

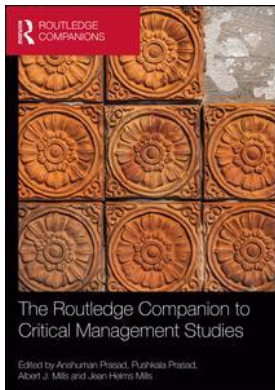
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Sexualities and/in 'Critical' Management Studies

Jeff Hearn, Charlotte Holgersson and Marjut Jyrkinen

Introduction

This chapter explores the hidden but powerful aspects of management and organizations: sexualities and gender. In mainstream studies on management and organization, sex, sexuality and/or gender are still relatively seldom addressed or analyzed. For a long time, the issue of sexuality was neglected within organization and management studies, particularly within the mainstream research but also in critical approaches. This lack of focus on sexualities could be understood as resulting from several reasons. Firstly, there has been little focus on gender, bodies and embodiments in studies of organizations and management. In this sense, sexuality could be seen as one aspect of gender, albeit an aspect that was usually neglected relative to questions of work, authority and formal lateral and hierarchical organizational divisions (Hearn & Parkin, 1983). A second perspective on this neglect can be traced mainly due to the frequently cited, and indeed gendered, divide between private/public, defining sexuality as something belonging to the private life and thus not relevant for analysis and understanding of organizational life. A third approach to explanation is in terms of the assumed distinction of, on one hand, organizations as rational and, on the other, sexuality as part of the irrational, sometimes emotional and carnal that does not affect working life.

Sexuality takes many forms which impact directly on working life, labour processes, organizations, and management. Thus, one might imagine sexuality would be or could be a central feature of Critical Management Studies; yet this is far from so. Sexuality, or sexualities as it is more commonly named nowadays, refers to 'the social experience, social expression, or social relations of physical, bodily desires, by and for others or oneself. Others may be the same or different sex/gender or of in determinate sex/gender' (Hearn & Parkin, 1995: 57–58).

Moreover, in late modern societies, the borders and boundaries between the public and the private realms appear to be becoming more blurred for many people. This applies especially for those in many expert and management positions; new information and communication technologies (ICTs) enable flexibility but also even 24/7 availability; work has become more international and transnational, and travelling, including travel abroad, is an embedded part of work for many. Thus where the work starts and ends and what is so-called private time are under constant negotiation. Time used for work constitutes an increasing part of life for many, even with governmental directives in theory limiting work time in some parts of the world.

All these and indeed several other related avenues of analysis can be critiqued for artificial, human-made divisions and dichotomies that marginalize essential aspects of life and humanity. They (re)construct a disembodied ideal (male) worker and manager/leader and detach work from other aspects of life (Acker, 1990). Having said that, it is very important to place these questions of changing public and private relations in broader historical and cultural perspectives. Along with many black and postcolonial feminists, Patricia Hill Collins (1990) writing in a U.S. context, has analyzed how for many women and men of colour the strict separation of public and private domains has not been part of their historical experience. This is so most clearly when working within slave political economies, but it also operates in modified form when working as domestic servants or some other 'live-in' workers. Such historical and embodied arrangements of power have clear and direct implications for sexualities in work, workplaces and organizations. Indeed, drawing a line between work and non-work becomes very difficult, and as such drawing a line between sexuality and work is also hazardous.

Malestream approaches to work, public-private separations, organizations and management have been challenged by feminist and queer theory but also by poststructuralist, postcolonial and intersectionality theory that recognize that sexuality is a social power relation that exists and persists in intersection with other power relations such as gender, ethnicity, class, age, disability and race (Hearn, 2011). Depending on where the borders are drawn for the field of Critical Management Studies, there is either an almost complete lack of studies focusing on sexuality or an established body of literature on sexuality.

In the field of organization and management studies, it is mainly feminist and queer scholars who have approached the topic of sexuality, while scholars in what has become institutionalized as Critical Management Studies (with capital letters, as CMS) have to a far less extent been interested in exploring sexuality. The debate thus lies in what we are to include within the contested field of Critical Management Studies. Nevertheless, we will in this chapter adopt an inclusive approach. Thus we provide an overview of the critical study of the intersection between sexuality and management and identify some areas for future research.

Critical Management Studies and sexualities

Before proceeding with the particular aspects of CMS, sexualities and gender, it is perhaps helpful to consider how sexuality might be construed within the new 'mainstream' of Critical Management Studies. As has been lucidly explained, and at the same time constructed, by Alvesson & Deetz (1996, 2006), two main tendencies characterize Critical Management Studies: those drawing on or derived from Critical Theory in the Frankfurt School tradition and those drawing on or derived from postmodernism. In this latter case, postmodernism is used almost as an equivalent to poststructuralism. This is even though there are clear and perhaps as great divergences *within* postmodernism and poststructuralism (Seidman, 1995) as there are between them and Critical Theory. Thus resistance to postmodernism can be related with relative ease to Critical Theory and neo-Marxism (see Kincheloe & MacLaren, 1994), while anti-foundational ludic postmodernism much less so, if at all.

Having said that, the wellsprings of both the Critical Theory and postmodernist traditions have some clear connections with, as well as some disconnections from, matters of sexuality. First and perhaps foremost, there is the question of class, that is, economic class. In strictly economic Marxism, sexuality has generally been seen as relatively unimportant and when considered at all seen as secondary to and derivative of class position and class relations. On the other hand, there is a strand even with Marx's own writing that sexuality, along with biology and the body, is to some extent socially produced, and even that division of labour is based in the (hetero)sexual act;

the latent slavery of women and children in the family is the first property and thus arguably the first oppression (Marx & Engels, 1976, 44, 46; see Hearn, 1991).

The use of class-type approaches, literally or metaphorically, has been taken up in many analyses of sexuality, which in turn have impacted on critical understandings of sexuality in and around organizations. Perhaps the most well known example of such a class metaphor is Catharine MacKinnon's various writings on sexuality, gender and the state (for example, MacKinnon, 1982). Other examples can be found in attempts to bring together Marxism and what used to be called, ambiguously, gay liberation (for example, Mieli, 1980). Either way, the notion of oppression can be transferred from the narrowly economic realm to the sexual realm, and thus with that the notion of sexual oppression may be seen as relevant in organizational and work contexts.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, this kind of argumentation and application is seen very differently by different researchers studying, for example, prostitution and the sex trade. This includes the debate on whether or not it is accurate to describe such activities through the lens of the concept of 'sex work', i.e. if and in which circumstances prostitution, pornography and other forms of the sex trade could be understood as ordinary work rather than as abuse and gendered violence. The sex trade – which can be defined as economic transactions where people's bodies and sexualities are offered for sale, and are sold, bought or delivered further and (ab)used in the name of clients' sexual wishes and desires (Jyrkinen, 2005) – has been and still is a topic which has divided the feminist movement, academic researchers, activism and non-governmental organization (NGO) work since the 1960s so-called sexual revolution (O'Connell Davidson, 2002; Jyrkinen, 2005). The anti-prostitution or (neo-)abolitionist position highlights the harmful effects of prostitution and places its roots and causes in patriarchal gender and class systems (for instance Coy, 2012). The pro-prostitution stand – supported by the sex industries, sex buyers and neo-liberal policy-makers – highlights the importance of the redefinition of prostitution as 'sex work' and thereby the need for it to be recognized like any other form of work (for example Bindman & Dozema, 1997). The latter position emphasizes the agency of women in prostitution and their right to 'choose' prostitution as their labour with legal(ized) rights. An anti-prostitution position highlights that the normalization of the sex trade mainly benefits the industries and the sex buyers and consumers, who are mainly men, instead of those who sell sex, mainly women and adolescent girls and boys (Jeffreys, 2012).

Although the sex trade forms a globally interlinked and effectively managed industry which offer high profits for the organizing levels and for the owners, the debates as regards the essence of such trade have raised surprisingly little interest in management and organization studies and CMS. For instance, the sex trade spills over to non-sex-trade-work contexts through questions of the consumption of pornography, the buying of sex during work trips or offering sex trade entertainment to business partners as part of meetings or recreation. These debates are, however, distinct from that on the concept of 'sexual work', which has been used in analyzing labour around and in relation to sexuality in organizations more generally (Bland, Brundson, Hobson & Winship, 1978; Hearn & Parkin, 1987/1995; also see Adkins, 1995, for a later discussion).

In addition, it should be noted that issues of sexuality have figured in a variety of other ways within broad Critical Theory traditions. This applies, for example, in Frankfurt School Critical Theory informed by psychoanalysis and cultural critique of mass media, New Left debates informed by sexual and other social movements, and developing post-Marxism informed by engagement with poststructuralist and related developments.

This brings us to the second main strand of CMS, that stemming from postmodernism, which in this context is often used synonymously with poststructuralism. Here, sexuality has had a different and in many ways greater significance. Poststructuralism is clearly in part a critique of structuralism and as such can be understood as a product of the undecidability of language.

This can be traced to many antecedents, from for example classical times, as with Heraclitus and the notion of perpetual flux, or, much later, Nietzschean presumptions, but the recent (in some sense modern) impacts are largely from the unsettling of post-Second War facts and fictions (Silverman, 1992). In these poststructuralist debates, sexuality has loomed large here. There are complex intertwining of sexuality politics and sexuality studies between the 'new sexual movements' of LGBTTIQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, transgender, intersex, and queer) and the poststructuralist reevaluation of the power of sexuality. This is especially represented through the impacts of queer politics and queer theory, as well as the work of *inter alia* Michel Foucault (1976) and Judith Butler (1990).

Following and alongside groundbreaking work in ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism, and gay and lesbian studies, Foucault set out a non-essentialized account of sexuality and its historical deployments. However, despite his massive impact on the discursive construction of sexuality and indeed the study of sexuality, he "says very little of sexual relations as they could be described or experienced, of even *women* and *men*, of gender relations" (Hearn & Parkin, 1995: 197). Butler (1990) also sees sexuality as inherently unstable and a regulatory fiction dominantly cast within what Rich (1980) named compulsory heterosexuality. Thus here sexuality is no 'add-on', as in some Marxisms and neo-Marxisms, but at the heart of the deconstructive project.

Interestingly, in both strands of CMS – the postmodernist and the Critical Theory strands – there has often, perhaps typically, been a lack of attention to gender and sexuality, along with an absence of sexuality, as part of an ignoring of feminism. Accordingly, CMS and sexuality have characteristically been difficult bedfellows. There are, of course, many other developments that are part of and impinge on CMS. These include postcolonialism and green politics and ecological theory. In the first case, clear links to both these broad traditions are noted. Indeed, postcolonialism, like internationality theories, can be seen as a mediation between modernism and postmodernism. Postcolonialism has a significant place in problematizing not only the normative Western subject, but also the normative Western male (hetero)sexual subject, globally, generically and in studies of management and organizations.

Within green/eco-politics, questions of sexuality are addressed to much more variable extents and from varying positions, including at times naturalism and even conservative biologism. However, while the Critical Theory and postmodernist traditions can be said to be the two dominant strands, it is fair to say that CMS is now a very broad umbrella indeed, with many texts and examples from well beyond those perspectives. Finally, in this section it has to be pointed out that the critical "C" of CMS is sometimes overused, so that some contributions within CMS gatherings and conferences are little more than mainstream studies with, say, a qualitative angle. In such examples, social divisions, power, let alone gender and sexuality, may not figure, may not be thought of at all. Thus, Critical Management Studies scholarship might need a critical revision and self-reflections as well.

Focused literature on sexuality and organizations

The literature specifically addressing sexuality in work, organizations and management can be distinguished in terms of different strands. One strand of literature consists of theoretical and conceptual reviews of sexuality, as, for example, Hearn & Parkin (1987/1995), who made one of the first attempts to create a framework for understanding the linkages among organization, sexuality and gender. In their scheme it is useful to consider the concept of 'organization sexuality' (not organizational sexuality) in order to speak simultaneously of organization(s) and sexuality, rather than prioritizing one over the other or seeing one as determinant of the other. Other strands that will be presented focus on phenomena such as sexual harassment, the sexualization of work

and ‘the Other’, heteronormative and heterosexist work cultures, ICTs and sexualities, as well as management change practices addressing sexuality.

Sexual harassment

A major strand of literature consists of the exploration of linkages between sexuality and managerial control and exploitation. Early examples are the revision of the Hawthorne study by Acker & Van Houten (1974) and the research by Cockburn (1983, 1991) that has highlighted how men, including managers, workers and researchers, mobilize sexuality to control women. An important body of literature within this strand of research concerns sexual harassment. Behaviours that could be perceived as sexual harassment are often presented on a continuum, from requests for dates, ogling and staring, offensive comments and gestures, to sexual propositions and physical assault. While there is no universal definition, most national statutes, according to McDonald (2012), contain similar elements, such as descriptions of the behaviour as unwanted and where the purpose or effect results in intimidation, hostility, degradation, humiliation or offensiveness. Statistics derived from national prevalence studies, cross-national meta-analyses and case studies show that, despite legislation, sexual harassment continues to be a problem mainly for women but also for some men (McDonald, 2012). Sexual harassment is, however, often under-reported due to a widespread defensive attitude towards sexual harassment. Studies show that individuals frequently downplay behaviours that could be labelled as sexual harassment. For example, a study by Collinson & Collinson (1996) found that women in male-dominated workplaces avoided defining their experiences as sexual harassment in order to be viewed as competent and as team players by colleagues and superiors. McDonald (2012) highlights that the extent to which sexual behaviour in the workplace is identified as sexual harassment is influenced by factors including political events, presence and implementation of organizational policies that name the issue and provide processes for complaints and the level of support by public institutions for anti-discrimination legislation.

The critical organizational literature offers a number of explanations for sexual harassment. Early explanations viewed sexual harassment as a result of sex role spillover. Men are commonly perceived as sexual agents and women as sexual objects, and in a male-dominated context, women’s sex role becomes more highlighted than their work roles (Gutek & Morasch, 1982). Later approaches focus more on power perspectives, interpreting sexual harassment as an expression of men’s dominance and women’s subordination operating in different ways on individual, organizational and societal levels (for example Popovich & Warren, 2010). Sexual harassment against gay men and lesbian women is also discussed from a power perspective. For example, Epstein (1997) labels sexual harassment against gay men and lesbian women as heterosexist, drawing on Butler’s concept of the heterosexual matrix. The heterosexual norm in workplaces is enforced by punishing those who deviate from heterosexual norms of masculinity and femininity, through homophobic anti-gay biases and gender hostility.

Empirical research into sexual harassment demonstrates that sexuality is used as a means of control and has challenged the dominant view of sexual harassment as an individual problem, where an isolated man occasionally harasses a woman victim, not a problem related to a workplace culture that tolerates ongoing harassment (Hearn & Parkin, 2001). Sexual harassment, as a part of exclusions from careers and as violations at work, is a serious problem nationally and globally. Framing the individualization as a “personal problem” disguises the gender and power relations at work. For instance, Acker (1991) writes about covert and overt control at work: covert control can be exercised, for example, through arguments about how ‘women’s emotionality’, related to their bodies/sexuality, can disable their ability to accomplish demanding tasks in leadership and

management. More overt control is actualized through sexual harassment or relegating women of childbearing age to non-managerial posts (Acker, 1991). Sexual harassment relates to career hurdles for many women, and, for example, Husu (2001) in her study on academic women has found that gender discrimination often takes place in very subtle and hidden forms, such as 'non-happenings' in the career. Often sexual harassment is disguised in fear of consequences to one's career and work organizations. Research on women managers by Jyrkinen & McKie (2012) has revealed the tendency to silence sexual harassment issues in organisations, as taking up issues on sexuality and violence might harm the organization, its managers/leaders and, in the process, in particular the victim. The silencing of organization violences has also been studied. Moreover, the idea that the victim is always a woman has been problematized. Lee (2000) has analyzed the experiences of male victims of workplace sexual harassment and how men who found verbal sexual allegations distressing were feminized. Other forms of sexual abuse and violence in organizations have also been explored, such as physical violence, initiation rites, rape and sexual assault within the military, as well as in residential and total institutions (for example Hearn & Parkin, 2001; Flam, Hearn & Parkin, 2010).

Sexualization of work and 'the Other'

The sexualization of some women's work is another topic of inquiry (Hearn & Parkin, 1987/1995). Adkins (1995) shows, for example, that women service workers are expected to engage in sexualized interactions with customers and colleagues (see Gutek & Morasch, 1982) and that this is so engrained in the workplace culture that it is almost impossible to resist. According to Folgero & Fjeldstad (1995), such cultures do not allow women to see themselves as victims of sexual harassment. In her analysis of the banking culture in the City of London, McDowell (1997) highlights the various ways in which women were sexualized and othered. She demonstrates how the use of sexualized language objectified and humiliated women, for example by referring to women in general or women colleagues as 'skirts', 'slags', 'brasses' and 'tarts' and referring to women colleagues as 'girls' in face-to-face interactions. The culture also included a range of 'practical jokes' involving sexy computer passwords, obscene messages, underwear and blow-up dolls. The women reported on how they were constantly reminded of their bodies and appearance through comments, sexualized jokes and gossip, as well as behaviour that could be interpreted as sexual harassment. This made these women visible in the organization and restricted to a narrow set of acceptable behaviours (McDowell, 1997). Furthermore, McDowell discusses how the sexualized jargon at the stock exchange also sexualizes men's labour. She observed a particular form of heterosexual machismo culture that othered alternative versions of masculinity. For example, the sexualized language and humour was centred around heterosexuality and the denigration of faithfulness, bisexuality and homosexuality. Gay men reported that they concealed their sexual preferences, and the only openly gay respondent revealed that he was subject of unwelcomed sexist jokes and behaviour.

Research on ethnicities, 'race' and gender in the context of imperialism and (neo)colonialism have revealed many racializations and sexualizations of 'the Other'. Gendered work and management and ownership relations are embedded with many forms of exoticizations and more direct subordinations of, in particular, black/non-white women in work and elsewhere (see McClintock, 1995). In the field of international relations, Enloe (1989) has explored how the international/transnational organizations and corporations, including war industries, have major impact on further gendering of work and othering of women, particularly 'foreign' women. Women as servants, helpers, wives, girlfriends and prostitutes become an integral part of organizing and enabling transnational work. However, women's work is often underpaid and even ignored as

real work, which is the case of nannies, au pairs and maids who often play an important role in organizing care, for instance, in embassies and international and career-oriented relationships and families. The ‘outsourcing’ of care responsibilities to low-paid immigrant women has created neocolonial global care chains (Hochschild, 2000), which may enable work and careers for educated middle-class (white) women; interestingly, the question of the role of men in care is less seldom posed. However, the experiences of women of colour enhanced black feminists’ critique on the universalism of liberal feminism and the neglect of race and class-based exploitation in activism and scholarly work (hooks, 1981; Crenshaw, 1991). The intersections of gender and class at work have been studied, for example, by Acker (1990), but many other aspects of intersections in management and organizations, such as sexualities and ethnicity, are still relatively rarely focused on. Intersectionality as a theory, as an approach and as a method has been developed during the last two decades in many fields, also including management and organization theory (Hearn, 2011). According to McCall (2005), intersectionality is the most important contribution of women’s/feminist studies and other related fields thus far. Intersectional approaches are also important in management and organization studies, not least in CMS, and even more so as work and organizations are increasingly transnational and multicultural. We return to this question of intersectionality in the last part of the chapter.

Heteronormative and heterosexist work cultures

Uses and abuses of sexuality in managerial cultures that are still predominantly masculine and heterosexual (Hearn & Parkin, 1987/1995, 2001) has also been highlighted. Most organizations and managements embrace dominant heterosexual norms, ideologies, ethics and practices, for example, in constructions of men managers’ reliance on wives in traditional marriage (Reis, 2004; Hearn, Jyrkinen, Piekkari & Oinonen, 2008; Holgersson, 2013) and the sexualized relationship between managers and secretaries, the office wife according to Kanter (1977). For example, Pringle (1989) discusses the manager relationship in terms of compulsory heterosexuality, master–slave and sadomasochism. Moreover, the heteronormativity of managerial cultures and the consequences for lesbian and gay managers have also been analyzed (for example, Lee, Learmonth & Harding, 2008; Pringle, 2008). Sexuality in the relationship between men has also been discussed. Scholars such as Roper (1996) and Holgersson (2013) have explored homosocial relations between male managers and in particular discussed the importance of homosocial desire between different generations of managers in situations of management recruitment and succession. This particular type of intimacy in formally heterosexual circumstances may appear non-sexual but nonetheless may construct and contain potentially erotic desire.

A significant, if often marginalized, strand of empirical research on sexuality, organizations and management that has developed from the 1970s and 1980s has been on lesbians’ and gay men’s experiences in workplaces. Weston and Rofel (1984) had already raised the issue of sexuality, class and conflict in a lesbian workplace in 1984. Many of the early studies were linked to campaigns or other political interventions against discrimination and violation. More recent studies have examined wider experiences of lesbians and gay men at work, including business (Woods & Lucas, 1993; Dunne, 1997), public sector (Humphrey, 2000; Rumens, 2008; Rumens & Kerfoot, 2009), police (Burke, 1993), military (Cammermeyer, 1995; Hall, 1995), and community (Oerton, 1996a, 1996b) organizations. As Creed (2006) notes, some of the recurring issues discussed are the career conditions for lesbians and gay men, conditions with different professions and the determinants and consequences of disclosure decisions within the workplace. More recently, there has been a growing body of research on transsexual, transgender and intersexual people at work and on what workers go through there when they change genders

or are in non-binary, non-cisgender (that is, when the identity, body and gender assigned at birth do not match) categorizations and identifications (Lehtonen & Mustola, 2004; Namaste, 2000; Schilt, 2006; Schilt & Wiswall, 2008; Davis, 2009). For example, Schilt and Connell (2007) examine the process of transitioning from one gender to another when the process is openly discussed in the workplace, how the identities are crafted and how colleagues relate to the individuals post-transition.

Even so, the work conditions and work situations of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual or queer people in management and indeed also in entrepreneurship continue to be a relatively neglected area of research. The so-called pink money, the business-related interests of lesbian, gay and (inter-)transsexual persons and consumers, is growing in many countries. This has been important in the increased attention in the media to lesbian and gay sexualities, but, at the same time, some kinds of media attention may strengthen the stereotypes and reproduce homophobia and dominant normative assumptions about sex and sexualities. The 2001 UK Gay and Lesbian Census conducted by ID Research found that 15% of lesbians and gay men who responded believe their sexuality has hindered their job prospects, even though 43% reported having managerial jobs. A 2005 UK survey of readers of the magazines *Diva* and *Gay Times* by Out Now Consulting (2005) found that half of the gay men and lesbian respondents reported they can be completely honest about their sexuality with work colleagues. The gay men respondents earned on average almost £9,400 more than the national average for men, the lesbian respondents about £6,000 more than the national average for women. Such figures from both these studies should, however, be treated with caution, as the data was from volunteers rather than random surveys. A more comprehensive U.S. analysis by Lee Badgett (2001) rejects the idea that lesbians and gay men are more affluent than heterosexuals. She considers the complex interplay of income and standard of living of gay men and lesbians with such factors as financial and family decisions, workplace discrimination and denial of health care benefits to partners and children.

Although much literature has highlighted how sexism, heterosexism, homophobia and heteronormativity in organizations perpetuate inequalities, scholars have raised concerns about focusing only on coercive aspects of sexuality and thus overlooking consensual sexual interactions in organizations and other more 'positive' interpretations of sexuality. Intimate relations such as sexual relations can indeed also be a source of pleasure, meaning and relief from boredom and resistance (Gherardi, 1995; Lerum, 2004). The meanings of sexual interactions in the workplace vary across both cultural and material contexts, and this consequently calls for further exploration into this approach both empirically and theoretically.

ICTs and sexualities

There is a broad range of technologically organized or related sexualized practices, which are pervasive in late modern times. Such techno-disembodied practices range from sex without embodied presence of another person to technological enhancements of one's (sexual) body (James & Carkeek, 1997). New information and communication technologies (ICTs) consist of a complex web of innovations that are constantly and rapidly changing and evolving. PCs, mobile phones, computer games, the Internet, email, Twitter and many other forms of social media and so forth are part of people's everyday life in many parts of the world, and ICTs are further blurring the division between public and private time and space. There is a huge global industry of and research and development on ICTs and their business adaptabilities, also in the areas of sex and sexualities. ICTs provide vast possibilities to organize sexualities, for meeting sexual partners and (re-)creating sexual identities and for experiencing new forms of sexualities. These include

techno-sex, non-connection sex, virtual sex, Internet-based dating, cyber affairs and multimedia interactive sex and so forth (Hearn, 2006).

Technological innovations and the ICT industries are interlinked with and for the commercialization of bodies, sex and sexualities at least in three ways. First, new and older technologies are (ab)used for the sex trade through marketing of its products and services in printed and visual forms and through virtual encounters. Secondly, new technological innovations enable the creation of new modes of commercial sex, for instance interactive pornography through the Web and smartphones with 4G data capabilities. Thirdly, technologies as such profit from sex commerce through boosting the sex trade, which has been keen to develop new innovations for e-commerce and Web-based advertising methods. The sex traders are among the innovators and early adapters of the ICTs, as the business possibilities and profit making of the integrated and convergent technologies are extensive, and the existing legislative supervision and control mechanisms are nominal nationally and internationally. Within work organizations, the policies on ICTs and the use of and encounters with the sex trade products and services are often deficient or totally lacking (Jyrkinen, 2005, 2012).

As professional work is increasingly mobile, international and consisting often at least partly of distance work through ICTs, the non-interest in and deficiency of policies concerning the sex trade is rather surprising. Silences in organizations and management are often multidimensional and paradoxical and can indicate power and powerlessness; silences may have many purposes, meanings and representations that impact on internal organizational policies or non-policies. Silences on issues like the uses of commercial sexual services during work time and/or by the use of corporate ICTs and networks – for instance, for downloading and consuming pornography – may indicate that such activities are considered to be rare and nominal and thus not a problem. Or this may also indicate that the sex trade use within work contexts – be that during work trips or in contexts of entertaining business partners after meetings – are implicitly accepted or at least not against organizational ethical premises and possible codes of conduct.

Symbolic expressions of male sexuality, reflected often in organizational metaphors and language, can be used to increase the coherence and homosociality of male workers but can also be used as mechanisms for the control of women in organizations and even for control over (other and excluded) men at the workplace (Acker, 1990; Collinson & Hearn, 1994; Hearn & Parkin, 1995). Thus management's approval of sexist language or pornographic pictures in workplaces or the tolerance of (other) connections with the sex trade by the members of the organization in work-related contexts act as symbolic expressions of male dominance and significant control over women in work organizations. Women are thereby excluded from the informal male bonding through the embedded sexist 'body talk', as well as through homosociality constructed by the (ab)use of commercial sex services (Acker, 1990).

Management change practices addressing sexuality

Following the development of practices regarding diversity management, corporate social responsibility (CSR) and ethical leadership in many Western organizations, critical scholars have also studied if and in what way these practices address issues of sexuality. Sexual harassment is today an issue on the agenda of employers, and practices of handling complaints are in place, but, as McDonald (2012) notes, these efforts have been less than successful and there is still room for development. Another way sexuality is addressed in work for change is through diversity management. The discourse and practice of diversity have become a vehicle for voicing the experience of LGBT persons, for example, through affinity groups or networks (Githens & Aragon, 2009; Colgan & McKearney, 2012). However, as diversity management discourse seldom

prioritizes issues of power, there is a risk that sexuality is incorporated as another area to be controlled and manipulated in service of a mainstream corporate agenda (Creed 2006). Nevertheless, scholars such as Holvino & Kamp (2009) argue that critical approaches to diversity management can indeed open more humanist discourses and practices. Colgan (2011), for example, analyzed the development of structures, policies and practices on sexual orientation diversity work in five organizations in the private sector in the U.K. In four of the studied organizations, sexual orientation equalities work began on social justice grounds before legislation was put in place. The managers interviewed did not perceive anti-discrimination legislation as a particularly important factor for their work for change. However, some managers found that the CSR agenda within their organization was an important trigger for the development of sexual orientation diversity policies and practices. Following Shen (2011), Colgan (2011) interprets CSR as a unifying term including social justice, legislative and business case rationales. Sexual orientation diversity work was used an example of a company's commitment to CSR. There were, nevertheless, challenges in implementing these policies and practices across a variety of national contexts.

Aspects of corporate social responsibility and of ethical leadership and managing are also relevant for both theory building and practice around sexuality. One area of interlinking theory and practice has been the development of ethical codes of practice. Ethical guidelines and codes of conducts of organizations have, however, seldom tackled issues related to sexuality and sexual exploitation. Research on tourism and the sexual abuse of children, prostitution and trafficking in human beings has emerged lately (for example, Glover, 2006; O'Connell-Davidson, 2004; Tepelus, 2008). Often initiatives to investigate and prevent sexual abuse in organizational contexts have a broader origin, for example from the work of international NGOs and international human rights conventions and their follow-up. However, important resolutions, such as United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 to involve women in all aspects of the resolution of wars, do not necessarily reach the organizations at the grassroots level. Or, more precisely, they are not implemented by countries and their governments. Paradoxically, the interest and concern originates from NGOs, but countries and their politicians are still seldom in explicit focus when sex and sexualities are talked about.

As work has become more internationalized, the possibilities for the use and abuse of other people's intimacy and sexuality have also increased. The sex trade is a growing area of the (illegal/half-legal) industry. Although buying sex or related sexual abuses of the person have long taken place, for example under imperialism and colonialism, the intensity of some of these abusive sexual acts has in some respects increased through globalization. In business and other organizations, the hierarchies of the late class society are still often pronounced and perpetuate the use of this semi-legitimate power and the position of subordinates and people in the home country and abroad. Corporate social responsibility in relation to sexual abuses is thus an area where future research and activism need to be focused on.

A case example of these processes has been documented by Holgersson (2011). She has, for example, documented that although large Swedish multinational companies state that engaging in any form of sexual entertainment at work is against their ethical policies, such practices were seldom explicitly mentioned in the policies and training. Interestingly, following lobbying carried out by a network of NGOs and government officials, the Swedish government commissioned the Council for Development within Government Agencies (Krus, 2012) to develop tools that can support government agencies, work against commercial sex and the consumption of pornography. Moreover, the Swedish Women's Lobby carried out a campaign, (Corporate Compass – Policy on Sexual Exploitation) to urge business organizations to introduce codes of conduct against sex purchasing and other forms of sexual exploitation (Swedish Women's Lobby, 2013).

Future research: Sexuality, organizations and Critical Management Studies

Setting out a new agenda for CMS in relation to sexuality requires a critical look at what has been done thus far but, more importantly, what are the issues and perspectives that have been ignored or silenced. There is still a need for more research into sexuality in organizations in various contexts, particularly in the light of changing politics and practices across the world regarding gender and sexuality; the so-called third sector organizations, the NGOs or civil society organizations are becoming more prominent in taking care of many tasks that the official sector outsources, whether to business organizations or NGOs in the late modern societies. Such changing organizational contexts include private and public sector organizations, as well as organizations in civil society. Civil society organizations have received very little attention from critical management and organization scholars, and that may appear surprising considering that these organizations are one of the driving forces behind putting sexuality on the agenda. Although some of these activist organizations also challenge heteronormative cultures, as shown in, for example, Raeburn's (2004) study of lesbian and gay activism in U.S. corporations, there is still a lack of research into organizations that adopt this critical position towards heteronormativity. Here, the combination of empirical and conceptual findings from CMS and research on social movements and civil society holds much promise.

Other types of organizations that remain largely unexplored are the sexploitation organizations. Most empirical studies and theorizing are still carried out within what Hearn & Parkin (1987) have called 'subordinated sexual organizations', where the dominant ideology is that matters of sexuality are subordinated to the 'non-sexual' organizational task. Relatively little critical inquiry into management issues in sexploitation organizations – where sexuality is exploited for the benefit of managers and owners, either commercially or sexually, for example, the pornography industry – has been carried out. Moreover, few have studied the linkages between management in organizations where sexuality is overtly subordinated to the 'main aim' of the organization (for example where sexuality is banned [or not named] in corporate policies) and management in sexploitation organizations, where sexuality is indeed part of the main aim (for example when commercial sex is used in corporate entertainment).

The relation between sexuality and managerial discourse also needs to be re-examined. Calás and Smircich (1991) performed one of the first deconstructions of traditional leadership discourse by linking leadership to seduction, but further analysis of management and leadership discourses in relation to sexualities is needed, considering the continuous production of literature, both scholarly and popular, on management and leadership. For example, building on the work of Calás and Smircich and drawing on queer theory, Harding, Lee, Ford and Learmonth (2011) have added that seduction also informs managers' lay accounts of leadership and that these accounts are informed not only by heterosexual seduction but also by homoerotic seduction. Other scholars have highlighted the compulsory (hetero)sexuality embedded in the managerial discourse (for example Collinson & Hearn, 1994; Höök, 2001). By applying queer theory and recognizing the fluidity of our identities, scholars, such as Parker (2002), Bowring (2004) and Bendl, Fleischmann & Hofmann (2009), have sought to destabilize our understanding of management and challenged the many binary distinctions that characterize established management knowledge and practice.

The linkages between social media and organization sexuality are areas for further research. Research has already started to document sexual harassment on the Internet (for an overview, see Barak, 2005), also called 'cyber-sexual harassment', which includes displaying offensive and sexually explicit visual material on computers and mobile phones (McDonald, 2012). Sexualized hate on the Internet against feminists has taken place in many countries and can also be seen as a

new form of sexualized harassment (Filipovic, 2007). Anonymity is a crucial part of new media discussions on sexualities and brings many aspects of empowerment to the fore, but, paradoxically, freedom of speech and anonymity can sometimes enable sexualized harassment and hate speech in new media. It has been noticed also that researchers on gender, ethnicity and immigration have met with sexualized harassment, hate speech and actual threats that limit their public presentations. Current legislation, policies and codes of conducts do not necessarily safeguard freedom from sexualized harassment that takes place through ICTs and in social media. Multidisciplinary research on virtual sexuality, legislation(s) and organizational policies is crucial for current and future management strategies and development.

As we have seen, much of the literature on sexuality within Critical Management Studies derives from gender, feminist and queer studies scholars. The relations to and intersections with other social divisions such as class, race, ethnicity, bodily ability and age continue to be taken into account in future studies. While there is an increasing amount of policy interest in age and ageing because of the demographic changes in most late modern societies, there is relatively little research on the intersections of gender and age in management and organizations. However, age and ageing can impact differently on women managers than their men colleagues, and women are often interpreted as 'ageing' earlier than men (Itzin & Phillipson, 1995; Ilmarinen, 2005). A survey study of the financial sector in the U.K. suggests that women experience more age discrimination than do men (Duncan & Loretto, 2004), and another U.K. study (Granleese & Sayer, 2005) found that women in higher education are discriminated against in ways that differ from those that men identify: women experience a triple jeopardy of discrimination because of age, gender and 'lookism'. Gendered ageism in organizations can be manifested through sexualized commenting on women managers' physical features and age, both by men and other women (Jyrkinen, 2014). Thus, age(ism), gender and sexualities in different managerial and organizational contexts would need more research and be an area of interest in CMS in the future. Intersections of age, gender and sexualities are highly relevant for CMS, for several reasons, including demographic change and reorganization of care through globalizing care chains.

In accordance with Pullen and Thanem (2009: 4), we argue that it is important to consider sexuality in relation to space, which would demand focus on 'the ways in which sexuality is performed, expressed and enacted in various spatial contexts of work and organizations, and the ways in which this may disrupt and enable various spaces and forms of work and organization'. They highlight the need to examine 'the ways in which queer sexualities are restricted and performed in various spaces and forms of work and organization' and highlight the centrality of the body in the organizing and managing of space(s).

Relatedly, as work for change on the societal and organizational levels continues, research needs to document and analyze how organizations accommodate changing categorizations of gender, for example, providing toilets without the traditional male and female markings, and how they work for more inclusive cultures. The jurisdictional woman/man sex/(cis-)gender bipolarity excludes transgender people, and research on other genders could enable development of inclusive organizational policies and practices. Issues of dress and appearance, with their frequent sexual and gender meanings and connotations, also need to be highlighted, not least in relation to questions of discrimination and legal employment law (Brower & Jones, 2013). CMS could offer a forum for all such further explorations.

A final area for future research concerns global and transnational developments. The globalization of gendered work, exploitation in particular of women in and from developing countries, and the increase in power of transnational companies demand much further research and critical analysis. For example, in the area of sexual harassment, research conducted outside Western contexts has made important contributions by documenting the consequences of sexual harassment

for female domestic workers and different perceptions of sexual harassment across cultural contexts (McDonald, 2012).

CMS has today developed into a very broad field of inquiry where at times what exactly is meant by its 'criticality' has become less apparent. There is, moreover, still a lack of attention to gender and sexuality within CMS. Reviewing the literature on sexuality in organizations, it is clear that that critical edge of CMS scholarship could be revitalized by learning from the literature reviewed – much of it from various disciplines outside what is usually described as CMS – that has focused on sexualities and organizations.

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