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IN THIS ISSUE

Greetings from the Chair
Christine Williams
(cwilliams@austin.utexas.edu)

I'm finishing up editing a book manuscript entitled "Gender and sexuality in the workplace." But lately I have been thinking of changing the title. The problem with the current title is the "in." Using this preposition suggests that gender and sexuality are added into the otherwise gender-neutral spaces of workplaces. As feminist scholars argue, gender and sexuality aren't separate from workplaces, or any social institution for that matter. Organizations are constituted in and through gender discourses; they are built on binary logics of masculine and feminine; they produce gendered and sexual identities.

The gender and sexuality "of" the workplace was revealed quite starkly by news that Marquette University broke its contractual agreement to appoint sociologist Jodi O'Brien to the position of Dean of Liberal Arts. Professor O'Brien is a lesbian scholar who studies LGBT activists in church politics. Officials claimed that her scholarship is at odds with Catholic values, revealing the gendered and sexual logic of their institution. Apparently, refusal to champion the hetero-gender family is a deal-breaker at Marquette. *It's in the job description!*

The Marquette fiasco makes evident what Joan Acker proclaimed in 1990: organizations are inherently gendered. We are delighted that Professor Acker is contributing a column to this newsletter on the twentieth anniversary of her classic article. Her theory of "gendered

organizations" argued that much sociological theory obscures gender inequality by deploying the myth of the disembodied worker with no obligations outside of work—an ideal that excludes many women with primary childcare responsibilities. Other forms of inequality are also inscribed in job descriptions, including heteronormativity, revealed blatantly in the case of Marquette.

Can organizations be devised to undo gender? Is it possible to ban sexuality from workplaces? Not as long as people are involved, with their messy emotions, desires, and ambivalences. However, it may be possible to "queer" organizations by challenging the binary logics that maintain the fiction of gender neutrality—and race and sexual neutrality as well. Revealing the hidden assumptions that organize workplaces is a critical step towards economic justice and equality.

In this spirit, I gladly announce that OOW will be holding its reception jointly with the Section on Emotions at the ASA meetings in August. The coming together of these two sections was motivated by the election of Emotions section chair Amy Wharton to be our next OOW chair. This gesture is also intended to challenge the traditional theories that have previously framed the sociology of work as separate from emotions.

We have an exciting line up of sessions for the Atlanta meetings. Paper topics are listed in the newsletter, and also on the searchable program on the ASA website:

http://convention2.allacademic.com/one/asa/asa10/

Please make a special effort to attend the roundtable session on Saturday, August 14 (10:30-11:30), followed immediately by the business meeting (11:30-12:10). The business meeting is a time to provide input into section

activities, volunteer for committees, and network with other scholars. At the business meeting we also will present the OOW section awards to the best article, book, and graduate student paper. And if you need an extra incentive to attend, we are planning to raffle off door prizes at the end of the meeting! See you in Atlanta!

Christine Williams
OOW Section Chair 2009-10
Professor of Sociology
University of Texas at Austin

Greetings from the Newsletter Editor
Patti Giuffre (pg07@txstate.edu)

Send me notices of recent publications, dissertation abstracts, and ideas for newsletter columns. The deadline for the next issue is October 1, 2010.

Eventually, we will have a web-based newsletter, much like ASA's *News and Notes*. Thanks for your patience as we make this transition.

Meanwhile, please **check the website** for job listings, conference announcements, and full information about the OOW section activities.
http://www2.asanet.org/oow/
The website is maintained by Frank Steinhart.

I'd like to thank my graduate assistants, Nick LaLone and Tina Villarreal, for helping me with the newsletter.

Patti Giuffre
Associate Professor of Sociology
Texas State University, San Marcos

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2010 OOW Program

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Academia as Gendered Organization,
co-sponsored with Sex and Gender section.
Sun., August 15, 10:30-12:10, Hilton

Organizers: Anastasia Prokos (Iowa State University), Irene Padavic (Florida State University). Discussant: Sharon R. Bird (Iowa State University)

"Examining Institutional Transformation: Feminist Reflections on the NSF ADVANCE Program."   Shauna A. Morimoto, Valerie H Hunt, Anna Zajicek, Joseph Rencis (University of Arkansas)

"Gender, Discipline, and Mentoring During Graduate School." Bridget K. Gorman (Rice University), Jenifer L Bratter (Rice University), Kristen Schilt (University of Chicago)

"Negotiating Gender Across Disciplines: A Challenge for Interdisciplinary Science." Stephanie L. Osbakken (University of Michigan)

"Gendered Patterns of Work-Time and Care-Time among Faculty." Joya Misra, Jennifer Hickes Lundquist, Abby Irene Templer (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)

Changing Nature of Jobs and Careers
Sun., August 15, 12:30-2:10, Hilton
Organizers: Beth Bechky (University of California, Davis) Emilio J. Castilla (MIT). Discussant: Daniel B. Cornfield (Vanderbilt University)

"Why Did Workers Become More Mobile? Firm Size, Unions and the Growth of External Hiring." Matthew James Bidwell (The Wharton School)

"Stay or Leave? Changing Returns to the External Labor Market Strategy." Anne K. Kronberg (Emory University)

"Punching In, Punching Out: Work, Leisure, and Entrepreneurial Ambitions." Stephen Lippmann (Miami University), Phillip Kim (University of Wisconsin-Madison)

"Price, Value, and the Marginal Role of the Sales Force: Lessons from Work and Practice." Mark Joseph Zbaracki (University of Western Ontario), Mark Bergen (University of Minnesota)

"From 'One of the Family' to 'Girl Talk': The Role of Maternalism in Paid Domestic Work." Amanda Moras (University of Connecticut)

Gender and Race at Work
Sat., August 14, 2:30-4:10, Hilton
Organizer and presider: Matt Huffman (University of California, Irvine)

"With a Little Help From My Friends? Gender, Social Closure, and Network Support." Gail Marie McGuire (Indiana University-South Bend), William T. Bielby (University of Illinois-Chicago)

"From Metaphors to Mechanisms: Gender Sorting Into an Organizational Hierarchy." Roberto M. Fernandez (MIT), Mabel Lana Botelho Abraham (Massachusetts Institute of Technology-Sloan)

"Gendered Opportunity Structures in the Workplace: Collaborative Relationships in Public and Private Biotechnology Organizations." Kjersten Bunker Whittington (Reed College)

"Law Firm Employment Practices and the Representation of Minorities." Elizabeth H. Gorman (University of Virginia), Fiona M. Kay (Queen's University)

"Reevaluating the Role of the Public Sector in Reducing Earnings Inequality: Three Sources of Earning Inequality." Anat Yom-Tov (University of Wisconsin)

Knowledge Work and Innovation
Sat. August 14, 4:30-6:10, Hilton
Organizer and presider: Erin Leahey (University of Arizona)

"Funnels and Filters: Research Collaborations as Conduits for Knowledge Transfer." Craig M. Rawlings, Daniel A. McFarland, Linus Dahlander, Dan Wang (Stanford University)

"Linking Garbage Cans, Leading Radical Change." Zack Kertcher (University of Chicago)

"Légitimité Sans Frontières : Entrepreneurial Name Choices in British Public Companies, 1844-1904." Christopher Wheat (MIT)

"Risks and Rewards of Strategic Orthodoxy: The Case of Social Studies of Science." Kyle Siler (Cornell University)

"Technological Change, Establishing Expertise, and Jurisdictional Control." Steven Kahl, Gregory Liegel (University of Chicago)

Organizational Ethnography
Sun. August 15, 8:30-10:10, Hilton
Organizer: Elizabeth Armstrong (University of Michigan). Discussant: Tim Hallett (Indiana University)

"Logics in Action: The Case of Drug Court." Chad Michael McPherson (University of Iowa), Michael Sauder (University of Iowa)
"Social Spaces and Ritual Interactions: An Organizational Ethnography."   Ryan C. Sperry (Columbia University)

"Placing Gossip: The Influence of Space and Time on Gossip in a Restaurant Kitchen." Daphne Demetry (Northwestern University)

"Embedded Routine Passivity: Organizational Reform in an American Prison." Danielle S. Rudes (George Mason University)

Consent and Coercion in 21st Century Work Organizations
Sat. August 14, 8:30-10:10, Hilton
Organizer and discussant: Christine L. Williams (University of Texas at Austin)

"Branding Consent: The Role of Brands in Retail Labor Process Control." Deborah A. Smith (University of Minnesota)

"Ready to Call Your Own Shots? Taxes, Class, and Social Boundaries in Long-Haul Trucking." Stephen R. Viscelli (Indiana University)

"The Extraction of Emotional Labor through Emotional Boundary Maintenance in Paid Care Work." Jessica Cobb (University of California-Berkeley)

OOW Roundtables

Sat., August 14, 10:30-11:30, Hilton
Organizers: Catherine Connell and Christine Williams (University of Texas at Austin)

Note: Check the full listing for the roundtables on the ASA website. Regrettably, we could not list the titles of roundtable papers because of the number of roundtables this year (which means, of course, many great papers and discussions!)

Table 01. Accounting for the Gender Wage Gap
Table 02. Accounting for the Gender Wage Gap, 2
Table 03. At Work in the Academy
Table 04. Causes and Consequences of Occupational Segregation
Table 05. Causes and Consequences of Occupational Segregation, 2
Table 06. Crises of Organizational Legitimacy, 1
Table 07. Crises of Organizational Legitimacy, 2
Table 08. Developments in Human Capital Theory
Table 09. Employment Opportunities & The Importance of Social Networks
Table 10. Gender & Career Trajectories
Table 11. Gender and Career Trajectories, 2
Table 12. Implementing Corporate Social Responsibility
Table 13. Improving Work Quality
Table 14. Intersectional Approaches to Studying Work
Table 15. Labor in the New Economy
Table 16. Maintaining Identities & Inequalities Through Workplace Culture
Table 17. Managing Workplace Stressors
Table 18. Organizational Innovations
Table 19. The Organizational Impacts of Workplace Interactions, 1
Table 20. The Organizational Impacts of Workplace Interactions, 2
Table 21. The Significance of the Second Shift
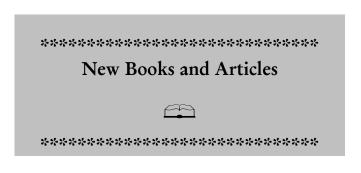Table 22. The Social Dynamics of Entrepreneurship
Table 23. State's Role in Structuring Work

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Dissertation Abstract
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Michelle I. Gawerc. *Israeli Palestinian Peace-building Partnerships: Stories of Adaptation, Asymmetry, and Survival* . (Advisor: Professor William A. Gamson). Doctoral candidate and teaching fellow, Boston College (gawerc@bc.edu).

This work presents a longitudinal case study of more than ten years of all the major peace-building initiatives with an educational encounter-based approach in Israel and Palestine during times of relative peace and times of acute violence (1993-2008). It examines how non-governmental peace-building initiatives adapt to radically changing environments, the challenges they face, and why some are able to adapt and survive while others not. I explored two aspects of adaptation—the ability to maintain resources and legitimacy with critical constituencies outside the organization, and the ability to continue to function effectively as an organization. I found that when the environment became more tumultuous and hostile, the effectiveness and even survival of these organizations depended to a significant degree on the ability of the organizations to manage the power asymmetry between the two sides and work as equally as possible. Indeed, it became critical for building and maintaining trust and respect in the partnership; for preserving legitimacy with one's partner; for maintaining staff and active participant commitment; for managing internal conflict; and even for managing resources. Organizations who failed to deal effectively with matters of equality, and the needs and desires of both sides, ended up struggling to maintain commitment or were doused in conflict that could have been tempered if they strived for more equality.

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New Books and Articles

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Ono, Hiroshi. 2010. "Lifetime Employment in Japan: Concepts and Measurements." *Journal of the Japanese and International Economies* **24(1): 1-27.**

This paper addresses three questions: (1) How big is lifetime employment in Japan? (2) How unique is it? and (3) How is it changing? Through the use of multiple data sets and methods, I find that no more than 20 percent of workers in Japan are likely to be employed under informal lifetime employment contracts, a far smaller percentage than has been reported. Job mobility remains considerably lower in Japan than in other advanced economies (particularly the U.S.). Evidence regarding changes in lifetime employment is mixed. The share of workers in the core is declining, but the probability of job separations has remained stable for those who are already in the system. There is also evidence that the economic stagnation of the 1990s disproportionately affected females and younger workers.

Adia Harvey Wingfield. 2010. "Are Some Emotions Marked 'Whites Only'? Racialized Feeling Rules in Professional Workplaces." *Social Problems* **57(2): 251-268.**

Much of the research on emotion work in organizations has focused on the ways in which emotional performance reproduces gender inequality. Yet, most of these studies overlook the racial character of professional workplaces and how emotion work is experienced by racial/ethnic minorities. In this article, I examine how the normative feeling rules that guide emotional performance in professional workplaces are racialized rather than neutral or objective criteria. Based on 25 semistructured interviews with black professionals, I contend that feeling rules have different implications for black workers and ultimately reinforce racial difference. This research contributes to the sociological literature on emotion work by further developing the racial components of emotional performance."

George Gonos (with Harris Freeman). 2009. "Taming the Employment Sharks: The Case for Regulating Profit-Driven Labor Market Intermediaries in High Mobility Labor Markets." *Employee Rights and Employment Policy Journal* **13(2): 285-360.**

This article explores the historical conflict between private employment agencies and union hiring halls and their unequal regulatory treatment. This article describes the similar functions of profit-driven staffing agencies and union hiring halls in contingent labor markets, and addresses the question of why commercial agencies dominate the field while union halls, which provide workers better outcomes, are relegated to small pockets of the economy. We explore the historical conflict between these two models, and contrast the unregulated legal environment for commercial staffing agencies with the extensive federal regulatory regime governing union hiring halls. To level the playing field, the article proposes a detailed regulatory regime for commercial labor agencies.

Victor P. Corona, and Frédéric C. Godart. 2010. "Network-Domains in Combat and Fashion Organizations." *Organization* **17(2):283-304.**

This article adapts and extends the 'network-domain' concept from Harrison White's Identity

and Control in order to consider how social ties are interwoven with domains of meaning in organizations. Our interpretation claims that modalities of behavior in organizations are consequences of identities, persistent movements among positions in network-domains as well as organizational efforts to manage these movements. This idea is outlined through discussion of two organizational antipodes: combat operations and fashion design. While combat operations require internal group cohesion and constrained individuality, the fashion industry is based on the distinctiveness of designs and the display of personal tastes. Despite clear differences,
however, we trace how attempts at managing movements among network-domains are central to identities in both contexts. This effort builds on the generally accepted understanding of identities in organizations as labile and socially constituted and thereby contributes to bridging micro/macro and structural/cultural gaps in organizational theorizing.

Deborah A. Harris and Patti Giuffre. "'The Price You Pay': How Female Professional Chefs Negotiate Work and Family." Forthcoming (2010) in *Gender Issues*.

Work-family conflict is a gendered mechanism underlying women's under-representation in male-dominated occupations. This study uses in-depth interviews to explore the experiences of female professional chefs in order to understand how women in a prestigious, yet male-dominated service occupation manage barriers relating to their balance of work and family responsibilities. Conflict between work and family responsibilities often stemmed from the long work hours expected of chefs and played a role in some of our participant's decisions to leave kitchen work. Respondents study negotiated work-family conflict by : (1) delaying/forgoing childbearing to succeed as a chef; (2) leaving

kitchen work for another job in the culinary field; and (3) adapting either work or family to make the two roles more compatible. We discuss the implications of these strategies for gender inequality in the workplace, particularly for women in male-dominated occupations.

Pawan Dhingra. 2009. "The Possibility of Community: How Indian American Motel Owners Negotiate Competition and Solidarity with Co-ethnics," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 12(3): 321-346.

This article examines how Indian American motel owners create connections to peers despite the competition that divides them. Among other tactics, they must rely on ritual spaces and encounters.

Pawan Dhingra. 2010. "Hospitable to Others: Indian American Motel Owners Create Boundaries and Belonging in the Heartland." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33(6): 1088 – 1107.

This article explains how Indian American motel owners in Ohio and elsewhere in the Midwest experience a racial, religious, and ethnic marginalization from locals but still connect to them. Owners of higher versus lower status motels have different tactics and understandings of belonging, but together their experiences challenge assumptions of immigrant adaptation and entrepreneurship.

Lori Freedman. Forthcoming (June 2010). *Willing and Unable: Doctors' Constraints in Abortion Care.* Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Willing and Unable explores the social world where abortion politics and mainstream medicine collide. The author interviewed physicians of obstetrics and gynecology around the United States to find out why physicians rarely integrate abortion into their medical

practice. While abortion stigma, violence, and political contention provide some explanation, her findings demonstrate that willing physicians are further encumbered by a variety of barriers within their practice environments. Structural barriers to the mainstream practice of abortion effectively institutionalize the buck-passing of abortion patients to abortion clinics. Drawing from forty in-depth interviews, the book presents a challenge to a commonly held assumption that physicians decide whether or not to provide abortion based on personal ideology. Physician narratives demonstrate how their choices around learning, doing, and even having abortions themselves disrupt the pro-choice/pro-life moral and political binary.

Kathleen Gerson. 2010. *The Unfinished Revolution: How a New Generation is Reshaping Family, Work, and Gender in America.* **Oxford: Oxford University Press.**

The vast changes in work and family life – the rise of two-paycheck, single, and same-sex parents – have often been blamed for declining morality and unhappy children. Drawing upon pioneering research with the children of the gender revolution, Kathleen Gerson reveals that it is not a lack of "family values," but rigid social and economic forces that make it difficult to have a vibrant and committed work and family life. "The Unfinished Revolution" offers an original analysis of the dilemmas facing young adults in 21st century America and offers clear recommendations for the kinds of workplace and community changes needed to bring about more egalitarian patterns in the public and private spheres – a new flexibility at work and at home that benefits families, encourages a thriving economy, and helps women and men integrate love and work.

Kristen Schilt. Forthcoming (winter 2010). *Just One of the Guys? Transgender Men and the Persistence of Gender Inequality.* **Chicago: University of Chicago Press.**

The fact that men and women continue to receive unequal treatment at work is a point of contention among politicians, the media, and scholars. Common explanations for this disparity range from biological differences between the sexes to the conscious and unconscious biases that guide hiring and promotion decisions. *Just One of the Guys?* sheds new light on this phenomenon by analyzing the unique experiences of transgender men—people designated female at birth whose gender identity is male—on the job. Kristen Schilt draws on in-depth interviews and observational data to show that while individual transmen have varied experiences, overall their stories are a testament to systemic gender inequality. The reactions of coworkers and employers to transmen, Schilt demonstrates, reveal the ways assumptions about innate differences between men and women serve as justification for discrimination. She finds that some transmen gain acceptance—and even privileges—by becoming "just one of the guys," that some are coerced into working as women or marginalized for being openly transgender, and that other forms of appearance-based discrimination also influence their opportunities.

Adia Harvey Wingfield and Joe Feagin. 2009. *Yes We Can? White Racial Framing and the 2008 Presidential Campaign.* **New York: Routledge.**

This book develops Feagin's concept of the white racial frame, and examines the ways in which racial framing was used by various parties during the historic 2008 campaign. It is one of the first sociological analyses of race and racism in that campaign season.

Awards!

Adia Harvey Wingfield was honored with the Outstanding Junior Faculty Award from the College of Arts and Sciences at Georgia State University. This award recognizes exceptional performance from faculty at the assistant professor level.

Elizabeth Chiarello, University of California-Irvine, was awarded the Mellon Foundation/ACLS Dissertation Completion Fellowship for her dissertation titled "Pharmacists of Conscience: Ethical Decision-Making Across Legal, Political, and Organizational Environments." This national award provides $33,000 to support doctoral students in social sciences and humanities in their final year of dissertation writing. Ms. Chiarello was selected as one of 70 fellows out of a pool of almost 1,200 applicants.

SPOTLIGHT ON OOW MEMBER'S RESEARCH

Dana Britton, Professor of Sociology
Kansas State University
brittn@ksu.edu

Cracking the Academic Glass Ceiling: A Study of the Transition between Associate and Full Professor for Faculty in the Sciences

In recent years, much attention has been devoted to the growing need for professionals in science, engineering, and math (SEM) disciplines. One way to meet that need, many have argued, is to diversify the domestic SEM workforce by bringing more members of underrepresented groups (primarily women and minority men) into these fields and into the academy. Federal funding efforts, most notably the National Science Foundation's (NSF) ADVANCE program, have provided resources to transform university climates and foster research and dissemination with the aim of diversifying the SEM academic workforce. Some of those efforts have borne fruit – at least so far as women are concerned. Relative to their proportion in Ph.D. pools, women are now overrepresented as assistant professors in a few disciplines in the sciences and engineering. And data from the top 100 SEM departments across the US demonstrates that in most fields women occupy positions as associate professors in proportions equal to or greater than their proportions on the faculty in these departments (Nelson and Brammer 2010). These same data indicate, however, that women are severely underrepresented as full professors. Though some of this gap is explained by years of experience, a substantial difference remains even after taking this into account.

In 2008, I was part of a group awarded an NSF ADVANCE PAID* grant to study the process of promotion to full professor for faculty in the sciences. My part of the project involves the collection of

interviews with faculty in four sample cells – associate professors in rank for three to six years, associate professors in rank for seven or more years, full professors promoted within six years, and full professors promoted in seven years or more. The idea behind this design is to capture the factors that both facilitate and hinder promotion. To date, I have conducted interviews with 131 faculty (73 women and 58 men), split roughly equally across these sample cells, on ten university campuses. They represent a wide variety of disciplines: engineering (30), mathematics (15), biology (14), and more than a dozen other academic specialties. To my knowledge, this will be the largest single qualitative study of this aspect of the promotion process ever conducted.

I am now in the process of having these interviews transcribed and have recently begun the coding process. At the moment it is clear that some things matter for all faculty – e.g., non-standard academic appointments, junior administrative roles, department reorganizations, and a lack of clarity in policies governing the promotion process all create barriers. Some of these barriers work in gendered ways, however, and still other factors matter far more for women than men. Transparently sexist interactions and department climates still exist, and these patterns are more likely to persist in departments in which women are absent or present in minorities of one or two. Many faculty had routine or mundane experiences with the process, some perceived themselves as hindered by discrimination or by their own (constrained) choices. Some – though very few - of those I interviewed challenged the process itself, seeing the recent emphasis on "stuck" associate professors as a mechanism for imposing an academic career speed up at the precise moment at which the expiration of the tenure clock has traditionally granted a measure of individual freedom and control.

All of these impressions are preliminary, however. I hope to know more (and say more) once I am able to work with this very large database. These findings should go a long way toward helping us to understand the persistence of the gap between men and women at the level of full professor - and perhaps the stubbornness of the glass ceiling in a more general sense. They should also serve as a resource in helping organizations to craft strategies to foster gender equity.

Nelson, Donna J. and Christopher N. Brammer. 2010. A National Analysis of Minorities in Science and Engineering Faculties at Research Universities. Online:
http://chem.ou.edu/~djn/diversity/Faculty_Tables_FY07/07Report.pdf

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OOW MEMBERS RESPOND

What are questions that sociologists should be asking about the economy?
How does your research inform these questions?

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Joan Acker, University of Oregon (jacker@uoregon.edu)
Neoliberalism and the Possibility of Gender Equality in Work Organizations.

Neoliberal beliefs about the free market, minimal government intervention in economic life, and the individual as a free agent, responsible for his own economic fate were major arguments in the successful legislative efforts, culminating in 1996, to "end welfare as we know it." The old welfare law, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, gave impoverished mothers and their children the right to cash assistance. The new law, Temporary Assistance to Needy Families, ended that entitlement. I and my colleagues, Sandra Morgen and Jill Weigt, studied the process of "welfare reform" in Oregon, looking at the actions and reactions of those most closely involved: clients, welfare workers, and welfare administrators (see *Stretched Thin: Poor Families, Welfare Work, and Welfare Reform*, Cornell University Press: 2010). We found that neoliberal values were implicit in reform policy and implementation practices. The motto of the reform was "Work is always better than welfare." The first agency goal for clients was self-sufficiency through employment. Children and family were scarcely mentioned. On the ground, in welfare offices, welfare staff acted on the work mandate, with minimal attention to the needs of children and families. Children were primarily problems that individual mothers had to solve, with a bit of help from the agency in the form of often inadequate funds for child care. Some welfare workers felt stressed by the contradictions between the needs of poverty stricken mothers and the policy that work always comes first. However, both clients and agency workers fundamentally accepted the new definition of women as workers first.

This redefinition of the welfare mother as primarily a worker is part of the redefinition of most women workers in neoliberal society. "The worker" under capitalism is implicitly defined as unencumbered by any obligations other than those to the job, and work is usually organized on the basis of this assumption. Historically, women have been seen as encumbered wives and mothers and thus not real workers and not entitled to the rewards and rights of real workers. This gendered separation is challenged by the fact that most women work for pay, that women are now doctors, lawyers and even construction workers, and that women's demands for equality continue. But as our research suggests, equality may be defined now as the transformation of women into neoliberal gender-neutral unencumbered workers whose main efforts go to the job. This path to gender equality is impossible for many women, and some men, for whom it constitutes a fundamental contradiction:

work expectations and family needs do not mesh. Work/family programs may ease this contradiction, but do not erase them.

Few commentators talk about solving this problem by restructuring and redefining work for everyone: that would require serious challenge to the neoliberal idea of the individual as well as to the organization of most work places and the aims of most capitalist firms. Such redefinition and reorganization may be essential to achieving real gender equality. However, the idea of the neoliberal (and unencumbered) individual is hegemonic today, as our study showed for Oregon welfare workers, welfare clients, and administrators. They all, with few exceptions, approved of the idea that for all people paid work can and should be the first responsibility. Many welfare mothers regretted deeply that this often meant they did not have enough time for their children, but economic needs came first. Our study was done during the days of optimism and full employment at the end of the '90's. Whether very poor women and welfare workers still feel that way might be a question for further research.

Julie A. Kmec, Washington State University (jkmec@wsu.edu)
Work Effort and Occupational Sex Composition in the New Economy

In today's economy, employers are undoubtedly looking for ways to get more work out of fewer workers. For this reason, scholars of work should pay close attention to work effort—how much of it people give, who gives it, when they give it, when they withhold it, and how employers elicit and respond to it. My collaborations with Elizabeth Gorman inform this line of inquiry. In our 2010 *Work & Occupations* article, we found that in the U.S. women and men report engaging in the same amount of discretionary work effort (i.e., going above and beyond what is required), but in Britain, women report greater discretionary effort than men (in both countries, these findings held with controls for individual, family, and work characteristics). In our 2007 *Gender & Society* article we reported that women describe having to give greater effort in their jobs compared to men (net of individual, family, and work characteristics). We interpret the gender difference in perceived required effort as evidence of employers' higher performance standards for women than men.   How will the new economic reality shape gender differences in effort and workers' perceptions of required effort? Will employers impose higher performance standards as competition for jobs edge up? Will greater fear of job loss in an uncertain economy increase work effort? Will limited funds for raises or bonuses undermine work effort? Will these changes be greater for women or men?

With layoffs and unemployment on the rise, more people are changing careers or pursuing training in areas that promise jobs. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' employment projections for 2008-2018, the detailed occupations projected to add the most jobs are registered nursing, home health aids, and customer service representatives (see http://www.bls.gov/news.release/ecopro.nr0.htm). For the most part, these occupations are female-dominated. Sociologists should pay close attention to if and how growth in these occupations coupled with a change in people's careers plans will affect their sex composition.   Will these occupations see a major shift in their sex composition? How will employers attract men to growing female-dominated occupations? Will men who are "outsiders" in these occupations find it harder to enter these careers than women?

Findings from my coauthored April 2010 *Gender & Society* article help shed light on answers to these questions.   My coauthors, Steve McDonald and Lindsey B. Trimble, and I studied one way people move into new jobs---by non-searching. That is, when people do not actively search for a new job but instead land one through unsolicited help from a network tie.   We found that workers in gender-atypical work groups (e.g., men working in mostly female work-groups) who changed jobs without searching were more likely to move into gender-typical than gender neutral work groups.   We suspected that network ties providing the unsolicited job information to workers in gender-atypical jobs do so, in part, to "correct" the gender incongruence between a worker's sex and the gender composition of his or her job. How will the non-searching process affect men's ability to enter jobs in growing, traditionally female occupations? More generally, will the role of social networks in getting a job take on a new or different meaning as workers and companies emerge out of the downturn?

Gorman, Elizabeth and Julie A. Kmec. 2007. "We (Have to) Try Harder: Gender and Workers' Assessment of Required Work Effort in Britain and the United States." *Gender & Society* 21: 828-856.

Kmec, Julie A. and Elizabeth Gorman. 2010. "Gender and Discretionary Work Effort: Evidence from the United States and Britain." *Work and Occupations* 37: 3-36.

Kmec, Julie A., Steve McDonald, and Lindsey B. Trimble. 2010. "Making Gender Fit and 'Correcting' Gender Misfits: Sex Segregated Employment and the Non-Search Process." *Gender & Society* 24: 213-236.

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Service Economies, Corporate Brands, and the Material Practice of Identity at Work.

The sociology of work and occupations will have to confront the growth and expansion of the service society. Most new jobs in the formal economy, both in the US and globally, are in services (See (Poster 2007a; Poster and Wilson 2008) for statistics and more discussion of service economies). These jobs encompass a wide range of activities (from transportation, to health and child care, to retail and restaurants, to information and computer consulting), a wide range of economic sectors (both government and industry), and a wide range of occupational levels (from high to low skill). What they have in common is raising new dilemmas for employers (Avery and Crain 2007; Crain Forthcoming): how to foster employee attachment to the firm as the material rewards of service are rapidly dissipating (e.g., full-time status, employment security, health benefits, real wages, etc.); how to appease consumers and clients who have mounting power in the service relation; and how to supervise relations between customers and workers which occur in a context outside the managerial purview. In response, employers in services are increasingly turning to the immaterial aspects of workers' jobs – their identities – as a way of addressing these issues simultaneously. Identity may refer to highly ambiguous aspects of work, but it is often directly connected to material practices of human resources and organizational control. A central question concerns the dynamics and impact of corporate identity management, as the service sector enters more deeply into the economy and extends transnationally.

Crain and colleagues have described the dilemmas of identity management in the framework of corporate "branding." This refers to the process of imprinting the business image onto the worker, so that s/he represents the values of the firm. The idea is to convey the firm's image to the customer

through the interaction itself, while at the same time making the worker feel a sense of loyalty to the firm. Some of the branding is *outward*, and often involves transforming a worker's physical being. In essence, branding becomes bodily labor (Lan 2001). In the most extreme example, brands are literally marked on workers' bodies as tattoos. Some individuals are now permanently imprinting corporate logos on their bodies for money (Orend and Gagne 2009). Especially where feminine sexuality is part of the corporate image, the outward branding comes in the form of rules about dress and appearance (what Lan calls the "mirroring body"), such as make-up and weight requirements for casino and airline employees. Where pleasantness is part of the image, branding occurs in requirements for gestures and behaviors (Lan's "disciplined body"), such as the Walmart front door greeter, or the Japanese department store elevator lady whose only task is to smile and bow. Branding takes an *inward* form as internal branding programs seek to create "a workforce that reacts and behaves instinctively 'on brand,' effectively managing itself" (Crain, p. 95). The vast literature on emotional labor attests to the deep and surface acting that workers are asked to do in order to enhance the identity features of their firms (Hochschild 2003; Wharton 2009). How inward branding helps to facilitate outward branding is an intriguing topic for future research.

Critically, these branding and identity management practices are embedded within and supported by the law (Avery and Crain, p. 31) (With all due respect to the authors, I've quoted these sentences out of sequence from the original text for the aim of readability in the context here):

The employer "owns" (or leases, for the duration of the work time) the rights to use the employee's face, body type, manner, and even emotions in service of pleasing the customer. ... the various legal regimes ostensibly designed to create or enforce workers' rights – including labor law, constitutional doctrine, the common law, and antidiscrimination law – are generally interpreted to protect the employer's interests in branding as a part of its managerial prerogative to control production ... [and to] protect the employer against workers' efforts to resist the imposition and effects of branding.

Alarming are the ways that some unions *endorse* employers in maintaining the fundamental structure of identity management, and the ways that some workers welcome corporate branding. Clearly, more investigation is needed to tease out the intersections of consent and control in these service industries.

What are the implications of race, class, gender, sexuality, and nationality for service work (Poster 2002; Poster and Wilson 2008)? While there has been considerable research on the gendering of branding and identity management, there has been less attention to other systems of inequality. For instance, what are the class bases of identity management: are outward (and more corporeal) forms of corporate branding more common to lower level services, versus inward forms at higher level professional services? What are the sexualized dimensions of identity management: are gays and lesbians encouraged to perform or display a hetero-normative familial image to the public, even in firms that are increasingly gay-friendly to their employees (Giuffre, Dellinger, and Williams 2008; Williams, Giuffre, and Dellinger 2009)?

My work has explored the racializing of identity management, particularly resulting from the global expansion of service industries (Poster 2007b). As outsourcing moves service work across borders and places a transnational divide between workers and customers, employers have a new dilemma of service work: how to comply with consumer demands that they are best served by someone who is their own

nationality, and how to mask the broader process of outsourcing. Investigating US-subcontracted customer service call centers in India, I find that workers are asked to display Americanness along with displaying politeness and pleasantness on the phone. This widens the range of one's identity that is subject to managerial control – not just particular emotions, but a whole, unified sense of citizenship. The corporate brand that is being enacted by workers and sold to consumers (sometimes deceptively) is one of nationality, hence the term "national identity management."

    Identity management in call centers is less about the appearance of the worker than in other service jobs, and therefore training is more highly focused on the sound of the voice and the content of the conversation. In the process of providing selling mortgage insurance or helping to solve computer problems, these call center workers are asked to use American names, adopt American accents, and convey through idle conversation and prepared scripts that they are in fact in the U.S. The performance of these tasks is monitored electronically through sophisticated "customer relationship management software" (Poster Forthcoming), and workers can in fact be fired for failing to carry it out effectively. My study reveals localized patterns of resistance by employees in the workplace itself, from reluctant accommodation, to ethical or political objection, to active disobedience. In turn, how nationality and race are entering the realm of transnational organizing and law in the service industry will be a welcome topic for future study.

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