



Placing Fathers at Centre Stage
A Grounded Theory Study of the Ways Fathers Navigate Work and Family by
Performance

*Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the
University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy*

By Martyn Bradley

Dedication

For Fred & Millie.

Abstract

This study explores the organizational lives of 20 fathers to ask how and why fathers navigate their work and family roles. To answer these questions, I utilize a grounded approach employing ethnographic data capture methods including interviews, participant observation and active participation undertaken over the course of 18 months. Using these methods I capture intimate, rich and personal accounts of fathers who attempt to navigate work and family.

Utilizing Irving Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical interpretation of everyday life to conceptualize data I collect, I make three important contributions to the ways we currently understand navigation to occur. Firstly, I reveal how fathers' navigation of work and family can be an undertaking realized by the utilization of performative action, allowing fathers to claim the impression of one who prioritizes work over, and segments work from, family. This contrasts our current understanding of fathers' navigation which conceptualizes fathers as *actually* prioritizing work over, and segmenting work from, family, rather than this being an impression claimed performatively. Secondly, I show how fathers' definitions of what it means to be a *good* father and their interpretations of the ways the organizational setting defines a *good* worker reveal performative navigation as both an intentional and strategic undertaking. This contrasts many existing studies concerned with fathers' navigation which explain navigation by employing a structuralist conceptualization of the organizational setting characterizing fathers as passive. The final contribution I make is by revealing how fathers themselves are important social actors who, through their choice to navigate work and family by performative action, reaffirm existing stereotypes and assumptions about the work roles of men. This perspective contributes to the literature concerned with men's work roles by showing how fathers, via the recorded performances, can inform assumptions that they are exclusively work-orientated. In making this contribution I situate fathers, and their actions, in a more critical light than existing studies which more regularly focus on how the same assumptions are informed by policy initiatives, managers and colleagues.

My study findings explain that navigation can be understood as a process by which fathers interpret their organizational setting, determine a script they believe will cast a positive impression and perform pursuant to that script as a means to realize organizational rewards important to their fathering roles. My study findings, and this new perspective upon navigation, arise from my emphasis upon the perspective of fathers by not only capturing the unique performances they craft, but also gaining insight into their own explanations and interpretations as a means to understand why navigation occurs. In this way I situate fathers at *centre stage* and highlight the intentional, strategic, and sometimes poignant choices they make to reconcile the ideals associated with being a *good* father and *good* worker. This, as I will show, regularly means misleading their audience as a means to craft an impression as to appear, of all things, as if not a father at all.

Acknowledgements

Supervisors - I am incredibly grateful for the support offered by my supervisory team (Dr Gary Brown, Dr Laura Radcliffe and Professor Caroline Gatrell) during the completion of this study. Their guidance has been essential from submitting the proposal for this study to be undertaken through to the final write up. The study is far more consistent coherent and stronger thanks to their feedback and comments both of which are greatly appreciated.

I would like to make special mention to Dr Gary Brown, my primary supervisor, for supporting my return to academia, believing in me and providing guidance and support through some challenging personal periods which occurred throughout the undertaking and write-up of this study.

Family - I am also grateful to my partner, Samantha who has been extremely understanding in my absence from usual family and friendship events owing to the responsibilities and workload needed to complete this study.

Funding - I would like to also mention my thanks to the European Social Research Council which funded my study and all the administrative staff affiliated with the North West Social Science Doctoral Training Partnership who administered my stipend and all additional support offered under my scholarship.

University - Thank you to all academic staff employed at the University of Liverpool who have provided annual feedback and guidance on progress and the development of my thesis. My thanks are also paid to the administrative staff who supported my time with the university and provided a warm and welcoming environment in which to study.

Participants – My final thanks are paid to all the participants who agreed to be interviewed and observed during the course of this study. Their stories, thoughts and feelings reaffirmed to me the importance of undertaking a study concerned the ways fathers navigate work and family. It is my hope, by letting their accounts guide this study, and by placing fathers at *centre stage*, that I have accurately portrayed how they navigate work and family and also captured the reasons they felt they had to portray themselves in the ways that they did.

Researcher Biography

As a means to provide context to my study I will begin by providing information regarding myself which will also explain why I was interested in the topic of fatherhood studies within the organizational setting.

At the time of writing, I am 34 years of age and, although studying fathers in the workplace, I do not have children of my own. However, the absence of my father throughout my parents' lengthy divorce which took place before my teenage years has left me with an appreciation of the role of a father and how its absence, for a prolonged period, can be impactful. Following this, and into employment, I accrued 15 years experience working within the legal services industry in a number of full-time and part-time roles. During my time employed within the legal services industry, and owing to my age, many of my peers became fathers. However, and although this was a monumental change to their lives, relatively little actually changed for these men within their organizational lives. Most returned from paternity, many taking time away from the office as if it were merely annual leave, to then settle back into their organizational lives in exactly the same ways as they did before they were fathers. Seeing these types of choices unfold, and considering my own experiences of being without a paternal presence for prolonged periods of my childhood, I felt fatherhood, especially within the legal services industry, would be a meaningful area of sociological study which I could commit my effort and attention to and which might create a meaningful contribution to knowledge and add to an important area of research.

Contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 Performances in Everyday Life	1
1.2 Study Rationale.....	2
1.3 Chapter Summaries	3
1.3.1 Literature Review	3
1.3.2 Dramaturgy.....	6
1.3.3 Methodology	7
1.3.4 Case Organization	8
1.3.5 Analysis	9
1.3.6 Findings.....	9
1.3.7 Discussion	10
1.3.8 Conclusion.....	12
2. Literature Review.....	14
2.1 Fathers' Family and Work Roles.....	16
2.1.1 Fathers' Family Roles	17
2.1.2 Fathers' Work Role	22
2.1.3 Role Duality	26
2.2 Navigating Roles	28
2.2.1 Work Role Engagement	31
2.2.2 Family Role Concealment	36
2.2.3 Family Role Engagement.....	38
2.3 Literature Review Summary	44
3. Dramaturgy	46
3.1 Dramaturgy's Symbolic Interactionist Foundations.....	46
3.2 Goffman's Dramaturgy	50
3.2.1 Performances	52

3.2.2 Situational Appropriateness and Important Consequences	54
3.3 Dramaturgy Summary	56
4. Methodology	58
4.1 Data Collection.....	61
4.1.1 Preparation for Data Collection and Ethical Considerations	61
4.1.2 Case Study Design	63
4.1.3 Data Collection Methods	66
4.2 Grounded Theory	80
4.2.1 Social Constructionism.....	80
4.2.2 Ontology	80
4.2.3 Epistemology	81
4.2.4 Method of Reasoning	84
4.3 Methodology Summary.....	86
5. Case Organization	87
5.1 Overview.....	87
5.2 Settings.....	88
5.3 Technology	88
5.4 Turnover	90
6. Analysis	92
6.1 The Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis	93
6.1.1 Preparation for Data Analysis.....	94
6.1.2 Coding.....	94
6.1.3 Interpretation	96
6.1.4 Category Formation	97
6.1.5 Theoretical Sampling	99
6.1.6 Category Reduction	101
6.1.7 Initial Axial Coding	102
6.1.8 Consulting Existing Literature.....	104

6.1.9 Final Theoretical Sampling.....	105
6.1.10 Final Axial Coding.....	106
6.1.11 Theoretical Saturation.....	106
7. Findings	109
7.1 Performances.....	110
7.1.1 Front.....	111
7.1.2 Concealment	122
7.1.3 Summary to Performance	129
7.2 Important Consequences	130
7.2.1 Traditional Meanings.....	130
7.2.2 Contemporary Meanings.....	133
7.2.3 Summary to Important Consequences	134
7.3 Situational Appropriateness.....	136
7.3.1 Prioritize Work over Family	137
7.3.2 Segregate Work and Family.....	142
7.3.3 Summary to Situational Appropriateness.....	149
7.4 Findings Summary	150
8. Discussion	152
8.1 Performative Navigation	154
8.1.1 Work Role Engagement & Front.....	155
8.1.2 Family Role Concealment and Concealment.....	158
8.1.3 Family Role Engagement and Audience Segregation.....	162
8.1.4 Performative Navigation Summary	163
8.2 Fathers as Strategic Performers	165
8.2.1 Work Role Engagement.....	165
8.2.2 Family Role Concealment.....	167
8.2.3 Discreet Family Role Engagement	170
8.2.4 Fathers as Strategic Performers Summary.....	171
8.3 The Stagnation of Organizational Assumptions.....	174

8.3.1 Reaffirming Traditional Meanings through Performances.....	175
8.3.2 The Stagnation of Organizational Assumptions Summary.....	178
8.4 Discussion Chapter Summary	180
9. Conclusion.....	182
9.1 Fathers at <i>Centre Stage</i>	182
9.2 Public Family Role Engagement.....	186
9.3 Practical Importance.....	188
9.3.1 Managers.....	188
9.3.2 Human Resource Managers.....	189
9.4 Limitations.....	190
9.5 Future Research	193
9.6 Concluding Thoughts	195
10. Bibliography.....	197
11. Appendices	211
11.1 Appendix 1 - Participant Consent Forms.....	211
11.2 Appendix 2 – Participant Information Sheets.....	213
11.3 Appendix 3 – Interview Schedule.....	219

1. Introduction

1.1 Performances in Everyday Life

The best actors are those who appear not to be crafting an illusion to mislead us but those who cast that illusion so well that its construction and intentionality are never realized by the viewer. These actors, for as long as we view them on a stage, provide complete authenticity through performative skill and dramaturgical knowledge so that we view them, precisely, how they wish to be received. This type of skill requires one to be concerned not just with what is shown but also what is concealed. It requires concern and consideration for props, stage and audience. One must not only know how they are expected to act but how to perform and how to master and conquer the physical representation of the role they seek to claim. Crafting oneself in this manner usually means shedding the roles one is engaged with away from the stage in such a way that a performer is no longer a writer, waiter, painter, parent, son, daughter or as will be the focus of this study, a father.

In addition to roles shed, the location of one's performance is of vital importance to an actor. That one might temporarily choose to shed such a role is understandable, if not wholly expected, where one is employed to act upon a stage, for instance. In these instances one would expect, and accept, an actor playing an unmarried man to remove his wedding ring for it would shatter the illusion and remind us that the person we are viewing is an actor, for example. The same type of action is, however, less acceptable away from those stages upon which we expect to find them. We feel, for instance, duped, misled or lied to if one seeks to actively misrepresent themselves during the course of normal daily life (Goffman, 1959). Those that do mislead or misrepresent, run the risk, if they are not on a stage, of being branded a swindler, con artist, cheat, liar, deceiver or fraudster when they actively seek to present themselves in a false manner. The reality of daily life, however, is one which requires us, in a multitude of situations away from a theatrical stage, to make certain reservations or allowances to *save face*, for instance. These types of concessions are the harmless misrepresentations which attract a wholly different vocabulary and replace terms such as pretence, deceit or deception with those such as exaggeration, white lie or half-truth. In this way we accept that a degree of performance will occur in a variety of circumstance, within a variety of situations and on a number of stages. One stage in which these actions occur, and which this study is concerned with, is the organizational setting (Leary & Kowalski, 1990 and Roberts, 2005).

In this study I explored fathers and the organizational setting to understand how and why fathers navigate work and family roles. I utilize the concept of 'navigation' as a means to consider the ways that fathers act through their day to day lives. In this way a father might, for instance, navigate toward his work role when engaging in actions which I categorise as Work Role Engagement or, alternatively toward his family role when performing actions of Family Role Engagement. In this way, fathers might also choose to disengage or distance themselves from certain roles as they navigate their day to day lives or, as I conceptualize it, will engage in actions of Work, or Family, Role Concealment. In this way, I utilize the term navigation to refer to the total actions that might occur as a father chooses to engage or conceal aspects of their family and/or work roles throughout the course of their daily lives.

In doing so I find evidence that aspects of stage, performance and script are important to understand how and why fathers navigate work and family in the organizational setting. I find that fathers can navigate work and family roles by utilizing performative action to conceal or engage with aspects of either role. I show how these types of performative actions can be utilized by fathers to ensure they craft a favourable impression which consistently means they are perceived as childless and wholly organizationally focused. In addition, I also find that the ways fathers define *good* fathering and the importance they place upon organizational rewards explains why fathers navigate work and family to seek to realize a favourable impression. In other words, because fathers defined their paternal worth by their ability to support their families financially they believed it necessary to present themselves favourably upon the organizational stage as a means to position themselves as candidates to receive organizational rewards. Thirdly, I find that the ways fathers interpret the context in which performances are given is important to understand why the specific performative action is utilized. In this regard I draw on the accounts of my participants who interpreted the organization as a context in which, should one wish to make a favourable impression and be considered a *good* worker, they should prioritize work over, and segment work from, family. These interpretations then allowed fathers to craft a performance which they believed would be situationally appropriate and received favourably. These three findings reveal an important process which takes place as fathers consider and enact action to navigate work and family. Namely, fathers are engaging in a process by which they interpret the organizational setting and consider this as if a script which they utilize to craft the most effective performative actions they can as a means to realize important consequences in the form of organizational rewards. This process, however, also provides evidence that fathers themselves inform what they perceive as situationally appropriate as the performances of other fathers influenced the ways that fathers interpreted how they themselves should act.

These findings arise as I explore navigation from the perspective of fathers and focus upon their interpretations of their social worlds. In other words, what I find is important to understand navigation are fathers' definitions of *good* fathering and the ways that they interpret the organizational setting and build an understanding of what it means to be a *good* worker and how those meanings direct action (Blumer, 1969). This contrasts existing approaches which emphasize the role that organizational structures, such as masculinities, gendered norms and others (see literature review for a more thorough list and exploration of these structures), play in determining navigation. As such I contribute a new perspective by placing fathers at centre stage revealing that navigation can be understood as a process by which fathers interpret their organizational setting, determine a script they believe will cast a positive impression and do so as a means to realize organizational rewards important to their fathering roles.

1.2 Study Rationale

Before proceeding to discuss each of the thesis chapters it is important to consider the rationale to study fathers and their navigation of work and family roles. I contend that the study of fathers, in and of itself, is of great sociological importance and, secondly, that the study of their role navigation is theoretically interesting.

Firstly, the study of fathering is important but not just for fathers but for mothers and their families. For instance, the well documented transition of fatherhood ideals from a singular undertaking concerned with breadwinning toward a dualistic undertaking concerned with both work and family is one which has created a large degree of role conflict (Galinsky et al., 2013 and Ladge et. al., 2015). The experience of work and family in conflict is, inherently, one which is negative and is widely recorded as contributing toward other issues including increased stress, low self-esteem and poorer perceived health for fathers (Ismail & Gali, 2016 and Li et al., 2021). As such, advancing knowledge surrounding the ways fathers might navigate work and family roles brings the possibility of providing benefits to reduce such conflict and resultant issues occurring (Huffman et al., 2014). Additionally, advancing knowledge of how men are navigating work and family is not only important for fathers but also for mothers. This is the case as understanding how fathers might be able to manage work to be successful within a childrearing capacity provides important opportunity for more mothers to be successful within an earning capacity which means moving society toward a more equitable distribution of caring and earning responsibilities (Torella, 2014). Finally, and in the same vein, both mother and father mutually benefit when they are able to engage in childrearing because paternal engagement is beneficial for children's development (Craig et al., 2018).

As well as fathers' navigation of work and family roles being an important topic it is also theoretically interesting because these roles regularly require dissimilar contributions which might cause negative consequences if not correctly navigated (Humberd et al., 2015). Namely, caring aspects of one's family role might well be unwelcomed in the organizational setting casting expressions and representations of fatherhood as invisible (Gatrell, 2005; Lewis & Simpson, 2010; Lyng, 2010 and Burnett et al., 2013) as fathers attempt to avoid stigmatization (Williams et al., 2013). Fathers' work and family roles might therefore be considered in a type of conflict requiring special attention and care or, as I will argue, performances to navigate. In this way, there is potential to theoretically consider, conceptualize and learn about this important aspect of fathers' lives in a meaningful and impactful way.

1.3 Chapter Summaries

I now provide a summary of the thesis chapters. In doing so I explore in greater detail the performative nature of action, the existing literature considered in relation to fathers' work and family roles and, amongst other things, the important findings and contributions I introduced earlier. I provide, in sum, a brief overview of the study which acts to introduce important aspects of the thesis which are later explored further within each of the complete chapters.

1.3.1 Literature Review

The literature review will be split into two sections with the first section informing discussion within the second section. The first section of the review will present the substantial literature concerned with fathers' work and family roles. Through reviewing this body of literature I make two arguments. Firstly, I reveal that within Western societies fathers' family roles have changed to be subject to greater childrearing expectations and a more involved fathering role. In contrast I suggest that fathers, as

men, are subject to expectations within the organizational setting which focus less on their paternal responsibilities and more upon the expectation to realize ideal worker standards. In discussing fathers' work and family roles I argue that 21st Century fathering is characterized by a form of duality in which fathers are expected to engage with contemporary childrearing expectations whilst still engaging and realizing ideal worker norms within the organizational setting (Ladge et al., 2015). To undertake one's family and work roles successfully then, I argue, requires a specific type of navigation of work and family roles.

The second section of the literature review provides an in-depth review of the ways which fathers navigate work and family to manage the conflict identified in the first section of the review. The concept of *navigation* itself will be employed as a term to understand how fathers either move toward a role to *engage* with it or avoid a role by *concealing* it. Although there is no defined body of literature to draw upon to specifically understand fathers' navigation (as there might be to consider other areas of work and family such as work family conflict or boundary theory), I draw upon a wealth of existing studies which help understand how and why fathers undertake actions which can be interpreted as engaging or concealing their work and/or family role(s). I draw upon, for instance, studies which evidence actions of work prioritization, long working hours and/or around-the-clock availability to build an understanding of how and why fathers navigate toward their work role (Work Role Engagement) and studies which evidence actions such as the avoidance of flexible working initiatives to understand how and why fathers navigate away from their family role (Family Role Concealment). By undertaking this review I reveal that there exists three positions fathers take in relation to their work and family roles, namely (1) Work Role Engagement, (2) Family Role Concealment and (3) Family Role Engagement:

Figure 1: Fathers' Navigation of Work and Family

<i>Position</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Example Actions</i>
Work Role Engagement	A position in which fathers engage with expectations of their work role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work prioritization • Long working hours • Around-the-clock availability
Family Role Concealment	A position in which fathers engage in action to conceal aspects associated with their family role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Segmenting work and family • Avoiding engaging with family events/responsibilities
Family Role Engagement	A position in which fathers engage with expectations of their family role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arranging official or unofficial leave/flexibility • Changing work arrangements to accommodate family

In identifying each of these positions and their respective actions I also consider how studies contribute to our understanding of why fathers navigate work and family to realize these positions. In other words, I explore not only the actions fathers are recorded to take but also the existing

explanations literature provides for fathers undertaking those actions and arriving at the positions of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Family Role Engagement.

Figure 2: Explanations and Navigation Characterization

<i>Position</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Navigation Characterization</i>
Work Role Engagement	Influenced by organizational structures	Passive
Family Role Concealment <i>Discreet</i> Family Role Engagement	Reaction to organizational structures	Reactive
<i>Public</i> Family Role Engagement	Dispositional/Natural	Intentional

An important argument I make in bringing these studies together is that both the way that navigation is characterized and the explanations for navigation are unique when explaining each position. For instance, when Work Role Engagement (exemplified through work prioritization, long working hours and around-the-clock availability), is evidenced navigation is characterized as passive and explained as a result of the structures which permeate the organization (organizational structures) influencing fathers. This contrasts the conceptualization of Family Role Concealment, realized by the segmentation of work and family and/or the avoidance of flexible working initiatives in which navigation is characterized as reactive and navigation explained as a reaction to organizational structure. I lastly consider Family Role Engagement which is evidenced in instances in which fathers engage with their family role responsibilities by making use of flexible working initiatives to facilitate childcare responsibilities. This position is characterized as wholly intentional and explanations draw on the consideration of fathers' disposition and natural desire to care which is important to, and is realized by, engaging with their family role(s). Because of these commonalities I argue that what is created are *discourses* of knowledge which provide distinct explanations and characterizations of navigation when specific types of actions are recorded. For that reason I will refer to Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Family Role Engagement as both *positions* but also as *discourses* throughout my thesis.

In considering the balance of knowledge I suggest there are two limitations to our current understanding of navigation. The first limitation I perceive, in relation to the ways we currently understand navigation, is that our explanations for why navigation occurs are highly dependent upon the discourse they appear within. Organizational structures appear, for instance, as wholly controlling and restrictive (Work Role Engagement discourse) but also other explanations cast the same structures as completely manageable (Family Role Concealment discourse) and/or able to be rejected (Family Role Engagement discourse). Explanations are then highly dependent upon the discourse in which they are conceived rather than providing a consistent explanation of navigation which helps understand why navigation occurs in all instances. To provide a clearer explanation of navigation and why navigation occurs I ask the following research questions:

(1) *How do fathers navigate work and family within the organizational setting?*

(2) *Why do fathers navigate work and family within the organizational setting?*

I construct my research questions in this way to firstly be able to evidence navigation occurring (research question one) and then, utilizing those actions used to navigate work and family, to seek an explanation of why those actions occurred.

The second limitation to our existing knowledge concerned with navigation is the way that navigation is characterized. At present, explanations appear heavily influenced by the position that fathers are exclusively concerned with, or desire, Family Role Engagement and organizational structures are acting in contradiction to that desire to situate or influence fathers toward a position of Work Role Engagement. For instance, where Family Role Engagement is realized explanations emphasize fathers acting pursuant to a dispositional or natural desire to engage in childrearing with navigation conceptualized in contradiction to organizational structures (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019). Contrastingly, when fathers do not navigate toward their family role (instances such as Work Role Engagement) navigation is conceptualized as highly structured with fathers being subject to an *invisible control strategy* (Cooper, 2000) or in need of *emancipation* (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019). Fathers are, from this perspective, never conceptualized as intentionally engaging in actions associated with Work Role Engagement in the same way they are when engaging in actions associated with Family Role Engagement. As such, I sought to understand how navigation might be intentional in all instances (not only where action directs fathers toward their family role) by asking the final research question:

(3) *Why do fathers utilize the specific actions they choose?*

Answering this question allowed me to evidence an intentionality of the part of fathers as I seek to understand and conceptualize a reason for the actions I record. In this way I sought to evidence intentionality not when action appears to align with the position one desires (such as Family Role Engagement) but when fathers were able to explain why they chose the actions used to navigate work and family. As such, intentionality was only claimed if I was able to evidence intentionality from my participants' accounts rather than how their action appears to conform or contradict structured interpretations of the organizational setting.

1.3.2 Dramaturgy

I mentioned within the first part of this introduction that I utilized a dramaturgical interpretation of everyday life which was important for placing fathers and their interpretations of their social worlds at *centre stage*. Although my study proceeded as concerned with investigating fathers' navigation of work and family roles it did not deductively decide upon the utilization of a dramaturgical lens to consider navigation. Rather, I let data from my investigation guide my study and employed dramaturgy as a lens because fathers reported regular instances of concealing important aspects of their family roles. It was only at this stage that I found utility in considering the possibility of utilizing the work of Goffman (1959) and the consideration that fathers might be engaged in the construction of

a performance they utilized to navigate work and family. This process will be explored further throughout the theoretical lens chapter and also the chapter which explains the process of data analysis.

Within the theoretical lens chapter I also explain the rationale and benefits the utilization of a dramaturgical approach provided the study. I consider the theoretical foundations of Goffman's (1959) work and the influence of Mead (1934) and Blumer (1969) and how their symbolic interactionist approaches to social enquiry informed Goffman's (1959) work. I explain the important perspective that symbolic interactionism has upon structure and the conceptualization of the individual as both partially constrained and partially informing the structures which characterize social life (Blumer, 1969). This perspective upon structure is important for later aspects of the thesis which explore the new perspective upon fathers' navigation of work and family roles I introduced earlier and the ways that the symbolic interactionist discipline places individuals (rather than structures) and their actions at the centre of enquiry or, as I conceptualize it, *centre stage*.

Following this, I explore the breadth of the symbolic performative actions which Goffman (1959) argues reveal the intentional and strategic ways we advance through everyday life. These types of actions are important because their symbolic nature suggests action which is undertaken with intentionality which, as I have mentioned above, finds less attention when fathers perform actions such as work prioritization, long working hours and/or around-the-clock availability (Work Role Engagement). They are also important to my thesis because the attribute of these actions as performative is utilized to argue that they allow fathers to navigate work and family by the impressions such performances provide.

In addition to understanding action from a dramaturgical perspective (that it is intentional, strategic and performative) I also adopt two further important arguments from Goffman's (1959) work which I utilize when answering research questions two and three. Firstly, I adopt the argument that individuals will employ performances in contexts in which the results of creating a favourable impression are important to them (Important Consequences). I utilize this to explore what was deemed important to fathers and how that drove them to acquire particular outcomes (consequences). In other words, I utilize this aspect of Goffman's (1959) work to consider how defining the rewards of paid employment as important (because it was an essential aspect of what participants determined as *good* fathering) can help understand why fathers will performatively navigate work and family. The second aspect of Goffman's (1959) work utilized considers that in those situations in which individuals seek important consequences they will enact action in what they interpret to be a situationally appropriate manner (Situational Appropriateness). I utilize this aspect of Goffman's (1959) work to understand why particular actions are chosen when one seeks to navigate work and family in a particular manner and to answer research question three.

1.3.3 Methodology

The methodology chapter will begin by providing a brief overview of the research method adopted to answer the study's research questions. I explain how I utilized a Grounded Theory approach to provide a robust systematic research method and ethnographic data capture methods to acquire

detailed and contextually sensitive data regarding the lives of my participants. In this way both the process and research methods characterize an approach which is exploratory and champions the collection of contextually situated data. To explore the data collection methods and my choice to pursue a grounded study I separate the methodology chapter in two sections.

The first part of the methodology chapter is dedicated to explaining the three waves of data collection that were undertaken and the ethnographic data capture methods utilized. I start by explaining the considerations made in preparation of data collection, including ethical considerations made regarding the control and storage of sensitive data. At this point, explaining the utilization of pseudonyms as a precaution taken, I introduce my participants (by their pseudonyms) and provide basic information including age, organizational role and number of children. I also here explain the single case study design and why I chose to collect data from those working within the legal services industry. I then proceed to provide both a chronology of the data collection process as well as an explanation and rationale for choosing interviews, participant observation and active participation as data collection methods. I explain the initial unstructured design of interviews and how, throughout the course of the data collection process, the interview design and implementation developed. I also retrospectively consider challenges faced throughout the interview process, including concerns regarding rapport and difficulties in utilizing unstructured interviews. Following discussion regarding the interview design and delivery I explain how participant observation was utilized and the important benefits this provided the study. For instance, I explain how observations regarding the lack of physical representation of fatherhood helped inform the direction of the study and the design of second and third wave interviews. Finally, I discuss the important process of active participation in which I took roles within several departments within the case organization allowing a clearer understanding of context and additional observations to be made.

The final section of the methodology chapter discusses the grounded approach I utilized. I invest time in evidencing a thorough understanding of Grounded Theory as a systematic research approach by considering the social constructionist foundations of Charmaz's (2008) work and how this might differ from other conceptualizations of Grounded Theory. I support this by explaining ontological and epistemological concerns important to the study and essential for the consideration of a robust method to answer my research questions and craft a qualitative study.

1.3.4 Case Organization

I follow discussion of the methodology by providing information concerned with the case organization. I provide a standalone chapter concerned with the case organization as many of the abstractions from interviews and observations made which contribute to the later findings chapter (especially those made in relation to answering research question three when discussing participants' interpretations of their organizational setting) make reference to aspects of the organization and work processes. For instance, the information presented within this chapter will help frame later examples of performative action which made use of mobile technologies and the case management software utilized by the case organization. For that reason, I discuss aspects such as the settings in which participant observation and active participation took place, the case organization's use of technology (as this

assisted in certain performative actions) and the culture of the organization. In this way this chapter provides a context for the reader to not only understand references and abstractions but to appreciate the organizational setting, participants' interpretation of which were found to be an important consideration for answering research question three (*why do fathers utilize the specific actions they choose?*).

1.3.5 Analysis

I utilized a standalone analysis chapter as my approach to analysis was intricate and important to ensure I remained true to the grounded method (as the analysis approach to grounded studies is at the core of the Grounded Theory). Within this chapter I explain that the approach to analyze data was in keeping with the grounded method, namely I chose to utilize The Constant Comparative Method of Data Analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) which, although proposed under the original conception of Grounded Theory, remains a quintessential aspect of undertaking grounded studies. For this reason I begin this chapter by explaining, in detail, the small changes made to The Constant Comparative Method of Data Analysis to ensure the analysis approach was epistemologically consistent with my study (Charmaz, 2008). From that point I explain how analysis proceeded at the same time as data collection. In doing so I present an account of a process by which analysis, data collection and theory building were undertaken simultaneously. This is an important aspect of Grounded Theory as a systematic research approach as it ensures one is constantly engaged with the field of study and data remains grounded, in my instance, in the lives of participants. For that reason, I present the analysis chapter in a sequential manner and explain how the study moved through stages of coding, interpretation and category formation. At that point I explain that the analysis consisted of a process of Theoretical Sampling (Charmaz, 2008) in which the collected data was considered with a view to move the study toward a point of interest which was, at that stage, fathers' choices to conceal their family role. I proceed through the chapter to then explore the second wave data collection, category formation and axial coding. At this point I explain the rationale for considering Goffman's (1959) work and how this influenced subsequent data collection. The remainder of the analysis chapter explains how final axial coding, theoretical saturation and a proposed grounded theory were constructed from answering my three research questions. The chapter will conclude with a brief summary of findings and how these each inform our understanding of how and why fathers navigate their work and family roles. I also present these findings in a diagrammatic form revealing a visual representation of the four findings which are then to be explored in greater detail within the following findings chapter.

1.3.6 Findings

The findings chapter will be separated into three sections explaining the four findings made in answering the three research questions. The four findings are summarized in the following figure:

Figure 3: Findings Summary

<i>Finding</i>	<i>Summary</i>
----------------	----------------

1	Fathers employ performative action to navigate work and family roles by impression.
2	Fathers navigate work and family because they believe crafting a positive impression will provide access to organizational rewards important to their fathering role.
3	Fathers employ the recorded performative actions by consideration of situational context evidencing an intentional and strategic approach to the navigation of roles.
4	What constitutes a situationally appropriate performance is partially informed by fathers' performative action.

The first section of this chapter considers the finding, in answering research question one (*how do fathers navigate work and family within the organizational setting?*), that fathers employ performative action to navigate work and family by the impressions they claim. To explore how this is achieved I explain how each of the actions recorded can be utilized to achieve the impression of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Discreet Family Role Engagement.

The following section explores the finding, in answering research question two (*why do fathers navigate work and family within the organizational setting?*), that the ways fathers define *good* fathering and the importance they place upon organizational rewards explains why fathers navigate work and family in an attempt to be received favourably. Here I explain that because fathers defined, to varying degrees, their fathering role by breadwinning ideals they placed importance on being received favourably within the organizational setting as a means to receive organizational rewards.

The last section of the findings chapter explores the findings made in answering research question three (*why do fathers utilize the specific actions they choose?*). Unlike the previous sections of the findings chapter, I reveal two findings made in answering research question three. The first of these findings evidences the intentionality which characterizes performative navigation by revealing that fathers are engaged in a process in which they consider their situational context and design the recorded actions pursuant to their interpretations of the organizational context. In other words, I reveal how fathers consider their organizational context to be one which determines a good worker as one who prioritizes work over, and segments work from, family. I explain this finding by firstly showing that fathers interpret the organizational setting such that they believe those who prioritize work over, and segment work from, family are rewarded and then support these accounts by showing how performative navigation allows one to appear as though they act pursuant to those requirements. The second finding I explore within this final section is concerned with the ways that fathers learnt what was situationally appropriate by considering the actions of other fathers. I utilize specific examples in this regard to reveal fathers interpreting other fathers' actions in a manner that suggests they learn, from other fathers, what was an appropriate way to navigate work and family.

1.3.7 Discussion

The discussion chapter will explore the important contributions this study makes to the existing organizational fatherhood literature. I include a table detailing the three contributions this study makes:

Figure 4: Contributions Summary

<i>Contribution</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	Navigation can be an undertaking which constitutes performative action as a means to claim Work Role Engagement and Family Role Concealment by impression.
2	Navigation is an intentional and strategic undertaking which can be explained by fathers' interpretations of what it means to be a good father and a good worker.
3	Fathers' performative navigation of work and family has the potential to reaffirm stereotypes and assumptions made upon the work roles of fathers.

The first section will consider the finding that navigation of work and family roles can be achieved through the impressions claimed by the utilization of performative action. I reveal how numerous actions recorded which helped fathers realize an impression of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Discreet Family Role Engagement are novel to the existing literature. I argue that these actions, not only evidence that navigation can be achieved performatively, suggest that the categorization of fathers as traditional, conformers or career orientated (as the existing literature does) is problematic. I suggest this as many fathers who held childrearing aspirations might readily be described as traditional as these fathers, like their peers, employed performative action to realize an *impression* of one who is without extra organizational responsibilities and would prioritize work over family.

The second section of the discussion chapter considers the findings made in relation to understanding why fathers performed (research question two) and why fathers utilized the specific actions recorded (research question three). I consider the findings that fathers act in relation to the ways they define their fathering roles and in conjunction with their interpretation of the situational context to argue that fathers' navigation of work and family is both intentional and strategic. I do this by showing that fathers are engaging in a process by which they interpret the organizational setting and from this determine a script by which they can craft the most effective performative actions they can as a means to realize important consequences in the form of organizational rewards. To contextualize this argument I situate the conceptualization of fathers as intentional and strategic actors within the three discourses of knowledge isolated within my literature review evidencing an important contribution made by this study is an explanation of why navigation occurs which shows how actions utilized to realize positions of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and (Discreet) Family Role Engagement can be understood as intentional. This contrasts the discourse-specific explanations of navigation which characterization and explanation navigation in multiple ways and with varying degrees of intentionality or passivity.

The final section of the discussion chapter situates the finding that fathers are engaged in a process in which they inform how other fathers perceive what it means to act in a situationally appropriate way. I suggest that the study contributes by situating fathers as important organizational actors when considering the stagnation of organizational assumptions surrounding men's work roles. In this way I offer a critical perspective upon fathers, their actions and the potential repercussions that navigating work and family by insincere performances can have on reaffirming stereotypes associated with men in the workplace.

I close the discussion chapter by consolidating discussions regarding contributions to suggest, as referred to throughout the chapter, that what is offered by this study is a new perspective upon navigation. This perspective can be summarized by the argument that a father interprets his organizational setting and from this determines a script which he can follow as a means to display what he believes is required of him in an effort to form a specific impression and realize organizational rewards important to his fathering role. I suggest this is a new perspective because it emphasizes that navigation can be realized by impression (which is elsewhere absent) but, also, because I incorporate my findings into a concise and well evidenced explanation of why navigation occurs and why all discourse specific actions occur. This perspective is also more critical upon the actions of fathers raising concern to the degree we should consider organizational structure as subjugating and also the potential repercussions of fathers' actions have upon the ongoing stereotyping of men as unencumbered ideal workers within the workplace.

1.3.8 Conclusion

I end my study by considering the new perspective I contribute to our understanding of fathers' navigation of work and family. I solidify my study within the existing literature by concluding that the perspectives I offer are reliant upon the decision to pursue my study of navigation through a dramaturgical lens. I explain how this helped situate fathers at *centre stage* and emphasize the ways that they interpret and define the organizational setting and what it means to be a good father. I argue that what my study offers is not a better way to conceptualize navigation than is currently available but that considering the perspective of fathers provides new insights into how we can understand navigation to occur and the reasons navigation occurs in those ways.

The following section of the conclusion chapter considers Public Family Role Engagement. I explain that this position was absent from my study and that for this position to be more commonplace disruption to the ways fathers defined the notions of *good father* and *good worker* will need to be realized. I next consider the practical importance of my study for both managers and human resource managers. I follow this section with the consideration of the limitations of my study and contemplation upon how future research might progress our understanding of fathers' navigation. I then end my study with final thoughts around the ways that fathers defined what it meant to be a good father and good worker suggesting that the two definitions recorded hold a type of synergy in which fatherhood, when defined in the ways that these fathers did, needs is what the organization provides (opportunity to realize remuneration) and what the organization, when operating a competitive marketplace such as this case organization, needs is what fatherhood provides (workers who conform to ideal worker

norms). I suggest that it is for this reason why a dramaturgical interpretation of navigation is important for it capture the ways that the intense synergy in this relationship can result in exaggerated claims of self which, of all things, has revealed fathers acting as if they are not fathers at all.

2. Literature Review

Within this chapter I review the literature concerned with fathers' work and family roles and the ways we currently understand fathers to navigate those roles. To do this I split my review into two sections. The first section draws upon the wider sociological literatures concerned with fathers' family roles and also organizational studies which consider fathers' work roles. This section of the review will establish that literature is positioned in such a way that fathers' family roles and work roles are defined by contrasting ideals and expectations. The first, fathers' family roles, will be revealed as being subject to change and now being characterized by a requirement to be engaged in childrearing whilst the second, fathers' work roles, will be revealed as being subject to limited change and so remains characterized by a requirement to prioritize work over, and segment work from, family. The overwhelming message in these literatures is that fathers increasingly desire greater childrearing engagement and, as such, the stagnation of organizational assumptions around the roles of men in the workplace is creating challenges to realize those desires.

Having established that existing literature suggests that fathers' family and work roles are in conflict the second section of the review explores studies which help understand how fathers might navigate their work and family roles. I utilize the concept of 'navigation' as a means to consider the ways that fathers act through their day to day lives. In this way a father might, for instance, navigate toward his work role when engaging in actions which I categorise as Work Role Engagement or, alternatively toward his family role when performing actions of Family Role Engagement. In this way, fathers might also choose to disengage or distance themselves from certain roles as they navigate their day to day lives or, as I conceptualize it, will engage in actions of Work, or Family, Role Concealment. In this way, I utilize the term navigation to refer to the total actions that might occur as a father chooses to engage or conceal aspects of their family and/or work roles throughout the course of their daily lives. I argue that there are specific types of actions fathers might take to navigate work and family and to realize positions in relation to these roles (Work Role Engagement position, Family Role Concealment position or Family Role Engagement position):

Figure 5: Fathers' Navigation of Work and Family

<i>Position</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Example Actions</i>
Work Role Engagement	A position in which fathers engage with expectations of their work role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work prioritization • Long working hours • Around-the-clock availability
Family Role Concealment	A position in which fathers engage in action to conceal aspects associated with their family role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Segmenting work and family • Avoiding engaging with family events/responsibilities
Family Role Engagement	A position in which fathers engage with expectations of their family role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arranging official or unofficial leave/flexibility • Changing work arrangements to accommodate family

Within this section of the literature review I also consider how studies explain why fathers utilize these actions to navigate work and family. In reviewing explanations I argue that each position is explained and characterized in a unique way such that they create distinct discourses of knowledge:

Figure 6: Explanations and Navigation Characterization

<i>Position</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Navigation Characterization</i>
Work Role Engagement	Influenced by organizational structures	Passive
Family Role Concealment <i>Discreet</i> Family Role Engagement	Reaction to organizational structures	Reactive
<i>Public</i> Family Role Engagement	Dispositional/Natural	Intentional

In making the argument that the above characterizations and explanations exist, I suggest there are two shortcomings associated with our existing understanding of fathers' navigation of work and family roles. Firstly, I argue, by utilizing a study from outside of the fatherhood literature, that action that appears passive (such as those associated with Work Role Engagement) might, in fact, be highly strategic and intentional. In that way, the characterization of navigation as passive, reactive or intentional might be a limitation of our existing conceptualization of navigation. Secondly, the existing explanations of why navigation occurs are only coherent in each of their respective discourses. In other words, there is no theoretical basis for understanding why navigation occurs in all instances but, rather, each position currently requires its own explanation. For instance, I will show that organizational structures are considered both overwhelming and able to subjugate fathers (Work Role Engagement) but then, also, completely dismissible (Public Family Role Engagement). I end the review, in light of these two arguments, by presenting my three research questions.

2.1 Fathers' Family and Work Roles

This first part of the literature review focuses upon the existing understanding of fathers' family and work roles. Before proceeding I will briefly provide justification to proceed on the basis of roles opposed to other approaches which might have otherwise been adopted. Ultimately, my thesis was driven from the lived experiences of my participants and how they chose to frame their experiences of fatherhood and the organization rather than my choice of how to conceptualize the same. Their own conceptualization suggested they make sense of their lives as two separate roles which they actively seek to separate and maintain distance between. In other words, and as I will argue, fathers segmented work and family creating two representations of self which were highly dissimilar with their presentation of self within the organizational setting being highly insincere and different to the ways they would act outside of the organizational setting and when engaging with their families (although there are areas in which these representations of self occur in the opposite domain). In other words, my justification for utilizing the notion of roles is firmly based on the accounts of fathers rather than by an exercise of choice on my part. Similarly, I did not deductively seek to utilize Goffman's (1959) work (which is based on the notion of roles), rather, the ways that fathers chose to construct, maintain and create performances which they themselves thought of as role-specific was my motivation to utilize Goffman's (1959) work. The utilization of roles, drawing on Goffman's (1959) work, was not only important to be able to capture fathers' actions and the manner in which they separated family and work by performance but also because the notion of a role, within Goffman's (1959) repertoire, also serves to help understand how individuals interpret the actions of others and ascribe to socially constructed role-related ideals. For my study this was important as it helped understand the ways that fathers created very specific ideals relating to the role of a father and worker such that they ascribed to the notion that there existed an ideal role they should aspire to in their family and work domains (what I will later expand upon as being participant's notions of an ideal father and an ideal worker). In support of my data, I would also briefly draw upon the existing literature which itself makes use of the notion of roles as a means to conceptualize men's lives for similar reasons to those which I make above (Gregory & Milner, 2011; Humbert et al., 2015; Ladge et al., 2015; Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019 and Ewald et al., 2020).

In light of the above arguments, it might be prudent to clarify that I do not believe the notion of roles is superior to other approaches available within work family literature. Some might draw upon, for instance, perspectives (Powell et al., 2019) or practices (Morgan, 2011) should a researcher find interest in the perspectives of others (Powell et al., 2019) or practices which, as was not the case with my participants, blend and merge across domains (Morgan, 2011, p.7). My rationale and approach, therefore, was simply that the most illuminating and useful approach should be taken to conceptualize and understand the lived experiences of my participants. In other instances, non-role related approaches to work and family study might have been beneficial, however, and based upon the data I collected, the notion of roles remained a powerful and applicable means by which to illuminate and theorize from my collected data.

I next explore studies that detail fathers' roles, revealing that the family role of fathers has been subject to societal change; moving from an ideal of financial contributor to one concerned with increased childrearing involvement. Contrastingly, I argue that fathers' work roles have not been subjected to such change and remain concerned with traditional breadwinner ideals in which fathers, like men in general, are expected to display ideal worker norms in the organizational setting. In brief, depictions of fathers' family roles have changed over time, whereas depictions of fathers' work roles have remained rather static consisting of organizational assumptions surrounding the role of fathers as financial providers. This part of the literature review closes with the argument that these roles are generally conceptualized as in conflict, providing a rich area of empirical study itself acting as a segue to the second part of the literature review which considers the ways these roles are navigated.

2.1.1 Fathers' Family Roles

The expected role to be undertaken by a father can be understood as a set of sometimes fixed and sometimes fluid culturally determined expectations, the balance of which might be understood as a *fathering ideal* (Gilmore, 1990; Henwood & Procter, 2003, and Humberd et al., 2015). Being culturally determined, fathering ideals might contrast one another greatly with some cultures expecting fathers to primarily act in a gentle, caring and supportive manner whilst others expect fathers to primarily act to support their families financially (Gilmore, 1990). Furthermore, being culturally determined also means that fathering ideals will likely evolve and change as the culture that determines its ideals does (Russell, 1983). For instance, it is argued that the extensive immigration of Mexican people to the United States has resulted in fathering ideals, once characterized as patriarchal, to be imbued with greater egalitarian practices (Cabrera et al., 2000 and Marsiglio & Roy, 2012). Other factors which might determine ideals consist of socioeconomic/class-related factors with different social classes expected to act by differing ideals (Plantin, 2007 and Gillies, 2009). The power these ideals have is that they act as a yardstick, or measuring post, for what fatherhood *should* be or what we might consider a *good* father to be (Pleck, 1997).

The following section of the literature review will consider the existing fatherhood literature surrounding fathering ideals which suggests we are experiencing a shift in current fathering ideology. This shift, I argue, is one from what I term *traditional* ideals (exemplified by fathers' exclusive ability to support their family financially), toward *contemporary* ideals (exemplified by the simultaneous responsibility to engage in paid work whilst taking an active childrearing role which will readily be prioritized over work). These terms are also further unpacked within the following section of the review which considers the transition from traditional to contemporary fathering ideals.

Changing Ideals – The following discussion draws specifically on the context of Western Society and the changes of fathering ideals within that context. Before the Western World experienced the industrial revolution the term Family Wage was used to describe the financial contribution of both father and mother as a collective; a figure which constituted the gross family contribution (Tilly & Scott, 1978). At this time fathers and mothers earned and contributed toward the Family Wage in industries such as agriculture and, especially popular with mothers, domestic/cottage industries

(Horrell & Oxley, 1999 and Pinchbeck, 2004). However, the industrial revolution offered opportunities to men, who were more familiar with physically intense labour (such as husbandry) to take advantage of factory work and earn their living away from the homestead (Seccombe, 1986). The severance of work and home meant that childrearing, by default, became an expectation placed upon mothers whereas the expectation to contribute financially fell upon the shoulders of fathers (Cabrera et al., 2000). It is at this point we see a clear division in mothering and fathering ideals as the former becomes synonymous with unpaid care and the latter with paid work. These, for the purpose of this review and study will be referred to either sexes' traditional role (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995).

These traditional roles of father and mother persisted throughout the 19th, and majority of the 20th, Century the societal reproduction of which was a key area of Parsons & Bales' (1955) contributions to understanding why prescribed roles were still evident. Parsons & Bales' (1955) contribution was one of the first to suggest that gendered roles reproduced because of the absence of the respective sexes from their contrasting roles. Thus, for Parsons & Bales (1955) it was the absence of fathers from the homestead that served to reinforce fathering ideals to be orientated upon a man's ability to financially support his family (ibid, p. 23).

This traditional ideal of a father being one who financially supports his family is one which has been challenged since that time, and most noticeably, by women taking a greater role within paid employment and growing expectations for fathers to engage in childrearing (Parsons & Bales, 1955; Humbert et al., 2015 and Ladge et al., 2015). This process has been one of small, yet considering the existing literature, steady, changes. For instance, a realistic period in which this change may have taken place is since the late 1970s, as shown by Galinsky et al., (2013) who evidenced that the number of men who would agree that a man should be a sole earner and women a sole carer almost dropped by half (74% to 40%) between 1977-2008. This is also supported by other studies which suggest ideals were changing during the 1980s (Wall & Arnold, 2007) and 1990s (Pleck, 1997 and Aaltio-Marjosola & Lehtinen, 1998). The new millennium was also a time for studies which evidenced and argued that the social reconstruction of fathering ideals was in motion. For instance, Henwood & Procter (2003) mention the transformation of fatherhood ideals was taking place in 2003 and later that same decade Craig (2006) citing the movement toward co-parenting being evident in 2006. Later contributions again suggest similar changes with increased expectations placed on fathers following the next decade (Burnett et al., 2013) and, more recently, a substantial body of literature consistently finding and arguing the existence of new, and increasingly care-orientated, fathering ideals (Humbert et al., 2015; Ladge et al., 2015; Cooklin et al., 2016; Alemann et al., 2017; Kangas et al., 2017; Reid, 2018 and Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019). The chronological transformation of fathering ideals can be gleaned in fathering accounts within Choroszewicz & Kay's (2019) recent study of fathers' management of the boundary which delineates work and family. Within these accounts, fathers who had recently become fathers were exemplified by 'experiences of greater social opportunities and pressure to participate in childcare and family life' (ibid, p.10). These accounts contrasted those individuals whose children were school aged who appeared to offer a middle-ground between contemporary and traditional ideals suggesting 'on the one hand, they did not feel they needed to take paternity leave following childbirth or adoption. On the other hand, these lawyers emphasised their

role as fathers actively' (ibid, p.10). Those fathers of children who are young adults were again closer to a traditional role, Choroszewicz & Kay (2019, p.10) explain that these fathers were 'absent from family life and focused on advancing their career while their wives took up primary roles as caregivers'. These accounts are a concise and illuminating representation of the ways that the above chronological change can be gleaned from fathers' own accounts and reflects the general argument of studies which we can consult to understand the way that fathering ideals have changed.

The chronological change in fathering ideals has resulted in the existing literature employing the distinction between *traditional* and *contemporary* ideals of fathering which I employ throughout this study. Traditional fathering ideals are associated with a father being a married breadwinner living with their wife and children (Marsiglio & Roy, 2012). As mentioned above, this ideal polarised the responsibilities of men to that of the organization and those of women to the home (Lewis, 1992). This distinction has arguably resulted in the feminization of childrearing (Halford, 2006) and created assumptions that a father's responsibility is to act as a financial provider and little else (Lewis, 2000). Such were fathers' responsibilities that classic management literatures employed the phrase *Organization Man* (Whyte, 1956) to describe the fathers of that time. This phrase lends well to highlight the primacy that fathers of that time gave to their organizational roles as they took 'the vows of *organizational life*' (ibid, p.3).

Contrastingly, the existing literature suggests that contemporary fathering ideals are imbued with the expectation for fathers to be engaged with undertakings traditionally reserved for mothers (Parsons & Bales, 1955). The central undertaking which characterizes this contemporary ideal is childrearing achieved by prioritizing the needs of their children over that of their employer, being approachable, nurturing, caring and sharing care responsibilities with their child's mother (Henwood & Procter, 2003 & Wall & Arnold, 2007). However, this does not always mean a truly egalitarian divide of all parenting responsibilities. For instance, mothers remain responsible for auxiliary responsibilities associated with childrearing, such as housework, cleaning and cooking have been provided less attention and still appear to disproportionately fall to mothers meaning an equitable division of all tasks associated with parenthood is not necessarily something associated with even contemporary fathering (Altintas & Sullivan, 2017). This suggests that although the broad message and themes within these studies is greater childrearing engagement that this type of engagement might not be as

The existing fatherhood literature not only suggests that fatherhood ideals are moving toward more contemporary constructions of fathering but also that this change is reflected by the desires of fathers with a host of studies finding that fathers exhibit a desire to realize with contemporary ideals (Golden, 2007; Gatrell, 2007; Gregory & Milner, 2011; Miller, 2011; Burnett, et al., 2013; Gatrell, et al., 2013 and Torella, 2015). This desire, similar to the literature which suggests a consistent change in fatherhood ideals, is also considered to have been a consistent change over time. For instance, Henwood & Procter's (2003) qualitative study of 30 UK fathers between the ages of 18-35 revealed that fathers overwhelmingly welcomed contemporary fatherhood ideals of being involved with, opposed to not being involved with, childcare (ibid, p.337). They suggested there existed a 'desire to

take up a caretaking and not just a providing role' (ibid, p.351). Following Henwood & Procter's (2003) study Golden's (2007) qualitative study of how fathers undertake childrearing suggested that fathers might engage with childrearing as emotional work, revealing a desire for contemporary ideals in the form of emotional connectedness and closeness with their child (ibid, p.280). More recently, Duckworth & Buzzanell's (2009) study explored how fathers construct meanings of both work and family and found that fathers elevated their paternal responsibilities over those of their work responsibilities with meanings of the latter being informed by the former. More recently still, Shirani's (2015) qualitative study found that fathers sought emotional involvement with their children, again reflecting a desire of fathers to engage with contemporary ideals of fathering (ibid, p.263). Similarly, and most recently, Thornton (2016) suggests that men working in professional sectors desire greater flexibility to enable them to spend more time with their children and realize contemporary childrearing desires.

The existing literature concerned with fathers and contemporary ideals also suggests that desires to engage with contemporary ideals are being realized. For instance, fathers have been evidenced to be spending more time with their children in the 1990s than they did in the 1960s (Sayer et al., 2004). There is also evidence that more involved fathering has been taking place since the early 1970s (Parliament, 2018). More recently, Halford (2006), who takes the position that the traditional ideals of fatherhood have been underpinned by the separation of work and home, employed a mixed method study of fathers who engaged with home working. Her findings revealed that fathers who engaged in home working also increased time spent with their children. Similarly, Duckworth & Buzzanell's, (2009) study of the way which fathers construct meaning of both work and family (mentioned above) found that fathers attempted to reduce auxiliary responsibilities as best they could to prioritize time with their family. One father, for instance, spoke of how he had left a promising future in sports to spend more time to care for his wife and children with other fathers reducing, and in some instances forfeiting, recreational sporting activity to take a more engaged fathering role.

Some fathers, however, might struggle to realize the degree of childrearing that they desire. For instance, Miller (2011) showed that the roles of fathers remain partially constrained by the gendered context of the UK meaning fathers readily reengage with gendered norms associated with traditional fathering even when desires to engage in contemporary ideals exist. Miller (2011) was interested in exploring antenatal intentions and post birth perceptions of fatherhood by capturing data over a two-year period consisting of four phases of interviews and a final questionnaire. Before paternity leave ended fathers were able to realize their desired engagement and, in doing so, were seen to be *undoing* traditional notions of gender (ibid, p.1102). However, shorter paternity, than maternity, leave meant fathers returned to full-time employment earlier than mothers who remained engaged with childrearing. The result, Miller (2011) showed, was that fathers would temporarily *undo* gendered norms but their lives, as with mothers, were subject to a structural context which saw them *fall back* into gendered norms. Miller's (2011) study is important as it shows the difference between desires fathers might have and, in actuality, how fathers' social worlds can come to challenge the realization of those desires. Many organizational theorists, as I will come to conclude to the end of this literature review, situate fathers work and family roles in perfect conflict and suggest the challenges

and obstacles fathers need to overcome concern their work, rather than their family, roles. What Miller (2011) reveals is that such an assertion is limited in its utility because aspects of fathers' family roles, and the wider social context in which the gendering of the sexes persists, can challenge the realization of paternal childrearing. In this way, and although contemporary ideals of fathering promote increased paternal engagement, gendered norms persist, permeate fathers' family roles, the wider social context of daily life and provide challenges for those who wish to realize contemporary childrearing ideals. This suggests that a truly egalitarian society in which fatherhood and motherhood are determined by similar ideals or structures is still absent meaning some fathers might desire, but still fail, to realize greater childrearing engagement because of the wider social context in which fatherhood is practiced. This is also an important message to note as the corpus of many of the findings, themes and arguments concerned with the changing ideals of fathering emphasize the positive changes of greater paternal desire and greater paternal engagement which can characterize fathers' family roles and the wider society as unconcerned with fathers remaining in a breadwinning capacity. I emphasize later, for instance, that those types of arguments are usually levied at the organizational setting which, when fathers realize actions associated with Work Role Engagement, explanations usually concern the organization leading to the assumption that fathers' family roles and the wider social context of fathers' lives exclusively assist in realizing contemporary ideals whereas, for instance, Miller (2011) reminds us that such an assertion is problematic.

This body of literature suggests that we can understand fathers' family roles by considering fathering as a set of ideals which, over the course of the last fifty years, has developed to include an expectation that fathers engage in childrearing responsibilities. This ideological change in fathering has also been complemented by a desire to engage in childrearing. As such, the thrust of literature concerned with fathers' family roles coalesces around a strong argument that fathers are expected to, desire to and, to differing degrees, engage with more childrearing than ever before. The focus of this literature is very much a theme concerned with the movement away from breadwinning ideals and toward celebrating and emphasizing the ways that fatherhood has grown to include care and engaged childrearing. Less consideration, however, is given to the ways that family can still be a gendered enterprise with fathers and mothers experiencing the social context in which they practice parenting differently meaning men might readily fail because of the ways society still structures men's lives in gendered ways (Miller, 2011). Rather, the emphasis upon fathers' family roles and the themes which persist and permeate these studies are generally focused upon the ways that fathers are, indeed, expected to, desire to and do engage in childrearing more so than previous generations.

I next consider fathers' work roles where themes of structure and subjugation are far more prominent and suggest a role within fathers' lives which has, in contrast to fathers' family roles, stagnated upon outdated ideals of fathering meaning considerations of fathers as carers is limited and often undervalued within the organizational context.

2.1.2 Fathers' Work Role

As mentioned above, it is suggested that the work role of fathers has, in contrast to the wider societal perspective upon fatherhood, stagnated and fathers remain perceived without childcare commitments and are expected to be organizationally focused (Wall & Arnold, 2007; Golden, 2007; Gatrell, et al., 2014; Humberd et al., 2015; Gatrell & Cooper, 2016; Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019 and Mauerer & Schmidt, 2019). A concept used to understand the current expected work role of fathers is the Ideal Worker (Acker, 1990). There are a variety of definitions of what it means to be an ideal worker but most define it by two characteristics, namely, one who ascribes primacy to work responsibilities and is free from encumbrances that can distract from organizational commitments (Cha, 2010; Sallee, 2012; Davies & Finch, 2014 and Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015). Others suggest an ideal worker is a breadwinner man with a stay-at-home wife whose family commitments are fulfilled by his commitment to work (Coltrane, 2004), however, research suggests that women can successfully claim ideal worker status too (Blair-Loy, 2003; Christopher, 2012 and Reid, 2018). This suggests that an ideal worker is an individual (regardless of sex), who appears committed to their organizational role and appears to have little extra-organizational responsibilities (Reid, 2018).

For fathers these expectations are not novel but, rather, have persisted from a time when their lives consisted of a singular expectation to be an engaged breadwinner and support their families financially (Whyte, 1956). The existing organizationally focused fatherhood literature suggests that these ongoing assumptions persistently devalue and overlook fathers' caring responsibilities creating a conflict between work and family roles (Holter, 2007). These assumptions are most commonly evidenced by policy initiatives and assumptions of both managers and/or colleagues which I next explore as each plays an important role in maintaining the assumptions upon the ways that men, and therefore fathers, are expected to act in the organization.

Policy Initiatives – When considering the reasons why fathers' work roles might have stagnated upon ideal worker norms, a large body of literature suggests the design, and limited access of, flexible working initiatives for men/fathers is an important consideration. For instance, it has been found that policy initiatives have been commonly designed for females and mothers rather than males or fathers (Haas & Hwang, 2007; Tracy & Rivera, 2010; Özbilgin et al., 2011; Burnett, et al., 2013 and Kadar-Satat & Koslowski, 2015). Although some initiatives might be directed toward *parents* (rather than mothers specifically), fathers still assume that mothers are the intended beneficiary of flexible working initiatives (Burnett, et al., 2013 and Kadar-Satat & Koslowski, 2015). As such, although flexible working initiatives might be available for men, the construction of policy is such that it is considered a resource for mothers/women rather than fathers/men (Gregory & Milner, 2011).

These policy failings might then reduce fathers' opportunity to challenge ideal worker norms as policy is both designed and perceived as if a resource not available for fathers (Daly & Palkovitz, 2004; Gregory & Milner, 2010 and Burgess & Davies, 2017). For instance, research suggests that flexible working initiatives can assist fathers realizing contemporary fathering ideals which might challenge the ongoing assumption that fathers act solely as breadwinners (Kadar-Satat & Koslowski, 2015). For instance, Moss & Deven's (2015) review of initiatives argued that only well-paid and father-

specific initiatives will help father realize contemporary ideals and, for the purpose of this line of argument, perhaps challenge ideal worker assumptions. Similarly, Kvande & Brandth (2019) later added to this assertion when considering parental leave in the context of Norway. Their research suggests that challenging ongoing assumptions of fathers' work roles might be achieved by offering policy *designed for fathers*. The reality, nevertheless, is that fathers continue to make limited use of flexibility initiatives which reaffirm assumptions of their working roles and that they have limited extra-organizational responsibilities (Ewald et al., 2020).

The role of those that may act as policy administrators (such as manager, line manager or Human Resource officers) is also important to understand the stagnation of assumptions made of men as managers have been shown to be reluctant to allow fathers to engage with flexible working initiatives (Bagilhole, 2006 and Gatrell et al., 2014). For instance, research has recorded managers, when talking about available policy for fathers, stating 'I think, being truthful, we would not go out of our way to publicise it' (Hatter et al., 2002, p.51). Bagilhole's (2006) study of the use of flexible working initiatives in the public sector also pointed toward a reluctance of managers to administer support finding that benefactors sought greater emphasis upon available flexible working initiatives and more commitment from managers responsible for administering those initiatives (ibid, p.340). Additionally, Holter (2007) found that managers might assume that the benefit of flexible working initiatives should be reserved for mothers (ibid, pp.442-443). Perhaps for these reasons men are also more likely to have requests for flexible working refused than women (Skinner et al., 2012, p.vi). This line of research again suggests that the organization might act to propagate assumptions regarding fathers' roles as it is increasingly difficult for fathers to realize contemporary ideals without policy support to facilitate flexibility. These findings might also be supported by studies which show that fathers are consistently unaware that flexible working initiatives exist for them to use and, in doing so, challenge ideal worker expectations. Hatter et al., (2002), for example, note that nearly half of all fathers interviewed within six case studies across the UK were not aware that policies existed and those that did were not sure of the details of the same. In their summary, Hatter et al., (2002, p.vii) noted that many fathers 'assume that such policies are not available to them or are not aimed at the main breadwinner'. Since Hatter et al., (2002) the theme of fathers having limited knowledge of flexible working initiatives has been consistently revealed. For instance, Kadar-Satat & Koslowski (2005) found that fewer fathers, than mothers, suggested their employers offered flexible working; Bagilhole (2006), similarly, showed that fathers had limited understanding, in comparison to mothers, relating to parental leave initiatives and Skinner et al., (2012) that fathers, compared to their female colleagues, were far less aware of flexible working initiatives. Most recently the same findings were presented by Cook et al., (2020) suggesting that limited progress has been made by fathers in understanding the resources that might support the realization of greater childrearing.

Managers – The assumptions surrounding fathers' work and the propagation that men should realize ideal worker norms might also be determined by managers. For instance, a reoccurring theme within the organizationally focused literature is the assumption made by managers that fathers act, exclusively, as economic providers. For example, Burnett et al., (2013) qualitative study of a large

private and large public sector employer revealed that fathers employed in both sectors believed their role as parent was of limited interest to their employer who they also believed saw them primarily as workers, rather than fathers. In this regard, Burnett et al., (2013) found managers either acknowledge, placed fathers' parental roles beneath mothers' parental roles, or ignore fathers' parental responsibilities which in turn may affect the availability of organizational support (such as flexible leave) available should a father wish to engage with caring responsibilities and, therefore, challenge the ongoing ideal worker norms associated with their work roles. Supporting Burnett et al., (2013) results are those of Gatrell et al., (2014) who explored flexible working among UK fathers and mothers. Gatrell et al., (2014) study consisted of a qualitative investigation of fathers' experiences of flexible working and revealed that fathers felt that managers marginalized them and restricted their access to flexible working initiatives. Gatrell et al., (2014) found that managers, assuming fathers acted in accordance with traditional breadwinner norms, were unable to appreciate or understand why fathers might need to work flexibly which is what led fathers to feel marginalized and barred from accessing flexible working initiatives. They elaborate, in this regard, that men reported that it was difficult to engage with flexible working initiatives as they believed they were bound by managers' assumptions surrounding the roles of mothers and fathers. These assumptions positioned mothers as primary carers and fathers as economic providers accounts evidencing that managers were 'completely anti the idea of dads working flexibly' (ibid, p.482). Similar results were also found by Tracy & Rivera (2010) who add to this line of enquiry with a qualitative study which was interested in understanding the perspective managers might have upon matters such as wives, children and the division of labour between men and women. Managers' perspectives upon the division of labour provide a window to understand how the organization might ascribe different expectations to mothers and fathers; for instance, they demonstrated hesitance to the notion of female participation within the organizational arena and, in the same arena, framed fathering as less important than mothering. Humberd et al., (2015) qualitative research upon men's experience of the shifting ideals of fatherhood found that structural and time demands of fathers' work role meant that they were unable to realize contemporary ideals within the organizational setting. Their research found that although fathers' perceptions of themselves changed once they became a father, the way others viewed them, such as managers, did not. The result of this disparity was that fathers' caring responsibilities were not recognized by managers (ibid, p.264). This created a tension between how fathers perceive themselves and how other perceived them as managers devalued their role as care givers reaffirming assumptions that they might easily, and therefore should, realize ideal worker norms.

Because fathering is devalued within the organizational setting, one strand of literature has suggested that we might consider fatherhood as less visible than motherhood, or, in some instances, invisible in the context of work. For instance, Lyng's (2010) study of the ways in which gender might exclude women progressing within the professional services industry found that mothers, as parents, are far more visible than fathers as parents. Lyng's (2010) study, as well as others (Gatrell, 2005; Lewis and Simpson, 2010 and Burnett et al., 2013) concerned with representations of motherhood and fatherhood within the organizational setting have employed the notion of fatherhood being invisible meaning facets of fatherhood, such as contemporary ideals, may be overlooked by

managers and, again, diminish the work role of fathers to that of singularly focused economic provider who can realize ideal worker norms.

The ongoing assumption of managers that fathers are primarily breadwinners might be understood by considering the work of Lipsky (1980, p.141) who argued, when explaining manager's subjectivity, that managers can 'be particularly cynical or unreliable in fulfilling obligations toward particular social groups', such as in this instance, fathers. Lipsky (1980, p.142) takes the position that policy administration is subject to stereotypes that simplify policy recipients meaning they are 'prejudicial and inaccurate as summary characteristics for groups of people with nominally similar attributes'. Thus, managers might draw upon the discourse of fathers being breadwinners (which is well established within the UK (Lewis, 2002)), rather than considering that fathers might require assistance to realize legitimate care responsibilities. Some, therefore, suggest that training managers is essential for fathers to be able to engage with contemporary ideals and move away from the assumption that fathers are without care obligations and can, as they may have historically done, prioritize work over family (Humberd et al., 2015).

The degree to which managers' assumptions might propagate ideal worker expectations for fathers is also highlighted by a stream of literature which shows the ways that a supportive manager might help fathers challenge ideal worker norms. These managers, sensitive to the fact that fathers might have care responsibilities and are, therefore, unable to prioritize work over family were reported as being supportive of fathers accommodating family responsibilities around their work responsibilities (Buzzanell & Liu, 2007; Breugh & Frye, 2008; Myers et al., 2014 and Humberd et al., 2015). This type of support is argued to be essential for parents being able to manage family and work expectations (Koch & Binnewies, 2015 and Kossek et al., 2018), has been linked to increases in flexible working requests (Buzzanell & Liu, 2007; Myers et al., 2014; Gatrell et al., 2014 and Humberd et al., 2015) and has been shown to reduce conflict between family and organizational responsibilities (Breugh & Frye, 2008). This suggests that the role of manager might be important in both propagating ideal worker assumptions surrounding the work role of fathers but also as gatekeepers to fathers challenging these assumptions by being able to realize contemporary childrearing desires.

Colleagues – Less commonly considered within the existing literature is the part which colleagues or work peers might play in shaping and reaffirming fathers' work roles as ideal workers. That being said, studies do reveal that colleagues play an important role in that regard. For instance, Murgia & Poggio (2009) employed a qualitative method to present the accounts of fathers' colleagues and managers as they made requests for flexible leave. Murgia & Poggio (2009) found that male colleagues suggested (in a negative way) that men who took leave were *playing mummy* and setting a bad example for their children. Although not focused upon colleagues, other studies suggest that consideration of the interaction between fathers and their colleagues may be of interest to understanding why fathers refrain from engaging with contemporary fathering ideals. For instance, within Sallee's (2012) qualitative study of structures that challenge fathers' ability to realize childrearing desires noted that one father worried that engaging with flexible working initiatives would mean he was viewed by his colleagues as not serious about work (ibid, p.796); as such Sallee (2012)

confirms that colleagues deterred fathers from engaging with leave to facilitate familial responsibilities. Pedulla & Thébaud's (2016) findings also contribute to this area of research as they revealed that fathers' engagement with flexible working initiatives was highly dependent upon what they considered the beliefs of their colleagues were. Most recently, Mauerer & Schmidt's (2019) research focused upon the ways colleagues might affect parent's perspectives upon their own roles finding that fathers were exposed to colleagues who would not expect men to be engaged with caring practices. As such colleagues are conceptualized as holding an important role in fathers' working roles being determined by outdated and traditional ideals which celebrate traditional breadwinning over contemporary care giving.

The body of literature concerned with fathers' work roles suggests that there exists expectations and assumptions made of men within the organizational setting that they can, and should, still realize breadwinning norms. In other words, whereas the wider context of fathering appears to be characterized by a movement away from defining fatherhood by a singular responsibility to earn studies suggest that organizations have not made similar strides. To evidence these assumptions studies coalesce around issues surrounding policy, manager and colleagues as I have shown. These studies show an overwhelming consistency in the ways that these aspects of the organization can make assumptions on the roles of men and so can influence the stagnation of organizational assumption that men can and should prioritize work over, and segment work from, family.

2.1.3 Role Duality

The existing literature concerned with fathers' family roles and work roles evidences that fathers' work roles have been characterized by the stagnation of traditional ideals of fatherhood whilst, within their family role, fathers are expected to be engaged physically with their child, prioritize their children over their work and share care responsibilities (Henwood & Procter, 2003 and Wall & Arnold, 2007). This has created, as many within the existing literature suggest, a sense of *duality* in the lives of fathers who are expected to realize often contradictory ideals in their work and family roles (Halrynjo, 2009; Humbert et al., 2015; Shirani, 2015 and Cooklin et al., 2016). For instance, in the work domain fathers might be expected to prioritize work over family to realize the ideal of good worker whereas, in their family domain fathers might be expected, contrastingly and contradictorily, prioritize childrearing over paid employment (Ladge et al., 2015). This sense of duality can be gleaned from studies such as that conducted by Wunderman Thompson (2013) who surveyed 1000 men to understand what defines being a *man*, finding that men ascribed similar levels of importance to contemporary and traditional ideals of fathering. This was asserted via survey results which highlighted that *providing financial support for family* and *providing emotional support for family* appeared important in 49% and 46% of responses respectively. This sense of duality was also noted within Sallee's (2012) qualitative study of 70 fathers concerned with organizational structures that might prevent men from realizing childrearing desires. Sallee's (2012) study found that fathers experienced tension because of dual responsibilities at/of work and home. More recently, Ladge et al., (2015) study of how men experience fatherhood suggested that traditional and contemporary fathering ideals were evident in the lives of

men and that these might be experienced simultaneously, creating ambiguity surrounding fathers' actual responsibilities (ibid, p.157).

A key characteristic of the duality of fathers' roles is that they are conceived within the literature as in contradiction to one another (Humberd et al., 2015; Ladge et al, 2015 and Kangas et al., 2017). For instance, it is argued that the organization, consistently devaluing fathers' family roles, causes fathers to not be able to engage with caring responsibilities to the degree they wish (Wall & Arnold, 2007 and Cooklin et al., 2016). Additionally, it has been found that the stagnation of the organizational perspective of fathers' work roles means that many fathers, regardless if they desire to spend time with their children, remain the most at risk of being expected to prioritize work over, and segment work from, family or, in other words, be expected to realize ideal worker norms (Eggebeen & Knoester, 2001; Sheridan, 2004; Dommermuth & Kitterød, 2009 and Gatrell & Cooper, 2016). These studies serve to highlight that, in many regards, a conflict exists between fathers' family and work roles and between the expectations that exist within the work and family domains. I next review the current state of knowledge concerned with the ways fathers navigate these often contrasting and contradictory expectations of their work and family roles.

2.2 Navigating Roles

My review has thus far argued that the existing literature concerned with fathers' family and work roles reveals that fathers' family roles are explained by an expectation, desire and engagement with greater childrearing than previous generations of fathers. I have also suggested that the organization is cast as a feature of fathers' lives which consistently disregards this aspect of fatherhood and acts to define fathers' work roles by traditional breadwinning ideals expecting them to be able to realize ideal worker norms. This creates within the literature an interesting intersection at which point we can consider the ways that fathers might manage, or as I will here conceptualize it, navigate work and family. I utilize the concept of 'navigation' as a means to consider the ways that fathers act through their day to day lives. In this way a father might, for instance, navigate toward his work role when engaging in actions which I categorise as Work Role Engagement or, alternatively toward his family role when performing actions of Family Role Engagement. In this way, fathers might also choose to disengage or distance themselves from certain roles as they navigate their day to day lives or, as I conceptualize it, will engage in actions of Work, or Family, Role Concealment. In this way, I utilize the term navigation to refer to the total actions that might occur as a father chooses to engage or conceal aspects of their family and/or work roles throughout the course of their daily lives. I now turn to present a review of the existing organizational fatherhood studies surrounding the ways that fathers can *navigate* work and family roles. The terms *navigate* and *navigation* are used as a means to highlight the ways fathers might engage or conceal their family and/or work role(s). This literature provides examples of fathers realizing three positions and utilizing distinct actions to realize those same positions:

Figure 7: Fathers' Navigation of Work and Family

<i>Position</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Example Actions</i>
Work Role Engagement	A position in which fathers engage with expectations of their work role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work prioritization • Long working hours • Around-the-clock availability
Family Role Concealment	A position in which fathers engage in action to conceal aspects associated with their family role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Segmenting work and family • Avoiding engaging with family events/responsibilities
Family Role Engagement	A position in which fathers engage with expectations of their family role	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arranging official or unofficial leave/flexibility • Changing work arrangements to accommodate family

The next part of the literature review will focus on studies which evidence fathers taking positions of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Family Role Engagement, the actions utilized to realize those positions and the reasons such position are realized. Before proceeding, an explanatory note will better explain the structure of the review as each position (Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Family Role Engagement) is to be explored as a *discourse* within the existing literature. I do this because, rather than present a chronology, or isolated

consideration, of studies, this approach allows a holistic account of the existing knowledge of how fathers engage with, or conceal, their family and work roles in these specific ways (Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment or Family Role Engagement). It also allows the consideration of how similar interpretations can create themes within literature which craft a particular way of explaining findings. This is important as a body of literature is not considered as a set of discrete study findings but, more accurately, as a body of knowledge which coalesces around common themes and ways of conceptualizing the phenomena it concerns. The three discourses I locate are named simply by the position fathers take, or, in other words, Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Family Role Engagement are positions and also the label here assigned to that particular discourse of knowledge which exists within the body of literature. As such, the review and subsequent chapters of the thesis will refer to Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Family Role Engagement as both *positions* and *discourses*.

It is also important, at this point, to explain the obvious absence of broader structural considerations such as masculinities, patriarchy and power. I briefly summarize these literatures as a means to explain why I do not consider them thoroughly and also to acknowledge their importance in a broader consideration of fatherhood and work.

Masculinities – Masculinity is widely used as a means to determine a set of socially constructed ideals that men should seek to fulfil (Pleck, 1983). These ideals consist of, but are not limited to, competitiveness, aggressiveness, courage, control and toughness (Day et al., 2003). In relation to fatherhood an important aspect of this sense of masculinity has been the role of breadwinner and realizing one's paternal worth by the amount one earns (Rotundo, 1985 and Gillis, 2000). This conceptualization of masculinity suggests that fatherhood has been influenced toward an earning, rather than caring, undertaking. Interestingly, traditional notions of masculinity are in motion with contemporary notions of masculinity celebrating paternal engagement and greater childrearing activities (Hoang & Yeoh, 2011). In this way, traditional breadwinning masculinities are argued to be in the process of being replaced by caring masculinities in which the mantle of good fathering is plural and can be attained by engaged childrearing (Johansson & Klinth, 2007). It is, however, not at all clear to the extent of this change as many men feel obliged to present public conformity to traditional notions of masculinity even when holding childrearing and engage parenting desires (Cooper, 2000). This is also reflected within a recent literature review by Gatrell et al., (2021) who considered the utilization of hegemonic masculinity as a means to study fatherhood and employment. Gatrell et al., (2021) argues that notions of masculinity might help explain why men feel obliged, if not pressured, to conform to traditional notions of manhood within the organizational setting such as commitment to work (high work orientation). A criticism of utilizing masculinity to understand the ways fatherhood has been influenced toward a breadwinning undertaking is that it excuses some of the actions of fathers and presupposes an individual who is inherently passive and in need of emancipation (Tanquerel & Grau Grau, 2019). This is likely a result of the theoretical foundations of this area of research being the work of Parsons and Bales (1956) who pursued a structural functionalist perspective upon family studies situating the family and father within a structuralist paradigm suggesting roles are prescribed,

socially derived and, therefore, structured. The issue, it appears, is that although the consideration of masculinity can teach us a lot about fatherhood and the important relationship fatherhood and employment have, it inherently acts to cast the father as passive. This criticism has recently found voice from Waling (2020) who suggests that 'I've argued that we create these circular patterns of just creating and naming categories, and that we often position men as solely victims of masculinity, rather than having any kind of agentic capacity'.

Patriarchy - A similarly popular perspective to consider fathers' lives is the notion of patriarchy and the ways society and the family unit have been constructed in ways that provide men with privilege which has, and can still be, inaccessible to women (Hanlon, 2012). This type of privilege is important as it has allowed men to be successful within the work domain whilst their partners maintain and manage the home without enjoying similar rewards for their efforts (wages, privilege, social standing, career advancement and power). Although men holding patriarchal position is now less prevalent within Western societies notions of patriarchy and how patriarchy can help men leverage privilege (especially over women) are important and are seen first-hand in the East (Aishwarya & Muralidharan, 2021). Importantly, in the West, we are able to see how men might attempt to ensure the benefits of patriarchy are maintained by, for instance, ensuring women are less likely to acquire appointments to directorial or partner positions (Bolton & Muzio, 2007). In the legal profession this has been argued to have created two types of career paths in which women and men are treated differently and the rewards and privilege of high-powered positions remain reserved for men with the organizational setting reflecting the same type of patriarchy which previously characterized a traditional, bygone, homestead (Sommerlad & Sanderson, 1997). In this way it is argued that patriarchy, and the position of power it bestows upon men, may be less visible in the home domain but that it remains prevalent and important within the organizational domain in which men continue to hold the majority of powerful and influential positions outnumbering both women and minorities (Bolton & Muzio, 2007).

Power - Patriarchy also has close ties to considerations of power in this regard and the important perspective that women have, and in some ways, remain subjugated and expected to act in a role of carer whilst men have, and continue to be provided with greater opportunity to be professionally successful and acquire both social and monetary capital. In these ways patriarchy and notions of power remain important perspectives to both explain the historical construction, and maintenance of, breadwinning norms but also the experiences of some fathers, especially those who feel a loss of power when women take greater earning responsibilities disrupting both historical patriarchal structures and traditional notions of power within the family setting (Zuo & Tang, 2000). Notions of masculinities, how they are performed, and patriarchy have also found voice at the same time as notions of power and how power can be retained by men. For instance, Cockburn (1983) showed how shared images of masculine self-image can be shared between men to create a culture in which men retain organizational power over women, maintaining traditionally male-orientated industries. More recently, and as we have seen more women in the workplace, others have shown that disruptions to men's power in the workplace might be temporary with the organization not

necessarily reflecting wider social changes to the ways gender is practiced (Gherardi & Poggio, 2001).

In essence, what masculinities, power and patriarchy show us is that each create gender regimes which can define the lives of men (Connell, 2009). This is an important perspective as it shows that the social world men are born into is partially defined for them. This means the fathers' defined by their predecessors and creates a web of meaning which might influence, for instance, the ways they define fatherhood or paid work (Schutz, 1953). I do not consider notions of masculinities, patriarchy and/or power further than this passage within the thesis as my study is concerned particularly with understanding fathers' lives and their actions from their own interpretations (rather than employing theories of masculinity, patriarchy and power as conceived by others). This is not to suggest that these considerations are not important, but rather, it is that my thesis aims to refocus our attention specifically on the narratives of employed fathers.

My review will focus on studies concerned with the ways that fathers navigate work and family and will make two important arguments in reviewing the findings which inform the discourses of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Family Role Engagement. Firstly, in considering why fathers navigate work and family I reveal that explanations are dependent upon which discourse one is concerned with, rather than, for instance, one explanation which is able to explain all positions fathers might take. For example, Work Role Engagement is perceived as a result of the organization acting to influence fathers (via structure); whereas, the opposite is true of Family Role Engagement in which explanations do not concern themselves with a structured interpretation of navigation but, rather, consider fathers' natural caring desires such that navigation toward this position is conceived as concerned with one's free unstructured utilization of agency and a result of one's disposition. This then creates an inconsistent consideration of structure which suggests such structures are simultaneously wholly restrictive (Work Role Engagement) but also manageable (Family Role Concealment) and/or able to be rejected (Family Role Engagement). There appears, for this reason, inconsistencies in the ways we might understand why navigation occurs.

Secondly, I argue that navigation is only characterized as intentional when fathers act toward their family role (Family Role Engagement) whereas, when fathers act toward their work role (Work Role Engagement), navigation is seen as structured and is, therefore, characterized as passive (see Figure 6 'Explanations and Navigation Characterization').

I next expand upon my review of literature and details of the three discourses which exist within organizational fatherhood studies crafting a rationale for the arguments made above and also my research questions appearing at the end of this chapter.

2.2.1 Work Role Engagement

Work Role Engagement is a term used to encompass the type of role navigation in which fathers engage with their work roles usually at the detriment to investment in their family roles. These actions include fathers prioritizing work over family (Cooper, 2000; Halrynjo, 2009, Kvande, 2009 and

Tremblay, 2013) engaging with neo-traditional norms (Gerson, 2010), engaging in long working hours (Kvande, 2009; Tremblay, 2013; Ladge et al., 2015 and Humberd et al., 2015) and/or around-the-clock availability (Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019). When these actions occur studies suggest that fathers who present Work Role Engagement do so not through the utilization of agency but because they are influenced by new masculinity (Cooper, 2000), traditional hegemony and the gendered division of labour (Halrynjo, 2009), boundless time cultures (Kvande, 2009), work cultures (Tremblay, 2013) professional norms (Ladge et al., 2015), organizational assumptions (Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019) and gendered assumptions (Mauerer & Schmidt, 2019). Within the following section, and the subsequent chapters of the study, the term *organizational structures* will be utilized to denote these structures as they permeate and exist within the organizational context. I will also expand, throughout discussing their respective studies, what each of these organizational structures constitutes and the degrees to which each study suggests these structures influence navigation.

The first study which evidences fathers engaging in Work Role Engagement is Cooper's (2000) study of fathers employed within Silicon Valley. Cooper (2000) suggested that the sector investigated was characterized by a *new* masculinity (the phrase *new* is employed to distinguish a specific type of masculinity unique to the Silicon Valley area and characterized by an obedience to work long hours and a desire to create the most effective output of work (ibid, p.382)). Cooper (2000, p.403) suggested that fathers internalize characteristics of this new masculinity which shape how they navigate roles. This acted, for Cooper (2000, p.403), as a type of identity based *control* which meant fathers prioritized their work role over their family role (ibid, p.403), presented a traditional model of fathering (ibid, p.392) and were, therefore, termed *Traditionals*. Cooper's (2000) analysis, and categorization of fathers as *Traditionals*, argued that these fathers did not navigate work and family by Work Role Engagement intentionally but that navigation was a result of the influence of new masculinity. This position is further evidenced by Cooper (2000) who perceived masculinity as the '*Invisible Control Strategy*' (ibid, p.387), emphasizing the manner in which structure acts upon fathers who are found to prioritize work over family. Cooper's (2000) argument that new masculinity acts as an invisible control strategy highlights the apex of the structuralist conceptualization of navigation in which fathers are conceived of as passive and their actions controlled by the organization. .

A more recent study which evidenced Work Role Engagement was Halrynjo's (2009) mixed method study. Halrynjo (2009), studying 102 fathers, developed a typology to evidence the ways that fathers reconcile work and family responsibilities. Halrynjo's (2009) study confirmed the existence of traditional and contemporary practices of fathering (ibid, p.95) and suggested that fathers could be classified as being in one of four *positions* in this regard. The first position, applicable to evidencing this discourse within the existing literature, was referred to as a *Career Position*. This position, similar to that of Cooper's (2000) *Traditionals*, was characterized by fathers' primary attention being placed upon their career and work role with an absence of engagement with care responsibilities associated with their family role (ibid, p.110). Similar to Cooper (2000), who focused upon the ways that Work Role Engagement as a result of *new masculinities*, Halrynjo (2009) suggests that those fathers that take a *Career Position* do so because of organizational structures such as the work devotion schema

(ibid, p.111). Halrynjo (2009) suggests this position is a representation of traditional hegemony (ibid, p.110) and the gendered division of labour (ibid, p.98) which serve to similarly situate participant fathers, when evidencing Work Role Engagement, as doing so because of such structures. The position here, similar to Cooper (2000) (but not as extreme), is that Work Role Engagement is intentional but, rather, is undertaken because of the ways structure acts upon fathers. In this way we see a type of characterization of navigation as being a passive undertaking rather than fathers undertaking Work Role Engagement intentionally.

Kvande (2009) studied the effect that the organization of time in globalized knowledge work had upon the practices of fatherhood. This study was undertaken within an organizational context which, Kvande (2009) states, was epitomized by a highly demanding work context in which boundless time cultures existed. Kvande (2009, p.69) conceptualizes the boundless time culture of the organization as constituting 'a set of strong structural forces' which create 'tensions for fathers and forces them to give priority to their work' (ibid, p.69). Important here is that there is an emphasis upon structure being deterministic to a similar degree that Cooper (2000) does. In other words, Cooper (2000) employs the notion that organizational structures control fathers, and Kvande (2009), that structure forces fathers to a position of Work Role Engagement (through the prioritization of work over family). This position is further enforced by the position that Kvande (2009) takes noting that unless structural changes are made to the organizational setting what will occur is a situation where 'work life 'wins' because of the strong structural forces'. We again see a conceptualization of fathers and organization which paints the father who acts toward a position of Work Role Engagement as being relatively passive and subjected to structures which *force* action with limited consideration of how fathers might, even if limited, exercise agency in light of or reaction to these structures.

Gerson (2010) offers a non-empirical contribution to work family literature just after Halrynjo (2009) and Kvande (2009). Gerson (2010) explores work and family and how changes to traditional notions of family have been ongoing throughout Western nations. Gerson (2010) suggests that a position evidenced in contemporary parenting is for fathers to manage work and family by a *neotraditional arrangement*. This position, similar to all studies within this section of the review, suggests an engagement with one's work role which is exemplified by fathers prioritizing work over family. Gerson's (2010) warning is that such a position will be conspicuous if *time-greedy* organizations make it difficult for fathers to navigate toward their family role. Gerson's (2010) argument, like other arguments which contribute to this discourse, suggests that a position of Work Role Engagement is a result of structures acting upon fathers, reducing the time they have at their disposal to engage with their children (and so realize those contemporary childrearing ideals I evidenced above) rather an intentional undertaking of fathers themselves. Again, the general position here appears to be that fathers are not complicit or their actions symbolic, rather, Work Role Engagement is a position arrived at because of the ways that neo-liberal and time-hungry organizations are structured such that they ensure fathers' primary focus is their work role and work role responsibilities.

Tremblay (2013) investigated parents' experiences of taking parental leave in the legal sector. Tremblay (2013) found that fathers navigated work and family by realizing a position which I

conceptualize as Work Role Engagement by engaging in long working hours and prioritizing work over family. As a means to explain these actions and why fathers might realize this type of position in relation to their work and family roles Tremblay (2013) argues that the legal services industry acts as a structured environment which 'conditions' men to prioritize work over family and, for fathers, realize a position which is reflective of traditional fathering ideals (ibid, p.194). We again see a very specific conceptualization of action where work prioritization occurs. These fathers are not acting by employing agency rather they are subjects who are *conditioned* similar to the ways that Cooper (2000) suggests fathers are *controlled* or, Kvande (2009), that fathers are *forced* to undertake these types of actions. In retrospect, and cementing the structuralist explanation of action recorded, Tremblay (2013, p.194) suggests that although fathering ideals may have changed to focus more on paternal childrearing and greater engagement 'the dominant structures of the legal work environment do not necessarily [seem to have] evolve[d] to the same degree'.

A more recent finding of fathers utilizing Work Role Engagement was offered by Ladge et al., (2015). Ladge et al., (2015) undertook a qualitative and quantitative study which sought to understand the ways in which participants view themselves as fathers. The qualitative aspect of their study consisted of semi-structured interviews with 31 fathers who were subject to ideal worker norms and involved fathering expectations. Ladge et al., (2015) suggested that traditional and contemporary fathering views were evident but that fathers expressed traditional views when considering themselves in the context of their work (ibid, p.157). Explaining the occurrence of these views and fathers' Work Role Engagement (in the form of continued engagement with long working hours) Ladge et al., (2015, p.165) highlights organizational structures which they argue result in fathers being in such a position. In this regard, Ladge et al., (2015, p.166) study suggests that there exists 'workplace and professional norms that may *inhibit* them from being the kinds of involved fathers they espouse a desire to be'. In this way we again see a highly structuralist explanation of navigation in which structure is conceptualized as being deterministic upon the participant father and able to *inhibit* him. The workplace norms Ladge et al., (2015) discuss were considered as the degree to which a workplace is viewed as being supportive to the realization of contemporary fathering ideals whereas professional norms were expectations associated with a profession or career such as extreme hours (sic) and inflexibility required to be successful. Explicit here is the theme of many studies which reveal fathers navigating toward their work role (usually to the detriment of their family role) which is to say that it is these workplace and professional norms which position fathers rather than fathers positioning themselves by intentionally navigating work and family in that way. There is less focus, therefore, on symbolic action of fathers who are, rather, portrayed as relatively passive and inhibited.

Around the same time as Ladge et al., (2015), Humberd et al., (2015) (one of the co-authors being Ladge) offered an empirical study which found fathers engaging in Work Role Engagement. Within their qualitative study Humberd et al., (2015) explored how fathers navigated fathering identity within organizational contexts. Their results support that fathers hold multiple images of fatherhood ranging from traditional to contemporary images but suggest that such images might be in conflict with organizational contexts (ibid, p.249). Humberd et al., (2015) study found that some fathers reduced the multiplicity of their roles (appearing as traditional) and worked excessively long work

hours (such as twelve hour days) and prioritized work over family (ibid, p.258) which, in the context of this discourse, again evidences fathers navigating work and family via Work Role Engagement. As well as evidencing fathers engaging in these types of actions Humberd et al., (2015), like many of the aforementioned studies, positions these fathers as constrained by organizational context (ibid, p.255), their actions to engage in working additional hours and prioritizing their work role over their family role a result of structure acting upon them rather than an intentional undertaking. As such, both Ladge et al., (2015) and Humberd et al., (2015) contribute to this discourse by evidencing fathers engaging in Work Role Engagement and explaining this position by the consideration of organizational structures acting upon fathers and influencing them toward a position of Work Role Engagement.

More recently, Choroszewicz & Kay's (2019) study considered the use of organizationally prescribed mobile technologies and how, utilizing Boundary Theory, these might affect male lawyers' ability to manage work and family responsibilities. Their study, like others within this discourse, evidenced Work Role Engagement by witnessing fathers engaging in around-the-clock availability (ibid, p.1). Choroszewicz & Kay (2019), conceiving fathers' work and family roles as contradictory (ibid, p.2), suggested fathers employed by the case organization were subject to professional and organizational norms and it was these organizational norms which act to 'encourage men to prioritise sudden unanticipated work demands' (ibid, p.19). The emphasis here, common within this discourse, is not that fathers might be engaging with these norms in an intentional manner but, rather, that such norms are able to influence fathers to display Work Role Engagement. For instance, Choroszewicz & Kay (2019) emphasize the notion that fathers are *encouraged* rather than making a conscious informed decision about how they are to navigate work and family. This type of characterization of fathers suggests one who is malleable and able to be influenced, led or *encouraged* to perform actions associated with Work Role Engagement.

A similarly recent, and additional, example of a study which records Work Role Engagement is offered by Mauerer & Schmidt (2019). Mauerer & Schmidt's (2019) study found that fathers remained, within the organizational setting, engaged in traditional breadwinner roles (a role which is akin to taking a position of Work Role Engagement) (ibid, p.11). Mauerer & Schmidt's (2019) focus upon gendered responsibilities in the workplace, argued that parental norms in which father and mother have prescribed roles, existing within the organizational setting, acted to ensure fathers remain engaged in traditional breadwinning roles. Here, similar to other studies argued to create this discourse within the existing literature, fathers' engagement with a traditional breadwinner role, or position of Work Role Engagement as I conceive it, is understood as a result of parental norms which permeate the organization and act to influence fathers rather than, for instance, action being conceptualized as intentional.

The studies explored above create within the existing literature a discourse which evidences that Work Role Engagement exists. I suggest this position is realized when fathers display actions such as work prioritization, long working hours and/or around-the-clock availability. The most common approach to understand why these actions occur is to consider the ways that organizational structures, in the form of new masculinity (Cooper, 2000), traditional hegemony and the gendered

division of labour (Halrynjo, 2009), boundless time cultures (Kvande, 2009), work cultures (Tremblay, 2013), professional norms (Ladge et al., 2015), organizational assumptions (Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019) and gendered assumptions (Mauerer & Schmidt, 2019), act to control, force, condition, inhibit or encourage fathers.

I suggested above that I reviewed the literature as discourses as it allows the consideration of how similar interpretations can create themes within literature which craft a particular way of considering findings and the ways that fathers might navigate work and family. I suggest this is clear within the studies I review above as there is a clear and consistent emphasis within these organizationally focused studies that realizing a position of Work Role Engagement is a highly structured undertaking in which fathers navigation is characterized as a passive. For this reason, the discourse of Work Role Engagement is one which, although providing a wealth of findings which reveal the structured nature of the organizational setting and how that might be important, might also be critiqued as relying on structures as a sole means to explain navigation with less emphasis upon the actions of fathers as intentional or symbolic but, rather, reliant upon fathers being wholly passive.

2.2.2 Family Role Concealment

Family Role Concealment is a term employed to denote how fathers navigate work and family in such a way that they conceal their family role within the organizational setting. Studies which contribute to this discourse are those which evidence fathers segmenting their family and work roles (Cooper, 2000; Halrynjo, 2009; Hook and Woolfe, 2012; Sallee, 2012 and Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019) and avoiding the use of flexible working initiatives (Brandth & Kvande, 2001; Daly & Palkovitz, 2004; O'Brien, 2015; Tremblay, 2013; Ladge et al., 2015; Thornton, 2016; Cooklin et al., 2016; Horvath et al., 2018 and Choroszewicz & Tremblay, 2019). Studies which contribute to this discourse argue that fathers who engage in Family Role Concealment do so but that their navigation is a reaction to the ways that structures cast the organization as gendered with concealment of family occurring because of the penalties associated with Family Role Engagement (Wharton et al., 2008; Lyng, 2010; Leslie et al., 2012 and Coltrane et al., 2013 and Rudman & Mescher, 2013). As I did above I next explore these study findings and explanation in the form of a discourse of knowledge.

Cooper's (2000) work, which located a proportion of her participant population as *Traditionals* also suggested there existed a group of fathers who could be understood as *Superdads*. As these fathers engaged with conflicting expectations and responsibilities it was evidenced that they made personal sacrifices and reduced the time they spent sleeping as a means to manage (ibid, p.395). Although these fathers engaged with both work and family role expectations, they did so by segmenting their day in such a way that they were exclusively engaged with their work role during the working day and their family role during the evening. Should family obligations emerge when fathers were engaged with work, Cooper (2000, pp.395-397) explains, they would *silence conflict and care* as a means to ensure they distanced themselves from their family role whilst engaged in their work role. In this regard these fathers are presented as acting with greater intentionality than those who are engaged actions associated with Work Role Engagement. A similar segmentation strategy evidencing a

position of Family Role Concealment was used by *Career Position* fathers within Halrynjo's (2009) study. These fathers avoided engaging with caring responsibilities during the working week and kept any such responsibilities to the weekend (ibid, p.111). This again suggests an intentionality to navigate work and family such that fathers' family and work roles are deliberately managed by positioning them in such a way that roles never come into conflict with one another. Similarly, Hook and Woolfe's (2012) study revealed that fathers attempted to manage the multiplicity of work and family role expectations by reserving the weekend to engage with contemporary ideals (what they refer to as "new fathering" (ibid, p.442)) in the form of interactive care and time spent alone with their child, on the weekend (ibid, p.415), and avoiding their family role during the working week. Sallee's (2012) study suggested that some fathers are able to successfully navigate family and work expectations by crafting identities dedicated to their respective responsibilities and, therefore, separate work and family through a similar process as segmentation which meant missing aspects of one's family role when engaged in paid employment within the organizational setting. More recently Choroszewicz & Kay (2019) also witnessed fathers avoiding engaging with their family role whilst located within the organizational setting by a strategy of segmentation. The segmentation of one's roles to particular times of the week appears as a common behaviour considered strategic within the existing literature and characterizes one of the ways fathers can be understood perform Family Role Concealment. Within this discourse also exists a second commonly occurring action; to refrain from the utilization of flexible working initiatives. The finding that fathers avoid flexible working initiatives designed to facilitate Family Role Engagement is one of the most salient and conspicuous findings within the organizationally focused fatherhood literature (Brandth & Kvande, 2001; Daly & Palkovitz, 2004; Lyng, 2010; Tracy & Rivera, 2010; Burnett et al., 2013; Tremblay, 2013; Ladge et al., 2015; O'Brien, 2015; Thornton, 2016; Cooklin et al., 2016; Horvath et al., 2018; Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019 and Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019).

Actions to segment work and family and to avoid flexible working initiatives can be explained by the large body of literature that suggests that fathers might suffer organizational penalties should they not correctly take a position of Family Role Concealment which might include being branded an unpredictable worker (Lyng, 2010), receiving lower remuneration (Leslie et al., 2012 and Coltrane et al., 2013), lower performance evaluations (Leslie et al., 2012 & Wharton et al., 2008); the risk of being viewed as a poor organizational citizen and, thus, being considered ineligible for occupational rewards (Rudman & Mescher, 2013). If utilized, flexible working initiatives can cast the user with a flexibility stigma (Williams et al., 2013; Coltrane et al., 2013) and/or femininity stigma (Vandello et al., 2013) challenging a father's ability to fit the received masculine archetype associated with an ideal worker worthy of organizational rewards (Acker, 1990). These studies again conceptualize the organization as a heavily structured environment in which certain actions, if undertaken by fathers, or more readily, men, will attract negative consequences because they do not conform to the gendered notions of how males should act (Rudman & Mescher, 2013, Williams et al., 2013; Coltrane et al., 2013 & Vandello et al., 2013).

As flexible working initiatives allow engagement with contemporary care expectations (Hatter et al., 2002 and Kadar-Satat & Koslowski, 2015) the general means to explain these findings is that

fathers are *reacting* to the organizational context which imposes upon them barriers to realizing contemporary care expectations through, for instance, the use of flexible working initiatives. An example of this position is offered by Sallee (2012) who explained an absence in use of flexible working initiatives by highlighting organizational structures which meant fathers, aware of the same, chose to conceal engaging with flexible working. Unsurprisingly, Sallee (2012) found that although fathers were aware that their employer provided work family support for new parents, fathers did not engage with these initiatives because of potential penalties for doing so (although not explaining what these penalties might be) (p.798).

This discourse, similar to the Work Role Engagement discourse, heavily utilizes organizational structures to explain action but conceptualizes fathers as managing and reacting to structure portraying fathers as less passive than when displaying actions associated with Work Role Engagement.

2.2.3 Family Role Engagement

Family Role Engagement is a term here used to denote study findings which suggest fathers engage with family role responsibilities within the organizational setting and/or during normal working hours. For instance, this position can occur when fathers engage with flexible working to accommodate childrearing responsibilities during the course of their normal working day. This type of engagement can be understood to occur in two ways, namely, it might be *discreet* or *public*. Discreet Family Role Engagement is exemplified by those studies which find fathers accommodate parental responsibilities by taking unofficial leave (Cooper, 2000), utilizing annual leave in substitution of flexible working initiatives (Hatter et al., 2002 and Tremblay, 2013), changing work arrangements to accommodate family responsibilities (rather than take official leave) (Reid, 2018) or claim the existence of non-family related tasks when actually engaging in family related responsibilities (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019). Ensuring Family Role Engagement remains discreet can be understood by considering those studies which argue that Family Role Engagement is associated with organizational penalties (see discussion from previous discourse). Contrasting Discreet Family Role Engagement is Public Family Role Engagement. This position is realized when fathers officially engage with flexible working initiatives to manage family role responsibilities (Halrynjo, 2009; Ranson, 2012; Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019 and Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019). Within this discourse navigation is explained by inherent aspects of fathers' self such that fathers are ideologically disposed to gender equality, have natural caring ambition, or have an egalitarian gender ideology. Both discreet and public forms of Family Role Engagement are next explored in greater detail.

Discreet Family Role Engagement – Discreet Family Role Engagement can be understood as fathers engaging with their family role, within the organizational setting and/or during working hours, whilst attempting to avoid drawing attention to the fact that they have navigated roles in this way. Discreet Family Role Engagement is not similar, however, to Family Role Concealment. Discreet Family Role Engagement requires a father to realize engagement with their family role in some way. For instance, the informal utilization of flexible work is an action of engagement, whereas concealment can occur

without engagement. In other words, engagement can never be completely concealed but can be *discreet*. An example of an action used by fathers to engage with their family role *discreetly* was evidenced by Cooper (2000) who found *silence* surrounding fathers' engagement with leave initiatives. These fathers, having to accommodate family responsibilities during the course of their organizational roles, took leave secretly. This was achieved by fathers utilizing flexible working initiatives by arranging use directly through their manager with no official request or mention being made to the organization's human resource department. In this instance, action is not concealed but only made discreet by the means by which one engages with their family role. Additionally, whereas Family Role Concealment is a position in which an absolute guise is achieved, Discreet Family Role Engagement might be more or less discreet depending on the particular action one undertakes. For instance, utilizing flexible working initiatives through one's manager without drawing attention to the wider organizational audience might be discreet (Cooper, 2000) but it is not as discreet should somebody seek to mislead their manager and not reveal that flexibility is sought to accommodate family responsibilities. This type of action, making official requests for leave but the type of leave used not be parental/flexible, was revealed by a group of fathers who participated in Tremblay's (2013) study of parental leave within the legal services profession. Tremblay (2013) found that fathers who needed to engage with parental responsibilities did so but rather than utilizing flexible working initiatives or parental leave initiatives fathers chose to use annual leave. This type of action meant that fathers were able to engage with their family role but not draw explicit attention to the fact that such engagement had been realized.

More recently, Reid (2015) studied the ways individuals navigate tensions between expected professional identity (that of an ideal worker) and their experienced professional identities (that being the sort of workers they believe and prefer to be). Some participants experienced conflict between expected professional identity and their experienced professional identities (as they were unwilling to, for instance, engage with work as a primary life commitment (ibid, p.1005)) and employed strategies to reconcile the same. Reid (2015) explained that participants, most of whom were men, were able to strategically manage this conflict in such a way that they appeared as if they were embracing the expected professional identity via a process of *passing* (ibid, p.1006). These individuals engaged in working from home to discreetly accommodate other aspects of their lives, sought clients which required less time and commitment or sought to only undertake internal projects which did not compromise their ability to accommodate life responsibilities (ibid, p.1006). Although this study does not consider fathers exclusively, the positioning of experienced and expected professional identities as in conflict is similar to the position taken within the existing fatherhood literature which is concerned with positing fathers' family and work roles as being in conflict (see first part of literature review). Additionally, Reid (2015) found that those who formulated strategies which included the discreet accommodation of life responsibilities were predominantly men. For these reasons I include Reid's (2015) study within my review. More recently still, Tanquerel & Grau-Grau's (2019) study, which contrasts Reid's (2015) by focusing exclusively upon fathers, similarly evidences the existence of strategies to discreetly undertake Family Role Engagement. One strategy identified in this regard was

to accommodate contemporary care expectations whilst claiming non-family reasons for needing such flexibility (ibid, p.15).

Discreet Family Role Engagement can be explained in the same way that Family Role Concealment is, namely, to conceal being recorded as engaged with matters of one's family role. For instance, Tremblay (2013, p.151), who revealed fathers taking a position of Discreet Family Role Engagement by utilizing annual leave in place of flexibility initiatives/parental leave, explained that fathers 'don't want it to be identified as a family leave, fearing the impact of such a message for future promotions or career'. Similarly, Tanquerel & Grau-Grau (2019) suggested fathers utilize flexible working initiatives under a false guise to conceal stigmatization associated with the use of such initiatives to realize Family Role Engagement (ibid, p.18). As such, to explain why these fathers chose to realize Family Role Engagement discreetly we can draw upon the well-established literatures which, as explored above, suggest engagement with matters of family create stigmas (such as flexibility stigma (Williams et al., 2013 and Coltrane et al., 2013) and/or femininity stigma (Vandello et al., 2013) and result in penalties by being branded an unpredictable worker (Lyng, 2010), receiving lower remuneration (Leslie et al., 2012 and Coltrane et al., 2013), lower performance evaluations (Leslie et al., 2012 and Wharton et al., 2008); the risk of being viewed as a poor organizational citizen and, thus, being considered ineligible for occupational rewards (Rudman & Mescher, 2013)) because the actions of Family Role Engagement are not in line with the ways the structured organization expects men to act.

Public Family Role Engagement – Public Family Role Engagement can be understood as fathers openly engaging with their family role within the organizational setting. Taking such a position was the least salient of all positions recorded only being located within four studies (Halrynjo, 2009; Ranson, 2012; Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019 and Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019). Halrynjo's (2009) study categorized fathers who evidenced Public Family Role Engagement as taking a *Care and Career Position*. Whereas most fathers who engage with care responsibilities do so by limiting these to the weekend (such as those fathers engaged with segmentation strategies referred to within the discourse concerned with Family Role Concealment) Halrynjo (2009) notes that there was, for those fathers taking a *Care and Career Position*, official recognition of care responsibilities (ibid, p.115). In making aspects of their family role public and to the attention of their peers and managers, fathers who took a *Care and Career* position engaged in parental leave initiatives to, for instance, pick their children up from nursery (ibid, p.115). Ranson's (2012) study considered Working Fathers (men whose partners also worked and were engaged in some form of childrearing) unsurprisingly, as their study focused on fathers engaged in childrearing, evidenced Public Family Role Engagement. This position was realized by the utilization of flexible working initiatives to allow fathers to engage with childrearing. More recently, Tanquerel & Grau-Grau's (2019) study suggested those fathers' actions which reveal Family Role Engagement can be considered *visible* (which I refer to as *public*). This notion of visibility is utilized to categorize actions consisting of taking formal flexibility, specifying care arrangements as the reason such initiatives are used and making such care arrangements visible to colleagues (ibid, p.15). These fathers then make their family role, the responsibilities that are

associated with it and the actions they take to navigate work and family, public. Another example of Public Family Role Engagement was revealed in Choroszewicz & Kay's (2019) study which referred to a group of their sample as *Struggling Segmentors*. These fathers, like many of the studies I include within this discourse found fathers making use of parental leave to engage with childcare responsibilities, casting their engagement with their family role as public to others within the organization (ibid, p.11).

An important theme in this discourse is how there is far less emphasis upon explaining action by employing the notion of structure as is evident in the previous discourses (especially Work Role Engagement). Rather, action is explained by inherent aspects of fathers' self. For instance, Ranson (2012) conceptualized fathers who undertook Public Family Role Engagement as being 'new men, ideologically disposed to gender equity and an alternative, non-hegemonic version of masculinity' (ibid, p.752). This type of interpretation emphasizes that fathers are engaging in Public Family Role Engagement because of an aspect of their disposition rather than as a result of structure. Additionally, Tanquerel & Grau-Grau's (2019) study explained Public Family Role Engagement being a result of fathers' natural ambition to care for their children (ibid, p.17). Again, the pursuit of realizing contemporary fathering ideals and engaging with one's family role is explained in very different terms than when fathers realize ideals associate with their work roles. Action is not influenced by or determined by structure but is inherent, dispositional and/or natural. In these instances the structures which appear altogether deterministic when certain actions occur appear completely dismissible. Cooper (2000) did not reveal Public Family Role engagement but the ways that contemporary ideals are portrayed echoes the sentiments of Ranson (2012) and Tanquerel & Grau-Grau's (2019) explanations of Public Family Role Engagement. For instance, whereas Work Role Engagement is a result of an Invisible Control Strategy, Cooper (2000) argues that those fathers who describe engaging with their family role as having an egalitarian gender ideology, being empathetic, holding desires or having a care orientation. This explanation again reiterates the notion that explanations do not rely upon the consideration of structure but suggests that navigation occurs because of something which is inherent, natural, dispositional and a result of something which an individual father has. We see, then, that structure is characterized differently in this discourse in comparison to others. When a father appears to act toward his work role structures are employed to explain navigation whereas those same structures, which are suggested as wholly restrictive and deterministic in one regard, are easily challenged when a father seeks to act toward their family role as is the case with Public Family Role Engagement. In this way fathers are ascribed, within this discourse, a sense of agency and intentionality not afforded to them in other discourses such that they are conceived as acting with a type of intentionality (see Figure 6 'Explanations and Navigation Characterization').

In considering the balance of knowledge concerned with the ways that fathers might navigate their work and family roles I suggest there are two limitations which exist. The first limitation is that our explanations for why navigation occurs is highly dependent upon the discourse those explanations appear within. Organizational structures appear, for instance, when fathers are in a position of Work Role Engagement, as controlling (Cooper, 2000), forcing (Kvande, 2009) conditioning (Tremblay, 2013), inhibiting (Ladge et al., 2015) and encouraging (Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019) but other

explanations cast the same structures as completely manageable (Family Role Concealment) and/or able to be rejected (Family Role Engagement). For this reason when fathers are found to act toward their work roles it appears that this is a highly structured line of action (explanation employs organizational structures) whereas consideration of structure is far less prevalent when fathers act toward their family role at which point explanations concern themselves with inherent aspects of fathers' self such that fathers are ideologically disposed to gender equality, have natural caring ambition have an egalitarian gender ideology or having a certain orientation. Explanations are then highly dependent upon the discourse in which they are conceived and the actions recorded rather than providing a consistent explanation of navigation which helps understand why navigation occurs in all instances. To provide a clearer explanation of navigation and why navigation occurs I ask the following research questions:

(1) *How do fathers navigate work and family within the organizational setting?*

(2) *Why do fathers navigate work and family within the organizational setting?*

Conceptualizing the study's research questions in this way allows me, firstly, to evidence that navigation occurs (research question one) and then, in light of navigation being evidenced, to ask why that navigation occurs (research question two).

The second limitation to our existing knowledge concerned with navigation is the way that navigation is currently characterized. When Family Role Engagement is realized explanations concern themselves with fathers acting pursuant to their disposition or naturally occurring desire to engage in childrearing with navigation exclusively intentional and in contradiction to organizational structures (Cooper, 2000; Ranson, 2012 and Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019). Contrastingly, where a position exists in which fathers do not act toward their family role (instances such as Work Role Engagement) navigation is conceptualized as highly structured and being controlled (Cooper, 2000), forced (Kvande, 2009) conditioned (Tremblay, 2013), inhibited (Ladge et al., 2015) and encouraged (Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019). Fathers are, from this perspective, never conceptualized as intentionally engaging in actions which realize Work Role Engagement but are merely passive.

A recent study outside of fatherhood literature explains how this conceptualization is challenged by revealing how action which appears to be non-strategic and which presents conformity to organizational structures (such as those actions associated with Work Role Engagement) might actually be a strategic and intentional choice on the part of the individual. This study, offered by Reid (2015), focuses on the ways that individuals navigate tensions between expected professional identity (that of an ideal worker) and their experienced professional identities (that being the type of workers they preferred to be) (ibid, p.997). This study helps understand how tensions between expectations of how one should be (that being an ideal worker for fathers) and how one might want to be (such as a less involved worker to engage with childrearing) might be strategically navigated. Reid (2015) showed that many participants engaged with their expected professional identity through a process she termed *embracing*. Unlike the previously reviewed literatures which more readily rely upon deterministic organizational structures to explain the occurrence of Work Role Engagement, Reid's (2015) position reveals how actions associated with Work Role Engagement might be utilized as a

strategic choice and understood as intentional. For instance, the individuals to Reid's (2015) study (many of whom were men) in appearing to embrace ideal worker expectations chose to engage in actions which presented a devotion to work because they wished to pass themselves off as ideal workers (ibid, p.997). This devotion to work, synonymous with one appearing to engage exclusively with one's work role (such as a position of Work Role Engagement) suggests that an engagement with, in the instance of Reid's (2015) study, professional norms, might not simply be a result of a lack of strategy and organizational structure imposing upon one's agency but, contrastingly, might be a strategy itself. Action, in this regard, is not passive, nor is it explained by deterministic structures but it is strategic, intentional and utilizes agency. The existing literature contrasts Reid's (2015) position and it also reveals that there are potential shortcomings to our explanation of why navigation occurs. To understand how navigation, regardless of the position such action realizes, can be intentional this study asks the following research question:

(3) Why do fathers utilize the specific actions they choose?

As with research question two, this question relies upon the evidencing of navigation as achieved by research question one. It ensures, however, that I understand why the specific actions are recorded as a means to be able to argue that they are intentional and, for instance, not passive. Research question two and three also support one another in that research question two seeks to understand a general reason why navigation occurs and, research question three, why the specific actions recorded were chosen. Finally, asking the three research questions posed provides opportunity to capture how an individual who is willing to navigate work and family (R2) chooses specific types of action (R3) and then how this is undertaken (R1). In this way the research question provide the potential to capture a holistic understanding of how and why navigation occurs for fathers.

2.3 Literature Review Summary

The first part of the review revealed that the existing literature concerned with fathers' work and family roles is positioned in such a way that fathers' family roles and work roles are situated as in conflict with one another. The first, fathers' family roles, are argued to have changed and now consist of a requirement and desire to be engaged in childrearing whilst the second, fathers' work roles, are argued to have stagnated with the ongoing organizational assumptions that fathers act as financial providers and are still able to, and so are expected to, realize ideal worker norms.

The second part of the literature review considered how fathers might navigate work and family roles in light of this conflict. What is interesting is that many of the studies considered were undertaken in areas which the lives of men and women remain highly gendered (USA (Cooper, 2000; Ladge et al., 2015 and Humberd et al., 2015), Europe (Halrynjo, 2009 and Mauerer & Schmidt, 2019). In fact, few studies, save for Tremblay (2013) and Choroszewicz & Kay (2019), who focus on differences between Finland and Canada, consider the context of Scandinavian countries (Kvande, 2009). This is perhaps unsurprising as the problem of balancing work and family responsibilities is likely less experienced as problematic for Scandinavian fathers because care and earning responsibilities are more distributed between fathers and mothers as well as fathers benefitting from paternity leave which is far longer than the US and European average (Kvande & Brandth, 2019). However, what this means for my study, as this was undertaken in the UK, is that these studies and their findings remain an important consideration for my review. Reviewing this literature revealed three prevalent discourses and suggests that fathers are commonly witnessed utilizing actions I have grouped as Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment or Family Role Engagement. The position of Work Role Engagement, defined by actions such as work prioritization, long working hours and around-the-clock availability situate work as more important than family and are commonly explained with an emphasis upon the ways that a structured organization influences fathers. Family Role Concealment, the second position fathers realize, exists when fathers navigate their roles by segmenting work and family or avoid engaging with family events/responsibilities within work time and/or the work setting. These actions are explained by considering navigation as a result of fathers understanding that Family Role Engagement is perceived negatively and so, concealment of one's family role is favoured. Similar to the discourse concerned with Work Role Engagement, an emphasis upon organizational structure is evident but there also appears greater consideration of viewing fathers as actively taking this position as a reaction to such structure, rather than being passive. Family Role Engagement, the final position explored, exists when fathers arrange official or unofficial leave/flexibility to accommodate family related responsibilities or when fathers change work arrangements to accommodate family. These studies utilize a varying degree of consideration of organizational structures. For instance, *Discreet* Family Role Engagement emphasizes a reaction to organizational structures (similar to Family Role Concealment) which ensures fathers engage with their family roles discreetly and attempt to draw limited attention to engagement. This contrasts the way that fathers who *publicly* engage with their family are portrayed (Public Family Role Engagement). The actions of these fathers are explained with no consideration of organizational structures. Rather, actions associated with Public Family Role Engagement coalesce around

attributes of fathers' self which are inherent, natural or dispositional. I have argued, reviewing and evidencing the existence of these discourses which explain and characterize navigation in unique ways (see Figure 6 'Explanations and Navigation Characterization').

I have argued that there are two limitations within our existing knowledge and the current conceptualization of navigation. Firstly, explanations of why navigation takes place are inherently different depending on the position realized with some emphasizing structural, and others emphasizing non-structural, explanations. In some ways this suggests that structure is, for instance, exclusively restrictive whilst simultaneously being able to easily be managed or rejected. For this reason I have suggested there is not one explanation of navigation which can be reliably utilized to explain why navigation occurs in different ways. Secondly, our understanding of the ways that fathers might intentionally navigate work and family is limited because of the proclivity to conceptualize navigation as intentional when it consists of an action which seeks to realize greater family role involvement only. I suggest, considering Reid's (2015) study that this might limit our understanding of the ways fathers intentionally navigate work and family as we immediately characterize actions which appear pursuant to organizational structures as inherently passive. In light of these limitations my study answers the following research questions:

- (1) *How do fathers navigate work and family within the organizational setting?*
- (2) *Why do fathers navigate work and family within the organizational setting?*
- (3) *Why do fathers utilize the specific actions they choose?*

I next consider the theoretical underpinnings of my study and how I constructed an investigation which contrasts those reviewed.

3. Dramaturgy

The following chapter details my use of Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical interpretation of social life which I utilized as a theoretical lens to conceptualize the data captured throughout my study. Important throughout this chapter is that I highlight how this perspective places the human actor at *centre stage*. I make this point here as the thrust of my contributions rely on placing fathers and their interpretations of their social worlds at the centre of my enquiry, which contrasts many existing studies (reviewed above) which emphasize and place structure at the centre of enquiry.

Also important to note is that I did not deductively choose to undertake research adopting Goffman's (1959) work, rather, action which was recorded within the early stages of my study suggested utility in adopting this perspective when considering the actions fathers were recorded as using to navigate their work and family roles. I explore this point later within the analysis chapter, however, because this chapter precedes the analysis chapter within the thesis I note the same here for clarity. I next turn to exploring aspects of Goffman's (1959) I utilize starting with the important theoretical foundations which are also important for the contributions I make to organizationally focused fatherhood literature.

3.1 Dramaturgy's Symbolic Interactionist Foundations

Like many perspectives upon sociological enquiry, Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach has roots in work that preceded it. Goffman's (1959) conceptualization of dramaturgy draws heavily upon the work of Herbert Blumer and also the general formation of symbolic interactionist thought. In discussing these roots I will draw heavily upon Blumer (1969) who is considered one of the most important figures within symbolic interactionist thinking and whose work heavily influenced Goffman (1959) and his conceptualization of dramaturgy. To understand Blumer's work (which influenced Goffman) we have to briefly consider Blumer's own influences in the form of George Herbert Mead's work. An important aspect of Mead's contribution to symbolic interactionist thought, which came to inform dramaturgical perspectives important to this study, was his emphasis upon the symbolic nature of action which moved sociological thinking away from *Behaviourism*. In Mead's time, *Behaviourism* was the received view of sociological enquiry and focused on stimuli that elicit action of individuals who were considered subjected to such stimuli and without autonomy (Sage, 2017, p.326). This focus upon stimuli is reminiscent of structuralist interpretations of social life and reflective of studies which explain actions within the Work Role Engagement discourse being a result of organizational structures. Mead contrasted this approach to understanding action by situating the individual (the point between stimuli and action) at *centre stage*. In essence, one's emphasis moves from stimuli toward an emphasis upon the individual to realize new perspectives upon the reasons particular actions are performed. In this regard, Mead, rather than situating the individual as purely reactive or passive to stimuli focused upon the symbolic action of individuals as they choose a particular line of action. This is similar to Reid's (2015) conceptualization of participants and the social world. Reid (2015) found that actions which might readily be considered evidence of conformity (from a structuralist perspective)

were actually found to be symbolic and intentionally pursued by participants. An example being the way individuals sought to realize professional norms so that they displayed ideal worker norms.

Symbolic action, in this regard, can be understood as action which is carried out deliberately and intentionally. Blumer (1969, pp.8-9), in clarifying the distinction between symbolic and non-symbolic action (what Mead referred to as conversation of gestures), employs the example of a boxer who, under normal circumstances, will defend an attack by non-symbolic means, i.e. the automatic raising of his arms in defence. In contrast, if he reacted to the situation symbolically he would have to engage in considering the intent and result of his opponent's attack and then react with a conscious intent to evade or defend. We see within this example that symbolic action holds a type of intentionality in which the social actor is seen to engage in some form of conscious deliberation before engaging himself/herself in a particular way.

Blumer's (1969) work regarding symbolic action can be seen to take up the reins from Mead in focusing upon the importance of intentional action, arguing that meaning is lost in considering the individual as 'the product of various factors that play upon [him/her]' (that being the critiqued position of Behaviourism). Instead, Blumer (1969, p.3), like Mead, argued for the consideration of symbolic action through which meanings are created emphasizing how we can learn more by placing individuals and the ways they understand their social worlds at the centre of enquiry (which I emphasize as *centre stage*). Behaviourism, as understood by Mead, marries well with the general themes which permeate the Work Role Engagement discourse I earlier explored as the emphasis in explaining action is to place organizational structures at centre stage. Because of this less attention is given, for instance, to the autonomy or possible symbolic actions of fathers who navigate work and family via Work Role Engagement. These explanations focus less on the micro perspective of fathers, their symbolic action and how they choose to navigate their roles but, rather, seek to elucidate how structures come to elicit particular actions with fathers seen as relatively passive. In contrast, the symbolic interactionist position seeks to understand and elucidate how such structures are engaged with intentionally and, as such, situates the *individual* at centre stage. This emphasis upon the individual and situating their action at the centre stage of enquiry is an important aspect of the symbolic interactionist tradition which was, in turn, important to my contributions and also the new perspectives I mentioned within the introduction and which I will explore within the subsequent chapters of this study.

Although this study will focus upon the intentional actions of fathers it does not dispel the importance which structure plays in understanding why a particular action is pursued. As I mention above, symbolic interactionism does indeed concern itself with social structures. Consideration of structure is, in actuality, well established within symbolic interactionist thought although many position the approach at the *agency end* of the agency-structure spectrum (Dennis & Martin, 2007). Positioning symbolic interactionism in this way might well be expected for the emphasis for a symbolic interactionist is the action of the individual (or placing her/him at *centre stage* as I note); however, to suggest that the perspective is not concerned with structure is incorrect (Dennis & Martin 2007). For instance, Blumer (1969, p.75) himself noted that a position which denies the existence of such structures 'would be ridiculous'. The issue, for those who adopt a symbolic interactionist perspective,

appears to be that the behaviourist/structuralist and symbolic interactionist conceptualizations and considerations of how structure acts are simply incomparable or, in other words, symbolic interactionist perspectives do consider structure important but simply in a different way than other approaches might. Firstly, structure is seen as intimately connected with human action and the ways individuals direct their action as they interact and come to define their social world. Wolff (1964, p.10) explains, in this regard, that 'the large systems and the super-individual organizations that customarily come to mind when we think of society, are nothing but immediate interactions that occur among men[/women] constantly, every minute'. Structure then becomes the result of action of the individuals rather than being seen as something which is strictly separate or exclusively influencing an individual. As a result, structure in the symbolic interactionist sense is intrinsically related to the actions of individuals as it is those actions which constitute, create, inform, or challenge it (structure) (Blumer, 1969). In other words, individuals, the ways they act and interact create a social world and web of meaning which individuals consider and interpret as they engage in day to day living. This notion of creating a web of meaning which we engage with on a day to day basis is indicative of the consideration that the structures we create also come to influence the ways in which we feel we can act. This can be exemplified by the symbolic interactionist consideration of reflexivity, as Alder et al., (1987, p.219) explains:

The rituals and institutions they [(actions)] thus create then influence the character of their behavior through the expectations and micro social norms they yield. Interaction is thus both voluntaristic and structured (but not completely determined) because of this reflexivity.

Secondly, the symbolic interactionist position is concerned less with traditional depictions of structures as being all-powerful but, rather, concerned with how these aspects of the social world can or *might* act to guide (rather than constrict) action (Blumer, 1969). For instance, Alder et al., (1987, p.218) suggest that non-symbolic interactionist perspectives which focus more upon structure than action support an 'overly passive and constrained view of the actor' (this being again reflective of the conceptualization of the father who displays action of Work Role Engagement). The symbolic interactionist position then becomes one in which an emphasis upon the individual and agency, regardless how small, is an important consideration but is certainly not its only consideration. It moves an emphasis from structure itself upon the individual and the actions that individual takes or, in other words, the social actor is situated, as I refer to it, at *centre stage*. However, situating participants at the centre of enquiry does not mean that structures which might challenge agency are not important but, merely, that the symbolic interactionist provides opportunity to learn something different than traditionally structuralist interpretations of life by situating the social actor at the centre of enquiry. The significance upon this agency, regardless of how small, remains an important challenge to overly behaviouristic positions of social enquiry because it is this agency, this ability to intentionally direct action, which comes to define how the social world exists which, if completely absent, would result in a stagnant and stationary society which is and has never been the case (Blumer, 1969). One's focus is, then, upon how individuals act and define their social world and also those structures which do, in

some manner, act to influence the ways individuals interpret their lives and so proceed through everyday life (see, for instance, my later arguments concerned with notions of what it means to be a *good* father or a *good* worker). The symbolic interactionist position, therefore, ascribes individuals, even in appearing to conform to organizational structures, for instance, opportunity to be considered as autonomous and strategic should they be engaged in *symbolic* action.

I have, to this point, discussed Symbolic Interactionism as if it is a clearly defined approach with only one configuration, that of Blumer (1969) and the Chicago School of thought. However, there two additional strands of Symbolic Interactionism which contrast Blumer's (1969) approach and which I explore here to explain my reason to focus upon Blumer (1969) and Goffman's (1959) work.

The historical perspective of Symbolic Interactionism suggests there are three schools of thought which offer unique conceptualizations of the individual and society; the Chicago School, the Iowa School and the Indiana School (Carter & Fuller, 2016). The Iowa School of symbolic interactionism is argued to have been constructed from the perspective and teachings of Manford Kuhn (Fine, 1993). A distinction in this school and others, such as the Chicago School from which I draw, is that Kuhn and other contributors to the Iowa School championed positivist aspects of Mead's work meaning that, as Pascale (2011, p.85) argues, 'the result was [a school of thought which was] quantitatively driven and expressed a more fundamentally deterministic view of human behavior'. An interpretation upon human behaviour which assigns this type of emphasis aligns well to the studies I have explored within my literature review which take a similar approach to the ways that organizational structure explains fathers' action. This, I have argued, is a weakness of the existing literature and one which I attempted to contrast by placing fathers, and their actions (rather than social structure) at the centre of my enquiry.

Similar to the Iowa School being associated with the work of Kuhn, the Indiana School is readily associated with the work of Stryker. Similar to the Iowa School, the position of Stryker (1980) and others (especially his students) within this school of thought, places an emphasis upon structure (Pascale, 2011, p.85). For instance, Stryker (1980, p.57) conceptualizes roles as 'symbolic categories [that] serve to *cue* behavior'. This is not to say that Stryker (1980), or the Indiana School as a whole, categorise action as exclusively determined by social structure, but only that there remains an emphasis upon structure in such a way that a clear delineation between the Indiana School and the Chicago School exists. The Indiana School, like the Iowa School, also champions quantitative approaches to sociological enquiry meaning the rich situational and contextually sensitive data sought by my study might otherwise be lost by, for instance, adopting approaches akin to Kuhn's Statements Test (Carter & Fuller, 2016).

However, it is also the case that both schools of thought, reminiscent of symbolic interactionism as a whole (perhaps because the common root to contrast Behaviourism), are premised upon the conceptualization of the individual being a strategic and intentional actor who is able to, although it might be limited, exercise agency in choosing the ways they are to act (Jacobsen et al., 2017). For instance, Kuhn (1964a) suggested individuals will make creative adaptations to the ways they interact in different social settings varying symbols and crafting new ways of defining their

social worlds, for instance. Similarly, Stryker also makes arguments regarding the autonomy and agency an individual might have at their disposal; he sees the individual as taking symbolic cues to assess potential lines of action reflecting the intentional and interpretive process of the individual in deciding how they are to act (similar to Blumer, 1969). In essence, both the Iowa and Indiana Schools conceptualize the individual as a strategic and intentional actor; however, and although this is a position I share, the most important attribute to the intentional and strategic action I recorded was that it was performative. This was a central aspect of my thesis and required careful consideration and theoretical positioning which was offered by Goffman whose work, as explored next, stems directly from the Chicago School of thought rather than the Iowa or Indiana School. Moreover, the Chicago School encapsulates those important arguments made by the Iowa and Indiana Schools in relation to the individual being a strategic and intentional actor. The position here, based heavily on the work of Mead, and crystallized by Blumer (1969), is that the individual acts with a sense of agency and intentionality which defines an action as symbolic. For Blumer (1969, p.4) it is the intentional symbolic actions and choices individuals make in this regard that help us understand society. For this reason there is a clear sense of a rejection of Behaviourism, as is the case with all Symbolic Interactionist thought, which again reveals an interest in the individual as a strategic and intentional actor. For that reason, the work of Goffman and the Chicago School was more relevant, as a theoretical framework, than the Iowa and Indiana Schools even though they do both share similar sentiments regarding the strategic and intentional manner in which individuals move through their daily lives.

I next discuss Goffman's (1959) work which argued that symbolic action is best considered *performative* action his dramaturgical metaphor suggesting that the individual can be considered as an actor who rehearses, deliberates and considers how his actions might be received. This individual is one who considers his social world and acts in an intentional manner having considered how he might be perceived and the impression he wishes to foster. For Goffman (1959), social reality is then cast, by incorporating these symbolic interactionist foundations alongside the notion of action as performative, as dramaturgical as I next discuss.

3.2 Goffman's Dramaturgy

As a sociologist Goffman (1959) was interested in the ways that the micro might help explain social reality by elucidating the process by which humans ascribe meaning to their world. Positioning the micro as phenomena to understand the macro, contradicted and challenged the sociological leviathans, such as Conflict Theory and Structural Functionalism, which suggested society might be understood by considering the macro in isolation from the micro (for instance, Durkheim's Social Facts) but has come to influence many areas of study, one of which is Impression Management and those that seek to understand, in detail, the ways in which individuals live, perform and interact in daily life. In order to reach such an understanding Goffman (1959), again drawing from the school of symbolic interactionism, is concerned with actions which are symbolic.

The analogy employed by Goffman (1959) to illuminate the intricate and complex symbolic actions and interactions between individuals is, broadly speaking, and borrowing from Shakespeare's

As You Like It, that *all the world's a stage and all the men and women merely players*. In employing this analogy Goffman (1959) suggests that social reality can be understood dramaturgically. To provide evidence that social reality can be understood in this way Goffman (1959) provides an array of empirical examples of performative action from fieldwork undertaken at a resort hotel on the Shetland Islands. The data collected from this study evidenced the multitude of ways individuals performatively portray themselves to one another. Through these examples Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical interpretation of the social world became a convincing lens through which researchers can consider the ways individual act. In no other realm has this been more prevalent than within studies concerned with Impression Management. For instance, and in their seminal text proposing Impression Management Strategies, Jones & Pittman (1982, p.231) noted that Goffman's work 'provided enough descriptive variety and richness to convince us that here was an important area for social psychological analysis'.

Because Goffman's (1959) thesis provided utility to understand the social world in a new intelligible and accessible manner the result was a proliferation of studies concerned with the ways individuals manage impressions to achieve certain goals such as being considered an ideal worker (see Leary & Kowalski (1990) for examples). For that reason, I considered Impression Management as a potential lens through which to understand data when analysing interview transcripts and finding common instances of concealment taking place. However, Impression Management was not adopted because the body of literature and contemporary conceptualization of Impression Management appeared in contradiction to Goffman's (1959) original thesis. For instance, Impression Management, by way of an accumulation of propositional contributions and quantitative studies, has grown to facilitate deductive, rather than inductive, or in the case of this study, abductive (see Methodology for discussion on this point) approaches to empirical investigation (Jones & Pittman, 1982; Leary & Kowalski, 1990; Roberts, 2005 and Long, 2017). This appeared divorced from Goffman's (1959) thesis which focused on the intricate and individualistic ways in which people act in everyday life discussion of which, unsurprisingly, features little within contemporary Impression Management studies. For that reason, it appeared that the deductively developed, construct heavy and propositionally prone state of contemporary Impression Management was an unlikely fit for a qualitative study. Rather, I found greater utility in referring back to Goffman's (1959) seminal text as it offered utility in explaining many of the intricate and novel ways my participants acted.

The remainder of this chapter will present aspects of Goffman's (1959) work concerned with Performances (aspects of performances, regions of performances and characteristics of performances (ibid, pp.10-46)), considerations of the Situation Appropriateness of performative action (ibid, p.3) and the Important Consequences which are responsible for individuals employing performative action (ibid, p.144). I explain throughout each section how these aspects of Goffman's (1959) work were used to help answer my three research questions.

3.2.1 Performances

I utilize Goffman's (1959) work concerned with performances as a means to conceptualize the actions I recorded fathers using to navigate work and family and claim positions of Work Role Engagement and Family Role Concealment by impression. Within this section I present aspects of Goffman's (1959) conceptualization of performative action which I utilize in making my argument that work and family roles can be navigated performatively.

Goffman (1956, p.13) employs the term Performance to refer to 'all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on observers'. Goffman (1956, p.23) argued that performances will be employed to craft an idealized version of oneself depending on whose company one is in when performing. The act of performing to realize this image, for Goffman (1959), was a multifaceted and complex method of presenting, or concealing, aspects of self as a means to present an image that would be received favourably. An important consideration of this undertaking (to realize an idealized image) is that when one seeks to perform in this manner they attempt to realize what they perceive as an ideal or typical type (Goffman, 1959, p.16). In other words, if one seeks to realize the role of police officer, waiter, nurse, cleric etc. they do so by the existing ideals they understand as commonly associated with that role. The individual, in this sense, considers and interprets the social world and how he/she might claim similar ideals by engaging in performative action. This notion that the individual is engaged in a type of interpretation to understand ideals in this manner will become important when exploring my answer to research question three and, especially, that fathers utilize their own interpretations of the idealized roles of *good father* and *good worker*.

Goffman's (1959) work considers that engaging with a role by way of existing ideals, which might otherwise constitute stereotypical behaviour, we actually reaffirm the existing assumptions and definitions of that role. As such, when performing the individual is engaged in a process of role making as well as role taking (Goffman, 1961, p.75). In this way we understand that a role is a social object which is formed by social action and can also be reaffirmed by that same action. This is reflective of the symbolic interactionist roots of Goffman's (1959) work in which existing norms/structures will act to create a prescribed and expected set of actions which an individual can act pursuant to or actively challenge and, in doing so, can create new definitions of those social objects (such as roles) (Blumer, 1969 and Scott, 2015).

Because utilizing performance in everyday life is inherently multifarious, Goffman (1959) provides a highly descriptive, and less so prescriptive, explanation of performances meaning Goffman (1959) never provides the reader with a systematic presentation of defined aspects of performance. For this reason, I delineate several important elements of performance, namely *Aspects of Performance*, *Regions of Performances* and *Characteristics of Performances*. These elements of performance will be important within the findings chapter and discussion chapter when presenting the unique ways individuals utilize performative action as a means to navigate work and family and so claim the impression of one who prioritizes work over, and segment work from, family. For that reason, these

aspects of performance are here discussed in detail to provide context for the later chapters of the thesis.

Aspects of Performance (Front and Concealment) - When speaking of action, although not determined by Goffman (1959) himself, it is suggested that one be concerned with matters one employs to both conceal and reveal aspects of self. For instance, in considering Goffman's work, Pebinbanayagam (1974, p.532) suggests that one's performance is the 'use [of] the arts of both concealment and strategic revelation to create the sort of impression that they do want to create to certain audiences'. Similarly, others, such as Soloman et al., (2013, p.197) argue that 'Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical metaphor involves two elements: managing impressions by creating a front, and concealment'.

Front is defined as 'that part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance' (Goffman, 1959, p.13). The Front, which one employs, can itself be understood to consist of three different aspects, namely Setting, Appearance and Manner. Setting is a term used to define the physical space in which the performance is carried out, such as one's living room to entertain a guest, a boardroom to make a presentation or a surgery for a medical practitioner to consult. The remaining aspects of Front are one's Appearance and one's Manner. These two aspects of Front are considered in tandem as they constitute one's *personal front* (ibid, p.14). Appearance, are those aspects of one's self which might be best considered to follow one around, consisting of personal matters of race, age and/or clothes. It might here be important, as it isn't clearly defined within Goffman's (1959) thesis, what differentiates an element of Appearance, such as a watch, when deposited in a Setting, from a prop, which it seemingly becomes once it is removed from one's body and placed within a Setting. The thesis makes the distinction between items of Appearance and items of Setting based on their function. If an item serves to enhance one's *personal front* then such an item, regardless if deposited within a Setting, remains an item of Appearance whereas an item of one's Setting is, employing Goffman's (1959) definition, a fixed element of front which the performer does not employ to enhance their personal front. The terminology used within the remainder of the thesis will be an Item of Setting or an Item of Appearance. The thesis makes note of this difference as it will later employ certain terms when discussing how fathers strategically conceal and remove items of appearance from the organizational setting. The final aspect of Front (more specifically, personal front), Manner, is less ambiguous than Appearance as what it defines cannot be separated from the performer; in this regard Manner refers to the physical displays which a performer gives off in defining their performance for their audience. These might include gestures, hand signals and facial expressions, for instance. Where these three aspects of front appear, one expects that they will inform one another in a cohesive manner in which a believable performance is given.

Complementing Front as an aspect of performance is Concealment. How concealment might be used is confirmed by Goffman (1956, p.26) who notes that 'if an individual is to give expression to ideal standards during his performance, then he will have to forgo or conceal action which is inconsistent with these standards'. Concealment is then understood as all of those aspects of self

which are intentionally concealed in an attempt to realize one's desired impression. This is later confirmed by Goffman (1956, p.43) who, further elucidating the importance of concealment, confirms that an 'idealized impression is achieved through the use of accentuation and concealment'. Simply, Goffman (1956, p.43) is suggesting that realizing an idealized image is as much about what one does as much as it is about what one does not. This is further highlighted by the attention Goffman (1956, pp.79-87) gives to the importance of *secrets* and how their concealment is of importance to effectively manage impressions.

Front then, is the mechanism used to reveal desirable aspects of self and Concealment, the process by which individuals hide undesirable aspects of self. In the language of this thesis Front and Concealment are considered both aspects of performance.

Regions of Performances – (Front and Back Regions) - Goffman's (1959) thesis suggested there are two regions important to understanding performance. These two regions are defined as the Front Region and the Back Region. The first, Front Region, is a term employed to denote the place where a performance is given (ibid, p.66). This contrasts the Back Region which Goffman (1956, p.69) explains is 'a place, relative to a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted as a matter of course. Important here is the consideration that a back region is only a back region in relation to its relationship to one's performance. As such a back region is very much defined by it being a place one 'can drop his front, forgo speaking his lines, and step out of character' (ibid, p.70).

Characteristics of Performances – (Preventative and Corrective) - Although Goffman's (1959) work does not explicitly categorize *characteristics* of performances, two elements of performances mentioned within Goffman's (1959) work are categorized as characteristics to add an additional dimension to performances such that actions of Front or Concealment might be employed as a means to Prevent or Correct.

Goffman (1959, pp.24-25) suggested that there are two characteristics of performative actions, namely that they can be Preventative or Corrective. Preventative actions are those that are engaged with to ensure that one's claimed impression is not compromised, and one does not suffer embarrassment (ibid, p.24). Corrective actions are those employed where preventative actions have failed to avoid discrediting occurrences. Goffman's (1959) thesis again alludes to the fact that he is interested in constructing a dramaturgical lens concerned with interaction when suggesting that these actions can be employed by the performer, in relation to his own performance and also be used in relation to somebody else's performance. In this regard, Goffman (1959) suggests that strategies can be defensive (when used in relation to one's own performance) or protective (when used in relation to somebody else's performance).

3.2.2 Situational Appropriateness and Important Consequences

Considering Goffman's (1959) work it might be fair to suggest that he placed more emphasis on understanding the ways in which individuals perform than he did upon why individuals perform or why

individuals perform in the ways that they do (Felson, 1981). I mentioned above that I have employed aspects of performance to explain the ways I found fathers to navigate work and family but I also utilize aspects of Goffman's work to answer why fathers navigate work and family (research question two) and also why the specific recorded actions were chosen (research question three). Aspects of Goffman's work I utilize in this regard concern his arguments in relation to Important Consequences and Situational Appropriateness.

Important Consequences - Although Goffman (1959) ascribes little attention to understanding why individuals might perform, he does argue that 'it is apparent that care [to one's performance] will be great in situations where important consequences for the performer will occur as a result of his conduct' (ibid, p.144). Goffman's (1959) argument rests upon the simple premise that at the most basic level individuals will seek to perform in a favourable manner if the outcome of their performance is deemed important to them. In that sense if one wishes to acquire a job, for instance, they will take special care to manage the way they present themselves throughout the process of being interviewed (Higgins & Judge, 2004 and Van Iddekinge et al., 2007). This appears reasonable as people are more likely to achieve their outcomes and goals if they cast a positive impression in the eyes of their audience. For instance, ingratiation tactics (conformity, flattery and assisting actions) have been argued to be essential for those concerned with achieving organizational promotion (Westphal & Stern, 2006 and Westphal & Stern, 2007).

In considering what an individual might define as important, Goffman (1959) is sensitive to the fact that individuals define their social world individually and not everybody will define the same things with equal importance. Important here is again the notion that the individual is placed at centre stage. For instance, individuals will define the outcomes of an interview with contrasting degrees of importance if one ascribes more importance to employment status or access to remuneration than somebody else. It is, therefore, essential to understand the importance an individual places upon the outcomes of a given situation if one seeks to suggest that an action has been undertaken to intentionally form an impression. I adopt this perspective upon understanding why fathers felt it necessary to navigate work and family. In doing so I consider the ways fathers defined their fathering role by their ability to support their families financially and how this casts the consequences of paid employment (remuneration) as important. In this way I rely upon Goffman's (1959) work concerned with Important Consequences to answer research question two (why do fathers navigate work and family within the organizational setting?).

Situational Appropriateness – Although individuals may place a similar degree of importance upon the consequences of paid employment this does not necessarily mean that they will employ the same actions to create a positive impression. For instance, a police officer and primary school teacher might define the consequences of paid employment with similar importance but the way they will be required to perform to make a favourable impression and so acquire the rewards of paid employment is likely to be very different. This is the case because dissimilar actions will be favoured in those contexts of employment. However, a very particular distinction needs to be made in as much that the

symbolic interactionist is not concerned with organizational context, *per se*, but with the interpretations the actor makes upon that context and how they, the individual, comes to form what they consider as situationally appropriate.

To consider situational context I drew upon Goffman's (1959) argument that social establishments (such as places of employment) are likely to deem specific performances as acceptable and, as such, such performances might not be similarly acceptable in other contexts; he explains 'we must be very cautious in any effort to characterize our own society as a whole with respect to dramaturgical practices' (ibid, p.157). For Goffman (1959) there were likely no dramaturgical practices which characterize society (as a whole) but only a multitude of practices which are unique to specific contexts. This appears a plea for Goffman's (1959) thesis to not be applied to the macro perspectives (similar to concepts such as Durkheim's *social facts*) but to remain a framework for understanding the social interactions of individuals within a contextually sensitive realm. He argues that idealization (the goal of one's performance), for instance, is determined by the 'officially accredited values of the society' (ibid, p.23) and a performance must be sensitive to such values should a performer seek to realize a favourable impression (ibid, p.3). These arguments suggest that Goffman (1959) was aware that a given performance should be situationally appropriate if the performer wishes to make a positive impression. The notion of why particular actions are undertaken then becomes a consideration of the performer's interpretation of the stage upon which they act. I later reveal the ways that fathers interpreted their organizational setting and from this determined a metaphorical script which they used as a means to craft their performances. As such, I utilize participants' interpretations of organizational context and Goffman's (1959) notion of situationally appropriate performance as a means to answer research question three (why do fathers utilize the specific actions they choose?).

3.3 Dramaturgy Summary

Within this chapter I have explored both Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical interpretation of everyday life and the important influence of his predecessors. In discussing aspects of Goffman's (1959) work I have also emphasized the ways that symbolic interactionist thought, which informs Goffman's (1959) work, conceptualizes structure and action in a dissimilar way than many of the studies considered within my literature review (especially within the Work Role Engagement discourse) and how it also situates the social actor at *centre stage*.

I have also explained aspects of Goffman's (1959) work I will use to explore the data collected throughout my study and how his work seeks to understand action and the reasons for action in a fashion that situates the individual and their definitions and interpretations at the centre of enquiry or, as I term it, *centre stage*. Namely, I have explored aspects of performance which I will utilize to answer research question one and notions of Important Outcomes and Situational Appropriateness to answer research questions two and three (respectively). These aspects of Goffman's (1959) work and my utilization of the same will be very important for later discussion in which I suggest there is a clear and important relationship between the ways fathers define the outcomes of paid employment as important and so engage in performative and situationally appropriate action as a means to achieve

the same. In other words, these aspects of Goffman's (1959) become essential in relation to the new perspective I argue I contribute to theory which suggests that fathers are engaging in a process by which they interpret the organizational setting and consider this as if a script which they utilize to craft the most effective performative actions they can as a means to realize important consequences in the form of organizational rewards.

4. Methodology

This chapter will discuss how I designed and utilized a suite of data capture methods consisting of unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, participant observation and active participation to capture rich and highly descriptive qualitative data to answer my three research questions. This approach captured intimate accounts revealing, but not limited to, the ways fathers defined their fathering roles, daily challenges they faced working in a the highly demanding context of the legal services industry and also the personal and sometimes insincere actions they performed to reconcile demands relating to their work and family roles. Undertaking these data capture methods provided the study with a number of challenges in relation to both the design and delivery which will be discussed, portraying the ongoing design decisions which were made throughout the study to remain faithful to an abductive method of reasoning. The chapter will also provide a rationale and sound philosophical foundation for designing and utilizing these data capture methods considering important aspects of social constructionism and the grounded method.

The methodology chapter will be presented in the following way. I firstly explain the data capture methods including details of the case study approach and the design and delivery of interviews, participant observation and active participation. I discuss both the design and delivery of these research methods to provide opportunity to explain how the approach to data collection was not a static consideration made prior to data collection being undertaken but, rather, an ongoing and challenging process which had to develop and change in synchronization with the developing grounded theory. The second section of the chapter considers how the position of social constructionism as a philosophical grounding for the study was utilized by considering the work of Charmaz (2006 and 2008) and colleagues (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011 and Thornberg & Charmaz, 2013). Before proceeding to the first part of this chapter which describes the data capture methods, I end the introduction with an overview of the basic research approach, namely, how ethnographic data capture methods and Grounded Theory were utilized in tandem. I include this brief summary as the remainder of the chapter will consider these aspects of the study (the ethnographic data capture methods and Grounded Theory approach) as separate aspects of the method, whereas both are inherently linked and provided the study with important benefits which deserve explanation before proceeding to discuss each aspect of my method as separate.

Ethnography and Grounded Theory - In undertaking this study I sought to capture rich qualitative data concerned with fathers' everyday navigation of work and family roles. To design a study which provided a suitable framework to realize this goal I approached my research questions by designing a grounded study but also sought to proceed with data capture methods which were exploratory and suitable to undertake a grounded study. To achieve these goals I adopted Charmaz's (2006) conceptualization of Grounded Theory and data capture methods associated with the ethnographic discipline. The basic approach here taken is similar to Yin's (1981) conceptualization of ethnography (ethnography can be considered as a type of data collection method) and Suddaby's (2006) definition

of Grounded Theory (Grounded Theory is a systematic research method). My basic research approach was, therefore, to utilize ethnographic data capture methods for their ability to provide highly descriptive and contextually rich data but utilize them in accordance with the grounded approach to provide a systematic approach to utilize those data capture methods.

There are important similarities which mean that the approach to utilize ethnographic data capture methods via the grounded approach is inherently beneficial. For instance, two shared characteristics of ethnographic methods and grounded approaches are to emphasize exploratory investigation and champion contextually situated data (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011 and Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Grounded Theory also suggests that ideal methods to realize a contribution to knowledge are the employment of interviews (with as little structure as pragmatically possible) and observation (Charmaz, 2008), which both help craft a study sensitive to the context in which investigated phenomena occur. This emphasis upon exploration and contextually situated data are both also essential characteristics of ethnography which, if considered as a type of data collection method, provides the tools for one to undertake an explorative study which is concerned with capturing contextually sensitive data (Van Maanen, 1979).

In addition to these similarities, a grounded approach to empirical research can also be argued to benefit ethnographic methods. This benefit can be gleaned by considering the widely accepted prescribed methods of Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1990 and Charmaz, 2008) which were here followed as a means to ascribe a suitable abductive, and iterative process, to undertake my study which is a characteristic not readily associated with ethnographic approaches (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011). The thesis, therefore, utilized Grounded Theory as a *systematic research method* to conduct abductive research in, as much as one might be able to, a systematic manner (Suddaby, 2006). The notion that Grounded Theory be employed as a systematic research method to support qualitative research is not novel, or uncommon, but actually complementary to definitions of Grounded Theory which suggest that it is not a distinct interpretivist paradigm but a practical method for conducting all types of interpretivist research (Suddaby, 2006). In this regard, utilizing Grounded Theory can be considered to benefit ethnographic methods.

Similarly, ethnographic methods also benefit a Grounded Theory study because ethnographic methods encourage close proximity to investigated participants which allows for highly descriptive, context-sensitive accounts to be captured (Van Maanen, 1979). Research accounts, as they were for this thesis, are most commonly captured by multiple phases of unstructured and semi-structured interviews, extended periods of participant observation and active participation, reflecting the anthropological parentage of the ethnographic discipline (O'Reilly, 2008). When considering the advantage to data collection tools being able to capture highly descriptive accounts it is important to consider that 'little that purports to be grounded theory *is* theory. It is grounded description' (Charmaz, 2011, p.177). This points to the important epistemological consideration that theory is not *discovered* from the field (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) but constructed by the researcher (Charmaz, 2008 and Corbin & Strauss, 2008) who, capturing highly descriptive data via ethnographic methods, may be best placed to reconstruct the lived experiences of participants (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011). Hence, the

ethnographic consideration of context and the methods of data capture it champions are argued to assist a grounded study.

I next explore both the ethnographic data capture methods used before proceeding to the second part of the methodology chapter in which I explain the ways that I employed Grounded Theory as a systematic research method.

4.1 Data Collection

In this section of the methodology chapter I explore the study's data collection and data collection methods which, as I earlier mentioned, were inspired by the ethnographic tradition of capturing contextually sensitive and highly descriptive data. I explain the use of a case study to undertake data collection and the design and utilization of interview, participant observation and active participation. As data collection methods were heavily influenced by the ethnographic tradition I draw on arguments from ethnographic research and ethnographic studies to explain the rationale and design choices made in relation to interviews, participant observation and active participation. Before discussing the data collection methods I explain preparations made in relation to data collection and ethical considerations important to my study.

4.1.1 Preparation for Data Collection and Ethical Considerations

Before interviews and participant observation sessions began several steps in relation to ethical practice were completed. Firstly, consent from the case organization was acquired. This consisted of the managing director of North West Law agreeing to a qualitative study consisting of interviews, observation and participant observation taking place from 2018-2020. This agreement stated that the study would be interested, generally, in discussing matters of work and family with any fathers employed within the organization who would be interested in taking part in the study.

Although consent of the organization had been acquired the company's managing director was cautious that releasing email addresses to me might breach data protection regulations so I was not able to directly make contact with potential participants. As an alternative I forwarded a Participant Consent Form (appendix 1) and Information Sheet (appendix 2) to the case organization's Human Resource Manager who forwarded these on to potential participants. The major points covered within this form included confirmation that participation is voluntary, can be withdrawn at any time, their data can be reviewed at any time, data would be held pursuant to the Data Protection Act 1998 and that all responses will be anonymised and confidential (the full Participant Consent Form is contained within appendix 1). Within the Participant Consent Form were also information sheets concerned with planned Interviewing, Participant Observation and Participant Diaries. Unfortunately, no participant agreed to keep a diary so data collection proceeded with interviews, participant observation and active participation alone. Within these information sheets was a description of the expected involvement of participations which detailed matters such as the method by which data was to be collected, confirmation that data will be anonymised, confirmation that data can be reviewed and the expected length of data collection sessions (full Participant Information Sheets are contained within appendix 2).

An important aspect of the above consent form and participant information sheets was detailing the study's use of sensitive information. In this regard I took seriously my responsibility to provide pseudonyms to participants, their partners, children and colleagues referred to in interviews and to remove sensitive and identifying information. In this way I only include herewith participants' pseudonyms and their job roles. I have chosen to include job roles because later discussion makes reference to the ways that fathers in higher organizational roles influence fathers in lower

organizational roles. However, as a precaution I have simplified job roles so that job roles such as directors, managing directors and the company CEO are all simply director.

Ensuring these precautions were taken was important, not just to fulfil the University of Liverpool's requirements to obtain ethical approval, but because of the sensitive position participants placed themselves and their families by engaging with the study. For instance, participants would be discussing matters of fatherhood which were likely to extend to matters of their marital relationship/relationships and details of their children and partners. Moreover, the existing literature considered for the submission of the research proposal referenced that fathers might be disgruntled with the assumptions made of managers and peers meaning it was likely that they would share frustrations, opinions and issues that would require sensitive handling to ensure their identities were protected. The following table details the participants who agreed to participate in the study.

Figure 8: Participant Information Table

PhD	Age	No. Children	Job Role
Ahmed	32	3	Case Handler
Alex	35	2	Case Handler
Anthony	34	2	Operations Management
Curtis	32	1	Operations Management
Daniel	35	1	Operations Management
Edward	29	3	Case Handler
Francis	30	2	Operations Management
George	26	1	Case Handler
Graham	29	1	Accountant
Greg	27	1	Operations Management
Howard	30	1	Case Handler
James	35	2	Senior Accountant
Kevin	31	2	Case Handler
Leonard	48	2	Director
Mark	34	2	Case Handler
Paul	31	1	Case Handler
Peter	43	2	Director
Sean	44	3	Director
Stephen	28	2	Case Handler
Thomas	29	1	Team Manager

Originally the study included two additional participants, however, one left the case organization before first phase data collection had taken place and another withdrew from the study following first phase interviewing, having left the organization and asked for his data not to be used.

The remaining participants took part in the study from December 2018 which was the point at which Peter, a director who works closely with the managing director, provided me with a tour of the flagship office and introduced me to the majority of participant fathers. I was unable to meet all participants at this stage as five of the participants worked in supporting offices. I was, however, able to meet the remaining five participants during the 2018 North West Law Christmas party to which I was invited (by Peter) and attended. This provided opportunity to meet all participants and engage in an informal discussion regarding the study. It also provided opportunity for me to discuss my own experience working within the legal services industry which later became an important aspect of building rapport as I mention below.

4.1.2 Case Study Design

An important aspect of ethnography which I adopted was the choice to undertake data capture via a case study. This approach provides important consideration of context and the environment in which data collection takes place. This is in keeping with the dramaturgical interpretation of social life which also suggests there is an important relationship between setting and performance (Goffman, 1959). The consideration of the setting in which an impression is made can be traced back to Burke's (1945) dramaturgically orientated consideration of social interaction in which he provides the topic primacy within the five chapters of his thesis. In this chapter, Burke (1945, p.3), in considering an *act*, emphasizes the consideration of scene or, as he refers to it, the *container*. The consideration of context in relation to the act that plays out within this *container* is explicitly mentioned by Burke (1945, p.3) who attests that 'agents should be consistent with the nature of the scene'. This is echoed by Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach in which he suggests a consistency between manner, appearance and setting is essential for a performer to convince their audience of their performance. Because of these reasons having an appreciation for and of the setting in which performative actions are undertaken is essential to understand why such actions are chosen (research question three). In undertaking data capture in this way I utilized a single extreme case study which is next discussed.

Single Case Study Design

As mentioned, the method adopted was to secure a single case for empirical investigation. An assumption when considering the most suitable number of cases might be that more is better (Eisenhardt, 1989). For instance, Yin (2009, p.53), like Eisenhardt (1989), suggests that even two cases, rather than one, is essential as 'external generalizations of the findings will be increased'. However, both approaches appear concerned with constructing an interpretive study in a quantitative manner. For instance, the approach appears only applicable if generalizable data is sought or a prerequisite for a valuable contribution to be made (Dyer & Wilkins, 1991). Moreover, Eisenhardt's (1989) multiple case approach seems more confused because it perhaps forfeits the strength of case study research, that being the rich context relevant data which one is granted access to; Dyer & Wilkins (1991, p.613) argue this point suggesting that such an approach 'focuses so much on the constructs developed and their measurability that we often miss the context, the rich background of each case'. As such, it is suggested that an approach to undertaking multiple case study research

concerned with constructs, measurability and theory development is a result of attempts to form and mould qualitative research in a positivistic manner, creating what we may consider a hybrid approach to case study research (ibid, p.613). As such, and in keeping with traditional ethnographic rationale, a single case study was chosen as it provided ample opportunity to investigate fathers' navigation of work and family roles and capture highly descriptive and contextually sensitive data.

Extreme Case Study

A weakness to a study designed with a single case study is the possibility that the case organization may not provide data relevant to the area of interest to the researcher. To mitigate the possibility that a redundant investigation be undertaken, I elected to pursue an *extreme* case study. An extreme case study, in the context of studies concerned with role navigation, would be one in which work and family are less likely to harmoniously meld and, as such, instances of interest commonly arise (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). This approach mitigates the possibility that a redundant investigation be undertaken by increasing the chances that instances of interest will occur as would remain a concern should I have elected to pursue two, three or even a non-extreme case study (Eisenhardt, 1989 and Pettigrew, 1990). An additional benefit to designing a study with an extreme case organization is that the data captured is likely to be far richer than data captured in a non-extreme case setting chosen by, for instance, a random sampling strategy (Flyvbjerg, 2006). For my study I purposefully utilized the legal services industry as the highly competitive and also a highly masculinised culture provided a context which might be considered extreme for those who seek to navigate work and family (Tremblay, 2013).

Competitiveness – The competitive nature of the legal services industry is born from a movement through several different stages. The first of these was, whilst the industrial revolution came to change the face of labour intensive, and factory work, a sector exemplified by a gentlemanly and, due to practices of nepotism, family orientated practice with little concern for competition (Wald, 2010). The next phase through which the legal services industry moved can be considered characterized by meritocracy and managerial principles. This phase sees the birth of several characteristics which remain present today. For instance, the period of meritocracy was also characterized by employer investment and the expectation of complete loyalty to the employer, sometimes resulting in extended work hours to the detriment of the legal practitioner. These types of characteristics mean that engaging in extra-organizational activities, such as childrearing, is a difficult undertaking for those employed in the sector (Thornton, 2016). The next major change which helped cement the competitive characteristic of the legal services industry occurred during the decades that followed the Second World War. With western economies recovering, law firms, subject to increased work and competition, were no longer able to fulfil positions solely based on merit which meant the following decades were characterized by a diversification of the legal practitioner with Jewish and Catholic lawyers (during the early 1960s and 1970s) and women lawyers (during the 1970s and 1980s) (Wald, 2010). This diversification, however, was not a result of affirmative action, rather a reaction to try and accommodate the new competitive landscape of the legal services industry work created by a new globalized economy (Sommerlad, 2016), creating a period of *competitive* meritocracy. The current

phase, retaining the expected servitude of meritocracy but embracing the competition which had become commonplace in the post war years is referred to as hypercompetitive professionalism (Wald, 2010 and Sommerlad, 2016). The focus of the 21st Century law firm therefore, is not to effectively practice law but to effectively navigate and survive within a hypercompetitive market by creating a culture characterized by around-the-clock availability, long working hours and increased expectations to fulfil client demands (Susskind, 2008; Wald, 2010 and Sommerlad, 2016). This then creates an increasingly difficult work environment to navigate should one seek to engage with family or provide greater investment to their family role.

This type of investment is increasingly referenced as difficult because of the long working hours which are evidenced not only throughout empirical studies (Tremblay, 2013; Chan 2015 and Thornton, 2016) but also by the Law Society (Law Society, 2016 and 2018). The long hours which are now needed to effectively work within the industry are argued to be a constraint to fathers engaging in a more active family role (Thornton, 2016). In this regard, Coltrane (2004), discussing the changing ideologies of fatherhood, suggested that change has been slowest among professional occupations which require greater time investment, such as lawyer. As such, engaging with one's family role might be seen as challenging within this context and represent an extreme context to consider navigation of the same.

Masculinities – One of the most important features of the competitive nature of the 21st Century law firm are the masculinities which characterize the culture (Bolton & Muzio, 2007; Collier, 2009 and Joyce & Walker, 2014). A feature of this, Bolton & Muzio (2007, p.53), suggest, is that traditional values, based on a masculine code, remain 'inherent in the legal profession and thus denies any qualities associated with the feminine'. This is supported by Thornton (2016, p.484) who argued that the masculine culture of the legal services industry resulted in those workers with caring responsibilities 'to be indelibly marked as secondary in contradistinction to the ideal unencumbered monads of liberalism'.

Similar to how the rise of competitiveness being considered as *hyper* competitiveness so too is the rise of masculinities, the industry being argued to be characterized by a type of hypermasculinity (Thornton, 2016). The effect of the existence of a hyper-masculine culture is argued to be a reduction in the opportunity for fathers to engage with flexible working initiatives because such engagement attracts a femininity stigma (Thornton, 2016).

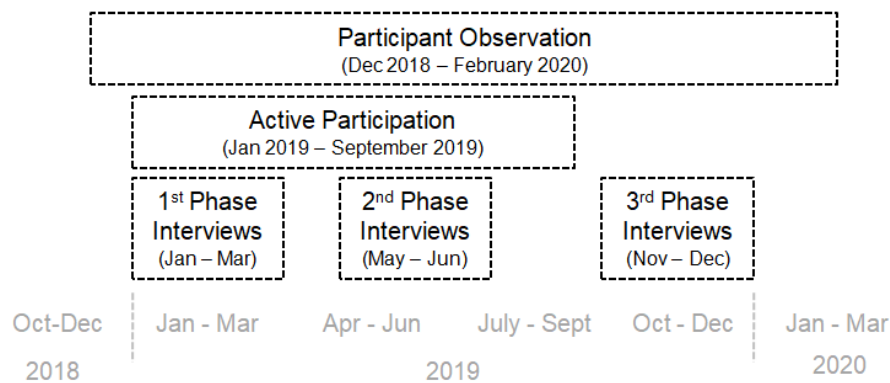
In light of the legal services industry being characterized in this way it is of interest that far more women work within the legal services industry than do men (Law Society, 2017^a and Law Society, 2017^b). Although this appears to contradict the sector as being characterized as masculine one must take into account that the majority of senior individuals within this case study, as is the case with the legal services industry in general, are male (Bolton & Muzio, 2007). Moreover, only because the majority of staff are female does not mean that the context is guaranteed to be non-masculine/feminine. This is the case as either sex can engage with, foster or display feminine or masculine qualities (Hearn, 1997). Moreover, individuals are more likely to engage with and display actions which are associated with an organizational context rather than those that are not because of

the organizational penalties associated with such deviance (Rudman, 1998). This means fathers working within the legal services industry are unlikely to challenge the masculine context of the organization by undertaking Public Family Role Engagement and more likely to present a front of Work Role Engagement or possibly construct strategies of Family Role Concealment. For this reason a case organization operating within the legal services industry held potential to offer interesting data relating to the ways fathers navigate roles.

4.1.3 Data Collection Methods

Data collection consisted of interviewing, participant observation and active participation which took place between December 2018 and February 2020. The following timeline is included as a means of reference as data collection was not undertaken in one single phase, nor was each of the data collection periods always undertaken simultaneously:

Figure 9: Data Collection Timeline



The following section of the methodology chapter considers each of the data collection methods in detail. I will discuss the design of the data collection methods used as well as explain how they were delivered and the ongoing choices made as the study developed.

Interviews

In total, three phases of interviewing took place with 41 interviews being undertaken. All interviews were conducted face to face, save for those relating to three participants whose second phase interviews were undertaken by phone because of their geographical location. The design and delivery of interviewing evolved throughout the study with interviews, following stages of analysis, becoming more focused and semi-structured in nature. This is reminiscent of Van Maanen's (1998, p.xi) suggestion that 'qualitative research is often designed at the same time it is being done'. These changes in design and delivery throughout using interviewing as a data collection method are here explained in detail.

First Phase Interviews

The methodology will next present how first phase interviews were designed and delivered before proceeding to the following section which will explain how changes were made to facilitate the thesis development.

Interview Design

The expectation for first phase interviews was to obtain a broad understanding of participants' family and organizational roles and responsibilities. This meant that interview design consciously sought to avoid being influenced by existing areas of study or any possible theoretical lens through which to consider the captured data. Because I was resolute that I would not compromise the abductive approach taken, the initial interview design was led by the inductive principle that the study should be led by the data (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2017) and, as such, interviews were designed to be unstructured and reflected what ethnographic researchers liken to a friendly conversation (Spradley, 1979 and O'Reilly, 2009). This approach is not only consistent with ethnographic methods but also the grounded approach which suggests initial interviews should resemble open-ended conversations with limited time restraints and should be participant led (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This not only meant that participants could lead conversation but that when avenues of potentially interesting conversation arose I could utilize the unstructured method to probe the same (Spradley, 1979). In this sense the open-ended, unstructured and not time-sensitive approach taken to interviewing reflects the characteristics of both ethnographic methods and the grounded approach (Spradley, 1979).

As this study was concerned with fathers' work and family roles, participants were exclusively men meaning the gendered construction of interviewing would always be an interaction between two males which, itself, creates gendered dynamics between participant and researcher (Warren, 1988). For instance, Bell (1999, p.19) argues that regardless of our or the participant's sex we must always consider ourselves as 'gendered subjects' throughout the research process. Yet, others, such as Foster (2006), attest that such considerations are superfluous when considering the relationship between male researcher(s) and male participant(s). However, I took the position that the relationship between two males can, regardless of their parallel sexes, be challenged by innumerable differences and that data collected will always be influenced by the sex of the interviewer. Moreover, differences of background, class and race are all interviewer and interviewee attributes that might also challenge or assist the effectiveness of the interview process and again influence the data that is collected (Hearn, 1997).

Because such attributes can influence collected data, I considered how such matters might be managed to which I found that building rapport was an effective way to manage interviewer-interviewee relationships (Spradley, 2002). Developing rapport also provides the inherent benefit that it makes subsequent interviews and participant observation far more likely and far more effective (Charmaz, 2006). Although affirmed as being an important aspect of qualitative investigation, some place more emphasis on the *importance* of rapport than on establishing a method by which one might craft rapport (Fontana & Frey, 1994 and Charmaz, 2006). This is possibly a reflection that there is a

general lack of theory available to the qualitative researcher when considering how to build rapport (Prior, 2017). However, a pragmatic approach I used was offered by Van Maanen (2011, p.220) who takes the position that rapport is simply a natural occurrence dependent on time, patience and luck. As such, rather than complicating the interview process, I sought to build rapport simply by being engaged, not just in interviews, but also during active participation and participant observation. I mentioned earlier that I had been invited to 2018 North West Law Christmas party at which point I was able to interact with a number of people some of whom were participants. This created a foundation of friendship between both Greg and George who later became central participants for highly dissimilar ways. For others I ensured I made additional effort during the research process by, for instance, simply being in their presence and allowing organic interaction to form. For instance, Stephen was working following the close of normal business hours and, rather than leave the office and end active participation, I remained engaged and typed up field notes on the same bank of desks as him. Subsequently, Stephen explained that he was working late as he had a *problem file* that had been returned to him from the post completion team who were in charge of closing files. On the surface this interaction was seemingly irrelevant to the study, however, in a later interview Stephen explained that one of his children was struggling to learn how to feed himself and noted “he is like post completion trying to register a notice” and laughed. Reviewing the interview transcript I laughed also and it was, upon review, clear that such interaction, itself building rapport, was only achieved because I had previously ensured I was available and provided opportunity for such interactions to take place which, in essence, increased my opportunity of *luck* striking (Van Maanen, 2011). Should I have reduced my availability and only engaged with fathers during normal working hours it would have been very difficult to build the relationships which became essential to the study (see later interactions in the findings chapter and examples of interaction with Graham after normal working hours).

Interview Delivery

First phase interviews were held at each participant’s office meaning travel to three office locations was undertaken. Interviews were undertaken throughout January to March 2019 owing to travel and having to accommodate participants’ work schedules, which were subject to last minute changes. All interviews were undertaken in a quiet office space away from the office floor and recorded using a digital voice recorder. Although travelling to all research sites was time-consuming, meeting with participants created a strong foundation which made subsequent contact to conduct second and third phase interviews much easier than would have been the case had I not already met the participants.

Initial interviews collected an array of data but the majority was focused upon fathers’ work, rather than family, roles. It was only in retrospect, having focused upon and collated data concerned with the ways fathers might avoid communication regarding family, that experiences within the initial interviews was likely similar to those interactions taking place within the organizational setting. In other words, fathers led discussions which tended to focus more so upon aspects and responsibilities associated with their work role rather than their family role even though they were aware the study concerned both. At this early phase it was clear that concealment of aspects of family was a familiar

undertaking and fathers were rather embarrassed when venturing to discuss any aspects of fatherhood, preferring the familiar themes and discussion regarding their work roles. The length of discussion varied greatly with some fathers discussing their professional history (James) and others only offering very brief summaries of their role-related responsibilities (Francis). For this reason, and because initial interviews were unstructured, there was a large difference in the length of the shortest (14 minutes) and longest interviews (73 minutes) within first phase interviewing.

Pursuant to Leech's (2003) criticism that unstructured interviews lead to an abundance of data, I acquired an array of data much of which became, following two periods of theoretical sampling, irrelevant. That being said, the unstructured design did allow me to probe avenues of interest as they occurred (Spradley, 1979). For instance, discussion regarding those who stayed late being predominantly male, as per Peter's initial interview, occurred organically and was able to be probed to learn that some of those that stayed late were fathers. Learning that fathers utilized the evening led to large stints of observation taking place during the evening which, itself, allowed the capture of action which later informed considerations of cynical commitment.

Second and Third Phase Interviews

As I utilized Grounded Theory's Constant Comparative Method of Data Analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) interviews took place following two phases of theoretical sampling. The analysis chapter details the rationale and process in greater detail than this section of the methodology which, in keeping with the above, will explain the interview design and delivery I utilized.

Second phase interviewing took place throughout May and June with third wave interviews being undertaken later that year because of participants' busy summer schedules. Second phase interviews were predominantly undertaken face to face with subsequent interviews with Ahmed, George and Howard completed as telephone interviews. Although some suggest that rapport is difficult to realize during telephone interviewing (Gillham, 2005), no such issue was experienced as telephone interviews followed previously completed face to face interviewing. As such, participants were already familiar with the research project and being engaged in conversations of a sensitive nature. For instance, Ahmed, within his first interview, talked extensively about having children with learning difficulties and how he had learnt to cope by compartmentalizing his evenings, sharing how this also placed difficulty on his relationship with his partner. Having touched upon such sensitive subjects with some participants, a sense of rapport was naturally established and re-engaging to discuss similar subjects was much easier for this reason. I attest first wave interview design for creating this intimate connection with many participants as the unstructured and participant-led design helped participants feel in charge, comfortable and that they were contributing valuable insights. For this reason, first wave interviewing created a relatively intimate relationship with participants such as Ahmed as they welcomed and accepted discussion regarding very sensitive aspects of their lives. Although the study benefitted in this way there were, nevertheless, several design changes made to interviews following the transcription and review of data collected through first phase interviewing.

Interview Design

Second phase interviews moved the interview design from a point of no pre-defined structure to one being structured by the categories, topics and possible areas of importance to the burgeoning theory which was developing through the tandem utilization of data analysis and data collection (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 and Charmaz, 2006). This intentionality reflects the position of researcher within the data capture process and also the movement of the study as it grows from one being purely led by data to being led by the researcher who intentionally focuses the study toward areas which appear important (Charmaz, 2006 and 2008).

The movement away from a purely inductive approach toward a deductive approach was more prevalent within the design of the third phase interviews. These interviews were more focused than second round interviews as specific topics based not only upon interest and importance but also theory and existing studies contributed to the structured design of the interviews. Because of this reason the changes in interview design are a clear example of how a qualitative study, such as this is one, moves closer toward a deductive method of reasoning toward the end of the data collection process (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2017).

As mentioned above, first phase interviews were designed to be unstructured; although this meant interesting aspects of fathers' work and family were discovered, the lack of structure and emphasis characterizing this style of interaction (Spradley, 1979) meant the data had three concerning characteristics which were not necessarily going to be managed by increasing structure. Firstly, it was clear that many of the interviews were characterized by little understanding of *why* participants were acting in the ways they reported. Secondly, topics changed rapidly which meant there was limited description and depth. Thirdly, participants offered data which extended to subjects which were not necessary for the study. For instance, discussion of work responsibilities resulted in extended discussion of previous jobs held in unrelated industries. Because of these issues, and alongside interviews becoming more structured, changes in design were incorporated to combat the same issues. The design of these changes is included next with the delivery of the same changes following:

Asking Why - The most obvious tool at an interviewer's disposal to understand reasons behind actions (which was absent in first round interviews), is their ability, once an action is learnt, to simply ask *why* the action was chosen (Browne & Keely, 2007). As such, the interview design changed to accommodate an emphasis on understanding why and incorporated structured questions in this regard.

Encouraging Further Description – The interview design changed to intentionally ensure actions and experiences discussed were explored further to capture greater depth. To ensure further description was realized, verbal and non-verbal actions and managed silences (examples to follow) were incorporated into the interview design to prompt more detail from interviewees (Seidman, 2019).

Explicit Purpose – The final change made to the interview design was to ensure that topics of conversation were focused upon work and family experiences. Drawing upon resources concerned

with ethnographic interviewing, the second and third wave interviews were designed to incorporate a revised introduction to explain the explicit purpose of the interview as a means to fence topics of discussion (Spradley, 1979 and Heyl, 2011).

Interview Delivery

Interviews were delivered in the same settings as the first round interviews. Pursuant to theoretical sampling and the move toward a more structured interview design, interviews were far more focused and effective in terms of useful data. The following points specifically relate to the design changes made from first phase interviewing and the benefits realized because of such changes.

Asking Why – I mentioned above that the first concern with the data captured during first wave interviewing was that I was unable to ascertain why certain actions were being undertaken. The solution I mentioned above, simply, was to emphasize asking *why* when appropriate opportunities arose. Being interested, specifically, in *why* fathers were performing the actions they had described within first round interviews captured their own interpretations and ways of navigating the world as their beliefs regarding fatherhood, their challenges at realizing family-related responsibilities and their concerns regarding their effectiveness in their family role became common themes throughout interviews. Fathers, for instance, provided less discussion about work and their work roles which seemed to be their main focus of first wave interviews but, rather, discussed life in far more complex ways. For instance, the notion of what it meant to be a *good* father became salient when probing why fathers were navigating work and family. In this regard, work was described as a means to fulfil family role related responsibilities so fathers felt it necessary to ensure their work role was managed effectively such that they were able to realize adequate remuneration to support their families and realize what they determined to be the mantle of *good* father. This contrasted first wave interviews which provided a shallow description of action, only able to explain what fathers were doing rather than understanding why such action was undertaken. Importantly, the decision to deliver interviews with a focus on understanding why actions had been used helped evidence that the growing collection of recorded actions were indeed symbolic and purposefully undertaken (Blumer, 1969).

Encouraging Further Description – As I mentioned above, the second issue from first wave data was a lack of description with many accounts quite shallow in their explanations of the actions used to navigate work and family and information regarding, especially, fathers' family roles. The first tactic to encourage further description was to ensure that I was engaged and offering simple physical gestures such as nodding, tilting my head, and feigning slight confusion. I found, in retrospect, these actions were quite natural and required little more than simply being completely engaged with my participant, focusing on their words and showing that they had my complete attention. The second tactic employed to encourage further description consisted of ensuring participants continued to describe their experiences by using verbal direction. Unlike the use of physical direction the use of verbal direction was far less natural and required conscious effort to undertake. Some of these verbal tactics can be gleaned from the following extracts from second round interviews (tactics italicized):

Graham : There didn't seem to be a need to have a discussion about that really.

Me : *Okay (pause)*

Graham : Well we have some discussions. Say she has another...

Greg : There's a number of people leave at five [sic]. Not many blokes.

Me : *Not many blokes?*

Greg : Yeah. It's mainly women. The blokes stay sometimes until seven or eight...

Common in these tactics is that they claim the desired role of the ethnographic researcher; that being one who appears to have little understanding of the experiences of participants and so requires the assistance of the participant to guide them further (Leech, 2003). As the above transcriptions reveal, these simple adjustments in interview delivery provided the potential to learn more from participants' accounts as they provided far greater detail to their accounts.

The third tactic used to encourage further description was to avoid the temptation to fill silences by, for instance, changing topic (a process apparent in first phase interviews). Motivated to capture more from participants, one element of this method was to tolerate silences, leaving the participant, rather than me, to break the silence by offering further information (Seidman, 2019). This is witnessed in Kevin's second interview during which he expresses his experiences of dealing with family and work expectations and explains 'I say to Mary look I'm getting up at eight in the morning for work' this explanation for all intents and purposes ends our area of conversation but I intentionally let silence hang for only a few moments after which Kevin continues to explain '...I'll do as much as I can but bear in mind I need to have my head in the game and be able to get to work...'. The second parcel of information, where Kevin explains that he needs his *head in the game*, might not have been shared if I had broken the silence (as I had done during first phase interviewing). Although silence was used as a mechanism to encourage further description, it was not always the case that silence could be endured as the approach needed to be tempered and, in some instances, I would still break the silence to support participants (Seidman, 2019). For instance, when speaking to Stephen about the transferability of skills from the home setting to the organizational setting he stumbles and is unable to articulate himself. I provide him a moment and then, in a gesture of support, I break the silence by offering 'parenting skills?' to which he responds 'Yeah. Not to those kind of extremes but those limits don't really apply to the guys out there...' and he is able to continue. Here, breaking silence rather than enduring silence was a mechanism to not only glean more from participants but also support them and avoid potential embarrassment which might hinder rapport and the effectiveness of the remainder of the interview (Gordon, 1987).

Explicit Purpose – I mentioned above that a weakness to the first wave interviews was that they provided a large amount of data which was not useful for the study. To ensure this did not occur throughout subsequent interviews I ensured that the explicit purpose of each interview was mentioned

at the outset. The following is an example, from Kevin's second round interview, which highlights this point:

Me : Okay. Well, thanks for talking to me again.

Kevin : No problem, mate.

Me : The reason I wanted to get back together and chat is to understand a bit more about the reasons behind some of the things you mentioned in our first interview so things like not being able to engage with childcare...

By simply advising Kevin of the reason I wanted to meet with him, the data collected during second phase interviewing (third phase interviewing was far more focused so did not require this addition) was far more useful and the process far more economical than first phase interviewing.

The process from initial interview design to completing the final third phase interviews was one in which I, at the end, was far more aware of my ability to affect the data collected. This was, not just in the ways I chose to engage with participants, but also the degree to which I chose to consider the actual process and the steps and actions I would need to take to ensure I recorded data which held utility to my study. This process might well be reflective of one coming to realization that the process of data collection is very much about the interviewer and interviewee and how the reaction between, and actions of both, construct the data collected (Charmaz, 2006 and 2008).

Participant Observation and Active Participation

An essential aspect of the data collection process was participant observation. Discussion of participant observation within this chapter is supported by describing the rationale and delivery of active participation. The reason active participation is discussed within the chapter is that it was undertaken to support the process of participant observation and became an important undertaking to carry out participant observation.

Both participant observation and active participation became essential aspects of my data capture method and each had a profound effect upon the study. For instance, participant observation helped capture observational, rather than presentational, data (Van Maanen, 1979) which, for example, provided an array of rich examples of how fathers acted cynically to claim certain impressions. Additionally, active participation allowed a greater familiarity and closeness to the research participants which, in one particular instance, caused a change in direction regarding the study's focus. These, amongst other examples, will be discussed throughout this section of the methodology chapter which concerns the rationale, design, delivery and perceived disadvantages of the use of participant observation and active participation.

Rationale

The following section provides the rationale for undertaking participant observation and the rationale to support this data capture method by incorporating active participation within the study. As with all

research design decisions I also considered literature which suggested there were disadvantages to utilizing participant observation as a data collection method. This section of the chapter also considers those concerns and why such concerns were considered irrelevant to the study.

Participant Observation - The overwhelming rationale to undertake participant observation was the potential to collect contextually sensitive data which might be of importance to understand work and family experiences of participants. In this sense, one is provided access to data concerned with context and setting which might otherwise be lost should one proceed by a single data collection method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 and Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011). In this way, the data one can capture from participant observation was considered as having the potential to provide a better description of fathers' work family navigation than interviews alone (Foster, 2006). For instance, a realized advantage to undertaking participant observation was being able to obtain a direct perspective upon events rather than relying only upon secondary (sometimes sanitised) accounts offered by participants during interviews (Foster, 2006). This was an important consideration for the method design and rationale for undertaking participant observation as what individuals advise they do and what they actually do is regularly different (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011). To understand the difference between the data obtained in this regard, we can draw upon the differences between *organizational* and *presentational* data in the ethnographic discipline. In advocating participant observation, Van Maanen (1979) suggests that data offered to the researcher can be qualified as observational or presentational. Simply, 'observational data refer to observed activity. Presentational data concern those appearances informants strive to maintain or enhance' (Åhlström & Karlsson, 2016, p.199). It is suggested, then, that the researcher must accept that they may, when interacting with participants, be 'dealing far more with a manufactured image of idealized doing than with the routinized practical activities actually engaged in by members of the studied organization' (Van Maanen, 1979, p.542). The concern, then, if the researcher does not take into consideration that actions may be presentational, is that the study will be unnecessarily limited and draw a weaker understanding, building insights and theoretical conclusions based on crafted impressions by participants (ibid, p.540). For instance, prior to undertaking participant observation, fathers spoke of being dedicated to their work role and working excessive hours; however, observing their activity during these periods revealed that, although they were physically located within the office space they were not, as their interview accounts had claimed, always working. This not only reaffirmed the positions of those that attest that observable behaviour regularly challenges verbal accounts (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011) but also the method design to incorporate participant observation, for if this data capture method would not have been undertaken an array of performative actions participants utilized to cynically claim organizational commitment would have been lost.

Active Participation – Active participation was an important consideration for fieldwork as, without engaging with participants in different ways, there was a risk participants would situate me in a role of what Agar (1980) refers to as a professional stranger. Should this impression not be managed, it was expected that participants would be less likely to warm to the process of observation and less likely to

explain their actions and engage with the researcher (Bell, 1999). The issue for the research design was, then, how to navigate this relationship and craft an impression, if not relationship, in which one can deemphasize the traditional observer-observed relationship (Johnson et al., 2006).

A well-established method within the ethnographic discipline utilized to help craft a more intimate relationship with participants is the approach of becoming an active participant within the investigated case. Although not a common process undertaken by organizational researchers, ensuring one takes such a position within a context under investigation is common within ethnographic studies as they seek to craft strong relationships with observed participants who are usually engaged in actions alien to the researcher and within a context wholly alien to the researcher (Johnson et al., 2006). For example, the design of Nelson's (1970) study of traditional methods of hunting and the ways of life of Alaskan Eskimos utilized active participation such that the researcher would undertake tasks similar to those he observed (ibid, p.xvi). This, for Nelson (1970), helped minimize his conspicuousness and build rapport (ibid, p.395). What these actions create is a movement from one holding out-group status toward one holding in-group status (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social Identity Theory aligns well to support this premise for those who hold out-group status, similar to a detached researcher or professional strange, as Agar (1980) warns, are seen as less honest and trustworthy than those who hold in-group status (Barsness et al., 2005 and Roberts et al., 2005). For these reasons I engaged in part-time work within the case organization whilst undertaking my study. The main roles taken included working within the head office's legal technical department which dealt with queries and technical legal issues and working within the firm's accounts department. Working within the legal technical team meant no direct engagement with participants but unveiled the nature of the organization in which my participants were employed in. Contrastingly, during my time engaged in active participation I spent two stints within the accounts department which meant spending extended periods of time with Alex, Graham, Anthony, James and Peter. Tasks were far less prescriptive than they were within the legal technical department with tasks usually centred on reports for the firm's next potential acquisition. Being engaged with fathers such as Graham meant that their role within the study grew. For instance, of all fathers I spent time with I recorded spending the most time with Graham. This engagement meant that a close relationship developed in which, during the later stages of active participation and observation, Graham revealed how he employed several tactics to appear engaged in work when actually engaged in personal or leisure activities. Similar observations were made of other participants also with all fathers more comfortable engaging with me, not as a researcher, but as a colleague having undertaken these stints of active participation.

In reflection, my acceptance might also be ascribable to my experience of working within the legal services industry, allowing me to engage with participants in a different way than I would have had I not been able to undertake work alongside them during active participation. The quality and utility of the data I collected was also reflective of this. Early observational data was highly descriptive and provided little insight into the ways fathers were navigating work and family. It was only after I was able to craft a relationship by working alongside participants that they were happy to share more. For instance, Graham revealed several tactics which he utilized to *appear busy* not because he thought it was useful for my study but because he thought I, as taking a role with the organization,

was interested in making a *good impression*. These interactions helped build a rapport between us as Graham came to see me not simply as a researcher but also a colleague and one who should be told these strategies because they were essential for one to be successful. Such data would not have been captured should I, for instance, have asked to spend a day simply observing Graham as I would not have effectively performed as if I was a member of the in-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). For this reason a far more intimate relationship was realized in which I, and Graham alike, came to consider one another over common ground (that we were engaged in similar tasks) and so moved toward a position of trust and acceptance and, as Van Maanen & Kolb (1985, p.5) describe it, effectively navigated the 'thorny maze way which separates outsiders from insiders'.

Perceived Disadvantages

The utilization of participant observation and active participation attracts several criticisms so I discuss the disadvantages of each together (rather than separately as I have done in relation to Rationale and will in relation to Delivery). The reason criticisms were considered was so that I could evidence a strong rationale that the use of participant observation was reasonable, suitable and beneficial for the study. The first criticism considered was that which states the researcher's presence has the ability to change social phenomena (Guest et al., 2013). Although this might be argued to be a disadvantage from the position of objective epistemology, I did not consider such a criticism significant for the subjectivist epistemological position here taken, accepting that researcher presence and interaction with participants (whether that be in the field or during interviews) will affect the data being captured (Charmaz, 2006 and 2008). In actuality, this influence was found to have been of assistance during a period of active participation. The instance in question occurred when working with a female member of staff, who was Curtis' wife. From working with Curtis' wife I learned that they were expecting their second child. Later that day, passing Curtis' desk I congratulated him. It was clear, however, from Curtis' shock and hesitation that he had not told his colleagues and that such a topic was, for want of a better phrase, *taboo*. This *faux pas* (as Goffman (1959) would see it) on my part then catalysed a line of discussion with Curtis during second phase interviewing (which took place a week or so later) in which he explained that he had tried to keep secret that he was expecting a second child for the effect it might have upon his career goals. This then created prolonged discussion in which Curtis explained that he utilized what were later understood as preventative strategies (Goffman, 1959, pp.24-25) in an attempt to conceal his family role from colleagues. This line of enquiry, along with others, moved the study toward its eventual focus of considering the ways fathers utilize performance to avoid or engage with aspects of their family and work roles. In considering this example, it is contentious to suggest that being involved within the field, and the result of this choice, was a disadvantage as it was only by accidentally compromising Curtis' performance that the existence of his performance was revealed. Secondly, and less pertinent to the actual work undertaken here, the notion that one can ever investigate phenomena without affecting the same is a fallacy even for those undertaking research within the *hard* sciences (Heisenberg, 1930, pp.62-63) meaning that to position oneself to pursue any type of purely objective methodology in which one is entirely removed from the phenomena of study is seemingly an impossibility itself.

A second perceived disadvantage considered was the time consuming nature of observation and active participation (Foster, 2006). Fortunately, all studies undertaken to pursue a doctoral qualification within my school required a Project Plan be proposed and agreed within the first year of study, meaning that I was able to allocate a period of 18 months to undertaking data collection (and data analysis (the two processes being designed to be in tandem to facilitate the Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967))). Although I allocated a generous period in which I was to complete data collection, the position was also taken that concerns surrounding time investment, like concerns surrounding researcher influence, were inconsistent with the goals of the study. In this regard the research method, as mentioned, utilized the grounded approach to enquiry as a systematic research method (Suddaby, 2006), meaning that the goal of the study would not be, as far as one might reasonably manage, determined by time scales but by reaching a point of theoretical saturation (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011 and Thornberg & Charmaz, 2013). As participant observation and active participation provided potential to reach theoretical saturation sooner than relying upon interviewing alone, my position was that concerns surrounding timescales were second to those of the study being able to reach theoretical saturation and make an uncompromised and meaningful contribution to knowledge.

Delivery

Participant observation and active participation were both undertaken at separate periods (they are here discussed separately for that reason). For instance, observation was undertaken between December 2018 and February 2020 with, as noted above, active participation during the winter of 2019 ensuring the benefits of utilizing active participation were realized early within the observation period. Throughout this period 21 full days of observation and 28 days of active participation were undertaken and are detailed below.

Participant Observation - Because observation consisted of multiple entries into the field over a prolonged period, the type of observation undertaken can be described as longitudinal (Barley, 1990). The inherent benefit to undertaking observation in this manner is that ongoing and multiple observations are undertaken rather a single observation (which might be captured during a cross sectional study). This means that observations, if made over several periods, are more likely to be symbolic and intentional rather than random or unintentional. For instance, I spent prolonged time with Alex observing his actions during the mornings and evenings in particular. During evening observations I captured Alex, on three separate occasions, dismissing what was realized to be a fake meeting scheduled during the evening to create a physical stamp of one who is engaged in work outside of normal working hours. Had this event occurred once it would be unlikely that the event could be considered a legitimate strategy to cast a particular impression, however, later discussion and several observations of the same action legitimized my treatment of Alex's actions as symbolic (Blumer, 1969). Similarly, fathers consistently logging on to their workstations only to leave and attend to personal responsibilities (creating a stamp of one's arrival in the office) were only considered

because of their consistent use which, should I have not championed longitudinal observation, would likely not have been captured.

The majority of the data captured which is utilized within the study were captured over the winter of 2019 at which point Graham and Alex, over multiple days of observation, became more involved with the study. Because of this Graham revealed several tactics he employed to cynically claim an impression of organizational commitment and became a sort of *translator* who was able to reveal the nature of certain actions he and his colleagues undertook; the hidden use of mobile phones, how to subvert the company's internet history tracker and the utilization of calendar appointments and logging on and off times to create stamps of arrival and departure were all strategies Graham shared with me throughout the course of the winter of 2019. The reason utilizing observation during the winter was far more fruitful than it was during the other stages of the year was because summer was infamously busy. For that reason fathers had less time to agree to observation or discuss and explain their actions during summer meaning that data captured regarding Alex, Anthony, Mark, Francis and Graham's use of cynical performances, for instance, was predominantly captured during winter at which time such tactics were likely used because there was far more time available for representations of self to occur. Again, ensuring that observation was performed longitudinally meant these types of opportunities were not missed.

Similar to interviewing, participant observation was undertaken before a substantial review of literature had been undertaken. Because of this reason, and similar to interviewing, the initial periods of observation provided less useful data than did later stage observations. This is reflective of the role of researcher being suggested to be, within the early stages of observation, a 'human vacuum cleaner' (Lofland & Lofland, 1995, p.71) and 'child-like if not blind wandering about in the field' (Van Maanen, 2011, p.220). The issue, as was similar for interviewing at this early period, was that the study was within the initial inductive stages in which one is wholly reliant upon being guided by data (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017, pp.4-17). Retrospectively, the abundance of data collected within initial observations can be considered a compromise needed when approaching the field inductively and remaining open to engage with any interesting lines of enquiry. As one might expect, field notes and memos concerned with observation undertaken at this time are littered with thoughts, comments and considerations that do not feature within the findings of the study.

Active Participation - Active participation was undertaken over a course of two months during the winter of 2019. Having worked within the legal services industry and within a conveyancing firm (the area of law my case organization practiced) I was able to engage with similar tasks to those undertaken by my participants. This participation consisted of working alongside a number of fathers and also spending time with part-time employed mothers within Legal Team Support. Having undertaken active participation I was able to leave the field with an appreciation for the accounts of fathers who described work as target-focused, unrealistic and monitored by overly precise performance measures. Moreover, the stress and pressure felt even undertaking an informal administrative role was almost immediately palpable with numerous metrics regarding my own performance being made public. For instance, and even though I was only undertaking an informal

role to complete a course of active participation, my name appeared on the morning telephone statistics which showed every handset in the building and detailed how many calls had been answered, missed, gone to voicemail and how quickly each phone had been answered.

Work also consisted of spending time, either directly or indirectly, working with a number of fathers, meaning interaction happened regularly throughout the course of the normal working day. This was the case with Greg, Stephen and Paul who all became important participants and were far more open about their family role and the difficulties they encountered in making a positive impression whilst being working fathers. For instance, Greg, following numerous instances of interaction about non-research related subjects, was very open about his experience when the case organization, for all intents and purposes, refused him leave to make a hospital appointment following the premature birth of his daughter. Considering the difference in quality of interview data and the ease of subsequent participant observation, especially with these fathers, engaging in active participation was amongst, in retrospect, the most rewarding design aspects and experiences of undertaking data collection.

4.2 Grounded Theory

The following section of the methodology chapter discusses the research design and the utilization of Grounded Theory as a systematic research method (Suddaby, 2006). The chapter will begin with an introduction to the school of thought which the study aligns with, that being social constructionism (Charmaz, 2006). The chapter will then expand to discuss the ontological, epistemological and method of reasoning here taken revealing that each decision, in relation to these aspects of the study, mutually support one another and that each also aligns Charmaz's (2006) version of Grounded Theory I utilize.

4.2.1 Social Constructionism

Debates surrounding what Grounded Theory is, or should be, are a popular area of academic debate (Ralph et al., 2015). The catalyst to these debates is no doubt the result of, since the seminal Grounded Theory text (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), Glaser & Strauss championing their own approaches to sociological enquiry. This consisted of Strauss & Corbin (1994) making major revisions to the original approach and Glaser (1992) defending the original grounded approach. Strauss & Corbin's (1994) contention, and Glaser's (1992) defence, orientated around the notion that sociologically orientated research should ascribe to a realist ontology, an objective and value-free epistemology and proceed by strict induction. These three aspects of Grounded Theory (which will form the structure of this section of the methodology chapter), although challenged by Strauss & Corbin's (1994) revision, find their greatest revision in the work of Charmaz (2006) who suggested a social constructionist approach to Grounded Theory. This section of the methodology explains the study's considerations of ontology, epistemology and method of reasoning, all of which align to Charmaz's (2006) social constructionist approach to Grounded Theory as a process of enquiry anchored in a relative ontology, subjective epistemology and abductive method of reasoning (Charmaz, 2008).

4.2.2 Ontology

Grounded Theory has been criticized as being an approach to sociological enquiry which, subject to numerous major revisions (Glaser, 1992; Strauss & Corbin, 1994 and Charmaz, 2008), is now considered to suffer methodological dynamism (Ralph et al., 2015). The result of this methodological dynamism is that, for all intents and purposes, one can locate support for any ontological orientation one wishes (MacDonald & Schreiber, 2001). Important, then, is for one to make one's position clear in relation to the myriad orientations available to one utilizing Grounded Theory. Whereas Glaser (1992), and to lesser extents Strauss & Corbin (1994), champion a realist ontology suggesting that reality is *out there*, allowing an objective observer to abstract data this study can be understood to be anchored in the position that reality is socially constructed and relative (Charmaz, 2008). Thus, any such means to approach reality by means to capture data and make objective observations of the same were dismissed and the position taken that we are always dealing with our own interpretation of reality, rather than reality itself (Whitehead, 1917).

4.2.3 Epistemology

Epistemological considerations can consist of a number of factors. I here present the epistemological position taken, that being a subjectivist epistemological position, and then consider common concerns associated with this position, namely considerations of *bias, reflexivity and authenticity*.

Subjectivist Epistemology - The ontological position explored above rejects, by default, the original (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and subsequent (Glaser, 1998 and 2001) assumptions that a singular truth exists because reality is interpreted and relative to any one observer. What is here suggested is an approach to truth which attaches a unique epistemological approach to research suggesting that 'social life contains a plurality of shifting realities, grounded in concrete experience, and thus ...[rejecting] the search for fundamental and absolute truths' (O'Reilly, 2009, p.30). This epistemological orientation was essential to the development of Symbolic Interactionism within the Chicago School of sociology, its central doctrine 'based on the principle that truth is provisional rather than absolute and fixed' (Jacobs, 2012, p.724). Most important, for the Chicago School of sociologists, was that the fallacy of an *absolute truth* was revealed by the constant movement of all things as for 'those intellectuals who rallied around Pragmatism, uncertainty and a universe of change were the only givens' (Villemaire, 2002, p.67). A pragmatist approach to truth is an essential element of the subjective epistemologies associated with both the social constructionist stream of Grounded Theory and ethnographic methods, both of which find common roots in Chicago School sociology as does symbolic interactionist thought (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011).

I, therefore, champion that knowledge is socially constructed and, from a social constructionist position, drawing upon symbolic interactionism, a result of the interaction between researcher and researched (Charmaz, 2008). As this social constructionist position appreciates the positionality of researcher and researched, questions surrounding possible issues of bias are commonplace and might, should they not be dealt with, cast one's methodology as precarious. Possible issues identified and the precautions taken in those regards are next discussed within this section concerned with my study's epistemology.

Reducing Partiality in Fieldwork

Undertaking research which championed a subjectivist epistemology places the researcher in an intimate setting with the researched phenomena and can be characterized by the absence of an intermediary *tool* such as a survey (LeCompte, 1987). Because of this intimacy a criticism of my methodology might be that I was at risk of imposing my own values upon the study and, therefore, the study could be subject to partiality (Bell, 1999). I don't discuss processes such as verification, reliability or any other quantitatively driven, or quantitatively derived, steps that might be expected to nullify researcher *bias* as they relate to an objective epistemology and realist ontology (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Rather, the position I took was that the social construction of knowledge can never be completely free of researcher partiality, but that there are considerations and steps that can, and should, be taken to reduce this. In this vein I undertook a process of Reflexivity and incorporated considerations of Authenticity within my research design to ensure I reduced partiality in fieldwork:

Reflexivity – The process of interpretation is undertaken by a '(re)construction of the social reality in which researchers both interact with the agents research and, actively interpreting, continually create images for themselves and for the others' (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2017, p.12). These *images*, as Alvesson & Sköldbberg (2017) refer to them, are a result of interpretations made by the researcher which, pursuant to a subjectivist epistemology, are a construction of the researched and researcher rather than the researcher acting as a value-free objective observer to the research process. This is an essential process within the social constructionist approach to Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2008). In this sense a relativist ontology suggests that there are an infinite number of possible theoretical interpretations (Manning, 1997), the quality and details of which would likely change should a different researcher undertake data collection or analysis. It is, therefore, important for a researcher to undertake a process of reflexivity in which their influence in this regard can be critically evaluated so that undue bias is not imposed upon the study (Manning, 1997; Cassell & Symon, 2015 and Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2017).

In undertaking this process I considered the similarities I might have with many of the participants. I was male, in my early thirties and had experience of working within the legal services industry. Although it is suggested that benefits may be experienced by interviewer and interviewee being the same sex (Herod, 1993), no such benefit appeared evident. This is based upon the contrast between the interview with fathers and informal discussions regarding the study with mothers (employed mothers within the case organization), the latter being far more fluid and natural. As Daniel eluded, considering the absence of discussions between fathers regarding children, 'I think women have more of a tendency to and that they're more inclined to like baby talk and children talk as opposed to a male'. The result for me was that I found interaction not easier with fathers because they, like me, were male but, rather, with mothers for they appeared far more engaging and interested in the topic of my study. A similarity that did act as a benefit, however, was my experience of working within the legal sector which allowed participants, such as Edward, to offer a *warts and all* account of the process of navigating his family and work roles within the organizational setting as I was able to relate and sympathise with the infamous excessive expectations of the sector (Blair-Loy, 2003; Cha, 2010, and Davies & Finch, 2014).

I was also able to reflect upon differences between myself and participants, most obviously, that I did not have a child or children. This may have ultimately hindered many early conversations which, in reflection, appear tentative and focused upon work roles, organizational expectations and organizational norms rather than how these are accessed and navigated alongside aspects of family. Although focus upon specific topics grew as the study design evolved toward semi-structured interviewing, it is clear that a lack of *common ground*, in the early phases of data collection, meant that there was less breadth to topics which, if I, for instance, had a child, might have included the wider topic of family roles and expectations earlier. The process of reflecting upon my own position within the researcher-researched relationship, central to the social constructionist orientation to Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2008) meant that I was able to understand how my own role within the data collection process might have meant topics would be missed which, had I not reflected in this

manner, may have been a detriment to the study. As such, I made specific changes (see earlier section concerned with *Explicit Purpose*) to ensure greater access to topics concerned with family as the topic appeared unlikely to arise in an organic manner.

Authenticity - Authenticity is an established consideration of the quality of interpretivist research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989 and Symon et al., 2018). The defining feature of authenticity is that it does not suppose a singular or objective truth like other forms of quality criteria (Manning, 1997). As such, considerations of authenticity provided a means to consider the quality of the research design. In addition to those elements of the study design to be discussed, Guba & Lincoln (1989) do suggest additional considerations for authenticity (ontological, educative, catalytic and tactical authenticity), however, these have been critiqued as not applicable to those not engaged with critical research (see Shannon & Hambacher (2014, p.2) and Guba & Lincoln (2005, p.167) who themselves take the same position) and, as such, were not considered. For that reason, I considered aspects of Fairness, Prolonged Engagement and Persistent Observation as important to ensure authenticity in light of my subjectivist epistemology:

Fairness - Fairness as a consideration of authenticity is concerned with the multiplicity of heterogeneous accounts and that all such accounts should receive the researcher's attention (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Manning (1997) suggests, for instance, that accounts, regardless of their content, should be included, which complements the pragmatist approach to truth which typifies social constructionist research. In that vein, it is confirmed that all participants' accounts, save for one (who withdrew from the project), were included within analysis and study findings. This process was actually very important because Greg within first phase interviewing provided accounts which were very dissimilar to his peers. He was concerned with fathering in a way, for instance, I had not seen within other accounts. Rather than disregard Greg's account as not being applicable I included his experiences and later found that his approach and concerns surrounding his fathering roles were similar to later data collected from Stephen and George. Should I have disregarded Greg's account as inconsistent it would have been likely that important data concerned with Stephen and George might have been missed.

Prolonged Engagement - Prolonged Engagement is suggested to have taken place once 'a sufficient period of time to build any understanding of their [(the participants')] perspectives' (Manning, 1997, p.102). Although there is no quantifiable length of time at which authenticity has been reached, I continued to engage in data capture until theoretical saturation had been reached (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Theoretical saturation, in this sense, was the point at which I was able to answer the research questions and that re-entering the field or continuing to try and develop the study further would likely mean little meaningful changes would be made (Charmaz, 2006).

Persistent Observation – Persistent observation contrasts prolonged engagement in as much that persistent observation should 'identify those characteristics and elements in the situation that are most relevant to the problem or issue being pursued and focusing on them in detail' (Lincoln & Guba,

1985, p.304). This persistence is one in which an element of theoretical *depth* (ibid, p.304) may be afforded. I found that the qualification of *persistence* was achieved by undertaking three rounds of data collection following two rounds of theoretical sampling. The result was not only persistent interviewing but similarly persistent observation and active participation focusing on details of my participants' lives and ensuring the theoretical depth Lincoln & Guba (1985) refer to was achieved.

The methodology design, by representing all accounts of participants, engaging in prolonged engagement and undertaking persistent observation, evidences clear considerations to concerns of authenticity and, as such, evidences my claim to authenticity (Guba & Lincoln, 1989 and Symon et al., 2018).

4.2.4 Method of Reasoning

Approaching the study by employing the correct method of reasoning was important as I needed to ensure that I was not seeking to *discover* theory as Glaser & Strauss (1967) champion but, rather, ensuring I approached my research questions from the position that theory is *constructed* by a process of abduction. The following section of the methodology considers, utilizing Charmaz's (2008) work concerned with Grounded Theory, the method of reasoning here adopted by arguing firstly that theory is constructed and secondly that one is unable to completely isolate oneself from existing literature.

Construction - The notion that a theory can be *discovered*, which makes a titular appearance in Glaser & Strauss' (1967) seminal text, suggests categories, for instance, are emergent (ibid, p.37; p.72 & p.193). In contrast, I took the position that the role of the researcher means that categories do not emerge from the data but are *constructed* (by the researcher) from the data (Charmaz, 2008). During the study I played a part in theory construction by way of moving between induction and deduction, continuously imposing existing understanding, from bodies of literature in the form empirical studies and theoretical premises, on the grounded data, *constructing* theory by a process of abduction (Alvesson & Skölberg, 2017). As a result I take the position that a theory is not predetermined and existing (waiting to be *discovered* by a process of induction) but that myself and my research participants *construct* a theory through the process of abduction. For that reason, considerations of authenticity and the process of reflexivity (as discussed above) were important considerations for me to make when designing my study.

Existing Literature – As is the case with quantitative research, Grounded Theory, as conceived by Glaser & Strauss (1967), expects the researcher to approach phenomena of interest without any prior knowledge of existing research. This expectation, however, attempts research with the *ideals* of empirical research and ignore the *actual* process of empirical research. The actual process of research, as was the case here, consisted of a prepared and substantial research proposal which meant, as with many studies, I was familiar with existing bodies of literature (especially those within the first part of the literature review). Rather than suggesting that this process endangered the grounded nature of the data I collected (Glaser, 1998 and 2003) it is simply the case that a researcher's knowledge of the literature will always affect interpretation in some way (Reichertz, 2007) which, rather than claiming isolation from existing literature, should be accepted as a requisite

element of undertaking research subject to funding and ethical reviews. That being said, I did attempt to reduce exposure to literature prior to first phase interviews being undertaken at which point I did engage with several studies which helped focus the study as I moved into second and third wave data collection (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). An interesting reflection to evidence the success of this might be that my original research proposal focused on fathers' work and family roles but suggested the possible utilization of Boundary Theory as a means to learn more about the ways fathers managed conflict and between roles, whereas I eventually utilized Dramaturgy to consider the ways fathers navigate roles. The difference between the approaches reveals the manner in which I progressed from my funding and ethical approval applications and that the study was always designed to be guided by the collected data rather than the existing literature.

4.3 Methodology Summary

On reflection the method design was successful in capturing rich contextualized data concerned with fathers' work and family roles and responsibilities and, later, concerned with fathers' performances and reasons for giving such performances. That the focus of the study changed following the initial method design is reflective of a study undertaken pursuant to an abductive method of reasoning and serves as a reminder that the specific area of interest (such as performances) and method design will likely need to be changed as the study, and its focus, evolve (Van Maanen, 1979). What the study benefitted from was a method which would be suitable to consider work and family in a very broad manner, meaning fewer assumptions were made and I was open to engaging and pursuing any important line of interest. For instance, that performances might be utilized in relation to work and family navigation was not known before designing or undertaking data capture and was only captured because of ethnographic data capture methods being unstructured and exploratory and the grounded approach championing data to lead the study.

Although the method can be considered successful, it was not without its challenges. For instance, although utilizing Grounded Theory as a systematic research method (Suddaby, 2006), the ethnographic data capture methods produced an excessively large amount of data (how this data was managed will be discussed within the analysis chapter when presenting the analysis method). In addition, the unstructured nature of the data capture methods, especially participant observation, required prolonged engagement to capture relatively little applicable data (in comparison to interviews). It is important here to note that I adopt the word *challenges*, rather than *disadvantages* as instances such as excessive data and prolonged engagement are part and parcel of one choosing to engage with social phenomena in an actual setting and capturing data which is representative of the fluid, complex lived experiences of individuals. One might only consider these *disadvantages* if one were to compare them to an approach such as a quantitative deductive design which would have been a highly inappropriate choice as I was interested in the contextually sensitive and complex lives of fathers as they attempted to navigate work and family roles. In that vein, the challenges mentioned are unavoidable for one seeking to remain faithful to an abductive approach to sociological study in which the preliminary stages are guided by induction.

Another design aspect to the method which was retroactively, and especially retrospectively, considered to be reflective of the challenges of qualitative research was the philosophical positioning of the study. In other words, the study design, to champion a social constructionist position, was far more representative of the process of empirical design than another approach would have been. This was not only an intentional design feature of the study but was also evidenced following the data capture processes in which my role was revealed as being exceptionally important.

It is important to mention that the challenges encountered and described above were not considered to be a result of poor study design, but challenges that the majority of qualitative researchers who strictly follow an abductive approach will face. As my study was able to acquire rich contextually sensitive data the method design and delivery, in that regard, were both considered successful.

5. Case Organization

This chapter provides an introduction and overview of the case organization. The chapter serves to provide important context for the findings as participants' accounts employ phrases, words and examples of actions specific to the case organization. As a means to provide a coherent overview I only discuss aspects of the case organization which are relevant to the study and the lived experiences of fathers, starting with an overview of the organization.

5.1 Overview

North West Law is, by quantity of work, one of the leading law firms in the country. Their operational headquarters is the largest of their offices and is situated within the North West of England. This is the location where the majority of participant observation and active participation was undertaken. The head office is the place of work for around 200 members of staff who hold a varying degree of legal expertise, experience and qualification. The organization has a number of other sites which are of differing sizes; some sites have close to a hundred employees whilst others as few as twenty. The reason the organization has such diversity in headcount in these offices is because of a recent, and aggressive acquisition process, in which several competitors were sought and acquired. This features in several accounts of participants as the period in which acquisitions were common acted to intensify the expectations placed upon several of the participants. The organization is now in a process of closing some smaller offices and utilizing new premises, similar to the head office, as a means to amalgamate sites and make savings in relation to operational costs.

Because of its size, North West Law can be considered a large law firm and is similar to those which have been utilized in other studies as *extreme* cases (Tremblay, 2013 and Robertson, 2018). The features of competitiveness and masculinity I explored within the methodology chapter are most associated with larger, rather than smaller, law firms, meaning North West Law was an ideal candidate as a case organization. Previous studies, such as Robertson et al., (2019) study found that large law firms, which they argue are infamous for long working hours, expect staff to manage client expectations regardless if demands are excessive. Others have found that the culture of the large law firm, to reward those who work long hours, means those who are employed, specifically within larger law firms, are more likely to engage in long working hours (Brivot et al., 2014). Additionally, large law firms are more readily associated with masculinities. For instance, Tremblay's (2013) work discovered masculinities were most prevalent in large private firms, recording that fathers employed by these firms were aware that challenging the gendered norms associated with the organization (by taking leave to engage with family role responsibilities) would have a detrimental effect upon their career. In this regard, Tremblay (2013) suggested that the culture of larger law firms can be understood to dominate over any legal rights parents have to take leave to accommodate family responsibilities. Moreover, Tremblay's (2013) work suggests that large law firms were less flexible and seemingly less understanding than their smaller competitors. For instance, within larger law firms Tremblay (2013, p.181) noted a 'lack of organizational support and the intensification of the work-family conflict'.

5.2 Settings

The head office, where the majority of participant observation and active participation was undertaken, is nearly exclusively open plan with a handful of smaller rooms (Human Relations office, restrooms, kitchen, server room, director's offices and breakout room). The same was true of the two additional offices, although they were smaller than the head office.

These types of settings meant, when an office is full, at least, fathers were easily monitored. At the case organization's head office, monitoring of the outside world can also take place. This is afforded as the front of the building is a construction of tinted green glass. This gives the outside world a slight dullness when inside the office which is contrasted greatly by the intense lighting in the building. This creates a very disorientating feeling when the sun appears far brighter when leaving the office in summer or how the perpetually grey skies of winter seem to blend with the dull car park, which is the single defining feature of the landscape fathers can capture of the outside world. I make mention of the car park as this area held an interesting function in excess of providing car parking spaces. In previous years a small group of five parking spaces were dedicated to partners of the previous law firm which operated on the same site. Now, the office of North West Law (that does not have partners) those parking spaces are filled by the first to arrive in the morning. This provided individuals who filled those spaces with the immediate impression of *first in* and most dedicated such that it became an important consideration for the ways that individuals might claim Work Role Engagement.

The ability to be first in is also complemented by being able to be the last out. The office operated an opening schedule of 06:00am through to 10:00pm. I was told that the opening times were to facilitate cleaning which, although more prominent in the morning, was virtually absent during the evening. That the office doors are open for these extended office hours also appeared in non-direct conflict with the organization's work life balance policy, initiated by the People's Forum, which advocates nobody should be in the office after 18:00 (half an hour after 'office hours' finish). I refer to this as in non-direct conflict as official working hours were not the same as office opening hours, but having the office open for a prolonged period did certainly create opportunity to easily extend one's normal working hours. For instance, prolonged opening times allowed many fathers, amongst other colleagues who were predominantly young men, to enter the office well before they were officially expected to arrive and/or leave well in excess of their official leaving time. Many participants utilized these late and early hours as a means to create an impression of prioritizing work over family, as I will reveal further in the findings section. Because of this reason the office opening hours were important aspects of the work context of my participants.

5.3 Technology

North West Law is highly dependent upon their utilization of technology. Accounts which will be shared during the findings section will explain how participants utilized their employer's reliance upon technology to track their work performances as a means to cynically claim the completion of certain tasks at certain times (usually during those morning and evening periods I refer to above). Some claims were made by manipulating the case management software the organization uses as this

recorded aspects of staff activity including metrics regarding letters, emails, phone calls and faxes made/sent or received, tasks completed, time taken, billable time and log on/off times. The case management software is also used to create reports that can be used to understand how, or when, an individual is performing, and for managers to make changes to employee work habits. For instance, if one is deemed to be sending too many letters (increasing the costs by paying postage) they might be advised to reduce letter use and increase email use. Further examples were given by participants during observations, at which time they advised that the use of this data extended to drive performance not only in completion rates (the point at which a purchase or sale of a property is realized) but also how fast telephone calls are answered, how fast files reach legal completion and how fast emails are responded to. These metrics are then used by management as a means to reward (with bonuses) those who perform in the quickest and most effective manner, ensuring that North West Law can create the most value possible from the smallest investment in paid hours. These types of metrics were later important in understanding why fathers would ensure they entered the office early and logged on, only to then take an extended period away from their workstation, effectively electronically stamping an early start or drafting a long email within work hours only to log onto the system later in the evening and send that same email so that it appears one was engaged in work in one's personal time. As such, these actions ensured that participants crafted a favourable profile in relation to these metrics and would be in an ideal position to make the case for promotion or other organizational rewards.

The organization also utilizes data that the case management system provides to ensure that individuals work in a certain manner. For instance, an emphasis upon the use of email and phone calls is preferred over letter or fax communications (although fax is still preferred for transmitting banking details and sensitive client information as email is more readily compromised). As an attempt to ensure staff make greater use of email and phone the organization sets targets to ensure individuals do not continually send letter communications (which costs far more than emails). What was interesting was that staff understood this was the case and actions were commonly undertaken to misguide data. For example, if one's statistics showed that they were failing to answer telephone calls within 'three rings' they might call their own phone via their mobile phone and answer the call immediately. The individual's statistics, therefore, improved immediately. Alternatively, another action witnessed was for individuals to call clients to confirm that an email had been sent to them. The telephone call in and of itself is redundant and takes very little time to undertake, however, it then increases the number of telephone calls made which, pursuant to North West Law's preferences, should always be higher than the number of telephone calls received and also helps provide evidence of one refraining from utilizing traditional letter correspondence. Effort was, therefore, never directed to improve customer service, reduce postage costs or save printer toner but, rather, effectively deceive the case management system so that targets were always fulfilled even if customer service, postage costs and toner use did not improve. Ironically, in this way, the firm's over reliance upon technology to control action seems to be the subject for a multitude of action which is insincere and undertaken purely to mislead those who rely on the case management software and the data it captures.

Another interesting aspect of the firm which concerned technology and its use was the way that individuals could appear compliant with a policy referred to as *Our Way*. This initiative seeks to ensure that all offices operate in the same way from similar hierarchies, lines of reporting, targets, legal processes and approaches to risk. It serves as a means, when North West Law recently acquired competitors, as a blueprint for how those organizations needed to change. *Our Way* was discussed in several interviews with participants criticising the initiative as it focused on quantity over quality, was prescriptive, impersonal and compromised traditional legal practice by seeking to present legal work as a step-by-step process. This characteristic of North West Law also reflects findings within studies of the wider legal sector which suggest there has been a process of the proletarianization of the professional (Oppenheimer, 1972 and Thornton, 2016). One aspect of *Our Way* that was present during observation was the limitation of being able to raise bespoke enquiries when dealing with a house purchase. For instance, if there was a drain running beneath a property a bespoke communication should never be dictated or typed, the prescribed *Our Way* wording must be used. This was, however, deemed to be an issue when dealing with specific instances in which more information was needed and, so, participants would run the process to create the prescribed enquiry (so that the case management system recorded compliance with the correct protocol) but then amend the correspondence to their own specification. In this way staff appeared to be following the prescribed course of action even though they were enacting a course of action to reach their goals in insincere, alternative or ulterior ways.

5.4 Turnover

During my time observing and engaged in active participation I was confronted with numerous instances in which staff I was either engaging with during active participation or participants to the study had plans to leave or did leave. For instance, Alan (a pseudonym) was party to this study during the first phase of interviewing but decided to leave to work for a smaller firm closer to his home. He had been with the firm for just over two years. Greg, who became an important participant for the study also left the organization shortly after third phase interviewing and found a new role as an estate agent. Greg, similar to Alan, had been with the firm for around two years. During my time a handful of phrases were continually employed when discussing why people left and why people were unhappy with the way they were treated. These included that the organization was concerned with “quantity over quality”, the organization was not a conveyancing firm but a “*volume* conveyancing firm” and that managers were “target-tastic”. In my short time it was clear that staff, including my participants, felt as though their personal circumstances and grievances were second place to ensuring that they displayed absolute servitude to the correct manner of working and the fulfilment of targets. This became important for understanding later accounts such as Greg’s who explained that the case organization made it very difficult for him to attend his daughter’s medical appointments.

The removed, impersonal, inflexible and Tayloristic approach to management affected not just fathers but other members of staff whose actions reflect the culture of the organization. Stephen, who shared details of his history with the firm, explained that he had been provided an assistant who was

a qualified conveyancer, had suitable legal experience and could 'hit the ground running'. Although this was the case, the assistant left the firm after one week. He later explained, during a conversation, a metaphor for what had happened. He explained that his assistant was like a frog dropped into boiling water – she immediately jumped out – but he and his long-serving colleagues had been subject to incremental increases in pressure or *heat*, not noticing that they were now being 'boiled alive' (sic). This later became an important metaphor for helping me to understand why Alan and Greg had so quickly left the organization but others had remained.

6. Analysis

This chapter will provide the reader with an understanding of the analysis method selected and how the analysis of data was undertaken. This chapter is important to the thesis as it was throughout the analysis, data converging around the notion of acting to conceal, that I decided to employ Goffman's (1959) work as a theoretical lens. The chapter will begin with an introduction of the Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) situating this within the epistemological orientation of the social constructionist approach here taken (Charmaz, 2008) and detailing its use within the study. Following the introduction of the analysis method the chapter will provide details regarding the preparation taken before data analysis and then the step-by-step processes utilized to analyze data and construct a grounded theory which occurred from answering the study's research questions. In doing so, the chapter will discuss how processes such as coding, interpretation, category formation, theoretical sampling, category reduction, axial coding and theoretical saturation were utilized from the Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis. Throughout discussing how each of these processes was utilized the chapter will also make clear that subjectivities were embedded within the data analysis processes, again highlighting the social constructionist approach here taken and, as I mentioned within the methodology chapter, the important role I played in the study (Charmaz, 2008).

It is important to note, before the reader engages with the linear and iterative presentation of the analysis processes, that it be made clear that many of the processes here taken were undertaken at the same time as data collection (Charmaz, 2008). As such it is impossible to perfectly separate the process of data analysis from data collection in a chronological presentation of every step taken throughout the analysis and data collection process (which took place over the course of a year). Rather, what is presented here is a summary of the specific analysis processes used throughout data collection which was undertaken following important periods of theoretical sampling (to be expanded within this chapter). Moreover, it is important to note that it is impossible for to perfectly capture and reproduce for the reader the minute and constant actions of referring back to previous transcriptions, codes, interpretations and categories to consider, refine and correct ideas, thoughts and concerns which arose throughout the analysis process. Thus, what is here presented is the most accurate representation possible of the chronological points of analysis which moved the study toward a point of theoretical saturation (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2013).

6.1 The Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis

Unlike other approaches to research, which may afford a number of methods of analysis, the grounded method, regardless of one's epistemological assumptions, exclusively employs the same method of analysis (Charmaz, 2008). This method, the Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis, was formulated by Glaser & Strauss (1967) as a means to contrast existing forms of qualitative analysis which were undertaken following a definitive period of data capture method (as one would expect for a quantitative study). The greatest revision to The Constant Comparative Method is the work of both Strauss & Corbin (1994) and, later, Charmaz (2008). Whereas the original conception of The Constant Comparative Method perceived the researcher as segmented and separated from the analysis process, these later formulations of the method argue that the researcher is an interactant within the analysis process (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). This position is in line with the epistemological orientation of Strauss & Corbin's (1994) departure from traditional grounded methods but more so situates the analysis parallel to the epistemological position of Charmaz (2008), and my study, as it takes note of the constructionist process of Grounded Theory production (this, for instance, is far more emphasized in the work of Charmaz (2008) than Strauss & Corbin (1994)). It is this formulation of The Constant Comparative Method which is used here, namely, that one proceeds through the analysis process with the understanding that the researcher is an important interactant and influencer upon the developing theory, rather than an objective discoverer sifting through recorded data.

In contrast, a feature undisturbed from the original conception of the method is the undertaking of data collection and data analysis in tandem. In this sense, The Constant Comparative Method is an approach in which the collected data, once analyzed, provides a rationale for subsequent data collection (theoretical sampling) creating a cyclical relationship in which both data collection and data analysis guide one another (Glaser & Strauss, 1967 and Miles & Huberman 1994). Discussion over the course of this chapter will reveal how I transcribed interviews, located incidents of interest and developed categories and their properties whilst still engaged in interviewing, participant observation and active participation and answering my three research questions. Undertaking data collection and data analysis simultaneously in this sense allowed for confirmation of points of interest and potential avenues meaning that the developing answers to my research questions was always situated and confirmed against the lived experiences of participants (Charmaz, 2008). In this way ensuring the processes of data collection and data analysis proceeded simultaneously ensured data remained *grounded* as I was in constant contact with the research site and my participants. As such I was able to clarify discrepancies and inconsistencies in data and thus present accounts which are an accurate reflection upon participants' actual experiences. Proceeding in this manner was of great importance to the study as it allowed me to closely fulfil the central tenet of the Constant Comparative Method, that being that it is essentially an approach which assists 'in generating a theory that is integrated, consistent, plausible, close to the data' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.103).

Before proceeding to discuss the analysis phases in detail it is important to clarify why I draw on Glaser & Strauss' (1967) work when extended discussion within the methodology chapter argued

against the approach they championed. First, it is important to clarify that Charmaz's (2008) critique of Glaser & Strauss' (1967) work predominantly concerns the epistemological approach taken rather than the actual method of analysis they proposed. For instance, Charmaz (2008, p.403) argues that 'when stripped of their epistemological clothing, Glaser & Strauss's (1967) original flexible strategies still make for sound research practice that researchers can invoke to produce useful and innovative social constructionist analyses'. As such, although the study aligns its epistemological position and grounded design pursuant to the work of Charmaz (2006), referencing and employing methods of analysis from Glaser & Strauss' (1967) Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis does not challenge the methodological design of the study. In fact, discussion throughout this chapter will bring to the reader's attention where such conflicts occur when mentioning issues with true induction, such as the fallacy that one might be able to engage in study design without prior knowledge of one's area of interest.

The remainder of the analysis chapter will present to the reader the step-by-step approaches taken throughout data collection to reveal not only how the analysis was undertaken but how the analysis and data collection method were closely entwined. The following sections serve to take the reader from the initial coding process through to theoretical saturation and the answer to my research questions which I present in a visual format at the end of the chapter before proceeding to the following chapter to expand upon the same.

6.1.1 Preparation for Data Analysis

Before coding began interviews from the first round of data collection were transcribed. This was completed partially by me and, because of time constraints, with the assistance of a third party individual associated with the University of Liverpool who transcribed roughly half of first round interviews and later assisted with subsequent interview transcriptions from second phase interviewing. During this process pseudonyms were given to participants, their partners and their children to provide anonymity; additionally, any obviously identifiable data was also removed at this stage for the same reason (O'Gorman, 2015). This was especially important for participants who provided data which criticized their employer and also pointed concern to aspects of their family roles. To maintain the highest levels of anonymity recordings were password protected and only shared with the third party transcriber (who assisted with the transcription process) and the primary manager to the study who had access to the folder where such recordings and subsequent transcriptions were stored.

6.1.2 Coding

Following the transcription process data from interviews and data from participant observation was considered via a process of coding. Grbich (2013, p.259), considering multiple uses of terms such as *code* and *category*, advises that the researcher should be 'transparent about how they are using such labels in the data analytic process'. To that end, when employing the term *coding* I am referring to abstractions from transcribed interview data and participant observation notes and the term

categories is used to define the groups of codes created because they hold theoretically similar attributes.

The process of coding both transcribed interview data and participant observation notes was relaxed and included codes in forms of abstractions of words, phrases, sentences, multiple sentences and paragraphs (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2013 & Miles & Huberman, 1994). These codes were highlighted by using the comment function on Microsoft Word, ensuring all aspects of interest were highlighted and my comments made when firstly considering the code. An example is here employed to show the utilisation of this feature:

Figure 10: Coding

[[00:07:30] I suppose. It's really difficult to answer that question because obviously you have to imagine it. Where I am sitting I'm surrounded by more females. I'm feeling more to say mothers but purely because there are more females around me.) Generally when you get to talking to someone. And you talk about your own child they tend to bring up their own child as well so that's how they will indicate if they're a parent or not.

Comment [MB4]: Graham actually sits with Peter and James, both fathers. It appears he is actually referring to the accounts department.

This allowed for the recording of initial thoughts relating to codes and opportunity to make comments for subsequent data collection where instances of interest occurred. This process was also very relaxed, meaning any and all aspects of interest to fathers' family and work roles were captured. For instance, rather than trying to restrict thoughts surrounding the code to specific aspects of organizational life, the approach was to code absolutely any aspect of work and family (as the study at that point had yet to focus on the ways fathers presented themselves in the organizational setting to navigate work and family). For that reason the process married with the abductive approach discussed within the methodology chapter but also provided an array of unrelated comments which required excessive investment on my part as I visited and revisited these comments throughout the study.

Although this created a large investment within the later stages of the analysis, the use of these comments did make the process of collating and comparing areas of interest exceptionally easy as I was able to create a Summary of Codes from every interview round and employ a simple system to record each code of interest. For example, the initial coding phase unearthed several accounts of fathers who provided examples of prioritizing work over family:

- Prioritises work over children/partner in some instances - Alex 12, Anthony 23, Anthony 28, Curtis 5, Curtis 17, Curtis 31, Curtis 52, Graham 42, Graham 43, James 2, James 3, James 4, James 27, James 29, Howard 6, Howard 8, Mark 1, George 20, George 24, George 29, George 33, George 34, Sean 2, Sean 3

The rule here being simply that the name of the participant would lead one to the transcription where that code was recorded and the number would indicate the comment number where the abstract relating to examples of work being prioritized over family was located.

Whilst coding was taking place I was also engaged in participant observation and active participation. As a result, during the coding process, and later during subsequent analysis processes, I took time away from coding (and later interpretation) to memo and consider what was happening in the field. This is reflective of what is elsewhere described as The Second Rule of the Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.107), which champions periods spent away from data analysis with a view to consider, theoretically, what is happening. Taking these periods away from data analysis allowed for long periods of consideration and also occurrences to take place in situ which helped inform the rationale for subsequent coding and revisiting data to abstract new codes having acquired a more intimate understanding and appreciation of participants' roles and the context in which they operated. For instance, having spent time on a team of legal practitioners I learned that one of the participants had, since our first interview, discovered that he was expecting his second child. Subsequently, memoing and acquiring a general understanding of the case organization, I congratulated the participant when passing his desk. The participant's reaction of surprise, which quickly became embarrassment, was shared with those who surrounded him who had no idea that he was expecting his second child. This interaction came to inform a long discussion within that father's subsequent interview which catalysed a line of enquiry concerned with fathers concealing aspects of their family role within the organizational setting. Being true to the abductive approach it was these such instances which guided subsequent avenues of interest. What this approach ensures, as was the case here, is that 'questions guide the collection of data' (ibid, p.109). In this regard, one's questions are not *a priori* but drawn from these interesting instances in which, benefitting from an exploratory design and abductive approach, the study allowed for movement to accommodate areas of interest as they were created by researcher and participant in situ (such as the interaction I mention here).

As such, coding was not a prescriptive form of action that needed to be undertaken at any one particular time; rather, the process was treated as ongoing throughout the first phase of interviews just as subsequent coding was during the second and third round interviews allowing for observation, interviewing, active participation and memoing to run in tandem. This ensured that a cyclical process in which coding, observations, memoing and data collection would inform one another, grounding the analysis within the actual lived experiences of participants rather than spending extended periods away from the field or engaged with one single analysis process.

6.1.3 Interpretation

Once first phase interviewing was completed and coding of all interview and participant observation sessions had taken place, abstractions were then subject to a process of interpretation. This process, as Schwandt (1998, p.232) explains, was a process of one 'inscribing, writing [and] fashioning meaning'. Schwandt's (1998) perspective upon the process of interpretation has here been chosen as it makes the important observation that one is *inscribing* and *fashioning* meaning rather than capturing

this from the raw data as one might argue should they adopt an objectivist epistemological position. This itself is in keeping with the social constructionist position which situates the researcher as acting to assign meaningful interpretation so that codes can be lifted to a theoretical plane rather than the data itself containing theoretical worth (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011). This highlights the important role the researcher plays as they interact with the data and *create an interpretation of the data* and supports the subjectivist epistemological argument that data is constructed (Charmaz, 2006 and 2008).

6.1.4 Category Formation

The next stage of analysis consisted of comparing interpreted codes for similarities to start creating tentative categories. In this way the interpreted codes were thought of, rather than categories themselves, as potential properties of the categories. This meant that preferential treatment for particular interpreted codes was not given, rather, interpreted codes would, at this stage, serve to create something greater than simple interpretations of small amounts of data. This process consisted of grouping similar events, instances, beliefs, actions etc. into a single category so that the category came to form something of theoretical importance rather than be an accumulation of singularly interpreted abstraction (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). For example, codes in which participants expressed displeasure with the characteristic of legal work had been interpreted, over separate codes, as work being **unrealistic, consuming, negative and deficient of support**. This allowed me to create a far more robust category by incorporating these codes into a category which suggested that work was not enjoyable because perceptions of work were commonly negative. This category was important as it informed later avenues of thought which helped inform the argument that situationally appropriate actions were those that prioritized work over family.

Whilst developing these categories I was sensitive to the understanding that there can be considered two broad types of categories. These categories are those that a researcher constructs him/herself and those which are created from the abstracted language of the research participants (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.107). The first type of category is similar to that mentioned above. However, I did also develop categories, similar to the second type of category mentioned by Glaser & Strauss (1967), by abstracting language from particular excerpts:

'There may be exceptions sort of thing month end' (James, first interview)

'So I do, a fair amount of both number crunching. Which is predominantly the month end' (Peter, first interview)

Thus I placed these codes under the category of *Month End*, using the exact words of participants. Further codes were added to this category but only after interpretation; for instance, the following code also features as part of the category but does not feature the exact phrase used to title the category.

'Yeah depending on where we are at that certain stage of the month' (Daniel, first interview)

In this example the importance of the month and the end of the month are clear in the language used by the participant and is therefore a suitable addition to the category of *Month End*. Utilizing the wording of participants, at this point, was done because *Month End* was a specific language utilized within the context of the case study to encompass several elements of organizational life including high levels of stress, pressurized work, banking issues, increased expectations and bottle necking of sale and purchase completions. There was, therefore, no better category title which so readily encompassed these specific elements of participants' lived experiences and, as such, I decided to utilize participants' own language in this regard.

During this phase additional codes were also abstracted from interview data. Thus, I was already engaged in a process of learning the data and referring back to similarities in interview and participant observation data. For example, after categorizing interpreted codes from Alex's interview transcription and moving to Anthony's, the latter made interesting comments about what he referred to as his '*job at home*'. These comments referred to how he supported and helped at home rather than speaking about his actual responsibilities, as if family-related responsibilities were a type of auxiliary responsibility. This then spiked a memory of a similar comment made by Alex who, when talking about paternity leave, suggested he would have liked more time to '*help out. Because having two kids running around and a little baby for Gemma that would be like ridiculous amounts of stress*'. Anthony's interpretation of his fathering role being akin to a job or support role was able to place Alex's experience in a context which was not yet apparent before undertaking the categorization of Anthony's interview. These extracts then formed a property of the category *Traditional Fathering*. This reflects the non-iterative process of The Constant Comparative Method as, even during the category formation, new codes from already considered data were being located.

During the process of category formation it was also apparent that not all codes sat within definitive categories. Glaser & Strauss (1967, p.105) actually suggest that the analyst start by 'coding each incident in his data into as many categories of analysis as possible'. This was the case with the following code:

'I just hope that that work would allow me to just maybe those shorter hours to mirror other people within the company even though I'm a bloke. I still would like to spend time with with [sic] my child' (Greg, first interview)

This code was interpreted and categorized as Lack of Confidence (1), Desire (2) & Father Treatment (3); the last being a category only formed after a later participant (Edward) expressed that he believed the case organization treated fathers and mothers differently. This example of situating one interpreted code within several developing categories is what Glaser & Strauss (1967) referred to as *The Defining Rule of the Constant Comparative Method*. This rule is that 'while coding an incident for a category, compare it with the previous incidents in the same and different groups coded in the same category' (ibid, p.106). Allowing interpreted codes to fall within multiple, but applicable, categories

also allowed me to not force codes into particular categories (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2013) but, instead, let the data resemble the complex reality of the participants' lives in which their interpretation upon their reality and my subsequent interpretation is not assumed to be able to be perfectly represented by a singular category.

At the conclusion of Category Formation I had been successful in grouping interpreted codes by similarities. However, these categories were numerous and far in excess of what might be managed within a single study. The reason I had an abundance of categories was because the study, at this period, might be argued to have been strictly inductive and proceeding with a view that enquiry be wholly guided by data (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2017, pp.72-76). This meant that focus upon specific aspects of the collected data, interpreted codes and formulated categories was paramount for the study to begin to focus and build depth upon a single aspect of fathers' work and family lives. The following process of Theoretical Sampling was therefore undertaken to distil the constructed categories.

6.1.5 Theoretical Sampling

Following the formation of categories I considered the properties of each category and how they were able to explain particular aspects of fathers' navigation of work and family. In some instances, because of the unstructured nature of the initial interviews, particular categories of interest were *unsaturated* (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011). For instance, it was clear that fathers did not have an interest in discussing matters of flexible work, parental leave and Shared Parental Leave but it wasn't clear if they understood what these initiatives would provide in terms of leave and/or support. It was also clear that there was a stark divide in the ways in which the majority and minority of fathers balanced their family and work responsibilities. This was, at this stage, only partially explained by the ways fathers defined their roles as fathers and so required additional investigation. To better understand categories Theoretical Sampling was undertaken.

The process of Theoretical Sampling can simply be understood as the process of 'going back to the field to gather specific data to fill gaps within categories, to elaborate the analysis of these categories, and to discover variation within and between them' (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011, p.176). This re-entering of the field is again an example of how grounded and ethnographic approaches to sociological enquiry complement one another as ethnographic approaches also champion re-entering the field and interviewing following periods of data analysis as a means to learn more regarding specific topics (Heyl, 2011). This grounded/ethnographic approach allowed me to remain engaged with the investigated phenomena and gain a greater understanding of the categories and recorded data.

To complete the process of theoretical sampling I again organized interviews with participants which started the second phase of interviews being undertaken. From that data I again, as with first phase interview and observation data, undertook coding, interpretation of codes and completed category formation. Unlike the first phase of data collection, which provided substantial amounts of data which were disregarded, this second phase of data collection via theoretical sampling provided a

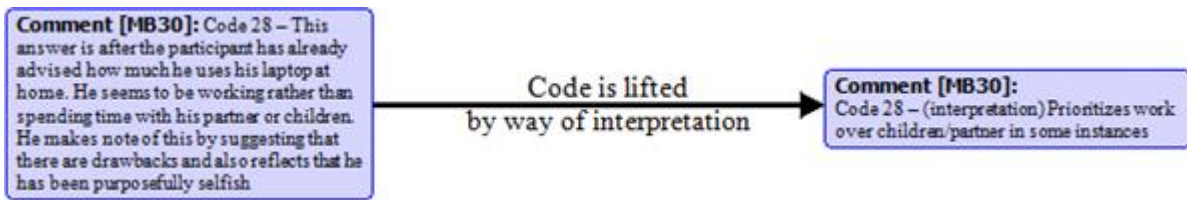
far greater yield of applicable data by ratio. This is, however, to be expected as the process of theoretical sampling is to only collect data which is theoretically relevant (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990 and Charmaz, 2008). As such, asking questions based on the already collected data was always to increase the yield of applicable data. It was at this point (the first period of theoretical sampling) that an important category was developed and helped bring to light other interesting aspects of navigation. This category, referred to as *Fatherhood Secret* as a working title, was constructed from fathers' attempts to segment work and family, efforts to conceal communication relating to fatherhood and their intentional actions to void their workstations of family related items (these actions would later come to inform a major aspect of the study). At this point it was clear that fathers were attempting to reduce their paternal presence within the organizational setting and were far more prone to discuss, engage with and speak at length regarding the ways they engage with their work role both within the organizational setting and their home setting. It was at this point that I realized that the actions fathers were utilizing to conceal aspects of their family role was an important line of enquiry to pursue.

When carrying out the interpretation process I was sensitive that what was being undertaken was an interpretation of second order interpretations. This is the case as what is offered to the researcher through interview data, for instance, is not a perfect presentation or communication of the participant's reality, but their own interpretation. The researcher's interpretation then becomes an interpretation of the second order (Van Maanen, 1979). For that reason I was always engaged in a process of *constructing*, rather than *discovering*, theory (Schwandt, 1998). As a means to present an example of the process of how participants' interpretations of their reality were themselves interpreted, a code is here offered from the following extract from an interview:

Project management, Lean Six Sigma is the course that I've I've [sic] qualified in and on done various levels on it so that that's the big one for me. So that did take up a lot of time. And then I'm bolting on extra things anyway but if I can get qualification for it I should bolt this stuff on and have something. So. I've been I've been very ambitious with. I guess cramming a lot into my time which obviously has a drawback at home as well. So I've almost had. I guess purposely selfish periods (Anthony, first interview)

Throughout the process of interpretation I again used the same Microsoft Word comment function as used when coding interview data (mentioned previously) but *lifted* the comment to present an understanding of what can be meant by the participant's answer. This process then moves a simple observation, or comment of interest, to being a useful and, most importantly, meaningful interpretation of data which hold theoretical worth. This is important as it moves the analysis from simple descriptive observation toward theorising (Miles & Huberman, 1994):

Figure 11: Interpretation



Here, the initial code, which is simply a summary of thoughts regarding an interesting abstraction, has been lifted to consider what the participant's actions *mean* in the context of the study, hence '*drawbacks from home*' and '*selfish periods*' are of significance to a study concerned with fathers' work and family navigation and so interpretation focuses upon those elements of the participant's experience. These elements of the code were then interpreted by me and help evidence an example of action which prioritizes work over family. What can be interpreted from this code would be wholly different should one be investigating, for instance, professional development which might ascribe more importance to the participant's process of '*bolting on qualifications*' or the actual qualifications sought. As such the researcher holds an important role to play in isolating and drawing meaning from data (through the process of interpretation) which is of specific interest to the study. Again, this process and distinction is here highlighted for it reveals the social constructionist rationale laden within the design of the study and analysis process (Charmaz, 2008).

The process of interpretation was undertaken for every code isolated during initial coding. A limited number of codes were interpreted but not used as it was decided, upon second inspection and consideration of the data within the context of the study, that they held little ability to explain or describe aspects of work and family navigation. Nevertheless, I operated a very relaxed approach within the initial phases of interpretation to ensure that no data which might help within the later stages of Category Formation were lost. This process can be better understood as conforming to a highly inductive approach and allowing the data to guide the investigation (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017, pp.72-76).

6.1.6 Category Reduction

A benefit of Theoretical Sampling is that it allows the researcher to distil the initial categories toward a reduced set of categories which have rich descriptive depth and suitable theoretical potential (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990 and Charmaz, 2008). Because I was able to focus on the ways that fathers chose to conceal aspects of their family role, I was next able to reduce the abundance of categories which had resulted from a wholly inductive start to the analysis process. This process was undertaken with an emphasis upon the possibility that existing categories might contribute toward understanding the ways fathers were concealing or representing themselves within the organizational setting. Although this meant the analysis process consisted of a culling of a large amount of data captured at the initial phases of the study, it was always to be the case that this would be a process that would need to be undertaken when going into the field inductively focused (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). It is important here to note that my role was key in guiding the study in this way as it was the actions of participants seeking to keep fatherhood a secret that I felt had potential and

resulted in the subjective consideration of what might not be important or helpful to support the study in moving toward this area of interest. This is indicative of the process of analysis being one in which the researcher *constructs* theory (Charmaz, 2008 and Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011) rather than theory organically revealing itself to the researcher, or being *discovered*, as is the case with other Grounded approaches (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978, 1992 and 1998).

It was clear that some of the data collected at these initial phases (interview phase one and early observational periods) held little explanatory power in understanding fathers' representations of work and family within the organizational setting, so the decision was taken that any superfluous data should be removed from the ongoing data analysis phases. In doing so I adopted the position that data earns its place by, for instance, being present within both interview and observation data, regularly occurring or regularly absent and applicable to the new line of enquiry (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). This process was undertaken as a means to not force inapplicable data to hold a purpose for which it is unfit (ibid, p.7). In taking this position throughout reducing categories I focused upon only those categories which would assist in learning about fathers' representations of family and work within the organizational setting.

6.1.7 Initial Axial Coding

Having undertaken coding, interpretation, category formation, theoretical sampling, category reduction and then the same process with second phase interviewing and subsequent observation data the analysis now focused upon Axial Coding between the reduced categories which were now constructed from the balance of all collected data. This process was focused upon considering the existing categories, rather than as singular sets of interpreted codes with similar properties, as categories which might relate to one another in a meaningful way (Noble & Mitchell, 2016).

Although publications concerned with Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990 and Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011) provide a very clear definition of what Axial Coding is they provide limited direction when one is concerned with undertaking the actual process (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011). To help catalyse the process of Axial Coding I called upon LeCompte's (2000) work in which she suggests the use of Spradley's (1979) semantic relationships (figure 12) to help identify relationships between existing categories:

Figure 12: Semantic Statements

<i>Semantic Statements</i>
X is a kind of Y
X is a place in Y
X is a part of y
X is a result of Y
X is a cause of Y
X is a reason for Y
X is a place for doing Y
X is used for Y
X is a way of doing Y
X is a stage or step in Y
X is a characteristic of Y

This process was used as it helped consider how, in this instance, categories may be relational. For instance, that intentional removal of physical representations of family was **a kind of** Concealment strategy. Similarly, using one's own holidays instead of such leave policies was (also) **a kind of** strategy to Minimize Absence. By drawing upon these Semantic Statements to constantly question the categories and their properties I was able to develop the 'action/interaction' of categories referred to by Strauss & Corbin (1990, p.57). Undertaking this process quickly helped build an understanding that fathers were treating their family and work roles very differently, both in the ways they defined these roles and in the ways they interacted, represented and concealed aspects of them. For instance, it was almost immediately clear that matters of fathers' family roles were constantly linked to actions of Concealment, whereas fathers' work roles were constantly linked to actions of, what was termed at the time, Revealment (later Front).

A supplementary method to help develop these relationships and understand how categories might relate to one another was to diagram each category into a conceptual map (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011, p.178). This process helped visualize the relationships between categories and also how connections between two categories, by considering them semantically, may help explain the processes fathers were utilizing as they chose to conceal or reveal aspects of their work and family roles. The process of diagramming also helped consider relationships between categories for their theoretical worth rather than their relational characteristic (as determined by the use of Spradley's (1979) Semantic Statements). In other words, the visual representation of categories, their properties and the relationships between categories helped visualise several categories simultaneously (which was seemingly a limitation of only being able to consider two categories and a singular relationship utilizing Spradley's (1979) Semantic Statements). This then moved the goal of axial coding toward one more concerned with a consideration of the holistic consideration of the recorded data and helped build a diagram of the process of understanding how and why work and family roles are navigated (figure 13).

At this point the analysis was building an exceptionally deep understanding of several types of actions which were used to navigate representations of work and family roles. For instance, I, having employed both Semantic Statements and a process of conceptual mapping, found support for actions of Concealment (by fathers practicing segmentation of work and family roles, wishing to keep fatherhood a secret, concealing discussions of fathering, concealing absences and minimizing representations of fatherhood through photographs and personal items in work) and Revealment (committing to their work role, working additional hours, working early, working late, working to create holiday time, working on holiday, sacrificing time with family, forfeiting hobbies, employing mobile technology whilst at home). Being able to evidence commonality in so many aspects of the recorded data situated the study in a strong position to evidence an array of ways fathers choose to navigate work and family. Being able to draw upon this rich description of the ways fathers represent or conceal aspects of their family and work roles resulted in me next considering how one might best start to explain these actions.

6.1.8 Consulting Existing Literature

Axial Coding had revealed evidence that participants were utilizing Concealment and Revealment as a means to manage how they engaged with, or avoided aspects of either their family and/or work roles. Moreover, fathers mentioned that they had employed some of these actions so that they represented themselves in a positive manner (although there were limited examples at this time). Representing oneself to appear positive, being the core assumption of Impression Management theory (Goffman, 1959 and Leary & Kowalski, 1990), helped affirm that I should proceed by considering this body of literature to illuminate the choices fathers were making in relation to the representation of their work and family roles. Additionally, some areas of literature, such as those that suggested fatherhood was invisible (Gatrell, 2005; Lyng, 2010 and Burnett et al., 2013), were also considered.

In the abductive style, the analysis continued by consulting current organizational literature which might be of importance to consider, when attempting to explain, what these processes of concealment and revealment might be and how they might be used to navigate work and family (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2017). There is a widely held belief that when undertaking grounded research that the study, to effectively ensure theory is grounded within the investigated case, should seek pure induction and delay undertaking a literature review until the analysis phase has been completed (Thornberg, 2012). However, advocacy of *pure* induction stems from the original assumptions of Glaser & Strauss (1967) and, later, Glaser (1978, 1992 and 1998), rather than those who champion an abductive approach to Grounded Theory approaches (Charmaz, 2008; Thornberg, 2012 and Thornberg & Charmaz, 2013). For instance, Thornberg & Charmaz (2013, p.163) make explicit mention to the benefit of this approach (one consulting existing literature during the analysis process) noting that 'researchers should investigate all kinds of existing theories that they encounter in different research disciplines or domains to figure out for themselves their embedded theoretical codes'. Additionally, it is also the case that by engaging with existing literature one might see *further* and provide more clarity upon the phenomena under study should such consultation have been avoided (Thornberg, 2012). And, finally, one also avoids the real risk of pursuing lines of enquiry already well trodden by contemporaries and which risks one reinventing the wheel (ibid, p.245).

For these reasons it was at this stage that I began to consider literature concerned with the ways fathers might present themselves in the organizational setting (Goffman, 1959; Jones & Pittman, 1982 and Leary & Kowalski, 1990). At this stage only broad theoretical contributions to the area of Impression Management were considered as to not suffocate the burgeoning theory. As such, these texts were considered for their ability to act as a lens through which the researcher might best describe what was happening as participants chose to reveal or conceal aspects of their work and family roles. In consulting these literatures it was clear that Goffman's (1959) work was far more descriptive and less prescriptive than those texts that followed his original work concerning Impression Management (Jones & Pittman, 1982 and Leary & Kowalski, 1990). For instance, where Goffman (1959) provided a multitude of examples of actions undertaken by individuals who were viewed as performing small continuous representations of self, Jones & Pittman (1982) and Leary & Kowalski (1990) provided far more defined, rigid and set types of actions that were designed and

understood to act as constructs to provide one seeking to undertake deductive studies a solid base upon which to start their investigation. The rationale to turn away from these later studies and toward Goffman's (1959) thesis is expanded upon within chapter three so, as to avert the risk of repetition, further clarification will not be repeated here.

At this point, in relation to the analysis phase, what was important was that I had decided upon an existing area of study and theoretical lens through which the recorded actions of revealing and concealing aspects of work and family roles could be far better explained. For instance, having utilized Goffman's (1959) work, I was able to construct categories of Concealment and Front (developed from the category of Revealmant). These categories were then able to draw upon, and benefit from, Goffman's (1959) work to differentiate certain actions and properties contained therewith, which would have been impossible should they not be considered through Goffman's (1959) work. For instance, Daniel and Curtis had both mentioned that they did not wish to represent fatherhood within the organizational setting, however, with Goffman's (1959) work as a theoretical lens I was able to differentiate Daniel's *Corrective* action (ibid, pp.24-25) to remove a representation of fatherhood and Curtis' *Preventative* action (ibid, pp.24-25) to proactively not represent fatherhood. The same was also true in relation to actions of revealment as Goffman's (1959) concept of Audience Segregation (Goffman, 1956, p.31) and Front and Back Regions (Goffman, 1956, p.66-70) helped better describe the actions fathers took as they chose to reveal certain aspects of their Family Role in particular settings to particular 'audiences'. As Thonberg (2012, p.245) argues, taking this position might readily be considered as one 'standing on the shoulder of a giant', existing theory elevating what the analysis is able to unearth and explain.

6.1.9 Final Theoretical Sampling

Although I was able to evidence a wealth of performative actions undertaken by fathers and second phase data collection had provided great inroads in explaining why navigation was taking place there was still an absence of data concerned with explaining why the specific performative actions had been utilized. The concern with such data is that without an explanation to why these actions were undertaken it is not clear that they are intentional and can be treated as symbolic. For instance, it wasn't clear why fathers chose to leave certain arrival stamps or sacrifice time away from their families in the evening to only check personal emails, browse the internet, shop online and/or read the news nor was clear why fathers such as Daniel and Curtis (amongst others) chose to proactively and reactively remove images and items relating to their family role from the organizational setting. For that reason I undertook a second process of Theoretical Sampling to learn why the recorded actions were utilized. This second phase of theoretical sampling consisted of the utilization of semi-structured interviews to concentrate upon fathers' reasons for utilizing the recorded performative actions. As with the first period of Theoretical Sampling (which led to a general understanding of why navigation might occur) the data collected during the second phase of Theoretical Sampling was almost entirely applicable.

6.1.10 Final Axial Coding

Having completed a second phase of theoretical sampling I completed the final process of Axial Coding. This, similar to the initial process of axial coding, consisted of asking questions of the data via Spradley's (1979) Semantic Statements with an emphasis upon understanding, specifically, why the performative actions recorded had been given. Similarly, the analysis again chose to diagram the developing theory by incorporating new categories within the existing theory, allowing me to consider my data and the answers to my research questions in a way that they might relate to one another. In this sense, crafting a theory to understand how and why performances were given, the process of final axial coding was utilized to construct a fuller understanding of the phenomena of fathers using performances within the organizational setting.

6.1.11 Theoretical Saturation

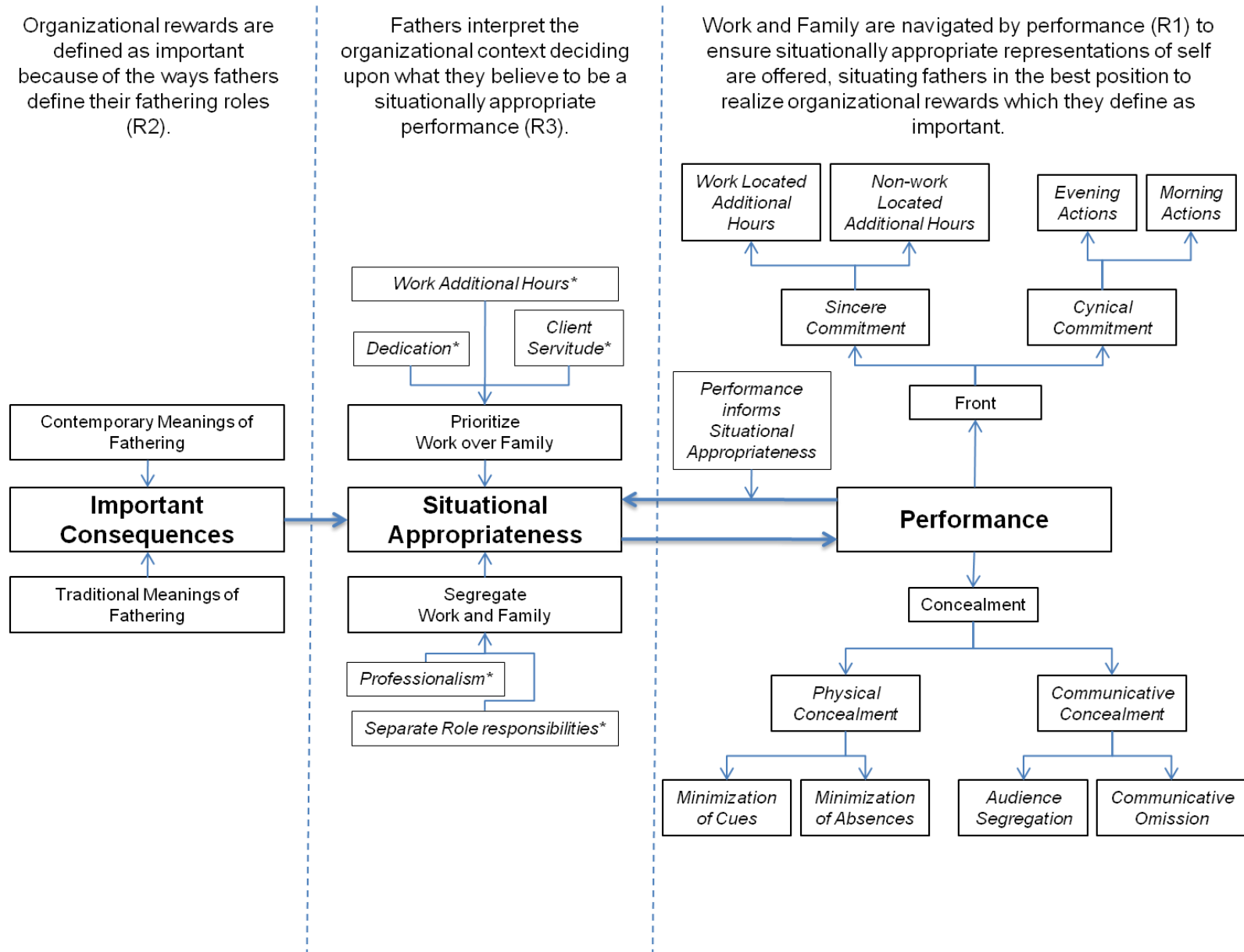
Following final phase of Axial Coding I had reached a point at which I was able to answer why the recorded actions of fathers had been taken. It was at this point that I sought to consider if I had reached the end of the analysis phase. The received notion within qualitative research is that such a period is reached when theoretical saturation occurs (Charmaz, 2008). However, recognising when such a point had occurred was not an easy task as it is argued that grounded researchers use the term loosely, so much so that what it means to be at the point of theoretical saturation is contentious (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2011).

In reviewing when one might well be at a point of saturation I found there were two distinct ways of considering the same. The first was that saturation can be considered the point at which one arrives at an end point he/she is able to define as an event (Saunders et al., 2018). The issue with this approach is that it suggests a type of objectivity being cast upon qualitative data which creates obvious tensions between the study's subjective epistemological, and relativist ontological, orientation. In this sense, taking a relativist ontological orientation predisposes one to argue that it is impossible to evidence saturation by reaching a discrete or definitive point for it also champions that social phenomena are fluid and one is unable to perfectly apprehend participants' own realities (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This too is a position taken by grounded theorists who suggest one can never perfectly capture the fluid social phenomena under investigation (Strauss & Corbin, 1998 and Thornberg & Charmaz, 2013). Because of these issues I evaluated the findings I had made in relation to my research questions and considered if the answers provided a sufficient and accurate representation of the lives of my participants. To do this I considered the ways that my findings provided a coherent narrative and could explain how and why fathers chose and arrived at the utilization of performative action to navigate work and family. I also considered if my findings were novel, theoretically coherent and if they made a substantial contribution to revealing new perspectives upon the ways that we currently understand how and why navigation occurs.

Figure 13 (below) is a representation of the process fathers take in undertaking performative navigation of work and family roles based upon the findings of my study. In other words, I found that the answers to my research questions provided clear evidence that I could theoretically present the process by which fathers decided upon and then undertook performative navigation. As this will help

later discussion when I consider the contributions my study makes I have included this as a diagram below (figure 13).

Figure 13: Visualization of Findings



7. Findings

The following chapter will discuss what I found in answering my three research questions. For ease I provide the research questions below along with a summary of my findings before proceeding to expand upon each:

(1) How do fathers navigate work and family within the organizational setting?

In answering research question one I found that fathers utilize a suite of performative actions as a means to engage or conceal aspects of their work and family. I will draw heavily upon accounts from interviews and also observations made during participant observation and actual participation to evidence these performative actions. The examples I employ evidence the intricate and small changes fathers will make to the ways that they present themselves in the organizational setting as they seek to be received favourably. This finding will be discussed in the findings section titled *Performances*.

(2) Why do fathers navigate work and family within the organizational setting?

In answering research question two I found that the meanings fathers ascribed to *good fathering* were important. These meanings cast the financial rewards of employment as important and were revealed as important to understand why navigation occurred as fathers wished to be received favourably as a means to acquire organizational rewards which were essential to support their families and, for them, to realize the mantle of *good father*. I expand upon this point within the findings section by drawing upon Goffman's (1959) concept of Important Consequences. This finding will be explored within the second part of this chapter titled *Important Consequences*.

(3) Why do fathers utilize the specific actions they choose?

In answering research question three I found that fathers interpret the organizational setting and from these interpretations determine what it means to be a *good worker* is to effectively prioritize work over, and segment work from, family. I explore participants' accounts in this regard to evidence the ways that fathers interpreted the organizational setting whilst also noting how those interpretations resulted in the choice to employ the performative actions recorded when answering research question one. In doing so I draw upon Goffman's (1959) notion of Situational Appropriateness to argue that fathers employed the performative actions recorded as they believed they would create a positive impression and situate them in a strong position to realize organizational rewards.

I also found, in answering research question three, that fathers' own actions influence what they view as situationally appropriate action and so come to define how they navigate work and family. These findings will be discussed within the third section of the findings chapter titled *Situational Appropriateness*.

7.1 Performances

In answering research question one I found that fathers utilize performances as a means to navigate work and family by engaging or concealing aspects of either role. Goffman's (1959) work on Performances is used to highlight the performative nature of actions recorded. I found performance can be understood as consisting of actions which create a Front or act to Conceal aspects of one's family and/or work role(s). As such, these aspects of performance can be understood to create opportunity for fathers to engage with or avoid their work and family roles by the impressions which the actions claim. In other words, Front can be employed as a performative measure for fathers to claim, by impression, the position Work Role Engagement and Concealment can be employed as a means to claim, by impression, Family Role Concealment or Discreet Family Role Engagement:

Figure 14: Performances

	<i>Aspect</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Action</i>	<i>Position Claimed</i>
<i>Performance</i>	Front	Sincere Commitment	Work located Additional Hours Non-work located Additional Hours	Work Role Engagement
		Cynical Commitment	Actions of the Evening Actions of the Morning	
	Concealment	Physical Concealment	Minimization of Props Minimization of Absences	Family Role Concealment
		Communicative Concealment	Communicative Omission Audience Segregation	Discreet Family Role Engagement

I next discuss the above mentioned actions as a means to highlight the performative nature of action and how these actions were utilized to claim the positions of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Discreet Family Role Engagement by impression. I elect to use the phrase that positions were *claimed* rather than taken to differentiate that my participants were navigating work and family performatively and so claiming positions by impression.

7.1.1 Front

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Front	Sincere	Work located Additional Hours
	Commitment	Non-work located Additional Hours
	Cynical	Actions of the Morning
	Commitment	Actions of the Evening

The balance of actions considered to construct fathers' fronts can be thought of as to represent an example of what Goffman (1959) described as Dramatic Realization in which a performer attempts to make their best qualities known, especially in instances when they might otherwise remain unclear or subdued in interactions with others.

A defining characteristic of the front that fathers created was, broadly speaking, whether it was presented in a sincere or cynical manner. In this regard I draw upon Goffman's (1959) work which suggests that an individual who performs sincerely can be thought of as one who is convinced of their own performance (ibid, p.10). This term is used to describe those fathers who engage wholly with their performance and perform actions, such as working late or working from home and sought to sincerely claim commitment to the organization. Cynical performances, however, are characterized by a deliberate lack of sincerity; these types of performance can be thought of as those in which the performer seeks to delude their audience whilst knowingly and falsely performing in a manner which might, in this instance, portray organizational commitment (ibid, p.18).

Sincere Commitment

The first strategy to discuss was that in which fathers demonstrated commitment sincerely. This strategy was enacted by working additional hours, either within the organizational arena (work located additional hours) or outside of the organizational arena (non-work located additional hours) with fathers utilizing technologies to continue to perform in instances when they were either at home, shopping and even on holiday. Two important aspects of these performances were that fathers suggested they worked additional hours not because of necessity but because of a desire to create and maintain a desired impression for organizational audiences.

Work located Additional Hours

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Front	Sincere	Work located Additional Hours
	Commitment	Non-work located Additional Hours
	Cynical	Actions of the Morning

	Commitment	Actions of the Evening
--	------------	------------------------

The most common action recorded was for fathers to be engaged in working additional hours, within the organizational setting, at times when one may expect a father to be engaged in family activities. This type of action was similar to those recorded within the Work Role Engagement discourse and suggests a means by which fathers might come to prioritize work over family. In this regard Edward advises, with pride, that contracted finishing times, like contracted start times, are of a bygone era: *'everyone knows 5:30 is not home time, 5:30 is just a 20-minute break until you start again for the next 2-3 hours'*. This 20-minute intermission consisted of the majority of employees leaving to attend to extra-organizational matters, whereas Edward, amongst other performers (predominantly young males), would return to their stage as a means to demonstrate commitment by continuing to perform into the evening. The amount of time invested in undertaking this type of commitment was alluded to by George who explains, *'I do two maybe three hours extra a day. You add that up 15 hours [a week] maybe more'*. These hours, for George, and others, are split throughout the working week during the morning and evenings when they prioritize their organizational role over that of their family role.

The zeitgeist for fathers claiming commitment in this way can perhaps be best summarised by Sean who explains that work usually attracts the majority of his time and *'so it is pretty rare that work would lose out [to family] I suppose'*. Sean further discusses the priority he assigns his work role by sharing his experience of trying to claim organizational commitment during the corporate merger taking place at the time of interviewing:

'my family essentially hardly saw me for several months, they saw me in moderation, but I wasn't really there and engaging. My mind was so much on work and that wasn't a good balance'.

This evidences that engaging in such a performance might be problematic as the balance between work and family roles, as Sean noted, was not a good one. Others such as Greg also highlight engaging in this type of performance as problematic:

'Work, work, work. Giving my life to the firm isn't important to me but in parts I have to because that is the legal sector. It is simply the market we operate in. They want numbers. It is sometimes hard, you know, some weeks my mum will see Daisy more than I do'.

The problem for Greg is that directing action toward his work role inherently means directing time and energy away from his family role. He is absent from, and misses, essential interaction with his daughter which is otherwise allocated to his mother whilst he maintains his work role performance to appear dedicated. What is of particular interest is that Greg's performative action is similar to those recorded within the Work Role Engagement discourse and makes him appear as if he is a traditional (Cooper, 2000) or is career orientated (Halrynjo, 2009). However, it is clear that this type of performance does not sit well with the type of father Greg is (I expand more on Greg and others' fathering ideals but mention this point here as it is important to note that Greg crafts an impression which contrasts, if not contradicts, his fathering ideals). He claims these types of categorizations

although he desires greater childrearing and, as such, is arguably not a *traditional* father in that sense.

Anthony explains how, for fathers like himself, Sean and Greg, who engage in work-located additional hours, might cast themselves as absent from their homes roles, '*if I didn't get back for Henry going to bed. And I'm up at 6:00. As far as he's concerned, I've never come home*'. However, and although such absences were common for the majority of fathers many did not consider this problematic. For instance, George simply noted, having explained the excessive hours worked, '*but I don't mind*' and Anthony that...

'...there's a lot of different things I have to explore in my job that need me to I guess do extra research. Not because I have to, because I do that to make sure I know exactly everything in every area as I can as best I can, so I go equipped. Not everyone will do that, but I do that because I want to do the best job I can. And I can't, that's just who I am. But that eats into my personal life'.

Anthony explains that he engages in extra work, not because he has to, but because he wants to. We might consider this a desire to create the best front possible or, as Anthony explains, to do *the best job possible*, even at the cost of his family role. This *extra work*, as Anthony refers to it, is in excess of what is required for his role. In this sense, Anthony leverages his strategy of undertaking extra work only for the performative power such a strategy awards.

The desire to create a front by which organizational commitment might be claimed was also one which might be problematic to claim from home, meaning fathers regularly elect to stay away from the home and perform upon the organizational stage. For instance, Alex, who regularly worked late, explained '*[if I was at home] I wouldn't be taking care of the kids really. I'd probably just be looking at emails replying to emails and they'd be watching YouTube or whatever*'. Alex's account suggests that his commitment would distract from his role as father, his children separately engaged by electronic entertainment whilst he prioritizes his work role. As a result, Alex spends extended periods working from the office in an attempt to shelter work from family as, as he explains regarding his work laptop, '*there's no chance that I would get anything done. There would be fingers all over it. Yeah. Jam all over it or whatever*'. Unable to effectively engage in claiming commitment in a non-work location meant that fathers might elect the organizational setting as the stage to perform.

A common theme in fathers' accounts was to practice actions which are associated with the Work Role Engagement discourse. In other words, fathers' actions coalesce around creating a very particular type of impression of one who is wholly engaged with their work role through allocating time and investment to their organizational responsibilities. Although undertaken as a means to claim a particular type of impression this does not mean that these actions do not readily require substantial investment. This type of investment in actions associated with front, should they be undertaken for prolonged periods might have a detrimental effect upon fathers as, ultimately, that same investment means less time spent with their children. For instance, Peter and Mark, the two oldest fathers, benefitting from hindsight, suggested, '*I think the biggest thing that I, I think is, I've, I've missed out on the kids growing up*' (Peter) and '*I should have been spending time thinking about them and concentrating on them, talking to them, enjoying them, and I wasn't*' (Mark). For these fathers it was

clear that claiming commitment by performing upon the organizational stage created a sense of regret to those experiences lost back region. In these accounts it is clear that work, as Sean mentioned, rarely lost out to family.

Non-work located Additional Hours

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Front	Sincere Commitment	Work located Additional Hours
		Non-work located Additional Hours
	Cynical Commitment	Actions of the Morning Actions of the Evening

Non-Work Located Additional Hours were most commonly performed when fathers utilized technology to demonstrate commitment whilst physically absent from their respective office. To ensure performances reached their audience when away from the office fathers employed technologies such as mobile phones and laptops. The use of these technologies meant that fathers' performances (and opportunity to claim organizational commitment) were not temporally or physically restricted. Using technology in this way helped fathers evidence a dedication to client demands which Greg recalls 'I see colleagues here that will e-mail and I've seen it on the reviews, "they've emailed me out of office hours e-mail me [at] eleven o'clock"'. This was evidenced in firsthand accounts such as that of Alex who explains '*I mean last night I was on the laptop like half eleven doing some emails*', he later explains '*yeah it's kind of always glued to my sides*'. This need to have access to mobile technologies to allow one to demonstrate commitment was perhaps most apparent in the accounts which suggest this may create negative experiences for partners. Peter, for instance, explains:

'I got shouted at last year when we went on holiday to America and I took my laptop with me. But it was just, it was, it was what it was. They went off horse riding one day and it was a bit rainy so I stayed in and the house and worked'

Technology is used, by Peter, his colleagues knowing he is on leave, to demonstrate that his family responsibilities, regardless if on holiday, will not affect his ability to prioritize work and affect his ability to claim he is fully committed to his organizational role. This too was the case for Sean who states '*I need the laptop in the event that something kicks off, it is very hard to work practically speaking, off a phone, or even an iPad so I have it with me as a backup and an insurance policy*'. Sean shared his experience of a recent holiday, '*it was only a weekend away but I was on the phone and on my devices way, way more than anyone would feel was reasonable*'.

Additionally, Sean suggests that his actions, changing the nature of the back region, may have been unreasonable. He does not suggest that he agreed it was unreasonable, in fact Sean defends his action of engaging his front whilst physically located within a back region by stating '*it was only a weekend away*'. The same appeared true for Peter who explained '*I got the computer out. Fay, she said "you're not working again?", "Well I just need to do a little bit". It was only three hours later, and I'd finished*'. In both these accounts it is of particular interest that Peter too did not suggest he

was unreasonable; he explained, earlier, that he *'got shouted at'*. In this sense, fathers did not view it inappropriate to engage in non-work located additional hours, it was, for instance, usually partners suggesting that this was inappropriate. Further examples can be gleaned from Alex who explained 'I went through a stage of just being constantly glued to it but the missus had a little shout at me' or Kevin who would regularly work of an evening until his partner would ask "*can you put your work laptop down?*". And by Edward who explained the result of demonstrating Non-Work Located Additional Hours whilst shopping:

'My wife started getting frustrated with me and saying "why are you doing that? Why are you looking at that, it is not important, we are your family! This is what is important right now and what you are doing now is just going to frustrate me" and so we had a big row about it in the middle of IKEA'

Performing in such a way meant that claiming commitment in non-work locations transformed Back Regions, as such a region is defined as a place one 'can drop his front, forgo speaking his lines, and step out of character' (Goffman, 1956, p.70), to being that of a Front Region as such a region is understood as the place where a performance of front is given (Goffman, 1956, p.66). Being witnessed within an act of misrepresentation participants' partners were frustrated, catching fathers *flagrante delicto* (Goffman, 1959, p.39), transforming their back region to their front region.

Technology was such a powerful tool to claim commitment that even when technologies were not organizationally allocated fathers confessed to synchronizing their personal smart phones to their employer's mail server. Edward explained that, in this regard, non-allocated technologies were not allowed, noting that *'when Lee came in to be fair to him, he said it was a security breach'*. Although this was the case two fathers (Curtis and Peter) engaged in using their own mobile phones. Curtis explained *'I needed a phone. I couldn't work from home as well because you would have to rent a laptop out here'*. This allowed Curtis to be engaged in non-work located additional hours, for instance, when he may be expected to be engaged in no such activities. He notes:

'I can just email people from the phone. So I can. I can sit there and we can be watching Coronation Street or some crap like that... I might just jump on the phone and I might just reply to a few emails while she's watching that'.

This account suggests that non-work located commitment might be performed surreptitiously. This surreptitious performance of commitment allowed Curtis to *keep up* with those fathers who, via work allocated technology, may have greater opportunity to perform and claim organizational commitment. This also suggests that the performances of other fathers might have an effect upon the choice of fathers to perform in a particular manner. I build on this point within the later section of the findings chapter in which I reveal that fathers themselves are informing what is determined to be situationally appropriate action(s). However, at this point the example of Curtis, like all fathers, and similar to work-located performances, noted a choice to engage in non-work located additional hours. Additionally, and for example, Graham, when asked if it is an expectation that he should check his phone out of hours, explains *'No. That's just me keeping on top you know I don't want to be seen to have not dealt*

with something if I can be seen to be on top of it'. It is clear here that Graham, in wanting to be seen in a certain light, is concerned with the impression he is casting. Similarly, Edward, in detailing the ways he consistently engaged with his work role from home explains:

'I will sit at home on a Saturday and usually do about 9am until 4pm of solid working of just clearing up anything from my post completion, any call backs I haven't done yet, I will diarise them into my diary for the following week, look to see if have caught up with my tasks properly? Have I missed anything? It is just kind of a clear up day for me'.

In Edward's account he does not suggest that he *needs* to undertake this work, say to fulfil a requirement of his day-to-day activity or contractual obligations to his employer; Edward is interested in ensuring his performance is immaculate as he is concerned with performing *properly* and ensuring nothing is *missed*. In a dramaturgical sense it appears Edward is able to retrospectively curate his performance as a film director might edit the performance of an actor to ensure only the best of their performance is shown to the audience and, in doing so, cast the impression that they desire. Similar attention to one's performance and undertaking actions concerned with non-work additional hours were mentioned by Anthony who explains '[I do] *an awful lot travelling. Which is usually in my spare time. Because I can't afford to lose hours in the day. A lot of travelling. Yeah. A lot of extra time*'. Anthony is not willing to forfeit performance time within the organizational setting, instead forfeiting time engaged with his family role as a means to remain engaged with performing commitment as he chooses to travel during non-work hours. Again, these types of actions, like those utilized within the organizational setting, mean that work rarely loses out to family.

Summary of Sincere Commitment - Father's accounts suggested that they employ a myriad of actions in sincerely claiming commitment. These consisted of working additional hours whilst located within the office space and orchestrating laptops and mobile phones as a means to continue performances whilst in non-work located places. Understanding that commitment can be claimed whilst located in and away from the office revealed that fathers transformed Back Regions into Front Regions, their partners frustrated as demonstrating such commitment was not demanded by their employer but was undertaken by choice as they sought to ensure they were received favourably and, in some instances, *keep up* with one another.

Cynical Commitment

Cynical commitment was a strategy employed by fathers to claim commitment to the organization whilst engaged in other, non-work related, activities such as taking breaks, browsing the internet or making personal telephone calls. Examples of actions witnessed during the evening and morning have here been included to illuminate the ways in which a performance can, although being performed cynically, be viewed as a performer being organizationally committed.

Actions of the Morning

<i>Aspect of</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
------------------	-----------------	----------------

<i>Performance</i>		
Front	Sincere	Work located Additional Hours
	Commitment	Non-work located Additional Hours
	Cynical	Actions of the Morning
	Commitment	Actions of the Evening

Before normal working hours started fathers regularly used props to advertise their physical presence on stage, in preparation for audience arrival and before they actually began working. In essence, these actions were undertaken as a means to stamp one's arrival and to show how early, and therefore how committed, they were to the organization. The first prop utilized in this manner was a group of parking spaces which were closest to the main entrance of the flagship office. These spaces appeared to be sacred for their ability to advertise that their occupants were amongst the first to arrive at the office. Peter explained in his final interview:

'I know a few of the young lads like to get the old partners' parking spaces, you know, to the right of the entrance. It's unsaid but those spaces are basically filled by the first that arrive so it can send a message let's say'

Peter, as a director, is aware that this practice exists as a means to claim one has worked additional hours before normal operating hours. Organically this topic of conversation actually appeared in a previous interview with Alex who explained that *'I get in in the mornings as early as I can. I like to be seen to be here and ready'*. In that way it is again clear that an impression is what is sought when fathers engage in these highly performative actions.

Another example of a morning performance came from Graham had explained that one of the actions he performed as a junior (when his job role called for him to make drinks) was to make his colleagues' drinks tepid. This was done so that when his team manager and peers arrived in the office, even should they arrive three minutes after Graham, it would provide the impression that Graham had been engaged with work for such a time that it would take a boiled drink to cool. Other examples can be given from observations of Alex and Stephen who each, entering the office early, logged on at their workstations, suspended their out of office and removed their blazers or jackets before making a morning drink or using the restroom. These behaviours created a physical stamp on one's workplace to signal one's presence in preparation for audience arrival should the performer be engaged in non-work activities such as having their cereal (Mark, Francis, Greg and Stephen), morning drink (Graham, Francis and Mark) or a cigarette (Alex and Graham). What is of interest is that such actions were also taken when interviews were scheduled. For instance, Sean, Peter and Leonard (all directors) all ensured they were logged on to their workstations before interviews began. One might be sceptical that this is simply undertaken to check emails but no such time was afforded as the simple action was to logon and then lock their workstation so that the case organization company policy appeared as a screensaver (a virtual stamp of one's presence). This action was witnessed several times as I would regularly arrive in good time and be ready to interview participants when they arrived in the office.

A difference between fathers such as Sean, Peter and Leonard who all held directorial roles, was that they never logged on to accommodate personal activities. However, and regardless of what is being accommodated the intention in the action of participants was always the same; rather than simply being seen as making a drink before one starts work, by logging on before such an action takes place, one is seen as taking a break from work to make a drink or taking a break to accommodate the request of a researcher for an interview. The impression claimed is that before such interruptions participants were already engaged in work and appeared, through being engaged well before normal working hours, organizationally committed.

As with performances of sincere commitment these insincere morning performances can also be experienced negatively by fathers. For instance, Paul, having explained that he will arrive at the office early to ensure he is present to then only eat his breakfast at his desk, noted '*If I'm brutally honest I hate it. I just want to stay there and be with them as much as I can*'. Performing in this manner, spending time at one's office to only then perform a task which is traditionally associated with family is again an example of how performances are experienced negatively by fathers.

Actions of the Evening

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Front	Sincere Commitment	Work located Additional Hours Non-work located Additional Hours
	Cynical Commitment	Actions of the Morning Actions of the Evening

The most popular evening action witnessed, likely because it appeared the most akin to remaining engaged with actual work, was for participants to remain at their work terminals but engage in activities such as online shopping, news browsing, puzzle solving and social media use after one's normal office hours had ended. These back region insights were only recorded because of the access granted by the case organization and because of the methodological choice to capture data by participant observation. As a result of this access I was regularly physically close to, or sometimes beside, participants when typing up field notes and interview data; similar to the way an assistant may understand a magician's illusion because of their proximity to the performer whilst an audience would remain beguiled. In the event that a performer's front ran the risk of being compromised by an audience member acquiring a similar vantage, when passing one's desk for instance, websites of interest were easily replaced by the case study's case management software as to feign the act that one invested their personal evening time engaged with work and was therefore organizationally committed. Thus, we might think of this physical presence, in the dramaturgical sense, as *giving off* an expressive message (Solomon et al., 2016), which, in this case, is that fathers are organizationally committed.

A similar action, but unique to Graham, was to hold his desk phone, which had an elevated earpiece and mouthpiece at either end, and place his smaller personal mobile phone within the void created by the elevations. From the perspective of Graham's audience, he appeared engaged in work

relevant telephone calls whilst he was actually engaged in conversations with his wife regarding their respective childcare and work days. During these conversations Graham would use expressions such as 'snowed under', 'had a bad day' and 'had too much on'. These lines act, as Goffman (1956, p.13) suggests, as an 'attempt to induce the audience to judge him and the situation in a particular way'. To his partner he portrays the image of one who is busy, overworked and under pressure (all infamous aspects of the legal services industry); the cynical nature of his performance being that when discussing these aspects of his day with his wife that he is in fact engaged in personal activities such as website browsing and using social media platforms. Graham, as a means to induce his organizational audience to make a similar judgement, employs a physical performance for those who are present within the office setting (by appearing to be engaged on his work phone). The cynical nature of this performance evidenced by the fact that Graham was not engaged with a client but, with his partner to whom he sought to induce the same impression. In this sense, Graham was simultaneously, and cynically, claiming commitment via two performances and to two audiences. In this regard, Graham presents, and utilizes, both a verbal and physical front as a means to claim an impression of work commitment all whilst directing his own attention toward activity which is anything but being committed to his work role.

Graham was also the most confident and open regarding his ability to perform cynically. Having asked about his use of his own mobile phone one evening, Graham shared another tactic which helped him appear engaged with work and organizationally committed. In this regard Graham showed how he could use his own mobile phone to dial into the office to make it appear that he was taking multiple client calls throughout the evening should his manager consider the call logs that are circulated daily. This made Graham appear engaged with clients after working hours and, even seen with his mobile device in his hand Graham was witnessed being able to use this tactic to misdirect the audience to believe that the incoming call, that Graham initiated from his own phone, was interrupting his personal phone activity. In essence, Graham was able to create the impression that his personal responsibilities were put aside to deal with organizational matters (placing his mobile phone down, shaking his head and sighing when answering the call he himself was creating) whereas no such work had occurred, and no such personal commitment had been compromised. In essence, anybody noticing Graham's time spent at the office in the evening would consider him a committed individual who prioritizes his work responsibilities over those of his family; in essence, perfectly and cynically, claiming a sense of commitment to the organization. Using a personal mobile phone during the evening when one was *working* was one of the most popular actions utilized and witnessed whilst undertaking participant observation. Many fathers (James, Graham, Daniel and Kevin) remained logged in at their desk during the evening whilst spending extended time on their phones, usually held beneath their desks or, when caught off guard, immediately stowed in one's pocket. These instances are what Goffman (1959) refers to as being *in flagrante delicto*, or caught red handed. In the rare instances that this happened fathers' performative front was compromised, however, it was never spoken of or brought to conversation; rather, performances proceeded as if the audience members had not noticed the mobile phone use at all. This is again an aspect of performance that Goffman (1959) alludes to noting that the audience might well provide leniency when challenging a performance is not in their own interest. However, one did not have to catch fathers red handed, as

such, rather, the widespread hanging of heads at an unnatural angle (as to view one's mobile phone below a desk) was enough of an indication that mobile phone use was common.

An additional physical performance with cynical intent was recorded in the case of Anthony who I asked, having spent two consecutive days in his company, and as a means to create a friendly dialogue, if the file he took with him the previous evening was a *problem file*. I had heard the phrase *problem file* throughout the course of observation and, in some instances, during interviews. These files were commonly seen as requiring additional investment and were usually mentioned when fathers worked additional hours or, in the case of Anthony, took work home. In actuality, what was discovered was that although taking the file home made the file appear as if it were a problem file it was anything but. The file was, in Anthony's case, a prop utilized only to be seen as leaving the office with work. In essence what this prop communicated to the audience was that although Anthony was leaving the organizational stage, his commitment, or dramaturgically speaking, his performance was to go on. Having learnt that the file was not a problem file I made a note of what might be considered a motto which Anthony taught me - '*If you leave work, you don't leave work*'.

Other cynical actions performed as a means to claim organizational commitment were given by Alex who appeared to possibly work in tandem with Sean. Speaking to Alex after office hours had ended, and during an observation phase that had turned into an informal discussion of entertainment media; I drew Alex's attention to a Microsoft Outlook meeting reminder regarding a meeting which was scheduled to take place in ten minutes time. Upon dismissing the reminder and turning back to me, possibly in reaction to my gesture, he explained '*It's nothing. It's just Sean*'. I offer to end our discussion so that Alex might meet with Sean at which point Alex explained '*It can wait, don't worry*'. Intermittently spending time with Alex over the study period three separate meeting reminders were witnessed, on different occasions, as being schedule for out of hours and Alex, having dismissed the reminder, continued to engage in personal activities such as internet shopping, news browsing, engaged with his personal mobile device or enquiring to my sporting preferences. Following the last notification I recorded, I asked '*do you never go [to the meetings]?*' to which Alex confirmed '*It's my PDR. Sean likes to do it of an evening but I don't think he's in today so it will just be delayed*'. I don't push the point any further having realized that, catching a glimpse of the meeting alerts, none had mentioned a PDR and that Sean, amongst the most dedicated of the fathers participating with the study, was never absent from the office. What Alex appeared to be engaged with was, possibly with Sean, feigning work by arranging fictitious meetings to take place outside of normal business hours so, should one retrospectively check Alex's diary, it would appear that he was engaged in a meeting with Sean whereas, in actuality, he was engaged in non-work activities such as internet browsing or having extended discussions with myself and others regarding matters such as football and movies. Although never verified with Alex directly, Graham mentioned that there was the tactical use of calendars to craft an appearance of one who was more busy and engaged in later working hours than one actually was. From this perspective these meetings created a type of virtual stamp for Alex and Sean to evidence, although cynically, a commitment to the organization. One might consider this interaction as *collaborative cynicism*.

Anthony also created a similar stamp when ending his evening performance with *'I'll just send this, then I'm off'*. From the perspective of his audience, in this case the recipient of his email, it appeared that Anthony was staying late and engaged in work whilst, in fact, he used, as many fathers did, the time between the end of work and leaving the office, to complete personal tasks. Anthony also performed physically to ensure that his cynical performances were not given in vain. For instance, an additional action, to cast a seemingly innocent jingle with his car keys as he passed his physical audience, ensured his evening performance was never missed.

Summary of Cynical Commitment – Actions of Cynical Commitment reveal the intelligence and depth of particular individual's performances as they endeavoured to create positive images, even where opportunity to do so might not exist. In essence, participants engaged with cynical performances might be considered to be *creating* commitment which then acts to bolster their claim of organizational commitment.

It is impossible to know if fathers' superiors knew that the recorded actions were an aspect of fathers' performances, however, Goffman (1959) helps understand why, if they were aware, performances were not challenged. Goffman (1959, p.31) suggests, in this regard, that an audience may find little value in challenging a performance as *'the audience can see a great saving of time and emotional energy in the right to treat the performer at occupational face-value'*. There would, for instance, be little gained should Graham's audience compromise the status quo by questioning if he was *actually* speaking to a client just as there would be little gained to question if Stephen was had *really* started work before taking a prolonged break in the canteen or if Sean and Alex actually did have a meeting scheduled.

7.1.2 Concealment

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Concealment	Physical Concealment	Minimization of Props Minimization of Absences
	Communicative Concealment	Communicative Omission Audience Segregation

Throughout this chapter Concealment is used in the same way that Goffman (1959) utilizes the concept, namely as a means to consider what is not shown to an audience during a performance. The finding suggests that there is an equal importance to what fathers do not do (concealment) as to what they do (front). This section reveals that fathers engage in four performative actions of concealment which will each be introduced with examples from participant fathers as they chose to hide the fact that they were fathers at all.

Physical Concealment

The first aspect of fathers' performance relates to strategies which minimize props and physical absence which represent aspects of fatherhood. The existence of this strategy of concealment is perhaps best illuminated by the account of Howard who, noting a conversation with a colleague, advised '*I know someone here and I only found out he had a kid probably about three months ago and I've known him for over two years*'. Highlighting the actions of fathers as they attempt to conceal physical aspects of fatherhood within the organizational arena will help understand how fathers, such as Howard's colleague, can navigate work and family in such a way that an audience might never realize a performer is a father.

Minimization of Props

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Concealment	Physical Concealment	Minimization of Props Minimization of Absences
	Communicative Concealment	Communicative Omission Audience Segregation

The first action of physical concealment was by way of fathers omitting props which may reveal their role as fathers. Fathers suggested throughout interviews that motherhood appeared by way of photos, schoolwork and personalised calendars, mugs and mouse mats with images of children and family, physically salient throughout the case organization environment whereas fatherhood, by omission, did not. Kevin summarises the lack of props relating to fatherhood by suggesting it was far easier for him to identify, in the office, who was a mother than a father. He explained that he could identify a mother '*if I went to the desk and they had a picture of their child. I mean I don't actually have a picture of*

Shelly on my desk. Kevin's response reveals how a photograph of a child is assumed to indicate a mother's presence and, in reflecting upon himself, how his presentation of fatherhood is minimized. Speaking of props within the office Curtis, like Kevin, indicates 'I haven't got a picture stuck to my screen' when considering the contrast between him and his female colleagues. Stephen's experience, like that of Kevin and Curtis, is similar in that he perceived that mothers in the office contrast fathers by having photos of their children on their desk, mugs, calendars etc. whereas he does not. An additional example of minimizing props was offered by Francis when spending time on observation work at one of the smaller offices. Francis described his car as his *work* car but explained that he had to remove his son's car seat otherwise his car would be the *family* car. The removal of this chair, for Francis, transformed his car to align with his sought impression which is one who is without such encumbrances as a child who will require transport. In this way Francis avoids discussion of *Taxi of Dad*, for instance.

Props relating to parenthood were most salient in part-time teams such as those consisting of mothers who had recently returned from maternity leave or who were imminently leaving for maternity leave. Where these mothers had images of their children on mugs fathers typically had NW Law Limited's branded mug, their favourite football team or fictional characters from popular media. In this way concealment is realized not only by the removal of props relating to fatherhood but, seemingly, by their complete replacement. Business cards replace keepsakes and corporate pamphlets/magazines, placed proudly in sight, replace framed photographs of family. These items can be considered, dramaturgically, as items of appearance (Goffman, 1959) as they act to craft an impression of one who is organizationally focused, removing props which might act to craft an unfavourable impression of one who is not segmenting his work and family roles.

Minimization of Absences

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Concealment	Physical	Minimization of Props
	Concealment	Minimization of Absences
	Communicative Concealment	Communicative Omission Audience Segregation

A second element of physical concealment was for fathers to minimize absences from work. Most common was the minimization of absences during normal working hours which appeared to be a concern for fathers and the impression they nurtured. For instance, Sean shared that he had not attended a school show as it was within working hours, he reflected, '*my wife went and I watched it on video later on, that was that, so not ideal, but compromise is necessary*'. The compromise Sean speaks of being an absence in his family role to minimize a similar absence in his work role. Such minimization may also be subject to prior agreement. Daniel, for instance, and although his partner also works, explained that '*dental appointments hospital appointments if they're ever needed it tends to be that that Sarah will deal with that kind of thing*'. In this sense Daniel conceals aspects of his role as father by relinquishing childcare responsibilities to his partner.

To better understand the degree to which fathers might avoid absences because of family responsibilities I asked Daniel, in what instances would he prioritize family over work. To explore this aspect of physical concealment I ask if an emergency would result in Daniel leaving the office to care for his child. Having replied that his partner, her sister, their parents and his parent's would intervene so he would never need to I suggest that those eventualities are not available to which Daniel explains '*if it got to the point where it was very, very, very serious and Jennifer had to go then there is probably an option of working from home that day*'. From this we might note that fathers appear exceptionally reluctant to engage in physical absences to deal with such emergencies but also that even in the event of a *very, very, very* serious incident Daniel, in casting a physical absence from the office, would seek an option to remain engaged in his performance (in this instance by way of Sincere Commitment) by working from home.

The minimization of absences also affected fathers' use of paternity leave with Anthony suggesting he would not claim paternity leave for his second child, explaining '*I probably did it as a duty-bound thing the first time around*'. Alex, in relation to paternity leave he had taken also revealed a desire to minimize absence explaining '*it was enough for me. I wanted to get back in*'. Although Alex did not compromise his paternity leave others, such as Howard did, their desire to terminate an absence from the office greater than their desire to exercise time with their new-born children. A similar relationship to paternity leave appeared in relation to Shared Parental Leave with no father ever engaging with this type of leave, only one father able to explain the support that the initiative offered and, for fathers expecting their second children, having been advised of their rights in regard to the initiative, advising they would not be interested in learning more. For instance, Curtis, when asked if he will be considering shared parental leave for his second child responded 'No. Erm. No [laughs] Never. Never really. No. I think *I need to be working*'. We see here the degree to which many of these fathers' performances are inflexible or, dramaturgically, they take very little artistic liberty with the traditional depiction of the male ideal worker.

Fathers also minimized absences from those hours which bookend the normal working day (those times when Morning and Evening performances might be realized). For instance, James regularly worked late and explained that he had been able to do so as he has '*always been lucky because the in-laws could have them*'. Similar support was also orchestrated by employing the service of partners, Daniel explaining, '*if I need to stay late Jane understands that and, if needs be, she'll come pick me up whenever is needed really*'. Daniel's partner, who works part-time, leaves her work before Daniel to take care of their child, allowing Daniel to remain present on stage and engaged in work located additional hours and perform sincere commitment by not having to suffer a physical absence due to childcare commitments. The result of such an arrangement, for fathers, was noted by Peter who advised '*I'm going to be a bit generalist here. It's usually the blokes who stay behind*'. These partners, parents and friends can be understood as those that support a performance and act to facilitate the impression sought. In this instance, we can be forgiven for not considering the numerous supporting functions that are needed for a performance to be undertaken in the manner it is delivered and their importance in allowing the performer to realize the idealized impression they seek to make. This is because we are not immediately aware, for instance, of the work undertaken off stage to facilitate a performance (dress, makeup, stage hands, direction, personal assistants etc.) just

in the same way partners might support a performance by attending to dentist appointments, hospital appointment, sports days and parent's evening etc. We are, rather, captivated in the awe only of what is seen and, as such, the performer realizes a type of idealization, seemingly, by their own merit without the important functions a partner, parent or friend being revealed. Rather what was important to consider was that fathers, like any actor, were not exclusively responsible for the realization of the idealized standards they delivered in their work roles, rather, instances such as being able to provide an unequivocal physical presence to remain engaged with their work role was as much an undertaking of their own as it was those that supported their performance. I suggest, in this way, that these individuals that support fathers can be conceptualized as a type of stagehand who supports the claims made onstage whilst attracting very little attention or recognition although they facilitate and support the performance we are privy to.

Summary of Physical Concealment – Actions which physically conceal aspects of family appeared as fathers minimizing props and physical absences. As mentioned, this use of these actions to engage in a strategy of concealing aspects of family was so effective that Howard was unaware that a colleague he had known for two years had a child. Only at the point of conversation was Howard aware that this colleague had a child. He had, for all intents and purposes, been in receipt of a similar performance to which he and his peers gave ultimately being deceived for over two years before finding out that, like him, his colleague was a father. The consideration of the role communication can play in relation to concealment is the second consideration of performance in which they actively concealed elements of family.

Communicative Concealment

Fathers, in addition to minimizing props and physical absences minimized communication regarding aspects of their roles as fathers. The importance of this aspect of concealment was noted by George who, as noted earlier, *'I've heard a lot of people say "Oh I didn't know you had a son"*, he explains, highlighting the importance of complementing physical concealment with communicative concealment, that *'I don't think people know unless you directly speak about it'*. The following actions, namely Communicative Omission and Audience Segregation (Goffman, 1959) will highlight that fathers do not communicate regarding matters of fatherhood and, as such, help understand why one might be subject to audience surprise should they learn, as was the case with George, that the performer is a father.

Communicative Omission

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Concealment	Physical Concealment	Minimization of Props Minimization of Absences
	Communicative Concealment	Communicative Omission Audience Segregation

The first element of communicative concealment was for fathers to completely omit communication of matters relating to their role as fathers from their performance. For instance, Stephen, having worked at North West Law for over fifteen years (alongside others who are fathers of similar tenure) explains that his role at home has developed since his wife stopped breastfeeding as he has become responsible for morning feeds. However, Stephen perceives his situation as unique but also highlights how this is an assumption on his behalf *'maybe the fellas I speak to don't adopt that role. I don't know because I've never had that kind of conversation with them'*. Stephen's experience is similar to George's in which, when asked if other fathers approach him to discuss any parental matters he advises *'I don't think any of them have come up to me and spoken about it'*. This lack of communication is highlighted by Thomas who, when asked if he discusses aspects of his role as a father within the office space offers a definitive answer of *'No. Never, not in the office'*. Thomas reflects upon this lack of a desire stating, *'you know something, I think from my point of view I wouldn't want to do it for me anyway'*. For Thomas the only time he was able to confirm he actually spoke about his role as father was at the time when he returned from paternity leave at which point he explains, *'It's just erm. You get your congratulations and stuff and [after that] it's just not really spoken about no. It's very much like we know you know we know'*. This account again highlights the importance of physical concealment and that fatherhood is seemingly revealed in those instances where physical minimization is impossible meaning, in this instance, Thomas had no choice but to compromise his performance. Another example which highlights concealment by compromising performance was by Curtis who advised that *'I've not made anyone aware that Katherine is pregnant apart from [manager's name omitted] when we had the twelve-week scan'*. Curtis explains, of his conversation:

'I very briefly broached it with him that I said don't worry about that taking any affect on what's coming and what I mean by that is that because this merger we've got this this team is going to be particularly busy. And, I don't want to be excluded because of my situation'.

Curtis compromises his performance only by way of what one might, employing Robert's (2005, pp.693-694) notion of defensive practices (a practice to 'maintain a particular image, minimize deficiencies, or avoid looking bad in response to a predicament [or event]') as a means to ensure he is able to engage his front. In this way, Curtis only compromises his strategy of communicative concealment as a means to ensure that opportunity to engage in front is not lost.

Communication regarding matters of fatherhood were never witnessed during observation, however, alternative topics of conversation between fathers were. An example of the type of communication that takes place between fathers can be gleaned from a disused back room of the ground level where a handful of male employees, several of whom are fathers, congregate daily to play table tennis and discuss matters of sport over their lunch. This area, contrasting the office space where mothers usually take their lunches over their desks decorated with children's schoolwork and photographs, is an arena of unique performances in which the majority of individuals employ actions of self enhancement and boasting (Bolino et al., 2008, p.1082). Fathers, rather than engaging in discussions regarding their partners or children, bragged of how many five star Trustpilot reviews they

had received, their *conversion rate* (the percentage of active cases completed within a calendar month), the number of sales and purchases completed and/or how many cases they handled. The topics chosen to brag about are, however, not simply random as one's conversion rate, completion numbers and caseload inherently indicates one's pay grade and thus appeared a suitable topic to allow one to boast. However, discussion of experiences of fatherhood, such as Curtis and Howard each expecting their second children, Stephen's early mornings, Greg's ongoing medical treatment for his daughter and a multitude of unavoidable events which occur as a young father are never offered. Instead, and in complementing those topics that allow one to brag of organizational performance and pay grade, fathers included their table tennis winning records and winning streaks, their respective football team's form, the latest video game releases and alcohol consumption. Thomas later confirms, when asked what he discusses with other fathers if not his experiences of fathering and how he spends time with his family, *'we just talk about football and sports'* which he referred to as an *'inherently stereotypical mindset'* of the other fathers he worked with not at all realizing that he himself was inherently acting in exactly the same manner as his peers.

Audience Segregation

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Concealment	Physical Concealment	Minimization of Props Minimization of Absences
	Communicative Concealment	Communicative Omission Audience Segregation

Although fathers omitted communication regarding their roles it was found that this was, for three fathers in particular, dependent upon the audience to which they performed. These fathers, in concealing aspects of fatherhood to one audience and revealing aspects of fatherhood to another, are engaged in what Goffman (1956, p.31) referred to as audience segregation which 'ensures that those before whom he plays one of his parts will not be the same individuals before whom he plays a different part in another setting'. Audience segregation was only used when one's audience was that of part-time working mothers. Examples of this form of performance given by way of audience segregation came from Stephen who exclusively discusses aspects of his children with mothers who can relate to, as he explains, being *'Up at 5:00 this morning, "oh yeah, join the club" I'm always in the club!'* Greg, like Stephen, also converses tactically with mothers suggesting *'I think they're just a little bit more open about talking'*. George explained that within the office one had to, as appeared to be the case from the accounts of Stephen and Greg, *'you play to your audience'*. Important here is that fathers develop and craft a performance in which they might be described in very dissimilar ways by their audiences. For instance, in some instances George, Greg and Stephen might well be considered traditionalists (Cooper, 2000), career orientated (Halrynjo, 2009) or conformers (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019) whereas, when engaging with mothers, they appear completely different. One might well categorize these fathers incorrectly depending on what is known about them and what they reveal as,

for instance, it is clear that these fathers are not *traditionalists* but to an audience who is only in receipt of their fictitious front they might well appear so.

Summary of Communicative Concealment – Understanding that fathers might engage in communicative omission and audience segregation as actions of communicative concealment helps understand that topics such as fathering and parenting are generally avoided. There were, however, instances in which this aspect of performance had to be compromised such as Thomas' use of paternity leave and Curtis' second child being shortly expected. This concealment is also specific to specific audiences as other types of compromise to this action of performance appears when fathers engage with mothers, rather than other colleagues or even other fathers. Considering these actions collectively it appears reasonable that an audience member, as was the case for George, might be surprised to learn that a male colleague was a father as it is clear that communication regarding aspects of fatherhood was avoided.

7.1.3 Summary to Performance

I found that fathers can employ a number of performative actions to navigate their work and family roles. Performances were able to act as a means to navigate work and family because the utilization of performative actions can act to claim the impression that one navigates work and family by way of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and/or Discreet Family Role Engagement. For instance, front is an adequate means to capture the impression that one is engaged in their work role (Work Role Engagement) even if they are not. Additionally, concealment is adequate to capture the impression that one is without extra organizational responsibilities (Family Role Concealment), again, even when they are not. Concealment, just as front might be cynical, can be contentious as it is sometimes only performed for one audience meaning a complete concealment of family might rarely occur. In both instances then, what is created is not a sincere representation of a father's work role but a claimed, and idealized, impression of one who is completely engaged with their work role and unengaged from their family role. I emphasize that these are claims and these images are idealized as, more often than not, action was highly performative and undertaken not because of the action per se, but because of the impression such action can claim.

It is also important to note the performative quality of these actions occurs when considering the degree to which these idealizations are reliant upon the support of others. For instance, the ability to continuously claim organizational commitment (either cynically or sincerely) requires partners, parents and family to manage the sticky fingers Alex avoids or, when seeking concealment, to manage the wobbly teeth that Daniel prioritizes his work role over. In this way stagehands act to support the degree of idealization fathers are able to claim just as the impression a thespian seeks to claim when performing on a traditional stage is based not only on the performative skill of the actor but the hidden support he/she received and which is commonly ignored and/or uncelebrated.

The notion that Work Role Engagement or Family Role Concealment can be claimed by impression is absent from the existing literature concerned with the ways that fathers might navigate their work and family roles. Additionally, the small intricate actions found by this study contrast some of the broader actions recorded by other studies (such as the segmentation of work and family by clearly defining work and family to the week and weekend). This suggests a more nuanced understanding of the way that navigation can be realized which I evidenced in the intricate and idiosyncratic actions these fathers employed. I will explore further these unique aspects of this finding within the following discussion chapter at which point I situate the finding that navigation can be realized by performative action within the existing literature to detail the important contributions this study makes to existing knowledge concerned with the ways fathers navigate their work and family roles.

7.2 Important Consequences

In answering research question two I found that the meanings fathers ascribe to being a father/their family role to be important in understanding why they directed their action to navigate roles within the organizational setting. That is to say that throughout interviewing I found that what it *means* to be a father for participants is to be a provider, primary wage earner or breadwinner. Because meanings attach a responsibility to support one's family financially the consequences of paid employment were defined as important to fathers. I explain how this leads one to navigate roles by performing within the organizational setting by adopting Goffman's (1959) notion that individuals will utilize performances when results of such actions are deemed important (*important consequences*). In the instance of fathers the importance they place on the consequences of paid employment (promotions, bonuses and potential career progression) were shown to result in one directing action to realize a favourable impression by performatively navigating roles in such a way that they would be received favourably. I next explore applicable accounts from the interviews undertaken which reveal the importance that fathers place upon the consequences of paid employment and how these explain fathers' desires to navigate work and family.

7.2.1 Traditional Meanings

I employ the term *traditional* meanings in a similar way that the literature reviewed within the first part of the literature review does. These meanings are those which define fathering by traditional ideals including fathering being synonymous with breadwinning, being a primary wage earner or providing financial security to one's family. These traditional meanings associated with one's role as father were salient throughout all interviews and shared with by all fathers when discussing their family role-related responsibilities and how they defined fathering. In this regard, participants explained that being a father, and sometimes explicitly a *good* father, meant being a *breadwinner*, *financial provider* or *primary wage earner*.

Explicit mention of financial responsibilities was the most prevalent theme recorded when participants explored meanings of fatherhood. Responsibilities such as being a breadwinner, financial provider or primary wage earner, as I mention, are generally associated with traditional meanings of fatherhood in which *good* fathering is viewed as one's ability to financially support one's family. The following extracts have been selected to illustrate these accounts and fathers position themselves as fathers:

*'My wife worked in marketing for one of the big banks. She took a large redundancy which came at the right time, so we made the decision that she would stay at home with the kids and I would be the **primary wage earner**'.* (Leonard)

*'my roles is [sic], foremost, a provider for my family, putting the hours in and **earning the money**'* (Peter)

*'So, it was always a case of "I would always be the main **breadwinner**" because of my position which allows me to **contribute, financially** speaking, and Jennifer wanted to be with Leslie so it made sense for a couple of reasons'* (Daniel)

These accounts reveal that traditional meanings permeate fathers' descriptions of their roles and role responsibilities which coalesce around a singularly focused responsibility to support one's family financially. They situate fathers as defining their social worlds in a very distinct way and in which fathering can be equated to a very specific goal of acquiring organizational rewards. Immediately we can reveal how fathers defined the consequences of paid employment as important in realizing their paternal roles which were consistently defined by traditional ideals.

The following accounts, reaffirming the traditional meanings captured above, highlight the importance that fathers placed upon their responsibility to support their family financially. I highlight, specifically, the importance fathers placed upon these responsibilities as Goffman's (1959) argument is very specific in relation to individuals needing to assign an importance to the outcomes which a favourable performance provides. For that reason I select the following extracts as they reveal that fathers link their financial contribution to important aspects of family life including paying bills, one's financial burden and allowing their family to enjoy a certain standard of living.

'I've got all the pressures of having to pay the bills and the mortgage' (Alex)

'I feel I have to go to work [pause] I think it's a little bit of a feeling that, which is a bit macho say, but, that I go to work to put a house over our heads and stuff like that, maybe'(Curtis)

'... if I was to not be doing my [job] role, that would affect us in terms of family because of financials. So, I have to do my job to allow us to live the lifestyle that we're living' (Daniel)

These accounts suggest that fathers perceive their financial responsibilities as important as they are necessary for essential aspects of their family's lives and the successful undertaking of their roles as fathers. Importance is also visible in considering the consequences of one failing to realize financial support which James and Peter noted, respectively, *'if you weren't bringing an income in it would affect everyone; it would affect your kids more sort of thing. Why can't we afford this why can't we go on holidays'* and *'Absolutely. I've been through redundancy before and it's, it's, it's hellish; not being able to provide for your family when that's what you work to do'*. It is, therefore, important that fathers to remain engaged with their role responsibility to support their family financially for failure brings with it *undesired* consequences.

Additionally, fathers, as the primary wage earner, also reported shouldering the majority, and in most instances, the entirety of the responsibility to support their family financially which meant remuneration, and ability to financially support their family, was far more important than it might be should fathers not hold a position of breadwinner. The language of fathers is here indicative of the position this places them and the reasons they define the rewards of paid employment as so important as they believed that realizing a breadwinning roles was mandatory (*I **have to** go to work / I **have to** do my job*) and pressurised (*I've got **all the pressures***).

Because fathers ascribe traditional meanings to their family role the financial responsibilities associated with their work role means work is described and defined as an opportunity through which such responsibilities can be realized. For instance, Paul discussed why he works:

'Well I don't come into work for any other reason than to earn. Table, food. House, roof. That's it. I put the additional hours in to hit target and get my bonus and hopefully in a few years it looks favourable for progression'. (Paul)

Paul's account helps to evidence why one who defines their family role by traditional meanings may wish to appear favourable by revealing that working additional hours and realizing one's target are considered essential to accomplish one's role responsibilities of providing financially. A similar connection between traditional meanings and why one might wish to engage in performative navigation of roles was presented by Kevin who suggests:

'You work all week, early hours, late nights to make sure you're doing all you can to ensure people know you're serious about your role. That's one thing that changed; I realized, when he came, that this isn't a job, it's our livelihood and I need to make the most of it' (Kevin)

For Kevin the notion of being considered *serious* might well be considered one attempting to be considered favourable by performing in a certain manner (in this case claiming organizational commitment sincerely (or cynically) by working early and staying late). Interestingly, this account reveals how outcomes of paid employment are imbued with new meanings once one becomes a father. I ask for further clarification of what Kevin means by *making the most of it*, and he explains:

'Yeah, so, what I mean is making the most of opportunities; get my head down, appear professional, exceed expectations, go above and beyond the call of duty. Ultimately, the better I perform, the better our lives are going to [be] because that's how you get ahead'.

Again, it is clear that Kevin associates his traditional meanings of fatherhood with his work role in which, when he became a father, he wanted to *perform better* and provide a *better life* for him and his family. Explicit within this account also is the ways that fatherhood can position one in such a way that they see work as an opportunity to realize important outcomes born from the ways they define their roles as fathers. A similar account was offered by Howard who recalls a time he was working toward being awarded his Legal Practice Contract to qualify as a solicitor:

'For me it is providing for them financially. That was the motivation to put the hours in and make sure work knew I was serious when I was looking to secure my LPC. In my mind I was thinking that I can show that I am dedicated, and the result will be being qualified which inherently brings a higher wage and helps me support my wife and kid' (Howard)

Howard's account helps further evidence that one might seek to be considered, in this instance, *serious* and *dedicated*, in one's endeavour to realize the greater financial remuneration and succeed as a father who subscribed to a traditional ideal of fathering and measures the mantle of good fathering by the degree he can support his family financially.

Fathers who define their family role with traditional meanings reveal how such meanings can direct their action to seek to be received favourably within the organizational setting. The organizational

setting is important in this way because it is upon the organizational *stage* one can realize access to greater remuneration and feel that one fulfils the requirements of caring for, and supporting, family financially. Fathers' accounts reveal that they themselves are aware of the importance of their actions within the organizational context and the relationship between this and their ability to realize the mantle of *good* father by ensuring they make a positive impression. If one is able to effectively manage work and realize a favourable impression one inherently positions themselves to acquire advancement, promotions and greater remuneration which, themselves, allow one to fulfil family role related responsibilities if one defined their fathering role in that way.

7.2.2 Contemporary Meanings

Traditional meanings surrounding fatherhood were far more salient than contemporary meanings with only three participants defining their family role with any consideration of contemporary meanings. These accounts, similar to traditionally orientated fathers, refer to a responsibility to contribute financially but also place emphasis upon familial responsibilities which included teaching, feeding, cooking, bathing and cleaning. The term *contemporary* has been adopted due to it being synonymous with fathering roles which straddle traditional sex roles and incorporate both financial and caring responsibilities as used within the fatherhood literature. It is important to note, however, that even where these types of meanings were shared they regularly highlighted the ways that a financial responsibility was still an essential responsibility of their roles as fathers.

George, Stephen and Greg were the three fathers who defined their role responsibilities by contemporary fathering ideals. Their accounts not only contrasted the other participants by their role responsibilities, but also by the amount they shared regarding their family roles. George, for instance, noted:

'I would say it is the responsibility of both parents to earn and for both parents to look after them. We're a bit different because she earned more than me before we had him, so she returned to work after her maternity ended' (George)

George's account emphasises both a financial responsibility and also contemporary meanings of fathering by highlighting caring responsibilities. He explains that his wife working provided him valuable opportunity to bond with his son, *'I see us both as carers, I like it that way. I liked it when he was younger as she was working [and] it was just me and him at the weekend'*. This type of profile is very dissimilar to those of fathers who define themselves exclusively by their ability to support their families financially and who might see such engagement as less important than a father such as George might.

Stephen's account of his responsibilities also imbued aspects one might consider as care giving alongside that of his financial responsibilities.

'First and foremost, obviously, to try to bring them both up with my wife and in the right way, yeah, making sure that they understand life itself I guess, really, you know, the good the bad...provide for them. You know, when I say provide, I mean, yeah. Yeah, food on the table. Roof over their head obviously but also just being there for them for whatever they need. Whether it be a bit of playtime; reading to them. I'm always there. Yeah,

feeding them, keeping them alive. In our house, I'm very particular about the food that my kids eat' (Stephen)

Stephen, as with George, not only mentions a financial responsibility to his role as father but also highlights the sharing of caring responsibilities. This again contrasts other fathers who hold no such responsibilities and explained fathering and its respective responsibilities in a far more sterile, binary and clear picture. For instance, Stephen (and both George and Greg) are able to define a far broader range of responsibilities that others relied upon their partners, family and friends to support them with. This contrasts other accounts such as Paul who clearly defines a singularly focused fathering role by being able to explain his responsibilities as '*Table, food. House, roof. That's it*'.

Greg too, his partner working a full-time job and contributing financially, highlights caring aspects of role by emphasizing that *everything* is shared:

'With Daisy, I see everything as shared. We bottle feed so there isn't any reason why Kelly should be up and not me. We take it in turns as we do dropping her off at our parents. I do all the, all the cleaning of the upstairs and the missus does the downstairs and then the garden, we share it as it is kind of like a bit of a group activity but yeah very much we share the jobs' (Greg)

Greg, Stephen and George, unlike the majority of their peers, ascribe different meanings to their role as fathers. However, similar to their peers the responsibility to support one's family financially remained evident and meant they positioned themselves in a similar way to all fathers in as much that they defined a prerequisite of being considered a good father as being able to realize financial support for their family. These meanings are such that all fathers including Greg, Stephen and George, perceive outcomes associated with paid work as important to being able to realize a mantle of good fathering.

7.2.3 Summary to Important Consequences

I found that all fathers defined their paternal roles by traditional ideals with only three fathers suggesting contemporary ideals which, although evident, were not exclusive. Rather, all fathers defined their paternal responsibilities as being associated with being a *provider, primary wage earner* or *breadwinner*. Because these meanings attach a responsibility to support one's family financially the consequences of paid employment were revealed as important to all fathers (Goffman, 1959). Pursuant to Goffman's (1959) argument that individuals will craft a performance when results of such actions are deemed important (*important consequences*) I found that fathers will be interested in navigating work and family because a favourable impression cast in the organizational setting cast by navigating work and family provides opportunity to realize the rewards of paid employment which are deemed as important. In essence, fathers are aware that their work role provides opportunity for them to realize the financial demands of their family role and so, as they explain, they wish to navigate work and family, perform in a manner that will be received favourably and which assists them in realizing organizational rewards, targets and promotions etc. For many realizing these financial rewards associated with their work roles was essential in them acquiring the mantle of good fathering with

many exclusively concerned with realizing sufficient remuneration to support their families and fulfil their definitions of what it *meant* to be a father.

Understanding that fathers characterize the rewards of paid employment as important helped capture a general understanding of why navigation occurs. In other words, I was able to appreciate that fathers would seek to be received favourably but I was not able to evidence that the specific performative actions I explored within my answer to research question one were symbolic and utilized as a means to acquire organizational rewards. I next turn to providing this evidence as I explore why the specific performative actions recorded within research question one were utilized.

7.3 Situational Appropriateness

In answering research question three I found that fathers employed specific actions that they believed would be received favourably within the organizational setting. I found that fathers interpret the organizational setting as constituting norms in the form of expectations to prioritize work over, and segment work from, family. To situate this finding within the context of Goffman's (1959) work I employ his argument that performances, for the performer to be received favourably, should be sensitive to the context in which they are performed and should, therefore, be situationally appropriate. I utilize this to show fathers are engaging in a process by which they interpret the organizational setting and from this determine a script by which they can craft the most effective performative actions they can as a means to realize important consequences in the form of organizational rewards. I include below a table linking each of the performative actions revealed in answering research question one and how each were employed as a means for fathers to craft a situationally appropriate performance:

Figure 15: Situational Context

<i>Interpreted Situational Requirement</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Prioritize Work over Family	Work located Additional Hours
	Non-work located Additional Hours
	Actions of the Evening
	Actions of the Morning
Segregate Work from Family	Minimization of Props
	Minimization of Absences
	Communicative Omission
	Audience Segregation

The remainder of this section of the findings chapter will discuss each interpreted situational requirement (to prioritize work over family and to segregate work from family) in turn. In each section I firstly present accounts of fathers showing that they interpret the organizational setting and from this determine what might be a situationally appropriate way to navigate work and family. Following this I then reveal how specific performative actions were utilized by fathers as they sought to present themselves in the ways they believed they would be received favourably.

In answering research question three I also found that fathers inform what their father-peers consider to be situationally appropriate action. In this way I find that performative action informed what might be considered '*appropriate*' ways for men to navigate work and family. I build here upon an earlier account from Curtis who felt he *needed* to synchronise his personal phone with his work emails to *keep up* with his peers revealing the ways that his colleague fathers (through the utilization of their own performances) defined what he determined as situationally appropriate. I highlight this process by showing how fathers' interpretation of what is situationally appropriate was also informed by other fathers.

7.3.1 Prioritize Work over Family

The first part of this section uses fathers' accounts which evidence that father interpreted the organization as a context in which, should one wish to make a favourable impression, they should prioritize work over family. I then present accounts evidencing the utilization of performative actions showing that fathers craft the impression of one who prioritizes work over family. Evidencing that fathers interpret the organization as a context which will reward those who prioritize work over family and then evidencing that navigation is performed pursuant to that interpretation reveals the strategic and intentional character of navigation which, throughout the following discussion chapter, I argue makes an important contribution to our existing knowledge of fathers' navigation of work and family.

A common theme occurring in fathers' interpretation that the organization was a context in which, should one wish to make a favourable impression, they should prioritize work over family was the belief that the organization expected staff to work additional hours to deal with onerous workloads. A simple summary of the situation can be gleaned from the account of Leonard who stated, '*there isn't [sic] enough hours to do everything... that's the reality*'. Speaking of the workload, which might be described as excessive considering there is not enough time within a normal working day to complete it, Thomas provides a pessimistic, yet possibly accurate, interpretation of how workloads might be used as a means to assign primacy to work responsibilities:

'I've thought about this and I think it is a method to manage us because you become angry at the clients not the firm. You become blind to the fact that it is the culture of expectation of the firm which means you're here at all hours not the client. If they didn't want us here, they would just give us less clients but client[s], they become the face of it, and you resent them when they've done nothing wrong' (Thomas)

Ultimately, and pessimistic or not, accounts consistently referenced a situational context in which those who prioritize work over family are those who succeed:

'In this industry you have to put the hours in' (Kevin)

'You need to really put the hours in to get anywhere and that starts from the juniors through to the board, everyone puts the hours in' (Howard)

We see in Howard's account that one must engage with this requirement if one wishes *to get anywhere*. I later expand upon accounts which begin to explicitly connect aspects of situational requirements, career advancement and fatherhood but briefly emphasize here that fathers believed that it was important to claim an impression of one who prioritizes work over family should they wish to realize progression which, as I have already revealed, held great importance to the ways fathers defined their roles as fathers.

A further account which helps explain the situational context is the following description by Edward:

'Everyone knows 5:30 is not home time, 5:30 is just a 20-minute break until you start again for the next 2-3 and that obviously means missing out on things, spending time with the kids, for instance. Mealtimes. Seeing them after school' (Edward)

Others' accounts suggest that the situational requirement to prioritize work over family is so great that they have to give their *all* to the organization:

*'... [to] give work my **all**. You know, in summer, when you see dads on TV playing with their children, they're not lawyers. The lawyers are all here working past six to catch up' (Peter)*

A similar account suggests that there is an expectation to give *everything*:

*'It's the done thing in the profession. You **give everything** to your client. We have people here whose contracts are just on performance. Again, that's the industry. It is performance measured and the only way you get results is by putting hours in. In another firm, maybe a smaller firm it is on quality but here it is definitely quantity' (Thomas)*

The situational requirement to prioritize work over family is also well illuminated by the following account which suggests that responsibilities of the firm cannot be *set aside*.

*'We have performance responsibilities that **you can't set aside to get out and deal with family events**. And I stress that these are important for a lot of people but also for the business to be successful. We reward people who put the work in, and their commitment is one of the reasons we have grown so quickly' (Sean)*

We can see why fathers draw the interpretations they do when considering Sean's account which, in its simplicity, noted *'we reward people who put the work in'*. We can here appreciate how fathers interpret the organizational setting as one that will reward those who prioritize work over family and to appreciate why fathers play the part of one who is committed and does prioritize work over family. I emphasize here that fathers *play the part* of one who is committed as I found that fathers regularly constructed performances as a means to realize the sometimes unrealistic and overly idealized degrees to which prioritization could be given to work. Some individuals, for instance, left work at close of business whereas fathers, such as Edward (as I mentioned above), treat the close of business as a type of interval and then return to the stage to craft an idealized performance of themselves. For that reason I found that when discussing the situational requirement to prioritize work over family fathers regularly discussed performative action I categorized as constituting Front.

Actions of Front to Prioritize Work over Family – The following section evidences that fathers employ Work Located and Non-Work Located Additional Hours (as explored within finding one) to craft a performance which was sensitive to the situational requirement to prioritize work over family. The selected accounts have been utilized for their ability to not only explain that these actions were selected to claim a situationally appropriate action but because they also incorporate considerations of the outcomes of crafting such a performance. In essence, I utilize very specific interpretations of situational context which evidence fathers' use of intentional performative action and, in some

instances, which also reiterate that navigation was performed as a means to realize important outcomes important to their fathering roles.

Work Located Additional Hours - The following accounts were shared by fathers who interpreted the organizational as a context in which, should they wish to make a favourable impression, they should prioritize work over family. The accounts reveal that fathers intentionally crafted a presentation of self to claim the impression that they prioritize work over family by engaging in Work Located Additional Hours. Firstly, Howard, who interpreted the situational context as one in which he was expected to assign primacy to his work responsibilities should he seek to be received favourably:

*'When I was getting my LPC, I was working every hour I could because I needed them to invest in me and give me that opportunity to **progress and get qualified**' (Howard)*

Important in Howard's account is that he crafted a situationally appropriate impression as a means to *progress and get qualified* i.e. those things that might act to allow him to achieve organizational rewards and, as such, the mantle of *good father*. He shares, in an email correspondence, confirmation of this point when asked why it was important that he engage in this particular action:

*'For me it is **providing for them financially**. That was the **motivation** to put the hours in and make sure work knew **I was serious** when I was looking to secure my LPC. In my mind I was thinking that I can show that I am dedicated and the result will be being qualified which inherently **brings a higher wage and helps me support my wife and kid**'*

This account is replete with examples of how traditional meanings of fatherhood can guide action and ensure one engages in situationally appropriate action which, in Howard's words, means those actions which ensure he appears *dedicated* to his work role. Howard further suggests that his traditional fathering role is of importance when commenting, *'I think this might be important because of all the father things but that tied in with the time we were expecting so it gave me a bit of extra drive'*. There is, again, for these fathers an instrumental reaction to the need to support their family and realize traditional ideals by which they define their role as father. Howard's reaction was not that he might have to take time from work to support his family in non-financial ways but that he was more determined to engage in an action of *Work Located Additional Hours* to support his family because engaging in situationally appropriate action provides opportunity to create the impression that he is serious and realize organizational rewards.

Similar to Howard, Thomas, when discussing why he utilized the recorded actions, advised that it was to be *'considered a possible candidate for ops-level promotion or even directorial level. You know, you need to stand out from the crowd'*. Thomas' desire to gain promotion, which ensures he succeeds in his expectation to contribute financially to his family, means that he engages in behaviours pursuant to his interpretation of the situational context. In this instance Thomas was amongst the men who worked the longest hours as he believed engaging with this expectation was what was needed to be successful and gain the promotion he desired. Again, these accounts evidence an intentionality of fathers seeking to engage in the performative actions recorded (which

claim the impression of one who prioritizes work over family) not because the organization demands it but because fathers, to be able to realize the responsibilities associated with their family role, seek to *stand out from the crowd* to be successful in attempts to realize promotion aspirations. A perceived relationship between success and *Work Located Additional Hours* was also present in other accounts:

'Enjoy work and enjoy working all the hours I have done are two separate things... you can sit back and watch everybody pass you, no problem. But a requisite to be successful is to put the hours in' (Kevin)

This account, like others, characterizes the situational context as fulfilled by *putting the hours in* with Kevin suggesting the demonstration of this action is inherently linked to *success*. We discuss what success might mean in this regard:

'Success for me is what I can deliver from here to home and for our future. That means for my role as a dad and a partner because Mary doesn't work so that responsibility is mine' (Kevin)

The requirement to support one's family which is inherent with traditional meanings of fatherhood situates work for these fathers as a purely instrumental undertaking. Kevin engages in situationally appropriate action because it is simply what is needed to fulfil his family role responsibilities.

In some of these instances the accounts shared above might be best placed within the previous section of the findings chapter concerned with explaining why work and family were navigate (opposed to here explaining why those particular actions were utilized), however, I include them here because they make such strong indication in relation to situational context and the ways that fathers interpret and consider situational context to then act in accordance with those interpretations. In this way I felt it important to utilize these accounts within this section of the findings chapter as it helps evidence an intentionality in which these fathers are not engaging with their work roles because of an invisible control strategy (Cooper, 2000), for instance, but are readily aware of norms which exist and from these can intentionally create situationally appropriate performances as a means to best portray themselves as a means to realize organizational rewards.

Non-work located Additional Hours – Similar actions to those mentioned above (which occurred within the organizational setting) also occurred away from the organization as a means to claim the impression that fathers prioritized work over family even during times one might regularly expect family to be prioritized. For instance, discussing uses of mobile technology with Daniel, one of the fathers who utilized mobile technology regularly, he explains why he uses the same and engages in *Non-work located Additional Hours*.

'It allows me to get ahead for the next day. For instance, it is a great time to fly off emails dealing with complaints as clients do notice that you are going above and beyond outside of normal hours' (Daniel)

It is, however, not the client that Daniel is interested in impressing, rather it is his employer:

*'If somebody says they're on their phone at ten o'clock [at night] for the love of the client they, well they might not be being honest. The wider picture is that the better you manage client expectations the better **it looks to the firm**' (Daniel)*

Daniel utilizes mobile technologies to perform *Non-work located Additional Hours*, not to selflessly assist clients, but because doing so helps him claim an impression of one who prioritizes work over family to his employer. Exploring why actions of *Non-work located Additional Hours* were performed also evidenced that the actions other fathers perform are important to understand why fathers interpret the organizational context in the way that they do:

'There is nothing that says I have to but the reason I do is really because Peter is logged on and he does ask me about late emails that have come through. I'm aware that if I said I didn't see the email it might look bad, so I do tend to go on in case the topic crops up' (Graham)

Here, Graham does not make mention to the organization creating an expectation to engage in non-work located additional hours; rather it was Peter's performance which helped characterize what was a situationally appropriate action. I argue that this is an important finding of the study as it shows that fathers' own actions can have an important impact upon the ways fathers interpret the organization. For instance, and reiterating an earlier account of Curtis, it was also clear that fathers engaged in particular performative actions as a means to keep up with other fathers who might be casting a more favourable impression than them by, as was the case with Curtis, employing mobile phone use out of normal working hours. This was important for fathers as, as I show here, utilizing these mobile technologies can assist one in realizing the impression that they fulfil the situational requirement to prioritize work over family. A further example of fathers' own performances acting to influence the way that the situational context might be interpreted is contained within the account of Thomas who, when discussing why he engages in *Non-work located Additional Hours* explains:

'...because everybody else does [laughs]. No, yeah, partly that, actually that is the main reason because if nobody else did I wouldn't I am a firm believer that you will burn out if you try and do too much so I only really logon to make a stamp that I was engaged out of hours'

These accounts evidence that situational appropriateness is also defined by the actions of fathers themselves. Important within these accounts is that fathers are not distinct from defining what is considered and interpreted as a situationally appropriate action; they, like others, create and define what can be considered appropriate action for men within the organizational setting. In this way it is important to highlight that fathers, by consistently employing action to realize an impression of one who prioritizes work over family, can define this as an expected way for men to navigate work and family and craft a prescribed stereotype of what it means to be a working man (Heilman, 2001).

Summary to Prioritization of Work over Family – I found that fathers interpret the organizational setting as constituting norms in the form of an expectation to prioritize work over family. Interpreting the organization in this way meant fathers were focused on employing performative action as a means to claim the impression that work, even when away from the organizational setting, received their attention and was effectively prioritized over their family role. Although there was little explicit explanation to why Cynical Commitment was performed it is clear that one who is engaged in actions during the morning or evening prioritizes work over family for the fact that those times are not contractually work time and one would likely be expected to be engaged in non-work activities during those times. I suggest that it is likely that morning and evening actions were engaged in because of the same reason all other actions of front were, namely because it provided an adequate means to claim the situationally appropriate impression of one who prioritizes work over family.

That fathers interpret their organizational context, define what constitutes a situationally appropriate action and then employ appropriate performances speaks to the strategic and intentional character of their navigation of roles. This type of intentionality and strategic approach to navigate work and family is less common within the Work Role Engagement discourse of knowledge which champions the position that we can understand navigation as a passive undertaking in which organizational structures act to influence fathers rather than, as is the case here, fathers reporting an intimate knowledge of the norms that are created by the structured organization and then intentionally seeking action as a means to strategically appear compliant with the same. This is an important distinction which I examine further within the discussion chapter when expanding upon the contributions this finding makes to the existing knowledge concerned with fathers' navigation of work and family roles.

7.3.2 Segregate Work and Family

I now turn to accounts which evidence that fathers interpreted the organization as a context in which, should one wish to make a favourable impression, they should segregate work and family. Once details of this interpreted situational requirement have been made clear I marry it with the recorded actions of concealment in such a way that it is clear that fathers engaged in the Minimization of Props, The Minimization of Physical Absences, Communicative Omission and Audience Segregation to claim the impression of one who segregates work and family.

A theme throughout participants' accounts was a belief, in relation to work and family, that the organization requires you *'to separate the two. You need to be professional and get on with your job'* (James). James, having offered simple clarity regarding a need to segregate work and family explains why this is important within the context of the case organization:

'If you were in a pub you would talk to a regular sort of thing about problems and, for what you're looking at, like being a parent sort of thing. But we don't work in a pub. Here you're expected to keep professional distance'

This *professional distance*, as James refers to it, is also present in Greg's interpretation of the case organization's core principles:

*'You've probably seen that we have core principles [said making quotation marks with his fingers] hung in the reception and other areas of the office like outside of the canteen. **None of them say family** they say customer care, accountability, professionalism, ambition and I forget the last one but it's all corporate stuff'*

The posters referred to are colourful framed A4 displays with bold white writing which include the core principles mentioned above and also the last which is determination. Greg further illuminates the situational requirement for one to segregate work and family by, similar to James, employing a comparison of an industry where such a requirement is absent:

'Kelly, my missus, is an assistant head and with her role she needs to be caring because she has a duty of care for the kids. It's good in her profession if you have [your own] kids because you have experience with them. We say that she has her kids and I have my clients but you don't treat clients like kids. They want those things on the wall, hence why they're there'

The organization, in this interpretation, is then not concerned with matters of family but concerned only, as Greg alludes, with the performance of their core principles. This too is reflected, in two simpler explanations, by Curtis:

'The way the firm looks at it is that my time here is not about being a father. Being a father shouldn't affect my ability to be able to perform my job'

'The business doesn't want fathers or single men or women or anything like that. The business wants strong, driven legal practitioners and they can come in any shape and form'

And Daniel:

'I don't think the business cares if you are a parent or not and not in a bad way. I think that's partly because they obviously don't discriminate but because they don't expect you to bring anything from your personal life in work so if you are a dad or not the expectation is exactly the same'

That one should segregate work and family was also defined by participants as conforming to a state of *professionalism*. For instance, two beliefs were that *'to bring that into the office space, whether that be a photo or bringing her in when she is born, is a bit unprofessional'* (Curtis) and that *'it's not professional to let home affect my performance in work. When I'm here I am here and when I'm there I'm there'* (Thomas).

These accounts are a small number of similarly occurring interpretations which coalesce around the same themes. In other words, the majority of fathers discussed professional distance and professionalism as being key aspects of keeping family and work separate. In considering these types of interpretations it is not surprising that fathers, especially seeking to be received favourably to realize organizational rewards, might employ action to conceal their family roles. I next marry those

actions of concealment recorded in answering research question one with fathers' interpretations of the situational context to evidence the strategic and intentional character of fathers' navigation of their work and family roles.

Actions of Concealment to Segregate Work and Family – The following section evidences that fathers employ *Minimization of Props*, *Minimization of Absences*, *Communicative Omission* and *Audience Segregation* to craft a performance which is sensitive to their interpretation that the situational context requires one, should they seek to be received favourably, to segregate work and family. The accounts selected have been utilized for their ability to not only explain that these actions were chosen (by the performing father) to claim a situationally appropriate performance but because they also incorporate considerations of the outcomes of crafting such a performance or, in other words, they reveal a clear thought process in which fathers report crafting what they believed to be situationally appropriate action as a means to realize organizational rewards important to their fathering role.

Minimization of Props – The first account which helps evidence that fathers employ the *Minimization of Props* to segregate work and family was provided by Curtis who contrasted his partner, who kept on display a sonogram of their expected child. Curtis explained that the difference in choices of how to represent themselves in the office was because '*...the last thing I want to do is be perceived as unprofessional when I want more responsibility*'. This action is what Goffman (1959) refers to as a preventative practice as Curtis reveals an action which prevents the possibility of his performance as one who segregates work and family being compromised. Furthermore, this belief that the presentation of personal items, in this case a prop that one is a father, might be considered unprofessional has been considered in other studies. For instance, Uhlmann et al., (2013, p.877) found, during three studies of nonwork role referencing, that 'a greater proportion of artifacts that referenced nonwork roles in the office of an employee with a reputation as unprofessional'. Professionalism, in this regard, and as referred to above, was believed to be achieved through a clear segregation of work and family.

Whereas Curtis engaged in a preventative practice, Daniel reveals a way in which one can utilize what Goffman (1959) refers to as a corrective practice to ensure one effectively segregates work and family (Goffman, 1959):

'When Andrew was born, I did have a photo on my desk, Sarah had printed some out at home and we had an extra one so she said I should have it on my desk. Okay, but then everybody notices, and everybody says something, and I just felt like I had instantly become Daniel the dad rather than Daniel the operations manager and that isn't how I wanted to be considered'

Daniel later advised he removed this prop after a day and a half because:

'It goes back to what I said at the beginning to your first question, it isn't professional, in this environment to bring the two together and I think that was at a point when I noticed why'

This account reveals an intentional act to ensure that a performance is corrected and returns to being, subject to the performer's interpretation of the situation, situationally appropriate. Additionally, the theme of *professionalism* again occurs in relation to separating the professional and personal. I ask Daniel why professionalism is important:

'Because once you're a father you're that provider. We might have already spoken about this? Okay but what that means is I need to do everything I can to work as I'm expected to. And that is also about respect. I'm expected to do everything I can here for Andrew as is Sarah is as a mother'

Daniel's account has been presented as he clearly marries a need to be a (financial) provider with a requirement to appear professional and perform pursuant to what he believed is a situation requirement to segregate work and family. For this reason it might be arguable that this account is better placed within the previous chapter concerned with important consequences, however, and like previous accounts utilized within this section of the findings chapter, these accounts are important to reveal the clear relationship between the financial provider identity of father and the intentionality to engage in situationally appropriate action. It is clear that these fathers are aware of organizational norms which might define family as unprofessional and it is also clear that they intentionally change the way they might navigate work and family as a means to craft a performance which will be received favourably in light of those norms. Additionally, these accounts are also used here as it is not always possible to neatly abstract single aspects of these fathers' lives as, as I suggest, there is an inherently important relationship between the importance fathers place upon organizational rewards and the ways that they will act to acquire them.

Minimizing props helps fathers create a physical separation of work and family that might not otherwise be achieved should one present sonograms, photos or other family-related items within their workplace. The two accounts above have been selected because they reveal how fathers take specific action to ensure they strategically manage their representations of self in a situational context which is perceived as having very distinct definitions of professionalism. These accounts also revealed that the action to Minimize Props was taken because of the responsibilities associated with fathers' family roles. As with the previously selected examples of why particular actions are employed, these accounts reveal an intentional and symbolic choice made in light of one's responsibility to ensure they pursue action which will craft a favourable impression. In this way the accounts bring together considerations of performative actions, important consequences and situational appropriateness in an illuminating way.

Minimization of Absences – Complementing the Minimization of Props was the Minimization of Absences which included fathers ensuring absences in the form of reduced hours, childcare emergencies, paternity leave, parental leave and shared parental leave which were avoided to claim a performance which segregated work and family. A general statement which covers all of these absences is offered by Graham who explains why he would be unwilling to work part-time should his family arrangements change:

'The only way I see it is if you're doing anything other than the norm, normal working hours, for instance, so if you had to pick up your child from school or drop them off, I think that would give you a disadvantage. If you could paint yourself as a normal employee putting in the hours and you excel at doing your work, it paints a better picture for getting promotions and more advanced work' (Graham)

From this account, we learn that the Minimization of Absences is intentional and, similar to the previous actions of the Minimization of Props, can be considered a preventative practice (Goffman, 1959) employed to ensure one does not contradict a what is perceived as a situational requirement to segregate work and family. Moreover, Graham's account, as with the other carefully selected accounts, reveals that action is also heavily influenced by his family role responsibility to support his family financially as he explains that engaging in actions which segregate work and family '***paints a better picture for getting promotions and more advanced work***'. Similarly, Curtis who, when asked what would happen if his partner suggested making use of Shared Parental Leave (in essence creating an absence from work), advised:

'I think I would object because I... since I took this role now I've got an aim in my head of [where] I'm trying to progress my career ...I think I would try and object to it because I would, I don't want to halt my career'

Like many previous accounts selected for their explanatory richness Curtis here notes the effect a situationally *inappropriate* performance might have upon his career which, with all fathers, was an essential aspect of life which allowed them to realize traditional ideals associated with their fathering roles. These situationally inappropriate performances also became a tool for Kevin to explain why he minimizes absences. In this regard, Kevin speaks of having witnessed mothers engage in absences which, he suggests, would be perceived unfavourably because he believed there existed a situational requirement to segregate work and family:

'I think there is a law that I could use but I wouldn't want to if I could help it because you see the women who leave and sort out this and that; I don't know for sure but it can't look too good you know, leaving a client or a task open, for instance' (Kevin)

These accounts suggest that absences to deal with family matters are avoided, through the action of the Minimization of Absences, as the situational context is interpreted to favour those who effectively segregate work and family. For this reason fathers are revealed as engaging in decisions in the form of preventative practices (Goffman, 1959) which evidence the intentional and symbolic nature of the decisions fathers make when navigating work and family. Similar to other selected extracts many of the accounts also incorporate fathers' consideration of family which consistently appears when explaining why actions of both front, and here concealment, are employed.

Communicative Omission – It was clear throughout fathers' accounts which showed that they perceive the situational context as one which favours those who segregate work and family that Communicative Concealment was common. For instance, James defined the situational requirement by contrasting that one might discuss matters of family within a public house but not the case

organization. However, what is of interest in relation to fathers' intentional choices to utilize Communicative Omission is the role of other fathers. For instance, in advising he wouldn't discuss matters of fatherhood within the office, I ask Thomas, in a subsequent interview, why he interprets family role engagement as unprofessional, he advises:

'When Sean comes to the office he doesn't say "hey, how are you finding being a dad?" he asks me how my team are performing because that's what is important for the business. He's the consummate professional in that way. You wouldn't know if he has a had a bad day, no sleep, or if something had gone wrong. That's the way to operate'

I again highlight the important role fathers play in informing assumptions about what it is appropriate for them to reveal within the organizational setting as an additional finding made in answering this research question. For instance, the reason Thomas defines it situationally inappropriate to discuss matters of fatherhood within the organizational setting is because Sean himself engages in the performative action of Communicative Omission. Sean, choosing not to engage with discussions of fatherhood informs meanings surrounding it as a topic of discussion, such that it might be considered taboo. The same was true of participants' relationships with other senior members of the organization. Kevin, for instance, who discusses *'very little'* about family with his manager, explains why he engages in Communicative Omission, *'because nobody ever really talks about family in work. My ops manager doesn't really talk about his family life and you feed off that I suppose'*. Kevin's operations manager noted here is, interestingly, Daniel who himself displayed several actions of Communicative Omission. Daniel, through choosing to intentionally refrain from acknowledging Kevin's role and his own role as father imbues topics of fatherhood with a particular meaning which is then interpreted by Kevin whose understanding is that the topic is not welcome and might be considered unprofessional. We see how these ways of fathering being defined and interpreted then become essential in understanding why performative navigation occurs and why fathers seek to conceal aspects of their fathering roles.

Accounts of Communication Omission serve well to make a point of the ways how interaction can inform meanings surrounding fatherhood because communication is a medium through which meanings are crafted, established, shared and transformed (Blumer, 1969). For the time being, as this point will form a topic of conversation within the discussion chapter, it is important to emphasize that fathers play an important role in the ways that the situational context is defined and how fathers interpret what is situationally appropriate or situationally inappropriate ways of navigating work and family.

Audience Segregation – Whilst some chose to completely conceal their family role whilst within the organizational setting some chose to relinquish their performance in the company of mothers. This type of action was unique to Greg, Stephen and George who undertook what Goffman (1959) conceptualizes as audience segregation. Similar to his peers George's interpretation of the organizational setting is that, should he wish to be received favourably, he should segregate his work and family roles, he explains:

'It is hard working in this environment. Me and my manager, we're so busy that we don't really talk about life stuff. If there was something serious then I know I can speak to him but if he has files on his desk, he's stressed, and I start talking about nappies and bottles he isn't going to be impressed'

However, as revealed by answering research question one George, like Stephen and Greg, did not choose to utilize Communicative Omission in the presence of mothers. To understand why fathers employed a new performance when performing in the presence of mothers I asked what the difference between the two audiences (mothers and his manager) was to which George confirmed *'well my manager does my PDR, my one-to-ones. He's the one, at the end of the day, who decides if I'm ready to be a TM which is the next career goal for me'*. George's explanation reveals that he is intentionally engaging in what he believes is a situationally appropriate performance for his manager because he holds the ability to support his career progression. Similar to how actions were performed because of the influence of other fathers' actions, Audience Segregation was also utilized because of the actions of other fathers. To understand how fathers experience and interpret others' actions we can draw upon the following account of Greg:

'Other fathers aren't really that interested, I find, in talking about things like you would have downstairs. We sort of, sort of, get on with it and it doesn't really come up. I suppose I'm not like them in that regard'

Here, other fathers' Communicative Omission is interpreted by Greg who then chooses to engage in Audience Segregation as other fathers provide little opportunity for him to communicate regarding his family role. Interestingly this was true of communication between Greg, George and Stephen all of whom reported never discussing matters of fatherhood with one another. We might, in considering this a *push* away against the opportunity for Greg to communicate regarding matters of fatherhood, consider a *pull* factor in the form of mothers who provide opportunity for fathers to discuss their experiences as, as George noted explaining the differences between audiences, that mothers have *'got more of an interest in it'*. This sentiment is echoed by Greg who provides further information regarding why he chooses to engage in Audience Segregation and relinquish concealment to mothers:

'I think they're just a little bit more open about talking about what what [sic] they do at home and where the little one is today and showing pictures and things'

In considering these accounts it is revealed that fathers undertake Audience Segregation as other fathers, engaged in Communicative Omission present limited opportunity to converse regarding matters of fatherhood. This absence is interpreted in such a way that fatherhood as a topic to discuss with another father is viewed as unwelcome whereas mothers provide opportunity to discuss matters such as being part of the 'early morning club' (Stephen) (revealed in the previous section on performances). Furthermore, these mothers appear suitable to compromise one's concealment as they hold limited capacity to hinder a father's ability to realize important consequences. Concealment then remains an essential performative action when in the presence of managers and/or superiors for it can challenge one's ability to realize organizational rewards important to realizing the mantle of

good father whereas when such risk is absent less concealment is required and so disclosure can occur.

Summary of Segregate Work and Family - Fathers interpreted the organizational as a context in which, should they wish to make a favourable impression, they should segregate work from family. To ensure performances were situationally appropriate and fathers could segregate work and family they employed actions of the Minimization of Props, the Minimization of Physical Absences, Communicative Omission and Audience Segregation. As with the previous section which considered the intentionality evident in actions used to prioritize work over family fathers reveal that they interpret the organizational setting in such a way that it creates a type of script for them to follow. We see an important consideration in this process is the ways that fathers themselves might define what is considered situationally appropriate. In this way fathers' own actions can come to inform what is considered situationally appropriate actions for their peers to perform, evidencing that fathers themselves have an important role to play in both interpreting and expressing what are situationally appropriate ways for fathers to navigate work and family.

7.3.3 Summary to Situational Appropriateness

In answering research question three I found that fathers interpret the organization as a context in which, should one wish to make a favourable impression, they should prioritize work over, and segregate work from, family. These interpretations were consistent across accounts and so common that it suggests that the organizational setting is structured in a manner in which ideal worker norms are rewarded. I found that these interpretations then act as a type of script for fathers to design their performance pursuant to. In other words, fathers appear to consider what they believe is required of them to make a positive impression and so intentionally and strategically navigate work and family as a means to realize what they believed was a situationally appropriate performance:

Figure 16: Situational Context

<i>Interpreted Situational Requirement</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Prioritize Work over Family	Work located Additional Hours Non-work located Additional Hours
	Actions of the Evening Actions of the Morning
Segregate Work from Family	Minimization of Props Minimization of Absences
	Communicative Omission Audience Segregation

What is captured here is fundamentally dramaturgical in nature; one interprets his organizational setting and from this determines a script which he can follow as a means to display what he believes is required of him in an effort to form a specific impression and realize organization rewards important to his fathering role. I emphasize that this is a process dependent upon what a father **believes** is

required of him. I emphasize that this was a belief of fathers as their decisions to navigate work and family by the means they did were based upon their interpretation of the organizational setting rather than an express condition of employment or written direction on how to act. Rather, the organization appeared to act in subtle ways to influence what fathers believed were appropriate and inappropriate ways of navigating work and family. From this fathers determined what they believed to be situationally appropriate ways of navigating work and family and so craft their performances pursuant to the same.

Understanding that fathers act in this manner contrasts some existing studies which situate fathers, especially when displaying actions which appear complicit with organizational structures as passive whereas, and in contrast, what I found is that fathers are both aware of and strategically engaged with norms which characterize the organizational context. This, as I mention within the previous section of this chapter, helps build a new perspective upon fathers and their navigation than is available within the existing literature. I build upon this finding within the second section of the discussion chapter at which point I incorporate the findings made by answering this research question and research question two to evidence that fathers' navigation is an intentional and highly strategic undertaking.

In answering the final research question I also found that fathers' interpretations upon what was situationally appropriate was informed by the actions of other fathers. This was revealed by fathers advising that they engaged in a number of performative actions because of the ways that their peers (also fathers) navigated work and family. This is reflective of the symbolic interactionist argument that action informs definitions of social objects, such as roles, which then come to create norms and expectations surrounding those objects. This reflexivity is what Alder et al., (1987, p.219) concern themselves with when arguing that 'the rituals and institutions they [(actions)] thus create then influence the character of their behaviour through the expectations and micro social norms they yield'. This finding is important in relation to existing studies concerned with the ways that fathers' roles are defined as studies tend to emphasize the important role that colleagues, managers and policy has on defining the assumptions that are made surrounding men's work roles. What my finding suggests is that fathers have an important role to play in the ways that these expectations are propagated (I suggest expectations are propagated for the fact that they reveal the traditional notions of men within the organization being able to prioritize work over, and segment work from, family (Whyte, 1956)). I situate this finding alongside those studies I considered in the first part of my literature review within the final discussion chapter titled the Stagnation of Organizational Assumptions Surrounding Fathers' Work Roles.

7.4 Findings Summary

Within this section of the thesis I have explored the four findings I made in answering my three research questions:

Figure 17: Findings Summary

<i>Finding</i>	<i>Summary</i>
----------------	----------------

1	Fathers employ performative action to navigate work and family roles.
2	Fathers navigate work and family because they believe crafting a positive impression will provide access to organizational rewards important to their fathering role.
3	Fathers employ the recorded performative actions by consideration of situational context evidencing an intentional and strategic approach to the navigation of roles.
4	What constitutes a situationally appropriate performance is partially informed by fathers' performative action

These findings help describe how and why navigation was undertaken in a manner which is presented by figure 13. This figure, informed by the study's findings, provides a visual representation of the process fathers take to navigate work and family roles. It captures the ways that fathers deemed what is important when considering their fathering roles, how this situates them in a position to consider what action will be considered situationally appropriate and then to engage in a situationally appropriate performance by utilizing a suite of performative actions to navigate work and family by impressions claimed.

These findings focus very much upon the actions of fathers and how they interpret their social worlds. It provides a new perspective upon navigation in which I reveal the highly intentional and strategic choices fathers make as they choose to misrepresent themselves. This perspective holds fathers and their actions in a highly critical light as it suggests they are engaged in a type of misrepresentation in which they come to inform assumptions made of men and the ways that men should act within the organizational setting. It also suggests that the degree to which we should consider organizational structures as wholly deterministic might need to be considered alongside the position that fathers can present a type of false conformity in which they intentionally seek to present an idealized version of themselves by understanding the norms that structures create for them, as men, and seek to exploit them by performative action. I next explore these findings and this new perspective upon fathers in greater detail as I situate the study findings within existing studies concerned with the ways that fathers navigate work and family.

8. Discussion

The discussion chapter will be separated into three sections to consider three important contributions this study makes to understanding the ways fathers navigate work and family. A summary is here provided for ease of reference:

Figure 18: Contributions Summary

<i>Contribution</i>	<i>Summary</i>
1	Navigation can be an undertaking which constitutes performative action as a means to claim Work Role Engagement and Family Role Concealment by impression.
2	Navigation is an intentional and strategic undertaking which can be explained by fathers' interpretations of what it means to be a good father and a good worker.
3	Fathers' performative navigation of work and family has the potential to reaffirm stereotypes and assumptions made upon the work roles of fathers.

The first part of the discussion chapter, *Performative Navigation*, considers the first contribution this study makes by revealing a novel perspective upon the ways that fathers can employ performative action to navigate work and family by impressions. I explore, within this first part of the discussion chapter, the novel ways that fathers were found to navigate work and family, such as by small actions of concealment not recorded within existing studies, and reveal how these findings extend our current knowledge of how navigation can occur. I suggest that these types of actions help fathers claim the positions of Work Role Engagement and Family Role Concealment, not always in a clear and sincere way but by an impression claimed by the performative actions they employ.

The second section of the discussion chapter, *Fathers as Strategic Performers*, considers the findings surrounding why fathers navigated work and family and why they chose the actions recorded. In other words, I consider how the finding that a father can be thought to interpret his organizational setting and from this determine a script which he can follow as a means to display what he believes is required of him in an effort to form a specific impression and realize organization rewards important to his fathering role. I argue that this explanation of navigation, emphasizing the perspective of fathers' themselves, contributes to our understanding of navigation by revealing fathers as acting more strategically and intentionally than is currently conceptualized. Additionally, I reveal how my explanation of navigation can explain instances of Work Family Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Discreet Family Role Engagement. This contrasts, I argue, the existing discourse-specific explanations of navigation and is therefore an important contribution to understanding why navigation occurs.

The final section of the discussion chapter, *The Stagnation of Organizational Assumptions Surrounding Fathers' Work Roles*, considers the finding that what is interpreted as a situationally appropriate performance is partially informed by fathers' own performative action. I reconsider the existing literature which focuses upon the ways peers, managers and policy act to create assumptions around men's roles and argue that fathers too hold an important position in informing those assumptions.

I end the discussion chapter and consideration of the contributions this study makes to argue that what the balance of these contributions provides is a new perspective and novel conceptualization of navigation that suggests one interprets his organizational setting and from this determines a script which he can follow as a means to display what he believes is required of him in an effort to form a specific impression and realize organization rewards important to his fathering role.

8.1 Performative Navigation

My literature review suggested fathers engaged in actions which helped them navigate their work and family roles. I found answering research question one, that fathers can navigate work and family by utilizing a suite of performative actions. In this regard, and contrasting existing studies, I found that these actions can be utilized to realize positions of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Discreet Family Role Engagement as impressions rather than a position legitimately taken (as suggested by existing studies):

Figure 19: New Perspectives upon Navigation

	<i>Aspect</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Performative Action</i>	<i>Position Claimed</i>
<i>Performance</i>	Front	Sincere Commitment	Work located Additional Hours Non-work located Additional Hours	Work Role Engagement
		Cynical Commitment	Actions of the Evening Actions of the Morning	
	Concealment	Physical Concealment	Minimization of Props Minimization of Absences	Family Role Concealment
		Communicative Concealment	Communicative Omission Audience Segregation	Discreet Family Role Engagement

Within this first section of the discussion chapter I contextualize the finding that navigation can be performative within the existing literature. In doing so I explore each of the three discourses of knowledge I located within the literature review and highlight the novel actions which I found fathers to employ to realize the impression of one who is in a position of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Discreet Family Role Engagement:

Figure 20: Novel Actions of Navigation

<i>Discourse</i>	<i>Novel Action</i>
Work Role Engagement	Work Role Engagement can be claimed by evening and morning performances.
Family Role Concealment	Small and continuous strategies of physical and communicative concealment are used to conceal one's Family Role.
Family Role Engagement	Discreet Family Role Engagement can be realized by the action of Audience Segregation.

In offering these examples of performative action I argue that what this study adds to the existing literature is that positions of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Family Role

Engagement can be considered impressions which are claimed rather than positions which are legitimately taken. I also suggest that understanding that navigation can be realized by the utilization of performative action to claim positions by impression challenges our ability to accurately categorized fathers as Traditionals (Cooper, 2000), Career Orientated (Halrynjo, 2009), Disconformer or Conformers (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019) simply by the ways they appear to navigate work and family.

8.1.1 Work Role Engagement & Front

My study evidenced that fathers' use of performative front can assist in claiming an impression of one who is engaged with their work role and so claim an impression of Work Role Engagement. Fathers achieved this by employing four different types of performative actions which can be distinguished by being either sincere or cynical in nature. I discuss these actions in light of the balance of existing studies which suggest that Work Role Engagement is a position realized when fathers undertake long working hours (Cooper, 2000; Halrynjo, 2009 and Ladge et al., 2015), prioritize work over family (Gerson, 2010 and Humberd et al., 2015) and/or undertake around-the-clock availability (Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019). I argue that my study adds to this literature by revealing that those actions have a performative potential which can be, and were, utilized to claim Work Role Engagement as an impression.

Sincere Commitment

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Front	Sincere Commitment	Work located Additional Hours Non-work located Additional Hours
	Cynical Commitment	Actions of the Evening Actions of the Morning

Work located Additional Hours - Sincere commitment was an aspect of front which was performed by all fathers, regardless if they imbued their family role with exclusively traditional, or contemporary, meanings. Situating this strategy within existing studies, those engaged in sincere commitment would be akin to those fathers who Cooper (2000) suggested were *Traditionals* or what Halrynjo (2009) referred to as those taking a *Career Position*. Fathers displayed actions similar to those within the existing literature which evidence this position through actions of commitment such as long working hours (Cooper, 2000; Halrynjo, 2009 and Ladge et al., 2015), prioritizing work over family (Gerson, 2010 and Humberd et al., 2015) and/or around-the-clock availability (Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019). However, by utilizing a dramaturgical lens, it isn't clear these actions *make* these fathers *traditionals* (Cooper, 2000) or *career orientated* (Halrynjo, 2009). I make this point as some fathers who clearly defined themselves as holding contemporary ideals of fathering were engaged in these actions. Greg,

Stephen and George, for instance, were all engaged in actions which were undertaken to sincerely claim commitment. However, it was not the case that one might be able to assign a categorization of traditional or career orientated to these fathers for they were not that way inclined and, in many ways, elevated their fathering role above that of their work role finding the undertaking of those actions problematic. In other words, it suggests that Greg, Stephen and George are not traditional or career orientated but that they tactically employ action as a means to claim that status by impression. In this way these fathers undertook long working hours not because they were career orientated or traditional in their fathering ideals but because they wished to create a very particular impression of one who is career orientated. It is, for this reason, that I suggest sincere commitment can be considered performative; it is an intentional strategy which is undertaken by engaging in long working hours and engaging with actual work but one which is completed because fathers realize it creates an impression and, therefore, constitutes an action laden with performative worth. One can, therefore, easily mislead their audience by intentionally claiming an impression of Work Role Engagement because they understand that the actions associated with that position will help them craft a positive impression.

Non-work located Additional Hours - The process of utilizing performative action to claim an impression of Work Role Engagement was most evident in instances in which fathers utilized technology to work away from the organizational setting. This type of action was performative, as Daniel mentioned, because being engaged in work outside of normal working hours and away from the office is not as much about being engaged in work but more about being engaged in work at that particular time. In other words, fathers were happy to engage in work outside of normal working hours and away from the office because they knew it held potential to be seen to be prioritizing work over family. One might be sincerely engaging in work and completing actual work tasks but he can still do so at specific times and at specific locations as a means to exploit the potential such an action might have upon helping them realize a specific impression. The performative potential of these actions is, therefore, again, revealed as is a clear indication that action is intentional even when one acts toward Work Role Engagement.

Many of the actions recorded which constituted Sincere Commitment were reflective of existing studies which record, prioritizing work over family (Cooper, 2000; Halrynjo, 2009, Kvande, 2009 and Tremblay, 2013) and/or around-the-clock availability (Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019), however, and as I have shown, these actions can also be considered performative. In that way I suggest that these actions can be employed for their performative worth and their ability to assist one in claiming Work Role Engagement by way of an impression.

Cynical Commitment

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Front	Sincere	Work located Additional Hours

	Commitment	Non-work located Additional Hours
	Cynical Commitment	Actions of the Evening Actions of the Morning

Actions of the Evening and Morning - Cynical commitment was utilized when fathers sought an impression of one who was prioritizing work over family or engaged in additional hours without any *real* labour/work being performed. For instance, by staying late many fathers were able to claim the role of a committed worker whereas they were actually engaged in non-work actions (such as online shopping, making personal telephone calls or accessing their social media platforms). The same was true of those fathers who chose to utilize the morning as their window to claim commitment; these fathers learnt to strategically position items on their desk as a means to stamp their arrival should somebody arrive whilst they were away from their desk eating their breakfast or having their first cigarette. The degree to which this window was utilized was evident in the multitude of intricate and intentional actions performed. For instance, making one's colleagues morning drinks tepid to claim that one had been engaged in work earlier than one had (Graham), ensuring one claimed a parking space closest to the office (Alex) or logging on to create an electronic stamp of one's arrival and then undertaking personal tasks (eating breakfast, speaking with colleagues or smoking). Engaging in participant observation and undertaking extended periods of observation helped me realize that there exists a multifarious number of strategically undertaken actions to cynically claim an identity of one who is organizationally committed without undertaking any actual labour.

On the surface then, this multitude of performative actions presents an impression of one who is committed to the organization as they appear to be willing to prioritize work responsibilities and, therefore, successfully realizes a position of Work Role Engagement. The impression claimed might easily be considered as one being passive as they appear to exemplify traditional ideal worker expectations; however, what is revealed is that there is a large degree of intentionality in claiming Work Role Engagement by impression. As well as evidencing an intentionality findings also suggest, as fathers are claiming positions by impression, that actual sincere action can regularly be missing but an impression that one is acting in a sincere way can still be claimed. As such, where one appears to evidence an example of sincere organizational commitment what might readily be being recorded is a performance orchestrated to claim such an impression but itself, beneath one's front, consist of actions to the contrary (online shopping at a work terminal might appear as one engaged in case work from an audience member or being engaged on a personal telephone might easily be used to mislead one's audience to believe they are engaged in a telephone call with a client). An audience then comes to the conclusion that one has taken, or is in, a position of Work Role Engagement whereas, in actuality, the impression might be crafted by the utilization of a specific suite of performative action employed to claim that very impression as a means to misguide.

Obvious issues then arise through seeking to categorize one by those actions recorded. For instance, Paul engaged in morning performances but in doing so he explained that this meant he lost time with his children which, itself caused conflict as he wished to be more engaged in childrearing.

To suggest Paul is a traditional father then becomes problematic for we are seeking to categorize him by an impression he seeks to make. As such I suggest that the performative nature of the actions utilized to craft an organizationally committed front have potential to challenge our ability to categorize fathers as Traditionals (Cooper, 2000), Career Orientated (Halrynjo, 2009), Disconformer or Conformers (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019). Work Role Engagement might, by that definition, not be a position sincerely realized but an impression sought and realized by misleading one's audience to make assumptions upon them by employing cynical action.

8.1.2 Family Role Concealment and Concealment

Fathers revealed that they were able to claim an impression of Family Role Concealment by employing four different types of performative actions which conceal aspects of their family roles. These actions can be separated by the type of concealment, namely if they conceal physically or communicatively. Both acted to sterilize one's work role from representations or communication regarding family ensuring concealment and the position of Family Role Concealment was realized.

I next discuss this finding in light of those studies reviewed within the literature review and which evidenced two broad strategies of navigation, namely, the segmentation of family and work roles (Cooper, 2000; Halrynjo, 2009; Hook and Woolfe, 2012; Sallee, 2012 and Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019) and the avoidance of the use of flexible working initiatives (Brandth & Kvande, 2001; Daly & Palkovitz, 2004; O'Brien, 2015; Tremblay, 2013; Ladge et al., 2015; Thornton, 2016; Cooklin et al., 2016; Horvath et al., 2018 and Choroszewicz & Tremblay, 2019). I suggest that my findings reveal a more intimate perspective upon concealment which is maintained and ongoing. I evidence this by revealing that concealment extends to representations of family and also the careful concealment of communicative information regarding aspects of family allowing the performer to effectively claim the impression of one who effectively segregates work and family roles.

Physical Concealment

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Concealment	Physical Concealment	Minimization of Props Minimization of Absences
	Communicative Concealment	Communicative Omission Audience Segregation

Minimization of Props - Focusing upon performances of fathers revealed that concealment expanded to include physical representations of fatherhood. Included was the concealment of keepsakes (school projects, photographs and sonograms) and personalised items (mugs, mouse mates and calendars) as a means to display limited representations of family. As with other aspects of performance this clearly demonstrates intentionality on the part of fathers to ensure family is concealed within the organizational setting and so engagement with one's family role is avoided.

Navigation from this perspective is an undertaking of initiative and one which is, again, characterized as highly intentional. Dovetailing these acts was the process of representing non-related family paraphernalia where one would expect to find representations of parenthood. For instance, where a mother had pictures of family holidays, fathers elected to present stacks of business cards, law gazette and law society magazines or internal reports. The finding that fathers will extend strategies of concealment to include physical representations of family within their workspace is a line of enquiry absent from within the organizationally focused fatherhood literature. There are, however, studies which reveal that employees might present their workspaces in a manner which misrepresents themselves and allows them to claim a professional identity (Gosling et al., 2002). This attempt to misrepresent oneself is precisely what fathers attempted to do by removing representations of parenthood and replacing them with alternative props. This was the case because displaying a warm family image, embracing their son, for instance, creates the *impression* of 'Daniel the Dad' whereas, if one considers that impression and sterilizes their workspace from such representations they immediately cast a different impression; that of 'Daniel the Manager'. Concealing one's family role then becomes an action of great performative worth as it allows the claim of a very particular impression (one who effectively segregates work and family).

I suggest this is the first example of our existing knowledge concerned with Family Role Concealment being expanded not only because these specific actions are not recorded elsewhere within the organizationally focused fatherhood literature but because it suggests that concealment can take a far more elaborate and personal form than it is elsewhere conceptualized. Fathers do not only consider broad strategies of concealment such as ensuring care responsibilities are segmented to the weekend but, also, that one should plan to ensure they have not left the child seat in their car when returning to the office on a Monday morning (Francis), for instance. This sterilizes work of representations of fatherhood to a greater degree than we have previously seen and helps understand how performative action concerned with realizing an impression of one who is unencumbered of extra organizational responsibilities can create an environment in which fatherhood is absent or invisible (Gatrell, 2005; Lyng, 2010 & Burnett et al., 2013).

Minimization of Absences - The second action of physical concealment, the Minimization of Absences, revealed that fathers sought to avoid engaging with absences whilst working. This type of performative action was utilized to avoid engaging with any formal absences which might be used to facilitate responsibilities associated with fathers' family roles and, as such, ensured the segmentation of work and family. These absences were shown to be both symbolic, and performative, as fathers explained that absences from their working role were intentionally avoided to ensure the impression of an ideal worker, an aspect being one who has no non-work obligations that can affect work (Reid, 2018), was realized. I suggest that these actions, in and of themselves, are not suitable to qualify as a contribution to knowledge because a wide variety of studies already evidence similar actions suggesting that such absences are avoided because they might result in flexibility and/or femininity stigma (Williams et al., 2013 & Vandello et al., 2013, p.303) or one being branded an unpredictable worker (Lyng, 2010 p.89), receiving lower remuneration (Leslie et al., 2012 and Coltrane et al., 2013,

p.279) or lower performance evaluations (Leslie et al., 2012 & Wharton et al., 2008). However, what these actions do act to do is support that fathers were ensuring these absences did not occur because they believed they were in contradiction to an **impression** they sought to make. In other words, fathers saw the minimization, or avoidance, or these absences as holding great performative potential (similar to sincere commitment). This was expressed by fathers who believed that mothers who had realized absences had created a *poor* impression whereas they, by not realizing those same absences, believed they were crafting a *good* impression. Minimizing these absences, therefore, helped conceal aspects of family which might compromise fathers' ability to claim unencumbered employee status. As such, the use of the minimization of absences to ensure the concealment of one's family role might not constitute a contribution to knowledge but that same action and the reasons it was employed, to maintain the impression of one who is unencumbered, supports the thrust of my contribution explained within this first section of the discussion chapter, namely, that navigation can be achieved through performative action.

Communicative Concealment

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Concealment	Physical	Minimization of Props
	Concealment	Minimization of Absences
	Communicative	Communicative Omission
	Concealment	Audience Segregation

Communicative Omission – The choice to physically conceal aspects of one's family role is a type of performative action which can be arranged, planned and rehearsed; a child seat can be removed from a car (Francis) or a photograph removed from a desk (Daniel), for instance. However, effectively performing communicative omission is a performative discipline of ongoing, immediate and unrehearsed actions. For instance, an effective strategy of physical concealment might avoid the possibility of creating an express conversation concerned with parenting but care will still need to be taken should one successfully avoid discussing matters of parenthood when speaking of weekend plans, hobbies or how personal time is spent etc.

Not only is communicative omission more performatively complex than physical concealment it can also make strategies of physical concealment redundant or precarious. This is the case as one's role, should they be engaged in physical concealment and fail to communicatively omit details of their family role, can quite quickly be transformed from childless man, to father and then to a father who is cold, uninvolved or even ashamed (as he is revealed as one with children but also one who conceals that same fact). A slip of the tongue then causing a performance disruption (Goffman, 1959, p.134) or, as Goffman (1959, p.133), and common lexicon, would alternatively define it, causing a scene. This was the case for George who experienced embarrassment when revealing to a part-time working mother that he was expecting his second child, her not even knowing that he had his first.

George was, to his colleagues, fatherless because he had engaged in a convincing and performatively sound navigation of his work and family role in which he effectively concealed aspects of fatherhood and performed the role of one who was unencumbered. That George can employ concealment in such a fashion speaks to the strategic nature of fathers' performative navigation of work and role and, also, his *faux pas* (Goffman, 1959) speaks to the difficulty of maintaining concealment. This again helps evidence, because navigation can be employed to mislead one's audience, that it becomes problematic in labelling fathers by the positions they realize. For all intents and purposes George, to his peers, might be considered a conformer, traditional or breadwinner whereas this study found George to hold contemporary fathering ideals. To suggest that he is a traditional father or conformer is not entirely accurate, this is, rather, the *impression* he sought to maintain and, evidently, failed to do so because of the difficulty of maintaining communicative concealment.

These types of accounts and the utilization of communicative concealment as performative action to conceal aspects of fatherhood are absent from studies and suggest an important contribution to our existing understanding of how fathers can navigate toward a position of Family Role Concealment. I suggest this as existing studies converge around actions which suggest concealment is realized by more uniform procedures such as the clear segmentation of work and family to the working week and weekend (respectively) (Cooper, 2000; Halrynjo, 2009; Hook and Woolfe, 2012; Sallee, 2012 and Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019) or the clear avoidance of utilizing flexible working initiatives (Brandth & Kvande, 2001; Daly & Palkovitz, 2004; O'Brien, 2015; Tremblay, 2013; Ladge et al., 2015; Thornton, 2016; Cooklin et al., 2016; Horvath et al., 2018; Choroszewicz & Tremblay, 2019). My study, rather, reveals that concealment is achieved on an ongoing and more personal level. Concealment, as undertaken as a performative action, then becomes an ongoing and precarious undertaking which requires performative skill and careful consideration of what has or has not been said. This contrasts, for instance, choosing to only undertake caring responsibilities on the weekend as is the case with the majority of studies which evidence the ways fathers might clearly segment their work and family roles or the defined choice to not engage with flexible working initiatives.

I reiterated earlier in this section of my thesis that the balance of studies which can be employed to understand actions which help fathers claim Family Role Concealment converge around considerations of fathers segmenting family and work roles so that caring responsibilities fall upon the weekend and the avoidance of the use of flexible working initiatives. I have revealed that Family Role Concealment can be claimed by performative action to claim the impression of one who is unencumbered. I have also shown that this type of impression is achieved by employing performative actions which are absent from existing studies and reveal a far more intricate and personal approach to concealment. In doing so I reveal how concealment is achieved through micro performative actions which require ongoing commitment and maintenance revealing that Family Role Concealment can be a position effectively realized by claiming an impression of one who is without extra organizational commitment.

I have also revealed how this impression can create assumptions for observers so much so that one might be incorrectly understood as an unencumbered man. As with performative strategies that mislead their audience by engaging in cynical claims of commitment I suggest that the performative nature of the actions utilized to conceal also have potential to challenge our ability to categorize fathers as Traditionals (Cooper, 2000), Career Orientated (Halrynjo, 2009), Disconformer or Conformers (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019) simply by the positions they appear to take. This, as I mention, is because we are in receipt of what fathers want to display to us rather than a clear sincere representation of their work and family roles and responsibilities.

8.1.3 Family Role Engagement and Audience Segregation

The third, and final, discourse located within the literature evidenced that fathers can take a position of Family Role Engagement. Similar to those studies (Halrynjo, 2009; Ranson, 2012; Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019 and Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019) the number of fathers to this study who engaged with their family role was small. Unlike other studies which recorded *Public Family Role Engagement* this study captured no such data revealing that fathers Family Role Engagement was exclusively undertaken *discreetly*, by leveraging Audience Segregation.

<i>Aspect of Performance</i>	<i>Strategy</i>	<i>Actions</i>
Concealment	Physical	Minimization of Props
	Concealment	Minimization of Absences
	Communicative	Communicative Omission
	Concealment	Audience Segregation

Audience Segregation – Existing studies which evidence actions which can be considered to discreetly engage with one’s family role reveal fathers taking unofficial leave (Cooper, 2000), utilizing annual leave in substitution of flexible working initiatives (Hatter et al., et al., 2002 & Tremblay, 2013) changing work arrangements to accommodate family responsibilities (rather than take official leave) (Reid, 2018) or claim the existence of non-family related tasks when actually engaging in family related responsibilities (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019). For the fathers who participated in this study this type of engagement was realized by the utilization of Audience Segregation.

This type of strategy is present when a performer seeks to deliver contrasting, and sometimes contradictory, presentations of self to two or more audiences. My study evidenced this type of strategy being performed as fathers segmented their audience and, therefore, their performance when in the company of their superiors and peers or part-time working mothers. This action, like all included within this study, evidences how navigation can be undertaken by performance. Fathers are, for instance, realizing an impression of one who is unencumbered in one instance (realizing a position of Family Role Concealment) but then, realizing a completely different impression as one who is a caring father (realizing a position of Family Role Engagement) in another.

Few studies record fathers utilizing this action as a means to realize Discreet Family Role Engagement; however, an example was contained within Cooper's (2000) study which briefly noted that a participant felt he was more able to discuss family matters with his secretary than his boss. This father was recorded as *drawing a line in the sand* which might readily symbolise, in keeping with my dramaturgical metaphor, a segregation between his secretary and boss as audiences (ibid, p.400). A similar line was drawn by fathers participating in this study by providing evidence that performances will vary in the presence of different audiences.

Audience Segregation again clearly demonstrates the intentionality of navigation but also that a position can be claimed by impression. The fathers that effectively realized audience segregation undertook a type of engagement with their family role whilst claiming, to the wider organizational audience, the complete concealment of that role. Evidencing that fathers utilize different performances to segregate their audience in this manner again reveals the danger of attempting to categorize fathers as Traditionals (Cooper, 2000), Career Orientated (Halrynjo, 2009), Disconformer or Conformers (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019) as it reveals a different representation of self is given in different scenarios but by the same individual (Goffman, 1959). In the examples of Stephen, George and Greg it was clear that, considering their performances in the Front Region, each appeared as *Traditionals* (Cooper, 2000) or *Conformers* (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019) but performed differently when in the Back Region. Within these regions, the same fathers might as readily be recorded, in the fashion currently employed within existing studies, as *non-traditional*, contemporary or acting as disconformers (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019). I again argue that what is being categorized is not necessarily a true representation of self but, rather, the representation of self that fathers most feel is appropriate in a given situation. Actions of audience segregation then act to provide a novel way that fathers might navigate work and family, reaffirm that navigation can be realized via the utilization of impressions and that performative characteristic of this action might challenge our ability to accurately categorize fathers by their actions alone.

8.1.4 Performative Navigation Summary – Throughout this first section of the discussion chapter I have evidenced that navigation can be achieved through the utilization of a suite of performative actions. This is an argument novel to fatherhood literature and provides a new perspective upon navigation which has yet to be contributed to literature. It reveals how fathers can utilize or conceal props such as childseats, photographs and keepsake, how audiences can be segregated by contrasting and contradictory impressions or how one can enter a stage earlier or leave one late to undertake morning or evening performances. Navigation is then revealed as a more intentional, intricate, ongoing and personal undertaking which constitutes important performative actions undertaken to claim positions of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Discreet Family Role Engagement by the impressions those performative actions create.

I have also argued in each instance that evidencing that navigation can occur by employing performative action challenges our ability to accurately define fathers as Traditional (Cooper, 2000), Career Orientated (Halrynjo, 2009) or Conformers/Disconformers (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019). This is the case as fathers are not representing themselves, per se, but by navigating their work and

family roles by utilizing performative action, they are crafting impressions which are regularly cynical and not a true reflection upon themselves as fathers. What this reveals, pursuant to the symbolic interactionist position (Goffman., 1959 and Blumer, 1969), is that meaning is created in the social arena and at the point of interaction. These fathers are not traditional, per se, but they perform and define the situation as if they are, misleading their audience through the manipulation of the meanings created through that interaction. Categorizing fathers would be better realized should we consider those categories as impressions, for instance, the *traditional* impression or the *conformer* impression. This type of conceptualization would also be sensitive to the fact that fathers can claim different impressions in different instances. For instance, one might appear traditional to one audience or a disconformer in another. Greg, for example, appeared a conformer when performing to his peers and managers as audience but then, his audience being part-time working mothers, appeared as a disconformer. It is difficult then to state that Greg is exclusively either a conformer or disconformer (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019), rather, there appears greater utility in understanding that these are merely impressions one can claim to ensure they effectively navigate work and family. In this way, I suggest, we can consider navigation as a performative undertaking one can achieve through the utilization of specific actions to claim particular impressions.

8.2 Fathers as Strategic Performers

In answering research question two I found that navigation could be explained by considering the meanings fathers have for their family roles and how they defined the outcomes of paid employment as important. Similarly, and in answering research question three, I found that the ways specific actions were considered as situationally appropriate informed what fathers defined as being a good worker was important to understand why specific actions were utilized.

I next contextualize the study findings that important outcomes and situational appropriateness are important to understand why fathers navigate work and family in the ways recorded. I argue that my study again reveals intentionality but also a highly strategic performer who directs his action in a manner which situates him in a position to be received favourably and which he believed will provide access to organizational rewards. As such, I highlight a degree of strategic navigation which is absent within the existing literature in explaining navigation and provide a clear concise explanation of navigation which is consistent in explaining why fathers will take each position I identified within my literature review (save for Family Role Engagement which was not recorded). As such I explore the discourses below as a means to solidify my contribution and how this helps extend our understanding of navigation within each.

8.2.1 Work Role Engagement

The first discourse within the existing literature concerned with fathers' navigation of Family and Work revealed fathers located in a position of Work Role Engagement. This discourse contained explanations concerned with Work Role Engagement being a result of organizational structures such as (new) workplace masculinity (Cooper, 2000), privilege (Halrynjo, 2009), professional norms (Ladge et al., 2015), organizational assumptions (Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019) and gendered assumptions (Mauerer & Schmidt, 2019). Within some of these studies exists a theme of subjugation in which organizations are portrayed as acting upon, and regulating the behaviour of fathers. For instance, see, for instance Cooper's (2000, p.387) notion of 'The Invisible Control Strategy' or Tanquerel & Grau-Grau's (2019, p.18) mention of fathers being in need of emancipation. These themes, I have suggested, position fathers who act toward their work role and, for instance, prioritize work over family, as passive. Contrastingly, I evidenced that the performative actions relating to front, which were undertaken to realize a Work Role Engagement impression, were intentional. For instance, long working hours and work prioritization were not enacted as a result of organizational structures acting upon fathers but, rather, fathers believed that an impression of such prioritization would be received favourably and, therefore, directed their performative action in a manner which would produce that impression. This intentionality to perform action which will produce a situationally appropriate impression speaks to the strategic nature of fathers' navigation of work and family roles. Moreover, the strategic nature of performance is further evidenced by the fact that an impression of one who works long hours was also claimed cynically, utilizing the morning and evening as a means to perform insincere actions claiming commitment and work prioritization whilst engaged with, and undertaking, personal matters. These actions are, inherently, a strategic and intentional choice fathers made as they undertook these actions with a view to ensure they crafted an impression and appeared as if

prioritizing work over family. Navigation, although appearing complicit in how the organization wanted fathers to act, was not directed by the organization, *per se*, but was an intentional undertaking of fathers who carefully considered the organizational context and acted pursuant to their own interpretations of the organizational context.

That fathers were willing to cynically claim commitment by fabricating instances of working long hours to mislead their audience might speak to the strategic characteristic of their navigation but might also be considered a deceitful and misleading practice. However, I also suggest that the degree to which fathers were willing to mislead their audience speaks to the importance they place upon their family role responsibility to realize organizational rewards. Perhaps in no other account was this better illuminated than that of Alex who explained that he had once considered wetting his hair and clothes one morning as it had rained an hour or so before he entered the office. Doing so, he had explained, would have created evidence he had entered the office before he actually did and formed the impression of one who arrives at the office early and, so, prioritizes work over family. The symbolic and purposeful planning of actions such as these, which I suggest are less emphasized throughout the Work Role Engagement discourse, not only illuminate the strategic approaches fathers take when designing the ways they are to navigate their work role but also illuminates the importance they place on the outcomes of being received favourably which allow them to fulfil their family role requirements to support their families financially. As such, fathers like Alex are not undertaking the recorded performative actions because they are subjugated by organization structures but because they believe that the actions which create the impression of one who is a traditional father, is *career orientated* (Halrynjo, 2009), and/or *conforms* (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019) will be received favourably. It is important, again, to emphasize that what the audience is in receipt of, in these instances, is not a true representation of self but, rather, an idealization crafted and claimed for its situational appropriateness and utility to provide organizational rewards (Goffman, 1959). Performance from this perspective is a strategic undertaking in which performances are given, not because fathers *are* traditionalists in a deep-seated, hard-wired sense, but because presenting an effective performance which presents oneself in this manner is believed to provide better opportunity to realize organizational rewards (what fathers deemed as *Important Outcomes*); that is, there is often an important instrumental component in fathers' performances at work suggesting no more than a loose commitment to a form of behavioural compliance to traditional norms associated with what constitutes a *good* worker. This reflects accounts such as Greg's which highlights the need to demonstrate the recorded commitment should one seek to realize organizational rewards (important outcomes) 'work, work, work. Giving my life to the firm isn't important to me but in parts I have to'. This need to perform as a means to realize one's family role responsibility to contribute and support one's family financially can be incorrectly determined as one **being** a *Traditional* (Cooper, 2000), or as taking a *Career Position* (Halrynjo, 2009), rather than understanding that individuals might be performing to appear in that way as a means to strategically acquire organizational rewards. Navigation toward a position of Work Role Engagement is, therefore, intentional and strategic but might easily be determined, as I argue is the case within existing studies, as passive because it so well mirrors what the organization expects.

That positions such as Work Role Engagement can be intentionally sought is, however, present in studies outside of the organizationally focused fatherhood literature. For instance Reid's (2018) study evidenced individuals as *embracing* their expected professional role as a means to strategically realize ideal worker norms. Interestingly, Reid (2018) records that many of the participants recorded as *embracing* their expected professional role were men who were interested in demonstrating a devotion to work (ibid, p.997). What Reid's (2018) study and this study have in common, which might help understand why both studies make similar arguments in relation to the strategic engagement with organizational structure, is that they both adopt Goffman's work which suggests performative action is intentional and symbolic. In this regard, Reid (2018) draws on Goffman's (1963) work on Stigma and focuses upon the actions of individuals as they navigate organizational expectations as a means to realize an expected identity and this study, Goffman's (1959) work concerned with how performances are utilized to navigate work and family roles. Both studies, therefore, are concerned, not only with the actions of individuals (in this case the performances witnessed) but also capturing the symbolic aspects of such actions (which this study illuminated by understanding why fathers perform and utilized the performances recorded (research question three). To approach the study of fathers within the organization in this way is important as it places fathers, conceptualized as performers, at *centre stage* and seeks to understand how organizational structure is interpreted, perceived and engaged with rather than characterizing structure as exclusively controlling as I have suggested is thematically prevalent within the Work Role Engagement discourse.

I have argued that fathers utilize a suite of performative action to navigate work and family and intentionally realize a position of Work Role Engagement. This contrasts explanations within other studies which argue that we can understand fathers' navigation as a passive undertaking directed, or controlled, by organizational structures which seek to ensure fathers ascribe primacy to work. Rather than victim in need of emancipation (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019) or subject to an invisible control strategy (Cooper, 2000) my explanation of why fathers navigate work and family suggests fathers intentionally realize the position of Work Role Engagement because appearing as one who is engaged with their work role is believed to provide inherent benefits for acquiring organizational rewards which are important for one's role as a father. In this way I ascribe greater, but not exclusive, autonomy to these fathers who choose to mislead and choose to navigate work and family in the ways I have recorded. I next turn to the discourse of studies which evidence fathers concealing aspects of their family role and argue that that discourse provides similarities to the study findings as it highlights, in contrast to the Work Role Engagement discourse, greater consideration of fathers as acting strategically in their navigation.

8.2.2 Family Role Concealment

I argued within my literature review that where actions that constitute Family Role Concealment are present existing studies suggest that fathers engage in these actions as a reaction to organizational structures. These structures are those which are understood to create received views upon what men

and fathers, for instance, should or should not do meaning that if one should pursue action which contradicts those norms (such as gender norms) one might well suffer consequences in the form of being branded an unpredictable worker (Lyng, 2010), lower remuneration (Leslie et al., 2012 and Coltrane et al., 2013), lower performance evaluations (Leslie et al., 2012 & Wharton et al., 2008), being viewed as a poor organizational citizen (Rudman & Mescher, 2013) and subject to flexibility stigma and/or femininity stigma (Williams et al., 2013; Coltrane et al., 2013, and Vandello et al., 2013). This, I have suggested, construes fathers as more strategic than when taking positions of Work Role Engagement but there remains an emphasis upon structure eliciting action. I briefly consider the explanations I found for the actions recorded and support my findings with these studies but also argue that my explanation to why fathers navigate work and family performatively provides a different explanation in as much that I suggest interpretations of the structured organization will guide performance whereas the drive to navigate work and family comes from one defining the consequences of paid employment as important, a theme missing from within these studies.

Minimization of Props - I found that fathers engaged in actions of concealment of props as they were concerned that making representations of fatherhood would be considered unprofessional. These concerns appear well supported by the wider organizational literature which suggests that if fathers are seeking to present themselves as professional (a desire of fathers to this study), they should refrain from displaying non-work-related items within the organizational setting (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015, p.803). This is the case, as Elsbach (2004, p.119) asserts, as colleagues can easily form assumptions by considering what an individual displays within their workspace. This was seen in the case of Daniel who felt he should remove a photograph of his son explaining that he sought to transform the way others perceived him from *Daniel the Dad* to *Daniel the Manager*. In utilizing this strategy we see fathers, such as Daniel, making a symbolic choice to segment work and family as a means to claim a professional and ideal worker image of one who is unencumbered of responsibilities associated with parenthood (Acker, 1990). As I mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, that fathers will minimize props is novel within fatherhood literature so there exists no explanation of why this action will occur within current fatherhood studies. However, that fathers seek to avoid the presentation of props relating to their family role because it might be received negatively appears well supported by studies which evidence that fathers avoid engaging with flexible working initiatives because they are concerned that the representation of props might reduce one's ability to access organizational rewards (such as being branded an unpredictable worker (Lyng, 2010), lower remuneration (Leslie et al., 2012), lower performance evaluations (Leslie et al., 2012 & Wharton et al., 2008) and/or the risk of being viewed as a poor organizational citizen. I suggest this is the case as my study found that fathers' role responsibility to support their families as an important consideration to understand why they engaged in actions such as the minimization of props relating to their family roles. This contrasts existing studies which do not emphasize the ways that fathers' family responsibilities can constrain action but, rather, emphasize that same constraint as exclusively vested in organization structure. In other words, the received position of fathers within the existing studies is that they enter the organizational setting wishing to realize contemporary fathering ideals but the

organization exclusively constrains autonomy. My study found that the organization, as interpreted as a context in which one should prioritize work over, and segment work from, family is important but so too are fathers' financial responsibilities to their families. In other words, fathers' social worlds are not exclusively structured in the organization but so too are they structured outside of the organizational setting (Miller, 2011).

Minimization of Absences - That fathers sought to avoid absences from their work role because the same may challenge their claim of ideal worker status, and therefore their ability to realize organizational rewards, is echoed within the existing literature within the Family Role Concealment discourse. For instance, studies evidence that engaging with flexible working initiatives (which facilitate the types of absences sought to avoid) creates flexibility and/or femininity stigma (Williams et al., 2013 & Vandello et al., 2013). This is further supported within wider organizational literature which suggests that creating absences to attend to responsibilities relating to one's family role (such as caring for a sick child) might be perceived as one being less organizationally committed than one who does not (Kelly et al., 2010) or viewed as a poor organizational citizen and considered ineligible for occupational rewards (Rudman & Mescher, 2013) which fathers revealed as important. Loosely, we might again employ the same studies I suggest support the minimization of props such as Lyng's (2010) study which suggests that not refraining from such absences results in one being branded an unpredictable worker or being considered a poor organizational citizen and, thus, being considered ineligible for occupational rewards (Rudman & Mescher, 2013). I argue, however, that my study found that fathers believed the minimization of absences held performative worth as the omission to engage with family related matters. The choice to minimize absences then becomes an action which is employed not simply because absences might be seen negatively but, also, because the omission will be received favourably. I again emphasized within my findings that the role responsibility of fathers and the ways they defined their fathering roles was important to understand why the minimization of absences were undertaken (something absent within this discourse). It was not, strictly speaking, organizational structures which acted to position fathers but that one's fathering role and the ways that they determined good fathering as an ability to earn which made them sensitive to craft a situationally appropriate performance. In other words, both context and the ways that fatherhood is defined are important considerations to why these types of actions might occur.

Communicative Concealment – I found that the majority of participants practiced an absolute concealment of discussing matters of family. The degree to which this was undertaken was revealed by the accounts of fathers being surprised, and surprising others, when learning that individuals were fathers. Although there is an absence of studies which reveal fathers navigating work and family by communicatively concealing aspects of their family role the wider organizational literature does help understand that such a strategy can be employed to claim ideal worker status. For instance, Dumas & Sanchez-Burks (2015, p.803) suggests that 'professional norms discourage integration practices such as referencing non-work roles during workplace interactions'. Studies also suggest that individuals will suffer organizational penalties should they challenge these professional norms and integrate their

work and family roles. For instance, Uhlmann et al., (2013) showed that those who shared information of their non-work commitments might be considered less professional than those that do not share information regarding their extra-work role(s). This then supports the rationale that fathers, concerned with ensuring that they were received favourably, will navigate work and family in such a way that they conceal aspects of the latter.

I mentioned that the minimization of props and communicative concealment were novel actions not yet recorded by studies which are concerned with the ways that fathers might navigate their work and family roles. For that reason there are no studies which distinctly evidence why these actions are undertaken. However, the large body of literature which one can draw upon to understand why fathers choose to minimize absences can, in part, act to provide a rationale for why fathers might minimize props and conceal communication. For instance, this body of literature suggests that should one choose to make representations of one's family role they run the real risk of suffering organizational penalties and/or stigmatization. For that reason this study provides a valuable insight into understanding why fathers will minimize props and conceal communication regarding aspects of their work roles; namely, fathers who hold a requirement to support their families by realizing organizational rewards were seen to direct their action in a situationally appropriate manner to ensure they were received favourably. This contrasts the existing body of fatherhood research which does not emphasize fathers' family roles and the ways that ongoing financial responsibilities/traditional meanings of fathering are important considerations to understand why navigation occurs. My conceptualization is, therefore, unique in this regard. I posit that both the ways that fathers interpret and understand the organization and their roles as fathers is important to understand navigation. I posit, for instance, that fathers do report some form of reaction to organizational structures (although I emphasize their interpretation of the organizational setting rather than offering my own) but the reason that they might be sensitive to the norms they interpret is because of the ways they felt obliged to perform in a very specific and situationally appropriate manner.

8.2.3 Discreet Family Role Engagement

I explored a limited number of studies within the literature review which evidenced fathers taking a position of Public Family Role Engagement, however, this study only evidenced Family Role Engagement being realized discreetly. I next consider the action of Audience Segregation within the limited existing literature concerned with Discreet Family Role Engagement.

Audience Segregation – Similar to other actions which operate to conceal aspects of one's family discreet engagement might well be explained by those studies which consider the organizational penalties fathers suffer should they publically engage with their family role (Wharton et al., 2008; Lyng, 2010; Leslie et al., 2012 and Coltrane et al., 2013 and Rudman & Mescher, 2013). This supports my study which emphasized the importance the fathers who undertook audience segregation placed upon their ability to realize organizational rewards. For instance, and as one father mentioned in explaining why he segments audiences, 'well my manager does my PDR, my one-to-

ones. He's the one, at the end of the day, who decides if I'm ready to be a TM which is the next career goal for me'. For this reason fathers chose to segregate those higher organizational standing upon one side and those of lower organization standing on the other. This evidenced a highly strategic use of performative action as fathers were consistently aware that the incorrect impression cast to those with organizational power might compromise their ability to acquire promotions, bonuses and/or raises again highlighting how one's family role can situate one to act pursuant to organizational structures. This reflects Felson's (1981, p.184) argument that Impression Management can be understood as strategically concerned with the identities of one's audience as well as one's own presentation of self. In this regard fathers felt comfortable speaking of matters of their family role with part-time working mothers, firstly because they had a shared interest in parenting but also because they held little ability to penalize fathers who sought to flirt with the lines between work and family. On one stage, the front stage, fathers effectively present themselves as *traditionals* (Cooper, 2000), *conformers* (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019) or in a career position (Halrynjo, 2009) whereas, in the other, they are in a care position (Halrynjo, 2009) and might be considered to be a *disconformer* (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019). I reemphasize this point because it solidifies fathers as strategic performers and evidences the reason they seek to navigate work and family roles performatively is to be received favourably to acquire organizational rewards important to their family role (Goffman, 1959). Fathers are effectively managing two representations of self because they feel, to acquire organizational rewards, they need to ensure a type of loose compliance to organizational norms and gendered ideals regarding what a working man should be. As with other performative actions recorded I suggest that my study highlights a deeper degree of intentionality and strategic choice of how fathers choose to direct action. These fathers are not subject to organizational structures and therefore see themselves as subjugated but, rather, are effectively managing and utilizing audiences to remain engaged with their work role whilst exploiting different audiences in which they exercise desires to discuss, for instance, how they are part of the morning club (Stephen). In this way audience segregation highlights a very strategic approach to navigation in which the benefits one seeks (organizational rewards) are still achieved whilst engaging, although discreetly, with one's family role.

8.2.4 Fathers as Strategic Performers Summary

Throughout this section of the discussion chapter I have contextualized the study findings within the existing literature. I have argued that my study expands our current understanding of fathers' navigation to show that fathers navigate work and family in a highly intentional and strategic way which finds limited consideration in literature especially where fathers are seen to navigate toward their work role and realize positions of Work Role Engagement.

Existing studies elevate considerations of organizational structure and how structure can influence fathers in such a way that fathers are conceptualized in a reactive state and the organizational structure imposes upon them a line of action which is not their own and challenges them realizing childrearing desires. What I found, however, was that fathers' own accounts reveal a line of action which utilizes the structured nature of work to their own advantage. In other words, fathers actively consider how they might best align their action in a situationally appropriate way in

light of the norms that they believe characterize the organizational setting. Approaching navigation in this way means fathers are critically evaluating how they might present themselves following their interpretations of the organizational setting, considering what will be received favourably and what might not. This then leads action to appear highly structured as fathers appear to embody the norms which characterize the organization.

My explanation draws upon fathers' own interpretations of both the organizational setting and their fathering roles considering how they interpret the organizational setting to understand what they believe they have to do to be considered a good worker but also how they consider what they have to do to be determined a good father. Considering both of these aspects of fathers' lives, which I conceptualize as Important Consequences and Situational Appropriateness, I reveal that there is an intentional and strategic attribute to fathers' navigation which is often overlooked in existing studies. Rather, I contend that understanding both Important Consequences and Situational Appropriateness, highlighting both the intentional and strategic character of navigation, allows for a consistent and comprehensive explanation of why fathers navigate work and family by Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Discreet Family Role Engagement:

Figure 21: New Perspectives of Explanation and Characterization

<i>Position</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Navigation Characterization</i>
Work Role Engagement	Fathers navigate work and family as a means to situate themselves in a favourable light to best position themselves to realize organization rewards important to their fathering roles.	Intentional and Strategic
Family Role Concealment		
<i>Discreet</i> Family Role Engagement		

That fathers are acting in this intentional and strategic manner is missing, perhaps most prevalently, within the discourse concerned with Work Role Engaged. When fathers prioritize work over family (Cooper, 2000 and Halrynjo, 2009), engage with long working hours (Ladge et al., 2015 and Humbert et al., 2015) and/or around-the-clock availability (Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019) literature predominantly utilizes arguments that organizational structures are positing fathers. This creates a theme which suggests fathers are passive, subjugated and in need of emancipation (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019) from invisible control strategies (Cooper, 2000). Contrastingly, what I have shown is that a position of Work Role Engagement can be desired, sought and strategically realized. That the actions utilized to realize this position appear parallel to organizational structures (as we, as researchers, interpret them) does not mean that they are not intentional. Rather, fathers employ agency to ensure they craft highly contextualized performances, subject to their own interpretations of the organizational setting, so that they appear favourably. Actions might, therefore, appear highly structured but are, in fact, utilized by the clear use of agency. These actions exist not because fathers are passive, controlled or subject to an invisible control strategy (Cooper, 2000) but, because it provides them the best opportunity to be successful within the organizational arena and realize

outcomes of paid employment which they believe are essential to achieve the mantle of good father. Structure, from this position, is not wholly deterministic but, rather, characterizes the organizational setting in such a way that we might likely determine it to influence the interpretations fathers make upon what can be considered situationally appropriate.

What appears to be a shortcoming is that existing literature situates organizational structures and fathers' family roles as explaining different positions fathers navigate toward. In other words, where a father navigates toward his work role (Work Role Engagement) by prioritizing work over family, engaging in long working hours and/or around-the-clock availability literature appears to focus more upon organizational structures as a means to explain action. Contrastingly, where one navigates toward their family role (Family Role Engagement) navigation is explained as a natural, dispositional or paternal care giving desire important to fathers' family roles. However, what I suggest is that both roles are important in explaining all types of action. For instance, fathers' family roles and what it means to be a good father is clearly characterized by a responsibility to remain a breadwinning parent. This interpretation helps understand why fathers report a tendency to navigate work and family in a meaningful and symbolic way. It is also important as it emphasizes that fathers do not enter the organization without gendered roles. That wider world and how constructions of both fatherhood and motherhood remain societally wound to traditional ideals is a phenomenon which can permeate the organizational setting and which emphasizes that even organizational theorists will need to consider the wider societal context and how family related role responsibilities can mean fathers, even though they might have contemporary care aspirations, engaging with gendered norms (Miller, 2011). Secondly, work roles are also important for the ways that they might reward certain types of behaviours which themselves are inherently important for fathers to perform should they be able to realize their paternal responsibilities to support their families financially. For instance, and as I show, a situational context which appears (pursuant to my participants' interpretations of their employment context) to favour those who prioritize work over, and segment work from, family will influence what actions fathers utilize to navigate work and family. Should the ways that fathers and the organization define what it means to be a good father and good worker (respectively) it is likely that navigation would be less likely or occur or likely to occur in new ways. For instance, should a father exclusively define their paternal worth and the notion of what it means to be a *good* father by the realization of childrearing it is likely that the consequences of paid employment will be far less important. Additionally, should an organization define a *good* worker not by their ability to realize ideal worker norms but by other metrics it is likely that interpretations of that context are going to require new actions to be able to claim a favourable impression. I discuss this coherence at greater length within the conclusion chapter but for now focus on how both the ways that fathers define *good* fathering and what it means to be a good worker help reveal navigation as an intentional and strategic undertaking.

8.3 The Stagnation of Organizational Assumptions

An important finding made by this study was that fathers' performative navigation of work and family is influenced by ways that fathers interpret situational context, or which can conceptualize as the situational context being read and utilized as if a script. When discussing what was found when asking why fathers undertook the recorded actions I evidenced that fathers also explained that the performative actions of other fathers were important. Fathers, for instance, felt they needed to utilize mobile technologies to perform insincere commitment because other fathers did so or engage in the strict segmentation of work and family because of the ways other fathers isolated the two aspects of their lives. This suggests that fathers, by utilizing the performative action revealed by this study inform what a fathers' work roles should be, setting a precedent which acts to influence the ways other fathers define what is situationally appropriate action to navigate work and family. I argue that this is an example of the ways that fathers' own actions can come to inform the definitions surrounding what is expected of men within the organizational setting or what Goffman (1961) suggests is a type of role making in which the idealized ways a role is displayed come to define how those expect that role to be enacted. In this final section of the discussion chapter I expand upon this argument by employing examples of performative actions from this study and highlighting how those actions can inform the assumptions that men, as workers, should prioritize work over, and segment work from, family. In other words, and dramaturgically speaking, fathers, by means of navigation, are engaged in a process of 'role making' as I discussed within chapter three of the thesis concerned with dramaturgy.

I situate this argument within the current literature concerned with the ways that policy, managers and peers inform assumptions upon working men by conceptualizing men's work roles as social objects informed not only by these aspects of the organization (policy, managers and peers) but also by fathers and the performative actions (as recorded by this study) they utilize to navigate work and family. In making this argument I make an important contribution to the existing knowledge surrounding fathers work and family roles by revealing that performative navigation similar to policy, managers and peers, can act to reaffirm traditional definitions of men's work roles. I suggest that it is important to conceptualize fathers as strategic performers who can inform these assumptions and definitions of their work roles as it reconceptualises them, not in need of emancipation (Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019), but as important social actors engaged in a process of role performance which can, just as it reaffirms existing assumptions, craft new ones also (Goffman, 1961, p.75).

In reviewing the literature concerned with fathers roles I argued that an area of interest within fatherhood literature is the stagnation of organizational assumptions surrounding fathers' work roles at a time when fathers' family roles have come to be defined by new, contemporary, ideals (Wall & Arnold, 2007; Golden, 2007; Gatrell, et al., 2014; Humberd et al., 2015; Gatrell & Cooper, 2016; Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019 and Mauerer & Schmidt, 2019). Within the current literatures one can draw upon to consider why organizational assumptions surrounding fathers' work roles have stagnated, the most salient themes reveal how policy initiatives, managers and peers act to reaffirm traditional meanings (falling back on established but problematic assumptions) associated with men's organizational roles as breadwinner. For instance, existing studies teach us that **policy initiatives** are

designed and delivered in such a way that they appear or are deemed a resource for mothers, rather than fathers (Gregory & Milner, 2011; Kadar-Satat & Koslowski, 2015; Gatrell & Cooper, 2016); **managers** invariably assume that men have little to no significant family role responsibilities (Gatrell, et al., 2014 & Humberd et al., 2015) and that **colleagues** can ridicule those fathers who seek Family Role Engagement (Murgia & Poggio, 2009 and Mauerer & Schmidt, 2019). Collating these studies (cf. literature review for a fuller exploration of these themes within the existing fatherhood literature) unearths a robust and compelling argument to call upon when seeking to understand why organizational assumptions surrounding men's work roles have persisted. However, a weakness to this body of literature is that it ascribes far greater emphasis upon the actions of *others*, such as peers and managers, than it does upon fathers. There is, however, passing consideration of the effect actions of fathers might have upon the way their work roles are defined. For instance, Humberd et al., (2015, p.263), although not focusing upon the stagnation of organizational assumptions, argued (having witnessed practices of fathers maintaining breadwinner status within the organization) that 'men's current responses only serve to maintain expectations of fathers as "organization men"'. This comment of Humberd et al., (2015) briefly brings the actions of fathers into perspective and suggests that fathers might actually inform the assumptions that are made of them by others (such as colleagues and managers, for instance). However, not being the focus of their study, Humberd et al., (2015) do not explore this in any meaningful way.

This literature can be conceptualized as creating a coherent, informative and compelling argument if we suggest that these aspects of the organization, as they engage with or interact with fathers' work roles, define it. For instance, when managers choose to interact with men as if they are unencumbered they come to influence the meanings fathers, and others, have for fathers' work roles as social objects (Blumer, 1969). This is a central premise of symbolic interactionism (which I utilize below) which can help understand the ways that social objects come to hold widely agreed upon definitions such as fathers' work roles being unconcerned with matters of family. From this perspective we might consider how that social object is defined by the ways fathers act toward it, specifically, by employing the performative actions recorded by this study. I next discuss the performative actions of fathers and consider the ways they act to define their work roles by traditional meanings as they utilize actions to take positions of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Discreet Family Role Engagement. I contend, by next exploring how performances utilized to realize positions of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Discreet Family Role Engagement, that fathers' own actions can act to reaffirm existing traditional meanings associated with men's work roles, contributing to the stagnation of organizational assumptions.

8.3.1 Reaffirming Traditional Meanings through Performances

The existing meanings associated with men's work roles include assumptions that men act as financial provider so prioritize work over family and should/can segment work from family (Parsons & Bales, 1955; Gatrell, 2005; Humberd et al., 2015 & Ladge et al., 2015). These meanings are not inherent or naturally attached to men's work roles; they are created at the point of social interaction, defined, challenged or reaffirmed by action (Blumer, 1969, p.5) which, as noted, can include the

actions of fathers themselves. I next consider those actions I recorded when answering research question one, highlighting their potential to contribute toward the stagnation of assumptions surrounding the work roles of men.

The first set of performances to consider are those which constitute front and have the ability to prioritize work over family and realize what was referred to in the literature review as a position of **Work Role Engagement**. Strategies which seek to realize Work Role Engagement invariably act to reaffirm traditional meanings associated with fathers' work roles as fathers are seen to be engaged with actions which prioritize work over family. For instance, symbolic actions recorded in this study revealed that fathers would regularly prioritize their work role and work responsibilities over their family responsibilities and family role not only when in the organizational setting but also when at home, spending time away from the home and even when on holiday. Work prioritization, giving prominence to work over family, is an essential characteristic associated with traditional definitions of fathers' work roles (Parsons & Bales, 1955; Humbert et al., 2015 & Ladge et al., 2015) and so, by utilizing strategies which prioritize work over family fathers' actions come to reinforce, or reaffirm, traditional meanings of their work roles. This also acts to reaffirm the assumptions we hold surrounding traditional notions of masculinity and that a fathers should be defined by his worth to realize a breadwinning role within society (Gatrell et al., 2021). Fathers are, as Peter explained, those members of the team who usually stayed late; they are also those who foster, through performance, an impression of commitment by relinquishing their mornings and evenings. As we have seen, these performances are sometimes cynical in nature, adding little to the actual work tasks facing the fathers. Whereas some fathers might employ strategies of concealment to disguise their fatherhood role, others who are known to be fathers and are engaged in actions which prioritize work roles reaffirm traditional meanings associated with their work roles.

Secondly, and although greater evidence of **Family Role Engagement** would challenge existing meanings associated with fathers' work roles (because such engagement challenges the existing assumptions of managers and colleagues), legitimising a different way of being a working father, fathers in this study only adopted this position discreetly (via Audience Segregation). By choosing to discreetly, rather than publicly, realize Family Role Engagement, the fatherhood role, as a social object, becomes marginalised in public discussion, becoming *taboo* (Shulman, 2003, p.139). However, it is not only fathers' actions which cast fatherhood as taboo. Existing studies already show that engaging with one's family role leads to stigmatization (a process which can lead to roles being considered taboo (Hudson & Okhuysen, 2014)), by managers and peers (Williams et al., 2013; Coltrane et al., 2013 & Vandello et al., 2013). Fathers can then be understood to act in a manner, by employing Audience Segregation, which reinforces, rather than challenges, those organizational dynamics which act, in synchronicity, to ensure fatherhood remains viewed as taboo. For instance, we see how Sean, a director, sets a clear example that fatherhood is not an acceptable topic of conversation by choosing to keep interaction with his staff and other fathers (who know he is a father) focused on matters of business (see the account of Thomas, for example). Sean, as a father, and through his action complements, and is complemented by, policy initiatives, managers and colleagues

all acting in harmony to affirm that fatherhood is not a suitable subject of discussion within the organization.

Strategies utilized to realize **Family Role Concealment** have a similar effect to those of Discreet Family Role Engagement. For instance, Daniel's choice to physically conceal fatherhood, removing his picture of his son, engaging with fatherhood as if it is not welcome within the organizational setting, accepts and further defines his and others' work roles as separated from, if not devoid of, family. Again, this portrays fatherhood as alien to the organizational environment, unwelcome and taboo (especially for those who might notice fatherhood being represented and then it being removed through Daniel's corrective action (Goffman, 1959, pp.24-25)). Contrastingly, within the case organization, paraphernalia, artefacts and keepsakes relating to motherhood were prominent and, contrasting fatherhood, discussion and representations of motherhood were normalized. As a result, fathers found it easier to express themselves by employing representations and norms surrounding motherhood to contrast those of fatherhood because of the absolute absence of fatherhood within the organization (see, for instance, Thomas' account regarding maternity leave being more acceptable than paternity leave or Kevin's that women celebrate and represent parenthood). This absence of fatherhood is evidenced in existing empirical studies (Gatrell, 2005; Lyng, 2010 & Burnett et al., 2013) but discussion rarely considers how such an absence can result from the ways fathers themselves choose to define fatherhood as a social object. For instance, although Burnett et al., (2013) illuminate the invisible role of fathers, they do so by highlighting aspects of the organization (line managers, gender disparity and peer relations), their analysis not extending to consider the actions of fathers and how they might too cast fatherhood as invisible. This critique works not to discredit the findings of Burnett et al., (2013) but to suggest that a symbolic interactionist position provides opportunity to utilize these findings, in a new light, and beside those actions of fathers which also have the ability to reaffirm traditional meaning associated with the fathers' work roles. I reaffirm here that my findings arise from situating fathers at centre stage (which many other studies do not) which provides new perspectives which might actually complement our existing findings. For instance, actively engaging in performances which avoid one's family role (Family Role Concealment), a finding of this study, can be considered to complement those actions of line managers, gender disparity and peer relations found by Burnett et al., (2013). This is the case as actions of these organizational actors and fathers themselves inherently, and almost intrinsically, characterize fathers' work roles as being separate from their family role which, again, is reflective of the traditional assumptions which continue to define fathers' work roles (Parsons & Bales, 1955; Gatrell, 2005; Humberd et al., 2015 and Ladge et al., 2015). In this way fathers are vital actors in the role making process in which their actions hold the potential to inform the ideals and expectations that their work roles should be defined by (Goffman, 1961).

Fathers' performances, claiming positions of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Discreet Family Role Engagement, even by impression, act to reaffirm the existing meanings associated with fathers' work roles as they represent themselves, strictly, as individuals who prioritize work over family and who segregate work and family. The fathers in this study, then, often acted to

propagate traditional meanings associated with fathers' work roles and, in their own way, ensured organizational assumptions regarding the roles of fathers will ultimately stagnate. As mentioned above, this is an important consideration which finds limited consideration as literature stresses how such assumptions are maintained by policy assumptions (Gregory & Milner, 2011; Kadar-Satat & Koslowski, 2015 and Gatrell & Cooper, 2016), managers (Gatrell, et al., 2014 and Humberd et al., 2015) and colleagues (Murgia & Poggio, 2009 and Mauerer & Schmidt, 2019).

In situating fathers as having the potential to maintain assumption I can support this assertion by also evidencing the point at which what is interpreted as situationally appropriate occurs for fathers. For instance, Thomas believed he should segregate work and family because Sean, a fellow father, never engaged in such discussion regarding his own children. Uncertain as to how to enact fatherhood in the work setting, Thomas interprets from Sean's actions that the organizational setting is not a space for parental discussion. Thomas' choice to craft a performance of Communicative Concealment then does not act to change the existing assumptions surrounding the work roles of fathers (that they should exercise a separation of work and family) but reaffirms them. The same was true of Graham who noted that Peter, a fellow father, was regularly engaged in Non-Work Located Additional Hours. Graham then directed his action pursuant to the way he interprets the actions of a father who prioritizes work over family. Again, like Thomas, Graham then acts to propagate organizational assumptions by being a father who, like his peers, remains engaged in actions which prioritize work over family. Thomas, Graham and Kevin (see earlier extract made in the findings section on Communicative Omission) come to learn how men operate within the organizational setting from their peers (and others). They learn that, for instance, a working father is one who prioritizes work over family (Peter informing meanings for Graham) and one who segregates work and family (Sean informing meanings for Thomas).

Actions on the part of fathers can also be understood to craft coherence between descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes or, put another way, how fathers actually *do* act and how fathers *should* act (Heilman, 2001). In other words we see both how the performative navigation of work and family reveals a father who *does* prioritize work over, and segments work from, family but also how that same performance informs other fathers' perceptions upon how fathers *should* act. Traditional definitions of fathers' work roles then persist, and assumptions are formed not only by the actions of others but, of course, also by fathers themselves. This evidences that fathers' work roles are relational, defined by others but also by fathers themselves. Understanding that fathers' work roles are social objects then provides a new perspective upon the consideration of their work roles and how the definitions of that role might be informed not just by policy, managers and peers/colleagues but also by fathers (Blumer, 1969).

8.3.2 The Stagnation of Organizational Assumptions Summary

I have argued within this section of the discussion chapter that the utilization of performative action which claims the impression of one who prioritizes work over family and segregates work from family can inform assumptions surrounding fathers' work roles. In doing so I suggest that the performative actions I have revealed within this study have utility in understanding why fathers' work role are still

defined by traditional meanings (Wall & Arnold, 2007; Golden, 2007; Gatrell, et al., 2014; Humberd et al., 2015; Gatrell & Cooper, 2016; Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019 and Mauerer & Schmidt, 2019). The argument that fathers' performative actions reaffirm the traditional meanings associated with their work roles is made from the symbolic interactionist position that we consider fathers' work roles as social objects, influenced and defined by all those that interact with it (Blumer, 1969). To define fathers' work roles in this way (as a social object) provides opportunity to reconsider existing literature that shows how policy initiatives, managers and peers act to make assumptions on the part of fathers' work roles. Reconsidering these arguments from a symbolic interactionist position would suggest that the actions of policy initiatives, managers and peers act, similar to the actions of fathers, to define the traditional meanings we attach to fathers' work roles by, for instance, pedalling the assumption that men have little to no significant family role responsibilities (Gatrell, et al., 2014 & Humberd et al., 2015). This then provides, I have suggested, opportunity to incorporate consideration of the ways that fathers employ performative action and consider how fathers themselves, alongside policy initiatives, managers/manager and peers can come to reaffirm and maintain traditional meanings associated with their work roles.

Situating fathers' performative actions as having power to inform the traditional meanings surrounding their work roles is seemingly absent from many studies which emphasize how aspects of the organization, rather than fathers' actions, come to inform assumptions surrounding their work roles (see Gregory & Milner (2011); Kadar-Satat & Koslowski (2015) and Gatrell & Cooper (2016) for argument relating to policy - Gatrell, et al., (2014) and Humberd et al., (2015) in relation to managers and Murgia & Poggio (2009) and Mauerer & Schmidt (2019) in relation to fathers' colleagues). This is also the case when studies are concerned with notions of masculinity, power and patriarchy in which fathers are more readily ascribed a position characterized, in relation to their position as breadwinners, as passive (Cooper, 2000, Connell, 2009 and Wang, 2021). These studies and the consideration of social structures such as masculinities, power and patriarchy offer valuable insight into how others can act to define fathers' working roles but might, as a collective, situate literature in such a way that we are more concerned with how others inform the definitions of fathers' work roles rather than the ways fathers do themselves. I situate fathers in a more critical light than some of these studies but similar to the way that Miller (2011) situates fathers in understanding how gender is done and undone. In this regard Miller (2011), in her closing thoughts, reminds us that fathers, although navigating an organizational setting which they interpret as structured by norms, are important in understanding the ways that gender is done and undone. In this way Miller (2011) highlights the important role fathers could have in challenging norms. Drawing on my findings concerned with navigation being a performative undertaking I take a similar position and suggest that the impressions fathers seek to make in navigating work and family performatively has an important role to play in the stagnation of organizational assumptions as they come to craft and create the roles we expect of them (Goffman, 1961).

8.4 Discussion Chapter Summary

The first section of the discussion chapter considered the finding that navigation of work and family roles can be achieved through the utilization of performative action. I reveal how numerous actions recorded which helped fathers realize an impression of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Discreet Family Role Engagement are novel to the existing literature. For instance, I have shown how concealment, widely considered by actions of the avoidance of flexible working initiatives and the strict segmentation of work and family to the week and weekend, respectively, is revealed to be a far more intimate undertaking than previously known. I also suggest that the finding that fathers navigate work and family performatively suggests that the categorization of fathers as traditional, conformers, career orientated, or otherwise, is problematic. I suggest this as, as I explained, many fathers taking part in this study who held childrearing aspirations and were not exclusively traditional might readily be described as traditional when only considering their actions as they employed performative action to realize such an impression. In that way what we are recording might well simply be the claimed impression of fathers meaning that the organizational setting acts as a metaphorical minefield to those who wish to categorize fathers as is commonly undertaken within existing studies.

The second section of the discussion chapter considered the findings made in relation to understanding why fathers performed (research question two) and why fathers utilized the specific actions recorded (research question three). I considered the process by which fathers interpret the organizational setting and then muster the most effective performative actions they can as a means to realize important consequences in the form of organizational rewards evidencing a strategic and intentional actor. I situated this perspective within the three discourses isolated within my literature review and suggested my conceptualization, and explanation of why navigation occurs provides a suitable explanation and conceptualization of navigation which is applicable to all positions fathers might take in relation to their work and family role navigation.

My study has also provided an important finding concerned with the ways that fathers might be influential in the ongoing assumptions made of men, and therefore the work roles of fathers, within the organizational setting. I have explored this within the final section of the discussion chapter in which I have considered how fathers themselves were evidenced to act to inform what was considered situationally appropriate action. In considering this additional finding in light of the literature previously reviewed I have considered how fathers' work roles might be better reconsidered as a social object to provide a novel perspective upon the stagnation of organizational assumptions surrounding fathers' work roles. This, I have argued, provides opportunity in which we can consider the process of role making (Goffman, 1961 and Blumer, 1969). The approach taken to make this argument relies both on the previous section of the discussion chapter and symbolic interactionist thought that underpins dramaturgical thought to suggest there is value in considering fathers' work roles as social objects and able to be defined by the performative actions recorded by this study. In taking this position I offered a method by which the argument that fathers' strategic and intentional actions recorded within this study (which define their own work roles) can complement, support, and be supported by, the existing studies which consider how the actions of policy makers, managers and

peers similarly define the assumptions defining fathers' work roles. In this way I offer a novel way to consider fathers' work roles, namely as being social objects, which allows our existing knowledge to be reconsidered and fathers' actions as here recorded incorporated into a method of understanding how their work roles continue to be defined by traditional fathering ideals.

These contributions considered it is clear that what is offered is a new perspective upon navigation which is created through the emphasis I place upon fathers as I place them and their interpretations at centre stage. This new perspective can be summarized as fathers are engaging in a process by which they interpret the organizational setting and consider this as if a script which they utilize to craft the most effective performative actions they can as a means to realize important consequences in the form of organizational rewards. The process, however, and as I have shown, is problematic and the cynical and misleading representations of self have clear repercussions for the ways that we understand fathers to act in the organization. I next conclude my study by considering this perspective and the process of placing fathers at centre stage and what this means for the current and future understanding of how and why fathers navigate work and family.

9. Conclusion

I ended the discussion chapter by arguing that this study has contributed new perspectives upon fathers' navigation of work and family from which the study contributions have arisen. This perspective is one that suggests navigation can be an undertaking realized by impression; one does not necessarily have to be an ideal worker but, rather, can realize a position of Work Role Engagement, Family Role Concealment and Discreet Family Role Engagement by impression alone. Additionally, I reveal how considerations of both the organizational context and how fathers define their roles as fathers help understand why these impressions are sought. I conceptualize navigation, then, as a process by which fathers interpret their organizational setting and from this determine a script which he can follow as a means to display what he believes is required of him in an effort to form a specific impression and realize organization rewards important to his fathering role. Additionally, I argue that this perspective, placing fathers at centre stage, reveals the ways that fathers and their performances can come to reaffirm outdated perspectives upon men in the workplace and, in doing so, contribute toward the stagnation of organizational assumptions as they determine what action is situationally appropriate for fathers to perform.

I end this study by considering my contribution to knowledge and how the new perspective I offer was captured through the decision to place fathers at centre stage. I consider my approach to study navigation in light of the existing approaches in the literature and cement my contribution not as a better way of considering navigation but, distinctly, an important complementary perspective illuminating the lived experience of fathers as they navigate the sometimes contradictory roles of work and family. I then consider the absence of Public Family Role Engagement from my study findings and the ways that fathers might be able to achieve this position by the rejection of the recorded definitions of what it means to be a good father and good worker highlighting the problems they might face in attempting to do so.

I end the study in reflection and consider that the *new* perspective I offer was, ironically, a result of the traditional or, *old* perspectives, fathers had of their roles as fathers as they determined their paternal worth by their ability to support their families financially. I conclude that for these fathers, navigation is not only a tool to be perceived favourably but an undertaking essential to reconcile a world in which they seek to realize the mantle of *good* father within a context which they believe rewards those who realize ideal working norms. I suggest that when one interprets his world in this way he might not only navigate work and family by legitimate or sincere action(s) but that the coherence in these two aspects of life is what drives navigation toward idealization, cynical and misrepresentations of self. For this reason, I conclude that effective and successful navigation in these instances can only be pursued by way of an impression and an impression which, of all things, might mean a father claiming that he is not a father at all.

9.1 Fathers at Centre Stage

I have argued that my study contributes to our knowledge of fathers' navigation with new perspectives upon navigation by emphasizing the ways fathers themselves interpret their world and so puts fathers

at *centre stage*. Within this section of the conclusion chapter, I emphasize that the perspective I offer was heavily reliant upon the study design and the use of a dramaturgical lens. I cement my contribution within the existing knowledge surrounding the ways that fathers navigate work and family explaining how the perspective I contribute is unique and contrasts the broad themes within the wider literatures which help explain how and why fathers navigate work and family. I next turn to explaining the study's emphasis upon placing fathers at centre stage, how that differentiates my study, and how that emphasis created the important contributions my study makes to our knowledge of fathers' navigation of work and family.

The aim of my study was to capture an intimate and rich account of fathers' navigation of work and family roles without *a priori* considerations of what might be important in this regard. A choice made during the method design was to approach the study abductively meaning the initial phases would be characterized by pure induction allowing fathers to guide the investigation toward something which was important to their organizational lives, in their own voices and from their own perspectives. For this reason, I focused upon and was guided by, from an early stage, fathers and their own accounts and experiences of being fathers within the organizational setting. For instance, early interviews revealed that accounts concerned with concealment and representation of ideal worker traits were common. Supporting these accounts was data collected via participant observation and active participation which revealed a myriad of actions undertaken which could help understand the ways that fathers navigate their work and family roles. The emphasis, at that early stage, was to situate fathers at the centre of enquiry (not yet "*centre stage*") and consider their actions as informing what my study should explore (Charmaz, 2008). It was, therefore, the balance of these types of observations and data obtained throughout interviewing that informed the decision to pursue considerations of a dramaturgical interpretation of navigation. That is not to say, however, that all accounts converged around dramaturgy but, rather, that the ways that fathers were acting to control how they concealed fatherhood was both salient and conspicuous and, from the perspective of fathers, appeared an important aspect of the navigation of their work and family roles. The study, therefore, arrived at the point of considering a dramaturgical interpretation of action exclusively by situating fathers at the centre of enquiry which then, moving toward a dramaturgical interpretation, became situating them at *centre stage*.

Situating fathers at centre stage continued throughout the next phase of the study which was to understand why the performative actions utilized to navigate work and family were utilized. I sought to understand why the performative actions recorded had arisen because the data collected, up to that point, was relatively *shallow* and highly descriptive in nature. At that point, the data collected could have been made more explanative by considering it in light of potential structures as is the case in many studies reviewed within the literature review. This is, as I have suggested, a position which appears common when fathers display actions associated with Work Role Engagement. This would have then allowed, for instance, discussion to be concerned with the ways that masculinities influence fathers (Cooper, 2000) or the ways gendered norms and assumptions might restrict navigation and/or position fathers (Ladge et al., 2015; Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019 and Mauerer & Schmidt, 2019).

However, these types of explanations were already extensively discussed within the existing literature and the structures which characterize the legal services industry, being broadly masculine, have already been utilized to explain why men might navigate work in the ways that they do (Cooper, 2000 and Tremblay, 2013). How I proceeded, however, was to ask how fathers, rather than us, can interpret their setting and how can these interpretations act to provide new perspectives upon our understanding of why navigation occurs.

In retrospect the decision to place fathers at centre stage of my enquiry was essential for developing the new perspectives I add to our understanding of fathers' navigation. It means a far more detailed and critical perspective upon navigation, why it occurs, the lives of the individual social actors and how they themselves create the norms which they then interpret and which they use to guide their navigation. For instance, I emphasize the distinct character of action, not merely as an undertaking or direction one extends their effort, but as an undertaking which can be conceptualized as performative. Conceptualizing action in this way provides utility to understand navigation in a new way but also suggests that we need to be careful in our endeavours to characterize fathers as Traditional (Cooper, 2000), or as taking a Career Position (Halrynjo, 2009). It provides the new perspective that action can provide the facility to misrepresent oneself to appear in those ways.

Another important contribution from the new perspective I offer from placing fathers at centre stage is the explanation of why navigation occurs. That is to say, that where many other studies seek to understand action through an abstracted interpretation of the structured organization, my contribution emphasizes the perspective of fathers and their interpretations. The distinction here is the type of explanation my contribution offers and how this contrasts existing studies. For instance, whereas existing studies provide a robust and compelling argument to how structure influences or controls fathers to navigate work and family in a particular way I contribute a more personal explanation by exploiting the intimate and longitudinal design of my study which helped reveal how fathers themselves interpret their roles as fathers and also how they interpret the organizational setting. In this way, I sought fathers' interpretations upon the organization and how they, rather than us as researchers, understand the structures that might be important to explain why navigation occurs. In doing so I mirror other studies by revealing how the organization is structured but what makes my contribution unique is that I utilize how the organization is understood and interpreted by fathers (who perceive the organization as imbued by particular norms which seek to reward the prioritization of work over, and the segmentation of work from, family). In this way I reveal that fathers' own interpretations provide utility in understanding their actions and, therefore, reveal that the actions recorded are symbolic and intentional. This is an important distinction in my work and others' as it illuminates that fathers do exercise agency through the intentional and strategic choices they make in representing themselves in a very specific way. The reason, as I argue, that this might be less apparent to those who approach understanding of navigation from a structuralist paradigm is that fathers readily mislead their audience and so do appear to be controlled (Cooper, 2000), forced (Kvande, 2009) conditioned (Tremblay, 2013), inhibited (Ladge et al., 2015) and encouraged (Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019) as displaying that type of conformity is a strategic method to realize organizational rewards. As such, and keeping fathers at *centre stage*, it is this interpretation (that of

my participants') which I use to explain action rather than my own interpretation on how the organization might be structured. It is important here to emphasize that I do not consider there being, external from the individual, a script which can be (objectively) followed. I am careful to conceptualize script as determined by my participants' interpretations of the organizational setting.

The utilization of fathers' interpretations of their social worlds to explain action does not suggest that those organizational structures we researchers utilize to provide explanation of action are not important considerations; rather, I take the position that they are interpretive perspectives upon social phenomena made by us, as researchers, as a means to theorize and explain action (see arguments within the literature review concerned with the ways that action is explained by the utilization of new masculinity (Cooper, 2000), traditional hegemony and the gendered division of labour (Halrynjo, 2009), boundless time cultures (Kvande, 2009), work cultures (Tremblay, 2013) professional norms (Ladge et al., 2015), organizational assumptions (Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019) and gendered assumptions (Mauerer & Schmidt, 2019)). These explanations are vital for providing perspectives upon the reasons navigation occurs in the ways that it does, as is mine which contrasts these by providing a novel perspective upon navigation as understood from a wholly different perspective; that of fathers themselves. This approach to understand structure is inherently anchored in symbolic interactionist thought which conceptualizes structure in a dissimilar way to many existing studies (cf. Dramaturgy's Symbolic Interactionist Foundations (chapter 3) for distinction and discussion in this regard). For instance, rather than emphasizing the explanatory power of structure, a symbolic interactionist position focuses more upon the ways that individuals interpret structure and the ways that they employ agency in light of those interpretations. It does not concern itself with structure as wholly deterministic but does suggest the world is characterized by specific meanings (such as what it means to be a *good* father or a *good* worker) which have the potential to direct human action (Goffman, 1959; 1961 and Blumer, 1969). It does not suggest structure is absent, nor does it argue that structure does not have the potential to characterize and influence social life but that individuals have an interpretation of their own social worlds which, if considered, can help provide novel perspectives upon the reasons they do what they do which, in essence, is the contribution I make with this study.

An important aspect of symbolic interactionist thought is that in considering the actions of individuals as important we also conceptualize those same actions as having the ability to form the social world around. In other words, placing fathers and their actions at centre stage we learn, as Alder et al., (1987, p.219) so eloquently explain, 'the rituals and institutions they [(actions)] thus create then influence the character of their behaviour through the expectations and micro social norms they yield'. The perspective I add to our existing understanding of navigation highlights this process as fathers' own actions were evidenced as informing what others around them defined as 'acceptable' behaviour for men. Some (see Miller, 2011 and Humberd et al., 2015) highlight the important role fathers can play in redefining the norms associated with the working roles of men whereas others conceptualize fathers as distinctly separate, if not subjected to those assumptions meaning men are situated as separate from those assumptions and cast as if in need of emancipation (Tanquerel & Grau Grau, 2019). My study suggests that it is essential that we conceptualize fathers with some

degree of agency for it allows the critical consideration of their actions and how those actions might be incorporated within our current understanding of the reasons we see the stagnation of organizational assumptions regarding the roles of men. For instance, it is not that gendered norms are exclusively deterministic or not able to be redefined to celebrate the importance of paternal childrearing but that all social actors, including men, have, and have had, an important role in doing and, potentially, undoing gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Deutsch, 2007 and Miller, 2011). As such, the perspectives I offer, highlighting how men interpret and navigate work and family by those interpretations, also suggests that fathers have the power to challenge the norms and their own actions have the potential to craft new meanings of men's work. Unfortunately, and as I have shown, the participants to my study only subscribed to representations of self which will reaffirm the existing meanings we have for men's work roles. For that reason important discussion concerned with Public Family Role Engagement, and its potential to facilitate this type of redefinition of men's working roles, has not featured within my study. However, the consideration of Public Family Role Engagement has important implications for the future of fathers' navigation of work and family so is discussed next.

9.2 Public Family Role Engagement

The one position I did not record in my study was Public Family Role Engagement. Action which can be classified as constituting a public engagement with one's family role is important as it challenges the preconceived notions that fathers act solely as breadwinners and also because it holds the potential to normalize more sincere means of navigating work and family. For instance, should Public Family Role Engagement be normalized, Audience Segregation might not be practiced and Discreet Family Role Engagement could be transformed to the public realm for the wider organizational audience to observe. Because these types of representations are important I next briefly look to the future with the consideration of the possibility of fathers practicing Public Family Role Engagement and some of the challenges fathers might face in moving toward a more sincere means of navigating work and family. I suggest, considering my study and the ways I explain why navigation occurs, that for meaningful change to be made to the ways navigation occurs that there will need to be some form of rejection to both the ways that fathers understand what it currently means to be a *good* father and a *good* worker.

The first type of rejection I consider important is the rejection of the traditional breadwinning norm by which fathers defined good fathering as their ability to support their families financially. Because this study was focused upon the organizational setting, I did not seek to understand why fathers defined good fathering by their ability to support their families financially (the large bodies of masculinities, power and patriarchy which I touch upon within the first part of my literature review already provide a comprehensive perspective in this regard). In other words, I did not seek to understand why fathers enter the stage having already defined their social worlds in this way, but I suggest, nevertheless, that there is ample research which supports the position that this is a role which both socially constructed and a role which is taken by fathers (Zuo & Tang, 2000 and Zuo, 2004). The reason I suggest this is important for fathers being able to realize new ways of navigating work and family is that I found the

adoption of a breadwinning role to be essential in understanding why fathers felt they should craft such a situationally appropriate performance. This meant conflict occurred for fathers such as Greg, George, Stephen and Paul who sought to realize greater childrearing but still defined their paternal worth by the degree to which they were able to realize breadwinning norms (Ladge et al., 2015 and Humberd et al., 2015). Again, I take the symbolic interactionist position that fathers' family roles (similar to their work roles) are subject to norms but that the individual also holds a degree of agency (although it might be limited) to challenge these norms. In this way fathers can disrupt and challenge the 'importance' of paid employment by rejecting the notion that their parental worth is a measurement of their ability to earn. In essence, this type of rejection would come to undo gendered norms and assumptions upon men's traditional notions of masculinity (Miller, 2011) and potentially situate men in a position in which they feel less obliged to maintain breadwinner status which I have shown here can result in fathers seeking an idealized representation of self in the organizational setting which itself reduces options of how work and family might be navigated. The result may then be for fathers such as Greg, George and Stephen to not segment their audiences to realize *Discreet* Family Role Engagement but, rather, realize *Public* Family Role Engagement or, in other words, a new way of navigating work and family. I do, however, emphasize that the agency fathers might have in this regard might be limited. Miller (2011), for instance, showed how the wider social context of parenting remains relatively gendered and how fathers' family lives can remain structured such that fathers return to paid work earlier than women and reengage in traditional fathering roles. Broad notions of masculinity, power and patriarchy suggests that men's lives should be lived in a very defined manner. These important considerations, especially hegemonic masculinity, ultimately create hurdles for fathers who wish to express their paternal worth by contemporary ideals rather than traditional ideals. As such, I argue that the wider social context of how fathering is defined will be an important hurdle for these fathers but one which, should fathers desire paternal engagement to the degree which current research suggests is sought, one would hope is overcome in increasing numbers.

Another type of rejection concerns the belief fathers had that they needed to absolutely conceal aspects of their fathering roles to achieve a clear segmentation of roles. This type of rejection does not need to be a grand display of fathering, paternal love and/or affection for one's child or one's fathering role within the organizational setting. It also does not mean an absolute rejection of displaying commitment and hard work. This type of rejection can be subtle and achieved should fathers relinquish insincerity and navigate work and family in more sincere ways than were recorded within this study. For instance, Daniel, who removed his photo of his son, might not have done so, or Francis might have left his child's car seat in his car rather than removing it. The same effect might be achieved by the limitation of the utilization of actions of concealment. For instance, discussion of being part of the morning club and the challenges it brings (Stephen) or excitement for an expected child (George and Curtis) would mean likely changes to the ways other fathers interpret what is situationally appropriate action for fathers. In essence, what this would mean is a defined increase in the type of actions associated with *Public* Family Role Engagement (sincere utilization of flexible leave, parental leave, paternity leave, shared parental leave, the physical representation of

fatherhood and/or discussion surrounding matters of fatherhood) a position completely absent within my study and the least common position recorded within my review of literature (Halrynjo, 2009; Ranson, 2012; Choroszewicz & Kay, 2019 and Tanquerel & Grau-Grau, 2019). In turn, this would also mean that the process by which fathers interpret that they should prioritize work over and segment work from family from the actions of other fathers is disrupted which, as I have shown, was an important consideration of understanding how participants crafted their performances and the beliefs they held in relation to what it meant to be a good worker. These are small changes but, for that reason, appear reasonable choices for fathers to make which might have meaningful changes for moving toward greater representation of matters of fatherhood in the organizational setting (Public Family Role Engagement).

What appears problematic for Public Family Role Engagement to occur is that the definition of good father and good worker can, when defined similar to the ways I recorded herewith, create a type of synergy which means disruption is unlikely. In other words, what fatherhood, when defined in the ways that these fathers did, needs is what the organization provides (opportunity to realize remuneration) and what the organization, when operating a competitive marketplace such as this case organization, needs is what fatherhood provides (workers who conform to ideal worker norms). This means that for meaningful change to be made and new positions to be realized there might need to occur a change not in *either* of these definitions (of good fathering and good worker) but to *both* at the same time.

9.3 Practical Importance

I have argued that my study extends the ways we understand how and why navigation occurs by situating fathers at the centre of my study or, centre stage. This contribution is exclusively theoretical, however my study findings also hold practical importance for managers and human resource managers which I next discuss.

9.3.1 Managers - My study findings provide two potential benefits for managers of fathers. Firstly, managers, including senior managers, directors/partners and chief executive officers need to provide understanding and sensitivity to fathers who wish to engage in childrearing aspirations by making it clear that such engagement will not be viewed disfavouredly. This is important as, as I mentioned within my literature review, studies suggest that managers can act in a type of gate keeping role in which they might easily facilitate better management of work and family responsibilities for fathers (Buzzanell & Liu, 2007; Breaugh & Frye, 2008; Myers et al., 2014 and Humberd et al., 2015).

This is a broad and difficult change to make but the current cultures, expectations and climates were experienced in such a way that fathers believed that they would be unable to realize a positive impression should they engage in activities such as school plays, sports days, dental appointments, medical appointments or school runs. As such some fathers decided to miss and conceal that these activities were sought. This is important as managers might be able to influence the ways that fathers interpret the organizational setting and the ways that fathers form assumptions around what it means to be a good worker. In other words, although I contend above that fathers have

an important role to play in rejecting these norms, managers also have an important role in understanding the ways that they can determine and influence the types of interpretations fathers make. In this way, and again drawing on a symbolic interactionist perspective, it is important that managers appreciate that they can challenge but also facilitate fathers' navigation such that new ways of navigating work and family might seem more accessible should managers act differently.

This might also create benefits for managers themselves. For instance, many fathers avoided conversations with their managers all together and had important discussions regarding their fathering roles with other colleagues (such as Stephen's participation in the 'morning club' or Greg's concerns with the health of his daughter). These are important topics and discussions, an awareness of which would benefit managers. For instance, understanding that Stephen is part of the *morning club* might explain potential lateness, tiredness or possible need for flexibility to facilitate paternal responsibilities. This might then act as a natural segue by which managers can introduce provisions and support that the organization offers and which Stephen might wish to make use of. One way this can be achieved is for managers to be aware of the ways that their own performances might unintentionally affect fathers in the workplace. I make this point as fathers referenced the ways that their managers segmented work and family as informing their belief that they should communicatively conceal discussions regarding fathering to be received favourably. This led to Thomas, Graham and Curtis, amongst others, making a conscious effort to craft insincere representations of self not just to their peers but also their own managers. In this regard, management training might help illuminate the important role that managers' actions have upon fathers' interpretations of what it means to be a good worker. This training could emphasize the dramaturgical interpretation of the organization as a type of stage for managers to appreciate that those individuals they supervise will adapt their representations of self in accordance with what managers communicate as appropriate behaviour for men. Managers might then become critical upon their own actions and how those actions can come to effectively bar important information and experiences from the workplace which would otherwise help managers effectively manage fathers (such as those I mention above).

9.3.2 Human Resource Managers - From the perspective of an audience member all fathers, regardless of whether they held childrearing aspirations or not, appeared as if they were solely concerned with their work related responsibilities. This is to be expected for, simply, that is the impression fathers nurtured and offered; however, understanding that this might be a false guise may help human resource managers better understand if there is indeed a need for support. This is an important point as I argue that even researchers, should we accept fathers and their actions only for what they appear, run the risk of incorrectly categorizing fathers as 'traditionals' (whereas it might actually be the case that such an impression is insincere), who have no childrearing desires.

The benefit human resource managers have, similar to me, is that they have little power in promoting and rewarding fathers as their managers do. This means fathers, as they were with me, are likely to be more forthcoming to discuss matters of fatherhood and/or home life with human resource managers than with their respective managers. Such engagement, however, might have to be over the course of a long period and effort made on the part of the human resource manager. For instance,

my study was undertaken over a year and a half and the majority of meaningful data regarding fathers' family roles, their paternal responsibilities and struggles was realized in the latter stages. I also suggest that human resource managers might have to make an express effort to learn about fathers, their responsibilities and issues because fathers are not likely to organically disrupt the status quo by realizing a position of Public Family Role Engagement. This type of engagement is, of course, only going to be achieved away from specific audiences (we see as evidenced by Discreet Family Role Engagement being realized by audience segregation) so human resource managers too need to understand the notion that the organizational arena is a type of stage upon which fathers will perform insincerely. This does not mean that the only means to understand the needs of fathers is to have private conversations but, rather, simply that human resource managers must be sensitive to the degrees by which fathers might be willing to compromise their performance. For instance, some fathers might be less willing to engage in a private conversation but might be willing to complete an anonymous survey designed to better understand how support can be given to fathers who wish to navigate work and family in new ways such as utilizing job sharing, working from home, reduced hours, compressed hours, flexitime, annualised hours or staggered hours. It is important, however, to emphasize that the degree of anonymity provided to fathers must be absolute as, should fathers have any concern over the ability for them to be identified through their responses (should the survey ask for age, number of children or organizational role etc.), it is likely that performances will extend to the ways that fathers respond to the survey. That being said, and should the survey be designed and delivered in an adequate manner, the results might allow a human resource manager to have an open and frank discussion with managers regarding the needs of their staff without fathers having to compromise their performance which, as I have shown, is unlikely to happen. In this way the human resource managers can act as a type of interim between fathers and their managers to educate the latter of potential needs of fathers within their teams allowing managers to make decisions on how to craft a work environment in which fathers navigate work and family with more sincere representations of self which, as I have argued above, will be essential for new types of navigation to occur.

9.4 Limitations

Research, regardless how carefully crafted, will have some form of limitation which a researcher, to be able to claim transparency, should reflect upon and consider. Three important limitations are discussed herewith in hindsight of the completion of the study. I suggest that the focus of the legal services industry, the loss of diary entries as a data collection method, the lack of accounts from stagehands (those that supported fathers' performances) and intimate focus on the work of Goffman (1959) and the Chicago School of thought are all important limitations to consider.

Firstly, my study employed a large law firm as a case organization because it was likely the masculine and hyper-competitive nature of the setting would require fathers to carefully navigate their work and family roles (Wald, 2010 and Sommerlad, 2016). I found that this specific context, or dramaturgically speaking, stage, was interpreted as being characterized by specific norms which, if adhered to, would situate the performer in a position to realize a positive impression. It is likely that other contexts would have been interpreted differently and believed to require very different

performances or some, perhaps, no such performance to navigate work and family. For this reason, the recorded performative actions might be most relevant to those seeking to understand the ways that fathers navigate work and family by performance in a highly masculinised and competitive environment. In other words, the context chosen both provides the benefit of providing increased transferability but in doing so also means its applicability to dissimilar contexts is limited.

I originally sought for my study to also consist of diary entries to capture experiences of how work might be navigated whilst away from the organizational setting. Unfortunately, my participants were not happy to complete diaries and, as such, potential data concerned with fathers' time away from the office was never captured. Additionally, diary entries have been shown to reveal greater complexity to work family matters with novel insights being revealed that other forms of data collection might miss (Radcliffe, 2013). Should data have been captured regarding the family domain I may have had greater insight into role responsibilities and how fathers perform on other 'stages'. Although not essential for the purpose of this study such data would have extended the scope of my proposed theory and potentially provided new insights and important contributions to literature.

I found that partners, family and friends played an important role in supporting fathers' performances acting in a capacity akin to the way a stagehand supports a performance. I was unable to acquire accounts from these individuals but it did appear that they are essential in understanding how fathers are able to realize the idealized representations of self they utilize to navigate work and family. In their own unique ways stagehands, especially fathers' partners, played an integral and important role within the process of fathers being able to navigate work and family by performance which was not captured but is likely a very important support mechanism utilized by fathers. Because stagehands are likely to provide an essential support mechanism within the navigation process, being unable to appreciate or understand this aspect of navigation is an important limitation to my study.

Finally, it might also be considered that a focussed perspective upon Goffman (1959) and the Chicago School limited my study in three important ways. Firstly, an issue with much of Goffman's work is that it supposes that the metaphor he employs (which is a theme throughout the body of Goffman's work) is a means to effectively capture the lived experiences of participants. In employing a metaphorical perspective upon phenomena, it is always to be the case that aspects of life and participants' experiences are lost (Manning, 1991). For instance, in considering life as proceeding as if dramaturgical our gaze is inherently drawn to those matters which reaffirm, support and fit within that metaphor. We provide greater consideration, for instance, to the importance of aspects of self, presentation, interaction, stage and context than we might in relation to other matters such as biological determinism and historical biographies. In my use of Goffman's (1959) work I do not suggest that what is captured is a perfect representation of the entire lived experiences of fathers but, that in utilizing Goffman's (1959) work, new and theoretically interesting and explanative arguments arise in understanding the day-to-day ways that fathers navigate work and family. In other words, my attention is intimate, specific and detailed and it is this very approach which provides new insights but it is also that same intimate, specific and detailed approach which, inherently, must make some form of resignation to the claim that such an approach provides a macro, all-encompassing method to holistically understand the lives of participants.

Secondly, it is also important to consider that Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach, as it is not a formal theory which can easily be applied to investigate social phenomena (Hare, 2001), has limitations as a theoretical lens. An issue in this regard is that Goffman (1959), emphasizing the ways that action can be understood as performative, did not explicitly explain why individuals perform (Jacobsen et al., 2017). In other words, Goffman (1959) did not conceptualize and formally construct a theory which can be taken from his own study of the Shetland Islands and be ascribed to a new context to answer how and why performative action occurs. My approach to manage this has been to interpret, and draw from Goffman's (1959) work, his arguments surrounding what I have referred to as Important Consequences and Situational Appropriateness. I believe this is a limitation to Goffman's (1959) work but is not necessarily a weakness to my study because of my choice to utilize Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The focus of adopting Grounded Theory is, in essence, development of theory which makes sense within the realm of studied context and which is supported by the participants of that investigation. It is not an approach which seeks to deductively ascribe a theoretical perspective but, rather, expects theory to stand on the merit of what has been captured within the study to which it was applied. My interpretation of Goffman's (1959) work is not that he sought to provide a rigid prescribed means by which others could apply his work as a method but that he attempted to elucidate the utility and theoretically fascinating ways that an intimate and detailed dramaturgical study of day to day life can provide novel ways of thinking about society. In this way what I have done is utilize Goffman's (1959) work as a broad theoretical perspective but grounded my arguments within the rich, interesting and personalized accounts captured by focussing on my participants and their context. This meant I remained true to an inductive method of reasoning as suggested by my heavily reliance upon the Constant Comparative Method of Analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This challenged me to consider explanation from an emic perspective letting this lead my reading and consideration of Goffman (1959) rather than utilizing Goffman's (1959) work to pursue an etic perspective. An etic perspective might have been more readily pursued should I have focussed on other schools of thought within the Symbolic Interactionist tradition such as the Iowa or Indiana School approaches. In this way my approach might be argued to have cast a limitation as my work is heavily focussed upon my participants and the context of my study, however, my intention was never to provide an overarching contribution to formal theory but to provide a detailed, intimate and important contribution grounded in the context of my study through which important perspectives upon the lived experiences of fathers arise.

Finally, it has been argued that Goffman's work pays little respect to social structure (Brissett & Edgley, 1990). This is reminiscent not just of Goffman's work but the Chicago School which is conceptualized as emphasizing action and interaction between humans as a means to understand society and pays less attention to the human as constrained by structure (Blumer, 1969). This contrasts other schools, as I have mentioned elsewhere, which pay greater respect to structure and the way that structure might cue behaviour, for instance (Stryker, 1980). For my study it was important to approach fathers' navigation with an emphasis upon action because, as I argue within my literature review, our existing knowledge of the ways fathers might navigate work and family is inherently structuralist. To make a meaningful contribution to knowledge I therefore needed to pursue a line of

enquiry that does not take a similar line to existing studies otherwise I would have run the risk of reinventing the wheel (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Instead, what I offer is a unique perspective which, like Goffman, does emphasize agency and autonomy but, by doing so, allows me to offer a unique conceptualization and a contribution to a body of knowledge which is saturated by structuralist interpretations of navigation. As such, a legitimate limitation born from my singular use of Goffman and the Chicago School is my limited consideration of structure. However, what I do to temper this is to situate my study findings within the existing body of research within my discussion chapter to show how my findings are understandable and suggestive of social structures and supportive of the existing perspectives available within the literature. In this way I make respectful reference to the important perspectives available and the notions of structure as a coercive force but still remain fixed on the contribution I offer which is born from a contrasting perspective focussing not on structure but on the ways that agency and autonomy are leveraged through the process of navigating work and family.

9.5 Future Research

I have included herewith four suggestions concerned with future research which I believe are important following the completion of this study. Firstly, an important stream of research which could be built upon is critically analysing the actions of fathers and how the performances they employ can inform the assumptions made of them. I have provided tentative discussion regarding this aspect of my study as the ways fathers learnt what was expected of them was partially informed by their own actions and it appears other tentative comments are made by other researchers also (Miller, 2011 and Humbert et al., 2015). It would be important to investigate fathers' performances (especially when fathers act as managers to other fathers) and how they might help inform assumptions regarding men's organizational lives as we continue to seek answers to understand why fathers remain subject to traditional male breadwinning ideals within the organizational setting. I have also suggested that an approach in which fatherhood is considered a social object able to be defined by those who interact with it would be a beneficial approach as such this conceptualization allows the incorporation of other studies which already reveal the ways that managers and peers inform assumptions regarding the roles of men. This approach would help situate fathers within the same conversations as we seemingly emphasize more so how external aspects of the organization makes assumptions upon the roles of men more so than we do consider fathers and their choices to perform in particular ways in the organizational setting.

It might also be beneficial for future research to seek to understand, especially in relation to these fathers, the process by which traditional meanings fathers have for their fathering roles are created and sustained. I suggest this is important for two reasons. Firstly, the wider social context now supports and celebrates contemporary ideals of fathering so it is important to understand why fathers such as those to this study still determine their paternal worth by their ability to support their families financially. Secondly, these meanings appeared an essential consideration for why action was directed toward the construction of ideal worker type performances so understanding their origin(s) is important to understand the ongoing prioritization of work over family and concealment of aspects of family from the organizational setting. Although other studies consider the duality of

fatherhood they usually consider how fathers with diverse and different perspectives upon their roles navigate work and family rather than specifically considering how fathers themselves interpret their worlds to formulate outdated perspectives upon their own fathering roles (Ladge et. al., 2015). That in mind, a symbolic interactionist (Blumer, 1969) or phenomenological (Schutz, 1953) approach might be beneficial in seeking to understand this meaning making process as each will provide a suitable means to explore the ways that fathers make sense of their world and craft what might be considered out dated meanings of fathering. These studies might also benefit from considering the perspective of mothers as it is likely that constructions around fatherhood and the social lives of fathers are influenced by their relationship with their partners. I emphasize this point having mentioned above the limitation concerned with capturing important accounts of stagehands. As such, future research to consider how traditional norms are created and maintained will need to also consider the interactions of social actors who have the potential to inform and influence those meanings (Blumer, 1969).

It might also be advantageous for future studies to investigate a different demographic of fathers or a different organizational context. For instance, the fathers to my study were legal practitioners, accountants and directors who are very successful professionals and are at the high end of the earning spectrum. Income might be important as the majority of participants were able to support their families on a sole wage without their partners working (Burgess & Davies, 2017). In this way the participants to this study shouldered an immediate and exclusive responsibility to ensure they were successful in their professional roles. This meant that work and family were ascribed with very traditional meanings which might be less salient for other demographics and, for this reason, might reveal other important considerations for navigation. For instance, a demographic of fathers who have more contemporary fathering ideals and/or do not shoulder the burden of primary wage earner might help record instances of greater Public Family Role Engagement. Similarly, and as I mentioned above, the specific context of the legal services industry might have acted to determine the findings of this study as only applicable to very masculine and extremely competitive contexts (Wald, 2010 and Sommerlad, 2016). Future research might benefit from considering different contexts that will likely attract new interpretations, from fathers, concerned with what it means to be a good worker in those same contexts. Again, this may reveal, as with studies considering different demographics, novel ways that fathers navigate work and family as they might feel they have to utilize different actions of front and concealment (if any) to embody what they interpret as the ideals of the organizational stage upon which they perform.

It is also important to explore and emphasize that stagehands played an important role in supporting fathers' performances. I argued that these individuals (partners, family and friends) acted in a type of support function like those within the theatre who similarly support a performance (dress, makeup, stage hands, direction, personal assistants etc.). It would be of interest to consider what happens in instances in which such support is either absent (single parents, parents without family support, dual-earner families) or to consider what happens at the point at which such support is removed (family loss, separation, divorce etc.). This type of shift might mean navigation occurs differently to either reveal new sincere representations of self (possible Family Role Engagement) or mean navigation changes but only as a means to still claim ideal worker status (seeking additional

support, making illegitimate use of leave, extending nursery/school engagement (morning club and/or evening clubs)). These types of considerations are important as they not only help understand how men are more able to claim ideal worker status but also ensure the essential roles partners and others play in supporting men's claims of ideal worker status are acknowledged.

Finally, an important comment needs to be made in relation to these suggestions for future research. Although I suggest critical consideration of fathers' performances and the exploration of the reasons why some fathers continue to define their fathering roles in traditional ways, I would suggest that these types of studies need to proceed with sensitivity. What fathers in this study revealed is that performances are not necessarily given with a sense of malice or menace but because of a fundamental and genuine desire to provide the best possible lives for their families.

9.6 Concluding Thoughts

Throughout this study I have situated fathers at the centre of my enquiry to capture how and why they navigate work and family. I have argued that my conceptualization of this process, as a dramaturgical undertaking, is novel and important for progressing the ways we consider how and why fathers navigate work and family. In my conceptualization of navigation fathers are actors who understand their audience and go about their craft having already scripted their own performance as a means to deliver what they believe is expected of them. In this way navigation is something which fathers do not legitimately but, rather, something strategically and intentionally undertake by impression. I emphasize the important role fathers play such that, for instance, although I see potential in managers and human resource managers reviewing my study findings, fathers will need to express desires to make changes and realize the important role they play in potentially redefining the ways we expect men upon the organizational stage to act.

Important in understanding why navigation occurs performatively, as I have revealed, are the ways that fathers define their social worlds (Blumer, 1969). I reveal, in this regard, that what it means to be a *good* father and what fathers believed it meant to be a *good* worker were both important in understanding the decisions fathers made to navigate work and family in the ways that they did. I also suggest that it is these definitions which need to be challenged and redefined to effect real change to the ways that fathers navigate work and family. Crucially important is that at this moment these definitions create a type of synergy, as I mentioned above, as what fatherhood, when defined in the ways that these fathers did, needs is what the organization provides (opportunity to realize remuneration) and what the organization, when operating a competitive marketplace such as this case organization, needs is what fatherhood provides (workers who conform to ideal worker norms). Since men's movement away from the homestead and towards work as being a *separate sphere* of life, expectations and ideals concerned with the *good* father and *good* worker have been established but have also intensified such that for a man to realize the impression of ideal worker means navigating work and family in such a way that he must prioritize work over, and segment work from, family (Whyte, 1956; Seccombe, 1986; Acker, 1990; Blair-Loy, 2003 and Reid, 2018). This intensity is such that fathers have pursued those ideals for so long that fatherhood is all but invisible in the organizational setting (Gatrell, 2005; Lewis & Simpson, 2010; Lyng, 2010 and Burnett et al., 2013).

This synergy in definitions of *good* father and *good* worker and the degrees to which fathers have pursued ideal worker norms is precisely why the conceptualization of navigation as dramaturgical is important. It reveals that fathers have moved past being able to sincerely navigate work and family and have arrived at a point at which this intensity and synergy between *good* worker and *good* father means they must now navigate roles performatively through the careful and strategic utilization of a fictitious front and carefully created concealment. It is now only by performance that fathers are able to navigate work and family to the degree that is required to claim the now inflated expectations placed upon men to be defined as successful in their work roles. Ironically, and poignantly, for many fathers to make this impression means claiming the identity of one who, for all intents and purposes, is not a father at all.

10. Bibliography

- Aaltio-Marjosola, I. and Lehtinen, J. (1998) 'Male Managers as Fathers? Contrasting Management, Fatherhood and Masculinity', *Human Relations*, 51 (2), pp. 121–136.
- Acker J (1990) Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations, *Gender and Society*, 4(2), pp. 139–58.
- Adler, P., Adler, P., and Fontana, A. (1987) 'Everyday Life Sociology', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 13(X), pp. 217–235.
- Agar, M. (1980) *Professional strangers: An informal introduction to ethnography*. New York: Academic Press.
- Åhlström, P. & Karlsson, C. (2016) Longitudinal Field Studies. In: Karlsson, C. (eds.), *Research Methods for Operations Management* (pp. 198–232) Oxon: Routledge.
- Alemann, A., Beaufays, S. and Oechsle, M. (2017) 'Involved fatherhood in work organizations Sense of entitlement and hidden rules in organizational cultures', *Family Research Journal*, 29(1), pp. 72–89.
- Altintas, E. and Sullivan, O. (2017) 'Trends in Fathers' Contribution to Housework and Childcare under Different Welfare Policy Regimes. *Social Politics: International Studies*', *Gender, State and Society*, 24(1) pp. 81–108.
- Alvesson, M. and Skoldberg, K. (2017) *Reflexive Methodology: New Vistas for Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Bagilhole, B. (2006) 'Family-friendly policies and equal opportunities: A contradiction in terms?', *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 34(3), pp. 327–343.
- Barley, S. (1990) 'Images of Imaging: Notes on Doing Longitudinal Field Work', *Organization Science*, 1(3), pp. 220–247.
- Barsness, Z., Diekmann, K. and Seidel, M. (2005) 'Motivation and Opportunity: The Role of Remote Work, Demographic Dissimilarity, and Social Network Centrality in Impression Management', *Academy of Management Journal*, 48(3), pp. 401–419.
- Beck, U. and Beck–Gernsheim, E. (1995) *Normal Chaos of Love*. London: Polity.
- Bell, E. (1999) 'The negotiation of a working role in organizational ethnography', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 2(1), pp. 17–37.
- Blair–Loy, M. (2003) *Competing devotions: Career and family among women executives*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Blumer, H. (1969) *Symbolic Interactionism Perspective and Method*. California: University of California Press.
- Bolino, M., Kacmar, K, Turnley, W. and Gilstrap, J. (2008) 'A Multi-Level Review of Impression Management Motives and Behaviors', *Journal of Management*, 34(6), pp. 1080–1109.
- Bolton, S. and Muzio, D. (2007) 'Can't Live with 'Em; Can't Live without 'Em: Gendered Segmentation in the Legal Profession', *Sociology*, 41(1), pp. 47–64.

- Brandth, B. and Kvande, E. (2001) 'Flexible Work and Flexible Fathers', *Work, Employment and Society*, 15(2), pp. 251–267.
- Breaugh, J. and Frye, N. (2008) 'Work–Family Conflict: The Importance of Family–Friendly Employment Practices and Family–Supportive Managers', *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 22(4), pp. 345–353.
- Brivot, M., Lam, H. and Gendron, Y. (2014) 'Digitalization and Promotion: An Empirical Study in a Large Law Firm' *British Journal of Management*, 25(4), pp. 805–818.
- Brown, M. and Keely, M. (2007) *Asking the Right Questions: A Guide to Critical Thinking*. London: Pearson.
- Burgess, A. and Davies, J. (2017) *Cash or Carry? Fathers combining work and care in the UK (Full Report)* Contemporary Fathers in the UK series. Marlborough: Fatherhood Institute.
- Burke, K. (1945) *A Grammar of Motives*. California: University of California Press.
- Burnett, S., Gatrell, C, Cooper, C. and Sparrow, P. (2013) 'Fathers at work: A ghost in the organizational machine', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 20(6), pp. 632–646.
- Burnett, S., Gatrell, C, Cooper, C. and Sparrow, P. (2011) *Fatherhood and flexible working: A contradiction in terms?* In: Kaiser, S., Ringlstetter, M., Eikhof, D. and Cunha, M. (eds.), *Creating Balance? International Perspectives on The Work–Life Integration Of Professionals* (pp. 157–171) Berlin: Springer Publications.
- Buzzanell, P. and Liu, M. (2007) 'It's `give and take'', *Human Relations*, 60(3), pp. 463–495.
- Cabrera, N., Tamis–LeMonda, C., Bradley, R., Hofferth, S. and Lamb, M. (2000) 'Fatherhood in the Twenty–First Century', *Child Development*, 71(1), pp. 127–136.
- Cassell, C. and Symon, G. (2015) 'Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: ten years on', *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management*, 10(4), pp. 302–306.
- Cha, Y. (2010) 'Reinforcing Separate Spheres: The Effect of Spousal Overwork on Men's and Women's Employment in Dual–Earner Households', *American Sociological Review*, 75(2), pp. 303–329.
- Chan, J. (2014) 'Conceptualising legal culture and lawyering stress' *International Journal of the Legal Profession*, 21(2), pp. 213–232.
- Charmaz, K. and Mitchell, R. (2001) *Grounded theory in ethnography*. In: Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (eds.), *Handbook of ethnography* (pp. 160–174) London: SAGE Publications Ltd,
- Charmaz, K. (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory. A practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- Charmaz, K. (2008) *Constructionism and the grounded theory method*. In: Holstein, J. and Gubrium, J. (eds.), *Handbook of Constructionist Research* (pp. 397–412) New York: The Guilford Press.
- Charmaz, K. (2011) *Grounded theory methods in social justice research*. In: Denzin, N and Lincoln, Y. (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 359–380) Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- Choroszewicz, M. and Tremblay, D. (2019) 'Parental leave policy by men lawyers in Helsinki and Montreal: Professional and cultural barriers to men lawyers' usage of paternity and parental leaves', *International Journal of the Legal Profession*, 25(3), pp. 303–316.

- Christopher, K. (2012) 'Extensive Mothering: Employed Mothers' Constructions of the Good Mother', *Gender and Society*, 26(1), pp. 73–96.
- Clark, S. (2000) 'Work/family border theory: A new theory of work/family balance', *Human Relations*, 53(6), pp. 747–770.
- Cockburn, C. (1983) *Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change*. London: Pluto Press Limited.
- Collier, R. (2009) *Men, Law and Gender: Essays on the 'Man' of Law*. London: Routledge–Cavendish.
- Coltrane, S., Miller, E., DeHaan, T. and Stewart, L. (2013) 'Fathers and the flexibility stigma', *Journal of Social Issues*, 69(2), pp. 279–302.
- Coltrane, S. (2004) 'Elite careers and family commitment: it's (still) about gender', *Annals of the American Academy*, 596(1), pp. 214–220.
- Connell, R. (2009) 'A Thousand Miles from Kind: Men, Masculinities and Modern Institutions', *The Journal of Men's Studies*, 16(3), pp. 237–252.
- Cook, R., O'Brien, M., Connolly, S., Aldrich, M., & Speight, S. (2020). *Fathers' Perceptions of the Availability of Flexible Working Arrangements: Evidence from the UK*. *Work, Employment and Society*. X(X), pp.X–X (ahead of print).
- Cooklin, A., Westrupp, E., Strazdins, L., Giallo, R., Martin, A. and Nicholson, J. (2016) 'Fathers at Work: Work–Family Conflict, Work–Family Enrichment and Parenting in an Australian Cohort', *Journal of Family Issues*, 37(11), pp. 1611–1635.
- Cooper, M. (2000) 'Being the "Go-To Guy": Fatherhood, Masculinity, and the Organization of Work in Silicon Valley', *Qualitative Sociology*, 23(4), pp. 379–405.
- Corbin, J., Strauss, A. (1990) 'Grounded theory research: Procedures, canons, and evaluative criteria', *Qualitative Sociology*, 13(1), pp. 3–21.
- Craig, A., Thompson, J. and Slykerman, R. (2018) 'The Long–term Effects of Early Paternal Presence on Children's Behavior', *Journal of Child Family Studies*, 27 (4), pp. 3544–3553.
- Craig, L. (2006) 'Does Father Care Mean Fathers Share?: A Comparison of How Mothers and Fathers in Intact Families Spend Time with Children', *Gender and Society*, 20 (2), pp. 259–281.
- Daly, K. and Palkovitz, R. (2004) 'Guest Editorial: Reworking Work and Family Issues for Fathers. Fathering', *A Journal of Theory, Research, and Practice About Men As Fathers*, 2(3), pp. 211–213.
- Davies, A. and Frink, B. (2014) 'The Origins of the Ideal Worker: The Separation of Work and Home in the United States From the Market Revolution to 1950', *Work and Occupations*, 41(1), pp. 18–39.
- Day, K., Stump, C. and Carreon, D. (2003) 'Confrontation and loss of control: Masculinity and men's fear in public space', *Journal of environmental psychology*, 23(3), pp. 311–322.
- Dennis, A. and Martin, P. (2007) 'Symbolic Interactionism and the Concept of Social Structure', *Sociological Focus*, 40(3), pp. 287–305.
- Dommermuth, L. and Kitterød, R. (2009) 'Fathers' employment in a father–friendly welfare state: does fatherhood affect men's working hours?', *Community, Work and Family*, 12(4), pp. 417–436.

- Duckworth, J. and Buzzanell, P. (2009) 'Constructing Work–Life Balance and Fatherhood: Men's Framing of the Meanings of Both Work and Family', *Communication Studies*, 60 (5), pp. 558–573.
- Deutsch, F. (2007) 'Undoing Gender', *Gender & Society*, 21(1), pp. 106–127.
- Dumas, T. and Sanchez–Burks, J. (2015) 'The Professional, the Personal and the Ideal Worker: Pressures and Objectives Shaping the Boundary between Life Domains', *The Academy of Management Annals*, 9(1), pp. 803–843.
- Dyer, W. and Wilkins, A. (1991) 'Better Stories, Not Better Constructs, to Generate Better Theory: A Rejoinder to Eisenhardt' *The Academy of Management Review*, 16(3), pp. 613–619.
- Eggebeen, D. and Knoester, C. (2001) 'Does Fatherhood Matter for Men?' *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63(2), pp. 381–393.
- Eisenhardt, K. (1989) 'Building Theories from Case Study Research', *The Academy of Management Review*, 14(4), pp. 532–550.
- Ewald, A., Gilbert, E. And Huppertz, K. (2020) 'Fathering and Flexible Working Arrangements: A Systematic Interdisciplinary Review', *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 12 (1), pp.27–40.
- Felson, R. (1981) An interactionist Approach to Aggression. In: Tedeschi, J. (eds.), *Impression Management Theory and Social Psychological Research* (pp. 181–197) New York: Academic Press.
- Fine, G. (1993) 'The Sad Demise, Mysterious Disappearance, and Glorious Triumph of Symbolic Interactionism', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 19(1), pp.61–87.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006) 'Five Misunderstandings About Case–Study Research', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), pp. 219–245.
- Fontana, A. and Frey, J. (1994) Interviewing: The art of science. In Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 361–376) London: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Foster, P. (2011) Observational Research In: Sapsford, R. and Jupp, V. (eds.), *Data Collection and Analysis* (pp. 57–92) London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Galinsky, E., Aumann, K. and Bond, J. (2013) Times are Changing: Gender and Generation at Work and at Home in the USA. In: Polemans S., Greenhaus, J. and Maestro, M. (eds.), *Expanding the Boundaries of Work–Family Research* (pp. 279–296) London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gatrell, C. and Cooper, C. (2016) 'A sense of entitlement? Fathers, mothers and organizational support for family and career', *Discussion Community, Work and Family*, 19(2), pp. 134–147.
- Gatrell, C., Burnett, S., Cooper, C. and Sparrow, P. (2014) 'Parents, Perceptions and Belonging: Exploring Flexible Working among UK Fathers and Mothers', *British Journal of Management*, 25(3), pp. 473–487.
- Gatrell, C. (2005) *Hard Labour: The Sociology of Parenthood: The Sociology of Parenthood*. London: Open University Press.
- Gatrell, C. (2007) 'Whose child is it anyway? The negotiation of paternal entitlements within marriage', *The Sociological Review*, 55(2), pp. 352–372.

- Gatrell, C., Burnett, S., Cooper, C. and Sparrow, P. (2013) 'Work–Life Balance and Parenthood: A Comparative Review of Definitions, Equity and Enrichment', *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 15(3), pp. 300–316.
- Gatrell, C., Ladge, J. J. and Powell, G. N. (2021) 'A Review of Fatherhood and Employment: Introducing New Perspectives for Management Research', *Journal of Management Studies*, DOI: 10.1111/joms.12771.
- Gerson, K. (2010) *The Unfinished Revolution: How a New Generation is Reshaping Family, Work, and Gender in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gillham, B. (2005) *Research Interviewing: The Range Of Techniques: A Practical Guide*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Gillis, J. R. (2000) 'Marginalization of Fatherhood in Western Countries', *Childhood*, 7(2), pp. 225–238.
- Gillies, V. (2009) 'Understandings and experiences of involved fathering in the United Kingdom: Exploring classed dimensions', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 624(1), pp. 49–60.
- Gilmore, D. (1990) *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Glaser, B. and Strauss, A. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. California: Aldine Transaction.
- Glaser, B. (1978) *Theoretical sensitivity*. Mill Valley: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. (1992) *Basics of grounded theory analysis*. Mill Valley: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. (1998) *Doing grounded theory: Issues and discussions*. Mill Valley: Sociology Press.
- Goffman, E. (1963) *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Goffman, E. (1956) *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Social Sciences Research Centre.
- Goffman, E. (1959) *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. London: Penguin.
- Goffman, E. (1961) *Encounters Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction*. Indianapolis: Bobbs–Merrill.
- Golden, A. (2007) 'Fathers' Frames for Childrearing: Evidence Toward a "Masculine Concept of Caregiving"', *Journal of Family Communication*, 7(4), pp. 265–285.
- Gordon, R. (1987) *Interviewing Strategies*. Chicago: Dorsey Press.
- Gosling, S., Ko, S., Mannarelli, T., and Morris, M. (2002) 'A Room With A Cue: Personality Judgments Based on Offices and Bedrooms', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(3), pp. 379–398.
- Grbich, C. (2013) *Qualitative data analysis: An introduction*. London: Sage Publications Limited.
- Gregory, A. and Milner, S. (2011) 'Fathers and Work–Life Balance in France and the UK: Policy and Practice', *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 31(1–2), pp. 34–52.
- Guba, E. and Lincoln, Y. (1989) *Fourth Generation Evaluation*. London: Sage Publications, Inc.

- Guba, E. and Lincoln, Y. (1994) Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 105–117) London: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Guba, E. and Lincoln, Y. (2005) Paradigmatic Controversies, Contradictions, and Emerging Confluences. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 191–215) London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Guest, G., Namey, E., and Mitchell, M. (2013) *Collecting Qualitative Data*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd.
- Haas, L. and Hwang, P. (2007) 'Gender and Organizational Culture: Correlates of Companies' responsiveness to Fathers in Sweden', *Gender and Society*, 21 (1), pp. 52–79.
- Halford, S. (2006) 'Collapsing the boundaries? Fatherhood, organization and home–working', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 13(4), pp. 383–402.
- Halrynjo, S. (2009) 'Men's Work–life Conflict: Career, Care and Self–realization: Patterns of Privileges and Dilemmas', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16(1), pp. 98–125.
- Hanlon, N. (2012) *Masculinities, Care and Equality Identity and Nurture in Men's Lives*. Palgrave Macmillan: London.
- Hatter, W., Vinter, L. and Williams, R. (2002) *Dads on Dads: Needs And Expectations At Home And At Work*. London: Equal Opportunities Commission.
- Hearn, J. (1997) 'The Implications of Critical Studies on Men', *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 5(1), pp. 48–60.
- Heilman, M. (2001) 'Description And Prescription: How Gender Stereotypes Prevent Women's Ascent Up The Organizational Ladder', *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(4), pp. 657–674.
- Heisenberg, W. (1930) *The Physical Principles of the Quantum Theory*. Chicago: Dover Publications Inc.
- Henwood, K. and Procter, J. (2003) 'The 'Good Father': Reading Men's Accounts of Paternal Involvement During The Transition To First–Time Fatherhood', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 42(3), pp. 337–355.
- Herod, A. (1993) 'Gender Issues in the Use of Interviewing as a Research Method', *The Professional Geographer*, 45(3), pp. 305–317.
- Heyl, B. (2011) *Ethnographic Interviewing*. In: Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., Delamont, S., Lofland, J. and Lofland, L. (eds.), *Handbook of Ethnography* (pp. 369–383) London: SAGE Publications Ltd
- Higgins, C. and Judge, T. (2004) 'The Effect of Applicant Influence Tactics on Recruiter Perceptions of Fit And Hiring Recommendations. A Field Study', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89(4), pp. 622–632.
- Holter, Ø. (2007) 'Men's Work and Family Reconciliation in Europe', *Men and Masculinities*, 9(4), pp. 425–456.
- Hook, J. and Wolfe, C. (2012) 'New Fathers? Residential Fathers' Time with Children in Four Countries', *Journal of Family Issues*, 33(4), pp. 415–450.
- Horrell, S. and Oxley, D. (1999) 'Crust or crumb?: Intrahousehold resource allocation and male breadwinning in late Victorian Britain', *Economic History Review*, 53(2), pp. 494–522.

- Horvath, L., Grether, T. and Wiesel, B. (2018) 'Fathers' Realizations of Parental Leave Plans: Leadership Responsibility as Help or Hindrance?', *Sex Roles*, 79(3/4), pp. 163–175.
- Hudson, B. and Okhuysen, G. (2014) 'Taboo Topics: Structural Barriers to the Study of Organizational Stigma', *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 23(3), pp. 242–253.
- Huffman, A., Olson, K., O'Gara, T. and King, E. (2014) 'Gender role beliefs and fathers' work–family conflict', *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 29(7), pp. 774–793.
- Humberd, B., Ladge, J. and Harrington, B. (2015) 'The 'New' Dad: Navigating Fathering Identity Within Organizational Contexts', *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 30(2), pp. 249–266.
- Ismail, H. and Gali, N. (2017) 'Relationships Among Performance Appraisal Satisfaction, Work–Family Conflict And Job Stress', *Journal of Management and Organization*, 23(3), pp. 356–372.
- Johansson, T. and Klinth, R. (2007) Caring fathers. The ideology of gender and equality and masculine positions, *Men and Masculinities*, 11(1), pp.42–62.
- Johnson, J., Avenarius, C. and Weatherford, J. (2006) 'The Active Participant–Observer: Applying Social Role Analysis to Participant Observation', *Field Methods*, 18(2), pp. 111–134.
- Jones, E. and Pittman, T. (1982) Toward a general theory of strategic self–presentation. In: Suls, J. (eds.), *Psychological Perspectives on the Self* (pp. 230–263) London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Joyce, Y. and Walker, S. (2015) 'Gender Essentialism and Occupational Segregation In Insolvency Practice', *Accounting Organizations and Society*, 40 (X), pp. 41–60.
- Kadar–Satat, G. and Koslowski, A. (2015) *Fathers In The Early Years: How Do They Balance Their Work And Family Life?*. Edinburgh: Family Friendly Working Scotland.
- Kangas, E., Lamsa, A. and Jyrkinen, M. (2017) 'Is Fatherhood Allowed? Media Discourses of Fatherhood In Organizational Life', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 26(10), pp. 1433–1450.
- Kelly, E., Ammons, S., Chermack, K. and Moen, P. (2010) 'Gendered challenge, gendered response: Confronting the ideal worker norm in a white–collar organization', *Gender and Society*, 24(3), pp. 281–303.
- Koch, A. and Binnewies, C. (2015) 'Setting a Good Example: Managers As Work–Life–Friendly Role Models Within The Context of Boundary Management', *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 20(1), pp. 82–92.
- Kossek, E., Odle–Dusseau, H. and Hammer, L. (2018) Family–supportive supervision around the globe. In: Shockley, K., Shen, W. and Johnson, R. (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of The Global Work–Family Interface* (pp. 570–595) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kvande, E, and Brandth, B. (2019) 'Designing parental leave for fathers – promoting gender equality in working life', *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 40(5), pp. 465–477.
- Ladge, J., Humberd, B., Watkins, M. and Harrington, B. (2015) 'Updating the Organization MAN: An Examination of Involved Fathering in the Workplace', *Academy of Management Perspectives*, 29(1), pp. 152–171.
- Law Society (2016) *Stress and the Legal Profession*. Available at <http://www.lawsociety.org.uk/news/blog/stress-and-the-legal-profession/> (accessed 11th May 2019)

- Law Society (2017a) BAME and Women Solicitors on the Rise. Available at <http://www.lawsociety.org.uk/news/press-releases/bame-and-women-solicitors-on-the-rise/> (accessed 1th May 2019)
- Law Society (2017b) Women Lawyers Division. Available at <https://www.lawsociety.org.uk/support-services/practice-management/diversity-inclusion/women-lawyers-division/?p=3> (accessed 2nd January 2019)
- Law Society (2018) Resilience and Wellbeing Survey Report. Available at <http://communities.lawsociety.org.uk/Uploads/p/d/i/jld-resilience-and-wellbeing-survey-report-2018.pdf> (accessed 11th May 2019)
- Leary, M., and Kowalski, R. (1990) 'Impression Management: A Literature Review And Two-Component Model', *Psychological Bulletin*, 107(1), pp. 34–47.
- Lecompte, M. (1987) 'Bias in the Biography: Bias and Subjectivity in Ethnographic Research', *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 18(1), pp. 43–52.
- Lee, C. and Duxbury, L. (1998) 'Employed Parents' Support From Partners, Employers, And Friends', *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 138(3), pp. 303–322.
- Leech, B. (2003) *Asking Questions: Techniques for Semistructured Interviews*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leslie, L., Manchester, C., Park, T. and Mehng, S. (2012) 'Flexible Work Practices: A Source Of Career Premiums Or Penalties?', *Academy of Management Journal*, 55(6), pp. 1407–1428.
- Lewis, C. (2000) *A Man's Place in the Home: Fathers and Families in the UK*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Lewis, J. (1992) 'Gender and the development of welfare regimes', *Journal of European Social Policy*, 2(3), pp. 159–173.
- Lewis, J. (2002) *The Problem of Fathers: Policy And Behaviour In Britain*. In: Hobson, B. (eds.), *Making Men into Fathers: Men, Masculinities and the Social Politics of Fatherhood* (pp. 125–149) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, P. and Simpson, R. (2010) Introduction: theoretical Insights into the practices of revealing and concealing gender within organizations. In: Lewis, P. and Simpson, R. (eds.) *Revealing and Concealing Gender: Issue of Visibility in Organizations* (pp. 1–23) London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Li, A., Shaffera, J., Wang, Z. and Huang, J. (2021) 'Work–Family Conflict, Perceived Control, And Health, Family, And Wealth: A 20–Year Study', *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 127(X), pp. X–X.
- Lipsky, M. (1980) *Street Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lofland, J., and Lofland, L. (1995) *Analyzing Social Settings: A Guide to Qualitative Observation And Analysis*. Belmont: Wadsworth.
- Long, D. (2017) 'A method to the martyrdom: Employee exemplification as an impression management strategy', *Organizational Psychology Review*, 7(1), pp. 36–65.
- Lyng, S. (2010) "Mothered" and Othered: (In)visibility of Care Responsibility and Gender in Processes of Excluding Women from Norwegian Law Firms'. In: Lewis, P. and Simpson, R. (eds.)

- Revealing and Concealing Gender: Issue of Visibility in Organizations (pp. 76–99) London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- MacDonald, M. and Schreiber, R. (2001) Constructing and Deconstructing: Grounded Theory in A Postmodern World. In: Schreiber, R. and Stern, P. (eds.) Using Grounded Theory in Nursing (pp. 35–54) New York: Springer.
- Manning, P. (1991) 'Drama as Life: The Significance of Goffman's Changing Use of the Theatrical Metaphor', *Sociological Theory*, 9(1), pp.70–86.
- Manning, K. (1997) 'Authenticity in Constructivist Inquiry: Methodological Considerations Without Prescription', *Qualitative Inquiry*, 3(1), pp. 93–115.
- Manning, P. (2008) 'Goffman on Organizations', *Organization Studies*, 29(5), pp. 677–699.
- Marsiglio, W. and Roy, K. (2012) *Nurturing Dads : Fatherhood Initiatives Beyond the Wallet*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Mauerer, G. and Schmidt, E. (2019) 'Parents' Strategies in Dealing with Constructions of Gendered Responsibilities at Their Workplaces', *Social Sciences*, 250(8), pp. 1–117.
- Mead, G. (1934) *Mind, Self, and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Merton, R. (1968) *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: Macmillan USA.
- Miles, M. and Huberman, A. (1994) *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. London: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Miller, T. (2011) 'Falling back into Gender? Men's Narratives and Practices around First-time Fatherhood', *Sociology*, 45(6), pp. 1094–1109.
- Morgan, D. (2011) *Rethinking Family Practices*. Palgrave: London.
- Moss, P. and Deven, F. (2015) 'Leave policies in challenging times: reviewing the decade 2004–2014', *Community, Work and Family*, 18(2), pp. 137–144.
- Murgia, A. and Poggio, B. (2009) 'Challenging Hegemonic Masculinities: Men's Stories on Gender Culture in Organizations', *Organization*, 16(3), pp. 407–423.
- Myers, K., Gailliard, B. and Putnam, L (2013) 'Reconsidering the Concept of Workplace Flexibility: Is Adaptability a Better Solution?', *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 36(1), pp. 195–230.
- Nelson, R. (1970) *Hunters of the Northern Ice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Noble, H. and Mitchell, G. (2016) 'Research Made Simple: What Is Grounded Theory?', *Evidence-Based Nursing*, 19(2), pp.34–35.
- O'Reilly, K. (2008) *Key Concepts in Ethnography*. London: Sage Publications Limited.
- O'Brien, M. (2015) 11th International Review of Leave Policies and Related Research. The international network on leave policies and research. Available at: https://www.leavenetwork.org/fileadmin/user_upload/k_leavenetwork/annual_reviews/2015_full_review3_final_8july.pdf (accessed 1st June 2018)
- O'Gorman, K. and MacIntosh, R. (2015) *Research Methods For Business And Management A Guide To Writing Your Dissertation*. Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers Ltd.

- Oppenheimer, M. (1972) 'The Proletarianization of the Professional', *The Sociological Review*, 20(1), pp. 213–227.
- Özbilgin, M., Beauregard, A., Tatli, A. and Bell, M. (2011) 'Work—Life, Diversity and Intersectionality: A Critical Review and Research Agenda', *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 13(2), pp. 177–198.
- Parliament (2018) Fathers and the workplace. Available at <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmwomeq/358/358.pdf>. Accessed 3rd February 2018.
- Parson, T., and Bales, R. (1955) *Family, Socialization And Interaction Process*. Glencoe: Routledge.
- Pascale, C. (2011) *Cartographies of Knowledge: Exploring Qualitative Epistemologies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Pedulla, D. and Thébaud, S. (2015) 'Can We Finish the Revolution? Gender, Work–Family Ideals, and Institutional Constraint', *American Sociological Review*, 80(1), pp. 116–139.
- Perinbanayagam, R. (2005) 'The Definition of the Situation: an Analysis of the Ethnomethodological and Dramaturgical View', *The Sociological Quarterly*, 15(4), pp. 521–541.
- Pettigrew, A. (1990) 'Longitudinal Field Research on Change: Theory and Practice', *Organization Science*, 1(3), pp.267–292.
- Pinchbeck, I. (2004) *Women Workers in the Industrial Revolution*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Plantin, L. (2007) 'Different classes, different fathers? On fatherhood, economic conditions and class in Sweden', *Community, Work and Family*, 10 (1), pp. 93–110.
- Pleck, J. (1977) 'The Work–Family Role System', *Social Problems*, 24(4), pp.417–427.
- Pleck, J. (1997) *Paternal Involvement: Levels, Sources, and Consequences*. In: Lamb, M. (eds.), *The Role of The Father In Child Development* (pp. 66–103) London: John Wiley and Sons Inc.
- Prior, M. (2017) 'Accomplishing “rapport” in qualitative research interviews: Empathic moments in interaction', *Applied Linguistics Review*, 9(4), pp. 487–511.
- Powell, G., Greenhaus, J., Allen, T. and Johnson, R. (2019) 'Introduction to Special Topic Forum Advancing and Expanding Work-Life Theory from Multiple Perspectives', *Academy of Management Review* 44(1), pp.54–71.
- Radcliffe, L. (2013) 'Qualitative diaries: uncovering the complexities of work-life decision-making', *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management*, 8(2), pp.163–180.
- Ralph, N., Birks, M. and Chapman, Y. (2015) 'The Methodological Dynamism of Grounded Theory', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 14(4), pp. 1-6.
- Ranson, G. (2012) 'Men, Paid Employment and Family Responsibilities: Conceptualizing the “Working Father”', *Gender Work and Organization* 19(6), pp.741-761.
- Reid, E. (2015) 'Embracing, passing, revealing, and the ideal worker image: How people navigate expected and experienced professional identities', *Organization Science*, 26(4), pp. 997–1017.
- Reid, E. (2018) 'Straying From Breadwinning: Status And Money In Men’s Interpretations Of Their Wives’ Work Arrangements', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 25(6), pp. 718–733.
- Reiter, N. (2007) 'Work Life Balance: What DO You Mean? The Ethical Ideology Underpinning Appropriate Application', *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 43(2), pp. 273–294.

- Roberts, L. (2005) 'Changing Faces: Professional Image Construction In Diverse Organizational Settings', *Academy of Management Proceedings*, 30(4), pp.695–711.
- Rudman, L. and Mescher, K. (2013) 'Penalizing Men Who Request a Family Leave: Is Flexibility Stigma a Femininity Stigma?', *Journal of Social Issues*, 69(2), pp. 322–340.
- Rudman, L. (1998) 'Self–Promotion As A Risk Factor For Women: The Costs And Benefits Of Counterstereotypical Impression Management', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(3), pp. 629–645.
- Russell, G. (1983) *The Changing Role of Fathers*. London: University of Queensland Press.
- Sage (2017) *Symbolic Interactionism*. In: Ritzer, G. and Stepnisky, J. (eds.) *Sociological Theory*. (pp. 324–366). Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Sallee, M. (2012) 'The Ideal Worker or the Ideal Father: Organizational Structures and Culture in the Gendered University', *Research in Higher Education*, 53(7), pp. 782–802.
- Saunders, B., Sim, J. and Kingstone, T. (2018) 'Saturation In Qualitative Research: Exploring Its Conceptualization And Operationalization', *Quality & Quantity*, 52(4), pp. 1893–1907.
- Sayer, C., Bianchi, S. and Robinson, J. (2004) 'Are Parents Investing Less In Children? Trends In Mothers' And Fathers' Time With Children', *American Journal of Sociology*, 110 (1), pp.1–43.
- Schutz, A. (1953) 'Common–Sense and Scientific Interpretation of Human Action', *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 14(1), pp. 1–38.
- Schwandt, T. (1998) *Constructivist, Interpretivist Approaches to Human Inquiry*. In: Denzin, K. and Lincoln, Y. (eds.) *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (pp.221–259) California: Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications.
- Scott, S. (2015) *Negotiating Identity: Symbolic Interactionist Approaches to Social Identity*. London: Polity Press.
- Seawright, J. and Gerring, J. (2008) 'Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options', *Political Research Quarterly*, 61(2), pp. 294–308.
- Secombe, W. (1986) 'Patriarchy Stabilized: The Construction of the Male Breadwinner Wage Norm in Nineteenth–Century Britain', *Social History*, 11 (1), pp. 53–76.
- Seidman, I. (2019) *Interviewing as Qualitative Research: A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences*. London: Teachers College Press.
- Shannon, P. and Hambacher, E. (2014) 'Authenticity in Constructivist Inquiry: Assessing an Elusive Construct', *Qualitative Report*, 19(26), pp. 1–13.
- Sharma, A. and Grant, D. (2017) 'Narrative, Drama and Charismatic Leadership: The Case of Apple's Steve Jobs', *Leadership*, 7(1), pp.3–26.
- Sheridan, A. (2004) 'Chronic Presenteeism: The Multiple Dimensions to Men's Absence from Part–Time Work', *Gender, Work and Organization*, 11(2), pp.207–225.
- Shirani, F. (2015) 'I'm bringing back a dead art': Continuity and change in the lives of young fathers', *Families, Relationships and Societies*, 4(2), pp. 253–266.
- Shulman, L. (2003) 'Learning to Talk About Taboo Subjects: A Lifelong Professional Challenge', *Social Work with Groups*, 25:(1–2), pp.139–150.

- Skinner, N., Hutchinson, C. and Pocock, B. (2012) *The Big Squeeze. Work, Home and Care in 2012: Australian Work and Life Index 2012*. Available at <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/30678236.pdf>. Accessed 23rd February 2018.
- Solomon, J., Solomon, A., Joseph, N. and Norton, S. (2013) 'Impression Management, Myth Creation And Fabrication In Private Social And Environmental Reporting: Insights From Erving Goffman', *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 38(3), pp. 195–213.
- Sommerlad, H. (2016) "A pit to put women in": professionalism, work intensification, sexualisation and work–life balance in the legal profession in England and Wales', *International Journal of the Legal Profession*, 23(1), pp. 61–82.
- Spradley, J. (1979) *The Ethnographic Interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics Of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures And Techniques*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Strauss, A., and Corbin, J. (1994) *Grounded Theory Methodology: An Overview*. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 273–285) London: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Suddaby, R. (2006) 'From the Editors: What Grounded Theory Is Not', *Academy of Management Journal*, 49(4), pp. 633–642.
- Susskind, R. (2008) *The End of Lawyers?: Rethinking the nature of legal services*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Symon, G, Cassell, C. and Johnson, P. (2016) 'Evaluative Practices in Qualitative Management Research: A Critical Review', *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 20(1), pp. 134–154.
- Tajfel, H. and Turner, J. (1986) *The Social Identity Theory Of Intergroup Behavior*. In: Worchel, S. and Austin, W. (eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 33–47) Chicago: Nelson–Hall.
- Tanquerel, S. and Grau–Grau, M. (2019) 'Unmasking Work–Family Balance Barriers And Strategies Among Working Fathers In The Workplace', *Organization*, 27(5), pp. 1–21.
- Thornberg, R. and Charmaz, K. (2014) *Grounded Theory and Theoretical Coding*. In: Flick, U. (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis* (pp. 153–169) London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Thornberg, R. (2012) 'Informed Grounded Theory', *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 56(3), pp. 243–259.
- Thornton, M. (2016) 'Work/Life Or Work/Work? Corporate Legal Practice in The Twenty–First Century', *International Journal of the Legal Profession*, 23(1), pp. 13–39.
- Tilly, L. and Scott, J., W (1978) *Women, Work, and Family*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Timmermans, S. and Tavory, I. (2012) 'Theory Construction in Qualitative Research: From Grounded Theory to Abductive Analysis', *Sociological Theory*, 30(3), pp. 167–186.
- Torella, E. (2014) 'Brave New Fathers for a Brave New World? Fathers as Caregivers in an Evolving European Union', *European Law Journal*, 20(1), pp. 88–106.

- Tracy, S. and Rivera, K. (2010) 'Endorsing Equity And Applauding Stay-At-Home Moms: How Male Voices On Work-Life Reveal Aversive Sexism And Flickers of Trans-Formation', *Management Communication Quarterly*, 24(1), pp. 3–43.
- Tremblay, D. (2013) 'Can lawyers take parental leaves and if so, with what impacts? The case of Quebec', *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, 25(3) pp. 177–197.
- Uhlmann, E., Heaphy, E., Ashford, S., Zhu, L. and Sanchez-Burks, J. (2013) 'Acting Professional: An Exploration Of Culturally Bounded Norms Against Nonwork Role Referencing', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 34(6), pp. 866–886.
- Van Iddekinge, C., McFarland, L. and Raymark, P. (2007) 'Antecedents of Impression Management Use And Effectiveness In A Structured Interview', *Journal of Management*, 33(5), pp. 752–773.
- Van Maanen, J. and Kolb, D. (1985) *The Professional Apprentice: Observations on Fieldwork Roles in Two Organizational Settings*. In: Bacharach, S. (eds.) *Perspectives in Organizational Sociology* (pp. 1–33) Greenwich: JAI Press.
- Van Maanen, J. (1979) 'The Fact of Fiction in Organizational Ethnography', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24(4), pp.539–550.
- Van Maanen, J. (1998) *Qualitative Studies of Organizations*. Cambridge: Sage Publishing Limited.
- Van Maanen, J. (2011) 'Ethnography as Work: Some Rules of Engagement', *Journal of Management Studies*, 48(1). pp. 218–234.
- Vandello, J., Hettinger, V., Bosson, J. and Siddiqi, J. (2013) 'When Equal Isn't Really Equal: The Masculine Dilemma of Seeking Work Flexibility', *Journal of Social Issues*, 69(2), pp. 303–321.
- Wald, E. (2010) 'Glass Ceilings And Dead Ends: Professional Ideologies, Gender Stereotypes And The Future of Women Lawyers At Large Law Firms', *Fordham Law Review*, 78(5), pp. 2245–2288.
- Wall, G. and Arnold, S. (2007) 'How Involved Is Involved Fathering?: An Exploration Of The Contemporary Culture Of Fatherhood', *Gender and Society*, 21(4), pp. 508–527.
- Wang, A. (2020) *Author Interview: White Masculinity in Contemporary Australia*. Routledge. <https://www.routledge.com/blog/article/author-interview-white-masculinity-in-contemporary-australia> [accessed 1st February 2021].
- Warren, C. (1988) *Gender Issues in Field Research*. London: Sage Publications Limited.
- West, C. and Zimmerman, D. (1987) 'Doing Gender', *Gender & Society*, 1(2), pp. 125–151.
- Westphal, J. and Stern, I. (2006) 'The Other Pathway to the Boardroom: Interpersonal Influence Behavior as a Substitute for Elite Credentials and Majority Status in Obtaining Board Appointments', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 51(2), pp. 169–204.
- Westphal, J. and Stern, I. (2007) 'Flattery Will Get You Everywhere (Especially If You Are a Male Caucasian): How Ingratiation, Boardroom Behavior, and Demographic Minority Status Affect Additional Board Appointments at U.S. Companies', *The Academy of Management Journal*, 50(2), pp. 267–288.
- Wharton, A., Chivers, S. and Blair-Loy, M. (2008) 'Use Of Formal And Informal Work-Family Policies On The Digital Assembly Line', *Work and Occupations*, 35(3), pp. 327–350.
- Whitehead, A. (1917) *The Organization of Thought*. London: Williams and Norgate.

- Whyte, W. (1956) *The Organization Man*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Williams, J., Blair-Loy, M. and Berdahl, J. (2013) 'Cultural Schemas, Social Class, and the Flexibility Stigma', *Journal of Social Issues*, 69(2), pp. 209–234.
- Wolff, K. (1964) *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. New York: Free Press.
- Wunderman Thompson (2013) *The State of Men*. Available at <https://intelligence.wundermanthompson.com/2013/06/the-state-of-men/>. Accessed 1st May 2019.
- Yin, R. (1981) 'The Case Study as a Serious Research Strategy', *Knowledge*, 3(1), pp. 97–114.
- Yin, R. (2009) *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Zuo, J. (2004) 'Shifting the Breadwinning Boundary: The Role of Men's Breadwinner Status and Their Gender Ideologies', *Journal of Family Issues*, 25(6), pp. 811–832.
- Zuo, J., & Tang, S. (2000) 'Breadwinner Status and Gender Ideologies of Men and Women regarding Family Roles', *Sociological Perspectives*, 43(1), pp.29–43.

11. Appendices

11.1 Appendix 1 - Participant Consent Forms

Date:

Title of the research project: Contemporary fathering and competitive lawyering. An ethnographic investigation.

Researcher(s):

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and have understood the information sheet(s) dated [.....] regarding my involvement with [interviews], [participant observation], [diaries] for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my rights being affected. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.
3. I understand that, under the Data Protection Act 1998 I can at any time ask for access to the information I provide and I can also request the destruction of that information if I wish.
4. I agree for the data I provide to be archived at the University of Liverpool network. I understand that other authorised researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.
5. I agree to take part in the above study.
6. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.
7. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee.

Participant name

Date

Signature

Name of person taking consent

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

Principal Investigator (Gary Brown)

University of Liverpool Management School

0151 795 3144

browng@liverpool.ac.uk

Student Investigator (Martyn Bradley)

University of Liverpool Management School

07510759143

martyn.bradley@liverpool.ac.uk

11.2 Appendix 2 – Participant Information Sheets

Participant Information Sheet

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted in pursuance of a Doctor of Philosophy degree at University of Liverpool Management School. Before you decide whether to participate, it is important you understand the aims of the research and how these may relate to you and your involvement. Please take time to read the following information. If you have any questions please contact the Student Researcher or Principal Investigator, whose contact details are overleaf, before signing this form. We would emphasise that you do not have to accept this invitation and should only agree to take part if you want to. If you do sign this form, please note that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

Research Title:

Contemporary fathering and competitive lawyering. An ethnographic investigation

The Purpose of the study:

To discover how contemporary fathers manage the boundary between their work and family using the legal services industry as a case study.

Why you have been asked to participate:

The research requires the assistance of contemporary fathers working within the legal services industry. As you fit the prerequisites, the study would be obliged to receive your input.

Description of the expected involvement of participation in this study:

- At least one face-to-face interview (approximately 30-60 minutes in duration) will be conducted by the student researcher.
- Although the interview will consist of predetermined questions and consider selected themes in relation to the research area, the interview will encourage discussion of your thoughts, feelings and experiences.
- Each interview will be audio recorded and transcribed. Your anonymity will be assured in two ways. Firstly, each research participant will be assigned a random name and throughout the transcription be known only by that name. Secondly, any other identifying information will be removed during the transcription process. Audio files and transcribed data will be held electronically on no more than one password protected computer.

- If you have any concerns, please feel free to contact Dr Gary Brown directly who will be happy to assist and help resolve any issues. If you are still not satisfied you can raise your concerns directly with the Research Governance Officer by email (ethics@liv.ac.uk). If you feel it necessary to raise concern with the Research Governance Officer please ensure the researcher's name, title of research project and the nature of your concern are included in your email.

Contact Details:

Student Researcher:
Martyn Bradley
07510759143
martyn.bradley@liverpool.ac.uk

Principle Investigator:
Dr Gary Brown
0151 795 3144
brown@liverpool.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. It is common for research participants to have questions before the research process begins, if this is the case please contact the Student Researcher or Principal Investigator on the contact details above before signing this form.

Please note that by signing this form you are indicating that you have read and understood the information contained within this form and agree to participate in the study described.

Signature:..... Date:.....

Thank you for taking the time to consider participation.

Participant Information Sheet

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted in pursuance of a Doctor of Philosophy degree at University of Liverpool Management School. Before you decide whether to participate, it is important you understand the aims of the research and how these may relate to you and your involvement. Please take time to read the following information. If you have any questions please contact the Student Researcher or Principal Investigator, whose contact details are overleaf, before signing this form. We would emphasise that you do not have to accept this invitation and should only agree to take part if you want to. If you do sign this form, please note that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

Research Title:

Contemporary fathering and competitive lawyering. An ethnographic investigation

The Purpose of the study:

To discover how contemporary fathers manage the boundary between their work and family using the legal services industry as a case study.

Why you have been asked to participate:

The research requires the assistance of contemporary fathers working within the legal services industry. As you fit the prerequisites, the study would be obliged to receive your input.

Description of the expected involvement of participation in this study:

- The researcher will observe your day-to-day activities whilst at the office the duration of which will be no more than two working weeks. During this period, you may request that observation end with no reasons needed.
- The researcher will be recording information and observations regarding the environment and your day-to-day activities. No notes regarding third parties or clients will be taken.
- Any information recorded will be anonymized so that you, or any other party, are not able to be identified throughout the research paper. Written notes will be typed and stored in a password protected folder on the University of Liverpool's computer system. Any original notes will be destroyed once typed.
- If you have any concerns you please feel free to contact Dr Gary Brown directly who will be happy to assist and help resolve any issues. If you are still not satisfied you

- can raise your concerns directly with the Research Governance Officer by email (ethics@liv.ac.uk). If you feel it necessary to raise concern with the Research Governance Officer please ensure the researcher's name, title of research project and the nature of your concern are included in your email.

Contact Details:

Student Researcher:
Martyn Bradley
07510759143
martyn.bradley@liverpool.ac.uk

Principle Investigator:
Dr Gary Brown
0151 795 3144
brown@g@liverpool.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. It is common for research participants to have questions before the research process begins, if this is the case please contact the Student Researcher or Principal Investigator on the contact details above before signing this form.

Please note that by signing this form you are indicating that you have read and understood the information contained within this form and agree to participate in the study described.

Signature:..... Date:.....

Thank you for taking the time to consider participation.

Participant Information Sheet

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted in pursuance of a Doctor of Philosophy degree at University of Liverpool Management School. Before you decide whether to participate, it is important you understand the aims of the research and how these may relate to you and your involvement. Please take time to read the following information. If you have any questions please contact the Student Researcher or Principal Investigator, whose contact details are overleaf, before signing this form. We would emphasise that you do not have to accept this invitation and should only agree to take part if you want to. If you do sign this form, please note that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

Research Title:

Contemporary fathering and competitive lawyering. An ethnographic investigation

The Purpose of the study:

To discover how contemporary fathers manage the boundary between their work and family using the legal services industry as a case study.

Why you have been asked to participate:

The research requires the assistance of contemporary fathers working within the legal services industry. As you fit the prerequisites, the study would be obliged to receive your input.

Description of the expected involvement of participation in this study:

- The researcher is interested in learning about your day to day thoughts and feelings relating to the management of your work and family responsibilities by you recording these thoughts and feeling in diary form.
- You are able to stop recording diary entries at any time without reason with your information retracted from the research project.
- Any information you offer will be anonymized so that you, or any other party, are not able to be identified throughout the research paper.
- Your diary information will be typed and stored in a password protected folder on the University of Liverpool's computer system. Any original notes will be destroyed once typed.

- You will be given the opportunity to review the typed notes to ensure you are happy before an anonymised copy is created. Any requests for amendments or deletions should be made before the anonymised copy is created.
- If you have any concerns you please feel free to contact Dr Gary Brown directly who will be happy to assist and help resolve any issues. If you are still not satisfied you can raise your concerns directly with the Research Governance Officer by email (ethics@liv.ac.uk). If you feel it necessary to raise concern with the Research Governance Officer please ensure the researcher's name, title of research project and the nature of your concern are included in your email.

Contact Details:

Student Researcher:
 Martyn Bradley
 07510759143
 martyn.bradley@liverpool.ac.uk

Principle Investigator:
 Dr Gary Brown
 0151 795 3144
 brown@liverpool.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. It is common for research participants to have questions before the research process begins, if this is the case please contact the Student Researcher or Principal Investigator on the contact details above before signing this form.

Please note that by signing this form you are indicating that you have read and understood the information contained within this form and agree to participate in the study described.

Signature:..... Date:.....

Thank you for taking the time to consider participation.

11.3 Appendix 3 – Interview Schedule

First Wave Interview Schedule

Participant Name

Date

Questions

- Can you please tell me about your work role?
- Can you please tell me about your family role?

Notes

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Second Wave Interview Schedule

Participant Name

Date

Questions

- Many fathers have mentioned that their work roles are very intensive. What aspects of your work do you find challenging?
- Do you find yourself ever prioritizing one role over the other and, if so, which?
- It was suggested that *bringing family into the work setting* is unprofessional. I wonder if you could expand upon this and, if you agree, confirm the ways you might ensure that a crossover does not occur.
- It was suggested that fatherhood is not very prominent in the office. Is this something you have noticed or agree with?
- Can you please tell me more about your family role? Are there things you would consider your responsibility, exclusively, for instance?

Notes

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Third Wave Interview Schedule

Participant Name

Date

Questions

- Many fathers have suggested that they are very focussed in work and determined to be successful. If applicable can you elaborate on that aspect of your day to day work and, if so, confirm why work holds such importance?
- Is it important for you to support your family financially?
- Do you think supporting your family financially affects your time at home and with your family?
- Do you feel comfortable discussing matters of fatherhood with colleagues? If so, why or why not?
- We discussed previously how *bringing family into the work setting* was considered unprofessional. Fathers suggested they try and conceal aspects of their fathering roles throughout previous interviews. Can you explain why you or colleagues might take this approach to work?

Notes

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....