Organizations, Occupations, and Work

A Section of the American Sociological Association **Spring 1999 Newsletter**

From the Editor

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This issue of the newsletter extends the gender focus of the Fall 1998 issue by examining several perspectives on the study of race and ethnicity, as well as gender, within organizations, occupations, and work. It includes four articles reviewing the state of current scholarship and knowledge about these areas, as well as a cartoon from *The New Yorker* which provides a glimpse of popular commentary on the subject. Together, the articles and cartoon suggest that there is much yet to be both known and changed in these areas. I encourage readers who would like to use these pages for dialogue about these concerns to submit new articles and/or responses to these.

While there is no article in this newsletter about the currently controversial Freedom of Information Act, I encourage readers to read Felice Levine's "Open Window" column on this subject in the April 1999 issue of *Footnotes*. Information is also available on the ASA website (www.asanet.org). I encourage readers to support H.R. 88, which would repeal the FOIA provisions of the 1999 Omnibus Spending Law.

Because my current plan for the Fall 1999 issue is to make its theme our state of knowledge about education for and in today's and tomorrow's workplace, I encourage reader submissions in this area. For reasons of both space and relevance, I ask that you think in terms of the length requirements given on page 15 and contact me by e-mail prior to finalizing any submission. Thanks!

Thematic Articles:

The Realities of Affirmative Action in Employment

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Nothing about affirmative action is simple. This means that even people who are generally well informed about labor markets and discrimination are often misinformed about affirmative action. I base this claim on my own experience. In June of 1997, under the auspices of the Spivack Program in Applied Social Research and Social Policy, ASA convened a group of 14 social scientists (myself included) with expertise in discrimination, employment, labor markets, public opinion, or public policy for two days of information sharing prior to my beginning to assemble, assess, and synthesize social science knowledge on affirmative action in employment. The group was impressive, and our collective knowledge was considerable. But it became clear over the two days that we all had major gaps and misunderstanding in our knowledge of affirmative action in employment.

The purpose of *The Realities of Affirmative Action in Employment* (a 118-page booklet published by the ASA) is to help us fill in those gaps by synthesizing what social scientists know about affirmative action. My fantasy on undertaking this project was that policy-makers and the public would seize this opportunity of getting a unbiased and accessible account, read it at one sitting, and then go out and make some good public policy. (Well, they've been busy, I guess.) The editor of this newsletter thought readers might be interested in a summary of the book.

The book begins by defining affirmative action in employment as: "Policies and procedures designed to combat on-going job discrimination in the workplace." This definition is my own. No definition exists that enjoys any consensus, and since affirmative action is an umbrella term for a variety of quite different activities, I constructed a definition after I learned what activities affirmative action in the U.S. actually entailed. Below I describe four major types of affirmative action and briefly summarize the effectiveness of each. I've structured the rest of this summary in terms of myths and realities to reduce your having to read (and my having to write) boring text.

Types of Affirmative Action

1. The federal contract-compliance program. The only private employers that are required by federal regulations to practice affirmative action are businesses that hold federal contracts of at least $50,000 and employ at least 50 people. Federal contractors (about three percent of U.S. firms) are required by 1965 and 1967 Presidential executive orders to take affirmative steps to ensure that they do not discriminate against workers based on their race, national origin, religion, or sex. Subsequently, federal laws extended the contract-compliance program to include Vietnam veterans and disabled Americans, although reporting requirements differ for these two groups and I found no evidence regarding the effective-

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ness of those programs. Federal contractors and their subcontractors must take affirmative action to recruit, hire, and promote minorities, women, Vietnam-era veterans, and the disabled whenever those groups are under-represented in jobs relative to the availability of qualified prospective workers in the labor pool. The actions required include analyzing the reasons for groups' underrepresentation, developing and executing programs designed to eliminate under-representation, and monitoring progress. Nixon added the requirement that contractors establish written goals and timetables for achieving those goals based on the composition of the qualified labor pools. Because the OFCCP is part of the executive branch of government, enforcement of the executive order has depended heavily on who occupies the presidency. Econometric studies indicate that during the 1970s, the federal contract compliance program had a modest impact on black men's job opportunities. It's harder to establish the effect for women, given the rapid growth of women's labor force participation during the 1970s. In the 1980s enforcement slowed to almost a standstill; as a result, the program seems to have done little to reduce discriminatory barriers. Some research for the 1990s shows an impact.

2. Affirmative action by government employers. The relevant regulations -- presidential executive orders by Johnson and Nixon -- admonish government employers to make "affirmative efforts" not to discriminate on the basis of race, sex, etc. However, the orders give agency heads considerable autonomy, and no sanctions exist. Thus, it is difficult to assess what if any difference these regulations have made.

3. Court-ordered affirmative action. A 1972 Amendment to Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act includes affirmative action among the types of relief that courts can require of establishments found guilty of violating the anti-discrimination law. The Supreme Court has ruled that courts can order hiring and promotion quotas as remedies for egregious discrimination, as long as several safeguards exist to protect the rights and opportunities of members of majority groups (e.g., they are limited in scope and duration, don't preclude hiring members of the majority group, don't require hiring unqualified workers, etc.). As best I can tell, court-ordered quotas are very rare, because few victims of discrimination are able to litigate. Quotas are the most effective form of affirmative action, although even court-ordered quotas often take years to remedy established sex and race discrimination (e.g., in fire and police departments).

4. Voluntary affirmative action efforts. According to recent surveys, less than half of U.S. employers consider equal opportunity or affirmative action in hiring, either because they are subject to the presidential executive order for contractors, they are under court order, or they do so voluntarily. This suggests that no more than 40 to 45 percent of employers have voluntarily implemented either "equal employment opportunity" or what they think of as affirmative action. We do not know what employers have in mind when they claim that they practice affirmative action or what they actually do and how often they actually do it. We do know, however, that the Supreme Court has ruled that voluntary programs (i.e., those not ordered by courts as a remedy) may not discriminate against any group (including whites or men), according to Supreme Court rulings, except as temporary measures to address extremely severe job segregation. Thus, most voluntary affirmative action activities are race- and gender-neutral. A few studies suggest that voluntary programs can reduce employment discrimination when there is top-level organizational commitment.

In general, the most effective practices are both the rarest and the most contentious: court-ordered hiring and promotion quotas. They are rare not because discrimination is rare, but because litigation against the kinds of discrimination that affirmative action addresses (discrimination in job assignments and promotions) is rare. Somewhat less effective are goals, monitoring, and sanctions. Next in effectiveness are altering personnel practices to better identify underutilized talent, using recruitment methods that reach a wide pool of job candidates; developing and fully utilizing employees' skills; cooperating with comrnunity groups, schools, and other employers to improve community conditions that affect employability; identifying target positions for which lower-level employees might be eligible; using training to enhance the promotion oppor-tunities of lower-level employees; and monitoring sex and race differences in time in grade.

Some Myths, Misconceptions, and Realities about Affirmative Action

Myth: Race and sex discrimination are problems of the past; anti-discrimination laws have eliminated employment discrimination.

Reality: Considerable evidence documents the persistence of race and sex discrimination in employment. Most discrimination is the result of employers' reliance on personnel practices that evolved when discrimination was legal and commonplace, such as recruiting through "old-boys' networks." This discrimination involves a preference for whites or men.

Myth: Affirmative action requires employers to use quotas in hiring and promotion.

Reality: Quotas based on race, national origin, religion, or sex are illegal under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The courts have barred employers from voluntarily imposing quotas, and the OFCCP explicitly prohibits federal contractors from using them. The Nixon Presidential executive order required federal contractors to set hiring and promotion goals based on the available pool of qualified individuals. Such goals give employers a benchmark against which to assess their progress in eliminating discrimination; no sanctions exist for contractors who do not achieve their goals as long as they appear to make "good-faith efforts". In a few cases, courts adjudicating egregious discrimination cases have required employers to reserve some positions for qualified minorities or women, but the Supreme Court has ruled that such remedies must be temporary, narrow in scope so as not to unduly or permanently harm majority-group workers, and the only way to eradicate discrimination (as noted above).

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Myth: Affirmative action requires employers to hire and promote unqualified workers.

Reality: Regulatory agencies and the courts neither require nor allow employers to hire or promote unqualified workers because of group membership. Available research is inconsistent with employers hiring or promoting unqualified workers under the guise of affirmative action.

Myth: Affirmative action requires employers to give preferences to minorities and women over equally qualified whites and men.

Reality: The object of affirmative action is to eliminate preferences. The logic of affirmative action assumes that minorities' and women's under-representation in good jobs results at least partly from employment practices whose consequences give preference to white men. Affirmative action involves identifying those practices and replacing them with race- and gender-neutral ones. The affirmative action that the courts have required of employers found guilty of egregious discrimination may include compensatory preferences for qualified minorities. As noted, preferences for minorities or women violate federal anti-discrimination law unless they are temporary measures to eliminate job segregation and the opportunities of majority group members are not seriously impaired.

Myth: Affirmative action creates "reverse discrimination" against white men.

Reality: Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act outlaws both conventional and "reverse" discrimination. Both occur anyway, but discrimination against minorities and women vastly exceeds discrimination against white men. For example, less than 2 percent of the more than 3,000 discrimination charges that reached the courts between 1990 and 1994 charged reverse discrimination.

Myth: Affirmative action has been ineffective.

Reality: Only a minority of employers practice any form of affirmative action, and most of them do so voluntarily. Thus, affirmative action has been no more successful than anti-discrimination laws in eliminating race and sex discrimination. However, the federal regulations that require affirmative action demand relatively little of federal contractors, rarely sanction recalcitrant employers, and have been enforced in a sporadic and perfunctory manner over much of the past 30 years. Nonetheless, when enforced, they have been effective. They have increased minorities' and women's access to a wider range of employment by federal contractors, and reduced discrimination in local and federal government. Court-ordered affirmative action has been more effective, especially , when it involves monitoring and race-and gender-conscious practices. Some voluntary plans have also been very effective, because of the commitment of top leaders. More generally, almost all workers benefit from the kinds of changes that affirmative action often bring to establishments by making employment practices more fair and more objective and reducing cronyism.

Myth: The federal regulations that require affirmative action have handicapped American business and reduced U.S. productivity.

Reality: There is no evidence that affirmative-action employers are less productive than non-affirmative-action employers, and it may enhance productivity (so said 41 percent of CEOs surveyed in 1995) by eliminating cronyism in personnel decisions. Federal contractors' obligation to implement affirmative action adds paperwork, however, and therefore increases employers' costs. Estimates of the extent of this increase are all over the map.

Myth: Affirmative action is a compensatory program to make up for past discrimination and hence benefits people who never suffered from discrimination.

Reality: The object of the personnel practices that are common to affirmative action are to prevent on-going discrimination. Unlike Title VII, which offers a "remedy" only after discrimination has occurred, affirmative action prevents it from occurring by eradicating bias from personnel practices.

Myth: Affirmative action harms its intended beneficiaries by casting doubt on their qualifications.

Reality: The research, while limited, suggests that few members of groups targeted by affirmative action feel stigmatized. Indeed, relatively few members of targeted groups believe that affirmative action has affected them at all, and few of those think the effect was negative. Nonetheless, the risk of stigmatization exists. To reduce it, employers need to make it clear that qualifications are the primary consideration in hiring and promoting all workers.

Myth: Affirmative action has been a divisive issue that has created a white backlash.

Reality: Americans are more supportive of affirmative action, and nonwhites and whites are more similar in their attitudes than the media or political demagogues suggest. About 70 percent of white Americans support affirmative action programs that do not involve "quotas" or "preferences" (i.e., they support the kinds of programs that actually exist). The broadest support is for the practice that is at the core of affirmative action -- expanding the applicant pool.

Myth: The choice is between affirmative action and meritocracy.

Reality: Employers rarely try to fill jobs with the best available workers; most settle for good-enough employees. Indeed, most jobs have been designed to require acceptable rather than exemplary, or even superior, performance. For most jobs, workers' performance depends substantially on the kinds of training employers provide, the technology to do the job, and the like. It is because most employers are content with good-enough performance and wish to minimize recruitment costs that most recruit through word-of-mouth.

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Women's Mobility in Professional Occupations

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This article reviews and synthesizes research on the obstacles that women professionals face in climbing professional hierarchies. It does so by providing a brief summary and critique of an anthology, *Women and Minorities in American Professions* (Tang and Smith 1996). While the book was published three years ago, the issues surrounding women's professional situations remain the same. The book features chapters on eight professional occupations (written by eleven authors): lawyers (Joan Norman Scott), computer workers (Rosemary Wright), dentists (Dennis Kaldenberg, Anisa Zvonkovic, and Boris Becker), managers (Nancy DiTomaso and Steven Smith), social workers (Leslie Leighninger), military officers (Earl Smith), educators (Allan Liska), and medical school faculty (Joyce Tang).

Separately and collectively, the contributors and editors conclude that educated women fall behind their male counterparts in professional accomplishments for two primary reasons -- social control and professional structure. Across professions, women face similar problems in advancing their careers. While employers expect professional men and professional women to be equally committed to their careers, the larger society also expects professional women to meet the obligations of their traditional gender roles as wives and/or mothers. If women meet their societal expectations by putting their families above their careers, they have difficulty with employer expectations and are more likely than men, as a result, to be penalized in career attainment. Their career prospects in professional occupations are frequently further limited by weak networking and the absence of mentors.

What can policy makers and employers do to improve the status of women in professional occupations? As shown in the following examples of lawyers, dentists, and managers, improving women's marginal status requires transforming both the socialization and segregation processes which effect social control and professional structure.

Lawyers

Do women in the legal profession mirror the successful, career-minded images portrayed in television series such as *LA Law* and *Law and Order*? In Chapter 2 of Tang and Smith (1996), Scott's study of lawyers in private practice in Los Angeles provides mixed results. While the women she studied were not rewarded at the same levels as men, many lawyers appear to have accepted women lawyers for their expertise without reference to their gender, as shown by her reporting that many of the "legal authorities" with whom she spoke recognized Marcia Clark, the District Attorney of Los Angeles and prosecutor in the O.J. Simpson trial, as a "good lawyer," leaving off the qualifier in a "good woman lawyer."

Currently, there are as many women as men in litigation, the most aggressive area of law practice. What is it like being a woman litigation lawyer? In this sub-profession, women are both under-rewarded and under-recognized. Women's feminine and support roles in the family and society spill-over to the workplace. Women are told in a form of social control that their primary responsibilities still remain outside, rather than within, work. In a related way, women lawyers are "pigeon-holed" into particular portions of the professional structure. Many are locked in the positions of "minders" and "grinders," with few prospects for external business contacts and advancement.

Why? Scott documents the fact that many male lawyers -- serving as gatekeepers -- still have difficulty seeing women playing aggressive roles (e.g., "finders" and "keepers" of business). But women have to bear some responsibility, too. To capture the essence of a professional woman's predicament, Scott quotes one of her women lawyers, that "[i]t's like waiting to be asked out for a dance. If you can't ask a man out on a date, it's probably even harder to ask him for $500,000 worth of legal business [page 28]." This anecdote underscores the influence of socialization on the career prospects of women lawyers in litigation. Aside from gender role socialization, of course, women in this prestigious male-dominated profession frequently have to overcome other obstacles to career advancement -- family obligations, not being part of old boy's networks, and a lack of mentors.

Scott is optimistic, but cautiously so, about women lawyers' prospects for advancement. She anticipates positive changes for women lawyers in private practice, in that the increasing number of women entering law should change the structure of the profession. Already existent in nascent form, career tracks with different emphases on family and career orientations should allow women lawyers to address the social control messages they receive and to progress according to their needs. In addition to changes by law firms, women are actively seeking changes themselves. To catch up with their male counterparts, many are learning to play the male game by developing and extending their professional networks, effecting their own form of social control.

Dentists

Turning to the career experiences of women in dentistry, another prestigious profession, in Chapter 4 of Tang and Smith (1996), Kaldenberg and his associates note that male and female dentists have different professional experiences. Only recently have women entered the profession in large numbers. As a group, they are still disadvantaged compared to men in the profession. Among their findings: Female dental school graduates are less likely than male graduates to move directly into private practice. Female graduates remain in salaried or part-time positions for longer periods of time. Female dentists working in organizations are likely to bump into "glass ceilings." After controlling for age and other relevant factors, women dentists still earn substantially less than male dentists. Kaldenberg et al. attribute the gender gap in earnings to two interrelated factors: patients' preference for male care providers and pricing differences. In the first, patients give women dentists subtle social control messages that they don't belong. To be competitive

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with men, therefore, female dentists tend to charge lower fees, but also spend relatively more time seeing each patient.

The career patterns of women dentists suggest that they are confronted with similar problems to those of women in other professional occupations. Gender role expectations and related social control affect how male and female dentists structure their careers. Similar to Scott, Kaldenberg et al. anticipate that, when women gain a sizable presence in dentistry, they will transform the male-oriented work culture and professional structure. These authors are hopeful that, instead of conforming to the typical (male) career pattern, women dentists may be able to chart new career paths. With more predictable time demands, dentistry may be one of the few high-paying professions where women can find less conflict between traditional gender and professional roles.

Managers

Finally turning to management, another professional field with an increasing number of women, in Chapter 5 of Tang and [Earl] Smith (1996), DiTomaso and [Steven] Smith examine the changes and challenges that women managers face in corporate America. They remind us that although women have entered management in great numbers, in climbing the occupational ladder they still lag behind men. Why? DiTomaso and Smith argue, due to a number of factors. Consistent with their article in this newsletter, an important one is favoritism for men in which, especially in informal practices, women are given social control messages to the effect that they don't belong, and that men tend to be favored over women for being hired, retained, and promoted.

DiTomaso and Smith ask another important question -- where do women "belong" in the corporate hierarchy? Though more women have entered management, most women are concentrated either in lower-status management positions or in management slots targeted to women-oriented markets. Like their female counterparts in the legal and dental professions, women in corporate America often bump into "glass ceilings." Have affirmative action policies made a dent in white male dominance in management? Women have not come close to challenging male dominance in the upper echelons of the corporate world. DiTomaso and Smith cite the very small number of women chief executive officers or directors of Fortune 500 companies, and conclude that concern over the negative impact of affirmative action on careers of male managers is hardly warranted.

Conclusion

(1) What is the current prospect for women in professional occupations? Many indicators suggest that women will slowly but surely gain ground. While demographic changes and workforce diversity are catalysts for positive change, we should not ignore the potentially negative effect of corporate downsizing, which may have disproportionate impacts on women because many of them are newcomers in professional occupations.

(2) What do the experiences of women in law, dentistry, management, and other professions tell us about gender segregation? In spite of formidable barriers, women constitute small but growing numbers in professional occupations. Whether in traditionally male-dominated or female-dominated professions, however, women's statuses generally do not measure up to those of their male counterparts. While education is still an important means for gaining entry into professional occupations, it is not a determining factor in gaining access to high-profile or authority positions. Whether capable women become partners in law firms, managers, deans of medical schools, or military officers is beyond the influence of individual characteristics. The two factors mentioned earlier, social control and the structure of the profession, are major barriers to women's career advancement in professional occupations.

(3) What are the challenges for those who study work and occupations? The career experiences of women in the professional occupations reported here call for more comparative social control studies of other occupational fields, and for structural analyses of the relative changes as professionals of both sexes enter professions traditionally dominated by one or the other. Are there parallels in the career patterns of women in professional and non-professional occupations? With declining support for affirmative action, how can women in professional occupations circumvent the social and institutional forces they currently face?

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Inequality in Organizations, Occupations, and Work Through Selection and Favoritism

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A great deal of the research and writing on organizations, occupations, and work has been addressed to issues of inequality. Most of this work has attempted to determine the extent and nature of discrimination in the labor market. The results of this research are complex and confused, because the empirical results of the research cannot explain the anomalies in the evidence regarding why and how discrimination takes place. Specifically, prejudice is declining, but inequality in outcomes still exist. Credentials are improving, but there is still a wide gap in how people get rewarded with reference to them.

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DiTomaso and Smith on Selection and Favoritism

In this note, we want to raise two issues about the nature of research on organizational, occupational, and work inequality that we feel need greater attention if we are to understand the sources and dynamics by which unequal outcomes are generated and reproduced: (1) the nature of selection processes that may render the groups we often compare as non-comparable, and (2) the emphasis given to discrimination against women and minorities rather than to favoritism toward men and whites. We feel that these issues are especially important to consider in the post-Civil Rights period for reasons that also call our attention to the need to integrate theoretical literatures from several disciplines and levels of analysis. Our comments have methodological implications about how we study labor force inequality and interpret the effects on organizations, occupations, and work.

The Nature of Selection Processes. Labor markets work through processes of sequential stages in which participants have to pass through the gatekeeping functions at one stage before they can participate in the next stage. In the labor market, we might define these stages as pre-market experiences, the process of getting a job, the type of job one gets, and then the reward processes on the job. We argue that there are selection processes at each of these stages that are important to consider. Specifically, if the selection criteria are more restrictive for disfavored groups than for others, then it would be necessary for members of disfavored groups to be better at each stage than the average member of favored groups in order for them to show up in the pool of participants at the next stage. If that occurs, then the participants at the subsequent stage who have been selected differently from the two groups would be non-comparable. Thus, if we compare people from favored and disfavored groups in their attainment of rewards at the last part of the process, we may be considering an average pool of participants from the favored group with a superior pool of participants from the disfavored group. If we then found that group members were "no different" in terms of their attainment, this would not mean that there was equality in the labor market. Instead, it would mean that there was inequality.

We argue that this is consistent with the evidence regarding the labor market experiences of whites compared to blacks and Hispanics in science and engineering. We found in preliminary analyses of the National Survey of College Graduates that selection processes are critical for understanding what happens at both earlier and at later stages in labor market processes. Specifically, we argue that individuals are not eliminated randomly from sequentially more selective stages of the labor market process, and hence bias operates differently than past research has sometimes suggested. In our preliminary research, we divided the scientific labor market process into four critical stages: (1) selection for employment (i.e., whether or not employed); (2) selection for employment in science and engineering (i.e., if employed, whether in science and engineering versus another field); (3) occupational attainment (i.e., the quality of the job that one receives in science and engineering); and (4) earnings attainment. The key finding of this research is that in the technical segment of the U.S. labor market, being black or Hispanic has the largest impact at the earlier stages.Specifically, blacks and Hispanics are less likely to be employed and if employed, to get jobs in science and engineering, even when they have science and engineering degrees. Further, once in science and engineering, they appear to get jobs that are less desirable. It is through these selection processes that bias appears to be manifested most strongly for technically trained employees.

In other words, among scientists and engineers we find that race and ethnicity matter, but not in the same way at each stage of the process. Being black or Hispanic is important for determining who is employed, in what field, and in what kind of job, but once on the job labor market attainment processes are based more on human capital, job/occupational, and labor market-related factors, everything else being equal. We argue that it is important to take these selection processes into consideration if we are to understand labor market inequality. In this sense, we have found a type of tournament process, where those who are able to get through the gatekeepers at earlier stages have a better chance of being rewarded similarly to others on the job. But, if these groups are truly not comparable at this stage, then the perception of unfair treatment may still persist. This brings us to the second point, namely, the focus on discrimination versus the focus on favoritism.

Favoritism Versus Discrimination. In the intergroup relations literature, groups that are thought of as being favored are designated as "in groups," while groups that are thought of as disfavored are designated as "out groups." In much of this literature, as is true in sociology, there is a discrimination focus which assumes that there will generally be "in group favoritism" and "out group bias," with the emphasis on looking for out group bias. A series of studies on these issues, for example, on performance evaluations, however, have not found clear evidence of out group bias with reference to women or minorities. Instead, the literature is quite complex and the findings, as in studies of income differences, are ambiguous and sometimes confusing. We have found in some of our own work, however, that as in the case with selection biases, if we recognize that discrimination ***against out groups***, is only one form of bias and that bias can also be expressed as a ***preference for in groups***, we can gain a clearer picture of the research evidence and the theoretical issues which need to be addressed.

Specifically, we argue that in the post-Civil Rights period, the conditions for preference (or favoritism) are more powerful than the conditions for discrimination. Because of this, we may be missing a great deal of what contributes to the reproduction of unequal outcomes in organizations, occupations, and work. For example, recent studies of "aversive racism," have found that whites now find it difficult to acknowledge to themselves or to others that they hold biased views. Consequently, in situations where there are strong norms against expressing bias, whites are less likely to show bias against nonwhites, but they may express their bias indirectly by showing favoritism toward other whites. This may be especially likely if a "prototype" (or schema) of white competence has emerged over time and has become embedded in how people think about what constitutes good performance. In this case, whites can generally count on receiving favor, and under such circumstances, they may not need to discriminate explicitly against nonwhites.

This is consistent with results from research that we have recently done which found that not only were whites favored by whites, but they were favored by minority managers as well, in this case, blacks and Asians. Minority managers, however, also both favored subordinates from their own group, but were harsher in their evaluations toward subordinates from other minority groups. In other

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words, they engaged in "overshooting" in being "more white than white."

There are many factors that may explain these types of findings, where there is in group favoritism without out group bias, especially under conditions when there are mixed motives, when issues of inequality are salient, and when there is official normative support for egalitarianism and fairness:

* There is strong evidence of ***ambivalence*** of whites toward blacks and men toward women. When norms of equality are explicit and behavior is visible, whites may amplify their positive feelings and suppress their negative feelings toward blacks.

* Under circumstances that may invoke negative feelings toward blacks, therefore, some whites will express ***aversive racism***, which takes the form of expressing negative views toward blacks only when there are readily available nonracial reasons for doing so. Alternatively, whites may provide more help or assistance to other whites, without actively discriminating toward blacks.

* While under normal and familiar conditions, we may ***automatically*** process information, when certain categories of people are especially salient, we are more likely to use ***controlled*** processing, and interrupt taken-for-granted predispositions.

* There is also some evidence to suggest that information is stored ***globally***, e.g., as prototypes, schema, or implicit theories, which may lead to embedded images of competence for those who have traditionally held positions of authority.

* ***Convergence*** with other differences in the society or organization, such as socio-economic advantages or status has an affect on how groups are evaluated.

* Finally, we cannot always predict which social identifications are going to be most relevant in a given situation. Most of us have ***multiple identities***, any one of which may become salient under different circumstances..

All of these findings which have emerged from research on social psychology have to be seen, however, within the context of how group relations have been shaped by history, culture and social structure. The reason for ambivalence, for example, is because the Civil Rights movement called into question the normative belief that racial inequality was justified. The reason for convergence has to do with the historical conditions under which various groups entered into relationships and the institutional mechanisms that have either fostered mobility or prevented it. The construction and reconstruction of social identities is affected by social movements, structural change, and current events. In other words, we need to integrate structural and cultural analyses with those of social psychology and vice versa if we are to understand why, at the current time, we can observe in group favoritism without out group bias.

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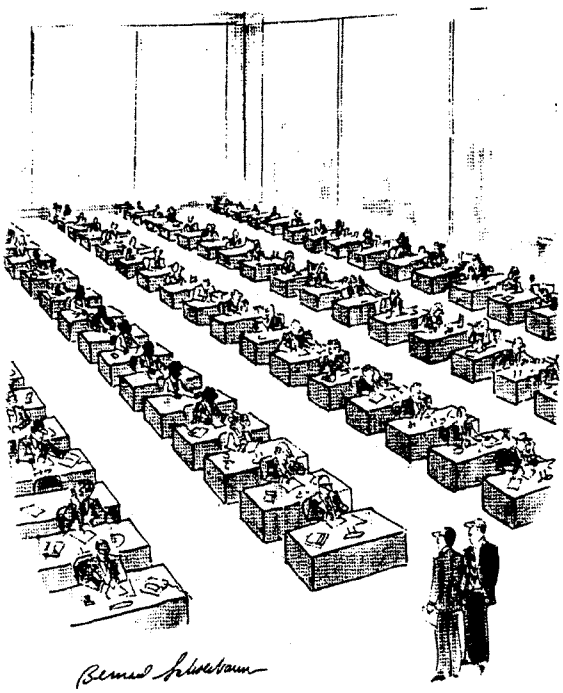

"Good, Hennings, but sprinkle them around a little."

If we are to understand inequality in organizations, occupations, and work, we need to consider the historical, the structural, and the cultural influences on how people make decisions about each other, and then understand how these influences are acted out in terms of everyday experiences on the job. We need to pay attention to selection processes that make it easier for some to get into the game and to how some groups use influence and networks to help others like themselves, in some cases without being aware of or necessarily purposely intending to discriminate against others.

Through these various mechanisms which link structures of inequality with everyday experiences, whites are able to reproduce their economic advantage over nonwhites, even in the post-Civil Rights period, more through in-group preference than through out-group discrimination. While whites are selected in more easily than nonwhites and then after they get in they are more favored than nonwhites, they experience their success in this regard as the result of individual achievement and hard work. Experientially, these processes lead to "merit" rather than to "discrimination." Hence, whites can think of themselves as both egalitarian and anti-racist, while at the same time, they benefit from favoritism in a social system that takes their competence and worthiness for granted.

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Race and Workplace Inequality: Four Paths to Pave

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The basic thesis of this short paper is that sociology has gone down the wrong path in the study of racial workplace inequality and must pave some alternative paths. In order to make useful contributions to both science and society, we need to take a fresh look at the mechanisms that produce racial inequality.

Human capital explanations, dominant in much thinking about racial inequality, encourage us to ask the wrong questions and interpret empirical results in screwy ways. This dead end path, while originally laid out for sociology by the status attainment tradition, was paved and made dangerous with the macadam of human capital theory. Status attainment approaches (never quite a theory) trained us to focus on education and class background, but ignore career and workplace processes. Up until the mid-70s the status attainment model seemed more than adequate for handling black-white inequality in the United States. Both occupational and educational attainment in pre-civil rights America were so fundamentally constrained for African Americans that a focus on parent's class resources and children's educational attainment seemed sufficient. Although the status attainment model provided no theory of racism, it could pretty reasonably model the outcome of a racist society. In the context of the end of state sanctioned racism Wilson (*The Declining Significance of Race*) and many other sociologists assumed a simple movement of African Americans toward the white model of status attainment. That simple convergence has not occurred, but even if it had, the status attainment approach was never up to the task of explaining racial inequality or of studying workplace processes.

Human capital theory provided the explanation for racial inequality that status attainment approaches lacked and allowed stratification researchers to continue to ignore workplaces. It taught us to reinterpret average ethnic differences in education, occupational level, unemployment spells and cognitive skills as reflecting productivity related investments. Do minorities under-invest in cognitive skills? Or labor force experience? Or even education? Most sociologists would say no, that when we encounter group differences in these characteristics they reflect social processes in schools, labor markets, or firms which constrain access to potentially valuable experiences or positions. The problem with human capital theory is that it interprets group differences in terms of the aggregation of individual choices, rather than taking the time to investigate the sociological processes which actually produce racial or ethnic inequality. It is our jobs as sociologists to study these processes.

There are four basic inequality generating processes which, I think, we should be developing to counter and replace misleading and simplistic stories about individual choice.

1. Important ethnic differences in human capital endowments are endogenous to the labor market.

In a regression model for most U.S. samples you can make race and ethnic differences in earnings go away, or at least become non-significant, if you simply control for a set of "human capital" variables such as education, cognitive achievement, experience in the labor force, tenure with the current employer, and occupational task complexity. This may give the impression that human capital theory is a powerful theory. But let's unpack the explanation. Race and ethnic differences in educational degrees and cognitive achievement are produced as a function of class background, as well as the ways in which schools process children and the neighborhoods in which schools are embedded (Roscigno 1998). The class resources of parents, the cultural capital preferences of teachers, and the ethnic residential segregation of cities clearly do not reflect the investment choices of young latino or black children. They represent how ethnicity is built into the culture and structure of places. Every time we interpret education or cognitive achievement as human capital variables, however, we are parroting a distracting theory of individual investment.

The rest of the human capital bag of variables are even more misleading because they ignore precisely those career processes which produce most race and ethnic inequality in workplaces. Experience in the labor force (and it's converse unemployment spells and labor force discouragement), tenure with the current employer, and occupational task complexity are profoundly endogenous to the labor market and even the firm. The interpretation which treats these as human capital investments by an individual verges on the silly. At the very least the values of these variables reflect search and work intensity by individuals in a context of expectations, the array of employment opportunities embedded in the geography of search activity, employer decision making as to hiring and job assignment, and co-worker behavior. All of these are career processes which individuals control marginally at best.

Wages are lowest early in the career for all workers. Earnings inequalities grow across the career, as some get access to positions in internal labor markets, positions with authority, positions that provide skill training, while others do not (Tomaskovic-Devey 1993). Thomas, Herring, and Horton (1994), comparing cohorts of African and white Americans since the 1940s, have shown a consistent pattern in which black/white earnings inequalities among men were lowest early in the career, grow rapidly across the first fifteen or twenty years of the career, and then level off. In a variety of papers Marta Tienda has demonstrated that a key part of the early career process is disparity in access to entry-level jobs as

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well as longer periods of unemployment and job search for minority youth. These career processes are at least as much about stereotyping and social closure as they are about pre-labor market education and cognitive attainment.

2. Stereotyping and resulting discrimination are fundamental to hiring and job allocation.

The naïve view of discrimination sees employers as evil capitalists full of "tastes for discrimination". While there are no doubt nasty bastards out there, the more generic, less visible, and so more powerful processes are largely unconscious. More often than not, employers hire people based on their gut feelings. The social psychological literature on stereotyping and status expectations is quite clear that in the absence of strong information to counter stereotypes, prejudgments rule. Even employers report that they use race as a signal for potential productivity (Reskin 1998).

3. Social closure is central to ethnicity and so to ethnic career inequality.

Ethnicity and race are the social products of inclusionary and exclusionary practices, backed by cultural stories of difference. Thus we should expect to find workplaces to be rife with exclusionary practices. Internal labor markets are by definition simultaneously exclusionary and inclusionary devices. The use of personal networks to recruit workers often reproduces the social exclusions of ethnicity in the workplace. Stereotyping within firms leads to attribution errors, such as all successes by minorities are situational luck and all failures reflect inherent ability. Stereotypes about the disadvantaged are embraced by the advantaged. Subtle social closure may lead to ethnically biased, if not homogenous, communication networks which govern careers in internal labor markets.

But all social closure practices are not so subtle. In one workplace I have been looking at, one must be trained on certain machines in order to be promoted to the next level of skill, where more training occurs. Blacks and whites enter the lowest jobs at the same rate, but whites are assigned to machines and blacks to lift and carry. Soon the whites have training, are certified, and have moved on. The African Americans never catch up and must struggle against supervisor resistance to get any training at all. No doubt they look unqualified to senior management, but at the local level it is white co-workers and supervisors who are hoarding training for in-group members.

In another workplace I have studied, where African Americans were about 40% of the total workforce, blacks and white enter with equal education but whites are systematically promoted at greater rates, leading to cumulative career advantages not only in wages, but in the development of firm specific skills.The white/black odds ratio of being a department manager, for example was 2.1:1 but among managers of large facilities it was 12.3:1. No blacks had ever been promoted to the corporate level. Who makes the promotion decisions? White corporate managers. How do they make this decisions? Based on who they feel comfortable with. Social closure is about ethnicity and opportunity, including the opportunity to develop skills.

4, Local opportunity and local racism are governed by segregation and competition processes.

The spatial mismatch hypothesis suggests that the relative deterioration of black male earnings since the late 70s reflects a decline in manufacturing jobs in central cities in which African Americans are trapped by residential segre-gation The evidence for this hypothesis is mixed at best. It is not clear that there is always a shortfall of low-skill jobs near African-American residences, how this explains the high unemployment of presumably highly skilled, educated African Americans or whether mobility of minority labor (if not housing) from the central city to suburban labor markets is actually so difficult We need research on which cities have spatial mismatches and how residential segregation is implicated in the development of local economies (Cohn and Fosset 1986).

One thing that is clear from prior research is that the level of race/ethnic discrimination and inequality varies across regions and localities. The historical pattern differs somewhat across regions, but as the size of the minority population increases so does the level of ethnic competition leading to discrimination, segregation, and race/ethnic inequality (Tomaskovic-Devey and Roscigno 1997).

Standing back, these four processes leave us with four paths to pave to understand and lessen the inequality they generate:

1. **Study the workplace inequality processes that create cumulative skill inequalities.**

2. **Talk with employers and majority and minority workers about stereotyping.**

3. **Talk with white and black workers about boundaries, inclusion, and exclusion at work.**

4. **Study the spatial and historical variability of ethnic inequality.**

The key question is not "What are the human capital deficits of minority workers?" The question we should be asking is what are the workplace (and school and neighborhood) processes which generate ethnic inequality? We should search for answers in stereotyping, social closure, locally embedded racism and opportunity, and the career processes which they produce.

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Tomaskovic-Devey on Four Paths to Pave

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Sessions of Interest in Chicago

Starting with the Section Sessions, in August we will have the opportunity to attend the following sessions:

1. Race, Gender, and Other Labor Market Inequalities

Organizer and Presider: Joan Hermsen, U of Missouri-Columbia

"Race/Ethnicity and the Employment Transitions of Married Women: Another Look at the Convergence Hypothesis"
Julie Brines and J. Elizabeth Jackson, U Washington

"Clerical Sector Feminization: Possible Transformative Effects on Women's Economic Status"
Mary C. Brinton, Cornell

"Together and Unequal: Nonlinear and Divergent Effects of Occupational Sex Composition on Men's and Women's Wages"
Erich Steinman, U of Washington

"Across Class and Gender: Racial Composition Effects on Earnings in U.S. Metropolitan Areas"
Philip Cohen, Maryland

2. Self-employment and Business Ownership: The Critical Link Between Organizations and Careers

Organizer and Presider: Howard E. Aldrich, North Carolina

"Coming from Good Stock: Career Histories and New Venture Formation"
M. Diane Burton, Harvard; Jesper B. Sorensen, Chicago; Christine Beckman, Stanford

"Networking and Entrepreneurship: The Case of Women and Minority High-Tech Ventures"
Michele Lee Chesser, Texas at Austin

"Wage Gap between Female/Male Self-Employed and Female/Male Employed"
Monika Jungbauer-Gans, Institut fur Soziologie, Munich, Germany

3. Failure, Accident, and Mistake in Organizations and Professions

Organizer: Lee Clarke, Rutgers

"The Rattlesnake Handling Cult: Manhattan Project Worker Health and Safety Standards and Practice in Oak Ridge, TN, 1942-1950"
Russell Olwell, Michigan

"Constructing the Millenium Bug: Trust, Risk, and Technological Uncertainty"
Jennifer Ruth Fossett and Fennifer Fishman, UC San Francisco

""The Y2K Test of Organizational Theories"
Charles Perrow, Yale

"Thinking Twice About Redundancy: Or Why Organizations Cause More Accidents When They Try to be Safer"
Scott Sagan, Stanford

"The Dark Side of Organizations: Mistake, Misconduct, and Disaster"
Diane Vaughan, Boston College

4. Law and Inequalities of Race, Class, and Gender (Joint with the Section on Sociology of Law.)

Organizer: William T. Bielby, UC Santa Barbara
Presider: Ryken Grattet, UC Davis

"Judicial Discretion Under the Federal Sentencing Guidelines: The Role of Offender Characteristics and Departures on Sentence Severity"
Celesta A. Albonetti, Iowa

"Employing Law in Changing Economies: Mapping the Influence of Economic Context on Judicial Decision-Making"
Annette Nierobisz, Toronto

"Coercive Isomorphism and Gendered Organizations: The Impact of Title IX on Intercollegiate Athletics"
Pamela J. Forman, UC Davis

"Sexual Harassment in France and the United States: Rethinking the Meaning of the Workplace"
Abigail C. Saguy, Princeton

"A Comparative Analysis of Sexual Harassment: Estimating the Impact of Race, Class, and Gender"
Marla R. H. Kohlman, Kenyon College

5. The Contributions of Charles Perrow to Organization Studies (Special Session)

Organizer: Walter W. Powell, Arizona
Response: Charles Perrow, Yale

Participants: Joan Acker, Oregon
Frank Dobbin, Princeton
John Mohr, UC Santa Barbara
Scott Sagan, Stanford

6. Roundtables on Organizations, Occupations, and Work

T1. Emotional Labor
Presider: Rosemary Wright, Fairleigh Dickinson
Papers on Sex Work, Funeral Service, and Nannies

T2. Sex Gap in Pay
Presider: Joan Manley, Louisiana State
Papers on Domestic Responsibilities, Nurses, and Wall Street

T3. Gender Discrimination in the Labor Market
Presider: Linda Evans, Central Connecticut State
Papers on Age and Law, Promotions, and Japan

T4. Sociology of Professions
Presider: Christa McGill, Duke
Papers on Australia, Law School, and Women in Law

T5. Professionalization
Presider: Debra Schleef, Richmond
Papers on Masculinity, Social Work in Russia, Resistance and Ideology

T6. Innovation and Change
Presider: David Strang, Stanford
Papers on Gender and Creativity, Charter Schools, and Elite Organizations

T7. Entrepreneurship
Presider: Marlese Durr, Wright State
Papers on Black Women in the Depression, African American Skill Development, Gender Socialization

T8. Market Transitions
Presider: Ethan Michelson, Chicago
Papers on East Germany and Poland, two on China

T9. Organizational Fields
Presider: James Wade, Illinois at Urbana
Papers on Health Care, Taiwan, and Interorganizational Dynamics

T10. Interorganizational Relations
Presider: Mark Peyrot, Loyola
Papers on Economic Decision Making, Expatriates in Multinational Corporations, Competition Intelligence

T11. Teamwork in Organizations
Presider: Lynn Woehrle, Wilson College
Papers on Restaurants, Self-Managed Teams, and Consensus Building

T12. Neo-Institutionalism
Presider; Morten Schmidt, Copenhagen Bus. School
Papers on Electoral Polls, Teacher Peer Review, Development in Cambodia, and Health Care

T13. Developments in Organizational Theory
Presider: Donald Tomaskovic-Devey, NC State
Papers on Habit Analysis, Corporate Social Responsibility, and Efficiency

T14. Organizational Form
Presider: Steven Michael Grice, Mississippi State
Papers on Decentralizing Organizations, Argentine Cooperatives, Organization Size and Structure

T15. Networks and Organizations
Presider: Judith Stepan-Norris, UC Irvine
Papers on Scrap Metal Collectors, Voluntary Associations, and Automobile Workgroups

T16. Discrimination in the Workplace
Presider: Stephan Kulis, Arizona State
Papers on Janitorial Services, Criminal Records, Race and Homosexuality in the Academic Ranks

T17. Gender and Employment
Presider: Stacey Merola, Cornell
Papers on Teller Training, Industrial Transformation in the 1980s, Leisure Time, and Sweet Jobs

T18. Workplace Control
Presider: Jennifer Ashlock, UNC Chapel Hill
Papers on Union Salting, Women and Participation, Marginal Workers, and Meanings of Money

T19. Job Satisfaction
Presider: Barbara Chesney, U of Toledo
Papers on Nurses, Overqualification, Speech-Language Pathologists, a Model of Organizational Commitment

T20. Job Commitment and Performance
Presider: Leda Kanellakos, U of Iowa
Papers on Cross-National Self-Direction, Social Exchange, Gender in Developing Nations, Employer Trng

7. Work Constraints on Family Life (Joint with Section on Sex and Gender)

Organizer and Presider: Jennifer L. Glass, Iowa

"The Religious and Community Involvement of Dual-Earner Couples: Is there a Time Bind?"
Penny E. Becker and Heather Hofmeister, Cornell

"The Overworked American or the Time Bind: Assessing Competing Explanations for Time Spent in Paid Labor"
David J. Maume and Marcia L. Bellas, Cincinnati

"Bodies at Work: The Case of Breastfeeding"
Linda Blum, New Hampshire

"Adolescents: Anticipations of Work-Family Conflict in a Changing Societal Context"
Monica Kirkpatrick Johnson, Sabrina Oesterle, and Jeylan T. Mortimer, Minnesota

8. Organizations, Work and Technical Knowledge (Joint with Section on Science, Knowledge, and Technology)

Organizer and Presider: Kelly Moore, Barnard
Discussant: Walter W. Powell, Arizona

"Do Building Codes Fertilize or Fumigate Grass Roots Technical Knowledge?: How the Straw Bale Building Renaissance Negotiates Building Codes"
Kathryn Henderson, Texas A and M

"Knowledge Work and Its Discontents: The Autonomy of Knowledge Workers in Industrial and University Contexts"
Daniel Kleinman and Steve Vallas, Georgia Tech

"Seeking Help in a Technologically Complex Environment: The Role of Technologically Mediated Communication Tools"
Eleanor Lewis, Carnegie Mellon

"But We're All Brain People: Evaluations, Expectations, and Influence in a Neuro-Science Lab"
Jason Owen-Smith, Arizona

Thinking About Teaching in a Business School? These Sociologists Will Tell You What It's Like (Chair's Session)

Organizer: Nicole Woolsey Biggart, UC Davis

Panelists: Stewart Clegg, UTS
Kathleen Montgomery, Northwestern
Donald Palmer, UC Davis
Marc Ventresca, Northwestern

Although your editor does not have information on all of the regular ASA sessions, the following three should be of interest to those of us who study Work and Gender:

Gender and Work: Generating Gender Inequality: Segregation and Earnings

Organizer: Pamela Stone, Hunter
Presider: Mary Blair-Loy, Washington State
Discussant: Don Tomaskovic-Devey, North Carolina State

"Controlled Progress, Not Male Flight: Women's More Frequent Occupational Exits than Men's"
Rosemary Wright, Fairleigh Dickinson

"Spillover, Compensation, or Segmentation? The Effects of Occupational Sex Composition on Volunteering"
Thomas Rotolo and Amy Wharton, Washington State

"The Effects of Motherhood on Wages in Recent Cohorts: Findings from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth"
Paula England, Pennsylvania; Michelle Budig, Arizona

"Demand for Female Labor and Gender Differences in Earnings: Multilevel Analyses"
David Cotter, Union College; Joan Hermsen, U of Missouri-Columbia, and Reeve Vanneman, Maryland

Gender and Work: On-the-Job: Insights from Qualitative Research

Organizer: Pamela Stone, Hunter
Presider: Jo Anne Preston, Brandeis
Discussants: Robin Leidner, Pennsylvania and
Rachel Rosenfeld, U of North Carolina

"Gendering the Market: Temporality, Work and Gender on a National Futures Exchange"
Peter Levin, Northwestern

"Real Estate Sales as Women's Work: Constructing Gender on the Job"
Carol S. Wharton, Richmond

"Communists, Feminists, Mothers, or Villains? A Social-Psychological Examination of the Situated Identities of Child Care Workers"
Susan B. Murray, San Jose State

"Revisiting the Gender, Marriage, and Parenthood Puzzle in Scientific Careers"
Linda Grant and Ivy Kennelly, Georgia
Kathryn B. Ward, Southern Illinois

Gender and Work: Composing a Life: Women, Work, Family

Organizer and Presider: Pamela Stone, Hunter
Discussant: Catherine White Berheide, Skidmore

"Revising the Theory of Women's Changing Life Course"
Janet Z. Giele, Brandeis

"Is Anyone Cleaning the Bathroom? Trends in Gender Differentials in Housework"
Suzanne Bianchi, John Robinson, Liana Sayer, and Melissa Milkie, Maryland

"Flexible Forms of Employment in the 1990s: Do They Mediate the Dilemmas of Working Families?"
Melissa Stainback and Katharine M. Donato, Louisiana State

"Flexible Boundaries at the Organizational Level: Work and Family Issues in Biotechnology Firms"
Susan C. Eaton, Radcliffe

Calls for Papers

Papers on Re-Making Work Organizations for Research in the Sociology of Work

The contemporary workplace is undergoing massive restructuring, prompted by far-reaching shifts in the economic, technical, demographic, and political conditions under which production takes place. Such shifts have often occurred so rapidly as to outstrip existing sociological theories and concepts, engendering a widespread sense of uncertainty and ambiguity concerning the content of work, the structure of labor markets, and the nature of the employment relationship itself.

Volume 10 of this JAI series seeks to lend greater clarity and cogency to sociological thinking about the structural shifts currently remaking work organizations in the advanced capitalist world. Specifically, the volume encourages theoretical or

empirical papers devoted to any of the following sociological themes:

- Efforts to devise new forms of authority at work and their consequences for the relationship between managers and employees;
- The impact of downsizing or non-standard work arrangements on workplace life, including the employment relationship itself;
- The link between workplace restructuring and social inequalities based on class, ethnicity, gender, and age;
- Theory or empirical research on the nature of "flexible" firms and work relations;
- New developments within labor markets – for example, those which strengthen workers' ties to occupations while weakening their ties to particular firms;
- Shifts in the job rewards of professional and other "knowledge" workers;
- The relation between public policy (e.g., employment law or training programs) and the outcome of work restructuring.

Comparative studies are especially encouraged; varied methodological approaches will be considered. The length and form of submissions should conform to usual journal-style conventions (double-spaced, with abstract, bibliography, end-notes, etc.). The deadline for submissions is December 15, 1999.

Submissions should be sent to Steven P. Vallas, School of History, Technology, and Society, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta GA 30332-0345. E-mail: steven.vallas @ hts.gatech.edu.

Research in Community Sociology, Volume X

Research in Community Sociology (JAI Press) Volume X invites papers on various dimensions of communities: discussions of theoretical and methodological issues, and empirical research, case studies and analyses of micro-macro linkages, and critical studies on community structure/change, problems, policy-planning and related issues. ASR format, not more than 50 pages, three copies. Submit papers before October 15, 1999. Contact the editor: Professor Dan A. Chekki, Department of Sociology, University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 2E9. Fax: 204-774-4134. E-mail: sociology @ uwinnipeg.ca.

Special Issue of Work and Occupations on "Time At Work: Implications of Changing Patterns of Time Use for the Sociology of Work"

Changes in technology, the organization of work, family structures, and life situations have altered the conditions of workplace scheduling and pacing. These changes have highlighted the importance of the measurement and markers of time for the study of the workplace, as well as the subjection of time at work to negotiation, social controls, and political policy. *Work and Occupations* will publish a special issue devoted to the implications of changes in the meaning and patterns of time in the workplace. The editors invite scholars to submit papers focusing on issues of time in the workplace based on empirical investigation, as well as the meaning and interpretation of work time by men and women at all levels of the occupational hierarchy.

Possible topics for this special issue include the advent of the "24 hour" work day in many professional, corporate, and industrial spheres; the growth of part-time work; the use of flexible scheduling arrangements such as flextime and job sharing; changes in the meaning of concepts such as the "work week," "full-time," "overtime," and "retirement" in different historical periods and social contexts; and variations in work schedules and the number of hours worked by people of different race, ethnicity, age, and gender groups. This list is intended only to be suggestive, and the editors are open to a wide variety of topics (and methods of studying these topics) related to the theme.

Short proposals and questions may be sent now to either Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (cepstein @ email.gc.cuny.edu, fax: 212-642-2420) or Arne L. Kalleberg (arne_kalleberg @ unc.edu, fax: 919-962-7568). Completed manuscripts must be sent to Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (Dept. of Sociology, Graduate Center, City University of New York, 33 West 42nd Street, NY, NY 10036) or Arne L. Kalleberg (Dept. of Sociology, Hamilton Hall, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3210) by September 15, 1999.

The Sociology of Labor: III Latin American Conference
Buenos Aires – May 17-20, 2000
Labor on the Threshold of the XXIst Century

Sponsored by the Latin American Association for the Sociology of Labor (ALAST). The conference includes plenary lectures, parallel sessions, and symposia. Sessions, organized around four general topics but possibly subdivided into more specific topics, are being coordinated by the following;

- Work and education: Maria Antonia Gallart (gallart @ cenep.satlink.net) and Consuelo Iranzo (ciranzo @ reaccium.ve)
- Technology, organization, and labor processes: Jorge Walter (walter @ udesa.edu.ar) and Emma Massera (ema @ fcssoc.edu.uv)
- Labor markets: Adriana Marshall (marshall @ mail.retina.ar) and Nadya Araujo Guimaraes (nadya @ uol.com.br)
- Labor relations: Pedro Galin (ipgalin @ mail.retina.ar) and Maria Eugenia Trejos (espacios @ sol.racsa.co.cr)

The deadline for abstract submission is July 31, 1999. Abstracts (1 page) must be accompanied by a one-page CV. Acceptance notification will be by September 30, 1999. The deadline for paper submission is February 15, 2000. Papers should be a

maximum of 30 pages, with 1.5 line spacing and standard margins, provided in both hard copy and diskette.

Registration Fees are the following:

- Members of ALAST: US$40
- Non-Members of ALAST: US$70
- Students: US$40
- 1999 Membership in ALAST: $50

For further information, please e-mail novick @ mail.retina.ar or gira7641 @ cvtci.com.ar.

Asociacion Latinoamericana de Sociologia del Trabajo (ALAST) y Asociacion Argentina de Especialistas en Estudios del Trabajo (ASET); Araoz 2838 CP: 1425 - Buenos Aires, Argentina

Work and Occupations

Work and Occupations invites you to submit your manuscripts for peer review and possible publication. Now in its 25th volume, WO is a scholarly, sociological quarterly that publishes original research in the sociology of work, employment, and labor, social inequality in the workplace, worker-customer relations, deviance in the workplace, and occupations and professions. Consult the latest issue of WO for manuscript formatting and submission instructions. Manuscripts will not be returned. Send three copies of your paper to: Daniel B. Cornfield, Editor, Work and Occupations, Box 1811, Station B, Department of Sociology, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN 37235. Inquiries may be directed to the Editor at this address: daniel.b.cornfield @ vanderbilt.edu.

Review of Religious Research

Review of Religious Research, an interdisciplinary journal now co-edited by Christopher G. Ellison and Darren E. Sherkat, is seeking manuscripts on any topic dealing with religious beliefs, activities, and organizations. We strongly encourage submissions investigating organization and occupational approaches to religious institutions, and connections between religious organizations and other voluntary organizations. To submit, send 4 copies of manuscripts and an e-mail or disk version of the paper to Darren E. Sherkat, 1811-B Dept. of Sociology, Vanderbilt University, Nashville TN 37235; e-mail address: sherkade @ ctrrvax.vanderbilt.edu. There is a $15 processing fee for scholars who are not members of the Religious Research Association. Membership is only $24, and information can be found at: http://rra.hartsem.edu.

Contributions in Sociology Series

Contributions in Sociology Series (Greenwood Press) welcomes scholarly manuscripts (60,000-85,000 words) monographs/edited volumes on a wide array of subjects in sociology and related disciplines. Submit proposals to the Series Advisor: Professor Dan A. Chekki, Department of Sociology, University of Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 2E9. Fax: 204-774-4134. E-mail: sociology @ uwinnipeg.ca.

International Sociology

International Sociology, the journal of the International Sociological Association, invites submissions on themes of social change, development and modernization, with their significant recent extensions -- globalization and world economic, political, and cultural systems -- which have gained new life with the expansion of markets, democracy, the rule of law, and human rights. The editor, Said Amir Arjomand, is committed to the promotion of these and other significant themes, including but not limited to religious transformation, the growth of modern culture, transnational social movements, institutional reconstruction, ethnic and national conflicts, genocide, civil war, and social disintegration. He invites contributions to and readership of this journal, and may be reached at the State University of New York at Stony Brook at e-mail: sarjoman @ notes.cc.sunysb.edu.

Members' Book Corner

compiled by Laura O'Toole
Guilford College
otoolell @ rascal.guilford.edu

John M. Braxton, editor, *Perspectives on Scholarly Misconduct in the Sciences,* 1999. Ohio State University Press.

This volume addresses the question: Who holds responsibility for detecting, deterring, and sanctioning research misconduct? Topics include its social control by the lay public, the congressional response to it, the role that scientific associations and journals play in deterring it, and the nature of university policies and procedures.

Lee Clarke, *Mission Improbable: Using Fantasy Documents to Tame Disaster*, 1999. University of Chicago Press.

This book explores how managers and experts plan for massive uncertainties when they have no clue about how to go about it. Managers create "fantasy documents" to convince audiences that experts are in charge and all is well. Society would be safer, smarter, and more fair if organizations would admit their limitations.

Joseph Galaskiewicz and Wolfgang Bielefeld, *Nonprofit Organizations in an Age of Uncertainty: A Study of Organizational Change*, 1998. Aldine de Gruyter.

This monograph on non-profits in Minneapolis-St. Paul chronicles a fourteen-year study that tries to explain the causes and consequences of change within these organizations.

Vittorio Olgiati, Louis Orzack, and Mike Saks, editors, *Professions, Identity, and Order in Comparative Perspective,* 1998. International Institute for the Sociology of Law.

This volume examines a range of professional groups – from law, accounting, and architecture to medicine, engineering, and the military – and aims to illuminate the extent to which professions contribute to the normative order of society. Chapters provide comparative analysis of professions from a variety of nation-states.

C.S. Selby, editor, *Choices and Successes: Women in Science and Engineering*, 1999. New York Academy of Sciences.

This collection includes papers assessing whether, where, and how progress has taken place in the last 25 years. Contributors range from students to Nobel laureates. Their shared perspective is that increased diversity must be aided through substantive changes in the attitudes, policies, and practices that inform how we educate, evaluate, and manage the work force.

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Position Announcement

Visiting Assistant Professor
School of History, Technology, and Society
Georgia Institute of Technology

The School of History, Technology, and Society announces a position for a Visiting Assistant Professor beginning in the Fall of 1999. Areas of specialty are open, but we are particularly eager to find applicants whose research lies in one of the following areas: sociology of work, urban sociology, technology and society, sociology of the environment, or sociology of health/medicine. The ability to teach undergraduate classical social theory is also important. This is a one-year replacement position with a teaching load of two courses per semester. We offer a competitive salary and full bene-fits. Ph.D. at the time of appointment is expected. Review of applications will begin immediately and continue until position is filled; candidates should send c.v., 3 letters of reference, and sample syllabi to Daniel Kleinman, School of History, Technology, and Society, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, GA 30332-0345. Women and minority candidates are especially urged to apply.

General Announcements

Mary Frank Fox, SWS Feminist Lecturer 2000

Mary Frank Fox, Professor of Sociology, School of History, Technology, and Society, Georgia Institute of Technology, and active OOW member, has been chosen the SWS Feminist Lecturer 2000. The award is for "a prominent feminist scholar, who has made a commitment to feminist social change." As Feminist Lecturer 2000, she will deliver a lecture to two college campuses (or two co-sponsoring consortia of colleges within given regions). Her topic will be "Women, Science, and Academia." A written version of the lecture will also be published in *Gender and Society.*

If you are interested in your campus (or consortium of campuses) being considered as one of the two sites visited during 2000, contact Professor Verta Taylor, Chair, SWS Feminist Lectureship Committee, Department of Sociology, 300 Bricker Hall, 190 North Oval Mall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Phone 614-292-0320 or -6681; fax 614-292-6687; e-mail: taylor40 @ osu.edu. Applications from institutions interested in hosting Feminist Lecturer 2000 are due by January 15, 2000.

SWS stands for Sociologists for Women in Society, a national organization furthering the interests of and scholarship about women. For further information about SWS, go to their website: http://socsci.colorado.edu/sws/index.html

Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP)

The Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP) provides an intellectual home for scholars, practitioners, and community activists who believe that social research should be oriented toward solving social problems. SSSP organizes and supports scholarship and activism committed to pursuing social justice through its publications, meetings, and fellowship. Membership includes a subscription to the journal *Social Problems*, membership in special problems divisions, and access to the annual meetings (which overlap with the ASA).

To become a member, please contact us via our website at http://www.it.utk.edu/sssp/membership. You can also call the SSSP offices at 423-974-3620 or e-mail Michel Smith Koontz at mkoontz3 @ utk.edu for additional information.

About OOW and Its Newsletter

This newsletter is published twice a year for the members of the American Sociological Association's Section on Organizations, Occupations, and Work.

Announcements sent to either the newsletter or web page editors below will be cross-listed, i.e. posted on the web page as soon as received and included in the newsletter as long as space allows; issues of the newsletter will be posted on the homepage as soon as prepared.

Please send any section-relevant news, articles, announcements, or letters of opinion intended for the newsletter and homepage in electronic form to one of the two addresses listed below. A DOS-readable disk or text inserted into e-mail is fine, but please don't send e-mail attachments. Articles should be 1,000 to 1,750 words, and other items should be shorter. Please understand that space requirements may compel us to edit what you send.

Newsletter Editor: Rosemary Wright, Department of Social Sciences and History, Fairleigh Dickinson University, Mail Code M105B, 285 Madison Avenue, Madison, New Jersey 07940. Telephone: 973-443-8726; fax: 973-443-8799; e-mail: wright @ alpha.fdu.edu; home telephone: 973-635-7312.

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Submissions to the Members' Book Corner, following the format of the entries in this issue, should be sent to the address below.

Book Corner Editor: Laura O'Toole, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Guilford College, Greensboro, NC 27410. Telephone: 919-3162271. E-mail: otoolell @ rascal.guilford.edu.

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