role of market power in inequality dynamics and the recent discovery that the growth of distributional inequality since the late 1970s in the United States and many other countries has largely been about growing inequality between organizations. The trend here is that powerful firms in many countries are reorganizing themselves in order to hoard income for an increasingly smaller and more homogenous set of high-earning employees and owners. While it is still the case that the bulk of distributional inequality is within firms, in many countries if RIT is a useful theory of inequality, it now needs to speak to relationships between organizations.

In Chapter 9 we conclude with a discussion of the theoretical, methodological, and political implications of RIT. For social scientists, we advocate the use of relational thinking, field-level notions of causality, and the power of organizational comparisons for documenting and understanding inequality generation. In particular, we discuss the plausibility of a political movement toward universalism that erodes historically defined categorical distinctions within organizations.

In Chapter 9 we also strongly reject market fundamentalist policy prescriptions with their near religious focus on competitive markets and economic growth. We propose in their stead a simple policy goal of increasing human dignity via reducing the power of categorical distinctions to channel resources. We outline three general mechanisms that will move us in this direction: evolving from tribalism to universalism, from hierarchy to citizenship, and from markets to human dignity.

2

Observing Inequalities[1]

Core to our argument is that by failing to observe inequality through relational and organizational lenses, social scientists have developed an excessively homogenous view of what inequalities actually look like. The failure to observe inequality comparatively makes the actual variation in workplace inequalities invisible. Social scientists worried about societal gender wage gaps or economic returns to education or immigrant group assimilation have failed to realize that there are almost as many gender wage gaps as organizations, that education takes on different meanings and receives different rewards across workplaces, and that immigrants are welcomed in some workplaces but shunned in others. In this chapter, we point researchers toward methodologies for incorporating this variation to explain the convergences and divergences of inequality within and between organizations.

Our theoretical conception of workplace inequalities has led us to embrace the idea that each organization is an inequality regime in its own right.[2] By *inequality regime* we are referring to the knitting of the cultural and material architecture of workplaces with the distribution of respect, resources, and rewards. Each organization exhibits its own intersection between status characteristics such as gender, race, and education among actors, positional hierarchies of power, status, and skill in the local division of labor, and cultural understandings of how to navigate local claims on dignity and rewards. These combine together to produce particular inequality regimes. We do not see this variation in inequality regimes as random but rather as organized by the cultural and material resources available in particular workplaces to define what seems possible, steering actors' behaviors

1. We published an earlier version of this chapter in 2016 as "Observing Organizational Inequality Regimes" *Research in the Sociology of Work* 28: 187–212.

2. The idea of inequality regime was proposed by Joan Acker (2006) and utilized extensively in our earlier work (Stainback and Tomaskovic-Devey 2012). Acker's insight was that the knitting of class, race, gender, divisions of labor, and local culture produced self-legitimizing inequality systems. In our work we stress the potential empirical variation produced by the autonomy of the local. We return to this idea in more depth in Chapter 4.

and choices. In the rest of this chapter we emphasize both the variation in inequality regimes and their nesting in particular institutional fields.[3]

Prior data collection methods used to develop our understandings of resource inequality have mostly focused on statistical analysis of traits associated with individuals embedded in national contexts or on single site ethnographies. When individual-level studies skip over the actual social locations in which inequalities are enacted and distributed, both the interactional dynamics that generate inequality and the degree of variation in real or possible inequality regimes are rendered invisible. Ethnographies that lack comparisons have a difficult time distinguishing generic processes from institutional context. Methodological conventions have led to some fairly odd social science. Labor economists theorize the exchange relationship between employer and employee but do not observe such relationships. Instead, they observe the human capital traits associated with individuals and their correlation with earnings. The social relations and workplaces where employment relationships reside are largely missed. Status attainment sociologists theorize status hierarchies associated with education or gender or race but observe these statuses as individual traits correlated with occupation, earnings, or other valuable resources, typically in a national—not organizational—context. In both cases, relational explanations are present, but the observational methods—random sample surveys of individuals—encourage researchers to ignore the fundamental mismatch between their theory and their data.[4]

Other social scientists utilize ethnographic methods to study workplaces and other organizations. These methods are much more suitable for observing the organizational processes that generate inequalities in respect and occasionally rewards. Most ethnographies, however, focus on a single organization, often for short periods of time. Such single case designs are good at observing the relational production of inequalities but are poorly equipped to embed those relationships in specific institutional environments or capture variation across organizational inequality regimes.

These methodological conventions make it difficult to describe and explain the relational generation of inequality. In this chapter, we offer two observational guidelines: (1) observe social relations in their relational

3. In the next chapter we develop the field idea in more depth and link it to both Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) theory of action and organizational science theories of the firm (e.g., Wooten and Hoffman 2008).

4. We are not arguing that individual survey data are never useful for studying inequalities. They can be very useful at linking categorical distinctions, like educational degree or gender, to inequalities in income, occupations, and social psychological states. We argue instead that organizational data are required to observe the generative processes and real-world variation in inequality outcomes.

contexts and (2) embed relationships in durable contexts, particularly organizations, and further embed those organizations in their institutional fields. We argue that these strictures are best carried out in a comparative organizational research design framework, where we can actually observe variation across organizational context.

FROM THERE TO HERE?

In the mid-twentieth century, two very different methodologies, ethnographies of particular workplaces and surveys of random samples of individuals, came to dominate the study of work and inequality.

In the ethnographic classics, such as Donald Roy's (1959) study of routine work in a garment factory and Tom Juravich's (1985) description of working in a chaotic wire harness factory, sociologists were able to discover how workers coped with each other, with monotonous work, and even with abusive management. Most importantly, these studies, which have a long history leading up to the present, are the best sources of insight into the social relations in organizations that allocate respect, dignity, interesting work, and other interactional rewards. The downside of the ethnographic method is that each case study tends to stand alone, and the cumulative knowledge implied by multiple case studies is typically beyond the reach of any one researcher.

During the same period, technologies for collecting high quality random sample surveys of individuals were developed. These included various strategies for drawing relatively large, national random samples of individuals as well as methodological work on the reliability of standardized survey questions (see Rossi, Wright, and Anderson 1983 for the state of that art by 1980). These data collection methods were strongly enhanced when computer technologies vastly sped up the time and cheapened the cost of statistical analyses and survey administration.

In sociology the big shift in studies of inequality came after the publication of Peter Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan's pathbreaking study *The American Occupational Structure* (1967). In the same year, the IBM360 computer system became available, allowing scientists on major university campuses to perform millions of computations per second for the first time. Routine training in multivariate statistics followed and became the bedrock of both sociology and economics graduate curriculums. The marriage of statistics and survey research encouraged sociologists of stratification and inequality to develop sophisticated statistical models on the educational and occupational careers of individuals. Economists did the same for individual employment and earnings.

Workplace ethnographies and stratification studies drifted—perhaps drove each other—apart on methodological grounds. Ethnographers developed an inductive methodology around grounded theory, prioritizing the discovery of social patterns in specific contexts and the inductive generation of locally valid theories of social processes (Glaser and Straus 1967). Following the statistical path laid out by Blau and Duncan (1967), status attainment researchers pursued a deductive path, estimating statistical models of the partial correlations between individual traits like parent's occupation, respondent's education, attitudes, sex, and race and status outcomes like school grades, graduation, occupational status, and earnings (e.g., Sewell and Hauser 1975). Status attainment theory became hegemonic in US sociology graduate training, probably because of its close ties to the increasingly sophisticated statistical analysis of individual survey data. As this theory strengthened, the organizational production of inequality became increasingly invisible, first methodologically and then theoretically.

But there was resistance. Among the ethnographers a new breed of critical ethnographers followed Harry Braverman's ([1974] 1998) Marxian critique of the deskilling of labor. These labor process researchers saw the face of inequality in the social relations of production but, using the ethnographic methods of their predecessors, had the same problems of generalizability and limited comparisons (e.g., Burawoy 1979; Juravich 1985). Eventually the importance of theorizing, if not always observing, institutional context was offered as a criticism of grounded theory, most prominently by Dorothy Smith (2005) and Michael Burawoy (1998).

A similar criticism of status attainment theory in sociology and human capital theory in economics (both of which shared the individual survey methodology) arose, pointing out that workplaces existed and that labor markets were segmented in terms of organizational resources, the relative power of labor, and both firm and worker exposure to external market competition. This new structuralist framework critiqued status attainment and human capital theories for their disconnect from the workplaces that actually set wages and hire and fire people (e.g., Edwards 1979; Baron and Bielby 1980).[5]

In some sense though, if ethnographers could make up for the lack of comparison by appeals to institutional analysis, new structuralists were never able to similarly overcome data limitations. Despite their attraction

5. This literature followed a somewhat earlier literature which criticized both theories' assumption of a homogenous single national labor market (Reich, Gordon, and Edwards 1973; Hodson 1978). This earlier literature was inspired partly by ethnographies, such as Elliot Liebow's *Talley's Corner* (1967), which showed African American men working in a labor market that did not in any way resemble orthodox accounts.

relative to status attainment and human capital models, the critical new structuralist literature on dual and segmented labor markets foundered on the scarcity of quantitative workplace data. If the social processes that create inequality happen in workplaces and both workers and workplaces vary in their resources and product market constraints, we should be studying workplaces in industrial context, not proving deviations from an unrealistic national labor market or status attainment process (Hodson and Kaufman 1982). But the problem was that nearly the only data anyone had at the time were national, and sometimes local, surveys of individuals.[6]

A key methodological exception to this is the work of Randy Hodson, who made a fundamental methodological intervention to bring the firm back in. Using the 1975 version of the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study of Schooling and Status Attainment, which had collected employer names as well as a self-reported measure of workplace employment size, Hodson coded company data on size, assets, subsidiaries, and profits for the subset of firms large enough to have public records. He also appended data at the industry level to the same survey responses, producing a research design focused on people embedded in workplaces, firms, and industries (Hodson 1984). The collection of survey and administrative data on organizations that followed turned out to be one of many valuable research design strategies to "bring the firm back in."[7]

Today a rich array of comparative organizational designs are emerging to shed light on the processes that generate inequality. Ethnographer Steven Vallas has produced two studies with temporal designs that demonstrate how changes in the relative power of actors as well as the interactional framing of skill and status lead to changes in workplace divisions of labor

6. Erik Olin Wright's class analytic alternative to status attainment occupational analyses provided a similar move to the new structuralism. Building directly from Karl Marx, Wright and Luca Perrone argued that sociologists should be studying the social relations of production using a class analytic lens (Wright and Perrone 1977). Wright went on to build an impressive set of comparative national surveys using his proposed method of asking people in surveys about their authority relationships at work (Wright 1997). Using relational concepts including power and exploitation, the class approach showed that knowing an individual's power in production, rather than his or her occupational title, could be used to predict his or her income as well as explain race and gender inequalities. The comparative project showed that this class process was similar, but not identical, across national contexts. Oddly, this project never theorized or collected data at the workplace level, staying steadfastly within the hegemonic survey of an individual-level research design.

7. There have been several notable attempts to "bring the firm back in" even in the absence of firm data. One has been audit studies of employers' reactions to job applications to get at the level of categorical bias (e.g., Pager 2003). We discuss these studies in depth in Chapter 7. Other studies have used census data to produce occupation-industry-locality cells, to mimic firm-like social structures. Leslie McCall's (2001) book *Complex Inequality* is a prominent example, as are the series of studies by Matt Huffman and Phil Cohen (e.g., 2004).

(Vallas 1993, 2006). Cross-sectional comparative ethnographic designs have demonstrated that similarly situated firms develop quite different gender (Salzinger 2003) and citizenship (Muñoz 2008) inequality regimes. There is even one study by Katherine Kellogg (2011), which we will discuss in detail below (see *Inequality Regimes in Interactional Context: A Qualitative Approach*), that compares the dynamic struggle over the organization of status and power in multiple workplaces. Later in this chapter, in the section *Comparisons of Ethnographic Cases*, we will also discuss emerging meta-analytic strategies as a comparative organizational design to solve the problem of generalizability typically associated with ethnographic case study work.

Among quantitative designs there are now single-firm dynamic studies of class (Fernandez 2001) and gender (Petersen and Saporta 2004) inequality regime shifts. Increasingly common are small- and large-sample comparisons of workplace inequality processes, with longitudinal data collected at the workplace level (e.g., Kalev, Dobbin and Kelly 2006; Gorman and Kmec 2009; Skaggs 2008). Some of the most exciting quantitative designs use multilevel administrative data that link employers to their employees (e.g., Petersen and Morgan 1995; Tomaskovic-Devey, Hällsten, and Avent-Holt 2015).

Finally, there are mixed method designs which incorporate comparative organizational analyses using both quantitative and qualitative data. Mario Small (2009), for example, in his study of social capital inequality among young parents, surveyed childcare centers and conducted in-depth interviews with center directors and young parents in order to learn about both organizational practices and the embedding of organizations in larger institutional fields. Olivier Godechot (2016) conducted in-depth interviews with investment bankers in multiple firms in multiple countries, supplementing these data with quantitative analyses of one bank's bonus distribution system and French linked employer-employee administrative data on investment banks' pay distributions. We highlight Godechot's project in Chapter 8, in which we focus on the core mechanisms of claims-making over organizational resources. Mixed method designs are particularly powerful in that they shed light on the processes generating inequalities while also documenting the inequality outcomes.

What all of these designs share is a comparative organizational framework, typically nested in one or more theoretically relevant institutional contexts. We now have good models to guide the design of studies and collect data to reveal relational inequalities. We take our empirical exemplars from qualitative and quantitative studies that follow our injunction: to understand the relational generation of inequality, we should, whenever possible, compare organizations and embed them in their institutional context.

COMPARATIVE ORGANIZATIONAL RESEARCH EXEMPLARS

In the remainder of this chapter we highlight a few examples of contemporary research using comparative organizational designs and interpret them through the lens of relational inequality theory (RIT). The first example is based on our prior research investigating organizational variation in class inequality in US and Australian workplaces (Tomaskovic-Devey et al. 2009; Avent-Holt and Tomaskovic-Devey 2010). This case highlights the crucial role of workplace-level *intersectionality* in expanding or contracting the social distance between core production workers and their managers. It also highlights the importance of institutional context for these processes. We focus on both national context—the US-Australian comparison—and within-country organizational processes including the role of wage-setting institutions, human resource practice, and product market competition. The nesting of internal organizational fields within national institutional fields is a key contribution of this comparative case.

The second example is based on a comparative ethnography by management scholar Katherine Kellogg (2011). Kellogg did ethnographic work in three teaching hospitals responding to drastic changes in their institutional environment. Regulatory demands to reduce the hours of work required of interns in surgical practices challenged profoundly gendered seniority-based inequality regimes. Because of the ethnographic method, these comparative cases are powerful in revealing the relational nature of inequality practices and claims-making struggles. Because the ethnographies were done during a period of rapid social change, they are perfect for displaying dynamics in these processes. Finally, the three hospitals shared identical *institutional environments*, and all started with identical inequality regimes. The three, however, had markedly different dynamics in adjusting to the regulatory requirement and in the end developed different solutions to external field pressures. Thus, they are good examples of how organizational variation is produced locally in relational spaces.

We then turn to two meta-analyses of existing ethnographies, one using ethnographies of inequality (Schwalbe et al. 2000) and the other using ethnographies of workplaces (Hodson 2001). Both attempt to aggregate up from existing single-case ethnographies to reveal generic social processes. That is, they turn a single-case methodological strategy into a comparative research design. One uses analytic induction to qualitatively extract generic processes, while the other uses statistical techniques to accomplish a similar goal. Our objective with each of these methodological exemplars is to highlight the range of opportunities for developing and implementing comparative organizational research designs to study the generation of inequalities.

Class Inequality Regimes in Institutional Context: A Quantitative Approach

The relational power of actors has typically been observed in quantitative RIT research as the relative status composition of categorically distinct groups within workplaces. In past research the status composition of workgroups has been found to explain organizational variation in class-linked wage gaps, bullying, and sexual harassment among workers; merit evaluation processes; the relative autonomy of workers in the labor process; and sex and race discrimination.[8] In one set of studies, we examined the intersection of gender, race, ethnicity, and employment contract with job authority and skill for random samples of workplaces in both the United States and Australia. This comparison highlights the power of comparative organizational research designs, especially when nested in national and other institutional contexts. Our basic finding is that the power of categorical status distinctions is highly context dependent. It depends on the workplace-level relationships among positions, local intersectionality between jobs and other status characteristics, and the institutional environments that encourage or discourage claims-making in workplaces.

The US National Organizations Study was one of the first large-scale comparative organizational studies. It was designed by a team of organizational and inequality scholars: Arne Kalleberg, Peter Marsden, Joe Spaeth, and David Knoke (1996). The basic design was to interview human resource managers in a random sample of US workplaces about many aspects of their institutional environments and internal practices. It was carried out in 1991 and remains to this day one of the best studies of variation in US organizational practices. In 2002 a similar study was undertaken in Australia by Sandra Harding, Catherine Zimmer, and Tomaskovic-Devey, this one with an explicitly relational conceptualization. Although a decade and a world apart, the two surveys are fairly comparable and do a good job of illuminating both generic processes shared across the two countries and institutional variation both within and between the two countries.

Generic Inequality Processes

Both studies found that the level of class inequality, measured as the wage gap between core production workers and their managers, varied tremendously across workplaces. Core production workers are the people who do

8. Some of these studies are presented in Wilson and Roscigno (2014) and Roscigno and Wilson (2014). We summarize more in Avent-Holt and Tomaskovic-Devey (2014) and Tomaskovic-Devey (2014).

the work most central to the task of a workplace. In a warehouse these are the people who put stock on and take stock off the shelves, in schools they are teachers, and in restaurants they are servers.

Figure 2.1 displays for both countries the workplace variation in inequality between core production workers and their managers that we discovered. While in Australia mangers earn on average 42% more than the core production workers in the same workplace and in the United States in the median workplace managers outearn their core workers by 51%, it would be a mistake to simply summarize the manager-worker wage gap with these numbers. Each workplace has its own wage gap, and there is much more information in this variation than in simple national averages. One of the striking things we can see in the distribution of workplaces illustrated in Figure 2.1 is that in both countries there are long right tails to these distributions. While the median class earnings gap is 42% in Australia, there are some workplaces in which the average wage of managers is 300% higher than that of the core workers they manage. In the United States variation in class inequality is even more extreme, with workplaces in which the average manager is paid 900% more than the average core production worker in the same workplace.

But what is also remarkable is that in both countries there are workplaces in which the average worker's earnings *are larger* than those of the average manager. All of the workplaces graphed to the left of zero are class-inverted workplaces where the average worker is paid more than their managers. Despite its higher level of class inequality, there are actually proportionally more of these class-inverted workplaces in the United States than in Australia.

This basic empirical finding of substantial variation around the median core worker-manager wage gap suggests that a standard status attainment occupational analysis of managers as a distinct occupation makes little sense, unless you embed managers in a workplace relationship with the workers they manage. One of the core insights of relational inequality theory is that we should expect that this class variation is produced by variation in workplace-level inequality regimes. The local social relations in these inequality regimes are not a function simply of manager-worker distinctions but also of local intersectionality between positions and other categorical bases of distinction as well as local practices and organizational cultures.

We found that in both countries when intersectional status distinctions reinforced the manager-worker distinctions, class inequality expanded. When managers were men and workers women, the wage gaps between managers and the core worker in a workplace grew. When managers were educated and workers were not, inequalities expanded. When managers had permanent jobs and workers were on temporary contracts, inequalities

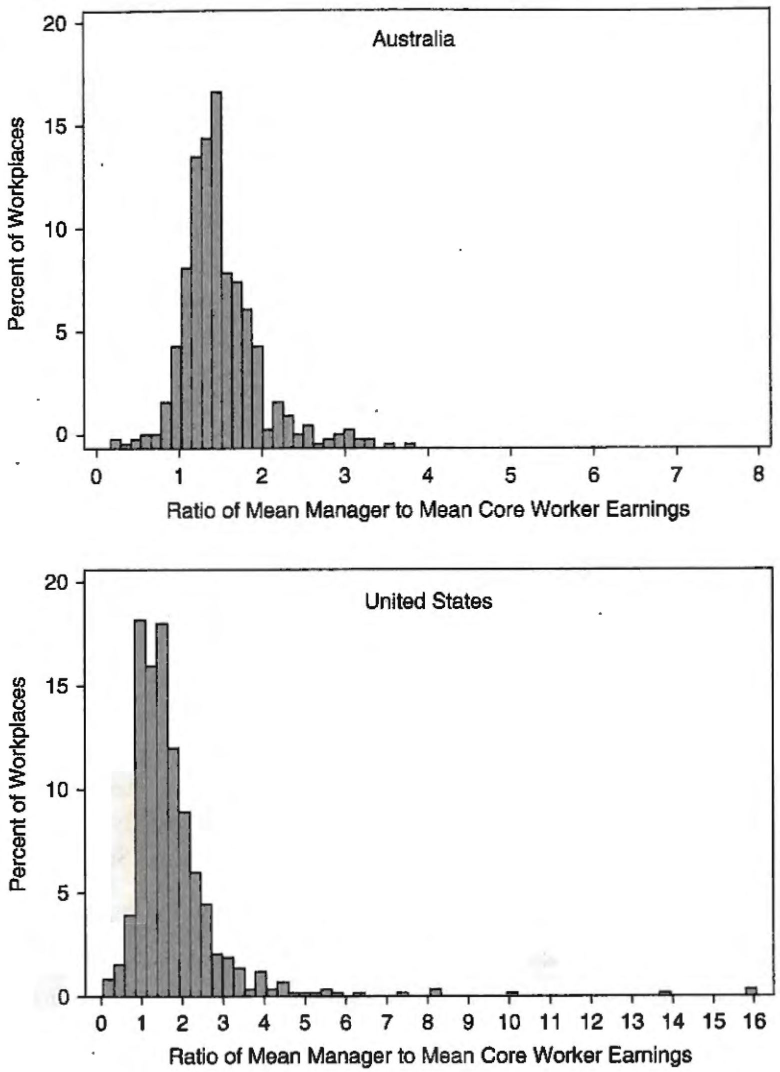

Figure 2.1 The workplace distribution of manager–core production worker earnings inequalities across Australian (2002) and US (1991) workplaces (authors' calculations).

expanded. In the United States, where racial exclusion has a long history, when managers were white and workers were not, inequalities expanded. In Australia, where the distinction between colonists and immigrants is stronger, when managers were native English speakers and workers were not, inequalities expanded. In all of these cases the class distinctions associated

with authority in production were exaggerated when they corresponded to other status resources.

Although unobserved, we hypothesized that the dual processes of closure and exploitation were in play. Closure processes segregate men and women, the credentialed and noncredentialed, and permanent and temporary employees into managerial and core production jobs. In turn, status segregation between managerial and production jobs facilitates exploitation—the transfer of organizational resources to managers. In this study we could not directly observe the generic claims-making process that stretched the rubber band of inequality, but the basic pattern was robust across both countries and multiple status hierarchies, suggesting that these locally salient categorical distinctions enabled managers to effectively make claims that augmented their incomes at the expense of the workers they managed.

When we look at inequality regimes as the product of local intersections between production roles and socially recognized status distinctions, the simple notion of binary status hierarchies is overturned. So while we think about, and often react to, other people as inhabiting singular categories, our lived reality always involves much more complex and intersectional categorical distinctions.

What about the case of the class-inverted workplaces? When would the average worker be paid more than their managers? In both Australia and the United States these class-inverted workplaces were populated by very powerful core production workers. Workers were typically professionals who controlled the income flows and their distributions within their workplaces. They tended to be men as well. Their managers tended to be women. One of the hallmarks of professions is their monopoly of specialized knowledge. When a firm is built around professional knowledge and certification—such as in hospitals, accounting firms, engineering firms, law firms—it becomes much less surprising to find that higher earnings go to practitioners of the firm's profession than to the managers who coordinate activity.

From an intersectional point of view, the class advantage lodged in managerial authority is countered, even overcome, by the power in production associated with professional skill monopolies. In terms of social closure mechanisms, the ability of professionals to monopolize professional knowledge gives them power over organizations built around that knowledge. Engineers in manufacturing plants are simply high-skilled workers. Engineers in engineering firms control the surplus and the status order. When these professional-manager distinctions were reinforced by gender distinctions (male professionals, female office managers), the power of professional employees to make claims on firm income grew even stronger.

In other work we have done, some of which we will see later in this book, we find that status-inverted inequality regimes occur all the time. We have found workplaces where women outearn men, migrants outearn citizens, and the less educated outearn college degree holders. As one would expect, these are unusual workplaces. But they do exist if one only looks for them. In general, in status-inverted workplaces the normally subordinate group holds some advantage in terms of occupation, education, gender, or race over the normally dominant group.

The point is that *intersectionality* can both reinforce and disrupt status hierarchies. The idea of intersectionality is one of the most powerful challenges in the social sciences to dualistic categorical thinking. While we are strong advocates of the notion that human beings process information categorically and make categorical status distinctions, the insight that gender and class inequalities always intersect with racial and citizenship distinctions is crucially important to our expectation of variation in organizational and national inequality regimes.[9]

Institutionally Contingent Processes

The US–Australia comparison has so far highlighted a core generic inequality generating process: the matching of status characteristics external to workplaces to hierarchically ranked jobs within the workplace exaggerates the degree of inequality in rewards. When inhabited intersectionality reinforces status hierarchies, inequality increases. But the reverse holds as well. When women become managers, when minorities become educated, or when workers control production and distribution, inequalities are reduced and sometimes even reversed.

But RIT includes the caution that which status relationships are causally powerful at any given moment is steered by the institutional context. We have already seen that both at the median and at the extremes manager–core worker inequalities tend to be higher in the United States than in Australia. The United States is a more highly unequal society with weaker welfare state and labor union protections of its citizens. In general, the United States has more institutional practices than Australia that encourage inequalities and fewer that reduce them.

9. Particularly influential for our thinking is the work of Patricia Hill Collins (2000) at the level of interaction and of Evelyn Glenn (2009) on the institutional production of categorical distinctions.

In 1907 Australia became an independent nation, like the United States 130 years earlier, breaking off from Great Britain. Labor unions were legal and widespread in Australia then, and within a few years of becoming an independent country, Australia legislated a minimum wage sufficient to support a family of four. At that time in the United States labor unions were illegal, and there were essentially no laws protecting labor from predatory employers and no minimum wages, much less a mandatory family wage for all (male) jobs. While Australia, like other former British colonies and England itself, developed a relatively weak welfare state, it started with an institutional commitment to good jobs for white settlers.[10]

Until the 1980s Australia had one of the most strongly regulated labor markets in the world, while the United States had one of the least regulated (Kenworthy 2003). A hallmark of the wage-setting system in Australia up until the mid-1980s was the award system. In the award system the floor on occupational wage rates was based on required educational and skill levels and set by national industrial commissions. This resulted in relatively low wage inequality and removed much of the claims-making struggle over wage distribution from the workplace. Because the award system set a wage floor but no ceiling, internal negotiations could still upwardly influence wages. Since the late 1980s, the influence of industrial commissions on pay levels has declined and the use of award contracts has become voluntary. Awards remain available for most nonprofessional jobs, but local actors (typically unions and management) can elect to use workplace-negotiated union bargains or even individual contracts (Harding and Sappey 2002).

By 2002 (when we collected our data) 62.1% of workplaces had abandoned award-based wage bargains for core production workers in favor of workplace-level wage bargains. This shift away from centralized wage-setting produced a natural experiment that we took advantage of (Avent-Holt and Tomaskovic-Devey 2010). We see local wage bargaining as increasing the space for claims-making processes, especially claims not based on occupational skill levels, to play out. In this study, we again looked at the wage gap between managers and core production workers but added a comparison of the core production workers' wages relative to the lowest-paid job in each workplace. We found, for both comparisons, that when men were in the superordinate job and women in the lower-authority or -skill job, the wage gap became larger. But the striking finding was that for both manager–core production worker and core production worker–low-wage job comparisons, the impact of the relative gender composition was twice as large in workplaces

10. In Australia closure-based exclusion of aboriginal peoples was widespread and supported by the state. In the United States discrimination against African Americans, Mexican-origin peoples, and Native Americans was similarly state-supported and widespread.

that had abandoned the award system. Locally negotiated wages tended to exaggerate the impact of gender-based status distinctions in the inequality generating process. Strikingly, the reverse was true for education. In jobs where the award system controlled local wage bargains, the impact of relative education on the manager-core production and core production-low-wage worker wage gaps was more than twice that in workplaces that did not participate in the award system.

In this case, wage-setting institutions mattered a great deal in selecting which status distinctions were more powerful inequality generators. When the legitimacy of Australian wage claims was governed by national skill-based wage bargains, the impact of educational credentials was magnified and that of gender muted. The reverse happened in workplaces where status hierarchies were negotiated purely locally.

The United States does not have national wage bargains. In fact, when countries are systematically compared in terms of the degree to which their labor markets are regulated, the United States comes out as one of the weakest in the world in terms of institutional protections for workers. The United States has developed social welfare systems tied to employment, rather than more general systems to insure its citizens from the risks associated with capitalist labor markets. Unemployment insurance is paid for by employers. Healthcare benefits are often tied to employment. Even old age pensions via the social security system are tied to employment, and the eventual level of retirement payments is tied to the level of wages when working. In the United States the comparison of centrally versus locally negotiated wages makes no sense. All wages are negotiated locally. Even the relatively weak labor unions in the United States must organize and negotiate at the workplace level.

This does not mean there is no institutional variation in the space for claims-making in US workplaces. In the United States there is substantial variation in the degree to which employers can be described as consciously enacting due process provisions in their local human resource practices. Comparing US workplaces with more formalized human resource practices to those without, we found that formalization tended to increase the power of educational distinctions and weaken the influence of gender-based distinctions in generating the wage inequalities between managers and core production workers. The empirical results paralleled what we found in Australia. The observed types of formalization were quite simple: job descriptions, formal hiring practices, personnel evaluations, and the like. Many US firms lack even such rudimentary organizational barriers to particularism.

In addition to formalization, one of the most powerful predictions about wage-setting, coming largely from human capital models in economics, is that competitive product markets will undermine gender and racial discrimination in employment (Becker 1971). The logic of this prediction is that competition forces employers to produce efficiently and, as a result, reduces the space for exercising "tastes for discrimination." In our analysis of Australian manager-core worker and core worker-low-wage worker earnings gaps we were also able to compare inequality regimes between high and low market competition firms. Contrary to the human capital prediction, we did not find that gender and racial/ethnic inequality generating processes were weaker in more competitive workplaces. We did, however, find that skill-based distinctions between jobs were a stronger basis for allocating wages in competitive markets. Thus, product market competition seemed to do what human capital theory argued it should do: focus managerial attention on socially legitimate productivity-related traits. Competition in the market environment was not so powerful, however, to challenge gender or racial/ethnic hierarchies in rewards. Market competition is a causal force influencing earnings and employment practices. It is, however, not the only or even necessarily a powerful causal force in all relational settings.

The crucial point is that education and gender are not universally important in determining the relative claims-making power of workers and managers. Even in the same country at the same moment in history they can vary substantially in their influence on inequalities, depending on specific organizational practices and external market pressures. Through this quantitative comparative organizational research design we see that variation in national wage-setting institutions, competitive market contexts, organizational practices, and relational intersectionality collectively produce distinctive workplace inequality regimes. Both the variation in manager-core worker inequality and their empirical connection to organizational factors are only observable through a comparative organizational design.

Inequality Regimes in Interactional Context: A Qualitative Approach

We now turn to Katherine Kellogg's (2011) comparative case study of surgery practices in three teaching hospitals to illustrate how comparative organizational ethnographies can illustrate many of the ideas we propose for thinking about organizational inequality. While in much of this book we focus on inequalities in earnings or access to good jobs, we see the underlying claims-making process as strongly tied to interactional power, status attributions, and cultural legitimacy. It is these processes that Kellogg's cases reveal most admirably.

Prior to 2003 surgery practices in teaching hospitals in the United States had strongly institutionalized divisions of labor and associated power and status hierarchies, including norms that first-year residents work well over 100 hours a week, work "days" over 30 hours long were considered normal, and there were strict prohibitions against senior surgical residents and attending surgeons performing "low-status" tasks like prepping a patient for surgery. Like any organization, there was a division of labor, tasks associated with positions, status hierarchies built around categorical distinctions, and both a *habitus* of position-linked appropriate behaviors and deference relationships and legitimating accounts of why current practices were right and proper.[11]

Surgery practices had standardized divisions of labor. Directors, who were also senior surgeons, managed surgery departments and operated on patients. Attending surgeons operated on patients as well. Surgeons were local gods, always right, never in doubt, rarely considerate of subordinates, and to be deferred to without question. The bulk of the actual labor was performed by surgeons-in-training during a five-year surgical residency. Interns, first-year residents, typically worked 100-120 hours a week and did the more routine low-status tasks, such as record-keeping, patient admissions and discharge, test ordering, and getting patients prepped for operations. They also assisted on simple surgical cases. Seniors were second- through fourth-year residents who took responsibility for more complex patient cases and assisted in more complex surgical proceedings. Chiefs were fifth-year residents and were responsible for developing patient care plans and assisting attending surgeons on complex surgeries. Chiefs were also responsible for the supervision and socialization of more junior residents.

The system of very long hours was legitimated through a set of expectations about surgical training. These included the need to complete any in-progress patient work before leaving and not handing off work to the resident on the next shift, the belief that the only way to learn to be a surgeon was through practical on-the-job experience (the more hours, the more experience), and the belief that the life of the surgeon was one of total devotion to work and so new surgeons needed to learn to always be on call. In addition, within each seniority level, the highest status went to "iron men." Among first-year interns, "iron men" were always at work, never handed off patients, never sat down, and did all work at a brisk pace regardless of how tired they were. They were the "workhorses" of the hospital. Iron man chiefs (fifth-year residents) acted like drill sergeants, molding and beating on new interns (and anyone else junior to them in the surgical environment). Senior resident iron men acted as "wingmen" for their chief, supporting his

11. *Habitus* refers to the expected, often taken-for-granted, sometimes embodied set of behaviors and dispositions linked to structured relationships between roles in a field of social relationships (Bourdieu 1977).

authority, attacking enemies, and making sure he had the information necessary to prevent mistakes. Hours of work dropped with seniority.

Regardless of years in the system, all residents were expected to work effectively and briskly despite sleep deprivation and to "live" in the hospital. The prototypical high-status iron man was male, had no family responsibilities or outside distractions, and was ready to party hard. War stories of sleep deprivation, bad surgeries saved, booze blowouts, and sexual exploits were central to the crafting of an iron man image. While junior interns had no power and did the "scut work," they could rise in status in the short run by being junior "iron men" and in the longer run by waiting for their turn to be senior residents, chiefs, and eventually autonomous "gods"—independent surgeons.

In the 1990s, these extreme long hour practices were singled out by reformers external to the surgery profession as dangerous to patients. These reform efforts incited an unsuccessful initial countermovement from the American Academy of Surgeons to preserve the iron man surgical training culture. In 2003, the American Council for Graduate Medical Education in Surgery, in a move to forestall national legislation, promulgated rules limiting residents' weekly hours of work to 80 or less, one free day a week, and a 10-hour break between day- and night-shift work. Kellogg's work documents the implementation of this reform in three hospitals. These comparative cases are quite powerful analytically, revealing the relational nature of power to preserve and change the organizational inequality regime and the crucial role of claims-making in this process.

In all three workplaces, the surgery directors put new "night float" teams in place to implement the mandated reforms. In all three hospitals, a strong majority of residents were in favor of the reforms. Not surprisingly, reform supporters tended to be people socially excluded from becoming iron men. These included most women, residents not destined for the high prestige general surgery practice (e.g., those training for one year in surgery before going into anesthesiology), men who valued time with their families, men who rejected the supermacho iron man ideal, and new interns who had not yet been socialized into the iron man surgical culture. Defenders of the status quo tended to be more senior residents and attending surgeons.

In none of the three hospitals were the original reforms initially implemented successfully. On paper residents' work was reduced to 80 hours a week and seniors, especially on the night shift, had increased responsibility for "scut work" as well as accepting the handoff of patient work that was not completed by first-year interns by shift's end. In practice, the original reforms were merely symbolic compliance with the new regulations, primarily existing on paper produced for consumption by external accreditation bodies. The superexploitation of first-year interns, the status-based allocation of tasks based on seniority, and the expectation of long hours central to the iron man ideology were preserved, despite pressure from the institutional environment, support from hospital surgery directors to adopt the new standards, and a majority of residents favoring reform. Seniors refused to do the new work that would have allowed the reduced hours, and chiefs and attending surgeons supported their resistance.

Iron men residents and attending surgeons were among the most vehement supporters of the status quo, claiming that these changes would endanger patients and weaken surgical training. That they made these claims is not surprising. Reducing the hours of first-year interns challenged the existing division of labor, status hierarchy, legitimating ideology, and the basis of iron men's claims to high status as well as the age-graded hazing system more senior surgeons had survived and embraced.

In two of the hospitals, however, the initial reform failure was eventually challenged. In both of these hospitals Kellogg describes the facilitating role of "relational spaces"—physical and social locations where the supporters of reform could get together without surveillance from supporters of the old order. In these social spaces they developed alternative strategies for patient care, new frames for understanding good surgical practice, and internal solidarity to resist disparaging attacks from defenders of the old order. In the one hospital that lacked these "relational spaces," attempts at reform were necessarily worked out in public spaces and met with derision and harassment by iron men.

In the hospitals with these "relational spaces," reformers organized more successfully and began to insist on using the new rules. Not surprisingly, this produced a counterattack. Senior "defenders" again refused to do the handoff or scut work, disrupting the work flow and angering attending surgeons when patients were not ready for their scheduled morning surgeries. Defenders attacked the reformers, accusing them of endangering patient safety and shirking work, questioning their competency and commitment. Many of the attacks were explicitly gendered. Defenders called reformers weak, softies, wusses, pantywaists, and girls. Male reformers were particularly targeted for these gendered attacks.

These attacks were particularly virulent in "Calhoun," the one hospital with significant representation of women in senior roles. At "Calhoun" the defenders eventually prevailed, convincing surgery directors that the new practices were dangerous, converting the male reformers to the defenders' position, isolating female reformers, and eventually collapsing the reformer coalition. Kellogg concludes that the status threat to iron men posed by women in leadership roles actually intensified their resistance to the reforms.

In "Advent," on the other hand, the reformers eventually prevailed. There, the gendered attack was weaker and failed to disrupt the reformer coalition. The key constituency preserving the reformer coalition was made up of the "other specialty" surgical residents, often on single-year rotations. These were residents who needed surgical skills but did not intend to become full-time surgeons. They were in a fundamental way not committed to the life of a surgeon and all the ideological and status content that this implied. The "other specialty" residents consistently handed off their patients at the end of shifts to the higher-status senior residents and ignored gendered and other types of ridicule and abuse from defender seniors, chiefs, and attending surgeons. In response to these gendered attacks, the reformer coalition invented a new legitimating frame that stressed the efficacy of teamwork, as well as dropped the militaristic and gendered language around surgical training. They eventually proposed a new division of labor in which a first-year intern would be moved to the night shift to do the "scut" work, preserving a key aspect of the age-graded status hierarchy. In the end "Advent" had a modestly changed division of labor, a new legitimating ideology, a preserved status hierarchy, a cooperative rather than individualist notion of what a surgeon was, and workweeks that actually were limited to the mandated 80 hours.

Across the three cases we see a clear example of relational and intersectional processes. Although they started out nearly identical in practices and experienced the same pressures from the external environment, each hospital had a different internal process of reform. And in the end, it was the intersectional complexity that explains why reform failed or succeeded. Strikingly, reform failed in "Calhoun" because of the heightened gendered threat to the iron man ideal posed by women in authority positions. That it succeeded at "Advent" because "other specialty" residents successfully resisted the, for them, temporary status hierarchy and a cross-gender coalition endured despite collective gender combat from defenders is remarkable as well. Relational power as inscribed in positions, status, ideologies, and intersectional coalitions describes the evolution (or not) of these inequality regimes.

Kellogg's comparative ethnography demonstrates the power of going into more than one organization to make sense of the variation across organizations in how social relations develop and produce outcomes. Had she only observed the failure at "Calhoun" or the success at "Advent" she would never have seen the differences in the relational architecture of the organizations that empowered actors at "Advent" while disempowering them at "Calhoun." The comparison across organizations in similar historical moments and institutional fields but with different outcomes is the critical design achievement.

For new research designs we strongly endorse comparative organizational inequality research designs similar to the two we just outlined. But there are ways to also leverage existing isolated case designs by comparing data points across them. We next highlight two complementary research projects that take existing case studies and systematically identify the generic processes that occur across contexts.

Comparisons of Ethnographic Cases: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches

One of the more innovative comparative organizational designs is to compare across existing ethnographic cases to develop theoretical insights. The two exemplars of this design were organized by Michael Schwalbe and Randy Hodson, respectively. In both designs they began with the body of relevant ethnographies and dove into the cases looking for patterns across them. In the design organized by Michael Schwalbe researchers used an inductive qualitative approach, while in the design organized by Randy Hodson researchers developed a deductive quantitative coding scheme across cases. We will take each in turn, highlighting the benefits of both.

A team of researchers led by sociologist Michael Schwalbe (Schwalbe et al. 2000) revisited a large group of ethnographies to inductively identify generic interactional and identity processes that generate inequality and operate across widely diverse social contexts. They started with a sampling scheme consistent with their symbolic interactionist theoretical framework, including only studies that focused on face-to-face interaction, contained material on symbols and meaning-making among actors, and had implications for inequality. They defined inequality relationally to include the exercise of power, the production of status hierarchies, and the distribution of suffering or reward.

Their basic method was analytic induction. In this method researchers code themes from their observations, group the themes into analytic concepts, and then further collapse the concepts into higher-order, more abstract concepts. Instead of following standard ethnographic practice and using field notes from a single case study, however, they used the published accounts from prior ethnographic studies. One of their main points is that the qualitative literature does permit generalization—to theory—but researchers almost never systematically read across cases to produce general theory. In one study, for example, it could be the case that male workers use a gender frame to exclude women from certain jobs by asserting they are too weak or fragile (Padavic 1991). In another, engineers promote their own technical competencies, excluding skilled workers from the most important production decisions (Vallas 2006). The generic processes common

to both accounts are categorization and othering, followed by the discursive creation and policing of job boundaries and ultimately exclusion of some categories of people from a set of jobs and their associated resources. In the language of RIT categorization, social closure and claims-making coalesce to produce resource inequalities.

"Othering" and "boundary maintenance" are two of the generic processes the Schwalbe team identify that people routinely engage in when relationally producing inequalities. Both are directly tied to the categorization processes many social scientists have identified as essential to installing inequalities and which we see as fundamental in RIT. *Othering* is a process through which powerful actors define less powerful groups as distinctive and inferior, while *boundary maintenance* is the interactional process through which actors police group boundaries and hoard resources for themselves. We refer to these, respectively, as *categorization* and *closure.* Schwalbe and colleagues highlight most critically the power of the ethnographic method to observe these interactional processes as central to producing inequality. People make social distinctions in order to promote themselves or exclude others and then police boundaries to maintain control over valued resources. Importantly, excluded actors sometimes resist but often acquiesce. We will come to see much of this as anchored through a claims-making process within organizations that is fundamentally interactional in nature.

Much deductive social science takes categories and their boundaries as given, often referring loosely to culture as the source of distinctions. Thus, we hear about patriarchal or racist or class-inflected cultures promoting those distinctions. The Schwalbe team finds that people do not simply translate or accept cultural distinctions but rather actively construct status distinctions relationally. A central insight from the Schwalbe et al. (2000) project is that these categories do not exist outside of interaction but rather are created and then maintained in interaction. Thus, categories are not sufficient, and othering is only a first step. For inequalities to become durable, boundaries must be maintained and reproduced.

To our knowledge, the Schwalbe symbolic interactionist-inspired project is the only qualitative attempt to *systematically* generate general theory from the large corpus of qualitative studies of inequality processes. The problem of generalizability in ethnographic work is seen by these researchers to be a function not of ethnography per se but rather of the need to develop a research design to produce systematic comparisons across interactional contexts. The power to generalize to theory lies in the ability to recognize inequality processes that generically occur in multiple social settings. This typically requires an additional level of abstraction beyond that contained in the original ethnographic work. Doing gender, racial bias, and class-based exclusion have to be recognized as all being built around categorization, othering, ongoing boundary maintenance, and emotional adaptations.

While the Schwalbe team utilized classic qualitative methods to inductively discover generic inequality processes, Randy Hodson (2001) took a more deductive approach to similar source materials. Hodson first defined his universe as all English-language workplace ethnographies that contained significant material on one or more workgroups. With a team of graduate students he then developed a systematic coding scheme and produced quite nuanced quantitative data on an exhaustive array of workplace social relations, production techniques, market constraints, firm and worker characteristics, and both employee and managerial behaviors. The quantitative codebook is supported with text files of quotes from the original ethnographies to illustrate the concept being tapped by each analysis code. Hodson's *Dignity at Work* (2001) is the signature product of this workplace ethnography project, but these data, at last count, had been used in dozens of publications and involved at least 13 authors.

The topics explored included most centrally the social relations fostering or denying dignity at work. These were found to include employee skill, abuse in situations of low autonomy and direct supervision, bullying and harassment, teamwork and participation, employee claims-making, coworker solidarity, and management citizenship behavior. The last concept, which was developed in the course of his project, was the insight that workers' productivity, dignity, and satisfaction are closely tied to whether or not managers are organizationally effective and recognize employees' dignity. Managerial scholars often worry about the conditions that can foster employees' organizational citizenship behavior, defined as working above and beyond the minimum required effort. Hodson's analysis of the ethnographic literature made clear that the most common and powerful impediments to productivity and worker consent are chaotic mismanagement (Hodson 2002) and abuse (Hodson 2001). Much of the research developed out of this project takes up the theme of employee resistance to abuse and exploitation, highlighting the active relational negotiation of inequality in workplaces (e.g., Roscigno and Hodson 2004).

The Hodson workplace ethnography project has produced the most complete set of analyses of the actual social relations of production that lie behind the relational claims-making processes that generate status and power distinctions in workplaces. For example, one set of analyses of these workplace ethnographies identified direct bullying as a supervisory tactic to control workers (Hodson, Roscigno, and Lopez 2006). Importantly, these tactics vary with the relative power of managers vis-à-vis workers; actors with low relational power (women, minorities, temporary workers, low-skilled job incumbents) are more likely to be bullied (Roscigno, Lopez, and Hodson 2009).

These two meta-analytic approaches to ethnographic cases provide an opportunity for researchers to not only find what is generalizable across ethnographies but also identify processes and mechanisms that neither ethnographers on the ground nor survey designers intuit as critical. For example, managerial citizenship was not a concept recognized by ethnographers or survey designers, but in response to Hodson's identification of its importance across workplace ethnographies, survey analysts are now uncovering its analytic power across multiple workers' experiences of their labor processes (e.g., Rubin and Brody 2011). Importantly, the meta-analytic approach enables researchers to leverage the power of comparative design out of isolated ethnographic cases.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

All science is a dynamic dialogue between theory and observational methods. Science progresses when theories incorporate empirical dynamics and when observational strategies have the power to reformulate theoretical assumptions. Science is only as good as that dialogue. For a long time, social science research on inequality suffered from a profound disconnect between the theoretical mechanisms that were thought to generate inequality and the observational strategies used to observe them. Theories that were at heart about power and status relationships in organizational, historical, and institutional contexts withered in the face of data collection techniques that focused on the traits of individuals and lacked contextual variation. Even ethnographies, with their superior ability to observe relationships in context, developed as isolated examples of descriptive and processual prowess with only limited and non-systematic attempts to produce generalizable knowledge.

But now, as studies of inequality have taken a relational and organizational turn, relational analyses focusing on power and status, interactional claims and legitimacy, and cultural and material resources all linked to specific contexts are flourishing. Importantly, we are also learning how to collect and analyze high-quality comparative qualitative and quantitative data on organizational inequality regimes, thus moving these observational strategies closer to our theoretical models of action.

On the qualitative side, where observational strategies always were more in tune with ground realities of action, we see the development of comparative ethnographic methods and meta-analyses of the large body of past ethnographies. On the quantitative side, researchers are also moving toward directly observing organizational variation associated with their external environmental fields. These quantitative, qualitative, and hybrid research designs all share a strategy of collecting comparable, relationally anchored data on inequality processes, mechanisms, and outcomes within interactional and organizational contexts. This observational strategy has revealed substantial heterogeneity in the social world that had hitherto been invisible, while at the same time clarifying what are the generic and what are the contextual processes generating inequality. Comparative organizational research designs have also opened up our observations of the empirical world to a much richer, and empirically realistic, theoretical agenda. These are the designs we seek to highlight throughout this book and hope to inspire researchers to develop in future analyses of organizational inequalities.

3

Relational Inequality Theory

in explanation of the attitude of superiority assumed, it should be shown that intimacy leads to a love of our own customs, and unfamiliarity . . . to dislike and contempt for others' customs.

W. E. B. Du Bois 1911:157

Since at any time the given structure of relations is all that exists . . . in the first instance, social structure is itself the memory of the social process.

Andrew Abbott 2001:259

In answering the central question of this book—where do inequalities come from?—, we build upon the relational inequality model first proposed by Charles Tilly in *Durable Inequality* (1999). This model has been elaborated upon by a network of scholars developing a linked set of ideas around the relational production of workplace inequality (e.g., Avent-Holt and Tomaskovic-Devey 2014; Roscigno and Wilson 2014; Wilson and Roscigno, 2014; Vallas and Cummins 2014; Tomaskovic-Devey 2014). At the heart of our theoretical model is a focus on the role of social relationships between people and positions within and between organizations as the proximate causes of inequalities in access to respect, resources, and rewards. We see these organizational processes as structured by the cognitive and cultural distinctions human beings routinely make between hierarchically ranked categories of people. The status and moral hierarchies produced by categorization strengthen the claims of some and weaken those of others, permit practices of social exclusion and exploitation between categories of people, and steer access to organizationally produced resources. At the same time these "structures of relationships" are dynamically interpreted and reconfigured by the tides of history and the people who inhabit and construct them.

In this chapter we lay out the conceptual building blocks of relational inequality theory (RIT). Later chapters will explore the fundamental concepts in more depth and with extended empirical examples.

Relational Inequalities

An Organizational Approach

Donald Tomaskovic-Devey
Dustin Avent-Holt

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford. It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press in the UK and certain other countries.

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Tomaskovic-Devey, Donald, 1957- author. | Avent-Holt, Dustin Robert, 1980- author.
Title: Relational inequalities : an organizational approach / Donald Tomaskovic-Devey and Dustin Avent-Holt.
Description: New York : Oxford University Press, [2019] |
Includes bibliographical references.
Identifiers: LCCN 2018015590| ISBN 9780190624422 (hard cover) |
ISBN 9780190624439 (pbk.) | ISBN 9780190624453 (epub)
Subjects: LCSH: Equality.
Classification: LCC HM821 .T64 2018 | DDC 305.5/1–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018015590

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Paperback printed by Webcom, Inc., Canada
Hardback printed by Bridgeport National Bindery, Inc., United States of America

Contents

Acknowledgments

Writing a book is a relational process, much like the general processes we discuss in the book (though less inequality exists in these relationships). This is especially true in a synthetic work like this one. As such, we are indebted to the many scholars whose work inspired us and provided the empirical and theoretical foundations on which we built this book. The most important of these is undoubtedly Charles Tilly, whose book *Durable Inequality* provided the inspiration and confidence to pursue our empirical agenda and to write a book with a big argument.

Many people have contributed to this book via their writings. There are too many of these to thank individually, other than to cite their work and name them in the text. A few were particularly influential, and we feel the need to mention them by name here: Joan Acker, Evelyn Glenn, Randy Hodson, Michael Schwalbe, and Barbara Tomaskovic-Devey. Quite a few people read our summaries of their own work as we referenced it or of specific chapters. These included Ellen Berrey, Martha Crowley, Katherine Kellogg, Alena Křížková, Carolina Muñoz, Larry King, Joya Misra, Irene Padavic, Victor Roy, Vinnie Roscigno, Leslie Salzinger, Ofer Sharone, Laurel Smith-Doerr, and Adia Harvey Wingfield. A few generous souls read the entire manuscript and provided invaluable help in clarifying our argument and presentation. These include Nancy Folbre, Tim Hallett, Ken Hou-Lin, Eunmi Mun, Jake Rosenfeld, Kevin Stainback, George Wilson, and Steven Vallas. Of course, any errors, omissions, and annoyances that remain are all of our own doing.

The project also benefited from the early research assistance of Ragini Malhotra and Nate Myers, who read many of the ethnographies we selected to include in this work and content-coded them for key analytic themes in our theoretical narrative. Peter Kent-Stoll provided careful copy editing as the book neared completion.

We report a great deal of our own research in this book, but even that was done in collaboration with others. Material on Swedish organizational inequalities was jointly developed with Martin Hällsten. Material on German workplace inequality was jointly developed with Peter Jacobebbinghaus, Silvia Melzer, and Carsten Sauer. Analyses of IT firm