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Everyday Experiences of Sexism in Male-dominated Professions

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Everyday experiences of sexism in male-dominated professions: a Bourdieusian perspective

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Everyday experiences of sexism in male-dominated professions: a Bourdieusian perspective

Abstract

Women remain under-represented in the UK engineering and construction sectors. Using a Bourdieusian lens, this paper examines the persistence of everyday sexism and gender inequality in male-dominated professions. Bringing together findings from three research projects with engineering and construction industry students and professionals, we find that women experience gendered treatment in everyday interactions with peers. Patterns of (mis)recognition and resistance are complex, with some women expressing views which reproduce and naturalise gender inequality. In contrast other women recognise and resist such essentialism through a range of actions including gender equity campaigning. Through a Bourdieusian analysis of the everyday this paper calls into question existing policy recommendations that argue women have different skills that can be brought to the sector. Such recommendations reinforce the gendered nature of the engineering and construction sectors' habitus and fail to recognise how the underlying structures and practices of the sector reproduce gendered working practices.

Keywords: architecture, Bourdieu, construction, engineering, everyday, gender, male-dominated occupations, professions, sexism

Introduction

Despite a range of equality legislation and initiatives, the UK engineering and construction industry remains one of the most male-dominated sectors. Women are under-represented in all engineering and construction occupations and professions. Existing literature in this field primarily describes the difficulties experienced by women who work in this sector, with a focus on cultural and structural barriers, such as harassment and discrimination, limited networking opportunities and long and

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3 inflexible working hours which often result in poor career prospects and high levels
4 of stress for women (e.g. Barnard et al., 2010; Authors, 2012). Many, if not all, of
5 these challenges are everyday experiences for women in the sector, not isolated
6 occurrences. As such more work is required to understand this persistent situation,
7 exploring particularly why and how it is that men maintain 'their control of and
8 through organizations' (Cockburn, 1991). The practice of gender is situated in
9 everyday interactions (Budgeon, 2014), and the analysis of everyday life can reveal
10 something about gender as a macro-level structure and process (Crow and Pope,
11 2008). This article does so using the work of Bourdieu to understand the everyday
12 (re)production of gender relations in the engineering and construction professions,
13 drawing particularly on the concepts of habitus, capital and symbolic violence.
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23 **Women in male-dominated professions**

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26 The move of women into the professions has received considerable attention within
27 the sociological literature. The professions themselves are rooted in raced, classed
28 and gendered notions that have historically privileged white, middle class men (Witz,
29 1990). Studies have demonstrated, that even where women may numerically equal
30 or outnumber men (at least in junior levels), professions maintain occupational
31 segregation through the construction of women's difference (Bolton and Muzio,
32 2007). 'Gender-based discrimination and exclusionary dynamics are still everyday
33 experiences' for women in the professions (Bolton and Muzio, 2007:49). The
34 professions in the engineering and construction industry (including engineers,
35 architects, designers, project managers), on which this paper focuses, are amongst
36 the worse in terms of gender disparity; the industry remains largely white, male and
37 able-bodied, despite a range of initiatives over recent decades that have sought to
38 challenge this profile. The persistence of gender inequality in these sectors effects
39 women's recruitment, retention and progress and is largely attributable to cultural
40 and structural barriers (Authors, 2012). However, few studies have gone beyond this
41 to address why these barriers are so persistent and hard to shift.
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55 Research addressing the dominance of white men in management studies considers
56 how organisations reproduce societal race relations (Nkomo, 1992); similar
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3 questions can be asked of the dominance of men in engineering and construction.
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5 Much of the extant literature fails to interrogate gender relations in engineering and
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7 construction. Rather it focuses on women's experiences and compares these
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9 experiences to an unexamined norm. This paper aims to use the work of Bourdieu,
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11 and particularly the concept of 'symbolic violence' to shed light on the continued
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13 dominance of white men in engineering and construction and how the sector
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15 (re)produces societal gender norms and relations. This builds on the work of Gracia
16
17 (2009), who argues that the notion of symbolic violence provides a useful
18
19 mechanism through which to understand gender inequality in the workplace.

20 **Introducing Bourdieu**

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22 The 'habitus' in the 'field' of construction is one in which construction jobs are seen
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24 as intrinsically male. The gendered assumptions implicit in how construction work is
25
26 described and carried out is rarely questioned (hence it is habitus). The habitus of
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28 construction is internalised by both women and men employed in construction,
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30 through conscious and unconscious learned experiences, and particularly those who
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32 succeed in the industry. This impedes greater gender diversity since those in
33
34 positions of power select those most like themselves through homosocial
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36 reproduction (Authors, 2014).

37
38 Bourdieu argued that 'symbolic violence' is the means through which gender
39
40 inequality is reproduced (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) and that such violence can
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42 be emotional, social or psychological (Gracia, 2009). Symbolic violence then, is not
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44 physical, but may take the form of people being denied resources, treated as inferior
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46 or being limited in terms of realistic aspirations. Gender relations, for example, have
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48 tended to be constituted out of symbolic violence that has denied women the rights
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50 and opportunities available to men (Webb et al., 2002).

51
52 Bourdieu suggested that the symbolic violence of patriarchal practices embed the
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54 naturalisation of gender into individuals' identities (Gracia, 2009). 'Symbolic
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56 violence... is the violence which is exercised upon a social agent with his or her
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58 complicity... I call misrecognition the fact of recognizing a violence which is wielded
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3 precisely inasmuch as one does not perceive it as such' (Bourdieu and Wacquant,
4 1992). Misrecognition thus occurs when individuals 'forget' that they are produced
5 by the social world as particular types of people. It means that social processes and
6 structures are veiled, so that masculinity and femininity are misrecognised as
7 natural, essentialised personality dispositions (Skeggs, 2004). Bourdieu suggests that
8 this 'misrecognition' means that those who are dominated (i.e. women) put up with
9 conditions that would seem intolerable to others, thus helping to reproduce the
10 conditions of their oppression (Bourdieu, 2001). In other words, individuals are
11 subject to symbolic violence, but do not perceive it as such, because their situation
12 seems to be the natural order of things (Webb et al., 2002).

21
22 Feminist critiques have pointed to the lack of scope for change and women's agency
23 within Bourdieu's theory of practice. Moi (1991) argues for the usefulness of
24 Bourdieu's framework for understanding the continued oppression of women,
25 specifically that continued symbolic violence forms women's habitus. Further,
26 Bourdieu has been criticised for conflating sex, sexuality and gender and overly
27 focussed on gender socialisation through the neglect of understanding those who
28 resist gendered norms (Lovell, 2000).

35
36 Lovell (2000) explores the potential for Bourdieu's theory to explain the exceptional,
37 rather than the ordinary gender order, specifically women who cross into masculine
38 games. Women who enter male-dominated occupations could be seen as crossing
39 this traditional boundary into masculine games. However, further work is required to
40 understand the lived experiences of such women, and to understand the extent to
41 which those who transgress traditional gendered occupational boundaries are
42 indeed resisting gendered norms (Lovell, 2000). However, more recent research has
43 argued that the study of the everyday is frequently absent in sociological theorising,
44 despite its potential to reveal the complexities of everyday experience (Pink, 2012).
45 Researchers have begun to explore everyday life in relation to gender inequality, in
46 particular, everyday sexism (Gervais et al., 2010). The concept of 'Everyday Sexism'
47 has gained considerable traction within the popular culture – see for example Laura
48 Bates' (2014) recent book, twitter feed and blog (see www.everydaysexism.com).
49 However, it remains ill-defined within the academic literature. Everyday sexism is
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3 generally taken to refer to sexism experienced in everyday interactions (see for
4 example, Becker and Swim, 2011). Despite Bourdieu's interest in the everyday
5 (1986), few studies have yet to link Bourdieusian theory with everyday sexism.
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9 Our aim is to explore women's, experiences, understandings and explanations of
10 everyday gender relations within male-dominated professions/sectors. In order to
11 avoid essentialism we view gender as a social construction (as does Bourdieu, 2001).
12 We echo the arguments of Schippers (2007) in that that the social locations of 'man'
13 and 'woman' are the places where characteristics of masculinity or femininity are
14 embodied or displayed. Although Bourdieu perceived gender to be only secondary as
15 a structuring principle of the social field, it has been argued that this 'secondary'
16 status enhances its significance rather than diminishes it (Lovell, 2004); gender is
17 dispersed across the social field and, though it may be hidden, is pervasive (McCall,
18 1992) and as such is deeply structuring (Lovell, 2004).
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27 28 **Methods**

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30 This paper brings together findings from three qualitative, interview-based, research
31 projects the authors conducted examining gender amongst architects and engineers.
32 Developing strategies for empirically investigating everyday experience can be
33 problematic. Interviews have been demonstrated as useful for understanding how
34 individuals make sense of their everyday lives (Pink, 2012). The combining of
35 qualitative datasets for subsequent reanalysis remains a contentious methodological
36 approach. However, there are increasingly acknowledgements of the value of this
37 approach. Van den Berg (2008) argues that the combination of different qualitative
38 datasets for collaborative research is appropriate so long as researchers share details
39 of the process of data collection and share similar approaches. This paper uses
40 datasets collected and analysed by the two authors independently, although prior
41 analyses has focussed on different research questions (Authors 2014; Authors,
42 2009). Here we present fresh analyses to answer new research questions – what
43 Hammersley (2010) refers to as a borderline case of secondary qualitative data
44 analysis.
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3 The use of a semi-structured interview guide meant that key issues identified by the
4 researchers could be explored, while at the same time interviewees could define
5 issues according to their own experiences and understanding. In total 105 interviews
6 were conducted between 2002 and 2010. The combination of these datasets
7 presents an opportunity to understand gender relations within male-dominated
8 sectors across an eight year time period. The datasets comprise individuals at
9 different stages in their careers, and working in different (but male-dominated)
10 occupational contexts. Doing so allows for an analysis of the recurring themes across
11 age and occupation, while retaining sensitivity to differences as they emerge
12 through the data. Summary information from each study is detailed below:
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22 1. Interviews with 43 were women and 18 men UK undergraduate engineering and
23 technology students. The students were in either their second or third year of
24 university and had limited industry experience, although some had been, or
25 were, on work-placements. Students were from a single university but a range of
26 disciplines including: automotive and aeronautical engineering, chemical
27 engineering, civil engineering, mechanical and manufacturing engineering,
28 design technology and construction and transport management. None of the
29 participants were mature-age students.
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- 37 2. Interviews with 10 women and 13 men architects practicing in the UK. The
38 practising architects all had several years of industry experience (between 5 and
39 25 years).
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- 43 3. Interviews with 16 women and 5 men. Participants had between 2 and 29 years
44 post qualification experience working in professional roles within the UK
45 construction industry. Job titles included, project manager, civil engineer,
46 construction law solicitor and architect. Of these participants, 9 had children.
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51 For each of the studies, participants were fully informed of the purpose of the
52 research study and informed that their (anonymised) responses may be used in
53 resulting publications. With participants' agreement, interviews were recorded,
54 transcribed verbatim and anonymised prior to being analysed with the aid of NVivo.
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3 The datasets were combined and subjected to a thematic analysis to identify themes
4 emerging across the datasets, including tensions and contradictions within the data.
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6 The analysis was informed by the theoretical framework – Bourdieu’s theory of
7 practice - while remaining sensitive to themes that emerged from the data. The
8 authors analysed the data independently, verifying analysis with each other
9 throughout the process. While both men and women were interviewed in the
10 studies reported, this paper takes a feminist stance of prioritising the perspectives
11 and experiences of women respondents. As with any qualitative research, the aim of
12 this paper is not to draw generalisations. Rather by prioritising the voices of the
13 women in our studies, we present a rich analysis of their lived experiences, as they
14 reported them. Further, while the study includes data from a range of professions
15 within male-dominated sectors, we identify common themes across the data and
16 highlight differences where they occur.
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26 27 **Findings: Everyday othering**

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29 The findings are focused around everyday distinctions of difference: examples of
30 women being treated differently, or perceiving they were treated differently, by
31 both male and female colleagues, managers, lecturers and clients. Some of the
32 women interviewed discussed how they themselves treated women differently to
33 men, or how they perceived women to be different to men, which we also reflect on.
34 Differential treatment was not always perceived negatively, as discussed below.
35 However, it was rare for women to challenge or resist such difference, although we
36 highlight a few examples. A number of women in our studies, particularly the
37 younger ones, were not aware of, had no experience of, or did not choose to
38 disclose, being treated differently as a result of their gender. For example Rebecca, a
39 design and technology student (study 1), reported:
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50 I don’t worry about my gender ... because like there’s people
51 around me who are quite high up who are female it doesn’t ever
52 seem ... you’d never think that there’d be an issue really.
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3 Nevertheless women across all studies articulated examples of where they had been
4 treated differently to their male counterparts. Such 'othering' included exclusion and
5 being on the receiving end of sexist humour.
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9 *Othered by exclusion*
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12 Andrea, a civil engineering student (study 1) described how she was excluded by her
13 male peers from a group assignment at university. Subsequently she was marked
14 down in the peer assessment of the assignment. Not surprisingly Andrea felt this was
15 unfair because of the boundaries she perceived were placed on her. Exclusion from
16 the group denied Andrea access to key resources and the opportunity to develop
17 capital through the assessment. Women working in the sector recalled similar
18 instances of being excluded from key events. For example, Amy, a practicing
19 architect said that when she was an undergraduate she had been the only woman
20 on her course and that the male students carried '*on like it's a boys'*
21 *organization...they just ignored me*'. In an example from study 3, one participant
22 recalled that her line manager expressed a preference to support male colleague's
23 continued professional development since they would less likely to take sick leave,
24 since she had been on leave as a result of gynaecological surgery. These examples of
25 marginalisation from formal and informal groups reflect the exclusion interview
26 participants described in the workplace and have important implications for career
27 progression. Authors (2011) describe how women's exclusion from developing
28 technical competence may have a number of consequences including reinforcing
29 notions of difference between men and women, and perceptions that women are
30 less capable than men. Exclusion from skill development also limits women's career
31 progression, since it limits women's ability to accrue various forms of capital, which
32 are necessary to reach more senior positions.
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50 A number of practicing architects (women) felt that they were excluded from
51 informal networking opportunities, which were essential to attend if they wanted to
52 bring new work into their practice (a necessity for progression). Women architects
53 also experienced task restriction, which meant they were unable to demonstrate
54 their technical skills (Authors, 2014), something that has been demonstrated in other
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3 male-dominated occupations (e.g. Guerrier et al., 2009). Carolyn, a work placement
4 student (study 1) described how she was not shown what to do when she first
5 started the placement, despite the fact that she was a student on placement:
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9 When I first joined it wasn't very structured, my learning. I had to
10 pick up the job on the go. I would rather someone sat me down –
11 which is what happened to everyone else. Everyone else has had a
12 handbook, and I've just been pushed out.
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18 Within study 3, many of the women interviewed felt that they had been treated
19 differently from the outset of their careers. Notably, six reported that they had been
20 asked about their plans to have children during interview, with one woman feeling
21 that she had been denied two positions due to her status as a mother. However,
22 younger women in study 3 did not report such experiences. One respondent felt that
23 this change was the result of a new generation of '90s men' who she felt were less
24 gender biased.
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31 Similarly other research about women in male-dominated occupations has found
32 that women are repeatedly excluded from informal and formal networking
33 opportunities (Barnard et al., 2010). Such exclusion is also likely to mean that
34 women in engineering and construction have less social capital in the workplace
35 than their male colleagues (Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2010). This is also clear evidence
36 of symbolic violence, with women denied access to resources – namely networking
37 opportunities that are key to performance both at work and at university.
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44 *Othering through humour*

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47 In studies 1 and 3, there was much discussion about the use of sexism through
48 everyday humour. While sexist 'humour' undoubtedly reinforces negative gender
49 perceptions, almost all interviewees who reflected on it, reported that sexist jokes
50 needed to be understood as nothing personal and 'only' humour. For example,
51 Hannah a civil engineering student (study 1) stated:
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3 Generally speaking people are having a laugh, trying to wind you
4 up, trying to get a bit of a reaction from you and you've just got to
5 sort of accept that's all they're doing ... and sort of laugh back at
6 them.
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11 Hannah went on to say:

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13 A lot of it mostly is, you know, just bits of friendly banter. Most of
14 it sadly from men that are about 50 so you have to, you have you
15 take it. I mean ... you look at these guys and if they thought that
16 you thought they were being serious I think they would drop down
17 on the spot. Because it's only ever joking and sort of more
18 affectionate I think in a way, like they're sort of looking out for you.
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25 Such humour is notoriously difficult to challenge, particularly for those that are the
26 subject of it (i.e. women). In the example above Hannah is simultaneously
27 recognising this behaviour as gendered, but arguing for its acceptability, if not
28 inevitability. Another student in study 1, Sophie, described how, on starting her
29 industrial placement, she needed to show her male colleagues that she wasn't going
30 to stop them from having a laugh and a joke:
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37 I would probably join in with it nine times out of ten, and I can
38 honestly say that I was never offended through anything at all they
39 said in banter or sexually or anything.
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44 It was up to Sophie to show she wasn't that different to the men and that she could
45 'take a joke,' before she felt that she was accepted.
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48 Faulkner (2005) maintains that while many would argue that humour is 'only words',
49 it sends powerful subliminal messages to both women and men. In other words,
50 humour is a mechanism of social exclusion (Watts, 2007). Lyman (1987: 150)
51 describes humour as 'a theatre of domination in everyday life, and the success or
52 failure of a joke marks the boundary within which power and aggression may be
53 used in a relationship'. Humour is a means of embedding risky or unacceptable
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3 behaviour in superficially harmless statements, thus allowing the dominant figure to
4 maintain authority while continuing to appear friendly (Holmes, 2000). Similarly
5 Kanter (1977) argued that in allowing themselves to be a source of humour for the
6 dominant group, women can demonstrate their loyalty. Both of these factors likely
7 contribute to women's acceptance of workplace humour. Further, a 'good sense of
8 humour' is a key aspect of what Friedman (2011: 347) calls 'comic cultural capital', a
9 development of Bourdieu's conceptualisation of cultural capital. Watts (2007) also
10 suggested that humour can be used to resist or challenge authority. However, we
11 found little evidence of women using humour to subvert power structures, a
12 phenomenon which Holmes (2000) describes as 'contestive' humour.
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20 21 22 **(Mis)recognition of gendered treatment**

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24 Women across the studies recounted examples of differential treatment as a result
25 of their gender. In a similar vein to the responses to sexist humour, women's
26 explanations for this frequently justified the differentiation as natural or to be
27 expected. Hayley (study 1), a mechanical and manufacturing engineering student on
28 placement spoke of the need to give male colleagues time to get used to having a
29 woman in the workplace. She justified this by explaining that most '*guys have been*
30 *working there for 30 years and haven't worked with a girl before*'. She went on to
31 say that as long as women acted 'normally' and demonstrated that they didn't need
32 to be treated with 'kitten gloves', the men would get used to working with women.
33 Gendered treatment is justified by women because men are not familiar with having
34 women around. The implication is that this behaviour may change over time *if* more
35 women enter male-dominated roles. What is also evident is that the emphasis is on
36 women 'fitting in' with their male colleagues and not vice versa.
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48 In further evidence of women's complicity with the dominant gender discourse, a
49 number of participants justified the lack of women in engineering and construction
50 due to innate gender differences between men and women. For example Andrea a
51 civil engineering student (study 1) felt that women (generally) were unsuited to site
52 based work:
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3 Although there are some women out there who want to go and
4 play in the mud and enjoy surveying all day long, most women
5 don't and that's because of fundamental differences between
6 women and men.
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11 Katie, a practicing architect (study 2) was passionately opposed to equality
12 campaigns within the architectural profession which were intended to increase the
13 proportion of women architects in practice. Katie felt that as a woman in her early
14 30s she was a 'complete liability' for an architectural practice. She went on to explain
15 that 'maternity leave' can cripple a small practice and that:
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21 [The] boys here are stronger at design and probably [stronger]
22 technically...women and men argue it differently. They're [men]
23 kind of more ballsy and, you know, they use long words that they
24 don't know what they mean and things like that.
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29 During the same exchange, Katie went to explain that she felt 'girls' were more
30 emotional than 'boys' and the *'world isn't equal, we don't have 50% of anything as
31 far as I know:50/50 in nature?...we're actually built differently, were not naturally
32 designed to do the same things'*. Katie had also refused to join any women's
33 networking groups because she was opposed to *'that kind of thing'* despite feeling
34 isolated due to being the only 'girl' in her office.
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40 The women in the research predominantly viewed their experiences as unrelated to
41 their gender. Yet at the same time, they subscribed to gendered notions that women
42 are not suited to careers in engineering and construction because of innate gender
43 differences between men and women. As noted above there were examples of
44 women explicitly expressing gendered views of women and their suitability for work
45 in the sector. While these perceptions pervade, there is likely to be little resistance
46 to the status quo. For example, Sarah, a chemical engineering student on placement
47 reported that she thought men were often better at engineering because men and
48 women think about problems in different ways. In another example, Holly, a
49 manufacturing student said:
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3 I'd rather work with men ... because the women on our course are
4 all quite dictating. I do find it hard working with them because I
5 think, in general, you tend to have similar qualities and it just gets
6 quite difficult and it's easy when it's just one girl and a couple of
7 men in my sort of class.
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12 This characterisation of essentialised gendered differences can be related to
13 developments on Bourdieu's conceptualisations of cultural capital. Huppatz (2009)
14 has argued that feminine capital, a type of cultural capital because it is a learned
15 competency, is valued within feminized occupations. In contrast, the current study
16 demonstrates perceptions amongst some women that men are more suited to the
17 'masculine professions' because they have masculine capital i.e. stereotypically
18 masculine skills and capacities, which enable men to be better engineers, architects
19 etc. The naturalisation of masculine capacities means that masculine skills are seen
20 as innate rather than acquired, which likely diminishes women's self-confidence in
21 these areas. Further, we can see here that women differentiate themselves from
22 each other. In part this links to what McRobbie (2004: 106) calls 'new forms of class
23 differentiation', whereby a culture of individualisation means that new social
24 divisions are being created as women compete with each other.
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37 As we have demonstrated above and elsewhere (Authors, 2014), women can be
38 complicit in the social construction of identities that ultimately marginalise them.
39 Volman and Ten Dam's (1998) study found that for the young people in their study
40 gender differentiation was a significant element of their everyday interactions, but
41 that they struggled to make sense of those differences without appearing to endorse
42 inequality. Instead, gender-specific behaviours and preferences are interpreted as
43 the product of individual choice. Budgeon (2014) suggests that new femininities are
44 associated with a heightened emphasis on individual responsibility, the ideological
45 de-gendering of social relations and a position within the gender binary consistent
46 with the workings of a hegemonic form of femininity.
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56 Bourdieu argues that the process by which individuals fail to recognise the social
57 origins of symbolic violence is *misrecognition*, which lies outside of conscious
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3 thought (Schubert, 2008). Misrecognition is useful when considering symbolic
4 violence as it allows for analysis of how women may perceive their experiences as
5 the natural order of things, rather than recognising discrimination as a form of
6 violence. As such, misrecognition is key to symbolic violence (Bourgois et al., 2004).
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8 However, it is necessary not to 'blame' women for this recognition, as this in itself
9 would be a form of symbolic violence (Schubert, 2008).

14 **Female capital?**

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17 A number of women recounted workplace examples where they perceived being a
18 woman was an advantage. At face value, this may be evidence of what Huppatz
19 (2009) calls female capital. These advantages reportedly included more help or
20 support in the laboratory/workplace compared to men, and positive discrimination
21 for women job applicants. Within study 3 some women respondents reported they
22 enjoyed being the only woman on a construction site as it increased their visibility
23 and had career benefits. Others felt they were able to mobilise their femininity to
24 rely on traditionally 'chivalrous' gestures from men, such as buying drinks after work.
25 Occasionally these advantages appeared to be leveraged deliberately, other times
26 women seemed to have less control over the situation. For example, Alison (study
27 1), a mechanical and manufacturing engineering student described how men in the
28 storeroom were more willing to help her than her male colleagues. Others spoke
29 about deliberately adopting stereotypically female behaviour in order to get this
30 kind of help. For example Isabella, a mechanical and manufacturing engineering
31 student on placement (study 1), said:

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Sometimes I sort of play up to being a bit ditzy so I can get a bit
more help and if you play up to being ditzy then they don't actually
mind doing the help so much. I get a lot of help here but I don't
know how much a guy would get. I don't know how much they
would be told to get on with it and stop being such a girl.

This relates to what Huppatz (2009) calls 'feminine advantage'. She calls this female
capital (not feminine capital), since women are actively making the female matter.

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3 Equally, however, Huppatz also notes that female capital does not dominate male
4 capital. Further, as previous research has demonstrated women may actively
5 participate in gendered ways of working which reproduce gender inequality, which is
6 ultimately to their disadvantage (Authors, 2009; 2014).
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11 Positive discrimination was seen as a particular feature in relation to gaining access
12 to jobs, since companies were perceived to be trying to boost their gender diversity.
13 Jenny, an aeronautical and automotive engineering student (study 1), described how
14 she believed being a woman gave her a better chance at a job than a man with the
15 same qualifications and experience, because *'they've got to employ a certain*
16 *percentage of women'*.
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23 This also had an othering effect and two of the interviewees in study 1, from
24 different disciplines, went on to say that as a result of this experience (of being
25 favoured) they questioned their own abilities. Rebecca, a design and technology
26 student, for example, said:
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31 I've always felt like I don't know if I would have got on this course if
32 I'd been a bloke ... They didn't even look at my work, so they
33 couldn't have known, and every bloke I've spoken to has had a
34 really vigorous interview.
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39 Such perceptions of positive discrimination may reinforce notions that women are
40 less capable than men, because others may believe that they were employed on the
41 basis of their gender, rather than being the best candidate for the position. It may
42 also serve to undermine women's cultural capital.
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47 Data from study 3 suggested that this type of differential treatment was in part a
48 reflection of women's novel status within male-dominated professions. Namely their
49 treatment as tokens, which women articulated as resulting in increased visibility. As
50 such, seven of the women argued that they were subject to harsher evaluations than
51 male colleagues due to this visibility.
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56 **Resisting gendered norms**

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3 In contrast to the younger women in studies 1 and 3, most women in Study 2 did not
4 naturalise gender differences, or the resulting differences in behaviour. In contrast
5 to study 1, the participants in study 2 were older and had been in employment for
6 longer. In addition, a number of respondents were actively engaged in gender
7 equality initiatives within the architectural profession. Even among some younger
8 participants, there were a few women who were more conscious of the effects of
9 gendered norms and being treated differently. Debra, a quantity surveying student
10 (study 1), for example, reflected on how she was expected not to act in traditionally
11 feminine ways, yet was simultaneously criticised for behaving in the same way as her
12 colleagues, because this was seen as inappropriate. This illustrates the impossible
13 situation that women in male-dominated spheres are faced with:
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23 I felt, when I was working that they didn't, it was weird because I
24 felt like they only employed me because I was a girl and yet they
25 didn't want me to act feminine. And so when I was going out for
26 drinks and stuff it was always, everyone kind of frowned upon it. I
27 was trying to be like one of the lads, you know, but they took it as I
28 was going on all these dates and things ... they just didn't want me
29 to act feminine.
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37 This quote highlights what Bourdieu (2001) calls a 'double bind' for women; if
38 women behave like men, they risk their 'feminine' attributes and implicitly question
39 men's power, if they behave like women, 'they appear incapable and unfit for the
40 job' (2001: 68). It is also evidence that women are limited in the types of capital they
41 can convert to other capital (Reay, 2004), such that while women may hold female
42 capital and cultural capital, this is not the same as, nor can it be converted to, male
43 capital, at least not in the male-dominated professions.
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50 Natalie, an architectural engineering student (study 1) also reflected on the fact that
51 women are treated differently:
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54 There are men out there that still think that they're better than
55 women. And I think it's very important that women have to be
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3 educated on the fact that they're going to be treated differently,
4 although it's hard and you shouldn't be, I think you have to be
5 aware that you're different.
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9 Women sought to overcome any perceived discrimination or negative attitudes
10 about their gender by competing with male students to demonstrate that they were
11 good, capable engineers, who had earned the right to be an engineer and who were
12 'just as intelligent as the person sitting next to you' (Emily, Aeronautical &
13 Automotive engineering student, study 1). For example, Holly said:

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15 To some extent, you've just got to kind of go and show them that
16 you can do something. It's just that you've got to prove yourself to
17 them, I think. I think that you've gotta like work harder and show
18 that you actually do know something and you do use your initiative
19 a bit more.
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29 Having said that, another student, Chloe (study 1), stated that she felt that once she
30 had proven herself, any barriers she had felt previously were removed. Similar to
31 'acting like one of the boys', the women appeared to believe that by proving their
32 ability to be 'good engineers' their gender would be insignificant. This is something of
33 a paradox given that the women also felt they had to work harder than their male
34 peers entirely to overcome the fact that they were women, something which is well
35 established by others in this area (Fowler and Wilson, 2004).
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42 On the whole, even when women recognised gender was an issue, there was
43 minimal resistance of the dominant power structures. In part this may result from
44 women's assimilation into their industries (e.g. Authors 2006), but is also likely
45 because challenging everyday sexism risks further exclusion or isolation (Whitlock,
46 2002). Lawler (2004), drawing on Bourdieu, suggests that the lack of resistance is
47 because 'people are not fools' – they behave in ways that are consistent with their
48 habitus and their field. She also suggests that it may be more liberating for people to
49 'cast off' their 'marks of difference and to adopt a normalised habitus' (Lawler, 2004:
50 122), rather than to challenge the status quo.
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3 However, resistance does not have to be overt (Prasad and Prasad, 1998), and there
4 was evidence of small, everyday acts of defiance, such as Katie (study 1), who spoke
5 of resisting gendered expectations. She described deliberately making a bad cup of
6 tea for her colleague so she would not be asked to do it again:
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11 When I first arrived [on placement], one of the old engineers ... was
12 like "Oh. You know you're student and you're a girl, why aren't you
13 making the tea?" And I laughed. And then I realised he wasn't
14 laughing. And I thought, "Oh God". So I made him a cup tea and I
15 deliberately made the worst cup of tea ever. And the tea bag
16 hardly touched the water. And he never asked me to make him a
17 cup of tea again.
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24 Such subtle acts of everyday resistance may be the safest strategy for women, as
25 well as acknowledging what is 'possible and achievable, and what was fruitless and
26 pointless' (Anderson, 2008: 261). Nevertheless, as Bourdieu has noted, while acts
27 such as this may give women some room for manoeuvre (Lovell, 2004), 'the
28 weapons of the weak are weak weapons' (Bourdieu, 2001: 32).
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34 **Conclusions**

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36 This paper has drawn on three qualitative studies of women engineering students
37 and practising architects' everyday experiences of working in male-dominated
38 professions. In doing so it has demonstrated the value of Bourdieu's concepts of
39 symbolic violence and misrecognition. In particular, these are useful tools for
40 understanding the experience and awareness of everyday sexism within these male-
41 dominated occupational contexts. This helps to elucidate how and why women in
42 engineering and construction continue to be under-represented and dominated by
43 men. It is also valuable in a broader sense since it shows how the sociology of
44 everyday life can reveal something about the practice and processes of gender (Crow
45 and Pope, 2008).
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55 The data reveal that women's difference from men is reiterated and experienced as
56 a matter of routine. Indeed its routineness, or everyday nature, has rendered this
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3 sexism largely invisible for younger women. The concept of misrecognition is also
4 valuable in understanding why women in engineering and construction do not
5 challenge this difference or 'othering', since it is often misrecognised as natural or
6 innate. Thus as Miller (2002) has argued there is often 'an unawareness of the
7 masculine nature of the context'. This contrasts with popular discourses of 'everyday
8 sexism' where it is recognised and publically articulated as such (Bates, 2014). Our
9 data demonstrated several occurrences of women feeling marginalised or excluded.
10 Similarly other research about women in male-dominated occupations has found
11 that women are repeatedly excluded from informal and formal networking
12 opportunities (Barnard et al., 2010). Such exclusion is also likely to mean that
13 women in engineering and construction have less social capital in the workplace
14 than their male colleagues (Kumra and Vinnicombe, 2010). We can clearly see here
15 instances of symbolic violence against women engineering and construction
16 students and professionals with denial of access to resources – namely networking
17 opportunities that are key to performance both at work and at university. As such
18 this can place limits on both their capacity and aspirations for progression, or even
19 to remaining in the workforce.
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34 Modern prejudice and discrimination against women has become increasingly subtle
35 and covert (Benokraitis and Feagin, 1986) meaning that it is harder for women to
36 identify instances of discrimination as such (see also Martin, 2006). This can be
37 particularly significant in terms of humour, where sexist attitudes were commonly
38 expressed. Holmes (2000) for example, suggests that unacceptable behaviour
39 embedded in superficial humour, is particularly difficult to challenge because the
40 joker remains friendly and it is likely to be the challenger that is ostracised by
41 colleagues for 'not taking the joke'.
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49 Witz (2004), and others, have argued that symbolic violence paints women as
50 compliant and shifts the burden of responsibility for women's oppression from men
51 to women themselves (Witz, 2004). However, the authors suggest that it highlights
52 the importance of including men in any policy initiatives to address women's under-
53 representation and discrimination, since women, usually unconsciously, can be
54 complicit in their domination. As Bourdieu (2000) argues, complicity is not a
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3 conscious, deliberate act, 'it is itself the effect of power'. This also reflects women's
4 assimilation into the masculine culture of engineering and construction (see also
5 Dryburgh, 1999; Walker, 2001; Miller, 2002; Authors, 2009). Such assimilation occurs
6 when women learn the rules of the game. In other words, and borrowing again from
7 Bourdieu, women learn the 'habitus', that is the values and dispositions, of the
8 engineering and construction 'field', and that this field is intrinsically male and
9 respond accordingly. Analysis of the experiences of women in engineering and
10 construction using Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field will be the focus of
11 future publications.
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20 This is also likely a result of the very low numbers of women in engineering and
21 construction, which results in women individualising their negative experiences
22 rather than perceiving them as a result of gender. In other industries where women
23 represent a more sizeable minority, such as science, this may not be the case. This
24 will be the subject of future research.
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30 These findings also call into question existing policy recommendations that argue
31 women have different skills that can be brought to the sector (such as co-operation).
32 Such policies reinforce the gendered nature of the engineering and construction
33 sectors' habitus and fail to recognise how the underlying structures and practices of
34 the sector reproduce gendered working practices.
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40 This research has explicitly focused on the everyday lived experiences of women in a
41 male-dominated industry. Future research should examine the experiences of men
42 in this context in order to consider how they practice symbolic violence and
43 misrecognition. Any such future studies should be aware that the category of 'men'
44 is not homogeneous. The framework of symbolic violence would enable an analysis
45 of how the sector perpetuates inequalities against non-dominated men, for
46 example, ethnic minority men or gay men. Further research should also explore how
47 symbolic violence occurs in sectors that are less male-dominated and where the
48 organisational culture is likely to be different.
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