Raghunandan Reddy

Summary

I have submitted my thesis for the degree of PhD (Sociology) at Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur, India. My doctoral research focussed on examining how work practices and managerial discourses reproduce and sustain gendered organization, using institutional ethnography research framework, in an IT services organization in India.

18+ years in helping organizations build their process capabilities in delivering superior outcomes in productivity, employee satisfaction and customer satisfaction in IT and BPO industries, including process-consulting assignments in US, South Africa, South Korea and UK. My role as department head, process change manager as well as external consultant included extensive client management as well as stakeholder engagement, across all levels of the organization, in a multicultural environment, for leading organization wide change initiatives.

Education

- PhD candidate Sociology, Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur, 2016 – 2019 (thesis submitted, July 2019: defense by Dec 2019)
- UGC NET Sociology, 2014
- MA Sociology, Indira Gandhi National Open University, 2014
- Executive Post Graduate Diploma in International Business, Indian Institute of Foreign Trade, 2010
- Graduateship in Industrial Engineering, Indian Institution of Industrial Engineering, 2001

Publications (from my thesis)

1. Reddy, R., Sharma, A. and Jha, M. (2019), "Hegemonic masculinity or masculine domination", *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, Vol. 39 No. 3/4, pp. 296-310. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSSP-08-2018-0133

2. Reddy, R. (2019), "Liberal gender equality and social difference: an institutional ethnography", *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, Vol. ahead-of-print No. ahead-of-print. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSSP-06-2019-0114

3. Reddy, R., Sharma, A. and Jha, M. (2019), "Gendered labour process", *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, Vol. ahead-of-print No. ahead-of-print. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSSP-07-2019-0144

Papers under review (from my thesis)

1. Crossing the gender chasm for productive field engagement
2. Workplace bullying: The problem that (still) has no name

Conference Presentations

GWO 2018: 10th Biennial International Interdisciplinary Conference, 13th-16th June, 2018, Sydney, Australia (Organized by the 'Gender, Work & Organization' Journal – A Wiley Publication)

1. Hegemonic masculinity or masculine domination: Toward a comprehensive social theory of gender
2. 300 years and 3 waves later: liberal equality and social difference

Experience

Auro University, Surat
Jan 2019 – to date
Assistant Professor of Sociology

- Courses taught / teaching: Introduction to Sociology; Sociological Theory; Social Stratification and Sociology of Gender, in the School of Liberal Arts & Human Sciences, School of Business, School of Journalism & Mass Communication and School of Law.
- Designed BA / BA Hons. Socioogy Program Curriculam

Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur
July 2016 – expected 2019
PhD candidate Sociology, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences
- Thesis submitted 11th July 2019
- Coursework (CGPA 9.67 / 10): Classical Sociological Theory; Contemporary Social Theory; Social Movements; Feminist Theory; Research Methods

[24] 7, Bangalore
Mar 2011 – Jul 2015
Assistant Vice President (Head) – Program & Resource Management
- Program Management Function for India Region – Process Migrations and Capacity Management, through a team of project managers

- Business Transformation Initiatives for India Region for all business processes (forecast to fulfillment, offer to operations, follow to lead and issue to improvement process steams) through a team of business transformation consultants
- Program Management of end-to-end execution framework implementation
- Program management of organization-wide employee engagement initiative

Key Achievements

- Client process transitions worth USD 10 MN
- Organization wide employee engagement initiatives
- Organization wide BPM initiative
- Hiring process improvement initiatives & assessment center

Microland Limited, Bangalore

Nov 2009 – Dec 2010

Senior Manager- Quality

- Corporate Quality, Operations Quality and Transition Functions
- Quality initiatives and quality certifications
- Client Management related to all aspects of Process, Quality and Transitions
- Mentoring Improvement Projects

Key Achievements

- Established quality function for the Technical Support Business
- Established transition function for the Technical Support Business

Infotech Enterprises Limited, Noida

Feb 2009 – Oct 2009

Senior Manager - Quality

- Corporate Quality, Operations Quality and Process Training Functions for Noida Center for Strategic Accounts
- Quality initiatives and quality certifications
- Client Management related to all aspects of Process, Quality and Training
- Mentoring Improvement Projects
- Operational Excellence Champion for the Center

Key Achievements

- Successfully facilitated achievement of Supplier Certification

24/7 Customer Pvt.Ltd, Gurgaon & Bangalore

Apr 2004 – Mar 2005; Jul 2007- Sep 2008
Senior Manager - Quality

- Corporate Quality, Operations Quality and Compliance for a Strategic Account as Center Head – Quality for Gurgaon Operations through a team of Process Analysts and Quality Analysts
- Client Management for all aspects related to Process Management, Operations Quality and Compliance

Key Achievements

- Established Corporate Quality and Operations Quality Function for the Center
- Established Process Management System for managing the Client's Inbound Customer Service Operations
- Established Call Quality Monitoring and Calibration Systems
- Implemented Programs & Projects aimed at achieving the Customer Satisfaction Scores
- Supported the Client in redefining the Transactions / Call Quality Monitoring and Feedback System
- Facilitated implementation of Corporate Quality Management System as per ISO 9001, COPC and eSCM at the Center

Manager – Quality

- Managing Corporate Quality Initiatives for 24/7 Customer Bangalore Operations through a team of Process Analysts

Key Achievements

- Designed and facilitated the implementation of the framework for 24/7 Management System, based on ISO 9001, COPC and eSCM
- Designed and implemented an Integrated Internal Audit System
- Facilitated establishment of Work Flow Management System for Support Processes
- Process definition support for a key program transition

Satyam Computer Services Ltd., Bangalore & San Jose

Mar2005-Jul 2007

Lead Consultant - Quality

- Providing On-site Consulting Services to Clients of Satyam through both model and non-model based interventions

Key On-Site Consulting Engagements & Achievements

- Cisco Systems, San Jose CA, US: Business Continuity Management - Program Management, Policy Development, and Facilitation of Business Continuity Framework implementation for Global Business Processes (R & D, Marketing, Sales, Manufacturing and Customer Support)
- Caterpillar, Peoria IL, US: Transition Management - Transition Process Definition and Planning for transition of Critical Manufacturing Application Portfolio from Caterpillar US to Caterpillar Brazil
- Government Health Organization, Polokwane, South Africa - IT Disaster Recovery Planning and Process Development

- Dongbu Information Technology Company, Seoul, South Korea: Enterprise-wide Process Management Framework development integrating Application Development and IT Service Management Processes, including developing the Quality Management System Processes
- In addition, involved in various internal projects related to Process Improvement and Assessment at both Satyam and Nipuna (Satyam BPO Operations) including Practice Development Initiatives such as New Service Offering Development and Sales Collateral Development

Vedaris Technology Private Ltd., New Delhi & London

Apr 2000 – Jul 2003

Manager - Business Process Group

- Manage the Quality Initiatives as well as Quality Function of the Company at both New Delhi and London locations through a team of Software Quality Analysts and Process Analysts
- Facilitation for Quality Management System Implementation, Maintenance and Improvement
- Facilitate Process Definition by all Functions and Business Groups
- Training all employees at all levels on Quality Management System Standards
- Organizing and Conducting Internal Quality Audits. Organizing Management Reviews

Key Achievements

- Successfully established the Quality Management System as per ISO 9001:2000 at both Delhi and London locations of Vedaris for Software Development and Support Operations

Independent Consultant, New Delhi

Dec 1997–Apr 2000

- Provided consulting services to organizations in diverse industry segments such as Computer Manufacturing, Computer Education, Power Electronics, Telecom Products. Digitization Services, Customer Support, Chemicals Manufacturing and Light Engineering) for successfully establishing ISO 9000 based quality management systems and subsequent certification by Certifying Agencies

Unicorp Industries Limited, New Delhi

Aug 1995– Dec 1997

Engineer – Quality Assurance

- Facilitation for Quality Management System Implementation, Maintenance and Improvement
- Facilitate Process Definition by all Functions and Business Groups
- Training all employees at all levels on Quality Management System Standards
- Organizing and Conducting Internal Quality Audits. Organizing Management Reviews

Key Achievements

- Successfully facilitated achievement of ISO 9001 Certification for Computer Manufacturing and Customer Support Operations within 1 year across all key locations of Unicorp

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Gendered labour process
Exploration in an information technology services organization in India

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to examine perspective of "gendered labour process" to explore the aspects of managerialism, which utilize gender as a control measure to achieve its ends. The paper seeks to integrate gender and labour process theory and contribute to studies on gendering of organizations that focus on organization logic as well as integrated studies of labour process theory and gender.

Design/methodology/approach – The paper utilizes thematic analysis as the method for analysing the interviews of senior managers in an information technology service organization in India, to identify managerial ideologies and practices.

Findings – A gendered labour process perspective could reveal the institutional orders that systemically discriminate or exclude women in organizations, rather than gender ideologies alone.

Practical implications – Rather than focussing on gender sensitization alone, as is the case with the gender diversity initiatives, it may be fruitful to revisit work design and work organization, to identify and implement changes, so that women's marginalization and exclusion from certain workplaces could be minimized.

Social implications – A view of gendered labour process could aid public policies aimed at enabling women to continue their employment without disruptions.

Originality/value – The paper attempted to integrate gender and labour process theory by delineating the organization logic that deploys gender as a means of managerial control.

Keywords Thematic analysis, Managerialism, Labour process, Managerial controls, Gender, Gendering of organizations

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

Work is the most important preoccupation of people in the contemporary social world, providing livelihood, identity and status (Grint and Nixon, 2015). People in different social contexts across history have experienced work "as play, as economic necessity, as exploitation, as pride or as vocation" (Behal *et al.*, 2011, p. 1). With the advent of industrialization and rise of capitalism, paid work in urban industry became located within work organizations. Braverman (1974) is credited with initiating critical debates on work organizations through the labour process theory (Smith, 2015). The continued relevance of labour process theory is established in multiple studies of contemporary work organizations (Thompson and Smith, 2009, 2017). The original intent of appropriation of labour power for higher levels of profitability remains an enduring goal of the labour process (Moore, 2018).

The transformations in the technologies of production, and advancements in management techniques continue to strive for control of physical labour, cognitive labour (Lee *et al.*, 2017), emotional labour (Hochschild, 2015), affective labour (Oksala, 2016), aesthetic labour (Wolkowitz, 2006) and digital labour (Christian and Sebastian, 2013). Gendering of organizations (Acker, 1990) is explored by using multiple theoretical perspectives and methods in a variety of organizational contexts to understand the continued gender inequalities. There have been attempts to integrate labour process theory and gendering of organizations to achieve a holistic view of gender dimension of contemporary work organizations (Bonnes, 2017; Crowley, 2013, 2014; McBride *et al.*, 2015;

Oksala, 2016; Van Echtelt *et al.*, 2009; Williams, 2013). It is fruitful to explore the ideologies of managerialism that utilize gender as a control measure to achieve its ends. This paper examines a perspective of "gendered labour process", through the thematic analysis of interviews of 21 senior managers in an information technology service organization in India. This paper engages with the scholarship within the fields of labour process theory, gender and gendering of organizations to seek answers to two research questions:

RQ1. What are the managerial discourses and practices involved in gendering of organizations?

RQ2. What interests of managers does gendering of organizations serve?

The paper has four sections: the first section reviews select literature on gender, gendering of organizations, and labour process theory highlighting the need for an integrated analysis of gender and labour process; the second section details the methodology of the study; the third section presents a formulation of gendered labour process; and the fourth section concludes the paper.

Gender and labour process

Gender is established as a constituting principle of work organizations (Ridgeway, 2009), in terms of gender distinctions (Acker, 1990; Ridgeway and Correll, 2004), masculine basis of work practices (Acker, 1990; Bird, 2003; Martin, 2003) and gendered discourses (Irvine and Vermilya, 2010; Martin, 1990; Morgan and Knights, 1991). Acker (1990, p. 146) defines gendered organization as one where "advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine". The gendering of organizations is accomplished through division of labour based on gender distinctions, through symbols and images that sustain gender distinctions, through interactions that reproduce gender inequalities and reinforce power relations, through emphasizing the gender aspect of individual identities and through the organizational logic in which policies and practices are premised on gender distinctions (Acker, 1990).

The problem of women's disadvantageous position at the workplace is attributed to either gender norms of patriarchy, labour logic of capitalism or the combined view of gendered work logic of capitalist patriarchy. The explanations vary for each aspect of the problem, such as sex typing of jobs, exclusion of women from certain jobs or lesser pay of women doing similar jobs as men. In all the explanations, the attempt is to identify the material basis of production, i.e. to look for whether someone benefits from the oppression of women. Beechey (1979) notes that women's oppression in capitalist societies can only be viewed as the result of an integrated process of social production and economic production in which gender differentiation (sexual domination) is inseparable from class structure (class domination). The women's question (relationship of women to economic production) cannot be separated from the feminist question (relationship of women to men in social production) (Hartmann, 1979). In order to do this, Delphy (1980) recommends analysis of patriarchy, followed by an integrated analyses of oppression in both the systems to understand their respective material interests. Understanding men as a class of oppressors can be the starting point (Delphy and Leonard, 1980) so that the women's question does not overshadow the feminist question (Hartmann, 1979), and also because destruction of patriarchy may lead to altering of capitalism itself (Hartmann and Markusen, 1980), creating an exploitation free and genderless egalitarian society (Burris, 1982).

While the perspectives on multiple forms of patriarchies across historical and contemporary social contexts (Chowdhury, 2009; Hatem, 1987; Feldman, 2001; Herr, 2014; Kandiyoti, 1988) enlarge our understanding of patriarchy in all its configurations, it should

not leave the impression that one system of patriarchy is less oppressive than the other, if patriarchy is to be understood in terms of the varied material interests it serves (Walby, 1989) in all forms of social construction of women, in their varying economic class positions (Barrett and McIntosh, 1979). Attempts to reject the concept of patriarchy, either as being a structuralist narrative (Pollert, 1996), abstract (Gottfried, 1998) or as reinforcing dualism of production and reproduction (Acker, 1989) do not explain the prevalence of gender distinctions and male domination in all known societies, at all times (Kimmel, 2000). Any analysis of capitalism without accounting for patriarchy would be incomplete (Cockburn, 2012; Brenner and Holmstrom, 2013; Gimenez, 2005; Fuchs, 2018; Kocabıçak, 2013; Omvedt, 1986; Paltasingh and Lingam, 2014; Pogoson, 2018; Semali and Shakespeare, 2014; Tepe-Belfrage and Steans, 2016; Velaskar, 2016). In order to move beyond male domination in the sphere of family, Cockburn (1981, p. 55) conceptualizes "andrarchy" to explain the all-pervasive male domination over females, whether inside the family or outside the family, inside the workplace or outside the workplace, through both ideological and material practices. The all-pervasive domination of men over women creates gendered work and work organizations that privilege men over women (Cockburn, 1981). This also creates the machinery of dominance (Cockburn, 1988, 2009) and necessitates an examination of interrelationships of gender and class at the point of production (West, 1990), without treating the labour process as an autonomous system (Davies, 1990).

Marx distinguishes between labour and labour process; while the former is the individual worker on whom the capitalist does not have control, only the labour power of the labour is bought in exchange of wages for deploying in the capitalist production process, leading to a problem of "indeterminacy of labour potential" that must be controlled (Littler and Salaman, 1982, p. 252), making labour process theory a framework to examine the "practices of managerialization and organization of work" (Gandini, 2018, p. 2), separating its conception and execution. Braverman (1974, p. 60) views managerial control of labour process as the "explicit verbalization of the capitalist mode of production" and established that deskilling of labour is fundamental to capitalist accumulation. The means of managerial control have adapted to the changing nature of work and capitalist economies. Littler and Salaman (1982) note that contrary to Braverman's insistence on Taylorism as the primary means of control, managers use multiple control strategies (Price, 2016). As formal controls such as labour aristocracy (worker segregation) (Friedman, 1977), bureaucratic control and technical control (work organization) (Edwards, 1980) become predictable and ineffective, with workers learning to resist or circumvent them, the means control of production are sought outside the production process, outside the organization itself. For example, internationalization of production to exploit the differences in cost structures of geographies (Herkenhoff and Krautheim, 2018), some of which are rooted in the use of gender discourses of skills to justify relocation to geographies with cheap female labour, with lesser threats of unionization (Collins, 2002), "disembedding of work" from geographies through automation and reworking of labour process (Ellem, 2016, p. 944) and the use of "shareholder value" rhetoric to outsource work (Trusson and Woods, 2017, p. 543). In addition, the ideological contexts of production (Burawoy, 2015, p. 2) become the sources of control of labour process, for producing consent among employees (Burawoy, 1982). These include (but not limited) social reproduction (reproductive labour) (Federici, 2012), non-material social reproduction (affective labour) (Jarrett, 2014), "bridge work" that requires women to be familiar with global hegemonic work standards (Otis, 2016, p. 914) and "heterosexual aesthetic labour" (Barber, 2016, p. 626). Some ideological contexts of production pertaining to labour markets include free or unfree labour (Gordon, 2018; Yea and Chok, 2018), registered or unregistered labour (Peng, 2011), fragmentation of work into "market, non-market, informal and underground work" (Hatton, 2015, p. 1008), and extracting labour power from welfare recipients through compulsory work (Adkins, 2017).

The ideology and practices of "digital bureaucracy" (Muellerleile and Robertson, 2018, p. 190), framing of "do what you love" as the ideal worker norm (Stokes, 2017, p. 532) and framing of "pursuit of one's passion" to extract free labour in relational work that makes exploitation acceptable to people (Mears, 2015, p. 1119) are some more means of managerial control. However, gender as an ideological context of production remains understudied. Moreover, treating women's employment as a matter of their preference or choice (Hakim, 2006) fails to call the labour process into question, as a determinant of such preferences or choices (Leahy and Doughney, 2006).

While Smith (2015) highlights the absence of gender in the formulation of labour process theory of Braverman, there have been some efforts to integrate labour process theory and gendering of organizations. They stress that the workplace continues to reproduce gender inequalities through the processes and practices of organizing (Acker, 1990). The emerging work regimes have not made gender distinctions disappear (Bonnes, 2017; Broadbridge and Simpson, 2011; Crowley, 2013, 2014: Joshi et al., 2015; Trotter, 2017; Vidal, 2011), making the so-called post-Fordist workplace still a man's world (Van Echtelt et al., 2009). Billing and Alvesson and Billing (2009, p. 197) recommend that in addition to studying gender as a constituting principle of organizations, one needs to look at "when, by whom and how the gender is invoked" in the way organizations are structured, work is organized and people are managed. Oksala (2016) urges that there is a need to demand complete reorganization of social mode of production and economic mode of production through a Marxist–Socialist feminist critique of contemporary social world rather than demanding affordable childcare and better wages. Several solutions are offered. Among the major ones, Gimenez (2005, p. 11) makes a case for continued relevance of Marx's methodology, since the fate of many working women is determined by both "gender exploitation and class oppression" structured through the relationships of capitalist mode of production and organizations of social reproduction, instead of only focussing on gender pay gaps, social construction of gender, gender biases and discriminatory practices. Reskin (1993) advocates that the persistence of discrimination of women in work organizations can only be understood if both demand side factors such as market, organizational, managerial ideologies, arrangements, practices and supply side factors such as individual, economic, social circumstances and family (Collins, 1998), and their interrelationships are analysed within an organizational context (Sayce, 2012). The question is should a solution to the gender problem in organizations lie in transforming the fundamental way work is organized and managed in organizations? (Acker, 2000; Abrahamsson, 2014; Ely and Meyerson, 2000, 2010; Irvine and Vermilya, 2010). If the answer is yes, then the study of gender in organizations needs to take into account managerialism as the ideology and practice (Enteman, 1993; Klikauer, 2015). This proposition is consistent with the assertion by Dye and Mills (2012) that the organizational logic (Acker, 1990; Williams, 2013), one of the means of gendering of organizations (in addition to division of labour, workplace cultures, gender identities and social interactions), is underexamined. The organizational logic is found in the labour process of a given organizational context. Examining gendering of organizations in the context of the labour process could integrate gender and labour process theory, for a conceptualization of gendered labour process.

Methodology
The study is conducted in an information technology service organization in Delhi, India, that employed as many as 10,000 employees worldwide, and about 4,000 employees at an Indian site chosen for the study. In relation to the senior management in this organization, the representation of women among middle and senior management level, including attrition of women employees at all levels, is far from being at the satisfactory level, and attrition of women employees at all levels is a cause for concern. The organization has in

place a gender diversity and inclusion programme. However, the organization did not notice any improvement in representation of women employees across the levels, and any noticeable fall in the attrition rates. The study aimed at addressing the research problem of lesser representation of women and higher attrition of women employees, through examining the managerial discourses, practices and interests involved.

The term "gendered labour process" is used to highlight the need to view gender as an integral component of the labour process, and not as one of the variables of the labour process. Hence, the two research questions sought to explicate the managerial discourses and practices involved in gendering of organizations and the interests of managers that gendering of organizations serve. While the first research question seeks to discover the gendered organizational logic (Acker, 1990), the second research question seeks to reveal the managerial interests that inform gendered labour process controls (Morgan and Knights, 1991; Smith, 2015; Thompson and Smith, 2009). The interviews were conducted with senior managers who have profitability and cost responsibilities, and whose mandates and actions affect a sizeable number of employees. Purposeful and convenience sampling are used to identify the research participants (Creswell, 1998). The management structure consisted of 29 employees – 3 Chief X Officer (CXOs, where X represents any area of responsibility) reporting to the chief executive officer (CEO), 9 business heads and 17 operation heads. While there was no woman among the CXOs, there were three women business heads and seven women operation heads. The senior managers who agreed for the interviews consisted of 3 CXOs, 6 business heads (two women) and 12 operations heads (five women). All of them had worked for over 10 years with the organization and had at least 20 years of overall work experiences. Half of the managers had Master's degree in computer or electronics engineering, and the remaining half in business management with prior academic background in computer or electrics engineering. Eight managers were in the age group of 35–40, six were in the age group of 41–44 and the remaining seven were in the age group of 45–50. The interviews, lasting for 1.5–2 h, used open-ended questions pertaining to their managerial styles (e.g. how do you delegate work, how do you motivate people), gender diversity initiative (e.g. what career advice do you have to women employees) and their perspectives on why there are fewer women across the levels in the organization (e.g. what do you think are the reasons for low representation of women). The open-ended questions incorporated elements pertaining to both the research questions – managerial discourses and practices, and managerial interests involved, in gendering the organization.

The interview transcripts are analysed by using thematic analysis method (Guest *et al.*, 2011; Braun *et al.*, 2019). Thematic analysis method is employed since it enables elicitation of indigenous knowledge, shared understanding and conceptualizations pertaining to how work is organized and how people are managed from the interview accounts of managers (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). Each statement or line or a paragraph, as applicable, is coded (one or more codes, as applicable) with a label that is considered relevant to the research question (Charmaz, 2006; Braun *et al.*, 2019). Each code described research participant's semantic meaning in order to stay close to the data (Braun *et al.*, 2019). At the same time, the labels for the codes are chosen based on perspectives and concepts gleaned from literature on sociology of organizations, work and gender, and the terminology used within an organizational context (language of the research participants) (Braun *et al.*, 2019). By reading interview transcripts multiple times and using the constant comparison method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), 298 codes were developed. These codes are clustered into 15 categories. From the 15 categories, 12 basic themes and 4 organizing themes are derived (Attride-Stirling, 2001). In the final analysis, only eight basic themes are utilized to arrive at four organizing themes, to result in one global theme (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Illustrative excerpts from the interview data under each of the basic themes are presented in Table I.

Table I.
Basic themes (illustrative excerpts from interview data)

1. Work design	2. Work organization	3. Gender diversity	4. Ideal employee	5. Business requirements	6. Client requirements
"[…] The nature of work is such we work in 24/7 shifts. Women have apprehension to come into 24/7 model. Odd hour support is not liked by women […]" "[…] The nature of job is such one needs to stretch, travel outside the city, take pressure and be able to work on Saturday and Sunday. Without these, recruitments cannot be managed […]" "[…] I also did crazy hours prior to my current role […]" "[…] We cannot take existing employees through internal movements since it is very difficult to make a switch from technical roles to sale roles […]" "[…] However, leadership roles requires stretching. Most of the time the work is between 9 am – 9 pm […]" "[…] Issues are not	"[…] Team size and deadlines are also impacting late sitting […]" "[…] The focus on how to adapt lean and automation. There were changes in the practices and in resources management […]" "[…] We should ask where women can work rather than where they cannot work […]" "[…] Type of projects have changed over time. In the past there was lot more development. More late working. More support and maintenance work. The ratio moved from 80:20 to 60:40 […]" "[…] Our work is such team needs to be accessible at any point in time […]" "[…] There were ambiguities and redundancies in the way some parts of the organization were structured as related to	"[…] Treating like a quota system. Push back may happen. May blame the initiative if it does not work. Number driven game. Organizations don't change overnight. Why is it suddenly a subject […]?" "[…] The gender diversity initiative is a pressure on KPIs. It is all about numbers. Mediocre women should not be promoted […]" "[…] On the face of it people say gender diversity is good. Below, we go back to our roots […]" "[…] I see reluctance from their side that their immediate work needs more attention than the program […]" "[…] If a female is pregnant, business won't take her. Because she will go on maternity leave, few months after joining. Business considers them as an overhead. Some may	"[…] The ideal profile in the business unit that provides IT infrastructure support - (1) to have a 24/7 mindset […]" "[…] Be flexible. Not a rigid mind-set. Commitment. Meet whatever you commit […]" "[…] Culture fitment. Someone who is comfortable with onsite and offsite model […]. Should not talk about the number of hours spent in the organization […]" "[…] Women have hindrance to take shift working. Women are open to working in cool roles such as QA and in 9-5 jobs […]" "[…] Should take ownership […]" "[…] We need domain skills, technology skills and delivery management skills as you go higher in the hierarchy. There are	"[…] Understand what is non-negotiable […]" "[…] Our business is mostly with government. Women don't like to deal with government clients because it involves waiting at the offices. They may not like to go to government offices […]" "[…] I am very particular about deadlines […]" "[…] They can be woken up in the night unlike women who may not like to be woken up in the night […]" "[…] Must be able to prioritize life and work balance requirements […]" "[…] Does not have a relationship with the organization; has not built relationships within the organization […]" "[…] Find it difficult to prioritize work […]" "[…] Commitment is if you have to meet the deadlines, you need to go that extra mile. You should not stick	"[…] We have a challenging project. We started with 9-5 shift timing. To have overlap with onsite we moved to 8-5 shift. Since it was still not working, we moved to 12-9 pm shift. Women don't prefer this shift […]" "[…] People have to take calls from home […]" "[…] Taking ownership means, if delivery has to go today, whatever be the time, whatever be the challenges, the target is delivery. For others, 5.30 pm or bus time may be the goal. Focusing on the end goal and commitments […]" "[…] We work for US clients. Half of my team works 7 am – 10 pm. We have meetings in US morning hours. Once or twice we have VC meetings. You are expected to be in the house to take those calls […]" "[…] Late sitting happens

because I am a woman. Issues are due to the nature of work. Traveling to customer locations abroad is the biggest challenge, especially if you have small children [...]" "[...] We do lateral hiring for this role. These are customer facing roles but with no sales pressure. Hence, women are ok doing pre-sales [...]"	join for insurance coverage for pregnancy [...]" "[...] The entire team composition is impacted [...]" "[...] Through programs like [...] we want women to think like men [...]" "[...] The gender diversity initiative is a face wash. The mindset of people is not changing [...]"	my team [...]" "[...] They cannot do code reviews unless they are at workplace. Most women leave by 7 pm [...] do not stay beyond 9.30 pm. We need to look at who is required for the meeting [...]"	very few women who come up. There are very few women who have these skills [...]" "[...] They need to be able to take pressure. Much higher pressure [...]" "[...] It happens either through a key role or through an onsite travel assignment. In that bracket, women have a disadvantage [...]"	to the 9 to 6 routine [...]" "[...] Don't say I can't work in shifts or weekends. If you have made a decision to come out of the house, then make it possible. Meet the job requirements. Find out alternate ways of doing things [...]"	because either contract requirements are not properly understood or new requirements or new scope creep in or in case of clients like Japanese clients who are very particular about code quality, layout of the screens, etc. In order to meet those requirements, late sitting may be required [...]" "[...] Or they may be special requirements of the project such as night runs [...]"
7. Gender differences	8. Social norms	9. Family support	10. Employment conditions	11. Labour market	12. Career aspirations
"[...] Women have a set of expectations, constraints and they are unique. Women are a separate category [...]" "[...] They are physically different. They cannot take more pressure. They are weak mentally [...]" "[...] They feel insecure [...] They are emotional [...]" "[...] The issue is whether women are seen as being	"[...] If you want equal rights then you need to participate equally. You cannot say that you cannot stay late because father or husband won't allow you to stay late [...]" "[...] Fathers-in-law and Mothers-in law come and talk to us on how can you ask her to work late [...]" "[...] Attrition of women staff starts when they are about to get married or	"[...] In a service oriented IT organization, diversity at 40 + aged women and in senior leadership level is a challenge. Either one needs to have family support or one does not care about the family [...]" "[...] The other is women do come up, who have support system [...]" "[...] Some women drop out due to lack of support system at home, to be able	"[...] Lot of bureaucracy. Many approval routes WFH approvals [...]" "[...] Managers do not have a mandate for WFH [...]" "[...] You can request your manager to work from home. Laptops are given, but only on need basis [...]" "[...] Not driven by process per se [...]" "[...] One has to ask for	"[...] We operate in a niche area. Finding women is difficult [...]" "[...] No strong resource pool [...]" "[...] When a woman employee comes back after 6 months of maternity leave (we have increased from 3 months to 6 months) and seeks work from home option, the ODC cannot keep her because by opting for	"[...] Company and industry is stagnated. There are not enough opportunities to accommodate people [...]" "[...] Too many people in the resource pool. All are doing jobs that are not to their liking [...]" "[...] There are limited career choices given our size [...]" "[...] There is not enough for everyone [...]"

(continued)

Table I.

838

Table I.

able to take up leadership roles. Whether women are strong enough to take up these roles [...]"
"[...] How I can be more assertive and talk about my aspirations and what I would like to do. Be more vocal with stakeholders [...]"
"[...] Lot of people don't trust them [...]"
"[...] They are softer [...]"
"[...] They are becoming males [...]"
"[...] Women should remain in their character [...]"
"[...] By nature and by social life, women cannot do the same way as men do [...]"
"[...] Women tend to get little emotional [...]"
"[...] Women undersell themselves [...]"

when they are about to have babies [...]"
"[...] Indian culture is at the heart of the problem of why we do not have women leaders [...]"
"[...] The whole social structure is not supportive of women working [...]"
"[...] When people have 6-10 years of experience, leadership opportunities open up. However, that is when women with 5-10 years of experience either get married or have children [...]"
"[...] She had to follow her husband. Since he got a transfer to some other city. In order to make the family work she needed to quit the job and follow the husband. To stay within the joint family system [...]"
"[...] We are not able to retain women because of maternity [...]"

to handle extended hours [...]"
"[...] When women fall in to the status of pregnant women/young mothers/ nuclear families with no support system, recruiters reduce their participation in other organizational activities (such as annual day celebration), reduce travel outside locations (or make it zero) and cannot stretch [...]"
"[...] If a woman has less than a year old child, business may still thing she cannot stretch because she does not have any support system [...]"
"[...] Family support is needed for going on international assignment [...] How will crèche help in international assignments [...]"
"[...] Women need to demand equality in sharing family responsibilities [...]"

those things [...]"
"[...] I try to push them to standards [...] I try to push them beyond their limits [...] Some feel that I may be pushy at times [...]"
"[...] I guide them on expectations [...]"
"[...] In the process of taking everyone along, high performers may not be rewarded and mediocracy may be encouraged [...]"
"[...] Performance data is visible to all. We give feedback to people on what is normal expected performance and what is beyond normal job requirements [...]"
"[...] You may not get good salary but you will get a good work environment [...]"
"[...] I am a hard reviewer [...]"

work from home she becomes a non-billable resource. Clients do not agree for keeping such resources. ODC does not have any work that can be done from home [...]"
"[...] In most of the cases you cannot access the client network from home. Agile methodology needs the team to be physically together. There may be ways, but the client is paying for the resources to be in office, at workplace. There cannot be any non-billable resources [...]"
"[...] Customers do not encourage Work from Home [...]"
"[...] As a policy we cannot work from home [...]"
"[...] We don't have a WFH policy. Hence, women candidates get discouraged [...]"

"[...] We have not grown at the same rate as we should. We don't execute plans well [...]"
"[...] We are not a cut throat sales company. We are more a delivery oriented company [...]"
"[...] Not everyone gets a chance to work on latest technologies [...]"
"[...] New projects, new development projects are very few [...]"
"[...] We have a hiring freeze [...]"
"[...] The scale of the organization may not be able to provide opportunities unlike large organizations [...]"
"[...] We are not growing fast enough hence the opportunities are not enough [...]"

Conceptualizing a gendered labour process

Initial analysis resulted in 12 basic themes, namely, (1) work design, (2) work organization, (3) gender diversity, (4) ideal employee, (5) business requirements, (6) client requirements, (7) gender differences, (8) social norms, (9) family support, (10) employment conditions, (11) labour market and (12) career aspirations. Of these, themes (4), (7), (8) and (9) are discarded since the aim is to engage with the labour process aspects (Reskin, 1993), rather than the supply side factors (except theme 12, career aspirations, that is a supply side factor) of gendering of organizations (Collins, 1998). However, they formed the basis for the other basic themes (Lup *et al.*, 2018; Ronen, 2018). The remaining eight basic themes are clustered under four organizing themes by using the perspectives from labour process theory and gendering of organizations. The four organizing themes are (1) business demands, (2) organizational business context, (3) work design and work organization and (4) managerial discretion. The organizing themes (1) and (2) address the *RQ1* and the organizing themes (3) and (4) address *RQ2*. The thematic map is illustrated in Figure 1. The description of the organizing themes is as follows.

Business demands

The first managerial discourse emphasized that women cannot meet business and client requirements. The basic themes of business requirements and client requirements organize the theme business demands. While asserting that the organization is gender neutral, managers emphasized that the business demands are non-negotiable in terms of the nature of work, work deadlines and extended work hours (Nemoto, 2013). Managers (13 men and 5 women) cited business demands as not being able to accommodate specific needs of women arising from pregnancy, childcare, household responsibilities and social norms. The managers (9 men and 7 women) expressed the need to be sensitive to women's needs while attributing their non-fulfilment to business demands pertaining to effectiveness and efficiency in meeting project and client requirements. The requirement of being productive without disruptions alerted to pregnant women and women with childcare responsibilities as not being able to meet the business demands. The managerial discourse of business demands is consistent throughout the interview data. The practices of hiring and promotion are influenced by the managerial discourse of business demands, and this explains the inadequate representation of women across all levels in the organization. The study brought out the managerial discourse of business demands (Murthy and Anita, 2010) as not being able to accommodate women's needs, leading them to experience gendered opportunity structures (Herman *et al.*, 2013) or quit the jobs (Cahusac and Kanji, 2014), legitimizing a lower ratio of women in organizations. The managerial discourse of business demands makes organizational gender diversity initiatives (Kelly *et al.*, 2010; Mósesdóttir, 2011; Todd and Binns, 2013), or state policies to encourage women's career continuity yield no material gains to women, leading to exclusion of women from a certain category of jobs in certain categories of organizations, altogether. The organizing theme "business demands" alludes to the managerial discourses (*RQ1*) that work towards gendering of organizations.

Organizational business context

The second managerial discourse emphasized the organizational context in terms of scale of operations, growth prospects, market conditions, policy constraints and contractual requirements with the organization's clients, as being disadvantageous to women. The basic themes of "labour markets" and "career aspirations" organize the theme "organizational business context". The market conditions in terms of higher salaries and lack of organization growth are cited (13 men and 7 women) to justify the inability of the organization to provide for the career aspirations of employees. Furthermore, women's career continuity and career
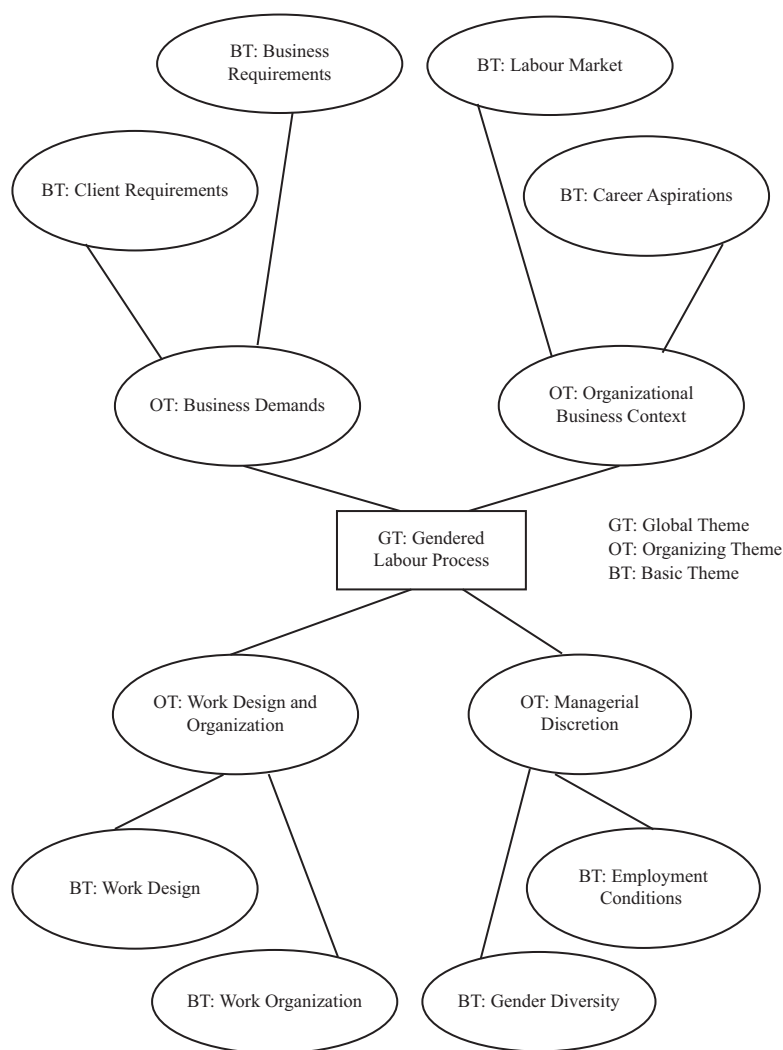
Figure 1.
Thematic map

growth prospects are seen as influenced by policy constraints and the nature of contractual requirements with the organization's clients that prevent flexible working options for women (Eikhof, 2012) with childcare and household responsibilities. The discourses of being an organization operating in a niche market and not being able to find women with the required knowledge and skills are cited (13 men and 7 women) as a reason for lower representation of women in certain jobs. While the managerial discourse on organizational business context as being disadvantageous to women refers to the medium-sized and growth-locked organization in the present study, considering that most organizations in the Indian information technology service industry have similar policy constraints and client contractual requirements, the findings could find validity across organizations of varying sizes. The organizing theme "organizational business context" delineates managerial discourses and practices (*RQ1*) involved in gendering of organizations.

Work design and work organization
The basic themes of "work design" and "work organization" organize the theme "work design and organization". Work design and work organization are cited (14 men and 7 women) as not being compatible with gender distinctions. Women are seen as not able to work late and work in night shifts. Women are seen as having safety and location constraints. Work design is characterized in terms of availability at any time of the day or night and being able to travel to offshore locations. Work organization is characterized in terms of the agile working arrangements that require flexibility and speed of response on the part of employees in order to meet the client requirements. Women with constraints, pertaining to late working, shift working and offshore travel, due to childcare and household responsibilities, are considered as incompatible with the nature of work design and work organization, which is often imposed by the contractual requirements with the clients. While the research on gendered organization has focused on the gender distinctions in society determining the work design and work organization, the data also indicated the reverse to be a possibility. This finding is consistent with the proposition that organizational logic (Acker, 1990: Dye and Mills, 2012; Williams, 2013) has significant influence on gendering of organizations. While all the four organizing themes constitute the gendered labour process, the theme of "work design and organization" forms the heart of the organizational logic (Acker, 1990; Dye and Mills, 2012; Williams, 2013). The organizational logic highlights the transformations in the labour process, utilizing multiple ideological contexts of production (Adkins, 2017; Barber, 2016; Federici, 2012; Gordon, 2018; Hatton, 2015; Jarrett, 2014; Mears, 2015; Muellerleile and Robertson, 2018; Otis, 2016; Peng, 2011; Stokes, 2017; Yea and Chok, 2018).

While gender is salient in some of the ideological contexts of production, the present study seeks to view gender as an ideological context of production that considers work design and work organization as not being compatible with gender distinctions, legitimizing exclusion or a rather low representation of women from a given labour process context. The organizing theme "work design and organization" identifies the managerial interests (*RQ2*) that gendering of organizations serve.

Managerial discretion
Managerial discretion (Fleming and Sewell, 2002; Fleming, 2015) as the contingency that determines women's participation is consistent throughout the interview data. The basic themes of "employment conditions" and "gender diversity" organize the theme "managerial discretion". The employment conditions about offering flexibility to meet women's childcare and household responsibilities are subject to managerial discretion, overriding any policy or client constraint. Such a situation alerts to the possibility of managers exercising authority beyond what is sanctioned, resulting in discrimination of women employees, an abuse of hierarchical power (Vredenburgh and Brender, 1998). While some women may benefit, some women may experience discrimination. The work-from-home option, which is neither allowed by organizational policies nor by the client often, depended on manager's assessment of a woman employee's personal condition and work role. The gender diversity initiative is seen as being in conflict with business requirements, with inadequate coverage and inadequate agenda and as a number-driven exercise that may compromise merit (Grosen *et al.*, 2012; Guerrier *et al.*, 2009; Holden and Raffo, 2014; Holth *et al.*, 2017; Kennelly, 2002; Smith *et al.*, 2012; Williams, 2014). Managerial discretion in differential treatment to employees may be seen as a means that managers utilize in achieving their managerial objectives, as an aid to their own performance as a manager (Riza and Gatrell, 2013; Daverth *et al.*, 2016; Johansson, 2016; Todd and Binns, 2013). The organizing theme of managerial discretion is consistent with the ideology and practice of managerialism (Enteman, 1993; Fleming, 2015; Klikauer, 2015), making it the second determinant of gendered labour

process, in addition to organizational logic of work design and work organization (Acker, 1990: Dye and Mills, 2012; Williams, 2013). The organizing theme "managerial discretion" alerts to the managerial interests (*RQ2*) in determining who can work and who cannot (Damaske, 2011; Fischer, 2014; Patterson *et al.*, 2017), as per their assessment of who can contribute to their own goals.

The four organizing themes lead to the global theme of "gendered labour process". A definition of gendered labour process is attempted here. Gendered labour process is constitutive of a form of managerial control that views work design, work organization, organizational context and organizational demands as not being compatible with the gender distinctions, and as a constraint in achieving the economic goals, while simultaneously engaging in the discourses of gender equality and gender neutrality and in the work practices that marginalize women. This excludes women from the workplace. The labour process therefore is gendered, for realizing the organizations' interests (pertaining to organizing and coordinating labour power). A gendered labour process perspective could add to the body of literature on gendering of organizations that attempt to address the organizational logic aspect (Acker, 1990; Dye and Mills, 2012; Williams, 2013). It could integrate gender and labour process theory (Abbott, 1993; Bonnes, 2017; Crowley, 2013, 2014; Ely and Meyerson, 2000; McBride *et al.*, 2015; Oksala, 2016; Van Echtelt *et al.*, 2009; Williams, 2013).

It is evident from the study that managers deployed gender as a means of control of the labour process. All managers highlighted agile development methodology as the coordinating mechanism of the activities of the employees. The organization's clients mandated the use of agile development methodology for its flexibility to accommodate their rapidly changing requirements (Boehm, 2006; Carmel *et al.*, 2010; Cervone, 2011). While the agile development methodology was expected to allow faster and clear communication between the client and the organization (Holmström *et al.*, 2006), in practice it often meant not having any plan in place to organize and coordinate development activities (Janes and Succi, 2012). The employee work and time were monitored by using the online time sheet system. At the same time, flexibility meant irregular work hours as agile methodology demanded on-call availability of developers and others (Mullan and Wajcman, 2019; Wood, *et al.*, 2019). While the client contracts with the organization were long term in nature (between 2 and 10 years), specific work orders were governed by work-specific cost pressures and work organization models (Grimshaw *et al.*, 2019). Combined with the agile methodology, the resultant work organization and work controls posed continuous cost pressures and time pressures on the managers of specific work orders. They allowed for increased managerial discretion in control of work process. The discretionary work controls created insecure employment conditions for employees as well as managers (Wood, 2018). The client work orders formed a key driver of the precaritization process (Alberti *et al.*, 2018). The increased levels of managerial control may also point to increased precarity that managers experience themselves of their employment conditions due to dynamically changing demands of the clients as well organization management (Hassard and Morris, 2018). Hence, the emphasis of the managers that work organization is not conducive for employing women justifies lesser presence of women employees in the organization. Therefore, managers were engaged in the discourses of incompatibility of work design, work organization, business demands and organizational context with women employees, to ensure that their interests of controlling the labour process to meet the business and client demands are met, in addition to dealing with their own precarity introduced by the agile development method. This phenomenon of gendering the organization as a means for controlling the labour process reflects Bourdieu's (1977) conception of twofold truth of labour. The objective structure of the labour process (work design and work organization based on agile

development methodology) is legitimized through the discourses of fulfilling business and client requirements, though the managers explicitly stated that not all women could work in such a labour process (Hakim, 2006).

Conclusion

While many ideological contexts are used by managers to control the labour process, gender is/needs to be viewed as integral to the labour process itself, since it is present in all ideological contexts of production. Hence, it is appropriate to term it as "gendered labour process", to reveal the institutional orders that systemically discriminate or exclude women in organizations, rather than focusing on gender ideologies alone. A gendered labour process perspective could provide some answers to the women's question (relationship of women to economic production as well as the feminist question (relationship of women to men in social production) (Hartmann, 1979).

The study has certain limitations. The findings of the study pertain to an organization in a specific industry and in a specific organizational context. Further research is needed to explore gendered labour process in a variety of organizational contexts, to seek generalizations as well as capture variations in the gendered labour process across industries. Different industries and formal and informal work contexts, all have their own unique control mechanisms and influence gendering of work organization. Institutional isomorphism, the process that makes organizations resemble each other through the processes professionalization of jobs (normative), legitimation pressures from political institutions (coercive) and/or imitation of other similar organizations seen as beneficial to their functioning (mimetic) (Zucker, 1987; DiMaggio and Powell, 2000), affords broad generalizations about organizations through a deep understanding of a specific organizational context (Lounsbury and Ventresca, 2002) and the cultures of managerialism (Enteman, 1993; Klikauer, 2015).

A view of gendered labour process offers avenues for critically looking at the work design and work organization that excludes women from fully participating. Rather than focussing on gender sensitization alone, as is the case with typical gender diversity initiatives of many organizations, it is fruitful to revisit work design and work organization to identify and implement changes, so that women's marginalization and exclusion from certain workplaces could be minimized. However, in a globally integrated supply chain of products and services, the workings of the gendered labour process across geographies may offer limited potential for any organization to redesign its work roles and work organization, to degender its labour process. Similarly, state legislation aimed at increasing women's participation at the workplace may not have taken into account the gendered labour processes across the global supply chains. Both of these situations point to the need to view the gender dimension of workplace in the international business context, with transnational corporations and states as the key stakeholders. However, both organizations and states need to revisit the work organization and legislation, respectively, for local interventions that could address the gendered labour process. In the context of IT service organizations, the agile development methodology needs to be tailored by the transnational organizations keeping in mind the work hours of supplier organizations, or their own subsidiaries in the global South, including allowing for WFH options to the employee as an integral part of the labour process rather than a matter of managerial discretion. The organizations could also look at extending the duration of on-site creche facilities to accommodate any after-hours work. The state, on its part, could relook at its laws pertaining to women at the workplace in the light of changing labour process contexts, especially in IT service industry. While we appreciate the pragmatic prescriptions of preference theory (Hakim, 2006) as a starting point for local interventions, a fundamental transformation of labour process requires that the gaze is turned from preferences or choices (home-centred women, adaptive women, and career-oriented women), to the transnational gendered labour process.

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Further reading

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Hegemonic masculinity or masculine domination

Toward a comprehensive social theory of gender

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that Bourdieu's concept of masculine domination offers a comprehensive social theory of gender as compared to Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity through examining the proposition of positive hegemonic masculinity.

Design/methodology/approach – This is a conceptual paper that argues that Bourdieu's concept of masculine domination offers a comprehensive social theory of gender as compared to Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity.

Findings – The findings demonstrate that Bourdieu's concept of masculine domination incorporates both discursive and material structures of the gender system that privileges men/masculine over women/feminine, making it a comprehensive social theory of gender.

Research limitations/implications – The concepts of hegemonic masculinity and masculine domination have not been reviewed in the light of emerging perspectives on hegemony, power and domination. The future research could focus on a review of research methods such as institutional ethnography, in examining masculine domination.

Practical implications – Using masculine domination perspective, organizations could identify specific managerial discourses, aspects of work organization and practices in order to eliminate gender-based discrimination, harassment and unequal access to resources.

Social implications – Public policy interventions aimed at inclusive development could examine women's condition of continued disadvantageousness, through masculine domination perspective.

Originality/value – The authors seek to provide a comparative view of the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and masculine domination, using the categories of comparison that was not attempted earlier.

Keywords Gender, Masculinity, Hegemonic masculinity, Masculine domination, Material feminism

Paper type Conceptual paper

1. Introduction

The question of gender is unsettled in research as well in practice. In social sciences, gender is expected to explain what sex failed to do (Budgeon, 2014). However, the study of gender continues to be mystified by a variety of definitions, theoretical perspectives and political programs (Andersen, 2005; Lorber, 1997). As Clatterbaugh (1998) avers, the problem of conceptual clarity is more acute in case of constructs of men and masculinities, similar to debates on intersectionality (Walby *et al.*, 2012) that continue to grapple with the "problem that has no name" (Friedan, 1963, p. 11), in case of women and femininities. The objective of this paper is to compare the concepts of hegemonic masculinity (Carrigan *et al.*, 1985; Connell, 1987, 2005) and masculine domination (Bourdieu, 2001), with regard to their efficacy in understanding and transforming the gendered social order, adopting a materialist feminist perspective (Delphy and Leonard, 1980). The paper has three sections – the first section provides an introduction to the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and masculine domination; the second section reviews a few criticism of the hegemonic masculinity and the third section evaluates the notion of positive hegemonic masculinity *vis-à-vis* the concept of masculine domination.

Masculinity refers to the "social roles, behaviors, and meanings prescribed for men in any given society at any one time" (Kimmel, 2004, p. 503). The concept of hegemonic masculinity is an answer to overcome the limitations of sex role theory that did not account for differences and domination among men, women and between men (Carrigan *et al.*, 1985; Connell, 1987, 2005; Demetriou, 2001; Donaldson, 1993). Messerschmidt (2018) traces the genealogy of the concept of hegemonic masculinity as an attempt to overcome the deficiencies of radical feminism that engaged with patriarchy, and the socialist feminism that engaged with capitalist patriarchy in examining domination of men over women. Messerschmidt (2018) states that the concept of hegemonic masculinity enabled a shift of focus from patriarchy to gender relations. Hegemonic masculinity was conceptualized as "the pattern of practice that allowed men's dominance over women to continue"; "a normative"; and the embodiment of the "currently most honored way of being a man" in relation to other men, to ideologically legitimate the "global subordination of women to men" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). Other masculinities include "complicit masculinities" that do not "embody hegemonic masculinity" but derive benefits from "unequal gender relations" and "help sustain hegemonic masculinity"; "subordinate masculinities" that are a deviation from hegemonic masculinity; marginalized masculinities are those, discriminated based on "class, race, ethnicity and age"; and "protest masculinities" that are formed due to their lack of "economic and political power" (Messerschmidt, 2018, p. 29).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been critiqued over the years while numerous studies have deployed the concept in multiple empirical settings, since its formulation (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). In response, Connell along with Messerschmidt reformulated the concept of hegemonic masculinity, by retaining some original precepts, modifying some propositions and dropping some aspects. In addition, Connell and Messerschmidt seek possibility of a positive hegemonic masculinity that seeks equality with women. We find such a proposition problematic both in terms of its theoretical adequacy and practical viability. The paper seeks to examine the possibility of a positive hegemonic masculinity by contrasting the concept of hegemonic masculinity with the construct of masculine domination.

The Gramscian roots of the concept of hegemonic masculinity need attention. For Gramsci (2009), intellectuals perform the social function of hegemony to achieve consent, as a complement to the coercive power. Intellectuals exist in a system of division of labor and are not independent of the "whole fabric of society and […] the complex of superstructures" (Gramsci, 2009, p. 12). The distinctions such as hegemonic masculinity, subordinated masculinities, marginalized masculinities, complicit masculinities and protest masculinities may obfuscate the institutional structure of hegemony. It may be opt to view as hegemony of men that locates men's historical dominance over women within a social organization at any point in time, rather than hegemonic masculinity that only some men could practice. The conception of hegemonic masculinity as a cultural ideal that only some men get to practice may obfuscate the capacity to exercise of hegemony by other men, which may be limited by their position within the division of labor of the consent producing system, and of the arenas in which they may get to exercise hegemony *vis-à-vis* other men and women (Hearn, 2012). Moreover, the notion of a positive hegemonic masculinity that seeks equality with women would mean dispensing with its function and also the social organization that it serves to sustain. However, it would mean completely ignoring the social organization and its institutional apparatus that women notice, when they look up from where they are (Smith and Campbell, 2006). With these reflections on the concept of hegemonic masculinity, we now turn to Bourdieu's concept of masculine domination.

Bourdieu's concept of masculine domination builds on his practice theory (Bourdieu, 2002). Practice theory posits that social order is established through the systems of classification that have origins in a society's cultural beliefs and associated material practices, which mutually

reinforce each other. The hierarchical systems of classification simultaneously seek integration and divisions, based on "sex, age or position in the relations of production" (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 164). The social order is established and sustained through naturalizing the systems of classification and hierarchization. The naturalization of such arbitrary classification systems occurs when objective structures of classification and hierarchization find "correspondence" with the cognitive principles of such organization, and through "misrecognition" of such correspondence and power relations (the undisputed world view, i.e. "doxa") (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 164). The objective structures of classification are reproduced through the habitus, the dispositions constitutive of the body, subjective cognitive structures and practices of the social actors, as they compete in the fields, i.e., the social spaces of various systems of classifications (Bourdieu, 1994). The classificatory schemes result in the formation of social structural positions based on unequal accumulations of social history, namely economic capital (e.g. private property), cultural capital (e.g. educational qualifications) and social capital (e.g. social connections) (Bourdieu, 1994, 2011). The sources of inequality and oppression are hidden as the capital is transformed from material to cultural to symbolic forms (Bourdieu, 2001). For Bourdieu, gender is one such classification system embedded in the habitus, i.e., structures of perception, thought and action of the social actors (Bourdieu, 2001), legitimating masculine domination. The structure of the economy of the symbolic exchanges ("the social construction of kinship relations and marriage alliance") reproduces women as objects, a symbolic and social capital that men accumulate (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 43). However, there would always be cognitive struggles, in the field of opinion or argument, of competing discourses (orthodoxy and heterodoxy) (Bourdieu, 1994), leading to other differing interpretations of the gendered social order based on masculine domination, and giving rise to the possibilities of transformation (Bourdieu, 2001). Bourdieu (2001) urges performing historical analysis of how the objective social structures and subjective cognitive structures of masculine domination have been continuously reproduced from epoch to epoch, in order to seek transformation in the gendered social order. Feminist and gender scholars have identified the role of ideological and material structures (Barrett and McIntosh, 1979; Beechey, 1979; Burris, 1982; Delphy and Leonard, 1980; Delphy, 2016; Fraser, 2007, 2012; Hennessy, 2014; Hennessy and Ingraham, 1997; Jackson, 2001; Lerner, 1986; Mies, 1998, 2007; Walby, 1990) and the role of intersecting social differences such as race, class and sexuality (Cho *et al.*, 2013; Collins, 2002; Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005; Walby *et al.*, 2012; Zinn and Dill, 1996), in the constitution of gendered social order. Any theory of gender must address identities as well as material structures (Fraser, 2007). Bourdieu's concept of masculine domination is consistent with the premises of material feminism, and the feminist concerns with the gendered social order. With this background, we now review the concept of hegemonic masculinity *vis-à-vis* the concept of masculine domination.

2. Hegemonic masculinity; critique, reformulation and open questions

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) review five major criticisms mounted against the concept of hegemonic masculinity. The first criticism pertains to the role of body in the concept of hegemonic masculinity. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) state that masculinity is not a set of characteristics embedded in the body rather varied practices accomplished in a specific social context of gender relations. On the other hand, an individual can be thought of as a combination of socially made body as a result of somatization of the gender relations (Bourdieu, 2001; Krais, 2006). In spite of transformations that have occurred in the conditions of women in social and economic spheres, the relative position of women *vis-à-vis* men in terms of access to all life chances is still subject to sexual division of labor and masculine privileges (Beechey, 1979; Lerner, 1986; Walby. 1990). The sources of inequalities among men, and between men and women are not mere hegemonic practices, rather an institutional order (Smith, 2005), that privileges the masculine (Bourdieu, 2001).

The second critique asks who represents hegemonic masculinity. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) state that constructions of hegemonic masculinity need not correspond to the actual lives of men rather they provide a model for gender relations and everyday living. There can be an overlap between hegemonic and other masculinities which means hegemonic masculinity is effective, similar to the disjunctures that Smith (2005) pointed out. It may be appropriate to do away with the notions of hegemonic masculinities and complicit masculinities, and just talk about men and masculinities (Hearn, 2004), who by virtue of differently endowed capitals (Bourdieu, 2011), are either powerful or powerless.

The third criticism seeks to know whether the concept of hegemonic masculinity codifies certain negative practices. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) point to the presence of positive practices, presence of a range of ideologies and that hegemonic masculinity is a "means to grasp a certain dynamic within the social process" (p. 841). Though they acknowledge the institutionalization of inequalities, the separation of patriarchy and gender system removes historicity and material basis of the gender system (Beechey, 1979; Hennessy, 2014; Hennessy and Ingraham, 1997; Lerner, 1986; Walby, 1990) and the presence of range of ideologies could be thought of serving the institutional order (Smith, 2005) that constitutes the habitus (Bourdieu, 1994).

The fourth criticism states that the concept of hegemonic masculinity can be understood only in the theoretical frameworks of discursive psychology or psychoanalysis (the notion of a fragmented self), thereby undermining the subject. However, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) disagree that the subject is invisibilised since the concept of hegemonic masculinity is constructed in a multidimensional gender relations that are historically evolved and also through non-discursive practices as well as unreflective routines. They further qualify that subject is not eliminated rather not unitary, due to multidimensionality and crises in gender relations. Hence, hegemonic masculinity appears to be both discursive and non-discursive, unreflective routine action, historical, not fixed in the body or personality traits, embodied in terms of its effects, multiple, global, regional, local set of practices specific to a social setting, normative of what men should be, though most men may not conform to the ideal of hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

The fifth criticism relates to social reproduction of gender. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) argue that hegemonic masculinity as a gender system needs to be understood in its historical development and how it keeps adapting to new historical imperatives by appropriating the practices of subordinated or alternative masculinities, without undermining the larger system of patriarchy. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) are critical of Bourdieu's (2001) concept of masculine domination as an effort to revive functionalism to explain the social reproduction of gender. It is interesting to note here that Connell and Messerschmidt invoke patriarchy as a system within which the dynamic of hegemonic masculinity operates, while being critical of Bourdieu as reviving functionalism in his conceptualization of masculine domination. Some elaboration on how patriarchy is related to hegemonic masculinity could shed more light on Connell and Messerschmidt's theoretical premises. If the domination of men over women is a historical process and not a self-producing system (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005), are those historical processes not configurations of societies as a result of certain social processes that reproduce the gender system specific to a social-historical-cultural context (Beechey, 1979; Lerner, 1986; Walby, 1990)? If gender is an organizing principle of societies (Glenn, 2000), is social reproduction of gender not implicated in such a possibility? On the one hand, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) counter the criticism that concept of hegemonic masculinity is not formulated as a discursive construction only, rather gender is also constructed through non-discursive practices such as "wage labour, violence, sexuality, domestic labor and childcare" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005. p. 842), and on the other hand, they are critical of social constructionism that Bourdieu (2001) premises his concept of masculine domination.

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) reformulate the concept of hegemonic masculinity in terms of plurality of masculinities, possibilities of socially admired masculinities, agency of subordinated masculinities, relational nature of gender binary and hierarchy, role of women in sustaining as well as challenging patriarchy, role of embodiment in hegemonic masculinity and contestation within the gender hierarchy among hegemonic masculinity, non-hegemonic masculinities and contestation due to women's movements seek the possibility of failure of hegemony or in the least, emergence of a thoroughly positive hegemonic masculinity that is open to equality with women.

We think that the construct of hegemonic masculinity and tenability of the proposition of a positive hegemonic masculinity can be examined using Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, doxa and capital (Mottier, 2002). The social actors have differentially endowed economic capital, cultural capital and social capital (Bourdieu, 2011) that determine their subject position as well as standpoint in the society. Thus, the matrix of domination and privilege can be understood in terms of these differentially endowed capitals. Patriarchy system and capitalistic social system are fields which are reproduced through the legitimation of the domination. The strategy of legitimation of capitalist patriarchy, the hegemonic masculinity (or simply masculinity), then becomes the habitus – a system of dispositions acquired through everyday negotiation of the field. The norms and values with regard to sex, gender and sexualities get consolidated into habitus that the social actors use to navigate the field and reproduce a gendered social world. The field engages in symbolic violence in order to maintain the legitimacy of the dominant, of certain habitus, possessing the symbolic capital, with the right to speak (doxa), with the motivation to maintain orthodoxy and the authority to silence any subversion (heterodoxy) (Bourdieu, 1994). Looked at from this perspective, the heteronormativity may be seen as the habitus of the dominant. The nature of symbolic violence of masculinity may be such that unless the subversion identifies both the ideological and material structures of their dominated position (Glenn, 2000; Risman, 2004; Risman and Davis, 2013; Risman, 2017), any contestation in the field would be neutralized through symbolic violence. Thus, it would be interesting to examine whether the trajectory of feminist thought and movements from equality to universalism to difference to particularism to multiplicity of gender question (Krolokke and Anne Scott, 2006) has been the result of symbolic violence of the dominant habitus, i.e., masculinity, in the field of capitalist patriarchy (Mies, 1998, 2007).

3. Examining positive hegemonic masculinity

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) envisage a possibility of a thoroughly positive hegemonic masculinity that is open to equality with women. The relations of domination between men and women are interwoven in the entire spectrum of social structure and social spaces, public and private, reinforced continually through the economy of symbolic goods. Some visible changes in the position of women in the society sometimes mask the invisible, permanent and enduring structures of differentiation and masculine domination (Bourdieu, 2001; Ridgeway and Shelley, 2004). Hence, the notion of a positive hegemonic masculinity that is open to equality with women undermines the gendered social system built on masculine domination as the operating principle (Bourdieu, 2001). The following sub-sections attempt to compare the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and masculine domination.

3.1 Cultural beliefs

Hegemonic cultural beliefs about gender and social interactional contexts reinforce and sustain the gender system in the social world (Ridgeway and Shelley, 2004). According to Bourdieu (2001), the cultural beliefs about gender are rooted in the hierarchical gender binary. Bourdieu (2001) argues that the origin of culture is based on the male principle, with opposition between male sexuality and female sexuality, between culture and nature,

thereby establishing a social order where male principle dominates the female principle. The sexual relations are relations of domination of male over female. Social agents internalize dominant social norms and values in their habitus. Such internalization or naturalization provides the practices, tools and strategies to negotiate the field (Bourdieu, 2001). Bourdieu (2001) further asserts that it is not the biological reproduction that differentiates males and females in a hierarchy of sexual division of labor rather it is the world view of division of sexual labor. It incorporates the androcentric principle that legitimates the domination of males over females. The symbolic order of differentiated gender roles is enacted in the rites of initiation, specific to each culture with the result that men dominate women, control natural resources and control reproductive capacities of women, to serve the mode of economic production at any given point in time, making gender as an organizing principle of the society (Beechey, 1979; Lerner, 1986; Mies, 1998, 2007; Walby, 1990). While changes in the socioeconomic conditions, social movements focused on reforming women's status in society and resistance at the individual level may contribute to gradual changes in the cultural beliefs pertaining to gender, the primary system of cultural beliefs cannot be easily influenced (Ridgeway and Shelley, 2004; Risman, 2017). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) do not provide any details on how the cultural origins and beliefs will be accounted for, in conceptualizing a positive hegemonic masculinity, though acknowledge that masculinities as cultural constructions but the "bearers of hegemonic masculinity are not necessarily cultural dopes" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 853), and may attempt to change the gender relations and masculinities.

3.2 Category

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) do not mention which women they are referring to. The label or category of women is not homogeneous. Multi-ethnic or multi-racial feminism takes race or ethnicity as the central theme that problematizes the social construction of gender identities and structures of domination. Multi-ethnic or multi-racial feminism replaces the theme of equality with difference (Zinn and Dill, 1996). While the individual is at the center of liberal feminism, the preference for individual instead of racial/ethnic group is the problematic in multi-ethnic or multi-racial feminism. At the same time, the analytical category of women of color, as a homogenizing category, has the problem of invisibilizing differences among women of various races, ethnicities and cultures (Andersen and Hill Collins, 2004). Nevertheless, women as a category of gender are constructed in the intersectionality of or in the interlocking structures of or through a matrix of domination as well as privilege, of caste, class race and sexuality (Cho *et al.*, 2013; Collins, 2002; Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005; Walby *et al.*, 2012; Zinn and Dill, 1996). The intersecting or interlocking matrix of domination and privilege generate oppression as well as opportunities (Zinn and Dill, 1996) as all women are not equally endowed with economic capital, cultural capital or social capital. In addition, a categorical view of intersectionality masks within category oppression (Cho *et al.*, 2013; Collins, 2002; Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005; Walby *et al.*, 2012; Zinn and Dill, 1996). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) use women as a generic category without accounting for the unidentical habitus that they inhabit.

3.3 Coherence

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) emphasize the hegemony aspect of hegemonic masculinity as a form of masculinity and not a form of domination, rather works through the mechanisms of consent, discourse and creation of exemplars of hegemonic masculinity. Such a conception of hegemonic masculinity fails to explain the visible oppression, domination, exploitation and subordination of women and men by some men (Walby, 1990). Neither consent nor discourse can be fully implicated in the everyday lived experience of men and women that are subjected to the struggles for survival in various

forms and levels, by men and women who exercise power over them. In the economy of symbolic goods, the accumulation of symbolic capital is an act of domination (Bourdieu, 2001). Connell and Messerschmidt do not elaborate on what motivates the formation and sustenance of gender hierarchy and hegemonic masculinity. What forms of social power does the hegemonic masculinity seek to wield and for what purpose? Constructing a notion of hegemonic masculinity and its motivation as a function of the specific local social context would support the existence of multiple versions of hegemonic masculinity but fails to explain the common lived experiences of men and women in the gender systems of diverse societies. Such a line of inquiry cannot also account for the systems of patriarchy and/or relations of economic production (capitalism in modern societies) as influencers of hierarchical gender system since no common motive seems to exist that can be traced to either patriarchy or capitalistic production relations (Burris, 1982).

3.4 Agency
Andersen (2005) questions the emphasis on the fluidity and agency of gender, race, class and sexuality in the feminist scholarship, in shaping gendered social relations, without analyzing the social structures that continue to reinforce the power relations. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), seeking possibility of a positive hegemonic masculinity in the fluidity and agency of masculinities, similarly underestimate the gendered social system. Patriarchy, as the generative mechanism of gendered social system, as "a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women," needs to be considered for analyzing women's subordination in all its forms and presence (Walby, 1990, p. 20). The field of capitalist patriarchy (Mies, 1998, 2007), with its naturalized doxa of heteronormativity, sexual division of labor and other devices of capitalistic production system that systematically undervalue women's work, requires much more than an agency of multiple colorations. If the goal of hegemonic masculinity is to sustain the domination of certain habitus, why would it be open to seeking equality with women? Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) proposition fails to account for the objective and subjective structures of the field, i.e. capitalist patriarchy and the motivation of hegemonic masculinity (or simply, masculinity) in sustaining the field and defend the doxa of heteronormativity.

Bourdieu (2001) establishes that symbolic domination is exercised in communication, thoughts and action, covering all aspects of the habitus, deeply embedded in the body, in physiological dispositions, in perceptions, in the symbolically structured physical world and in the interactions of the structures of the domination. A dominated habitus cannot be liberated though awakening the consciousness. Women's submissive dispositions cannot be wished away by raising their consciousness since the symbolic power (Bourdieu, 2001) is not a mental representation, not just an ideology but a system of structures that are embedded in the bodies, objects, practices and cognitive structures (Bourdieu, 2001). Hence, Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) vision for a positive hegemonic masculinity that seeks equality with women does not take into account the motivation and capacities of the agency of men, expressed as their symbolic power (Bourdieu, 2001).

3.5 Relational structure
Bourdieu (2001) asserts that the relations of domination between men and women are interwoven in the entire spectrum of social structure and social spaces, public and domestic, continually reinforced through the economy of symbolic goods. The division of sexes, masculine domination and the sexual definition of body are legitimized through the symbolic system of intentional representation, making them natural and as not needing scrutiny. The biological differences in terms of the anatomy of the male and female sex organs are taken as natural justification for the social construction of the differences in genders and social division of labor. The system of masculine domination also places

demands on men to be men in terms of their sexual prowess and capacity for violence. The requirement of the symbolic order to assert manliness in all applicable social situations makes manliness a relational phenomenon, *vis-à-vis* other men and against femininity, to overcome the fear of being excluded from the world of real men (Bourdieu, 2001). The proposition of hegemonic masculinity destabilizing its own existence to seek equality to women does not seem to have a political program that can dismantle the invisible structures of sexual differentiation and masculine domination, spread throughout the social body and the corporeal body.

If masculinity and femininity are organized in a hierarchy of gender relations, masculinity is already in a hegemonic position since anyone who deviates from the norms of masculine ideal is considered feminine (Schippers, 2007, p. 96, cited in Budgeon, 2014). What specific emancipatory and transformatory potentials do the conception of multiple masculinities and multiple femininities would yield if the hierarchical relationship is between idealized masculinity and femininity (Schippers, 2007, p. 94 cited in Budgeon, 2014) and if such multiplicities are not independently emerging from the gender regime that constituted the "idealized relationship between masculinity and femininity" (Schippers, 2007, p. 94 cited in Budgeon, 2014) in the first place? Should any changer occur in gender relations due to the multiplicities of masculinities and femininities, or a conception of hegemonic femininity (Paechter, 2018), could it not mean that the gender regime is adapting to such subversions through appropriation, accommodation (Arxer, 2011) to sustain the masculine ideal or "regulation of gender relations" (Budgeon, 2014, p. 330) rather than a fundamental redistribution of privileges and resources?

3.6 Adaptability
Bourdieu (2001) states that the structure of the economy of the symbolic exchanges (the social construction of kinship relations and marriage alliance) produces and reproduces women as objects, a symbolic and social capital that men accumulate Patriarchy faces continuous resistance from feminism in its form as a mode of intervention through women's movements (Walby, 1990). However, patriarchy does not weaken; it simply adapts itself to reconsolidate its dominant position. The adaptation takes the form of news sites of oppression of women. If the social category of women is the creation of patriarchy, when the patriarchy ends, the notions of man/masculine and woman/feminine will also end. The idea of a thoroughly positive hegemonic masculinity that is open to equality with women still is rooted within the patriarchal configuration of gender binary. Even if such a possibility exists, it would only mean that patriarchy has not disappeared rather reconfigured itself to a form, with hegemony of masculinity appropriating non-hegemonic practices (Arxer, 2011), in which certain equality is conferred between men and women, and in certain spheres.

3.7 Power structure
Patriarchy is a power structure in which men control resources of production and reproduction (Beechey, 1979; Lerner, 1986; Mies, 1998, 2007; Walby, 1990). Patriarchy maintains its power over women through essentializing men and women as embodying different characteristics, through sexualizing men and women as objects of desire and through social construction of women as either below or above the norm, i.e. men. The material and ideological structures reify the patriarchal norm. Hence, the inequality between men and women, inherent in a patriarchy, needs to be understood both in terms of material structures as well as ideological structures (Glenn, 2000; Risman, 2004, 2017; Risman and Davis, 2013; Walby, 1990). The idea of a thoroughly positive hegemonic masculinity that is open to equality with women does not elaborate the aspect of control of resources. Does it mean co-optation with women in controlling resources or eliminating the need for control of resources? In either case, the proposition needs to elaborate on how the modes of production would be

reconfigured to make such an equality possible. Hegemonic masculinity cannot be simply thought of as an ideological structure that can be transformed without changing the material structures that informed such ideological structures (Ridgeway and Shelley, 2004; Beechey, 1979; Lerner, 1986; Mies, 1998; Walby, 1990), though Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) emphasize non-discursive, material aspects of hegemonic masculinity. Hence, the proposition that a positive hegemonic masculinity that is open to seeking equality with women will not stand the test of everyday life of the dominated (women or men) in which objective and subjective structures mask each other (Smith, 2005; Smith and Campbell, 2006).

Bourdieu's conception of social power constructs the process through which certain habitus dominates other social actions in the field. In the conception of masculine domination, Bourdieu (2001) elaborates exercise of power through gendering of social relations. The expectations from men and women are deeply embedded in the sexual division of labor as evidenced in the gendering of jobs at workplaces as well as gendered imagery of life situations involving men and women. Any subversion to this socially sexed order further reinforces the masculine domination since the acts of subversion themselves may be seen as a recognition of relations of symbolic domination (Bourdieu, 2001). Though the work is gendered, if a man performs a job in the public sphere that is considered a women's job, the job becomes a man's job (Mies, 1998). Women become excluded from practices that have "dominant definition" (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 62) in terms of suitability for only men. Men, therefore, lack motivation and necessity to seek equality with women.

In seeking empirical support in certain social fields of action such as military (Duncanson, 2015) and sport (MacDonald, 2014), in the terms used to denote masculinity, and the attempt to feminize anyone who does not conform to the ideal of a soldier or sport person, as a working of hegemonic masculinity, what might be missed is the masculine template of the organizational and labor process design, that requires their own version of masculinity, an input expectation from men, for its realization. Then, it may not be a question of multiple masculinities rather the division of labor of hegemony (Gramsci, 2009) of masculinity. Hearn (2012) points to the lack of applicability of the concept of hegemonic masculinity in studying men's violence against known women, and argues that the test of any theory of masculinity would lie in its applicability to study men's violence against known women, re-asserting that a conception of hegemony of men is more viable than the conception of hegemonic masculinity (Hearn, 2004, 2012). Women's experience of discrimination in contemporary workplaces stems from the way organizations are structured, work is organized and people managed, in the image of a man (Acker, 1990, 2006; Bonnes, 2017; Crowley, 2013; Good and Cooper, 2016; Jonnergård et al., 2010; Lup et al., 2018; Mastracci and Arreola, 2016; Oksala, 2016; Patterson et al., 2017; Pecis, 2016; Ronen, 2018; Sandberg et al., 2018; Sandlund et al., 2011; Yang and Aldrich, 2014; Todd and Binns, 2013; Trotter, 2017; Van Echtelt et al., 2009; Williams et al., 2012; Williams, 2013), rather than a configuration of practices of hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, women's experiences of bullying and sexual harassment need to be viewed in the social and organizational context rather than an individual phenomenon or as a practice of hegemonic masculinity (Berlingieri, 2015). The "gender essentialism" and "feminine devaluation" (Ronen, 2018, p. 515) continue to be central to gendering of contemporary organizations, the explanations of which can only be sought in the relational, institutional and embodied structures (Glenn, 2000; Martin, 2004; Risman, 2004, 2017; Risman and Davis, 2013) that shape gender power relations. Budgeon (2014) expresses the reservations on whether contemporary discourses of "empowered feminine ideal" (Budgeon, 2014, p. 330) have in any transformed the gender power relations. Similarly, Risman (2017) questions the ability of millennials (though some of them, the "true believers" conform to the gender order), as "innovators" who go beyond gender boundaries, as "rebels" who "reject gender" or as "straddlers" who are ambivalent (being in between true believers and innovators), having the orientations of both innovators and rebels, to "crack the foundations of the gender structure" (Risman, 2017, p. 225). Answer to such a question

necessitates investigation of gender power relations in terms of the ideological and material dimensions, at the level of structures, institutions, interactions and individuals (Glenn, 2000; Risman, 2004, 2017; Risman and Davis, 2013) that produce and reproduce gendered identities, experiences and outcomes. Hence, a conception of gender social order with masculine domination as its structuring principle of gender power relations has greater explanatory power than a conception of hegemonic masculinity that views men as various categories subscribing to different versions of masculine ideal.

3.8 Change

The possibility of emergence of a thoroughly positive hegemonic masculinity which is open to equality with women means a change in gender relations. A change would mean change in the material structures as well as ideological structures that govern gender relations. It would necessarily mean that a positive hegemonic masculinity obviates the need for the material and ideological structures that underlie the gender relations. The possibility of democratizing gender relations and abolishment of power differentials cannot be conceptualized when the gender hierarchy emerged and evolved as a means to aid certain modes of social and economic production in which power differentials are the foundation (Beechey, 1979; Lerner, 1986; Mies, 1998; Walby, 1989). Hence, the change envisaged in the possibility of a thoroughly positive hegemonic masculinity does not seem to consider the context that gave rise to the change target.

According to Bourdieu (1994), the concepts of doxa (the hegemonic norms and values that are naturalized, for example, heteronormativity), orthodoxy (the symbolic violence that the dominant engage in, to defend and sustain doxa) and heterodoxy (any effort at subversion of orthodoxy) provide the theoretical and practical possibilities of transformation in the existing social order. The naturalization of doxa occurred when the dominant deployed objective and subjective structures in a mutually reinforcing manner. Any transformation in the naturalized social order is possible when the discursive and material structures are identified and challenged. Connell and Messerschmidt do not seem to consider the magnitude of the transformation effort needed.

Though the symbolic order makes members of the society internalize (misrecognition) their dominated status as natural, Bourdieu (2001), however, anticipates possibilities of cognitive struggles that may lead to other interpretations in opposition to the symbolic order, giving rise to the possibilities of resistance to the symbolic order by the dominated. The symbolic domination can be eliminated only though transforming the social conditions of the production of dispositions that make the dominated take the view of the dominant thereby making the relations of domination simultaneously the relations of complicity (Bourdieu, 2001). Hence, Connell and Messerschmidt's (2005) vision for a version of masculinity open to equality with women, a positive hegemonic masculinity, does not appear to consider the symbolic domination which is discursively and materially reinforced, in the gendered social relations.

3.9 Equality

Bourdieu (2001) explains how the system of inequalities between men and women is reinforced. According to Bourdieu (2001), women get differentiated from men in the social and economic spheres by allowing them to perform roles that are extension of their domestic roles of caring, roles that do not have authority over men or roles that do not have technology or machines to handle. The habitus of women is such that the structure of sexual division of labor is maintained constantly across the historical epochs, making any transformation not an historical inevitability. The economy of symbolic goods, in both domestic (e.g. marriage and its associated practices and meanings) and public sphere, also contributes to maintaining the differences and masculine domination. The elaborate rituals that are contained in the domestic sphere in the areas of marriage, everyday family life and

kinship relations are aimed at maintaining the gendered social order and masculine domination (Bourdieu, 2001). In addition to patriarchal domination, caste, class, race, etc., are other areas or sources of domination of men over women (and other men) (Cho *et al.*, 2013; Collins, 2002; Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005; Walby *et al.*, 2012; Zinn and Dill, 1996). The social construction of gender in the patriarchal system of domination intersects with caste, class, race, etc. and problematizes gender (Cho *et al.*, 2013; Collins, 2002; Crenshaw, 1991; McCall, 2005; Walby *et al.*, 2012; Zinn and Dill, 1996). The intersectionality of gender makes patriarchy a complex power structure in which the notion of equality does not have a singular understanding. The complex interaction of gender, caster, class and race sustains the patriarchal system and the notion of equality needs to be understood in its entirety. An egalitarian society envisions that in theory everyone is equal in authority, recognition and standing (Anderson, 2012). Connell and Messerschmidt do not attempt to elucidate the concept of equality, whether it is distributive or relational, whereas a conception of gender equality must include both to address "a full range of feminist concerns" (Fraser, 2007).

4. Conclusion
Bourdieu was critical of the approaches that study gender only discursively and cautioned against the feminist politics that resemble "campus radicalism," based on a delusion that "one changes the world by changing words" and that "subversion of terms, categories and discourses" are sufficient "to subvert or dent objective structures of domination" (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 201). It is the women's collective movements that got them rights to study, work, vote and equality in the eyes of law (Krais, 2006) and not due to any good intention on the part of hegemonic masculinity to ameliorate women's condition in society. Kimmel (2011) would agree that studying gender using Bourdieu's construct of masculine domination can answer the two questions pertaining to difference and dominance. Kimmel sets the agenda that any explanation of gender must address two questions – "why is that virtually every single society differentiates people on the basis of gender and why is that virtually every known society is also based on male dominance" (Kimmel, 2011, p. 2). The concept of masculine domination can help in answering these questions.

Masculine domination perspective could enable organizations identify specific managerial discourses, aspects of work organization and practices in order to eliminate gender-based discrimination, harassment and unequal access to resources. De-gendering of organizations becomes a possibility. Similarly, public policy interventions aimed at inclusive development should examine women's condition of continued disadvantageousness through masculine domination perspective. This paper has some limitations. The concepts of hegemonic masculinity and masculine domination have not been reviewed in the light of emerging perspectives on hegemony, power and domination (Burawoy, 2012). The future research could focus on a review of research methods such as institutional ethnography (Smith, 2005; Smith and Campbell, 2006), in examining masculine domination. In our view, the concept of masculine domination provides a comprehensive understanding of gender than hegemonic masculinity, and possibilities for transformation in the gendered social order. Future research on gender, using Bourdieu's concept of masculine domination, can generate greater payoffs, in theory and practice, minimizing its unsettled status and demystifying its understanding.

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310

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Liberal gender equality and social difference: an institutional ethnography

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to examine the workplace experiences of women employees during maternity and post-maternity periods to reveal the institutional order that coordinated the social relations and shaped their experiences through local and extra-local texts.

Design/methodology/approach – The institutional ethnography research framework allowed for mapping of workplace experiences of women employees during their maternity and post-maternity periods in their local context, connecting them to the invisible extra-local social relations.

Findings – The research study explored the disjuncture between the gender diversity initiatives that aimed at the inclusion of women employees and the workplace experiences of women employees in terms of work disengagement and work role degradation, including career discontinuity.

Practical implications – The gender diversity and inclusion initiatives of an organization need to examine the local and extra-local institutional texts that govern their context and coordinate social relations, such that there is no inconsistency between the intentions, implementation and outcomes.

Social implications – The state needs to revisit the maternity benefit act to provide additional measures to protect the career continuity of women, who choose maternity at some point in their work lives.

Originality/value – The paper explored the institutional order that influences the career continuity of women employees during maternity and post-maternity periods using institutional ethnography research framework in an information technology services organization in India. No such research study has even been attempted.

Keywords Equal opportunities, Gender diversity, Gender differences, Institutional ethnography, Maternity, Gender diversity and inclusion

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

Organizations are increasingly focusing on equality of opportunity, in terms of increasing the proportion of women employees in their organizations. They attempt this through affirmative actions that aim to develop women employees for career growth and by creating differential employment conditions for women that improve their work–life balance (Barak, 2013; Cox and Blake, 1991; Jayne and Dipboye, 2004; Mithaug, 1996; Wolff, 2007). However, the persistence of low representation of women in leadership positions and in certain categories of jobs, along with persisting sex differentials in income points to the fact that the world of work is still a man's world (Schneidhofer *et al.*, 2011; Van Echtelt *et al.*, 2009). The discourses and practices of liberal equality and social difference continue to disadvantage women in the workplace. The gender diversity and inclusion initiatives focus merely on increasing numerical equality without any attention to the generative mechanisms that sustain exclusion of women who are historically marginalized or occupy class position different from those leading such liberal projects (Klemm Verbos and Humphries, 2012). Such initiatives are agnostic about the field of competitive struggles among various actors and institutions, and they ignore the collective by privileging the individual as well as the dimension of class (whether economic, social or occupational) (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2011). In addition, the question of which category of women's interests do such initiatives address is difficult to answer (Nicholson, 1994), whether in the public

sphere or within an organizational context. Similar to the liberal democratic state that upholds equality of women and men in the public sphere while obligating women to focus on the responsibilities of care and love in the private sphere (Stopler, 2005), an organizational discourse of equality of opportunity fails to account for its own construction of women as primary care givers who are expected to prioritize or have to prioritize family over workplace.

The discourses and projects of gender equality in organizations often fail to recognize the processes of becoming men and women (Volman and Dam, 1998). Workplace diversity is also not framed as a societal issue (Jonsen *et al.*, 2013). At the same time, the diversity discourses and practices end up accentuating differences and inequalities (Ashley, 2010). Based on a review of literature on gender diversity and inclusion, this paper upholds the view that shared workplace experiences of women employees as a starting point could provide a sustainable foundation for an organization's gender diversity and inclusion efforts. This paper explores maternity as the shared experience of 13 women employees in an information technology services organization in India, and it examines how their workplace experiences during and post-maternity period are shaped in the context of the wider institutional regime (Burawoy, 2015; Rankin, 2017a), consisting of texts and practices of the organization, client organizations and the state. The paper has four sections. The first section reviews select literature on gender diversity and inclusion. The second section describes the institutional ethnography research framework adopted for the study. The third section delineates the accounts of the workplace experiences of the women employees during maternity and post-maternity periods. The fourth section provides an assessment of the institutional apparatus that coordinates and shapes the workplace experiences of the women employees in the study. The paper concludes with comments on limitations of the study and future research possibilities.

Gender diversity: equal but different

The discourses of liberal equality (Kymlicka, 2002) and social difference (Kimmel, 2011) have perpetuated gender symbolism in organizations (Gherardi, 1995), as is evident in the sex composition and gender typing of jobs, occupations and professions (Acker, 1990; Britton, 2000). Even the women who are equally endowed with the social and cultural capital necessary to progress in their careers tend to earn less than their male counterparts (Schneidhofer *et al.*, 2011). The social organization of production continues to disadvantage women even if they make investments at an individual level in terms of upgrading their skills, to improve their career opportunities within organizations (Tomaskovic-Devey and Skaggs, 2002). The discourse of social difference between men and women that results in the gender typing of jobs remains largely unnoticed and unquestioned (Acker, 1990; Britton, 2000). The discourse of equality does not extend to equality of results in an organizational context in which individual merit is the sole determinant of one's professional success (Strauss, 1992). While equality of opportunities is emphasized, equality of results is seen within the market-oriented meritocracy, whether internal or external, absolving the organization of any responsibility. The past research has established that the source of sex composition and gender typing of jobs, occupations and professions could also be discovered in non-gendered arenas. These arenas include the competitive struggles for status, power and differential economic benefits among people and functions, horizontally and vertically, in organizations and in transnational business environments (Acker, 1990; Britton, 2000; Chalmers, 2001; Poster, 2001, 2008; Poster and Prasad, 2005). Masculine work practices, inflexible work routines, availability to work at all times, and totalizing accountability contribute to women's underrepresentation in project-based organizations (Baker and French, 2018). The gender equality projects are often situated within the existing paradigms and practices of managerialism, and their concerns with measurable goals and

efficient resource deployment. Such a milieu results in a situation wherein talk is at the level of liberal equality, but the execution is steeped in the ideologies and practices of managerialism that privilege certain notions of appropriateness of goals, resources and people that mirror the discourses and practices of social difference (Lorbiecki and Jack, 2000; Vehviläinen and Brunila, 2007). In addition, the gender diversity and inclusion initiatives often fail because they are subject to the prejudices of the organizational actors (Figueiredo, 2015; Kramer and Ben-Ner, 2015), they ignore the established organizational power structures (Holck, 2016), they do not account for the organizational context (Ahmed *et al.*, 2016; French and Strachan, 2015) or the social context (Afrianty *et al.*, 2015; Bešić and Hirt, 2016; Knights and Omanović, 2016; Pringle and Ryan, 2015; Tlaiss, 2013), or do not account for life stage (Neale and White, 2014; Riaño *et al.*, 2015). In addition, gender diversity initiatives are treated as a compliance issue (Payne and Bennett, 2015; Ravazzani, 2016) or as a business imperative (Knights and Omanović, 2016). Moreover, they do not locate business imperatives within the social imperatives (Singh, 2012). There have been instances of adopting an intersectionality perspective (Marfelt, 2016), focussing on identities (Holck *et al.*, 2016). Further, adopting best practice approach of gender diversity initiatives, mimicking other organizations (Evans, 2014), without resolving the problem of lack of understanding of diversity (Bleijenbergh and Van Engen, 2015; Davis *et al.*, 2016; Karassvidou and Glaveli, 2015; Schoenung and Dikova, 2016) does not yield desirable results. Business case for diversity either enables or restricts women's participation based on whether it has taken into account the structural gender inequalities encoded in the organization logic (Johansson and Ringblom, 2017; Nemoto, 2013). State policies that mandate organizations to implement women-friendly work environment often fail, as they do not account for the social, cultural and organizational contexts (Ali and Syed, 2017). Family as the governing principle could homogenize organizational work practices, masking diversity among employees, especially about women (single, married, married with young children), perpetuating inequalities based on gender (Gardiner and Fulfer, 2017). The heteronormative basis of work–life balance policies and practices, which are often subject to managerial discretion for their implementation (Daverth *et al.*, 2016; Todd and Binns, 2013), sustains gender distinctions in organizations, even if they result in some tangible gains in improved gender ratios (Eriksson-Zetterquist and Renemark, 2016). They often ignore the needs of women employees with child care and other domestic responsibilities, as well as men who may be active participants in family responsibilities (Burnett *et al.*, 2013; Hari, 2017; Heikkinen and Lämsä, 2017; Walsh, 2013), which could lead to individualizing responsibility (Fernando and Cohen, 2014) or creating self-doubt among women employees (Toffoletti and Starr, 2016), regardless of their coping strategies (Haas *et al.*, 2016; Herman *et al.*, 2013). The gender ideologies that view women as responsible for child care and household work (Seierstad and Kirton, 2015) aid in making work–life balance predominantly a woman's problem (Epple *et al.*, 2015; Rafnsdóttir and Heijstra, 2013; Romero-Balsas *et al.*, 2013; Socratous *et al.*, 2016) and consider career disruptions as normal for women (Maher, 2013), which need to be managed by themselves (Ezzedeen *et al.*, 2018).

The diversity among women employees based on class and hierarchical position (Pringle *et al.*, 2017) or membership in occupational groups (Wright, 2016) prevents the formation of solidarity to eliminate gender-based inequalities; however, the intersectional identities sometimes enable negotiation of the power asymmetries (Atewologun *et al.*, 2016) or opportunity structures (Hatmaker, 2013; Herman *et al.*, 2013; Ruiz Castro and Holvino, 2016), or they discriminate (Halrynjo and Jonker, 2016) at an individual level. Such situations point to the need to base any attempt to women's solidarity in organizations on some shared experience (Atewologun *et al.*, 2016), within and outside organizations, since intersectional identity construction is shaped both by workplace contexts as well as the social contexts (Carrim and Nkomo, 2016; Socratous *et al.*, 2016). Maternity is one such shared experience of

women employees in many organizations. However, maternity is an underresearched intersectional category in research on gender in organizations (O'Hagan, 2018). Maternity is often a key determinant of women's career continuity (Cahusac and Kanji, 2014; Socratous *et al.*, 2016) that calls for alternate career models for women employees, based on a woman's life stage (Santos, 2015). Hence, revealing the institutional orders that do not accommodate the maternity and child care life stage of women employees (Byron and Roscigno, 2014; Gatrell, 2013; Oyoung, 2013) could help identify the change targets for the gender diversity initiatives of organizations while making such shared experience of maternity and childcare a basis of solidarity of women employees. For this purpose, the study examined the institutional processes that shape the experiences of women during their maternity and post-maternity life stages.

Methodology

The present study is conducted using institutional ethnography research framework (Smith, 2005) in an information technology services organization in Delhi that employed about 4,000 employees at the site of the study. An information technology services organization is chosen for the study since the industry employs a significant number of women and deploys professional management practices, making it an appropriate empirical space to examine gender diversity initiatives. The organization's gender diversity initiative included an on-site creche to allow for women with small children to continue their careers, maternity leave benefits and post-maternity career continuity. However, the proportion of women across all levels in the organization remained unchanged. The gatekeepers (Bruni, 2006; Reeves, 2010) of the organization were informed that research interviews of women employees would be based on their informed consent (Plankey-Videla, 2012). The researcher signed a non-disclosure agreement with the organization. Similarly, informed consent was obtained from the research participants in writing. Research participants were informed that their names would not appear in any publication (Taylor and Land, 2014), as only pseudonyms would be used to conceal respondents' identity (Aldred, 2008).

Institutional ethnography research framework is based on insights from Marxist materialist analysis (social relations), ethnomethodology (everyday activities) and feminist concerns (women's standpoint) (DeVault and McCoy, 2006). Institutional ethnography research framework, conceptualized by Dorothy Smith (2005), is a method of social inquiry that seeks to discover the ruling relations that are external to one's everyday life, but shape their everyday experiences. Smith (2005) acknowledged that women's standpoint and their experiences are authentic source of knowledge. However, the standpoint does not refer to any specific "position in society or category of position, gender, class or race within the society", rather a "subject position" that anyone can occupy (Smith, 2005, p. 10). Hence, rather than being a political position (Hartstock, 1997) or epistemological stance (Harding, 1986), standpoint becomes a "point of entry" (Smith, 2005, p. 10; DeVault and McCoy, 2006). Interview accounts are a key source of data for institutional ethnography (DeVault and McCoy, 2006, p. 15). Besides participant observation, interviews are recognized as an equally significant ethnographic material (Gerard Forsey, 2010; Hockey, 2002; Hockey and Forsey, 2012). Smith (2005) noted that experience emerges in its telling, which is already organized in language and discourse, thereby becoming the data source to understand the social organization of such experience. Hence, instead of foussing on analyzing the interview accounts, institutional ethnography focuses on tracing the "social relations and organizations present in it" (Smith, 2005, p. 138). The local and extra-local interests of the "ruling relations" (Smith, 2005, p. 10) that shape the experiences of people (Rankin, 2017a) are explicated. In organizing the work from a distance, the ruling relations are either consistent with what people know and do or are different from what people know and do. The latter are the "disjunctures" (Smith. 2005, p. 199) that are considered "problematic"

(Smith, 2005, pp. 38-39) and that need to be discovered (Rankin, 2017a) through the accounts of everyday experiences of people. The "problematic" (Smith, 2005, pp. 38-39) is the institutional order that gives rise to everyday experiences of people at the workplace (DeVault and McCoy, 2006; Campbell, 1998). The institutional regime (Burawoy, 2015) is explicated "on behalf of people" (Rankin, 2017a, p. 4), affirming the epistemological stance (Rankin, 2017a) of institutional ethnography that "knowledge is socially organized" (Smith, 2005, p. 27).

Institutional ethnography begins with identification of a point of entry (Smith, 2005; DeVault and McCoy, 2006), an experience, and associated work activities in the organization (DeVault and McCoy, 2006; DeVault, 2006). In this study, the organization's gender diversity and inclusion program provided the context for entry. The experiences of women employees with work, work organization, colleagues and managers were identified as the point of entry. The workplace experiences of women employees were captured in interviews. The interviews, though planned, involved "talking with people" (DeVault and McCoy, 2006, p. 22) to maintain the informality of the encounter (Smith, 2005; DeVault and McCoy, 2006). The research participants were identified through the purposeful sampling and convenience sampling methods (Creswell, 2013). In total, 13 of the 37 women employees who use company creche for their young children were interviewed with their consent. The interview guide consisted of 28 open-ended questions, covering aspects of motherhood, changes in life stage, maternity, post-maternity, and on returning to work, child care arrangements, child care ideology and the reasons to work. The interviews, lasting for 1–2 h, produced accounts of workplace experiences and work knowledge on what people do, how they do it, how they feel about it and how their work is coordinated with other people's work. The focus was on capturing their accounts of workplace experiences that draw them into a "common set of organizational processes" (DeVault and McCoy, 2006, p. 32).

The analysis was done in three steps using interview transcripts. First, for each transcript, notes were made against each statement or a group of statements of research participants' work place experience, in terms of possible discourses (institutional and managerial), social relations (of coordination of work (local and extra-local institutional linkages), and institutional texts (associated at local or extra-local levels) (Talbot, 2017). In the second step, an "informant specific map" (Talbot, 2017, p. 16) was created for each research participant, mapping the sequence of relations among texts, people, experiences and work context (Talbot, 2017), to demonstrate "ruling relations" (Smith, 2005, p. 10), or the "complex ruling apparatus" (DeVault and McCoy, 2006, p. 19), or the "practices that construct the regime" (Rankin, 2017a, p. 2) present in the local context, coordinated through local and extra-local texts (Smith, 2005). The scheme for creating informant-specific maps (Talbot, 2017, p. 16) for each research participant included the discourses (ideology), everyday experiences (experience) of subordination, exploitation, oppression or marginalization, in what people do in their everyday local work settings (work), that are organized, coordinated and controlled by trans-local social relations through the mediation of institutional texts (texts) that contain such ideologies and influence work processes. Informant-specific maps were created for each of the 13 women employees who participated in the research interview. Informant-specific maps (Talbot, 2017, p. 16) describe the ruling apparatus (DeVault and McCoy, 2006), to answer the questions of "how things work and how they are put together" (Smith, 2005, p. 32) in order to create possibilities for change in the institutional processes (Smith, 2005). In order to organize the linkage of practices (Rankin, 2017b) of the ruling apparatus (DeVault and McCoy, 2006), data from the informant-specific maps (Talbot, 2017, p. 16) were indexed (Rankin, 2017b, p. 6). The third step was to discover the problematic that gives rise to everyday experiences of people at workplace (Smith, 2005) (Smith, 2005), including the ruling relations (Smith, 2005) common to all research participants (Griflith, 2006; Talbot, 2017). The ideologies, work knowledge and associated organizational texts, as

emerged in the accounts of research participants, were analyzed to identify the problematic (Campbell and Gregor, 2002; Griflith, 2006; Rankin, 2017a; Talbot, 2017). The institutional regime (Burawoy, 2015; Rankin, 2017a) at the local and extra-local level that creates the disjuncture between the organizational gender diversity initiatives aimed at the inclusion of pregnant women employees and returning mothers, and what they experience in their local work settings during pregnancy and after returning from maternity, was identified as the problematic (Smith, 2005). The organization's policies and practices intended to provide career continuity to women during maternity and post-maternity to achieve the broad goals of gender diversity and inclusion were not effective in the context of the institutional regime (Burawoy, 2015; Rankin, 2017a), consisting of texts and practices of the organization, client organizations and the state.

Maternity derails women's careers

The indexing (Rankin, 2017b) of workplace experiences of women employees during maternity and post-maternity periods identified disengagement from work role and project team, degradation of work role, devaluation of performance, discrimination in on-site (British and North American destinations) assignments, denial of flexible work options and delimitation of crèche facility as the common set of experiences. The research participants welcomed their pregnancy with joy, whether it was to meet expectations from the family or out of their own choice. They were faced with potential disruptions to their career due to motherhood. On informing about their pregnancy to their managers, a few research participants were either removed from their projects and sent to the resource pool or they were made to handover their work to another employee prior to moving to the resource pool, resulting in disengagement from work and work team. The research participants pointed to the agile work organization that required them to work long hours to accommodate late working hours (in the case of British clients) and early working hours (in the case of North American clients) as the reason for their withdrawal from active work. In cases where they were allowed to continue working, their work role was degraded, citing their inability to work in their previous work roles.

In general, the research participants moved into degraded work roles even after returning from maternity. The performance appraisal ratings of all the research participants were lowered during the period of their pregnancy and post-maternity periods. They attributed devaluation of their performance by their managers to their inability to work long hours. The short-term (less than six months duration) on-site assignments to British and North American destinations were denied since the international travel policy did not allow the research participants to travel with children below one year. Their requests for flexible work options such as work from home (WFH), sabbatical and extended leaves were denied during maternity and post-maternity periods, when they were not on leave. The research participants highlighted the discretion of managers and client representatives in denying their requests for WFH. They depended on the organization's creche facilities to be able to continue working with the organization. However, the creche timings (9.00 a.m.–5.30 p.m. IST) did not match with their work shift timings (12.00 noon–9.00 p.m. IST), resulting in their inability to comply with their work shift timings. Some of the work shifts timings were aligned with the North American time zones, putting research participants in a disadvantageous position, as they could not work in the night due to maternity and childcare duties.

The creche timings also did not allow for extending the work hours to accommodate overlap with British or North American clients' work timings. All of the research participants paid the "pregnancy penalty" (Shinall, 2018, p. 752) in terms of destabilizing their work roles as well as disruption to their career. In the case of one research participant, this led to the end of employment with the organization (she was serving the notice period at the time

of the interview). In addition, the research participants faced ridicule and non-cooperation from their work colleagues during maternity and post-maternity periods, causing disengagement from the work teams. The informant-specific maps identified organizational and extra-organizational texts, shaping the workplace experiences of research participants during maternity and post-maternity periods. The gatekeepers of the organization provided organizational texts such as maternity policy, creche policy, WHM policy, agile methodology, leave policies, sabbatical policy and international travel polices. The external texts included the Maternity Benefit Act 1961 and the Maternity Benefit Act (Amendment) 2017.

Institutional regimes penalize maternity

The organizational and extra-organizational texts were examined to understand what actions they "permit, legitimate and forbid" (Tummons, 2017, p. 149), the identities they construct (Prior, 2003, 2008, 2016), and to identify variations in the way they govern social relations at the workplace (Talbot, 2017). The organizational texts were analyzed in terms of the course of action they coordinate and influence, the workplace experiences they marginalize, the managerial ideologies they contain, and the hierarchy of governance of social relations at the workplace (Bowen, 2009; Griflith, 2006; Smith, 2005; Turner, 2006).

The organization's maternity policy was based on the Maternity Benefit Act 1961 and the Maternity Benefit Act (Amendment) 2017. The organization's maternity policy mirrored the stipulations of the Law. The Maternity Benefit Act mandates that the maximum period that a woman could avail maternity leave is 26 weeks, not exceeding eight weeks preceding the expected date of delivery of the child. This meant that women employees could not start their maternity leave any time before eight weeks prior to the expected delivery date of the child. This stipulation was used by the organization to deny leave to some of the research participants with medical issues during pregnancy to go on maternity leave earlier than eight weeks prior to the expected date of childbirth.

The Maternity Benefit Act (Amendment) 2017 states that if the nature of work is such that one can WFH, the organization should allow for WFH after the completion of maternity benefit period, subject to negotiated agreement between the organization and the women employee. However, the Act is silent on WFH option prior to the start of the maternity leave. By making the provision of WFH optional, contingent upon the mutual agreement of the employer and the women employee, the Act ignores the scope for interpretation and discretion used by managers in granting WFH option to women employees during maternity and post-maternity. At the same time, neither the Act nor the maternity policy of the organization takes into account the agile methodology-based work organization that requires employees to be present at the workplace during the overlap hours with the client organizations (late hours in the case of British clients and early hours in the case of North American clients). The Maternity Benefit Act and the maternity policy and WFH policy of the organization discriminate against women employees during their maternity and post-maternity periods by not considering their employment conditions in a work organization based on agile software development methodology.

In another instance, the sabbatical policy did not allow research participants to take sabbatical leave together with maternity leave, thereby disallowing them extended leave to meet any medical exigencies. The stipulation that sabbatical leave could only be availed if the employee has five years continuous employment with the organization discriminated against research participants and potential mothers, who may have been with the organization for a period less than five years. The research participants could avail leave without pay (LWP) to account for any exigencies during pregnancy and post-maternity, beyond the six months of allowable maternity leave. However, disciplinary actions associated with LWP, such as deductions from salary, annual bonus and other entitlements and lengthy approval process, discouraged research participants from considering LWP. The international travel policy

restricted research participants with children younger than one year from on-site project assignments at British and North American client organizations.

The interviews revealed the workings of the agile methodology-based work organization. The agile software development methodology is considered as an improvement over the traditional waterfall software methodology (Cervone, 2011). Software development evolved from being a craft in the 1960s, to a planned and disciplined activity in the 1970s, to being tool intensive in the 1980s, to being flexible to accommodate rapidly changing client requirements in the 1990s, and eventually to being a globally integrated flexible model (Boehm, 2006). The "follow the sun model" (leveraging time zone differences across geographies to reduce the time to market) has been the guiding principle of the global software development industry (Carmel *et al.*, 2010, p. 18).

It is notable that agile software development methodology is credited with reducing problems related to communication, coordination and control of follow-the-sun model of global software development (Holmström *et al.*, 2006). However, in practice, agile software development is interpreted as privileging people interaction over process and tools (being available to talk to people any time), intense engagement with clients (time differences do not matter; being available to talk to the clients any time, as well as increased client involvement in the software development process), making available a working software at any point in time in small chunks (continuous activity of software coding and software testing), and emphasizing responding to changes in client requirements rather than following a plan (continuous activity of software coding and software testing) (Janes and Succi, 2012). The organization utilizes the agile software development methodology for organizing and coordinating the work of employees.

Thus, the research participants were disengaged from their project work roles when they informed their managers about their pregnancy since the agile methodology-based work organization is not compatible with the disruption that research participants would have in their work role when they begin to cope with pregnancy and with childcare when they return from maternity. The inability to respond to the availability requirements beyond 5.30 p.m. IST and to work in night shifts prevented research participants from continuing in their project work roles, and even when they continued working, the restricted timings of the creche (9.00 a.m.–5.30 p.m. IST) limited their project work role opportunities. The creche policy did not take into account the childcare needs of the research participants. The discretion of managers in approving WFH and leaves, and of the clients in approving WFH presented further uncertainty for research participants seeking flexible work option, either to cope with maternity or post-maternity. The laws pertaining to maternity benefits, the organization's interpretation and implementation of the maternity benefits laws, along with creche policy, sabbatical policy, leave policy, international travel policy and agile methodology-based work organization, penalized maternity in terms of career disruption. The organizational policies mention that only married women are eligible for maternity benefits, thereby excluding women who are not married (Gardiner and Fulfer, 2017). The creche policy is applicable to only women employees, discriminating against men who may also need creche facility for their children (Gardiner and Fulfer, 2017). Although this may not be significant issue in India now, this discriminates against single women thinking of adopting and raising a small child. Texts at various levels (state, client organizations and organizational) were located in a hierarchy, utilized by the organization's managers in coordinating social relations at the workplace and shaping the experiences of employees during their maternity and post-maternity periods (Turner, 2006).

Conclusion

This study explores the disjuncture between the organizational gender diversity initiatives aimed at the inclusion of women employees during maternity and post-maternity periods,

and what they experience in their local work settings. The implementation of policies and practices of gender diversity maternity and post-maternity period of women employees are subject to managerial discretion, work design and work organization, and the discretion of the clients. The maternity benefit laws of India as well as their implementation by the organization do not take into account the aspects of the work organization; also, they do not even accommodate the maternity and post-maternity needs of women employees. Such disjuncture results in varied workplace experiences about impending maternity, during maternity and after returning to work post-maternity. This has significant implications for the gender diversity initiatives of the organization. Although the policies and practices are intended to provide continuity of career during and after maternity, women employees experienced exclusion from work and discrimination in performance appraisal, solely because they chose maternity.

Limitations
This study has certain limitations. It examined the workplace experiences of only those women employees who were availing the organization's creche facilities. Further study is needed to account for the workplace experiences of women employees who are not utilizing the organization's creche facilities, male employees who have young children and single parents with young children. This study was conducted in the context of an organization located in India. The workplace experiences of women employees during maternity and post-maternity, and the institutional regime that shapes such experiences could be different in different social and organizational contexts. Although the findings of this study could be generalized within the information technology services organizations in India due to the processes of institutional isomorphism (Zucker, 1987; DiMaggio and Powell, 2000), a cross-country comparative research could further illuminate the impact of institutional regimes on women employees during their maternity and post-maternity periods.

Organizational and social implications
The gender ideologies contribute to women's disadvantageous position at workplace. Such ideologies sustain gender-based discrimination if organization's policies and practices do not consider the aspects of work design and work organization, and the managerial discretion in the implementation of those policies and practices, to accommodate the maternity and post-maternity life stages of women employees. It is imperative that gender diversity and inclusion initiatives of organizations should examine the local and extra-local institutional texts that govern their context and coordinate social relations, and re-orient their articulation and interpretation so that there is no inconsistency between the intentions, implementation and outcomes of such initiatives. The state, on its part, must revisit the Maternity Benefit Act (Amendment) 2017 to provide additional measures to protect the career continuity of women who choose maternity at some point in their working life. The organizations' work practices need to accommodate the unique needs of women employees during their maternity and post-maternity stages. If not, women's under representation at workplace would continue to be justified through the discourse of liberal gender equality and social difference.

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