SAGE PUBLICATIONS

# *The Sexuality of* ORGANIZATION

*EDITED BY*

Jeff Hearn

Deborah L. Sheppard

Peta Tancred-Sheriff

Gibson Burrell

院图书馆

# The Sexuality of Organization

edited by

Jeff Hearn
Deborah L. Sheppard
Peta Tancred-Sheriff
Gibson Burrell

SAGE Publications
London · Newbury Park · New Delhi

Chapter 1 © Gibson Burrell and Jeff Hearn 1989
Chapter 2 © Albert J. Mills 1989
Chapter 3 © Peta Tancred-Sheriff 1989
Chapter 4 © Barbara A. Gutek 1989
Chapter 5 © Nancy DiTomaso 1989
Chapter 6 © David L. Collinson and Margaret Collinson 1989
Chapter 7 © Wendy Parkin 1989
Chapter 8 © Marny Hall 1989
Chapter 9 © Deborah L. Sheppard 1989
Chapter 10 © Rosemary Pringle 1989
Postscript © Jeff Hearn, Deborah L. Sheppard,
Peta Tancred-Sheriff and Gibson Burrell 1989

First published 1989
Reprinted 1990, 1992, 1993, 1996

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted or utilized in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without permission in writing from the Publishers.

SAGE Publications Ltd
6 Bonhill Street
London EC2A 4PU

SAGE Publications Inc
2455 Teller Road
Thousand Oaks, California 91320

SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd
32, M-Block Market
Greater Kailash – I
New Delhi 110 048

**British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data**

The sexuality of organization.
1. Organizational behaviour. Sexual differences
I. Hearn, Jeff II. Sheppard, Deborah L.
302.3'5

ISBN 978-0-8039-8231-4

**Library of Congress catalog card number 89–062871**

# The Sexuality of Organization

Other books by the editors:

**Jeff Hearn**

*Birth and Afterbirth* (1983) London: Achilles Heel.
*'Sex' at 'Work'. The Power and Paradox of Organisation Sexuality* (with Wendy Parkin) (1987) Brighton: Wheatsheaf; New York: St Martin's.
*The Gender of Oppression. Men, Masculinity, and the Critique of Marxism* (1987) Brighton: Wheatsheaf; New York: St Martin's.
*Studying Men and Masculinity. A Sourcebook of Literature and Materials* (with David Ford) (1988, 1989) Bradford: University of Bradford.
member of Violence Against Children Study Group *Taking Child Abuse Seriously* (1989) London/Winchester, MA: Unwin Hyman.

**Peta Tancred-Sheriff**

*Career Patterns in the Higher Civil Service* (1976) London: HMSO.
*Social Change in France* (with Michalina Vaughan and Martin Kolinsky) (1980) Oxford: Martin Robertson.
editor of *Feminist Research. Prospect and Retrospect/Recherche féministe. Bilan et Perspectives d'Avenir* (1988) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

**Gibson Burrell**

*Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis* (with Gareth Morgan) (1979) London: Heinemann.

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

# Foreword

This book is the product of a rather unusual kind of diffuse network. The idea for the book began in August 1985 in San Diego, California. It was there that we four, along with Robert Quinn, presented the symposium, 'Sexuality, Power and Organizational Theory', convened by Gibson Burrell, to a joint session of Women in Management, and the Organization and Management Theory Divisions of the Academy of Management annual conference. To our great relief and even greater excitement, the symposium went very well. We also got on well with each other. So the questions followed – 'How could we further the study and understanding of sexuality and organizations?'; and 'How could we find a way of keeping in touch with each other?' This book is our answer.

We decided to attempt to put together a collection of what we considered to be some of the most interesting work on sexuality and organizations in the English-speaking world. In particular we aimed to produce a critical and coherent feminist/pro-feminist text on the pervasiveness and power of sexuality in the ongoing production and reproduction of organizations and organizational life. The contributors are from Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, and from a variety of academic disciplines – economics, management, organization theory, psychology, psychotherapy, sociology, trade union studies.

Geographical and disciplinary spread has meant that a good deal of learning from each other, and interchange of ideas and information, has taken place – indeed has had to take place. Though we have had the responsibility, as editors, for co-ordinating the production of the book, in practice the process has been more complex and more novel. All the contributions were sent in draft form to all the other contributors, and comments were invited from any or all involved. The commentaries that followed, criss-crossing the world, have been as important as the conventional process of editing. To expedite this process, one person from among us was nominated to act as the main liaising editor for each contribution (including each other's) in moving drafts to a final version. When

these were complete we added linking paragraphs at the beginning of chapters and a short postscript. We hope the process of producing this book has mirrored some of the methodological, organizational and political issues raised within it.

As a final word of introduction, we would like to thank Rosemary Nixon, formerly of Sage, for first showing interest in the idea; Stephen Barr and Karen Phillips, for their encouragement and kindness; Sue Jones for her excellent editorial work; Susan Haberis and other staff at Sage; Maureen Froggatt and Sue Moody for typing parts of the script; Kate Russell for the gift of the cover; and Christine Burrell, Jay Hearn, Tom Levy and Guy Paquette for their support, and for putting up with piles of papers in corners of rooms.

May 1989

# The Contributors

**Gibson Burrell** graduated in sociology at the University of Leicester thereafter completing an M.Phil (Leicester 1974) and a PhD (Manchester 1980). After holding a research post at the University of Birmingham, he became Lecturer in Behaviour in Organizations at the University of Lancaster. He is currently Professor of Organizational Behaviour at the University of Warwick. His research interests include the development of organization theory using concepts from social theory and philosophy, as well as 'sexuality in organizations'.

**David Collinson** is Conoco Lecturer in Organizational Behaviour in the Department of Management at the University of St Andrews, following the completion of his doctorate at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology. He has conducted research and published papers on shop-floor culture, management control, managerial accountancy, sex discrimination in the recruitment process, and the role of personnel management in management. He is co-editor of *Job Redesign* (Gower, 1985), author of *Barriers to Fair Selection* (Equal Opportunities Commission, 1988) and co-author with David Knights and Margaret Collinson of *Managing to Discriminate* (Routledge, 1990). Currently, he is researching workplace culture and safety practices on North Sea oil installations.

**Margaret Collinson** worked in the finance sector for many years, during which time she became a full-time trade union official. Her responsibilities included all aspects of equal opportunities and she negotiated the first successful equal value claim within the UK financial services sector. She has been involved in management training in England and Scotland for managers from the United Kingdom and Europe. Currently, she is a tutor in Management Studies at the Universities of St Andrews and Dundee and co-author with David Collinson and David Knights of *Managing to Discriminate* (Routledge, 1990).

**Nancy DiTomaso** is Associate Professor of Organizational Management at the Graduate School of Management of Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. She received her degree from the University of Wisconsin-Madison and has previously taught at Northwestern and New York Universities. Her current research includes work on

organizational culture, managing diversity in organizations, and the occupational structure in organizations. She has published on these and other topics in human resource management and has been active in the Academy of Management and the American Sociological Association, including a recent term as a member of the ASA Council. One of her most recent publications is *Ensuring Minority Success in Corporate Management* (Plenum, 1988).

**Barbara A. Gutek** is Professor in the Department of Management and Policy, University of Arizona, Tucson; she was formerly Professor of Psychology, Claremont Graduate School, Los Angeles. A 1975 University of Michigan PhD, Gutek has been studying sexual behaviour at work since 1978. Her book, *Sex and the Workplace* (Jossey-Bass, 1985), based on a random-sample survey of 1232 employed men and women in Los Angeles County, was translated into Danish in 1988 (published as *Seksuel Chikane* by Teknisk Forlag). Gutek is co-author or co-editor of nine other books, eight of which are on women and work. She serves frequently as an expert witness in the United States in court cases on sex discrimination and sexual harassment.

**Marny Hall** has been a psychotherapist and organizational consultant in the San Francisco Bay area for twenty years. She is author of *The Lavender Couch: A Consumer's Guide to Psychotherapy for Lesbians and Gay Men* (Alyson, 1985), and has contributed articles to several anthologies and periodicals, including *The Journal of Homosexuality* (1977, 1986, 1987), *Lesbian Sex* (Joann Loulan, 1985), and *Women and Mental Health* (Bayes and Howell, 1981). She has conducted seminars and workshops in colleges, corporations and in lesbian communities in the US and the Netherlands. She has also written and produced the video *Gays in Corporations* (1981).

**Jeff Hearn** studied at Oxford University and Oxford Polytechnic, prior to studying organizations at Leeds University and completing his doctorate in social theory at Bradford University. His interest in sexuality and organizations has come from two directions: organizational sociology and men's anti-sexist activities. His recent publications include *The Gender of Oppression* (Wheatsheaf/St Martin's, 1987); with David Ford, *Studying Men and Masculinity* (University of Bradford, 1988); and he is editor of the 'Men, Masculinities, and Leadership' special issue of *Equal Opportunities International* (MCB University Press, 1989). He is Senior Lecturer in Applied Social Studies, University of Bradford, and during 1988–9 was Hallsworth Research Fellow, University of Manchester.

**Albert J. Mills**'s research activities centre on the impact of organization upon people – focusing on organizational change and human liberation. These concerns were formulated on the shop-floor of British industry and through involvement in the movements for social change that dominated the 1960s. Leaving school at fifteen, Mills's early images of organization – images of frustration, of sexually segregated work, of

power disparities, of conflict – were experienced through a series of unskilled jobs and given broader meaning through campaigns for peace, women's liberation, environmental survival and social change. In his early twenties Mills went on to full-time study at Ruskin College, Oxford and then to the universities of Durham, Sheffield and Southern California. He is an Associate Professor of Organizational Behaviour and the Associate Dean of the Faculty of Administrative Studies at Athabasca University in Alberta, Canada.

**Wendy Parkin** is a part-time Senior Lecturer in Sociology and Social Work in the Department of Behavioural Sciences at Huddersfield Polytechnic, and also a part-time social worker in a family centre with Kirklees Metropolitan Council. Research and writing has focused on issues of gender and sexuality within organizations. She has published in Britain, the United States, France and Germany and is co-author, with Jeff Hearn, of *'Sex' at 'Work'* (Wheatsheaf/St Martin's, 1987). She has also written and researched in the field of child abuse, in relation to her current practice, following a number of years as a generic social worker in a social services department.

**Rosemary Pringle** lives in Sydney and teaches sociology at Macquarie University. When not at Macquarie she divides her time between Bondi and the Blue Mountains where she shares a cottage. She is the author of *Secretaries Talk* (Verso, 1989) and co-author, with Ann Game, of *Gender at Work* (Allen & Unwin, 1983). She is currently interested in statistical discourses and their relation to other levels of reality, in particular the construction of occupations.

**Deborah L. Sheppard** is a sociologist with degrees from McGill, Carleton and York Universities, Canada. She has taught sociology and organizational behaviour at York and at Concordia University in Montreal. Her research includes decision making in dual-earner families, the relationship between gender and organizational culture, and the implications of teaching and studying from a perspective of personal and social transformation. In addition to sociological work, she has also been involved in arts administration. Sheppard has given many public talks and presentations on issues of particular concern to women. She is a consultant in the Washington, DC area with offices at 5521 Mohican Road, Bethesda, MD 20816–2159.

**Peta Tancred-Sheriff** has taught sociology at McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada, since 1972. Her early interest in the sociology of organizations has led, via the feminist literature, to a preoccupation with the gender-specificity of organizations. She is currently undertaking research on the impact of computerization on the work of women professionals and she is collaborating, with Albert Mills, on an edited book on gender and organizations. Her previous feminist publications include the editorship of *Feminist Research/Recherche féministe* (McGill – Queen's University Press, 1988) as well as articles in such journals as *Sociologie et Sociétés*, *Atlantis*, and *Australian Universities Review*.

# Contents

*Foreword* vii
*The Contributors* ix

1 The Sexuality of Organization
*Gibson Burrell and Jeff Hearn* 1

2 Gender, Sexuality and Organization Theory
*Albert J. Mills* 29

3 Gender, Sexuality and the Labour Process
*Peta Tancred-Sheriff* 45

4 Sexuality in the Workplace: Key Issues in Social Research and Organizational Practice
*Barbara A. Gutek* 56

5 Sexuality in the Workplace: Discrimination and Harassment
*Nancy DiTomaso* 71

6 Sexuality in the Workplace: The Domination of Men's Sexuality
*David L. Collinson and Margaret Collinson* 91

7 Private Experiences in the Public Domain: Sexuality and Residential Care Organizations
*Wendy Parkin* 110

8 Private Experiences in the Public Domain: Lesbians in Organizations
*Marny Hall* 125

9 Organizations, Power and Sexuality: The Image and Self-Image of Women Managers
*Deborah L. Sheppard* 139

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com

10 Bureaucracy, Rationality and Sexuality: The Case of Secretaries
*Rosemary Pringle* 158

The Sexuality of Organization: A Postscript
*Jeff Hearn, Deborah L. Sheppard, Peta Tancred-Sheriff and Gibson Burrell* 178

*Bibliography* 182
*Index* 197

# 1

# The Sexuality of Organization

*Gibson Burrell and Jeff Hearn*

Sexuality, gender, organizations, organization: these concepts and their interrelationships are the central focus of this book and of this introductory chapter. Gender and gender relations have long been deemed to be absent or relatively unimportant within the study of organizations. The gendered nature of organizations and their management has not been part of the dominant malestream traditions of theorizing on organizational activity. Until very recently, academia, in this case at least, has obscured life rather than reflected it. Even so, we are not just concerned here with gender relations within organizations, but with sexuality and organizations and, more specifically, with the sexuality of organization. For even with the increasing academic, political and personal attention paid to the importance and ubiquity of gender and gendered relations within and of organizations, there has often been and often still is a silence on sexuality. Thus we build upon the fundamental threefold relationship which exists between the realization of the gender-blindness of malestream organization theories; the increasing attention paid to gender and gender relations in organizations; and the persistent neglect of sexuality within the study of gender, the study of organizations, and in the management of most organizational forms.

The approaches we wish to bring to bear on the understanding of gender and sexuality in relation to organizations and organization are unreservedly critical. As men writing on gender and sexuality, we see it as important to learn from feminist theory and practice, not to usurp them; for this reason we describe our own standpoint as profeminist. In these ways we seek to reorientate organizational analysis and move it in a particular direction.

We do not imagine this will prove an easy task; but to begin, we need to clear some ground and make some preliminary remarks on the terms, 'gender' and 'sexuality', and how they are to be used in this chapter and the rest of the book. Since it is through and in these terms that we, as authors, most closely confront the person of the reader, we, and indeed our co-authors, will be dealing

throughout the text with deeply held personal values and sensibilities.

Following this next section, we argue for a critical reorientation of organization theory towards concerns with gender, reproduction and sexuality rather than just production and productivity. The third main section links the first two by outlining the sexuality of organization in terms both of the types of literature available, and the contributions to this book. The chapter is concluded with a summary statement of the main common features and key debates in the book as a whole.

## Gender and sexuality: sexuality and gender

The first and most important point to be made is that although gender and sexuality are conceptually distinct, they are also clearly closely related. This is particularly so in the sense that it is difficult to imagine (within human society at least) sexuality without gender, or gender without sexuality. The overarching theme of this chapter, and the framework in use, is that sexuality and gender are intimately interrelated with production and reproduction in and of society, and with the production and reproduction of organizations and organization: hence a central element in that process is what we have called the sexuality of organization.

However, the exact meaning of both gender and sexuality, and therefore the nature of their interrelationship, are highly contested. Although there may *appear* to be a high degree of consensus on some sexual questions, on closer inspection the interrelationship of sexuality and gender is just as amenable to the full range of methodological and political interpretations as any other social issue. Moreover, the numerous debates and sub-debates that exist on sexuality and gender are constantly shifting and changing, often reflecting on themselves and each other. These debates include, as noted, what is meant by sexuality in the first place.

Having said that, distinctions between gender and sexuality, while contested, are usually drawn in terms of the generality of the social experience of gender in all social spheres, and the particularity of the social experience of sexuality in relation to desire. Gender is widely used to refer to the social construction of sex and divisions based on differences of sex, however indirectly.

Sexuality is used more variously, though frequently in relation to a notion of desire. Thus sexuality can be defined as the social expression or social relations of physical bodily desires, by or for others, or for oneself. Conceptualization of desire, and of the relationship of desire and sexuality, is a particularly difficult and

disputed question. While there are numerous specific interpretations, it is important to note that desire can usefully be thought of as referring to a substance felt to be primordial or aboriginal, but posited by theory to be social and contingent (MacKinnon, 1982:516).[1]

For these reasons, we and our co-editors thought it inappropriate to glide over differences and demand that contributors follow a pre-ordained set of definitions. Instead the authors of subsequent chapters were free to develop their own formulations of these concepts and their interrelations, albeit within feminist and profeminist standpoints.

So how are we to make any sense not just of the concepts of gender and sexuality, but also of their interrelations? Let us outline just four major ways of conceptualizing sexuality and gender, as:

- biological essences;
- outcomes of social roles;
- fundamental political categories;
- communicative practices and discourses of power.[2]

Inevitably, to reduce such a large canvas as sexuality and gender to such a framework involves some considerable simplifications. However, we hope that through these broad approaches we can outline some of the practical questions and conceptual relationships that will be given more detailed consideration throughout this book.

*Biological essences*

For many, *biological* approaches continue to be the most obvious way of talking about sexuality and gender: sexuality and gender are linked through and explained by the category, biological sex. For example, men's sexuality, the gender of men, and the male sex may be *conflated* so that the ways both the sexuality and the gender of men happen to be are explained away by the male sex (of 'men'). This is clearly so in much that counts as common sense ('men have natural urges, don't they?') or, more grandly, folk wisdom. In addition, biological essentialism has figured strongly in much religious, medical, psychiatric and academic theory and practice on sexuality.

There are of course stronger, that is more deterministic and more essentialist, and weaker versions of biological approaches to sexuality. Such variations are often complicated by moral or normative judgements. According to these, sexuality is not just biological, but may also be naturalized and normalized, so that certain sexual forms and practices become seen as 'natural' and 'normal'. Thus 'normal', 'natural' sexuality may be presumed to

be monogamous, procreative, heterosexuality; sexuality may be reduced to sex and sexual acts; and 'normal', 'natural' sex acts may be presumed to entail 'penetrative' genital sex. At worse, 'normal' sex is male sex (see Schneider and Gould, 1987:149).

Since the end of the last century the biological approaches to sexuality have become overlaid with Freudian and other psychoanalytic interpretations. Again, we find intense debates around the interpretation of Freud's and others' ideas on the status of the 'animal', and of sexuality and gender, in relation to biology and culture (see, for example, Mitchell, 1975). Even so, it is reasonable to credit Freud and his followers with extending biological theories of sexuality into psychology, through the concepts of the instincts, sexual drives, the libido – and, moreover, their various projections and sublimations. As in other biologically based approaches, Freudian interpretations of sexuality and gender refer both back to sex, that is, the female or male sex, as the determining element, even though their specific social form is culturally mediated.

*Outcomes of social roles*

In the biological mode, sexuality and gender are linked together through the physiology of sex, as the sexual difference of males and females. In the *social interactionist* and *sex role* model, [3] sexuality and gender are still linked to sex, but in this case as separable social constructions of sex. Equivalent to the physiological concept of sexual drive is the interactionist concept of sexual script (Gagnon and Simon, 1973; Laws and Schwartz, 1977). Accordingly, sexual behaviour and activity *is social*, yet is also scripted, as in, to continue the dramaturgical analogy, the performance of the sex role (or more accurately gender role). Sexuality, through sexual scripts, is thus one element, relatively autonomous yet also contingent, of gender and gender roles. Gender is then usually seen as the overarching amalgam of sex (or gender) roles, including sexual roles, with their own sexual scripts. Such a social interactionist view does, however, open up considerable room for very detailed and elaborate forms of sexuality, for example in the many different ways that men might flirt with women in the workplace.

Though quite distinct, biological and social interactionist/sex role approaches share a number of features. In particular they tend to:

- conceptualize sexuality as the property of individuals, as relatively unproblematic subjects;
- give insufficient attention to power relations;
- be relatively ahistorical, better able to analyse stability than change.

All these features are open to serious critique. Thus insights around individualism, power relations and historical determination open up a set of more critical approaches to sexuality and gender, with which we wish to ally ourselves.[4]

*History and politics*

At this point what is meant by sexuality and gender becomes intensely bound up with the history and politics of sexuality and gender (see, for example, Scott, 1986). Our own conceptions of gender and sexuality, in terms both of their social meaning and of the particular forms of their relationship, are determinedly historical. Thus, for example, what counts as 'sexual' in one historical period may vary from what counts as such in the next. In Western society, and especially the Judaeo–Christian tradition, an enormous historical weight of religious, moral and intellectual opinion has accumulated *against sexuality*. Sexuality has historically come to be seen as 'something' frightening, uncontrollable, illegitimate, unpredictable, chaotic. Fear of sexuality has interwoven with men's fear and hatred of women and women's sexuality, and men's association of women with the dangerousness of sexuality. The configuration that *appears* dominant now, in industrialized societies at least, rests on the *apparent* separation of the 'organizational' and the 'sexual', however misleading such appearances are (Hearn and Parkin, 1987). Organizations have historically become a series of sites, where the danger and pleasure of sexuality can be both repressed, and exploited within forms of oppression. Seeing sexuality historically also acknowledges the possibility that sexual interests, sexual communities and sexual identities can be open to change, including conscious political change.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the new social movements and debates around sexuality and gender, primarily through feminism but also in the gay movement, in making 'sexuality' and 'gender' problematic. Sexuality and gender have become politics, a process of power relations, in both theory and practice. Thus the study of sexuality, in organizations and elsewhere, has taken place, indeed increasingly so, within the context of the 'new sexual debates' of feminism, gay liberation, post-structuralism and psychoanalysis, to varying degrees contributing to and sometimes oppositional to what Rubin (1984) has called 'a radical theory of the politics of sexuality'. These debates are not unified; indeed their lack of unification, their diversity, is part of their strength; they are, however, unified in problematizing sexuality, particularly in terms of its political construction. These theories and practices centre on the historicity of sexuality, the plasticity of sexuality, and

此为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com