HANDBOOK OF GENDER, WORK & ORGANIZATION

EDITED BY

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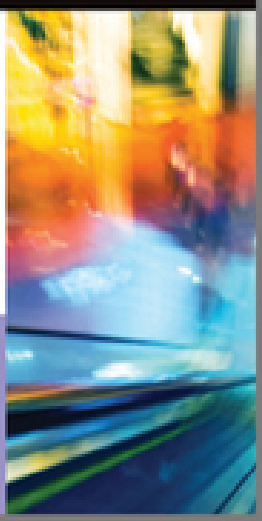

WILEY

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Editorial Introduction to Handbook of Gender, Work, and Organization

I. Background

As with many projects, this book had a serendipitous genesis in the sense that it was first proposed by the commissioning editor of a publisher who eventually was not the one with whom we agreed a contract. It started when the editor who wished to produce a Handbook of Gender and Organization approached Emma as a potential editor. Emma suggested approaching David since he had founded and edited the journal *Gender, Work and Organization* (GWO). In developing the proposal, it was agreed that alternative publishers should be reviewed and Blackwell became the obvious choice because of its ties to the journal. Shortly afterwards it was decided that an American co-editor should be part of the project. Upon being invited, Patricia agreed to be involved. Inevitably the project grew and developed along the way but we were pleased with the response to an initial call for chapters, with many notable scholars from across the globe accepting our invitation. Their participation has resulted, we trust, in a Handbook that makes a material contribution to the field of Gender, Work, and Organization.

Apart from the publicity potential, one reason for linking the Handbook to the journal relates to the reason for establishing the journal in the first place, although once again serendipity played a part. As with the Handbook, the publisher (Blackwell) approached Marilyn Davidson, David Knights, and Jill Rubery – at the Manchester School of Management – because they saw a niche for a professional journal on gender and equal opportunity that could bridge the academic–practitioner divide. They had in mind a journal something like *Personnel Review* with a focus on equal opportunity and a readership of personnel managers as much as academics. This prompted somewhat heated discussions whereby Jill and David agreed to continue negotiations only as long as the project was to develop a fully refereed academic

journal (Marilyn withdrew from involvement due to a potential conflict of interests as she was the editor of *Women in Management*). Jill is a labour economist with a strong focus on sex discrimination and David, an organizational sociologist who had conducted research on race and sex discrimination. The title for the journal reflected the interests of the two editors. However, it was also believed that during the 1970s, the contraction of sociology departments and expansion of management and business studies had resulted in an influx of sociologists to business schools, thus creating a potential academic market for the journal's content. At the time, the proportion of women academics was increasing rapidly, and largely because of sex discrimination and the rise of feminism many academics, especially but not only women, had direct or indirect interest in issues of equal opportunity and gender.

During the first couple of years, the journal struggled to secure sufficient high quality copy but the introduction of the UK Research Assessment Exercise (RAE)[1] combined with increasing numbers of social scientists and women in business or management schools helped resolve these problems. It steadily increased in circulation and status and after around 10 years of existence, secured Institute for Scientific Information (ISI) recognition.[2] Since then, GWO has enjoyed a 1+ impact factor and a second from the top ranking in the UK assessments for the RAE. At the time of writing, it is rated highly among women's studies journals worldwide (8th of 29) and respectably among management journals (54th of 89).[3] The journal's impact indicates the importance of studies that link the issues of gender, work and organization.

When Jill resigned as co-editor in 2003, David ran the journal for a year before securing an agreement with Blackwell for Deborah Kerfoot to share the editorship. Although eclectic in terms of focus, the journal was developed to advance an intellectual and theoretical stance that made it distinct from journals concerned primarily with equal opportunity for women. That is, it sought to address critically a broad feminist discourse that not only included theoretical and empirical analyses of women and femininities in relation to work and organization but also of men and masculinities in the same regard. Its popularity as a platform for publication expanded and was facilitated by what was to become a biennial international conference, the first of which was held in 1993. The popularity of the conferences demonstrates,

[1] Any journal at this time benefited from the introduction of the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE) by the UK government that was intended to raise the productivity of academics and eradicate professional restrictive practices. From there on the publication and other research outputs of academics were evaluated every four years and so it became increasingly important to secure publications in refereed journals.

[2] The ISI database contains 16 000 international journals, books, and proceedings in the sciences, social sciences, and arts and humanities. ISI publishes the Science Citation Index. The basic mission of ISI as a database publishing company is to provide comprehensive coverage of the world's most important and influential research. An important part of this data is the 8600 international journals that ISI covers on an annual basis. ISI indexes complete bibliographic data for every item covered, including English-language author abstracts, author and publisher addresses, as well as the cited references of every journal.

[3] Of course as a critical journal that seeks to challenge the Establishment, the editors have mixed feelings about this publisher and its academic-driven preoccupation with the rankings. To ignore them completely, however, is likely to leave the journal and its field forever reflecting the marginalized status of its subject matter.

we suggest, that a large nucleus of academics are interested in gender, work, and organization.

Following a trend in other journals, many Special Issues (SIs) have been published over the years reflecting some of the key debates within the field. Among the issues that have been covered are debates on gender relating to academic careers (Krefting and Richards, 2003), binaries and boundaries (Linstead and Brewis, 2004), emotion (Knights and Surman, 2008), ethnicity (Calás et al., 2010), leadership, service work (Kerfoot and Korcyzynski, 2005), sexual spaces (Pullen and Thanem, 2010), time (Sabelis et al., 2008), undoing gender (Pullen and Knights, 2007), gender as practice (Poggio, 2006), and work–life balance (Gregory and Milner, 2009). Several chapters in the Handbook reflect many of these debates and extend beyond them to include some of the latest thinking in gender and feminist theory, the relationship of gender discourses to issues of the body and embodiment, diversity, globalization, and the gendered organization. In 2002, the journal moved from four to five issues per year and in 2004 from five to six issues per year. In 2010, the journal enjoyed its 17th year of publication and, given the growing audience for the field, is continuing to expand globally with increasing demand from the economies of Asia and Latin America. These developments, which reflect a goal of understanding the diversity of experiences beyond a Western perspective, are particularly exciting.

The growing interest in this field of study demonstrates that issues of gender, work and organization remain a fruitful area of study. Concerns such as achieving fairness and equality in work and organizing practices (at work and outside work) remain unresolved and are often at the heart of research in this field. However the ways in which we have theorized and studied these challenges has been transformed over the years, as can be seen by the range of papers and special issues in the journal. For this reason, we trust the Handbook provides a timely opportunity for taking stock of the field and reflecting on the answers to such questions as: Where are we now? Where are we going? What remains to be done?

II. Reflections on Gender, Work, and Organization

According to Mary Jo Hatch (2010), nearly all theories of organizations and management ignore gender. It's not that they initially consider gender and then dismiss it (or other categorical distinctions). Rather, they are silent about gender, implicitly communicating that it is not an issue. They imply also that people are hired, assigned, evaluated, and rewarded (including promotions and pay rises) solely on the basis of their so-called objective qualifications and performance, not their gender, race/ethnicity, age, or social class. Yet, a large body of research documents the effects of gender (and other such characteristics) on work relations and interactions, including organizational policies and structures, in ways that belie any claims to 'objectivity' or 'gender neutrality' (Cockburn, 1988; Collinson, Knights, and Collinson, 1990; Roper, 1994; Pierce, 1995). Despite that research, hegemonic theories endure, remaining silent on gender, and thereby de-legitimating it as an issue and undermining assertions by any woman or man who believes she/he was discriminated against as a result of gendered institutionalized or interpersonal practices.

People who make such a claim, furthermore, are apt to find their associates not supporting them and possibly assuming that the problem lies with the complainer rather than the rules, routines, norms, or practices of the organization (J. Martin and Knopoff ,1997; see also Korvajärvi, this volume; J. Martin, this volume).

In sum, judgments at work about competence, performance, and related organizational dynamics are reflections of power relations and, as a result, are extensively conflated with the gender institution (Collinson and Hearn, 1996; Acker, this volume). No doubt, some gendered aspects of organizations have benign effects but others produce real harm (Fletcher, 1999; J. Martin, 1990). Harm is often done, furthermore, even when no one intends it. Multiple chapters in this Handbook substantiate these claims.

If key theories fail to shed light on how gender relates to work, organization, and management in a rapidly globalizing world, what can we do? Raewyn Connell (2007) says we must create new theories and new research agendas. We must interrogate and challenge the status quo and figure out the 'whats, whens, hows, and whys' of gender relations relative to knowledge creation and other kinds of work. Considerable progress in this regard has been made as evidenced by research on gendered work, gendered labour markets, gendered organizations, gendered management, gendering practices and dynamics, gendered leadership, and critical studies of masculinity/ies. Furthermore, scholarship on gender has encouraged researchers to think differently about other categorical distinctions such as race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, religion, able-bodiedness, and appearance. Future scholarship will, we hope, address these issues further and link them with each other, as some authors in this volume do.

Marxist analysis has long focused on social class in relation to work and organizations, although outside of a theoretical theory literature (see Cox, 1948; Higginbotham and Romer, 1997) and a Marxist Feminist literature (see Kuhn and Wolpe, 1978; Barrett, 1981) and has also (largely) ignored gender and race/ethnicity (J. Martin, 2001). Joan Acker's recent book, *Class Questions: Feminist Answers* (2006), integrates work on gender and race/ethnicity with that on social class to frame large organizations as inequality regimes. Acker explains that organizations are a key mechanism by which societal inequalities are created. Sex- and race-segregation of jobs and positions is one method and subtle dynamics associated with gendered perceptions and interactions are another (Blomberg, 2009). Organizations create social class disparities by (in part) segregating/crowding women and race/ethnic minority men into lower level positions and denying them opportunities, power, and control over resources. When they offer more opportunities and benefits to men than to women, to Westerners than to non-Westerners, to heterosexuals than to those with other sexual preferences, and so on, they create or reproduce inequality inside the organization and economic and social inequality in the society. Since much of today's social, cultural, political, and economic life is transacted in organizations (Perrow, 1991), viewing organizations as inequality regimes offers a window on how societal inequality is created and how it may be challenged. Several chapters in this Handbook expand on these themes (Bird and Rhoton; Benschop and Verloo J. Martin; Omanović).

Besides functioning as inequality regimes, most large organizations embrace a principle of corporate non-responsibility, in refusing to take responsibility for their

workers other than to hire and pay them, according to Acker (2006). Many refuse to assume responsibility for their communities also, including the physical environment (e.g. use of scarce water or pollution of water) and societal resources on which they depend – an able workforce, potable water, public hygiene, paved motorways, airports, railways, ships. Their obligation is, they say, to shareholders and profits. Due to the pervasiveness of organizations and a refusal to assume responsibility for their members' family obligations and society's infrastructure, even though they need both to function, they often exacerbate rather than help resolve the social, cultural, economic, and environmental problems that beset the planet (although corporate social responsibility initiatives, which are expanding globally, may eventually produce positive effects).

Gender, work, and organizations

In the 1980s, sociologists and management scholars began addressing gender in relation to jobs, occupations, organizations, and management.[4] Some noted the uneven distributions of women and men across jobs, positions, and organizations (e.g. Baron and Bielby, 1985; Bielby and Baron, 1986; Wharton and Baron, 1987) while others analysed how gendered ideology, stereotypes, and practices foster these results. Besides reporting statistics, e.g. nearly all managers are men and nearly all secretaries are women (cf. Kanter, 1977), they brought bodies and sexuality into the picture (e.g. Pringle, 1989; Hearn and Parkin, 1983), and they began focusing on gender dynamics (see below).

An early effort to make gender at work visible came from Joan Acker and Donald Van Houten (1974) critiquing the famous Westinghouse/Hawthorne wiring room experiments (Roethlisberger, Dickson, and Wright, 1939). Acker and Van Houten alleged that the pliability of workers in the experiments was due not only to the *Hawthorne effect* associated with heightened recognition and being the focus of the researchers' attention but also to (some) participants being women. For various reasons, they argued, women are assumed to be easier to control than men and more apt to work under poor conditions (e.g. in part because they have fewer options, rights, and opportunities; cf. Cockburn, 1988), thus suggesting that the researchers failed to consider women's greater compliance. Workers are not gender-free or dis-embodied, they said; workers have a gender and management often uses it for various ends (Acker and Van Houten, 1974). Even today, preferences for women and men in some jobs and positions are justified by reference to the superior 'fit' or qualifications of one gender over the other, even when research contradicts the claim. Some 16 years after that article, Acker (1990) published 'Hierarchies, Jobs, and Bodies: Toward a Theory of Gendered Organizations' in which she theorized gender in relation to 'embodied' workers and organizational jobs and hierarchies.

[4] Sex (male/female) as a basis for inequality in organizations was addressed as early as the 1970s but because 'sex' was often assumed to refer to biology, inequality scholars appropriated the term 'gender' which allowed them to focus on cultural, social, and political dynamics that cannot be explained by or reduced to biology.

Since that article appeared, thousands of scholars have built upon and been guided by its insights.[5]

Rosabeth Kanter's landmark book, *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977), reinforced Acker and Van Houten's claim that women and men experience organizations differently. Kanter concluded that women in situations where they are 'numerical tokens' (one or a few in contexts with many men) receive closer scrutiny at work because there are so few of them; their rarity draws men's attention and makes them vulnerable. Proportions, structures, and opportunities, more than gender, argued Kanter, are the explanations for women's disadvantages, suggesting that men who work mostly among women (as tokens) suffer as well. While later research failed to support Kanter's claim that 'men tokens' were disadvantaged (see Korvajärvi, this volume) or that women's token status was the prime cause of their disadvantages at work, her book nevertheless legitimated the questioning of gender relations. In rapid succession, a deluge of publications on gender and work, gender and organizations, and gender and management appeared, showing gender's conflation with work relations and dynamics.[6]

Jeff Hearn and Wendy Parkin (1983) produced another landmark contribution in the early 1980s on the neglect of sexuality in work and organization literature (see Hearn, this volume). Their analysis brought sexuality into discussions of gender and provided a foundation for later work on management as a specifically gendered and sexualized practice and structure. Many other seminal works, too numerous to enumerate, appeared throughout the 1980s, establishing baseline information about gendered dynamics and effects on both men and women. For example, R.W. Connell, in 1987, addressed the issue of gender in relation to cathexis (psychological/emotional energy including libidinous/sexual emotions) to argue that the body is both object and subject and that while gendered people are embodied; their behaviour cannot be 'reduced' to biology or to the body, a perspective that has been widely employed by scholars of gender, work, and organization (see Section Two). Early on, many studies of a statistical nature were done of 'sexual (later gender) inequality' at work/in organizations and were followed by many sex and race discrimination studies, some of which were supported by equal opportunity commissions. Such studies continue to appear and, in recent years, have become international in scope (cf. Walby, 2005; Zippel, 2006). During the1980s, it became recognized that discrimination operates in an informal manner and workplace ethnographies began appearing to illuminate those dynamics (e.g. Pollert, 1981; West, 1982; Westwood, 1984; Cockburn, 1988; Collinson, Knights, and Collinson, 1990; plus many more). A literature on masculinity and work (see below),

[5] Dana Britton and Laura Logan (2008) found (using Google) that 4660 articles had been published between 1990 and 2007 using the term 'gendered' in their title with many about 'gendered work', 'gendered space', and 'gendered labour markets'.

[6] Joanne Martin's (1990) article about a woman who had a baby by Caesarian section over a weekend to avoid missing work drew widespread attention to the issue in business school circles. Today, the issue of gender with regard to work and organizations is high on the research agenda of scholars in many fields – from sociology, to management, psychology, anthropology, therapy, politics, social movements, and religion, although less so in economics.

followed by more theoretical literatures that reflected three phases of feminism – traditional, modern, and postmodern – soon developed (see Beesley, 2005). While much of the latter work was broader than the spheres of work and organization, it nevertheless dramatically influenced work in this area (see J. Martin, 2001).

More recently, Calás and Smircich (2006) reviewed research and theory on gender and organizations in the decades of the 1990s and 2000s. Documenting the broad scope of work in the period, they noted that gender was studied in terms of identities, a cultural resource, ideology, practice and configurations of practice, frames and justificational accounts, symbols/symbolic systems, narratives, and a system of social relations. Similarly, they noted the varied theoretical and analytical methods scholars had used to study gender and organizations – including feminist theory, deconstruction, post-structural analysis, post-modern critique, social constructionism/tivism, critical theory, critical realism, actor-network theory, and ethnomethodology. Their findings confirm the wide-ranging intellectual perspectives employed by scholars in a number of disciplines, suggesting a vitally exciting area of interest and research.

Gender as process or practice?

Among the most heuristic contribution of gender scholars in recent decades is their re-framing of gender from a static/fixed, unchanging (indeed unchangeable) demographic status to a dynamic accomplishment. The revolution began in the late 1980s with the landmark publication by Candace West and Don Zimmerman of "*doing gender*" (1987). Building on Erving Goffman's work, they reframed gender from an ascribed status to a dynamic process which everyone is, they say, constantly 'doing'. In addressing why people continuously 'do gender', they said members of a society are held accountable to the norms of the gender system. Their attention to bodily displays of clothing, hairstyles, and mannerisms helped them differentiate sex as biology from gender as cultural accomplishment, and their insights about gender as an interactional achievement offered a way to explain the pervasive presence yet extensive variability of gender in families, workplaces, sports, the military, religion, and so on – in short, everywhere. Rejecting a 'sex roles' view of gender as what children are taught – and hold on to over the lifecourse – they noted that gender norms and practices vary with factors such as age, situations, and cultures. 'Doing gender' thus frames gender as malleable, variable, and changing rather than as natural, essential, and fixed.

Work on 'gender-as-process' has generally focused on one or both of two dynamics: discursive/narrative actions and material/physical/bodily actions.[7] Practising gender is generally defined as 'actions reflecting or constituting society's gender institution by invoking norms, stereotypes, empirical associations, meanings and/or interpretations (including masculinities and femininities) that are culturally or

[7] R.W. Connell, in *Gender and Power* (1987), advanced a re-conceptualization of gender as a socially constructed phenomenon and as sustained through practices and practising. He also analysed power associated with 'gender order' arrangements. Connell views the gender order as maintained (and altered) through practice(s)/practising.

socially associated with gender' (P. Martin, 2009). Scholars in diverse fields have tried to capture gender's processual qualities by creating new concepts, such as gender as strategic narrative assertions (Kondo, 1990), performing/performative (Butler, 1990), maneuvering (Schippers, 2002), displaying (Schrock and Padavic, 2007), mobilizing (P. Martin, 2001), and socio-spatial practices (Bird and Sokolofski, 2005). The dynamics of gender are at once pervasive, subtle, individual, collective, and relational. Furthermore, they are difficult to study because what one intends often differs from how others perceive one's comment or bodily action. Thus, perceptions and interpretations are key to understanding gendering dynamics.

Over time, work and organization scholars appropriated these and other concepts, and invented new ones, to study gender in jobs/occupations and work organizations. Among the early pioneers were, for example: Rosemary Pringle (1989) in a study of secretaries who flirt and use sexual tensions to get their way; Joanne Martin's (1990) documentation of a woman who had a child by Caesarian section over a weekend in order to avoid missing work; Barbara Reskin's (1988) description of powerful (white) men who make rules at work to assure their privileges; Cynthia Cockburn (1988) who found that gender, not rational/technical necessity, determined who held particular jobs (e.g. the most interesting, varied, and mobile were reserved for men, the most repetitive, stationary, and least attractive were assigned to women). Sam Cohn's (1986) comparison of British Railways with the UK Post Office asked why women were recruited into the postal service decades before they were at British Rail. The reason, he argued, is that the postal service is more labour intensive and management took advantage of women's cheap(er) labour. British Rail, which is more capital-intensive, preserved men's 'good jobs' and protected them from 'cheaper' women for a full 100 years. Similar patterns of recruitment can be seen in several occupations that have been feminized (e.g. banking, nursing, and teaching) over the years.

Critical studies of men and masculinities

As work on gender, work, and organizations accelerated, 'why' questions rose to the fore. Why is it that women are regularly denied positions, opportunities, awards, honours, and privileges, compared to men?[8] In due course, attention focused on men and masculinities. Reporting on empirical research, David Collinson and David Knights began writing about masculinity at work in the mid 1980s. One study (Collinson and Knights, 1986) focused on how women clerical workers often became emotional but largely because of the pressure of work and frequently accumulating backlogs. While these women's response was a function of their subordination, male managers saw the emotional behaviour as simply confirming their prior masculine prejudices

[8] Economists answer this question by saying it is women's choice. Women, compared to men, prioritize home and family and their lower status and lesser opportunities at work are due to their having chosen to place less emphasis on achievement at work so they could devote themselves to home and family. Men, in contrast, 'choose' the opposite. The problem with rational choice theory is that it ignores the cultural, social, and political conditions of choice. As the more powerful gender, the choices of men to concentrate on their careers at the expense of domestic responsibilities have implications for women's choices.

regarding female irrationality. Another study (Knights and Collinson, 1987) suggested that the masculinity of shopfloor manual workers served only to reproduce their subordination and under-privilege. Identification with masculine norms and values of solid, 'down to earth' and 'hard' facts led them to respect the certainty of mathematical numbers deployed by the accountants and this left them bereft of any basis to challenge their redundancy when the company sought to downsize.

In a highly entertaining analysis that took a pot shot at some famous male authors, Marta Calás and Linda Smircich (1991) deconstructed managerial 'leadership' to reveal its masculine, seductive, and sexually aggressive character that implicitly frames women as unqualified for management positions. Other work theorized discourses of masculinity as reflecting and reproducing a preoccupation with conquest, competition, and control, and being driven endlessly to secure the sense of what it is to be a man (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993; 1994).[9] David Collinson and Jeff Hearn (1994) claimed, that men 'act like men' when doing managerial work; that is, they enact masculinities when managing. They do not manage in gender-neutral ways. Their paper reflected the emergence of this new 'critical studies of men and masculinities at work', and was followed by an edited book (Collinson and Hearn, 1996) that consolidated the field, inspiring other scholars to follow suit. For example, Frank Barrett (1996) showed how Navy men doing largely clerical tasks (stereotypically women's work) frame their jobs as masculine to protect their masculine identities; Deborah Kerfoot and David Knights (1996) showed how male managers benefit from 'masculine discourses and subjectivities that are privileged in contemporary managerial and organizational work' (p. 79) yet have identities that are precarious and involve a compulsive, almost insatiable demand for social confirmation through the symbols of material and symbolic success (p. 91); Michael Roper (1994) exposed the dynamics of men's 'homosocial desire' in managerial relations and work. Such studies reflect only a small part of the literature on masculinities at work – a literature that is increasingly attracting more women authors (see Hope; Kenny and Bell; and Wolkowitz, this volume).

For reasons we do not fully understand, although the domination of masculine norms and values in most organizations may go some way to explain, less research has been done on femininities than masculinities with regard to work and organizations.[10] Even work that has been done often focuses on extra-work social relations among women, implying that women focus on non-work phenomena such as friendships, baby showers,[11] and birthdays, while men focus more on official goals (but see Jackall, 1988). Little research addresses positive features of femininity

[9] A number of authors (Connell, 1987; Brittan, 1989; Seidler, 1989; Cohen, 1990; Rutherford, 1992) were writing on masculinity at this time but they paid little attention to work and organization. However, they provided the inspiration for authors seeking to conduct empirical research that saw masculine discourses as important in the study of gender at work.

[10] Women secretaries have been studied extensively (Kanter, 1977; Pringle, 1989) as have certain other occupational groups (see Pierce (1995) on lawyers and paralegals; Britton (2003) on prison guards). Dellinger and Williams' (1997) study of women's make-up and bodies shows that both women and men hold women accountable to feminine appearance standards at work (Kenny and Bell, this volume).

[11] A baby shower celebrates the imminent arrival of a baby, usually involving gifts for the mother-to-be and a party.

in the workplace such as nurturing, supporting, or protecting and little asks if women benefit when they enact certain kinds of masculinity (but see Korvajärvi, this volume). Perhaps femininity and women are stigmatized because their cultural connotations are antithetical to capitalist/neoliberal discourse and practice, being stereotypically equated with weakness, submissiveness, emotionality, sexuality, and appearance while masculinity and men are stereotypically associated with strength, domination, winning, rationality, and control (Knights and Kerfoot, 2004).

While neither depiction is confirmed by research, the capacity of stereotypes to influence perceptions and actions should not be underestimated (Ridgeway, 2010). When women act 'like one of the boys' (e.g. in resisting sexual harassment or telling 'dirty' jokes), they are often severely sanctioned (e.g. Collinson and Collinson, 1996; Padavic, 1991) as they are if they litigate legal cases aggressively (Pierce, 1995). Jennifer Pierce's study of men and women litigators (and men and women paralegals) concludes that job/occupation and gender in law firms are so conflated that one cannot describe either accurately without reference to the other.[12] The job of litigator is not the same job for women as it is for men, since norms associated with the gender institution allow men to behave in ways that they deny to women (cf. Lorber, 1994). In any case, further work on femininities at work, particularly to identify how, when, and where (if at all) women and men perceive femininity as being practised as well as how, when, and where they fail to see it would be useful. As P. Martin (2001) found, women associates of high status men in corporations thought men were 'acting like men' no matter what they did, even when engaging in behaviour that is stereotypically seen as feminine (e.g. making decisions based on affect, showing support to each other irrespective of merit, and 'visiting' – that is, spending time talking casually with others instead of doing 'official' work).

Bodies/embodiment at work

As noted, research on gender, work and organization has recently focused on bodies (see Section Two). A corpus of research documents how organizations use bodies, sex, and sexuality for 'corporate ends' and the bodily aspects of work relationships and tasks (e.g. Dellinger and Williams 1997). Christine Williams demonstrated how men and women nurses and women and men Marines were subjected to gender dynamics that affected their work relations and feelings of success (see also Hope, this volume). Women Marines, for example, were required to wear feminine garb and make-up. Several chapters in this volume address bodies in relation to gender, work, and organizations and explore how organizations discipline bodies and how workers use their bodies to advantage. As Hearn notes (this volume), interest in sexuality in relation to work, organization, and management is growing at an accelerating rate (cf. Williams, Giuffre, and Dellinger, 1998).

[12] Men litigators reject any criticism from women paralegals (and indeed require them to approve of and support them in every respect) yet they accept it from men paralegals. Men litigators also encourage men paralegals to drink beer and play sports with them and apply for law school but do none of these things with or for women paralegals.

Organizational change: toward gender equity

Another recent development concerns interventions aimed at improving gender equity, including eliminating sexual harassment at work. Concerns with equity, fairness, and respectful behaviour are implicit in nearly all research on gender and organizations but recent research has evaluated initiatives to produce positive change. After the Beijing Platform of 1995, many European national governments began paying attention to 'gender mainstreaming' in all aspects of society and instituted gender training programmes (although European Union equal opportunity law and specific programmes for women's advancement at the national level and some at EU level go back further; see Woodward, this volume; Casey, this volume). Recent comparative research on sexual harassment and 'solutions' to the problem of sexual harassment show that it has a range of meanings in different societies. Abigail Saguy (2003), for example, explores why French culture and law assign the responsibility for sexual harassment to individuals, not organizations, whereas US law makes organizations and employers responsible. US organizations are required to adopt explicit rules for behaviour and occasionally are forced by the courts to pay fines for failing to enforce them. Kathin Zippel (2006) shows how the concept of 'mobbing' (harassment) is framed as 'gender-neutral' (or inclusive) in Germany and other EU nations whereas sexual harassment is understood in the US as (primarily) a gender issue, that is, focused on men's improper behaviour toward women (Hearn, this volume).

The good news is that efforts have been (and are being) taken to improve gender equity on an international scale, with some producing impressive successes, as chapters in this volume show (see Woodward; Casey). Initiatives at a more local level, that is neither national nor international, have also been extensively undertaken. One major project, funded by a Ford Foundation grant to the (US) Simmons College School of Management attempted to help corporations and non-governmental organizations improve on gender equity in the US and beyond. Research on the success of their efforts showed modest results; however, as Ely and Meyerson (2000) found, a 'gender agenda' is often lost because other issues – profits, efficiency, productivity – crowd it out. Several chapters in this volume report efforts by women, individually and collectively, to improve gender equity at work (Bird and Rhoton; Benschop and Verloo), although J. Martin (this volume) concludes, sadly, that little evidence shows the realization of significant gender equity, either historically or today. Still, justice for women and race/ethnic minorities as well as for lesbians, gays, and the transgendered is sometimes possible at work, as Giuffre, Dellinger and Williams (2008) show (cf. Thanem, this volume). We hope for more research on intervention strategies that produce positive results, including the identification of organizational and societal conditions that foster lasting gender equity (see J. Martin, this volume).

It is no exaggeration to say that, 50 years ago, the odds that a specialty area of gender, work, and organization could develop would have seemed remote. Gender was not even a scholarly term except in relation to Romance languages where nouns are 'male' or 'female' and require gendered pronouns to precede them. Today, studies and theories related to gender proliferate and men as well as women participate in this development. With the 'discovery' that 'men also have gender', gender research and theory have gained the interest of men who are critical of the kinds

of masculinities that prevail in society and which condition their behaviour. As we move into the second decade of the twenty-first century, we encourage academics in the area of gender, work, organization and management to continue pushing the field forward by asking hard questions and refusing to settle for simple answers. We also hope that interest in gender and globalization continues to grow. As corporations, the United Nations, and military organizations (national and multinational) confront gender, we urge them to dedicate resources to the creation of fairness and justice for all.

While 'small wins' by individual women are helpful (Meyerson and Tompkins, 2007) and perhaps vital to eventual success, alone they will not be enough (see Kenny and Bell; Benschop and Verloo; Brewis, this volume). To achieve gender equity at work, change efforts must target all levels of social reality – including the individual but also organizations and entire societies as well as transnational organizations and initiatives. Gender equity proponents must also continue raising awareness of the systemic nature of the problem and challenging neoliberalism as a principle for social relations and dynamics. Otherwise, as chapters in this volume document, they will fall short of success.

III. Gender Equality in Organizing and Work

It is perhaps important to ask the question as to why we need to link gender, work, and organization, and what productive purpose this might serve. The arguments for this are numerous and, we feel, compelling. First, it is through work and formal organizations primarily that men have secured their economic, political, and social dominance such that questions of sex and other discriminations as well as issues of equal opportunity have become challenges for government, feminists, and profeminists. It is also because of the unpaid work that women have traditionally done or been cajoled into doing in the informal domestic arena and family that they have suffered unfair disadvantage when competing with men in the formal economy. Not that this is a one-way track, for sex and other discriminations at work and in public organizations feed back into the domestic sphere, often to reproduce inequalities in the home. It is appropriate to see the inequalities and discriminations in work organizations and in domestic relations as conditions and consequences of one another (see Brewis, this volume). Within the domestic division of labour men are either absent or on the periphery and this condition disadvantages women in the formal economy. However, there are other gendered conditions in the workplace such as dominant masculine cultures, sexism, and discrimination that privilege men and have a tendency to reinforce the prevailing domestic division of labour, often on the basis (although not exclusively) of economic rationality. Thus particularly in heterosexual partnerships,[13] economic rationality may dictate a continuity of sex

[13] Of course, the heterosexual partnership is no longer the most common form of household in Western societies. Single households and non-heterosexual partnerships combined would represent a larger proportion of households. However, single mothers suffer even more disadvantages than those in heterosexual relationships since they have the domestic burdens without the potential economic compensations.

inequality. But, of course, embedded gendered expectations and routines in both spheres reproduce inequalities that are far from economically rational. This vicious cycle persists despite the interventions of feminism and liberal legislation that have only marginally restrained the dynamics that harm women.

Feminists have struggled with these issues for generations but ideological and practical divisions (Ramazanoglu, 1989) have prevented them from forming a united front. Liberal, anarchic, Marxist, socialist, radical, black, eco, postcolonial, corporeal, poststructuralist, and postmodern feminisms (Beasley, 1999) all have disciples and detractors and this kind of diversity renders collective solidarity in pursuit of a unified political objective difficult if not impossible to achieve. However, the issues of work in domestic and non-domestic spheres offer the potential for a unified, collaborative and collective challenge to gender stereotypes, inequalities, and opportunities, although other issues complicate the picture, e.g. those related to social class, ethnicity, race, impairment, age, postcolonialism, sexual preference, ecology, and globalization. Only limited progress in linking different aspects of diversity (see Costea; Omanović this volume) has been made within what can be described as predominantly white middle class gender studies (Young, 2005). This is because the gender literature has been dominated by the immediate concerns to reverse centuries of sex discrimination within white middle class Western societies. Consequently, other aspects of diversity and discrimination have been neglected. However this is changing in studies of intersectionality (Acker; Calás and Smircich, this volume), transgender (Thanem, this volume) and diversity (Costea; Omanović, this volume). There is then no theoretical or empirical reason as to why a focus on gender, work, and organization should neglect any aspect of discrimination or injustice, since all are linked with the world of work and organization.

In multiple Sections of the Handbook, the issues of class, diversity, sexuality, postcolonialism, and globalization are discussed in the context of gender, work, and organization. Theoretically, the stimulus for this effort comes from the diversity of feminist perspectives that gender, work, and organization scholars have employed. Liberal feminists have helped secure some of the political and equal opportunity rights that benefit women and minorities in organizations and (though limited) in the home (see Benschop and Verloo, this volume). Other feminisms – from Marxist, radical, and postcolonial to various poststructural perspectives – have challenged the limitations of liberal feminist approaches not least because even on their own terms of seeking equal opportunity and with the support of legislation, they often fail. The liberal feminist demand to be 'the same as men' masks the institutionalized privileges that benefit men and that men take for granted as a right (see Hope, this volume).

Yet all approaches have limitations, as chapters in this Handbook show. For example, identity and standpoint theorists seek primarily to displace men while neglecting to transform the hierarchical power relations that sustain inequality. While making race and ethnicity central to their analyses, postcolonial theorists often reproduce mind–body binaries and fail to realize the full impact of globalization and transmigration (Calás and Smircich, this volume). Poststructuralists identify the performative nature of gender and sexuality but their linguistic focus leaves the body inaccessible through anything other than language (Grosz, 1994; 2005). And

yet, whatever their differences, all feminisms are committed to achieving gender equity and social justice. Clearly the world of work and organization offers sites where inequity and social injustice have flourished not least because men dominate senior positions and embrace a discourse of masculinity that takes for granted and justifies their privileges (Reskin, 1988; also Acker, this volume). The discourse of masculinity is embedded in everyday practices that often go unnoticed. Yet when this discourse is combined with women's lesser status and exclusion from positions of power, it routinely produces gender inequality.

Despite attempting to outlaw indirect discrimination, equal opportunity legislation rarely exposes or challenges the ways in which masculine culture disadvantages women (and some men) at work (e.g. Pierce, 1995). It is important, as many of our chapters show, to render the construction and reproduction of masculinity and gender more visible within the processes and practices of work and organization. Without question, contemporary organizational practices privilege behaviour that is normatively masculine in being assertive, instrumental, and self-seeking and that focuses on competition, conquest, and control (Kerfoot and Knights, 1993). Insofar as the inconsistencies, instabilities, and tensions underlying masculine discourses and practices are embedded in everyday organizational routines, they are often hidden from view (Martin, 2001). However, multiple authors in this volume subject these routines, discourses, and assumptions to critical investigation in ways that reveal their implications for gender equity and justice in work, organizations, and management.

IV. Overview of Sections and Chapters

This Handbook provides an overview of the 'state of the field' of gender, work, and organization and offers insights into its future by proposing strategies for (re)thinking gender in the context of subjectivity, work, organization, and society. A Handbook seeks to bring together a range of original contributions on a single theme. This Handbook differs from a 'reader' (a collection of already published and significant work) in constituting a collection of original materials reflecting the breadth of the field including theoretical developments that, we hope, will transform future thinking. The text was compiled with a goal of communicating to those new to the field and providing them with an enticing introduction to issues and debates on gender, work, and organization. The chapters will, we hope, also inspire established scholars who are well-versed in the debates and are looking for material to move the field forward. For such reasons, we encouraged our authors to locate their texts in contemporary debates, to extend theoretical insights, and to provide references that facilitate further enquiry.

In reflecting key issues, the chapters emphasize theoretical developments that conceptualize gender, work, and organization as a field. However many chapters also present extensive empirical evidence in support of a claim or thesis, while others focus on political and/or economic understandings that can be utilized to address persistent gender inequalities. For this reason, we hope the Handbook will appeal to those interested in understanding why things happen and to those who want answers to the question of, 'So what can we do about it?'

Strategies identified in the chapters go beyond those concerned with equal opportunity for women and/or race/ethnic minorities at work. Many so-called change strategies, our authors allege, simply reproduce the status quo of hierarchical and masculine dominated organizations where women are expected to change or 'to fit in'. What is needed, they argue, are strategies of 'doing gender' in ways that radically challenge the organization of work – and the work of organizations – and that have potential for transforming self and society while undermining and delegitimating 'business as usual'.

One challenge in assembling the Handbook was how to organize the chapters. In the event, we came up with five Sections (see below) which, we hope, readers will find useful. An ordering device was needed to make the text intelligible, but of course the issues raised within these Sections are inextricably linked. Indeed the Sections were revised during the development of this Handbook, based on the chapters as they evolved. In the end, we structured the text around five themes, as follows: histories and philosophies; embodiment and identities; organizing work in relation to gendering; diversity; and globalization. The variation in Section sizes (e.g. the shorter Diversity Section) reflects the outcomes of negotiations with authors and our assessments of how the chapters linked.

The first Section, *Histories and Philosophies of Gender, Work and Organization*, presents theoretical perspectives that are being employed to investigate gender, work, and organization. It focuses on dominant themes of the present day and contextualizes this work within the broad history of feminism. Following this philosophical underpinning, the next Section, *Embodying Organizations, Organizing Bodies, and Regulating Identities*, challenges the tendency for literature on work and organization to be disembodied, with embodiment denied, marginalized, or taken for granted. This Section theorizes the body in relation to gendering by addressing difficulties encountered in choosing between approaches that gender, degender, and/or ungender the body. Embodiment is implicated too in the third Section, *Organizing Work and the Gendered Organization*, where the authors explore the body as situated in organizing practices. These chapters focus on how gender inequality is sustained by working practices and explore strategies that can be employed to overcome inequality. The themes of fairness and organizational performance are addressed in the fourth Section, *Diversity in/and Management and Organizations*, where gender and sexuality are embedded within the broader frame of diversity and diversity management, acknowledging that gender in isolation does not provide the 'full' picture. Authors in the Diversity Section focus on philosophical underpinnings of diversity claims and dynamics and review how the field has evolved from equal opportunities to diversity management. They theorize and critique these developments. The fifth and final Section of the Handbook, *Globalization and Gender in/and Management and Organizations*, addresses global aspects of gender, work, and organization. These chapters analyse the role of transnational organizations such as the United Nations, European Union, and the military institution worldwide in fostering or resisting gender inequality. The final chapter challenges readers to view ourselves as 'transmigrants' in a 'transnational' world and the many forms of this new global reality.

Authors in this Handbook reflect the international field of study, both in terms of the context for particular studies and the origins of the authors, with contributions

from Europe, United States, Australasia, and the Middle East. They draw from a range of intellectual/academic fields including management, political science, sociology, development studies, and cultural studies. Although there is a 'Western' bias to the text, this bias regrettably reflects the nature of the field. Most literature today originates in the West or is written by Western authors with an interest in developing economies. One challenge in creating the Handbook was finding authors who write 'on' non-Western contexts whilst simultaneously working 'within' it.

This Handbook offers no final precepts and refuses to represent the themes it includes as particularly critical or pressing. Any such overview would, we feel, distract from the complexity of the field and over-simplify ideas expressed in the chapters. Thus, we allow each chapter to 'speak for itself'. We introduce the Sections by noting key themes and summarizing the chapters it includes. We also note any links between chapters, both within and across Sections. Yet, we hope our 'voice' in this endeavour does not distort or detract from the contributions of the authors themselves.

V. How to Use the Handbook

Without wishing to prescribe how to use the Handbook, some orientation for using the text may be useful. The book will, we anticipate, be used in the service of exploring one of three foci: work and/or organization of which gender is an essential part; gender as the primary interest in the context of work and/or organization; and the simultaneous intersections of gender, work and organization.

We use the term organization as both a noun and a verb, not only the 'thing itself' but also as a process of organizing. For those interested in work and organization, the text offers insights into how and why certain structures and practices are in evidence and why some policies and practices are effective while others are not. The Handbook can foster understanding of the nature of organizational life and the gendered experiences of work and organization, including how gender is used as an organizing principle and the sense(s) in which organizations are gendered.

For those interested primarily in gender, the Handbook offers insights into how gender is experienced in the context of work where a considerable amount of time is spent (and where the effects can be seen 'outside' of work) and the organizing practices that are implicated in shaping identity, with effects on work/home-life, health, and relationships. As demonstrated by several chapters, while the focus is on the contexts of work and organization, gender is understood in light of organizing practices; thus our contributors draw on a range of theoretical and empirical sources. Scholars working in the field of gender can explore the gendered experiences of work and organization, the interconnections between gender, work, and organization, and the intersectionalities of gender, race, class, sexuality, and ethnicity.

For those with less interest in the philosophical underpinnings of gender, work, and organization, Sections 2–5 may be of primary interest. Chapters in these Sections demonstrate how organizing practices are not gender-neutral but are infused with gender that is impossible to ignore when viewed as embodied rather than disembodied. These Sections explore how experiences and inequalities are conceptualized and managed through diversity programmes and how global dynamics are affecting

gender relations at work. Alongside several theoretical chapters, some chapters explore the contexts of work and ways of organizing that affect gender relations and dynamics.

The Handbook aims to offer insights into the fields of gender, work, and organization and the intersections between them. The Section headings, we hope, orient readers but do not imply that they are mutually exclusive or separable. The introduction to each Section can be seen as a guide to the main thesis of each chapter and a method of highlighting links between chapters and Sections. (Links are made in the volume when a related chapter provides a useful point of reference.) Lastly, references for the chapters can help readers who want to explore particular issues and/or areas in more depth.

Inevitably a text like this cannot be exhaustive and indeed we hope to avoid such a masculine strategy (Clough, 1992). Certain themes are covered more extensively than others. Concern with the marginalization of and inequalities experienced by women means that, as is typical of the field, there is a focus on women (and femininity) more so than on men (and masculinity). Feminist influences may account for this result although, in part, the tendency for researchers to treat work/organization as 'gender-neutral' is another impetus for this focus. In the text, assertions of 'neutrality' are seen as a normalization of the masculine; our authors claim that neutrality is often confused with the masculine-as-norm. In this sense, the management and organizational literature is not only often mainstream but also malestream in ignoring how the organizing of work and experiences of being organized are gendered in ways that harm women. Even the critical management literature is not immune to such criticism.

As discussed above, the scope of the text is international yet it is also predominantly 'Western' in outlook. Also, in focusing on 'current' ideas in the field, we have sacrificed detailed attention to the feminist canon that has developed over years. Thus, the chapters give little attention to radical/liberal debates (even though they are implied in many chapters), Marxist feminisms, and/or the different 'waves' of feminism (cf. Hope, this volume). In covering broad theoretical issues, and exploring work and organizing practices at the organizational level, there was less opportunity to consider the full range and variety of organizing practices that are traditionally explored with regard to workplaces, e.g. human resource management, leadership, negotiation, and teamwork (but see Sinclair on leadership, this volume).

What the Handbook does do, across all Sections, is focus on persisting inequalities in ways that give the text theoretical and political purpose. The importance of the issue resides in the fact that when we examine organizations today, we find they remain dominated by the 'traditional' white, male, senior manager. Evidence of systematic discrimination against women, particularly mothers and women of childbearing age, and the denigration of feminine modes of working, writing, and/or organizing continue unabated. These dynamics can be seen in the types of work done by women and men, in their respective career trajectories, and in their differing abilities to advance in organizational hierarchies. This Handbook provides a critique of gendered decisions, behaviours, and processes within work and organization; it exposes the myths of gender-neutrality; and it challenges gender myopic traditions that many take for granted. Myths and traditions obscure and reproduce the

very mechanisms of organizing that maintain gendered inequalities. Although the embodied nature of work and organization is the focus of one Section, it is evident in chapters throughout. Similarly while diversity is covered in Section Four, it is addressed also in discussions of intersectionality. The social construction of gender, the 'doing' and 'becoming' of gender, predominate in the chapters, again reflecting the field at this time. Gender offers only one lens for understanding work and organization, of course, but we hope our selection of chapters, written by internationally renowned academics representing multiple disciplines, genders, and cultures, provides a useful guide to all who are interested in gender, work, and organization. If the Handbook does its job, others will take up the mantle and create the next stage of theoretical and empirical work.

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