation of masculine selves subthemes are decisions regarding **organisational growth** and decisions regarding **relationship development**. The power and control theme is broken down into subthemes of **spousal relationships** and **relationships with business experts**. The first two sections of this chapter follow the interpretation of masculine selves and are named 'Masculine selves: Business growth decisions' and 'Masculine selves: Organisational relationships'. 'Masculine selves: Business growth decisions' investigates the growth decisions of men while they reflect on their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. 'Masculine selves: Organisational relationships' concentrates on investigating how men's family values are integrated into their entrepreneurial decisions concerning organisational relationship building. Relationship building policies include personal policies and corporate policies that impact clientele selection and employee relations.

Sections three and four of this chapter are named 'Power and control: Spousal relationships' and 'Power and control: Versus the experts' to reflect the critical analysis of relationship building within the power and control theme. The theme of power and control is reoccurring from the analysis of men's creation of masculine selves. The first subtheme of power and control investigates how men negotiate

business decisions with their spouses. This is an extension of the relationship policies analysed during the investigation of masculine selves, but the focus shifts to the power relationship between men and their spouses. Negotiations with spouses are discussed by the interviewees even in cases where the spouse is not a voting shareholder of the business. Spouses are not considered to be at arm's length by many men interviewed in this research, and this highlights how some spouses can influence perspectives towards decisions. My analysis of spousal relationships and negotiations during the entrepreneurial decision-making process extends the discussion of the hegemony of men as it features the *distinction* process of men identifying themselves as business leaders. The second subtheme of power and control analyses how these men approach, evaluate, and filter information provided by business experts. For example, expert advice from an accountant hired by the entrepreneur may be interpreted differently based on the perception of power dynamics between the expert and the entrepreneur. Discussing how expert opinion is used to make decisions regarding launching new businesses, creating organisational policies, and planning business growth enables this critical analysis of assumed hegemonic ideologies that are highlighted during this reflection process.

8.2 Masculine selves: Business growth decisions

The following six quotes are used to critically analyse how organisational growth decisions are processed. Growth decisions include personal income goals, resource commitment to business growth, and income goals of their organisations. Previous research suggests that entrepreneurship is a gendered process similar to the gendered nature of work (Eddleston and Powell, 2012, Ahl, 2006). The recognition of embedded masculinities in entrepreneurship creates an expectation that the formulation of business growth policies will revolve around the decision-maker's

domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. For example, an aggressive maximum earnings business model should be associated with the monetary provider ideology. Morris et al. (2006) stated that growth orientation is a complex phenomenon that may well be influenced by gender. The following critical analysis evaluates the perception of men and evaluates how men filter information during business growth decisions. The first three quotes in this section are from the main characters Aiden, Ben, and Gareth.

“The idea was that I’m not going to get bigger and bigger and bigger. I am not driven that way. What I want is I want time with my family, my hobbies; I don’t need to be wealthy. I’m comfortable. I’m good with that...I like being able to spend time with my kids. Eventually I did talk to my business partner and said, ‘I know there are going to be some long days, and I know there are going to be some exceptions, but the rule for me is I want to be home for supper, and I want weekends.’ That was the deal” *Aiden*

“All money aside, doesn’t matter. Family and money are just a balancing scale, which one weighs more... there is a threshold that the family can handle and there is only so much that the scales will tip that way before it’s just not worth weighing anymore.” *Ben*

“I want to keep my business small. Maybe my immediate family that is my only expectation is to keep it small. My kids, possibly my brother, I don’t want to really expand. Eventually I would maybe like to have a

shop in town where I could work out of there and send out a few trucks from there. I would like for my son to possibly take over that or work under me.” *Gareth*

Aiden states that decisions concerning business growth had to be negotiated with his business partner. His initial conversation for establishing his work-life balance position with his business partner describes his lack of interest in adopting aggressive growth business models. Aiden negotiated a limited growth model in an attempt to regulate work demands placed on him so that he could accomplish his desire for work-life balance. In the section 7.2 ‘Creating masculine selves’, Aiden states that “I don’t live for my job”. This indicates that his foundation for the creation and maintenance of his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves is grounded to ideologies outside of the work sphere. Aiden’s desire to be a participative parent fits with this ideology towards his domestic masculine selves. However, Aiden recognises that hegemonic embeddedness in entrepreneurship creates an opportunity for him to achieve his goal of work-life balance because of assumed agency. Aiden’s evaluation of entrepreneurial growth model options is an extension of his work-life balance ideologies. This demonstrates how shifts in fatherhood and family expectations for men alter the perceptions of entrepreneurial decision-making.

Aiden’s attempt to maintain work-life balance directly affects his perceptions concerning entrepreneurial decision-making and organisational growth. Aiden states that he is resolute that he will not grow his business beyond what keeps his income at a comfortable level. The idea of regulating business growth as an attempt to create a balance between work and family is not a new one. Many studies show that female entrepreneurs attempting to re-enter the workforce decide to become entrepreneurs as

a means to fit businesses around their family lives (Eddleston and Powell, 2012, Heilman and Chen, 2003, DeMartino and Barbato, 2003, Arai, 2000, Marshall, 1995). Research in work-life balance is now starting to include men as part of the discussion because of perceived shifts in fatherhood expectations in western cultures (Wierda-Boer et al., 2009, McElwain et al., 2005, Burke, 1998). Aiden's quote demonstrates that he made a conscious decision to shift his behaviours away from assumed traditional gender responsibilities regarding work and family. At the same time, Aiden chooses entrepreneurship and the embedded masculine ideologies associated with it as a means to accomplish his work and family goals.

Ben's comment illustrates his attempt to position his family as being more important to him than business success. However, this statement reveals a conflict between his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves because he is willing to push the limitations of his family's expectations regarding his participation in the home. Ben attempts to weigh income optimisation with family obligations in accordance with his perceptions of his domestic sphere's tolerance. Aiden uses his family as a gauge for measuring a perfect balance between family and money. This suggests that his desire for work-life balance may not originate from his domestic masculine selves as a father, but from his desire to be viewed as an excellent example for his religious community. Ben used his religious social circle as a guide to help him formulate what is important when assessing his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. Ben establishes domestic masculine selves that he believes is perceived by his community as determined to ensure that he is there for his family. Being there for his family encompasses his goal to be a religious guide and the monetary provider. The balancing scale approach to business decision-making creates moments of internal conflict for Ben which cause him to struggle between his

perceived obligations as a father and entrepreneur. For example, Ben stated in chapter six's 'behaviour based conflict' section that he often negotiates with his family using tactics learned at work, but he felt that doing this was "backwards" because family should come first. Ben's difficulty with aligning his *distinction* strategies to fit with his conflicting masculine selves is demonstrated through his experience with behaviour-based conflict. Ben's desire to follow in his father's footsteps and engage with traditional entrepreneurial masculinities of maximising profits is in direct conflict with his desire to fulfil the participative parent requirements of his community. This conflict creates an entrepreneurial decision-making process that includes analysing the support of his domestic relationships.

The differences between Aiden and Ben's approach to involved fatherhood are a result of their differences in perspective regarding work and family. Aiden attempts to push the boundaries of work to create balance while Ben attempts to push the boundaries of family. This difference in perspective is based on Aiden's desire to be excluded from the hegemonic ideologies of entrepreneurship while Ben feels comfortable with the embedded assumptions of economic freedom and *distinction* associated with entrepreneurship (Jones and Spicer, 2009). This difference in perspective between Aiden and Ben represents an intra-relationship within the *distinction* aspect because it demonstrates multiple strategies for negotiating *distinction* based on parental desires. However, these differing strategies are still rooted in established discourses and practices of embedded masculinities (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). For example, Aiden uses a combination of informalism and authoritarianism to promote himself as a heroic father while Ben uses a combination of informalism and careerism. Aiden is vocal and stubborn with those opposing his view of participative parenting while Ben ensures that members of his domestic circle

still view him as a participative father by gauging their approval of his work-life balance choices.

Gareth's business growth model is counter intuitive to what I expected. I expected Gareth to commit to an aggressive growth model because of his desire to be the ultimate provider by maximising income and wealth. However, Gareth's decision to limit his organisation's expansion seems to go against his traditional domestic masculine selves. Gareth's explanation of this decision sheds some light on why his decision still conforms to his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. He demonstrates that he redefines his provider duties as only providing opportunities for his family. He mentions that he eventually wants his son to take over the business once he retires, but will temporarily expand his business for his son to employ additional work crews. This decision ensures that Gareth's son has an opportunity to have a strong source of income in the future. Gareth's hope is that his son will prove himself by continuing the tradition of men in his family being providers. At the same time, Gareth extends his domestic masculine selves and provider responsibilities into the work domain. Gareth demonstrated his focus on the monetary gains of his business through his discussions around having the freedom to purchase anything that his children need. Limiting his business growth allows Gareth to save room for expansion so that he can continue to act as a provider once his son is no longer considered a dependant.

All three quotes demonstrate that Aiden, Ben, and Gareth are attempting decision-making processes that mimic rational decision-making associated with business (Bazerman and Moore, 2009, Eastwell et al., 1987). The quotes above demonstrate a cost and benefits analysis concerning expanding their businesses. All three men demonstrate that they are very aware of the impact their business decisions

have on family plans and obligations, and that they factor that in before initiating growth policies for their businesses. However, the problem lies in that these men *are* aware of the family impact of their business decisions regardless of their views regarding fatherhood responsibility. The nature of rational decision-making assumes that the decision-maker for the business will carry out decisions that are focused on the best, or most satisfactory, outcome for the survival of the business. However, we see three men who are demonstrating that their position as owners allows for them to intentionally impede the growth rate of their business to satisfy work-life balance goals. These decisions must also be in alignment with their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves to establish *distinction*. Establishing work-life balance creates an opportunity for these men to demonstrate their success as fathers regardless of their fatherhood ideologies. At the same time, informalism allows these men to point to their success at establishing a work-life balance that works for them as a motivator for others to follow in their footsteps.

The following three quotes by Hunter, Leonard, and Dan are used to further demonstrate the interactions between masculine selves and organisational growth decisions. As a reminder, Hunter is a professional man in his mid-thirties and is an equal partner in a medium sized professional based company who identifies as a subcultural modified parent. Leonard identifies himself as a participative parent. Leonard in his mid-forties and is an equal partner with his spouse of a medium sized construction company. Dan is in his late forties and is a major shareholder in a medium sized trades company with his spouse being the remaining shareholder. Dan identifies himself as a participative parent.

“I think it’s one of the better professions for spouses for sure. I have the basic hours. I work 8:30 to 4:30 every day four days a week and I work 8:30 to 12:30 on Fridays so I can be at home. I can make it to my kids’ sports things... I didn’t care what job it was. I could have been a teacher. Yeah, a teacher would have been just fine with me. I love teaching. I love working with kids. They have good hours as well. Like I said, it wasn’t a money thing when I pursued my profession, it was I enjoy the job and I enjoy the hours essentially. I see a lot of my friends and stuff whether they’re doing construction or they’re doing trucking or stuff like that, they are away from their families a little bit and so it makes it tough.” *Hunter*

“We position ourselves never to be number one, two or even number three builders in town. Doing about that 40 houses and year and doing them well and having a reputation that people know that we built a good house. I think, once you get to that other stage too you’ve got to have help and an ego. It seems like it because whenever I go to the conferences for the Alberta Homebuilder Awards you see these builders that are in that bigger stage. Wow have they got attitudes! I always come back from those things and say, “If I get to that, slap me! Slap me in the head!” If I can’t go out for a beer with a guy putting the siding on my house, you know, like geez. I want to be able to talk to people when I go out. I’m not interested in being that ego guy; I’m not interested in being bigger than my company.” *Leonard*

“It has definitely changed from what my father was to what I am. He had a huge focus on work and he had a huge dedication to his work which I can understand. But, I feel that he spent too much time at work. That’s the difference and maybe that’s where I realize that and choose not to do that. I feel it is more important to be with the family instead of at work. With homebuilding, at that time everybody and their brother was building a house it seemed and it was a good time to do it when we started doing it. You could build a doghouse practically and sell it and people were profiting from it. I just thought I’d like to try that and after doing it, I don’t know if that’s what I really want to do because it’s a lot of work and it’s a lot of stress. I have other stresses in my life, having a family of three boys, all three in sports, so it’s extremely busy.” *Dan*

Hunter’s quote shows that his business growth decision was based on the standard working hours for his profession. Hunter’s decision to choose his profession stems from his desire to be an involved parent and he notes that other professions such as teaching were also considered based on working hours. Hunter connects working hours to his desire for work-life balance because he wants to ensure that business hours do not encroach on his family time. Hunter’s domestic masculine selves are aligned with his religious community’s family orientation. Hunter’s statement that he “didn’t care what the job was” when he made the decision to pursue entrepreneurship indicates his desire to establish work-life balance. This is similar to how Aiden establishes himself as an entrepreneur. Hunter’s desire for work-life balance guides his entrepreneurial decisions concerning organisation growth decisions to the point that his major focus is ensuring that he maintains suitable working hours. Being an

entrepreneur gives him the power and control to restrict his working hours and organisational growth as a method of ensuring his domestic masculine selves and entrepreneurial decisions are complementary. Hunter stated that he noticed that his friends who chose to be in the construction industry were having difficulties maintaining work-family balance. This observation impacted his decision to enter a different profession. Hunter's choice to enter a profession that both allows him to own his own business and is known for its limited working hours grants him access to the embedded hegemonic masculinities associated with entrepreneurship while limiting expected working hours.

Leonard's quote demonstrates the intra-relationship between masculine *distinction* practices when navigating between entrepreneurial masculine selves. The desire to build a reputation as a quality over quantity home builder is the first factor Leonard considers when making the decision-to limit organisational growth. The second factor that Leonard considers is his working relationships. Leonard worries that too much success with regards to income may affect his ability to maintain a humble persona. He considers the potential for losing his ability to be personable if he allows ego and greed to influence his decisions regarding growth. The decision to limit his organisation's growth to 40 homes a year satisfies both his desire to build a reputation as a quality home builder and his goal to being approachable. Leonard's growth decision demonstrates an interaction between Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concepts of informalism and careerism. Informalism is demonstrated through Leonard's desire to maintain business relationships by being able to go out for a beer with the guys. Careerism is highlighted by his focus on building and maintaining a reputation as a quality homebuilder. At the same time, Leonard links his choice to limit his organisation's growth to his ability to establish himself as a participative

parent. As a reminder, section 7.5 shows how Leonard uses his status as a participative parent as a tool to further his pursuit of distinction by transferring Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of five discourses and practices into the home.

In the third quote, Dan demonstrates how traditional hegemonic masculinities of fatherhood conflict with his desire to be a participative parent. Dan discusses his perception of change in fatherhood behaviour expectations regarding *distinction* by analysing the differences between his and his father's ideologies. Dan reveals that his decision to expand his business from a trade-based company to a construction company was founded on embedded hegemonic masculinities in entrepreneurship. However, he discovered that the required time commitment for achieving his decision was similar to his father's working hours from when he was a child. Dan's realised that his wealth maximisation decision interfered with his goals as a father. Dan feels that fulfilling his provider obligation has a limit which causes him to re-evaluate his entrepreneurial masculine selves. Dan reverses his plan to expand his company because of the increased chance for time-based conflict and his desire to maintain work-family balance. In effect, the threat of time-based conflict acted as a trigger for Dan to evaluate his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves, and realigned his business growth model with his desire for work-life balance.

The analysis of masculine selves and business growth decisions demonstrates the impact that embeddedness in entrepreneurialism has on both the decision-makers and the assumptions of researchers. Naming men as men during this evaluation of entrepreneurial growth decisions highlights hegemonic assumptions of men during the entrepreneurial decision-making process (Collinson and Hearn, 1996a, Collinson and Hearn, 1994). For example, Ben's discovery that he uses negotiation techniques that he developed as an entrepreneur in the home highlights how discourses and practices

of embedded masculinities in entrepreneurship can creep into other aspects of life without an individual's knowledge. This hegemonic creep can influence decisions that support the current hegemonic system even when there is a desire for change. We also see that Still and Timm's (2000) evaluation of women entrepreneurs' choice to cap or slow organisational growth because of competing responsibilities between work and home are being demonstrated in this research.

Both Hunter and Dan expressed that involvement with their families is a high priority and state that this resulted in an awareness that their work-life balance goals were a factor in their entrepreneurial decision-making processes regarding growth policies. For example, Hunter tells us that he decided to train in a professional field because of the knowledge that his business hours would fit with his time commitment expectations of his family. Dan demonstrates how his initial plan to expand his business from a trade business into a full construction company was reversed because of the increased threat of time-based conflict. The focus on work-family balance demonstrated by some men in this research confirms that men are shifting entrepreneurial decision-making practices to match with their domestic masculine selves. Aiden, Ben, Hunter and Dan all demonstrate their desires to achieve work-life balance. Aiden's desire to be a participative parent confirms that shifting perceptions regarding men needs to take place when evaluating men as entrepreneurs and organisational decision-makers (Gatrell, 2007, Gatrell and Cooper, 2008). As researchers, this offers an opportunity to evaluate both men and women entrepreneurs by removing gendered perspectives (hegemonic or not) regarding work and family (Bird and Brush, 2002).

8.3 Masculine selves: Organisational relationships

The following six quotes are an example of how some men navigate between their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves when establishing business relationships. Woodul's (1978) proclamation that feminine would change the landscape of entrepreneurship has been echoed by others as the reason for the increase of women in entrepreneurship (Sarri and Trihopoulou, 2005, Davidson and Burke, 2004). Feminine business influence has reduced embedded masculine 'one size fits all' decision-making ideologies of success, and has started a separation of gendered subtexts in entrepreneurship (Verdijin and Essers, 2013, Essers et al., 2010). The consideration of alternative forms of entrepreneurship associated with the feminine and women moves away from traditional gendered archetypes. There now is a push to emphasise new possibilities concerning desired behaviours in entrepreneurship such as flexibility and adaptation (Fletcher, 2004).

This thesis uses the recognition of cultural shifts in entrepreneurial thinking to evaluate how men are adapting to work-family balance expectations. I further analyse how changing work-family balance expectations perceived by entrepreneurial fathers are influencing the interpretation and framing of organisational decision-making. The relationship between domestic masculine selves, entrepreneurial masculine selves, and business relationship development is used in this thesis to demonstrate how some men are shifting work-life expectations in Canada. Shifting work-life expectations are used to evaluate how men develop strategies involving managing clientele and employee relations. The following quotes are an extension of the growth model decisions analysis and illustrate the influences that masculine selves can have on decision-making processes. Aiden, Ben, and Gareth first discuss their interactions and

relationship building decisions in entrepreneurship, which can be related to the interpretation of masculine selves and the formulation of family values.

“There were other solutions to catching up with our contracts. Schedule properly and don’t take on work we don’t need. Say no. That is an incredibly freeing word. ‘Will you do this for me? No. No, not now. Six months from now, absolutely.’ It really feels so good. I have learned a lot that way. My family is important to me. It is more important to me than what I do for a living. My business focus is some ways a coincident. I am not a passionate about what I do. It is not a hobby.” *Aiden*

“No. I don’t care how much money you’re going throw at me. I don’t care. \$300,000.00 cash in my pocket, profit, and they are going to cover all materials and expenses...no. Forget it. I’m still not going to do it because I don’t think it’s positive for society. I don’t think good comes out of that building. That might sound judgmental but I don’t think it’s a respectful place. I don’t think the men that encourage that atmosphere are doing their wives any favours and I don’t think the dancers are doing themselves any favours. I don’t want to be a part of that.” *Ben*

“The hard part is being away from the family. I have always been working away though... The family is used to dad being gone for those two weeks. You know, it sucks. Mom is the boss at home when dad is gone and she has to take care of the whole household that way when I’m gone. I am 1000 miles away” *Gareth*

Aiden's story of resisting client pressure to work longer hours by incorporating a steadfast stance in negotiations was discussed in section 7.4 'hegemonic resistance: old habits die hard'. Aiden's choice to use aggressive negotiation tactics with clients to demonstrate his entrepreneurial masculine selves' alignment to his desire for work-life balance demonstrates how entrepreneurial decision-making processes are influenced. Aiden's process for negotiating and accepting time constrained contracts shifted to a more aggressive style to protect his work-life balance priorities. At the same time, Aiden demonstrates a desire to promote the traditional hegemonic masculine power structures embedded in entrepreneurship identified by Murgia and Poggio (2013). The promotion of hegemonic structures is done by maintaining an aggressive persona during contract negotiations which allows Aiden to maintain control over his work sphere. Aiden uses authoritarianism as a tool to resist client demands for implementing longer working hours. Aiden's resistance to aggressive clients is a result of a desire for independence. The desire for independence from aggressive relationships and demands has also been demonstrated by women seeking entrepreneurship (Orhan and Scott, 2001). Aiden's business decision-making processes are filtered through his desire for work-life balance which influences how he interacts with clients.

In section 6.2 'time-based conflict', Aiden discusses his initial loss of control of his working hours because he attempted to satisfy clients. The introduction of time-based conflict caused Aiden to re-evaluate his work and family spheres which helped him recognise the conflict between his domestic masculine selves and his perception of negotiation power with clients. The ironic solution of being more aggressive and 'masculine' in entrepreneurial decision-making as a tool to promote a more nurturing

work-life balance stance is a manifestation of the interaction between traditional embedded masculinities in entrepreneurship and shifting domestic masculine selves.

The blend of traditional entrepreneurial negotiation tactics with progressive participative parenthood for men culminates in a *distinction* process that uses family as a tool of negotiation. Aiden justifies his authoritarian negotiation tactics towards client negotiations as a method for protecting the family. Aiden's declaration that his choice to become an entrepreneur is not a result of cultivating a hobby into a business is used as a signal to his clientele that he views business as business and not a love. Aiden furthers his *distinction* through his demonstration of being both a father who is protecting his family's needs and a staunch business negotiator.

Ben demonstrates how his domestic masculine selves dictate how he selects potential clients. Ben states that his values as a father and a husband would not allow him to sign contracts with organisations that he feels promote lifestyles that he perceives as morally corrupt regardless of the legality of the business or the money offered. Ben uses an adult entertainment facility in the area that features women dancing nude on stage as an example of a potential client that he would refuse to engage with. Ben's identification as a family protector triggers him to protect both men and women from perceived dangers of what he believes are immoral behaviours. Ben's entrepreneurial decision-making process for choosing business clients links directly to his domestic masculine selves. Ben's integration and *distinction* within his religious community helps him create and promote masculine selves that act as a moral guideline for others within his social circles. Ben's formulation of his masculine selves establishes him as the religious leader within the home as well as a devout follower of moral guidelines that are established by his religious community. Ben's positions as both a leader of his family and a devout protector of his religious

community acts as a strong foundation for the creation and maintenance of *distinction* within both his entrepreneurial and religious social circles.

Ben extends his *distinction* strategies of informalism and paternalism used in his domestic spheres as a foundation for his entrepreneurial decision-making practices regarding client relations. He does this by transferring his religious community's hegemonic fatherhood ideologies of moral leadership into the development of his entrepreneurial masculine selves as a platform for *distinction*. Like Aiden, Ben uses his expanded platform of *distinction* as a father as a guide for decisions concerning developing (or not developing) client relationships. Ben is then able to use his decisions as evidence of his qualifications as a religious leader within his community.

Gareth's quote in section 8.2, 'masculine selves: business growth decisions', is integrated into the following analysis of his difficulties of being away from home. Gareth's decision to keep organisational growth to "maybe my immediate family" combined with his views regarding fatherhood responsibilities facilitated his decision to move his company. Gareth acknowledges that his decision to seek out high paying clientele and move his company 'sucks' because it separates him from his family for long periods of time. His feelings towards his decision to move highlights interactions between his domestic and masculine selves and his entrepreneurial decision-making regarding developing business relationships. Gareth prioritises his entrepreneurial relationships with clientele because of his decision to follow the money regardless of the negative implications on family. This demonstration of value placed on maintaining good relations with powerful and deep pocketed clients highlights his domestic masculine selves concerning fatherhood. This is because Gareth's focus on maintaining good client relations results in gaining lucrative contracts which translate to building *distinction* as a provider. His previous statement that only real men provide

for their families overrides any personal feelings he has towards maintaining relationships with his children through daily contact with his family. Gareth rationalises this decision-making process by re-establishing the assumption that his spouse is capable as the leader and nurturer of the family domain as the mother. However, his desire to maintain some relationship with his children surfaces as time-based conflict when he expresses regret for choosing to move his company away from his family.

The second entrepreneurial relationship that Gareth highlights is associated with his expansion and growth plans. Gareth discusses the possibility of organisation expansion as only being possible through family involvement. He is uninterested in considering organisational growth through the promotion of employees into leadership positions. This viewpoint demonstrates that Gareth believes employees are a tool for monetary gain and not a focus for relationship building. This highlights a relationship between Gareth's domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves by establishing that the *distinction* of being a provider is a foundation of his organisational decision-making. In this case, Gareth expands his opportunities for *distinction* by planning entrepreneurial opportunities for his family as an act of being an ultimate provider. Gareth expands his *distinction* opportunities as a provider by resisting alternative fatherhood ideologies. This means that Gareth uses his status as an entrepreneur to create an opportunity to push his status of provider beyond providing for his dependents while they are children. He expands his status as a provider by providing his children an opportunity to build their own careers through his business.

Aiden, Ben, and Gareth's examples of entrepreneurial decision-making establish that their decisions are based around domestic masculine selves. This demonstrates the influence that cultural, and subcultural, fatherhood ideologies have

on some men's entrepreneurial decision-making. Bruni et al. (2004a) recognised that current concepts of entrepreneurship are based on an "archetype of social action" as well as an "institutionalization of values and symbols" related to gendered assumptions. Critical analysis of the rationalisation of decision-makers attempting to navigate between their entrepreneurial and domestic masculine selves offers a method for continuing to recognise and evaluate institutionalised values and symbols. The link between gender-based assumptions and the production and reproduction of theories of social behaviour in entrepreneurship demonstrates the influence that culture can have on rational decision-making processes and ideologies (Bruni et al., 2004a, Collinson and Hearn, 1994, Collinson and Hearn, 1996a, Connell, 2005). However, the previous three quotes demonstrate how an individual's perception of social norms, cultural shifts, and desire can make 'rationalisation' seem to be irrational if utility maximization is used to evaluate these entrepreneurial decisions to limit business growth (Bazerman and Moore, 2009, Gigerenzer, 2008, Eastwell et al., 1987, Simon, 1957).

The financial decisions made by Aiden and Ben with regards to client selection do not focus on fully maximising profits. Their decisions focus instead on satisficing a social requirement of their masculine selves. These men's evaluation of their masculine selves allows them to recognise and choose solutions that will satisfice the needs of both work and family while simultaneously promoting their *distinction* opportunities. Naturalistic decision-making (NDM) focusses on attempting "to understand how people make decisions in real-world contexts that are meaningful and familiar to them" (Lipshitz et al., 2001). NDM represents a shift in decision-making research from a *why* do decision-makers deviate from rational models to *how* do decision-makers navigate through 'real life' decision-making events. Critically

examining shifts in men's formulation of masculine selves and their effect on entrepreneurial decision-making enhances decision-making literature because it challenges researchers to shift the focus of their analysis away from assumed hegemonic parameters. For example, the goals of Aiden and Ben are to initiate business solutions that favour men's desire for work-life balance (Verduijn and Essers, 2013, Gatrell et al., 2013). The desire for work-life balance shifts the decision-maker's perspectives away from traditional hegemonic assumptions regarding building *distinction* through profit maximisation. Rationalisations of entrepreneurial decisions are not focused on profit maximisation of the business, but are used to satisfice *distinction* opportunity development and comply with domestic and entrepreneurial-masculine selves. The focus on shifting platforms for *distinction* provides an alternative explanation as to how and why entrepreneurs make business decisions in a 'real world' context. For example, the unpredictable nature of growth decisions demonstrated by Gareth encompasses decision-making parameters beyond men's assumed workplace focus.

The following three quotes by Ethan, Olaf, and Madison are used to further demonstrate the interactions between masculine selves and entrepreneurial decisions concerning business relations. As a reminder, Ethan is identified as a subcultural modified parent who is in his late forties and is an equal partner in a medium sized retail\supply company. Ethan establishes in the 'behaviour-based conflict' section that he uses a nurturing teacher approach of interaction for both children and his employees. Olaf is identified as a participative parent in his late thirties who is a partner with his spouse in a medium sized information technology company. Olaf's first quote was in the 'creating masculine selves' section where he establishes that his distinction processes are based on how people choose to interact with their community

outside of the work sphere. Madison is a participative parent in his late thirties and is the sole owner of a small entertainment company. Madison stated in the ‘strain-based conflict’ section that he is not affected by strain-based conflict because he uses time with family as a signal to relax and recharge.

“I think that we hear lots of complaints about our young people have no commitment to work; they don’t want to work. Well that’s because the current business system sucks. Because we don’t reinforce to young people that we care. What we model is junk. We treat them like crap. Businesses expect them to convey a loyalty and commitment and dedication, while returning none of the sort. I think society is treating our kids horribly while having expectations of them that are inconsistent with what we are prepared to give them. Joe: So you’re saying even the business model structures right now give employees 20% but expect 100% loyalty? Answer: Yes. I think that many businesses are asking for things that they are not prepared to give in return.” *Ethan*

“I look at family first, its family first here as well. So for example, you’ve got to go see your daughter, that’s a no brainer, get the hell out of here. Your kid’s doing something at a class, go! One of my employees just had a little girl here a week and a bit ago, whatever he needs, take the time off. You know he can work remotely and manage the show remotely so do it, take care of your family right and that’s always been my sort of focus with the company. Because if the employees are happy, the business is happy and it’s working well” *Olaf*

“My dad’s advice was the best line ever. He said, ‘so you probably feel sad for that person or responsible for that person or responsible for that person’s family right?’ and I said, ‘yeah’. And he said, ‘well how many strikes have you given that person? Are they on strike three, strike four? Have you actually given them an opportunity to kind of make amends or was it really that bad that it was a one strike deal?’ And I said, ‘You know we’ve given him an opportunity, we’ve talked to him about it a few times.’ He said, ‘Well if he was responsible to himself and to his family then you wouldn’t have to him’. And I just went wow OK that makes a lot of sense. He kind of deferred the responsibility back to my employee and so just having that is amazing. It helps a lot” *Madison*

Ethan’s quote demonstrates his view that entrepreneurs should be interacting with their employees in a way that offers growth opportunities to the employee. His philosophy towards employee relations demonstrates an attempt to overlap his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves by transferring his views on parenthood to organisational leadership. Ethan states that it is the job of a parent to allow their children to fail and to help them learn and move forward. Ethan transfers this approach to parenting to his entrepreneurial masculine selves to create a nurturing environment in the workplace that promotes growth and learning through failure. Collinson and Hearn (1994) identified this type of behaviour as paternalism. Paternalism is used as a practice for gaining power and control, which Ethan describes as loyalty. Ethan first describes his idea for building *distinction* through loyalty in section 6.4, ‘behaviour-based conflict’, where he establishes that his parental

responsibilities are to create a positive environment by allowing opportunities for his children to learn and grow from failure. Ethan's view of his domestic masculine selves as a father transfers to his entrepreneurial decision to build an employee relations policy that promotes this style of employee learning. The use of paternalism to gain *distinction* as an entrepreneur allows Ethan to align his work and domestic behaviour expectations while simultaneously creating an environment for social change in fatherhood behaviour expectations.

Olaf aligns his domestic masculine selves with his entrepreneurial decisions regarding employee relations by establishing that his experience with work-life balance informs his employee relations approach. Olaf discusses a time-based conflict scenario to demonstrate his approach to employee relations. His family friendly business policy regarding employee relations is expressed through his emphatic "that's a no brainer; get the hell out of here. Your kid's doing something at a class, go!". Olaf discusses one of his male employees having a new baby and expresses that he is willing to provide as much time off as his manager needs to be with his family. He demonstrates that he is thinking of providing an opportunity for flexible working arrangements for his managers if they choose to continue to work instead of taking parental leave available to them. Olaf discusses how he attempts to eliminate potential work-life conflict situations for his employees' by creating an organisational policy of 'family comes first'. Like Ethan, Olaf establishes that aligning his domestic masculine selves to his employee relations creates an opportunity to gain a return on his investment through employee stress reduction. Olaf's approach to gaining entrepreneurial *distinction* and employee loyalty through relationship building is similar to Ethan. However, Olaf does not seem to be concerned with creating a father figure status. Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of informalism is used as a

method for gaining power and *distinction* is demonstrated by this. Olaf's interest in ensuring work-life balance for himself is used as a platform for including participative fatherhood as a 'masculine' topic. Participative parenting and work-life balance are used to promote similar beliefs amongst Olaf's employees.

In the third quote, Madison discusses his approach concerning employee relations as a balancing act between paternalism and authoritarianism. Madison establishes that he is willing to establish friendships with his employees but that it is contingent on their work output. This means that he shifts from using a paternalistic approach when his employees are fulfilling work demands, but he switches to an authoritarian approach if he is not satisfied with their work output. He acknowledges that he feels responsible for providing his employees with sustainable work; however, he has developed a separation of responsibility with regards to employee performance. Being able to alter his strategy towards employee relations based on situational cues is similar to his approach to resolving strain-based conflicts for himself. In section 6.3 'strain-based conflict', Madison asserts that he is able to compartmentalise between his work and family environment in such a way that he is able to easily switch from his entrepreneurial masculine selves to his domestic masculine selves as a function of reducing stress in the home. Madison mimics this compartmentalisation approach to employee relations based on perceived cues he receives from his employees' attitudes and work performance. Madison adopts the paternalistic persona if he perceives adequate work performance; however, he is also able to disengage and adopt an authoritarian approach with his employees if necessary.

In the participative parent table in chapter five (Table 5.4.2), Madison's quote states that his domestic masculine selves are aligned with participative parenthood ideologies towards fatherhood. However, he reverts to a provider ideology of

fatherhood with his view that he must ensure that he provides for his employees through continued employment. The inclusion of the provider ideology in his perception of his entrepreneurial masculine selves interfered with his ability to decide to terminate an ineffective worker. Madison discusses his internal conflict between providing for his own children and giving his workers the opportunity to do the same for their families. Madison comes to terms with this conflict when his father advises him that it is up to each individual parent to look after their own families. As a result, Madison compartmentalises his domestic masculine selves as a participative parent from his entrepreneurial-masculine selves as a method for developing his employee relationship policies that focus on his need to maximise output of his organisation. This decision reduces his sense of paternalism towards his employees and he adopts a more authoritarian approach to ensuring his work demands are met.

As demonstrated earlier in this research, some interviewees embrace the potential to blend their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves to create change in traditional hegemonic decision-making expectations of entrepreneurship. Men in this study express their perception of traditional hegemonic masculinities which resist their attempts to be participative fathers. However at the same time, these men embrace the assumption of higher distinction based on their status as entrepreneurs. These assumptions concerning *distinction* processes within the hegemony of men are used to both create change in fatherhood ideologies while simultaneously promoting their *distinction* as entrepreneurs. The use of hegemonic *distinction* processes are critically analysed in the next two sections of this chapter. The following sections focus on entrepreneurial decision-making with regards to establishing and maintaining power and control.

8.4 Power and control: Spousal relationships

This section discusses the theme of *distinction* by highlighting negotiations and discussions interviewees had with their spouses that impact their entrepreneurial decision-making. For example, in section 6.2 ‘time-based conflict’, Aiden described his spouse giving him an ultimatum regarding his choice to relinquish control over his work schedule to his clients and business partner. Aiden’s conflict with his spouse triggered a re-analysis of the relationship between his domestic masculine selves and his entrepreneurial decision-making practices. This second analysis resulted in a shift in his negotiation tactics at work to be more aggressive when formulating work schedules for himself and his employees. Hegemonic masculine assumptions regarding work and entrepreneurship represent men as economically rational within the business sphere while their private lives are suppressed to reduce interference with work (Bruni et al., 2004a, Bruni et al., 2004b). However, the theme of power and control with regards to spousal relationships critically evaluates negotiations that integrate the work and family domains. Previous sections in this research highlight that embedded masculine systems for gaining *distinction* within entrepreneurship are beginning to shift and reorganise because of shifting fatherhood ideologies. Men’s negotiations for power and control in the home and at work with their spouses demonstrates the influence that women can have in either resisting or adopting shifts in the construction of men’s domestic masculine selves.

This theme was less prevalent in the main characters’ stories. Thus, Aiden and Ben are replaced, in this section, by Ian and Nolan. Gareth is still used in the third quote. As a reminder, Ian is a professional in his late thirties who is an equal business partner with his spouse and identifies himself as a participative parent. Ian’s first quote, in section 7.2 ‘creating the masculine selves’, established that he relied on his

spouse as a guide for helping to establish his parental involvement with his children. Nolan is identified as a Canadian traditionalist parent who is in his late twenties and is the sole owner of a medium sized retail/supply company. Nolan's first quote in section 6.5 'work-life balance' established that he had no income goals beyond maintaining work-life balance and to ensure that his business was good enough to support his duty as a provider and allow him time to pursue other life interests.

"My wife has always been a partner of the business and has performed a vital support role the whole time. Really whenever there are business decisions to make, she and I talk about them and she handles the accounting and financial end of it, so she's often more on top of exactly where we are with cash flow and all that sort of thing. She's got a head for that and I could do that too but the fact that she does it frees me up and I can focus on my trade" *Ian*

"But with us it's more, it's not like Government that I'm so much worried answering to, it comes back to our religious beliefs, we believe in honouring and sustaining the laws of the land. If that's a law that says that I pay my taxes, then I pay my taxes. And if she needs to remind me that I need to be doing that, then I do that, I don't argue with it, because it's right." *Nolan*

"I bid on a small job near my home and me and my wife talked over what we should bid on it. I'm doing the trade work part of it and she's doing the numbers. I have a good work ethic so I can get a lot of the

work done a lot quicker than most so I can underbid these other guys. I just had a job offer to go work for an oil company but my wife took the call for me and she said, ‘no, sorry, he is on a project right now that is supposed to last two and a half years so he is not interested’ In that sense she decided for me.” *Gareth*

In the first quote, Ian establishes that he relies on his spouse as a vital source of information for making business decisions. He states that his wife’s participation in the business puts her in a position of power for decision-making because of her expertise in the business’ cash flow and resources. This is the second time that Ian has stated his reliance on his spouse to act as a guide for decisions. Ian establishes in section 7.2 ‘creating the masculine selves’ that his spouse’s lack of support of his decision to work nights was a contributing factor in triggering his reanalyses of his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. Ian asserts that his spouse is acting in a supporting role in their partnership, but then concedes that his wife is often more knowledgeable about the state of the business when it comes to making entrepreneurial decisions. Ian’s assertion that he is the primary partner in the organisation is based on his trade expertise that the organisation is focused around.

Ian’s descriptions of his relationship with his spouse is based on his attempts to portray her in a supporting role. For example, Ian’s first quote discusses his ‘crisis’ with his spouse as a trigger point for him to reanalyse his behaviours as a parent. However, he attributes his desire to be a participative parent to his decision to change his working hours and not on his spouse’s frustration with him. The second quote is more obvious in his attempt to subordinate his spouse when he states she ‘has performed a vital supporting role’ for the business. Ian’s attempt to maintain

distinction by insisting he is the major decision-maker in the organisation is attributed to his reasoning that his trade knowledge is more important and overrides his spouse's business management knowledge. The attempt to reduce his spouse's equal partnership to a perceived supporting role demonstrates his reluctance to reduce his *distinction* as an entrepreneur by fully sharing credit in his organisation's success. Ian relies on careerism in his attempt to protect his *distinction* as an entrepreneur. Careerism focuses on high impression management to maintain power and control associated with embedded masculinities. In this case, Ian attempts to establish himself as the main decision-maker by framing trade knowledge over management knowledge as the more vital resource in an entrepreneurial decision.

Nolan does not view his spouse as a partner in the organisation; but he recognises her as the moral guide for the family. Nolan identifies himself as a Canadian traditionalist parent; however, his moral guidelines for entrepreneurial decision-making are dictated by his spouse's interpretation of their religious beliefs. By doing this, Nolan relieves himself of the responsibility of ensuring that his business decisions are both legal and moral by placing the responsibility on his spouse. Nolan relinquishes some power and control over finalising his entrepreneurial decisions in return for the ability to manoeuvre his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves to be in line with traditional entrepreneurial ideologies that focus on profit maximisation. Nolan's negotiation with his spouse over entrepreneurial responsibilities increases his *distinction* opportunities as a provider and successful entrepreneur. He protects his *distinction* as a profit maximising entrepreneur by establishing his spouse as a scapegoat if there is a potential for questionable entrepreneurial decisions to be challenged by the 'laws of the land'. Nolan's tactic for maintaining *distinction* as a profit maximising entrepreneur is a manipulation of the

authoritarian practice to resist change in fatherhood ideologies. Nolan's spouse is placed in an awkward position because the threat of failing as her husband's moral guide could mean a disruption of income.

Gareth's past comments established his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves as being a traditional provider and a hardnosed businessman. However, Gareth demonstrates that the separation between the business and domestic responsibilities is not as clear cut as he initially stated because he has offloaded some key business responsibilities to his spouse. Gareth states that he relies on his spouse's involvement in entrepreneurial decisions because she provides vital information through her knowledge of accounting. He states that his responsibility as an entrepreneur is to take care of the trade side of the business and to ensure that he maintains a good reputation for the company. In addition, Gareth eliminates work-family balance concerns by shifting the full responsibility of childcare and domestic labour to his spouse to personify his *distinction* as a provider and a 'real man'.

Gareth demonstrates how he offloads unwanted entrepreneurial responsibilities to his spouse by delegating bookkeeping and accounting to the domestic domain. Gareth also relinquishes some power and control in the entrepreneurial decision-making process in exchange for being able to focus on his perceived responsibility as a provider. Gareth maintains his *distinction* through careerism by focusing on maintaining his persona as a hardnosed, efficient and effective entrepreneur. All three of these quotes demonstrate the resistance that embedded entrepreneurial masculinities have towards relinquishing power and control to their spouses. Ian's interpretation of his equal business partnership is framed in a way that relegates his spouse to a subordinate position to maintain his *distinction* as an entrepreneur. Nolan and Gareth demonstrate that their relinquishment of complete power and control in

their entrepreneurial decision-making process comes at a potentially heavy cost for their spouses. Nolan positions his spouse to take the fall for any business decisions made by his company that may be considered immoral by his religious affiliation while Gareth offloads a significant amount of accounting work without reducing his status as an entrepreneur.

The following three quotes by Robert, Paul, and Victor are used to further demonstrate the power and control dynamic of men negotiating decision-making practices with their spouses. As a reminder, Robert is identified as a participative parent who is in his early thirties and is the sole owner of a small entertainment company. Robert's first quote was in section 6.2 'time-based conflict' and states that he found it difficult to schedule between work and home commitments because work contracts were scheduled too far in advance to effectively predict home needs. Paul is identified as a Canadian traditionalist parent who is in his early forties and is an equal partner in a large trades company. Paul theorised in section 6.3 'strain-based conflict' that his inability to leave work at work transformed into strain-based conflict because of rising tensions between him and his spouse. Victor is identified as a Canadian traditionalist parent who is in his early forties and is an equal partner of a large professional company. Victor first appeared in section 6.2 'time-based conflict' where he said that he experiences time-based conflict because he must work during scheduled family events. None of these men list their spouses as business partners.

"I think in a way my wife and I are always worried about what my contract obligations will entail. I'm in a very strange business because it's so difficult to find employment that I spent my entire time working to get more and more contracts to try to build a career. However, there

came a certain point at which I actually realised I have what I need and I don't need to say yes to everything that comes my way. It's a very tough transition to go from trying to get contracts, to a point where I don't have time for this and I don't need this job to fit into my schedule. I don't need it for my career. I don't necessarily need it financially but more I just don't have the time to do it. So one of the things that we always struggle with is that it's very difficult for me to say no" *Robert*

"I usually ask my business partner's wife more than mine because she does some of the books. I usually ask her, 'how are we doing? What's our margins?' and she does them up every month. So she says yeah maybe you guys should do this or maybe you should do that and my business partner and I'll talk about it and either decide yes or no whether or not to do it or. She used to work in a management company so she ran all the books for her management company before so she's knows how to do all that stuff." *Paul*

"You know like bottom line I think kind of my wife is kind of the glue, you know she keeps everything going. I would say that's probably the main factor and I think in a relationship you need that cohesiveness to keep the family running. It allows me to do what I do in terms of my job. So it would definitely throw a monkey wrench into things if she wanted to shift parenting responsibilities in order to increase her working hours" *Victor*

In the first quote, Robert states that early in his career as an entrepreneur he felt pressure to say yes to as many contracts as possible to establish his business. However, Robert now evaluates future contracts with his spouse to ensure his ability to maintain work-life balance that is suitable for them both. Robert's shift in his entrepreneurial decision-making procedures are a result of both the shifting needs of his home and his economic stability. For example, Robert states that the result of his saying yes to all contracts in the beginning of his entrepreneurship is that he is now financially secure. It is the financial security that has provided him the opportunity to establish work-life balance. This represents a shift in power relations between himself and his spouse regarding her involvement in entrepreneurial decisions based on Robert's move to go beyond gaining *distinction* as a provider. Robert incorporates his spouse as a guide to help with contract negotiations because he relies on her expertise in the domestic domain. Robert assumes that her position as the primary caregiver makes her an expert in work-life balance. He uses her guidance to help him re-evaluate his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves based on his perception of his family's financial stability. Financial stability provides Robert with the opportunity to shift his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves to be in line with participative parenting without jeopardising his *distinction* as a provider.

Robert's decision to shift his focus to participative parenting is similar to those made by Aiden and Ben with regards to client selection and profit goals. Robert's rationalisation that he has satisfied the *distinction* requirements for being a provider encourages him to target *distinction* opportunities as a participative parent. Robert negotiates for domestic *distinction* opportunities with his spouse by relinquishing some power and control with regards to work-life balance decision-making. This trade

is done because he perceives that his wife is more experienced at predicting scheduling requirements in the domestic domain.

In the second quote, Paul states that he does not include his spouse in his business decision-making process because she does not have relevant business information. However, Paul does realise that his spouse has an indirect impact on his entrepreneurial decisions through her lack of support. This realisation does not impact his assumption of power and control over his entrepreneurial decisions. Paul analyses his *distinction* opportunities as a provider against the potential for a damaged relationship with his spouse. He concludes that his distinction and influence as an entrepreneur has enough weight to warrant not shifting his established entrepreneurial decision-making processes. Paul does recognise the power of information because his business partner's spouse is often involved in the decision-making process due to her knowledge of the business's financial position. Paul's assumption of power in his entrepreneurial relationship with his spouse is based on his view that he can distinguish himself as a successful provider. This assumption is based on his Canadian traditionalist parental ideology which excludes his spouse from the work domain and relegates her to the domestic sphere.

In the third quote, Victor states that there is a full separation between his spouse and the business because of their traditional family model. Victor believes that his wife's responsibility is to ensure that the family runs smoothly while he dedicates his time to business matters to fulfill his obligations as a provider. Victor acknowledges that his spouse's willingness to take on the domestic responsibility has a significant role in his ability to focus on his business. He furthers this by declaring that there would be significant complications in his ability to focus on his profession if she chose to pursue her own career. In this case, assumed hegemonic ideologies

concerning work and family are a major factor in Victor's negotiations with his spouse in establishing a traditional family model. These assumptions provide Victor the opportunity to both resist changes to fatherhood ideologies and maintain his *distinction* as an entrepreneur.

Both Paul and Victor have removed their spouses from the entrepreneurial decision-making process by establishing Canadian traditional parenting models. This allows both men to focus on establishing *distinction* as entrepreneurs and successful providers. However, both Paul and Victor come to the realisation that their negotiated position as providers are under threat of being challenged by governmental initiatives regarding the value of participative parenting. Paul's recognition of this threat is downplayed by his assumption that his hegemonic position can resist any pressure from his spouse to shift his ideologies. However, Victor acknowledges that his spouse's lack of support would greatly impact his ability to focus on accomplishing his goals as an entrepreneur.

Nolan and Gareth acknowledge the power that their spouses have as a source of moral and financial guidance for business and family decisions. Nolan and Gareth's aggressive negotiation tactics with their spouses allowed them to offload unwanted responsibilities of entrepreneurship while simultaneously securing their status and *distinction* opportunities as entrepreneurs. As a result, Nolan and Gareth's spouses can contribute to the entrepreneurial decision-making but at a heavy cost. This demonstrates how the discourse and practice of authoritarianism and careerism are shifted from the boardroom to the living room. Nolan and Gareth use careerism to manage their status entrepreneurs while using authoritarianism via the threat of business failure as the means to delegate unwanted tasks and responsibilities to their spouses.

Ian, Gareth and Paul acknowledge the power of information regarding entrepreneurial decision-making. Ian and Gareth relinquish this power to their spouses, but they still frame their spouse's responsibilities as being supportive to maintain their *distinction* as entrepreneurs. Ian and Gareth's choice to rank their technical expertise over management experience could be a result of insecurity. Knights and Willmott (1999) describe insecurity in a person's self-identity as being when their own sense of themselves is unaligned with possible interpretations of a situation. To combat this possible insecurity, Ian and Gareth use their assumed *distinction* as entrepreneurs as a tool to boost their status as entrepreneurs while simultaneously downplaying their spouses' involvement in key decisions. Paul and Victor both use traditional hegemonic assumptions regarding the gendered division of labour to gain full control of entrepreneurial decision-making. However, both Paul and Victor acknowledge that their spouses have the power to disrupt their power positions as entrepreneurs through their lack of support. Ian, Gareth, Paul, and Victor all use careerism and authoritarianism as tools for resisting shifting fatherhood ideologies by negotiating traditional gendered divisions of labour. Implementing gendered divisions of labour involves a high level of impression management to persuade their spouses to support their hegemonic ideologies. For example, Victor frames his argument for maintaining a traditional family model as necessary for survival of his businesses. This argument translates to a threat that the family income is at risk if his spouse refused to comply.

8.5 Power and control: Versus the experts

The following six quotes are used to critically analyse the theme of men's power and control by investigating how men filter, process, and act on expert advice during entrepreneurial decision-making. Aiden, Ben, and Gareth discuss how they

interpret expert advice regarding their business and how their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves filter and process expert advice. Their entrepreneurial and parental goals are used to establish how their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves contribute to their attitudes towards business professionals during the entrepreneurial decision-making process. Bowman (2007) revealed that some men need to maintain embedded hegemonic masculine *distinctions* associated with entrepreneurship by downplaying the contributions of community, family, and others while discussing their decision-making processes. This was demonstrated as a method for maintaining *distinction* during the analysis of spousal relationships and the entrepreneurial decision-making process. However, this analysis focuses on men's relationships with others in the business community including other experienced entrepreneurs, financial experts, and employees. The platform of the 'heroic entrepreneur' is the basis for *distinction* in this examination of some men's development of relationships with perceived business experts. The first three quotes in this section are from the main characters Aiden, Ben, and Gareth.

"I kind of price by the seat of my pants. I didn't have a system. That is part of why we wanted to go there. They had this wonderful spreadsheet system for pricing which is still kind of flying by the seat of your pants when it comes to custom stuff." *Aidan*

"You can never, ever do it on your own. I've seen people try to do this on their own. It doesn't work, and if it does work it is extremely hard. You have to know people. You have to have other business contacts. It's a networking thing. If you're gonna start up something, you have to have

clients. Well if you try to do it on your own and get your own clients, it's a lot easier if you know somebody and they know somebody and they know somebody. You need support. If you want to build a wheel it's a lot easier to look at a different wheel and build it. Maybe you make some modifications. But it's a lot easier to build a wheel once you've looked at one.” *Ben*

“We had talked about it, we had talked about it right from the first year I started apprenticing. My plans were to start my own business as soon as possible, rig up, go out on my own. Lots of older guys in my trade said, ‘maybe you should get working in a shop and get the experience.’ I didn’t really want to go that route. I wanted to be my own boss. I will make the decisions. Like where I’m going to be working and everything like that.” *Gareth*

Aiden’s quote states that one of the reasons he made the decision to merge with a larger business in the same trade was because he recognised the potential to gain knowledge from a more experienced and successful entrepreneur. He describes his motivation for merging as an opportunity to gain expertise and experience with contract bidding processes. However, Aiden expresses his disappointment with his initial assessment of the expertise he thought he was acquiring. He does this by stating that he now realises that the pricing system used by the larger firm was still susceptible to pricing errors. Aiden’s initial assessment of the *distinction* of his future partner was based on his assumption that that the development of a larger organisation would translate into more expertise in the development of efficient and effective

pricing systems. This assessment of expertise is based on hegemonic *distinction* practices such as careerism. Aiden assumed that efficient and effective business procedures translates to more success. The display of success factored into his assumption that the larger firm would have a better pricing system.

Aiden's disappointment is highlighted by his comment, 'still kind of flying by the seat of your pants' and is a reflection that Aiden's desire to streamline business processes was not completely satisfied. Aiden's desire for work-life balance factored into his overestimation of the value of his merging company's bidding system and the business expertise of the merging firm's partner. Aiden's new partner's display of expertise and success was a method for acquiring *distinction*. This high impression management created an advantage for Aiden's business partner in the company merging negotiations. Aiden's desire to alleviate time demands associated with inefficient pricing methods motivated him to assess his future partner's *distinction* as an entrepreneur as being than Aiden's own *distinction*.

Ben's quote demonstrates that his process for entrepreneurial decision-making is similar to the process he used for establishing his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. In section 7.2 'creating the masculine selves', Ben reveals that he uses his religious community as a guide for establishing his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. The process of using community guidelines as a method for establishing his masculine selves is transferred to his process of developing decision-making procedures for his business. Ben seeks expert advice from entrepreneurs in his social circle and uses it as a guide for developing organisational procedures. He explains that this is a more efficient method because he does not have to reinvent the wheel at every decision point. Ben demonstrates that his desire to seek out the advice of high standing entrepreneurs in his community relates

to his desire to fulfil his domestic and entrepreneurial goals of gaining *distinction*. Ben describes entrepreneurial decision-making development as a method for establishing himself in his community's mentoring program. This allows him to build *distinction* as both a dependable follower of his community's beliefs and as a teacher for the next generation of entrepreneurs.

Gareth discusses his interactions with experts in his field in a way that demonstrates that he was unwilling to subscribe to the advice given to him. Gareth ignored expert opinion to gain work experience as an employee of the trade before starting his own company because it interfered with his desire to maximise his income as an entrepreneur. Gareth realised that as an owner he would be able to quickly make the decision to move his business to a high demand area that would allow him to maximise his income without having to depend on experts to tell him when he was ready. Gareth's focus on maximising his income opportunities as soon as possible fits with his desire to build *distinction* on his ability to provide for his family. This decision seems counter intuitive as his decision to move forward with little to no experience increased his chance of failure. However, his commitment to establishing his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves to traditional embedded masculinities associated with entrepreneurship glorifies risk taking as part of the entrepreneurial hero persona.

Aiden and Ben both establish that they recognised the *distinction* of expertise in other entrepreneurs as a means for establishing their own work-life balance goals and objectives. Aiden's desire to be more efficient at work to gain more time for things outside of the work sphere factored into his decision to merge companies. Ben's desire to fulfil his work-life balance in accordance with his domestic and masculine selves factored into his decision to seek expert entrepreneurial advice from

his community. However, Gareth's commitment to traditional *distinction* opportunities within the hegemony of men creates an opportunity to further distinguish himself as a hero entrepreneur. Gareth demonstrates his desire to build a hero persona by stating that he built his success on his own without the help of experts.

The following three quotes by Umar, Simon, and Quinn further demonstrate the interactions between men's domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. These quotes also highlight how these men establish their information filtering processes concerning attributing *distinction* to business experts. Umar is in his mid-thirties and is the sole owner of a small information technology company. Umar's quote in the 'masculinisation of the home' section establishes his willingness to compare his domestic participation with other men to prove his *distinction* as a participative parent. Simon is identified as a Canadian traditionalist parent who is in his early sixties and is the majority partner of a family owned medium sized retail/supply company. Simon stated in the 'behaviour-based conflict' section that it is important to establish a distinct line between fatherhood masculinities and business masculinities to reduce confusion in his family business. Finally, Quinn is identified as a participative parent who is in his mid-thirties and is the sole owner of a small information technology company. Quinn's quote in the 'old habits die hard' section discusses his difficulty in establishing himself as a leader in his former firm as a minority shareholder.

"No it's pretty much a done deal as far as I'm concerned. Joe: So who's disagreeing with you with regards to saying you're over-employed? Answer: Both of the partners in our accounting firm. I know they're probably not people whose opinions should just be thrown away. But

they haven't really been privy to the full business plan either. I need them for their accounting knowledge at the moment.” *Umar*

“No my only problem was with the bank because they weren't good listeners. They were referring to their documents and their list of information and I realised that they were protecting their own ass rather than listening to me. I did understand them and I came to a point where I thought how did I get to where I am in business and that was by going by what I thought was right. That entrepreneurial spirit and I ignored them and went ahead and did what I wanted to do anyway. They came around and saw what I was doing was a good formula and then they came across. That took about two years and then we moved forward to the next plateau.” *Simon*

“A company should do something productive that is valuable, that is sustainable and is fair. So I think that my company treats others fairly and I expect that my customers will understand that when my daughters are graduating from High School or University; I can't be at work that weekend. I seek out employees who want to work in that kind of environment. Where they know that work is a responsibility and their job; but that I understand that they also have a life. I want to use their skills to make this a better company and I want it to be beneficial for them and for me and for our customers. I think that it may not be the biggest, fastest, most money in the world but I think that it makes for just a better business all round” *Quinn*

Umar's quote reveals that he believes that his expertise in the information technology outweighs his accountant's knowledge of cash flow. Umar chooses to ignore warnings from his accountants to limit his staff levels during his business's start-up phase. His comment of experts not being 'privy to the full business plan' and separating their accounting knowledge from the decision-making process regarding staff levels suggests that Umar has a high confidence in his entrepreneurial masculine selves. His willingness to challenge advice is similar to his comment in section 7.5 'masculinisation of the home'. The masculinisation of the home comment demonstrated that Umar is willing to challenge and compete with opposing opinions regarding his abilities as a participative parent. Umar's willingness to establish competitive models for *distinction* acquisition in the home and at work demonstrates a desire to elevate his *distinction* in both social spheres. Like Gareth, Umar is willing to ignore expert advice because of the potential to demonstrate that he knows best due to inside information acquired through his position as an entrepreneur. Umar's plan to go forward with starting his organisation at his desired employee levels gives him the opportunity to gain *distinction* through the entrepreneurial hero persona while simultaneously maintaining his stance as a participative parent.

Simon's quote is like Gareth and Umar's in that he believes that his knowledge of the business trade outweighs financial expert opinion. Simon demonstrates this by accusing the banks' financial analysis systems for assessing loan risk of limiting their ability to listen and consider the 'entrepreneurial spirit'. The idea of having an entrepreneurial spirit exemplifies Simon's buy in to the necessity for hegemonic masculine integration of his and his son's entrepreneurial masculine selves. Simon's adoption of the entrepreneurial spirit as part of his visualisation of his entrepreneurial

decision-making allows him to disregard expert assessment of risk and adopt an aggressive decision-making model. Like Gareth, Simon's commitment to traditional *distinction* opportunities within the hegemony of men creates an opportunity to further distinguish himself as a hero entrepreneur by proving the experts wrong.

Finally, Quinn states that his decision-making process regarding employee and client selection are an extension of his domestic and entrepreneurial selves. In the 'hegemonic resistance: old habits die hard' section, Quinn states that he perceived shifts in behaviour expectations for men in his previous business regarding nurturing teamwork and that he attempted to adopt a new language of business. However, he feels that the adoption of a nurturing teamwork persona was a complete failure because his business partners didn't do what he wanted them to do. Quinn feels that the expert opinion of his former business partners regarding teamwork was incorrect and that he should have resisted their advice. As a result, the expectation that Quinn would adopt domestic masculine identities that would potentially lower growth expectations for his business was non-existent. However, Quinn's opinions about work-family balance and fatherhood along with his persona as an entrepreneur create an interesting dichotomy of masculine selves.

On one hand, Quinn states that he developed his entrepreneurial masculine selves based on traditional embedded masculinities associated with entrepreneurship by stating that he demands to be respected as the boss and get the most out of employees. On the other hand, he is actively reducing organisational growth potential to maintain his participative parental ideals. The desire to maintain masculine selves that are both traditionally entrepreneurial in regards to leadership but nurturing with regard to fatherhood creates an opportunity to resist expert opinions regarding the ideal entrepreneur. The recognition of family benefits for himself allows him to justify

sacrificing organisational efficiency that he feels business experts would advise against. This is congruent with other findings stating that growth expectations of owned businesses are lowered when parents choose to balance work and family (Manolova et al., 2007). Quinn's adoption of the authoritarian entrepreneur as a method to gain *distinction* as a productive entrepreneur is similar to Aiden's use of aggressive negotiation tactics to maintain work-life balance.

Quinn's choice to adopt language that supports shifting fatherhood ideologies has been internalised by Quinn and it has shifted how he will approach future business experts. Quinn's recognition of shifts in the perceptions of fatherhood combined with Canada's changes to work-family balance legislation has given him the opportunity to seek out the benefits for himself. Quinn suggests that he will engage in hiring people who are committed to a business model that is work-family friendly in order to ensure his *distinction* as an entrepreneur. Quinn's *distinction* as a heroic entrepreneur resisting traditional expertise towards monetary efficiencies allows Quinn to secure a long-term commitment from his employees to his business. His comment that it is not 'the biggest, fastest, most money in the world' demonstrates that he accepts the current inefficiencies of the business to ensure his organisation survives in the long run.

The process of gaining *distinction* through power and control established in this thesis highlights the complexities between entrepreneurial decision-making processes and the acquisition and maintenance of *distinction*. The *distinction* processes of men during entrepreneurial decision-making reveal that the outcome of the decision is often difficult to predict. For example, Gareth and Umar identify themselves as being completely different with regards to their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves but establish similar patterns for acquiring

distinction. Their choice to ignore expert opinion was based on the perception of opportunities to build *distinction* as entrepreneurs, fathers, or both. Simon, Gareth and Umar describe an inner knowledge that they have as entrepreneurs as a reason for adopting risky business models that were contrary to expert opinion. All three men chose to ignore expert opinion based on their assumptions that their trade expertise and *distinction* as entrepreneurs outweighed the financial knowledge of business experts.

All the quotes in this section highlight how Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of five discourses and practices is used to resist hegemonic power structures embedded in entrepreneurship. The heroic entrepreneur is an example of an interrelation between entrepreneurship and careerism. Entrepreneurism is used to demonstrate a willingness to challenge and compete with outside business experts while careerism is used to manage their status as heroes. This highlights the double complexity of men as both a social category and as individual agents because these men present themselves as both an example of the embeddedness in entrepreneurship and as potential agents of change. For example, Aiden uses his status as a man as a tool for developing aggressive business negotiation tactics without being challenged. At the same time, Aiden represents himself as an agent of change with regards to establishing work-life balance policies for fathers.

8.6 Discussions and observations

This chapter reveals that some men's analysis of their masculine selves is part of their entrepreneurial growth decisions, but it is not a predictor of action. For example, Aiden and Gareth both chose to limit their organisations' growth but for very different reasons. Aiden limited his company's growth as a way of minimising time-based conflict while Gareth kept his organisation small as an extension of his

aspiration to be a financial provider for his children as they reach adulthood. However, the unpredictability of these men's growth decisions does not devalue this research's contribution to entrepreneurial decision-making; in fact, it highlights reasons to be critical of decision-making research that does not incorporate analysis of masculine selves. This is because the men interviewed highlight how embeddedness in entrepreneurship creeps into the domestic sphere. Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of five discourses and practices is used by many of the interviewees to promote their distinction within their work-life balance decisions regardless of their father ideology.

The sociological perspective and critical analysis of men's entrepreneurial decision-making practices contributes to NDM literature because it demonstrates that *distinction* processes within the hegemony of men influence how men *actually* make work-life balance decisions. Rationalisations of entrepreneurial decisions are not necessarily focused on profit maximisation of the business but are focused on satisfying *distinction* opportunity development. This means that fatherhood ideologies of the individual and their perception of *distinction* opportunities are used as the platform for entrepreneurial decision-making. The inclusion of the evaluation of *distinction* opportunities for men creates a more complex view of the work-life balance decision-making process as it allows for the critical analysis of potential conflicts between traditional and emerging masculine ideologies. These ideologies translate into behaviour expectations for men. For example, Aiden and Gareth believe that they must intentionally implement economic inefficiencies into their businesses to promote their work-life balance ideology even though they have opposing views. This demonstrates that work-life balance perspectives are becoming a foundation of organisational development decisions. This discovery does not help NDM research in

predicting the result of men's decisions. However, it does help with conceptualising the process in which men navigate between their entrepreneurial and domestic masculine selves during a business decision.

One potential conflict highlighted by this analysis is that some men are utilising traditional hegemonic negotiation tactics with their spouses as part of the maintenance of the hegemony of men, regardless of their fatherhood ideologies. This surfaces when some men demonstrate their prowess as participative parents through comparisons with their spouses concerning domestic labour. At other times, these conflicts reveal themselves when men discuss their reliance on their spouses' guidance for maintaining a domestic perspective in work-life balance decisions.

Fauchart and Gruber (2011) established that the four entrepreneurial identities are based on the concept of heroism. We see that conflicts arise when these men rely both on women as experts in the domestic sphere while simultaneously claiming to be the heroic leader of social change concerning shifts in fatherhood ideologies. For some men, the desire to maintain *distinction* highlights that women are at risk of hegemonic resistance from men even when there is a desire to adopt progressive fatherhood ideologies. Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of five discourses and practices is being transferred into the home during men's work-life balance negotiations in the form of authoritarian negotiation tactics or highly competitive domestic environments revolving around domestic labour.

Traditional embedded masculinities that frame the entrepreneur as a heroic leader through narratives of risk taking, rationality, optimism, and specialness factors into the assessment of *distinction* opportunities. Establishing the heroic leader platform in some men's work-life balance decisions is done in the same way that continues to promote embedded masculinities in entrepreneurship. For example,

careerism is used to resist changes to hegemony of men because maintaining *distinction* is embedded in entrepreneurship. For example, the stories of interactions with experts are framed as winning struggles between themselves and the established business expert. The construction and maintenance of *distinction* through stories of battles won regardless of expert opinion further embedded hegemonic ideologies of entrepreneurship. At the same time, reduction of their reliance on their perceived spouses' expertise in the domestic sphere in some men's quest to shift fatherhood ideologies reduces the opportunity for women to establish an equal footing with men also looking to entrepreneurship as a work-life balance solution.

Chapter 9: Findings and discussions

9.1 Introduction: Goals and objectives

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight the findings of this thesis by reviewing the themes, discussions, and conclusions of the work-life balance, men and masculinities, and entrepreneurial decision-making analysis chapters. This chapter's goal is to bring these conclusions together and highlight the increased knowledge claims and theoretical contributions of this thesis. Theoretical contributions are discussed by emphasising the complexities that naming men as men (Collinson and Hearn, 1994) have surfaced as part of critically analysing work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making practices of fathers. Examples of how Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities is being reinterpreted and deployed by men navigating between their fatherhood and entrepreneurship objectives have surfaced throughout this thesis.

This chapter emphasises opportunities for future research in work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making by establishing that the sociological perspectives of men and masculinities can contribute to critically analysing work-family conflict and work-life balance for both men and women. The five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities (Collinson and Hearn, 1994) are highlighted throughout this chapter's claims of increased knowledge. This chapter sheds new light on Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) work-family conflict framework by viewing it through a sociological lens. Finally, this thesis concludes with a self-reflection of the research process.

9.2 Authoritarianism and other practices in work-life balance decisions

Practices such as authoritarianism, informalism and paternalism appeared frequently as the men in this study discussed their relationship between the work and family sphere. This thesis reveals that many men are protecting their hegemonic status as men even though they desire work-life balance. The work-life balance perspective of this thesis often shifted to work-family conflict discussions because of the ease in which interviewees could relate to juggling both work and family schedules. The men in this study often referred to their frustrations with time-based conflict by describing difficulties in being able to reduce conflict between their work and life schedules. This shift in perspective from work-life balance to work-family conflict avoidance reveals that the threat of work-family conflict is often the focus of negotiations when attempting to achieve work-life balance. I believe that the increase of work-life balance negotiations between men and women is a sign of rejection of traditional hegemonic assumptions concerning parenting.

Traditional assumptions have relegated work-life balance to a women's issue and this sign of rejection signals a shift in perspective that defines work-life balance as a parent's concern regardless of gendered perspectives. The struggle for work-life balance for both men and women has framed the threat of work-family conflict as a negotiation tool. The threat of work-family conflict is used to either promote or resist changes in hegemonic assumptions concerning the work and family domain. For example, men in this research describe their spouses' use of strain-based conflict (home to work conflict more specifically) as a tool for altering their perspective of distinction and the work sphere. For example, Aiden's spouse threatened divorce while other spouses increased strain-based conflict by questioning their husband's commitment to the family and as participative parents. However, men often discuss

aligning their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves when the conversation shifts to a work-life balance perspective.

Many men in this research describe the process of aligning their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves as an expression of desire to be an engaged and participative parent. This expression of their domestic masculine selves is then aligned with entrepreneurial masculine selves as a signal to shift their *distinction* processes with regards to how they perceive and interact with their domestic and work social spheres. Using a sociological point of view, the discussions of time, strain, and behaviour-based conflict are a result of masculine selves conflicting with the expected *distinction* processes and behaviours associated with hegemonic masculinities and work. For example, Aiden discussed his experience with both time and strain-based conflict because of allowing his partner to control of their business's scheduling. Aiden's choice to go along with his partner's plan to build their business by accepting all contracts was in direct conflict with his perception of himself as a participative parent. It is this alignment process that highlights the continued use of Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities by men attempting to separate themselves from traditional masculine ideologies of fatherhood. For example, Aiden reverts to aggressive authoritarian negotiation tactics to regain control of his own schedule and to regain credibility and *distinction* as a participative father.

Aiden admits to using his position as a business owner and the power of the word 'no' as his tools for achieving realignment. Ben and Frank articulate their difficulties in balancing their perceived duties as husbands and fathers while running a successful business. They attribute their struggles with work-life balance to their inability to focus on the parental duties dictated to them by their religious

communities. However, Ben is quick to point out that his struggles are not a result of his religion, but are a result of his imperfections. Ben's recognition of his imperfections allows him to assume a position of mentor within his religious community because he is perceived as humble. Both Ben and Frank express their desire to be involved parents because of their beliefs regarding fatherhood, but their actions suggest that they would feel more comfortable gaining *distinction* through work alone. Thus, Ben and Frank indicate that they adjusted their businesses' hours to satisfy both their desires as entrepreneurs and their communities' expectations. Both Ben and Frank discuss their adjustment in business hours as being an example for their communities and their commitment to being a heroic entrepreneur. These men's negotiations between their work and family spheres highlights how Collinson and Hearn's (1994) analysis of five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities creep into their work-life balance decision-making processes. This is because shifts in ideologies concerning fatherhood does not equate to reducing *distinction* opportunities.

Compartmentalisation as a tool for promoting work-life balance is another example of masculine assumptions concerning men's behaviours. Compartmentalisation is used by some men in this thesis to both promote work-life balance and reduce work-life conflict. The process of compartmentalisation is demonstrated through the description of some men placing both mental and physical barriers between work and home as a strategy for signalling a shift in priority between work and family. Examples of mental barriers can be seen by Jayden and Simon. Jayden discusses a process of shifting his priority back and forth between work and family through a ritual of changing his shirt. Jayden reminds himself to let go of work stresses and behaviour expectations when he returns home by putting on a clean shirt

which signals a “fresh start”. Simon discusses using a mental shift as a method for reducing behaviour-based conflict by shifting between being a boss and being a father when discussing his relationship with his family at work. The attempt by Jayden and Simon to use compartmentalisation as a negotiation platform for achieving work-life balance uses existing masculine behaviour expectation as a guide (Leary and Tangney, 2012). Physical barriers are used by some men as a signal to shift their focus from work to family. These physical barriers are usually put in place in the form of family holidays away from the business’ base of operation. For example, Ben discusses having to leave town for him to be able to focus on his family and reduce time-based conflict.

The relationship between men’s domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves highlighted in this thesis illustrates why challenging and shifting gendered norms in both work and the family has been so slow (Miller, 2011, Risman, 2009, Deutsch, 2007). This thesis’s focus on men demonstrates that some men’s desire for work-life balance is offset by their attempt to maintain their hegemonic status as both men and entrepreneurs. The identification of men’s use of Collinson and Hearn’s (1994) identified five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities as a tool for men attempting to masculinise the home and achieve work-life balance creates a potential conflict. Men attempting to claim the nurturing persona of a participative parent as masculine are also attempting to redefine and shift *distinction* discourses and practices from the work sphere into the home. This attempt to re-categorise what is feminine and masculine is problematic. The continued attempt to categorise parental responsibilities using a binary system of masculinity and femininity could explain why shifting gendered norms in both work and the family have been sluggish. Men are still faced with threats of losing *distinction* as entrepreneurs because domestic

responsibilities are associated with the feminine and therefore connected to women.

For example, in section 6.5 ‘work-life balance’, Aiden combats this feminine association by demonstrating his willingness and ability to fight and resist ribbing in his work domain. He believes that his status as an entrepreneur helps him to combat hegemonic resistance of his fatherhood ideologies.

9.3 Men and masculinities: Moving *distinction* out of the work domain

This thesis reveals that *distinction* opportunities available in the domestic sphere are creating points of conflict for some men attempting to maintain power and control during perceived social changes concerning the valuation of traditional work and domestic labour. The increased perception of value concerning participative fatherhood is being used as a negotiation point for men to masculinise domestic responsibilities through informalism. Informalism allows men to build power relationships with other men who have similar ‘masculine’ interests such as sport, sex, humour, cars, and alcohol. However, fatherhood is being introduced as a masculine interest for promoting shifting fatherhood and work-life balance ideologies. Hearn’s (2004) concept of *distinction* is at the focal point of critically analysing the problematisation of men.

The problematisation of men is that men are both a social category and individual agents (Hearn, 2004, Collinson and Hearn, 1996b, Collinson and Hearn, 1994). The assumption that men are both a social category and individual agents that can dictate change in what is masculine leaves little room for women to negotiate equality in the work or domestic spheres. Traditional Canadian masculine family models surfaced in this research despite over two decades of governmental initiatives to promote equality in work-life balance legislation. For example, Gareth’s statement that, “if you were a real man you provided for your family and like my mom never

ever went out working" illustrates this traditional reasoning for creating and building a business. The measurement of his dad's success as a provider is recognised through his assertion that his mother never had to work to help financially support the family. The use of his mother as an example of economic stability in his childhood creates a base guideline for Gareth to formulate a set of measurements for gaining *distinction*. Gareth's focus on gaining *distinction* through work allows him to delegate the domestic domain to his spouse. Gareth's resistance of shifting fatherhood ideologies creates an opportunity for him to transfer entrepreneurial discourse and practices of negotiations into the home. For example, Gareth's threat of being 'miserable to live with' if he is unable to achieve his status as the provider demonstrates authoritarianism being used to negotiate a traditional family model.

Ben uses his religious community as the compelling reason for adopting his fatherhood duties. He states that there are guidelines within the Bible that are used for work and family decision-making. These guidelines help to establish and maintain men in the hegemonic position as the major decision-makers for the businesses and offer guidelines for building *distinction* within his community. However, his community's focus on preserving men as the head of the family domain requires Ben to participate in the home as the religious leader. This means that Ben must focus on his *distinction* both in and outside of the work domain. The split in Ben's source for *distinction* creates a point of conflict as to how he ranks the importance of participative fatherhood duties as compared to his obligation as an entrepreneur. Collinson and Hearn (1996b) recognised that men often seem to simultaneously collaborate and compete with each other which creates a tension of both unity and differentiation. In Ben's example, he recognises that his community stands united in observing their traditions regarding work and family; however, he also demonstrates

that he wishes to rise to a leadership position over other men and women in his community. This point of conflict acts as the instigator for Ben to evaluate and realign his domestic and entrepreneurial masculinities to develop a plan to successfully navigate between his masculine selves so that he can both comply with his community's traditions and compete with other men in his community for *distinction*. Ben, and others, demonstrate the masculinisation of the home through the transfer of discourses and practices of embedded masculinities (Collinson and Hearn, 1994) from the work domain to the home. This transfer of embedded masculinities is used to create an alignment between work and domestic behaviour expectations. However, Ben's realisation that his home is being masculinised is now a source of behaviour-based conflict.

Aiden's desire to be a participative parent is demonstrated by his rejection of both traditional fatherhood masculinities and embedded entrepreneurial masculinities. However, he still acknowledges that his assumed agency as a business owner is part of his reasoning for choosing entrepreneurship. Men's interactions with assumed masculinities is a complex relationship. For example, Aiden uses hegemonic assumptions to his advantage to negotiate change to fatherhood ideologies. Aiden uses the embeddedness of entrepreneurship as a platform for establishing himself as a change agent for developing efficient and effective work-life balance policies for business. In other words, Aiden combats traditional hegemonic assumptions concerning men and fatherhood by implementing embedded masculine discourses and practices. Aiden highlighted his desire to be an involved parent as the reason why he chooses entrepreneurship. However, the method in which he presents his desire to be a participative parent involves highly masculine negotiation tactics. This choice creates an interesting dynamic in which masculinities, or perceived masculine

behaviours, are used to promote fatherhood ideologies that could be considered feminine or related to women.

In section 8.2, Dan discusses his work-family relationship by emphasizing how his father's traditional beliefs influenced him to adjust his own fatherhood perceptions to being a participative parent. Dan's shift away from traditional fatherhood assumptions to a participative model alters his perspective in which his business decision-making is being made. Dan's desire to spend more time with his children than his father demonstrates his rejection of the traditional hegemonic methods for gaining *distinction*. However, like Aiden, Dan recognizes the demands of being a participative parent and uses entrepreneurship as the foundation for shifting his focus from work and money to family involvement. The process of masculinising the home surfaced as both a way to promote the development relationships with their families and as a platform for competing for *distinction*. The use of traditional hegemonic negotiation tactics creates an opportunity for some men to establish participative parenting ideologies as masculine. For example, the men in this study use informalism as a starting point in creating change to the perception of participative parenting. These men establish fatherhood as a 'masculine' topic so that they can develop *distinction* strategies that suit their needs. Other discourses and practices, such as entrepreneurship and paternalism, are implemented once the topic of participative parenting is established to create rules of *distinction*. For example, both Aiden and Ben establish *distinction* strategies around work-life balance by either establishing themselves as the heroic entrepreneur or as a community mentor.

Frank demonstrates how some men's changing fatherhood ideologies alters their perspective during organisational development decision-making. In section 7.2, Frank discusses how his own perspective on work and family has changed since

becoming a father. His focus on the accumulation of wealth and financial stability has shifted to family and community because of his desire to be part of his children's upbringing. Frank's shift in his business model from high growth to a collaborative existence with family and community is similar to the findings of Davis and Shaver (2012). Davis and Shaver (2012) stated that, "both men and women are most likely to express high growth intentions early in their career development, a time associated with low levels of human capital but also lower levels of family obligations" (p.507). Frank's move away from a high-level growth intention was influenced by his personal desire to be an involved parent and community member. Frank's religious community's approval of this transition opens the door to diversify his source of *distinction* to his family and community involvement.

This research has discussed many examples of men's quest for building and maintaining *distinction* in and out of the domestic sphere. In the work domain, Gareth's goal of wealth and power accumulation within the business community is an example. However, the process of *distinction* between different forms of men and men's practices can be difficult. In chapter six, Aiden and Ben discuss their desire to build and maintain relationships with members of their families. They both realise that their relationships are being built using the same hegemonic ideologies associated with work. Aiden discusses his relationship with his daughter as being close because his daughter is the son he never had. His realisation that he treats his daughter in the same fashion as his employees and that she responds to him in the same way morphs into an explanation of a quasi-nurturing relationship. However, Ben's realisation that he interacts with his family using negotiation techniques learned as an entrepreneur makes him feel uncomfortable. He expresses his concern for using embedded masculine negotiation techniques to build family relations when he states that, "I

would like it to be the other way around just because family should be more important than work and therefore, if you have problems, you should be learning tactics at home first. You should be able to apply those at work. For me it seems backwards and it feels a little backwards". These are examples of both accepting and questioning the process of building *distinction*. These examples demonstrate the potential conflict between individual desire for change in fatherhood behavioural assumptions and the criteria in which the individual can rank and categorise themselves as "good fathers".

The additional complexity of the hegemony of men by introducing *distinction* as both a psychological fulfilment of desire and sociological process of categorising and ranking men highlights the increased knowledge claims of this thesis. Collinson and Hearn (2005) describe employment and paid labour as a symbol that reinforces their power and authority over women. Powell and Greenhaus (2010a) conclude that "highly feminine individuals regard the family role as particularly important" and that "individuals who are high in family role salience may be more likely to assume family demands" (p.1030). However, the inclusion of hegemonic *distinction* practices in the critical analysis of men's work-life balance choices reveals that men are attempting to shift the family role away from its link to the feminine.

9.4 Five discourses and practices of entrepreneurial decision-making

Entrepreneurial decision-making concerning business growth and relationship building are both a symptom of and a source for *distinction*. This perspective adds a deeper complexity to entrepreneurial decision-making and gendered ideologies than previously suggested. As a symptom, growth decisions are based on the formulation and alignment of masculine selves which dictate how some men perceive and approach entrepreneurial growth. For example, Aiden chooses to keep his business small because he doesn't need to be rich and that family was more important. This

approach to growth decisions is similar to what Brush (2004) and others predicted as a result of women entering entrepreneurship. Brush (2004) believes that gendered ideologies regarding women's entrepreneurial choices to achieve work-life balance would be used to lower growth expectations. As a source for *distinction*, men are framing their growth decisions based around perceived opportunities for *distinction*. For example, Gareth represents himself as a traditional father who is the economic provider for his family. Gareth often discussed the value of earning as much money as possible. Gareth's representation of himself had me predicting that his entrepreneurial growth decisions would revolve around a strong growth platform; however, this is not the case. Gareth's reasoning for this discrepancy is that he does not want to give any organisational decision-making powers to anyone outside of his family. This ensures that his son can take over the business in the future and thus provide for potential grandchildren. This example highlights Gareth's struggle to maintain power and control, and reflects on his interpretation of his domestic masculine selves. Gareth demonstrates both his commitment to being the ultimate provider and his recognition that sacrificing potential growth for his family can be a source of *distinction*. This demonstrates that power and control is assumed with entrepreneurship which is still the focus for these men regardless of their parental ideologies. Aiden and Gareth's struggle for power and control highlights that spouses, and women in general, are at risk of hegemonic resistance which may leave them out of future negotiations for work-life balance.

Women have often been accused of not doing real entrepreneurship based on the context that they are not truly committed to work because of the desire for work-life balance (Verduijn and Essers, 2013). However, the hegemonic structures putting men in the driver's seat for change in masculinities and masculine structures are sure

to be an obstacle for altering assumed hegemonic masculinities embedded in entrepreneurship. Men's perception of shifting masculine ideologies regarding fatherhood is demonstrated through the recognition of rule changes in gaining *distinction*. Work-life balance discussions highlight that some men are expanding the *distinction* playing field to include their domestic spheres. The inclusion of the domestic sphere affects how men approach and rationalise their entrepreneurial decision-making. However, this does not predict the actual decisions being made, as Gareth's growth decision suggests. Kyle's statement in chapter seven is that his goal is to build his company enough that it can continue to grow on its own. Kyle believes that this is the best path to accomplish his goal of work-life balance; however, his plan creates a conflict because he must focus on a high growth business model until he is satisfied. Gareth and Kyle demonstrate the potential for men to make choices contrary to expectations regarding entrepreneurial growth based on complex *distinction* strategies or rationalisations. The masculinisation of the home in combination with new fatherhood *distinction* strategies in entrepreneurship may help to reduce the gendered subtext of sub par entrepreneurship ideologies based on domestic desires. The assumption of men's rationalisation is challenged because of this discovery that some men are intentionally implementing business strategies that support inefficiencies concerning economic growth. These inefficiencies are implemented in favour of promoting work-life balance. From a NDM perspective, this demonstrates that it may be more difficult to predict organisational growth decisions because of competing ideologies of what is considered 'natural' concerning work-life balance.

Some men in this study describe women as both allies and the adversaries for gaining *distinction* during entrepreneurial decision-making. For example, Ian states that his spouse is supportive of the business because she involves herself in business

decisions by providing cash flow information; but she has also shown a lack of support regarding his approach to setting his business hours. Ian's opportunity to gain *distinction* as a quality decision-maker is offset by his inability to work all hours. The representation of women as both allies and adversaries in the hegemony of men's *distinction* process is not isolated to the business decision-making. Men often view their spouses as adversaries when competing for *distinction* opportunities in the home. For example, Leonard's use of his children as a gauge for determining who the better cook in the home demonstrates his willingness to compete with his wife regarding domestic abilities. The interrelationship between the hegemony of men, work-life balance, and entrepreneurship should not be ignored. This thesis demonstrates how entrepreneurial negotiation and decision-making practices are shifting into the domestic sphere. Collinson and Hearn's (1994) analysis of five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities are identified as being used by the men in this thesis to promote *distinction* opportunities in the family domain. Leonard's use of entrepreneurship in the home is a way of competing for *distinction* through efficiency competitions with his wife with regards to cooking. Accepting that the interactions between the hegemony of men, masculinities, work-life balance and entrepreneurship are deeply complex helps to enhance our understanding as to why work-life balance initiatives in organisations have stalled.

9.5 Interrelationships: Accepting complexities

This section reviews this thesis's research questions as part of the analysis of the interrelationships between men, hegemonic masculinities, work-life balance, and entrepreneurial decision-making. The main research question focuses the analysis on how men interpret and navigate between assumed and shifting hegemonic masculinities with regards to making entrepreneurial decisions within the context of

work-life balance. The men in this research tend to focus on work-family conflict to demonstrate that the work-family conversation must shift away from being a women's issue. Disrupting hegemonic assumptions regarding men in entrepreneurship created an opportunity to critical analyse men's perspectives concerning fatherhood and work-life balance. For example, critically analysing assumed responsibilities of fatherhood exposed the limitations hegemonic assumptions have had on entrepreneurship and organisational decision-making research.

One limitation that surfaces when analysing the interrelationships between men, masculinities, work-life balance, and entrepreneurial decision-making is the limited scope that a work centric focus has on the process of *distinction*. The *distinction* aspect encompasses the approach to how men rank different forms of men and men's practices towards women, children and other men (Hearn, 2004). However, hegemonic assumptions tend to focus on ranking men and men's practices on a binary scale between masculinity and femininity with the assumption that what is masculine is what is desired. This means that the focus for gaining *distinction* is limited to high valued traits of masculinity such as money, economic growth, and aggressiveness. It has been stated that what is seen as feminine in business is discarded as non-valuable (Hofstede, 2001). By naming men as men (Collinson and Hearn, 1994), one theme that surfaced during the interview process is that many men are placing more value on work-life balance due to desire and shifts in fatherhood ideologies. Men's desire to be participative parents creates a valuation conflict between traditional masculine and feminine ideologies. Men who desire to be participative parents are re-evaluating assumptions of value towards feminine ideologies of building relationships outside of work, family involvement, and their quality of life.

Men's desire to be participative parents creates value for establishing work-life balance. This increased value has been demonstrated through some men's attempt to masculinise the home by establishing *distinction* processes within domestic and other non-work social spheres. The processes of establishing rules for acquiring *distinction* within the home surface as a competition model that compares abilities to complete and improve on efficiencies regarding domestic labour. For example, Aiden distinguishes himself as a better parent than his spouse, Leonard compares his cooking skills to his spouse, and Umar challenges male co-workers to compare levels of domestic responsibilities. However, the expansion of the playing field in the game of *distinction* to include non-work social spheres does not equate to releasing hegemonic assumptions regarding entrepreneurship. Careerism and entrepreneurship are demonstrated through some men's representation of themselves as a 'heroic entrepreneur' fighting for work-family balance. However, the domestic sphere is being masculinised because masculinities are being perceived as being equated to men. Collinson and Hearn's (1994) analysis of the five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities are being used to resist change to hegemonic power structures because men are framing their decisions around *distinction* within the hegemony of men (Hearn, 2004).

The inclusion of work-life balance into discussions regarding entrepreneurial decision-making establishes non-work spheres as a major factor in the process of establishing growth strategies. Manolova et al. (2007) suggest that growth expectations of businesses would be negatively correlated with desire. However, the desire for work-life balance did not determine a predictive model for organisational growth strategies, as was suggested by Manolova et al. (2007). For example, Gareth and Kyle demonstrate the potential for men to make choices contrary to expectations

regarding entrepreneurial growth, based on complex *distinction* strategies and rationalisations. This leads to the second research question, which asks if shifting domestic desires creates an opportunity to shift entrepreneurial decision-making processes.

The recognition of men's shifting valuations towards work-life balance and fatherhood provided an opportunity to critically analyse embedded hegemonic masculinities associated with entrepreneurship. This research's focus on entrepreneurial decision-making as part of the work-life balance processes reveals shifts in the rationalisation of decisions. However, Gareth and Kyle's approach to their growth decisions does not suggest that the assumption of work-life balance and entrepreneurial growth decisions as being negatively correlated. Shifts in *distinction* practices and with regards to men and men's practices towards women in non-work situations suggest an attempt to masculinise decisions in favour of work-life balance through a shift in the assumed boundaries of rationalisation. Rationalisation is moving beyond assumed economic perspectives of valuation to social benefits. This is demonstrated by some of the interviewees' goal of being 'better fathers' by becoming participative parents. The competitive perspective towards participative fatherhood highlighted that assumed hegemonic masculinities are creeping back into the work-life balance negotiation process because of work-family conflict avoidance. Work-family conflict, or the threat of work-family conflict, is used as a negotiation tool for both men and women to negotiate a preferable work-life balance scenario. Aiden's spouse's use of home to work strain-based conflict through the threat of divorce is an example of this process. The stigma of divorce and the possibility of a broken family are in direct conflict with Aiden's domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves as being family oriented. This strain-based conflict triggers Aiden to renegotiate his work

schedule with his business partner to re-establish a work-life balance scenario that is acceptable for both him and his wife. This example demonstrates how Aiden's spouse uses masculinised negotiation tactics which influenced Aiden's work-life balance decisions. This leads to the last question of this research which asks if shifting masculine assumptions around fatherhood contribute to changes in men's entrepreneurial work-family balance decisions.

This research offers many examples of men's perceptions of shifting masculine assumptions regarding fatherhood and fatherhood responsibility expectations. The question of whether these shifting masculine assumptions are contributing to changes in men's entrepreneurial work-life balance decisions can be critically analysed by focusing on men as men (Collinson and Hearn, 1994). Focusing on men's decisions regarding work-life balance reveals a complex process of men navigating between their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves in relation to their desired negotiation platform for *distinction*. For example, Gareth's alignment of his domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves is corresponding to his desire to build his *distinction* through entrepreneurship. Gareth's choice to ignore governmental and other initiatives to promote men in the home demonstrates that shifting masculine assumptions are meeting resistance. Gareth uses Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of entrepreneurship to maintain a highly competitive business approach in his work-life balance decisions. He supports these decisions by incorporating an authoritarianism approach to negotiating the continued gender division of labour in his household by introducing the threat of business failure and loss of income. However, shifting masculine assumptions towards fatherhood are used to position the domestic sphere as a platform for *distinction* which is merging with entrepreneurial decision-making.

The masculinisation of the home through the implementation of entrepreneurial relationship strategies provides men the opportunity to be domestically focused while simultaneously protecting their *distinction*. The introduction of work-life balance as a parental concern redefine *distinction* rules for men by masculinising the participative father. Informalism allows for men to position fatherhood as a 'masculine' topic and embed this new ideology into entrepreneurship. Participative fatherhood is discussed as a form of heroic leadership concerning business innovation and policy development. Embedded masculinities in entrepreneurship compound the power of negotiation for men attempting to achieve work-life balance as part of their business plan. Men's assumed power and agency in the embedded social category of men is not questioned during these men's negotiations for work-life balance. This demonstrates the danger of categorising social behaviours on a binary platform of sex because women are at risk of being pushed out of future work-life balance negotiations. Women are often judged as not doing real entrepreneurship when attempting to use the same embedded masculinities in entrepreneurship to promote work-life balance. However, men are shielded by the social categorisation of men as being innovative and aggressive in changing and improving business structures. The men in this research demonstrate this by continually masculinising childcare and domestic labour through displays of efficiency and effectiveness in the home.

9.6 Discussions, observations and, reflections

9.6.1 Theoretical Contributions

This thesis names men as men (Collinson and Hearn, 1994) as part of challenging gendered assumptions concerning work, entrepreneurship, fatherhood, and domestic labour by using actual stories of men faced with work-life balance decisions. Bringing together literature on men and masculinities, work-family conflict,

work-life balance, and entrepreneurial decision-making reveals that breaking down the barriers between research silos can increase the understanding of underlying complexities within each research area. This thesis illustrates these complexities by demonstrating that men's perceptions concerning the acquisition and maintenance of *distinction* interrelates with their approach to work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making. This research demonstrates the interrelationship between entrepreneurship, fatherhood, and *distinction* while simultaneously revealing their impact on men's work-life decision-making practices. The identification of complex interrelations between each research area reveals the importance of breaking down research silos as a method for gaining a deeper understanding of the complexities within each research specialty.

This thesis responds to the call from Gatrell et al. (2013) to include men's desire in the analysis of challenging gendered assumption in work-life balance research. Some men's desire to be involved parents is highlighted as a focal point for work-life balance decisions and is used as a platform for investigating how men choose to navigate between gendered expectations of work and family. For example, this research claims an increased knowledge to work-life balance and demonstrates the importance of Hearn's (2004) concept of *distinction* as an analytical tool for critically analysing how men choose to approach work life balance. This claim is highlighted by identifying some men's transfer of Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of five discourses and practices of embedded masculinities into their domestic sphere. This is done as part of men's alignment of their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves which is then used to promote work-life balance.

This thesis's identification of Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of five discourses and practices of hegemonic masculinities being shifted to the domestic

sphere sheds new light on men's operationalisation of Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) work-family conflict framework. Including men's *distinction* practices as part of the lens of analysis highlights how unpaid labour is being reassessed as having value through the process of establishing participative parenting as a foundation for fatherhood. Competition strategies for *distinction* as a participative father can be transferred by men from established hegemonic structures in employment and management to the home. This thesis claims to bring an increased knowledge to the literature around work-family conflict by demonstrating sociological complexities within behaviour-based conflict. By using a sociological perspective, this thesis highlights that men in this research spend a significant portion of their time negotiating how to navigate between their domestic and entrepreneurial masculine selves. For example, many men in this research use a strategy of masculinising the home to reduce conflict between work and family behaviour expectations. The process of masculinising the home creates further opportunities for men to build and maintain *distinction* as fathers.

This thesis builds on men and masculinities research by including competition and some men's interpretation of *distinction* as a commodity. This thesis contributes to the body of knowledge by revealing that men's hegemonic perceptions for gaining and maintaining power and control creates an opportunity for some men to view work-life balance as source of *distinction*. The added value concept of *distinction* highlights the potential for men to continue to resist social change concerning gendered assumptions and equality at work and in the home. This is because the perception of value concerning *distinction* can create a competitive domestic relationship between men and women. This is demonstrated by Aiden and others when they discuss their prowess over their spouses with regards to domestic labour.

Some men's attempt to shift domestic labour obligations associated with participative fatherhood and work-life balance from the feminine to the masculine reveals a complex relationship between men, masculinities, women, and femininities. Some men's recognition of *distinction* opportunities within the domestic sphere demonstrates the relationship that some men have with shifting masculinities concerning fatherhood. This thesis demonstrates that men in this study feel the need to represent participative fatherhood as having value and indicator for being masculine. This binary representation of labour as being either feminine or masculine based on perceived value creates a shift in how paid and unpaid labour are being assessed. For example, many men in this research stated that economic rationalisation was no longer the basis of their entrepreneurial growth decisions because they felt that developing relationships with family and community had more value than just economic gains.

The analysis of actual entrepreneurial growth decisions by the men in this thesis highlights the *distinction* process of some men and the possible unpredictability of their decisions. The use of men and masculinities as an analytical filter creates a subtle shift in the interpretation of how actual business decisions are being made. Naturalistic decision-making (NDM) process orientation attempts to illustrate the cognitive process of expert decision-makers by describing what information is needed, how information is interpreted, and what decision rules are used (Lipshitz et al., 2001). Powell and Greenhaus (2012) attempt to integrate the work and family perspective into the possible decision rules used by individuals faced with a business decision and conclude that family considerations are indeed taken into account if the individual has a high level of 'family-relatedness' to the decision. However, the addition of conflicting *distinction* behaviour expectations for men concerning work and the home creates an opportunity for instability in the predictive goals of NDM

research and questions gendered assumptions concerning work and family and family-relatedness. The critical analysis of *distinction* in entrepreneurial decision-making highlights the relationship between men and hegemonic processes already embedded in entrepreneurship. Masculine behaviour expectations, such as heroism in entrepreneurship, are uncovered in this research as part of work-life balance negotiations. These negotiations are concerned with family policy and business growth decision-making. However, some men's gendered assumptions concerning work and family highlighted by this thesis reveal that shifting ideologies concerning men's domestic selves, hegemonic masculinities, and men's power negotiations are both challenging traditional masculinities embedded in entrepreneurship and reinforcing discourses and practices of embedded masculinities. For example, Aiden and others in this study are challenging the embeddedness of entrepreneurship while simultaneously transferring discourse and practices of embedded masculinities (Collinson and Hearn, 1994) into the domestic sphere.

9.6.2 Practical Contributions

This thesis offers practical implications to the development and implementation of work-family policies concerning fathers. My research reveals men's complex relationship with the intra-relations of differing *distinction* processes concerning work and family. Parental leave policy development must consider these complexities during the implementation of parental leave benefits that target fathers. Ford and Collinson (2011) discovered that parental leave benefits targeting fathers are being 'bolted on' by human resource departments in large organisations as a way to conform to legal standards. Work-family policy implementation must go beyond bolting on sections that include fathers as solutions for adjusting existing work-family policies. Many entrepreneurs in this research, such as Aiden and Ben, are attempting

to build their organisations' cultures around their established domestic and entrepreneurial selves in order to fulfil their desires as both fathers and entrepreneurs. The implementation of work-life balance policies for many men in this research is being negotiated using assumed hegemonic negotiation tactics embedded in entrepreneurship and *distinction*. This thesis demonstrates that organisations must develop work-family policies that consider shifting fatherhood desires. This includes recognising that policies must consider how shifting fatherhood ideologies are shifting men's perspectives concerning work-life balance and *distinction*. For example, many of the participative fathers in this research used Collinson and Hearn's (1994) concept of informalism to shift their organisation's culture to be supportive of men's family participation on top of their development of a formal parental leave policies.

My research identifies men's use of informalism to develop a family friendly work culture for both moms and dads that goes beyond legal standards for parental leave benefits. Many men in this study discuss family flexibility as an essential part of their business model. For example, Olaf stated that it was essential for his business to support parents' desires to be involved with their children's lives by providing flexibility in his employees' work schedules. Providing flexibility allows Olaf's employees to participate in their children's school activities during what would normally be his company's normal business hours. In this case, Olaf's attempt to establish participative fatherhood as an acceptable masculine topic creates an opportunity to establish a family friendly work culture for both men and women in his organisation. Olaf believes that allowing for flexibility creates an organisational culture that promotes work-life balance through the reduction of stress caused by work-family conflict. However, organisations must be careful establishing work-life balance cultures using informalism.

Informalism is identified by Collinson and Hearn (1994) as a practice of embedded masculinities within organisations that sets the ground rules for acceptable behaviour of men within organisations. This means that organisations must be aware of an increased risk of women being excluded from future work-family policy development if participative parenting is seen as a ‘masculine’ topic and is assumed to be part of men’s *distinction* processes within the hegemony of men. This means that organisations must question hegemonic assumptions regarding the work and domestic spheres as part of the process of developing work-family policies that promote work-life balance for both mothers and fathers.

9.6.3 Future Research

This research highlights women’s influence concerning shifts in assumed hegemonic ideologies that are focused on work and family. This is done by including the interviewee’s interpretation of their spouses’ involvement in work-life balance and entrepreneurial decision-making processes. However, both the maintenance and resistance of the hegemony of men and women’s influence on the gendered assumptions of work and family was not discussed in depth due to word count restrictions. I would like to further explore the relationship between men, the hegemony of men, and gendered assumptions concerning work and family as it pertains to *support*. Hearn’s (2004) concept of the hegemony of men defines *support* as “how women may differently support certain practices of men, and subordinate other practices” (p.61). The interaction between *support* and *distinction* offers opportunities for research and publications concerning the interaction between men, masculinities, women, and femininities.

I would also like to continue to investigate hegemonic resistance as a form of shifting perceptions of fatherhood. The inclusion of men’s *desire* for participative

parenting revealed that some men are reverting to familiar hegemonic masculine practices of negotiations with both other entrepreneurs and their spouses. Highlighting that aggressive negotiation practices are being implemented by some men to create an image of a more nurturing and engaged father figure opens the door to investigating the potential for behaviour-based conflict situations. This behaviour-based conflict is framed as a strategy for men to pursue their desire to be participative fathers. However, this research demonstrates the possible risk of women being left out of further work-life balance policy decisions in business because of men transferring embedded discourses and practices of masculinities into the home (Collinson and Hearn, 1994).

9.7 Reflections

Reflecting on my journey as a PhD student investigating work-life balance, men and masculinities, and decision-making has been challenging as both a researcher and as a father. This research has caused me to question my own assumptions concerning career plans and fatherhood. I have doubted my own desires concerning being a spouse, father, and academic and have re-evaluated my domestic and entrepreneurial (with regards to career development) selves many times because of discovering the complexities of work-life balance decision-making. At the same time, I realise that discovering complexities behind gendered assumptions concerning work and life has opened the door for me to continue to challenge my perceptions (and others) concerning the relationship between men, women, masculinities and femininities.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Interview Guide	
Topic Area	Questions
Preliminary Questions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Can introduce yourself please?</i> 2. What is your current position at your place of work? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. How did you get to that position? b. Length of service/career history? 3. How do you introduce/describe yourself? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. At work b. Outside of work?
Organisational Decision-Making	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In your current position, what do you believe is the impact/influence that you have on the goals, objectives and direction of the organisation? 2. Thinking of the most current business decision regarding your organisation's objectives. Can you describe the process you went through, or are going through to come to a final decision? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. What or who do you believe to be the major influences on critical organisational decisions?
Work-Family Conflict	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are your current responsibilities outside of work? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Who do you classify as your dependants? i. Why? 2. What does your spouse think of your occupation? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Have there ever been any difficulties balancing work and family obligations? i. How did you solve these difficulties?
Men and Masculinities	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What do you believe is your major responsibilities as an influential organisational decision-maker? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Has anyone disagreed with your assessment? 2. What do you believe are your major responsibilities as a father, spouse? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Has anyone disagreed with your assessment? 3. Do you believe that these are the same responsibilities as fathers before you? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Your own father's opinion? b. What about the future? Do you see any changes in expectations?
Interconnection of Topic	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Have you ever felt any pressure from your colleagues or business partners to change your position on an organisational decision? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. How was it presented? (E.g. was your authority questioned? Reasoning? etc) b. How was it resolved? Or, is it resolved? c. Any decisions that, upon reflection that you would do differently? 2. <i>Have you ever felt any pressure from your spouse to change your position on an organisational decision?</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. How was it presented?

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