Acker Through the Looking Glass: Exploring Gendered Sub-Structures as a Method for

Understanding the Gendering of Organizations

By

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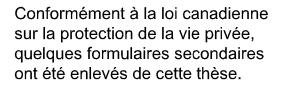
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Abstract

Acker Through the Looking Glass: Exploring Gendered Sub-Structures as a Method for Understanding the Gendering of Organizations

By Kelly Dye

Abstract: Within the field of organizational analysis, Joan Acker's concept of the gendered substructure is one of the most widely cited in terms of potential for change yet under-explored in terms of application. In this thesis Acker's framework is explored through analysis of the gendered processes at work over time in a single company -- Pan American Airways.

Critical discourse analysis was used to interrogate archival data during the 1950s and then again in the 1970s and 1980s. It was discovered that dominant discourses, at each point in time, served as organizing principles which informed the gendering processes within the organization. Although the dominant discourses changed between the two time periods, as did the manifestations of the gendering processes, it can be argued that the genderedness of the organization did not.

Joan Acker's gendering processes framework presented particular challenges in that it changed considerably in her writing. Initially, the framework had five process sets, but later only included four. The existence and/or placement of the fifth process set was questionable at the onset of this research. However, the research indicated quite clearly that this process set is of significant value and central to the entire framework.

At the conclusion of this research, a modified framework (including five process sets) is presented as a useful heuristic for studying how organizations become and remain gendered. It is anticipated that greater understanding of this phenomenon could facilitate change.

November 20, 2006

Acknowledgements

The phrase "it takes a village" has been used to describe the raising of a child. In this case, the same can be said for completing a dissertation. There are so many people to whom I owe much gratitude. I am sure I will miss a few, so I will start with my apologies for doing so. Many, many special people have made this journey possible.

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Chapter One
An Introduction

The notion of social structures and social processes as gendered is not a new one (Acker, 1990, 1992b; Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998a, 1998b; Cockburn, 1985; Collinson & Hearn, 1994; Ferguson, 1984; Game & Pringle, 1984; Mills, 1992; Mills & Helms Mills, 2006; Mills & Tancred, 1992; Wicks & Bradshaw, 1999). It has existed for some time and has evolved significantly, to the extent that it has become quite commonplace to speak of organizations as gendered (Britton, 1997, 2000; Townsley, 2003). Yet, critical gaps in our understanding of the processes responsible for the creation and maintenance of these gendered organizations still exist (Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998a, 1998b; Britton, 1997, 2000; Collinson & Hearn, 1994).

This dissertation attempts to aid in our understanding of this phenomenon by re-visiting a well-known (Britton, 1997; Calas & Smircich, 2005), yet understudied (Britton, 1997), analytic - Joan Acker's (1990, 1992a, 1992b) gendering processes framework. Analysis of the framework occurs in the context of Pan American Airways (PAA) as a gendered organization. The rest of this chapter will serve to provide definitions that are central to this dissertation, an argument for the necessity of the research, and a brief overview of the research itself.

A Definition of Genderedness

What does it really mean to say that an organization itself, or an organizational policy, practice or slot in the hierarchy, is "gendered"? In simpler terms, how do we know a gendered organization when we see one? This question is an important one, not only for the sake of theoretical and conceptual clarity, but also because the lack of precision

with which the concept has been defined in much empirical work has

potentially profound implications for the prospect of meaningful social

and organizational change. (Britton, 2000, p.419)

Although many acknowledge that organizations are inherently gendered (Acker, 1990,

1992b; Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998b; Britton, 1997, 2000; Mills, 1988), few agree on

just what this means. For the purposes of this dissertation, it is important to clearly

define what is meant by "gendered organizations." After studying various interpretations

of "genderedness," I have settled on two definitions. The first is Joan Acker's definition

as it is unveiled in her 1990 article, the same article where she first reveals her gendering

processes framework. It seems logical to utilize the definition that is central to her

explanation of the framework in this analysis. Her definition is as follows:

To say that an organization, or any other analytic unit, is gendered means

that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and

emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of

distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine. (Acker,

1990, p.146)

The second definition is an expansion of Acker's ideas as it suggests that

this genderedness is so deeply embedded in organizations that the phenomenon

itself will serve to further create, support, and reproduce the gendered

organization:

To say that organizations are *inherently* gendered implies that they have

been defined, conceptualized, and structured in terms of a distinction

between masculinity and femininity, ... and will thus inevitably reproduce

gendered differences. (Britton, 2000, p.419)

This patterning and structuring in terms of distinction between male and female is

precisely what leads to overt and latent discriminatory practices in organizations.

Why Study the Gendering of Organizations?

Much research has been done on the "genderedness" of organizations, as related

to the issues of the presence of gendered structures, policies, and procedures, as well as

the outcomes of such. For example, the gendered nature of organizations often result in

"qualitatively different career experiences and outcomes for women and men"

(Rindfleish & Sheridan, 2003, p.299) as is demonstrated by the fact that women are still

underrepresented in senior executive positions (Olsson & Walker, 2003). Similarly,

studies have demonstrated that the genderedness of organizations contributes to lack of

career progress and glass ceiling effects for marginalized groups (Fletcher, 1998). As a

result, we know what gendered organizations look like and we know the impact on

disadvantaged groups (i.e., job segregation, under-representation of disadvantaged groups

in management, glass ceilings, mommy tracks, etc.).

Yet another important line of inquiry investigates the "gendering" - why or how

organizations become gendered. Here it is argued that without knowing how or why

gendering occurs, it becomes difficult to effect change (Mills & Helms Mills, 2006).

In 1994, Lewis and Morgan suggested,

There is growing recognition of the need to see the relationship between

gender and organization in dynamic terms, each influencing the other

within the limits of particular historical or social contexts. One strand in

this more fluid kind of analysis is the exploration of the ways in which people understand their organizational lives in gender terms, the ways in which understandings of gender and sexuality are deployed on a day-to-day basis in order to make sense of and to shape organizational and managerial processes. (p.643)

Clearly, they identified that it was time to understand how gendering processes are developed, maintained, and changed over time. This was supported almost a decade later by Nikki Townsley (2003) who, in her more recent review of gendered theories, suggests that we must focus "on the dynamic processes, performances, and practices imbued with and constitutive of gendered meanings" (p.620). If we are to accomplish such an undertaking, it is imperative that we look at gendering processes (as well as gendered outcomes).

The Organizational Culture Paradigm

Significant attempts to understand the aforementioned gendering processes in organizations have been framed within the organizational culture paradigm (Gherardi, 1995; Maddock, 1999; Mills, 1992, 1994b) and might cause one to wonder why another approach needs considering. Although generally effective and responsible for a better understanding of gender in organizations, this paradigm offers particular challenges which should be addressed (J. Martin, 2000; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Mills, 2002b). Three of these challenges are discussed next.

First, within organization culture studies, a plethora of definitions of organization culture exist (Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohavy, & Sanders, 1990). As stated by Joanne Martin (2002), "Given the range of reasons for studying culture, and the range of intellectual

traditions represented in organizational culture research, it is no wonder that there is little agreement about what a culture is, what it is not, how to study it, and what we know and do not know about it" (p.7). Definitions of culture range from symbols, images, and slogans, to underlying assumptions and un-stated rules. This, coupled with the lack of agreement in the field, makes synthesis of our understanding of gender in organizations difficult (Mills, 2002b).

Second, as soon as one attempts to define culture, the problem of boundaries becomes apparent. Martin (2002) identifies that this is problematic as she asserts that "the boundaries of a culture and the boundaries of an organization are not identical, conceptually or empirically" (p. 319) and concludes that "contemporary anthropology offers not a mosaic but an impressionist portrait of nested, overlapping cultures that interpenetrate, blurring boundaries" (p. 317). This leads to questions of what to study and how best to study it and further blurs our understanding of gender in organizations.

Third, it has been asserted that the notions of organization and organization culture themselves are in fact gendered (Hearn, 2002; Maddock, 1999). This is evidenced by Martin (2000) who asks, "When organizational cultures are conceptualized in terms of values and practices allegedly shared by all, or most, organizational members, does this integrationist approach delegitimate and exclude the views of those, such as women or minorities, who might see things differently (see Martin, 1992)?" (p. 215). It can be argued that the study of gender, using a gendered lens, merely enforces the dominant voice (Martin, 2000) and does not move gender studies forward. This is supported by Calas and Smircich (1992) who propose a "revisioning" of the field of organization theory.

Unquestionably, the organization culture paradigm has been valuable in furthering

our understanding of gendered organizations. It would be imprudent to ignore the gains

already made. What is needed is a framework that encompasses the breadth of scope of

the culture paradigm and builds on the culture paradigm's ability to gather rich

information about gender in organizations, while simultaneously streamlining and clearly

defining it and reducing or eliminating the gendered assumptions inherent in it.

A New (Old) Tool?

As one of the more compelling, "systematic attempt(s) to bring together the

findings of research on the perpetuation of gender inequality in organizations and social

institutions" (Britton, 2000, p.429), Acker's work provides a possible heuristic for the

examination of gendered organizations that could potentially build on the success of the

culture paradigm. Her article, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered

Organizations," was published in 1990. In it, she describes five gendering processes.

Subsequent articles on gendering processes, "Gendering Organizational Theory" (1992b)

and "From Sex Roles to Gendered Institutions" (1992a) also describe gendered

organizations in terms of sets of processes, serve to further problematize the notion of

gendered organizations, and support the claim that these gendering processes work as

catalysts for the creation and reproduction of gendered organizations. Interestingly, and

perhaps importantly, these later publications include only four gendering process sets.

The removal of the fifth set is puzzling and potentially problematic. As such, the fifth set

of processes is of particular interest in this research.

Despite the unexplained removal of the fifth process set, what is novel and

interesting about Acker's work is that it provides a relatively clearly defined lens through

which to view gender in organizations. The framework bears resemblance to the organization culture lens in that it encompasses a broad scope of organizational phenomenon (from structure through individual gender construction), yet it is more clearly outlined, both in definition and the establishment of boundaries. As well, one could argue that it goes beyond culture by looking at structural, socio-psychological and psychological factors, and organizational logic, while still incorporating culture.

Perhaps then, we may be able to identify those activities in and around organizations that maintain, support, or oppose the gendered nature of organizations through Joan Acker's system of processes. It is anticipated that through an understanding of these processes successful change can be addressed. Joan Acker's framework is used in this dissertation in an attempt to discover and understand the gendering of organizations, and, in the process, to (e)valuate its notion of the gendered substructure as a way of making sense of the gendering processes.

Acker's Gendering Processes

The following provides a brief overview of Acker's gendering processes while a much deeper investigation is provided in Chapters Two and Three. In her 1990 article, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations," Acker identifies five general categories of processes that lead to gendered organizations. They are as follows:

Gendering practices / structures. The first set of processes is described as the production of gender divisions; specifically, "ordinary organizational practices produce gender patterning of jobs, wages, and hierarchies, power and subordination" (Acker, 1992b, p. 252). Within this set of processes, it is important to note the "evidence that

hierarchies are gendered and that gender and sexuality have a central role in the reproduction of hierarchy" (Acker, 1992b, p. 253).

Gendering cultures. Acker's second set of processes is described as "the creation of symbols, images, and forms of consciousness that explicate, justify, and, more rarely, oppose gender divisions" (Acker, 1992b, p.253). Evident in our public and private lives, these symbols, images, and forms of consciousness serve to shape societal norms and values. One can analyze the effects on both a societal and an organizational level. For example, organizational symbols and slogans emphasizing strength, speed, or power help to create an environment that values characteristics traditionally associated with "maleness." Similarly, pop-culture icons help to shape societal understandings of what it means to be "male" or "female."

Gendering interactions. Acker's third set of processes are described as the "interactions between individuals, women and men, women and women, men and men, in the multiplicity of forms that enact dominance and subordination and create alliances and exclusions. In these interactions, at various levels of hierarchy, policies that create divisions are developed and images of gender are created and affirmed" (Acker, 1992b, p. 253). Moving to a more intimate level of analysis, this category emphasizes the importance of individual level interaction as a "gendering" instrument.

Internal gender constructions. The fourth set of processes centers on the "internal mental work of individuals as they consciously construct their understandings of the organization's gendered structure of work and opportunity and the demands for gender-appropriate behaviors and attitudes" (Acker, 1992b, p. 253).

Creating and conceptualizing social structures. The final set of processes is centered on organizational logic and the gendered substructures that are reproduced in daily organizational activities and the writings of organizational theorists (Acker, 1990). This organizational logic manifests itself in "material forms in written work rules, labor contracts, managerial directives, and other documentary tools for running large organizations" (Acker, 1990, p. 147). Seen as fundamental, ongoing processes that encompass and influence the other four processes, these processes require study at an entirely different level of abstraction (i.e., the study of the logic inherent in and affected by organizations and the people within them).

Acker's model does not stand in opposition to the organization culture paradigm. Rather, its five levels of processes simply encompass many of the diverse views within the culture debate. That is, it presents us with a comprehensive picture of the elements which many argue constitute organization culture. It provides a framework that allows us to capture elements that constitute culture without being exclusionary.

Building on Acker

Joan Acker's (1990, 1992b) framework of gendering processes, although oft cited and well regarded in the literature (see Table 1), has not yet been applied in many cases (see Brewis, Hampton, & Linstead, 1997; Ferguson, 1984; Fletcher, 1995; Maddock, 2002; Wicks & Bradshaw, 1999) , and only partially so in the majority of cases (see Britton, 1997; Olsson & Walker, 2003) .

Little has been done empirically to support or refute the significance of the proposed processes as a set (Britton, 1997, 2000), though several have effectively identified the presence and impact of individual processes (see Hultin & Szulkin, 2003;

Kuhlmann & Matthies, 2001; Rutherford, 2001; Tienari, Quack, & Theobald, 2002), thus

providing support for the efficacy of individual elements of Acker's framework.

Several other studies have effectively analyzed what could be construed as

individual levels of Acker's gendering processes, but they are not identified as such. For

example, much work has been done focusing on the gendered structures of organizations

without acknowledging them as one of Acker's sets of processes (Bagilhole, 2006;

Ashcraft, 2005; Rindfleish & Sheridan 2003). As stated earlier, much work has also been

done on gender and organization culture (see Brewis, Hampton, & Linstead, 1997;

Fletcher, 1995; Wicks & Bradshaw, 1999). Despite this, Dye and Helms Mills (2005)

indicate that relatively few have attempted to address the last three stages of Acker's

framework and most efforts have been centered on the first two sets of processes.

Exceptions include a study by Olssen and Walker (2003) which looks at internal gender

constructions and studies by Britton (1997) and Benschop and Doorewaard (1998a,

1998b) which look at Acker's fifth set of processes, gendered organizational logic (or

substructure/subtext). The relative dearth of research focusing on these levels of analysis

strengthens the rationale for using Acker's framework in its entirety, as these gaps will be

addressed.

Few studies have looked at multiple sets of processes from Acker's framework

(for exceptions see Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998b; Lewis & Morgan, 1994), and fewer

still, have done so using Acker's framework in its entirety. Benschop and Doorewaard

(1998a, 1998b) go furthest in terms of using the framework in its entirety but we are not

made privy to the minute analysis of the individual gendering processes, as much of the

focus of both papers centers on the gendered subtext of the organizations.

Although Acker "problematizes the processes as distinct and separate catalysts for the 'gendering of organizations'" (Dye & Helms Mills, 2005, p.5), she acknowledges that the processes do interact and are, in practice, "parts of the same reality" (Acker, 1990, p.146). The possible meta-relationship of the fifth set of processes with the first four is evidence of this. Dye and Helms Mills (2005) and Benschop and Doorewaard (1998) concur and posit that the gendering processes do not exist in silos and are more interdependent than typically credited. Indeed, it is not difficult to anticipate how gendering processes at one level may influence or be influenced by processes at another level. For example, gendered organization structures that result in job segregation and gender disparities between an organization's hierarchical levels would clearly impact the processes employees use to determine their own gender identities at work. Similarly, interactions between men and women, men and men, and women and women would also impact internal constructions of gender identity. As such, it is perhaps more useful to look at the *dynamics* of and between the five sets of gendering processes.

Acker's framework also provides the opportunity to study gender and potentially discriminatory practices within context. That is, the multiple levels of analysis afforded by Acker's heuristic have the potential to encourage the researcher to seek out much needed information about dominant discourses, relationships, internal gender constructions, and organizational logics of the time. As indicated by Mills (2002), in an argument for the studying of organization culture over time, "to understand the gendered subjectivities of the actors involved we need to understand the discourses in which they were located and the relationships in which they were involved. To do otherwise is not only to judge a particular period by our standards alone (Thompson, 1977) but to

misjudge the nature of some of the processes under study" (p. 300). The argument holds true for the necessity of studying gender within context. For example, studying one overt discriminatory phenomenon (i.e., the expectation that women leave their jobs after marriage), within one set of processes, provides a mere snapshot that, if judged by modern standards, appears contemptuous and simply discriminatory, and change might be discussed using these modern standards. However, given an understanding of other processes (i.e., organizational logic and internal gender constructions), this phenomenon is given new meaning, and we are made privy to the more subtle "why's" and "how's." Once again, the possible efficacy of Acker's framework becomes apparent.

The Assumptions

This study is premised on the assumptions that organizational culture, and similar phenomena, should be studied over time and that airlines are potentially rich sites for the study of gendering processes in organizations. This is consistent with a series of studies conducted on airlines and their gendered cultures (Helms Mills, 2002; Mills, 1994a, 1994c, 1995, 1996b, 1998a).

A question of time. Arguably, culture is "dynamic, developing and changing" (Mills, 2002b, p.288). As it is not a static phenomenon, a snapshot at one point in time may not be the best way to truly capture it. In a similar vein, gendered substructures do not just "appear" - they are both dynamic and static. A snapshot of an organization at one point in time may permit the researchers to see the existence of gendered cultures or substructures. However, such a snapshot does not offer much in the way of an explanation for the existence of, or events leading to, the creation of the gendered

cultures or substructures (Morgan, 1988). Processes, by their very nature, happen over time.

This is supported by Mills (2002a), who suggests that through the study of an organization over time "it is possible to understand not only how its culture becomes discriminatory but how it changes or can be changed. The research question here is: What specific cultural differences can be noted over time and what configuration of social and organizational factors appear to be associated with each difference?" (p.127). It seems logical that the same would hold true for gendered substructures. Such reasoning led to the conclusion that the study of this organization would be undertaken through the analysis of archival material over a significant period of time.

Airlines as ideal research sites. Organizations are one arena in which widely disseminated cultural images of gender are invented and reproduced (Acker, 1990). Airlines are no exception and appear to be ideal for the study of gender in organizations. Not only have airlines been prominent in the development of gendered cultural images (Mills, 2006), but the gendered nature of the airline industry as a whole is well documented (Helms Mills, 2002; Kane, 1974; Lovegrove, 2000; Mills, 1995, 1998a, 1998b; Mills & Hatfield, 1998).   As the goal of this dissertation is not to discover if airlines are in fact gendered, but to discover the processes through which they become and remain gendered, this is ideal.

Also of significance in choosing airlines for this study, is the impact of the airlines on broader culture and their contribution to gendered archetypes – the strong pilot and the pretty stewardess are among only a few (Lessor, 1984; Mills, 2002b). The

industry has represented adventure, glamour, and daring for a long time and has

contributed significantly to images of gender in pop culture consistently for many years.

Methodology

The first stage of research in this dissertation is a review of existing histories of

airlines in general, the airline industry, and histories specific to PAA. This provided the

much needed context for the subsequent research. As indicated by Britton (2000),

> The first risk this kind of analysis runs is to remove from view the
>
> historically and contextually specific conditions under which gendering
>
> occurs. Findings from the growing field of organizational demography are
>
> just beginning to underscore the importance of context in the gendering
>
> process. (p.428)

In light of this, the importance of context is acknowledged and an attempt is made to

examine Acker's gendering processes using a contextual approach. Readings of existing

histories serve to situate possible gendering processes within an historical context and aid

in the understanding of such processes within greater discourses. Additionally, these

histories help to determine the "logics" of the day, thus addressing the influences on and

of organizational logics, as addressed in Acker's fifth set of processes. Finally, these

histories help to acknowledge, and hopefully reduce, the impact of my modern-day view

of gender and how things "ought" to be. By placing myself in the time and space of PAA

during the periods of study, I am better able to differentiate between my own biases and

prejudices and the realities of the time.

It is important to note the utility of such histories at this point in the study.

Although useful for identifying significant events, dates, and actors, it would be naïve to

ignore the typically masculine discourses utilized in their construction (Mills, 2002b) and the purposes of their existence. It would prove futile to attempt to study the relationships between culture and gender through this analysis alone. In this vein, I let the histories guide my thinking in terms of context only.

As well, when referring to these histories for a better understanding of context, it is important to recognize that these histories do not represent "fact" or "truth" but are in themselves social constructions. However, it is understood that if this is acknowledged and taken into account, the reading of multiple histories can aid in the understanding of the wider industry and cultural phenomena that served as context. Critical readings that consider that which was not written as much as that which was, are essential if the histories are to be of value.

The second stage in this study is a thorough review of Joan Acker's work. In essence, I attempt to understand Joan Acker's gendering processes framework in terms of its evolution. This is accomplished by reading her work from the 1970s to the present, and letting her work tell the tale of the framework from its conception to its birth and growth.

The third stage is to look more closely at the gendering processes that make up Acker's framework. This includes their evolution through Joan Acker's work, as well as an understanding of how they have been variously interpreted by other researchers. This helps to identify the possibilities and problematics inherent within the process sets and the framework as a whole.

The last, yet most critical, stage of this research involves extensive analysis of PAA's archival material, using deconstructive methodologies. Issues of the following in-

house magazines are used: Pan American Airways, New Horizons, Clipper News, and Sales Clipper. A more probing form of poststructuralist content analysis, in the form of critical discourse analysis, is used to interrogate (Mills & Helms Mills, 2006) the archival material (Fondas, 1997; Silverman, 2000) during two discrete periods of time. A discussion of why the two specific time periods were chosen occurs in Chapter Five.

The study design has been constructed so as to address the necessities of context, comparison, and comprehensiveness and richness of data. Clearly, to address Acker's framework in its entirety, while still providing for the ability to deconstruct minute phenomena, these elements are essential.

A Note on Style

The appearance of this dissertation may be deceiving as a conversational style that better fits critical research (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000) and limits the "authority" of my voice is used. Additionally, a reflexive approach is used (Alvesson & Skèoldberg, 2000; Hardy, Phillips, & Clegg, 2001) as I, as an individual, have been central to the research. As such, I have had reactions, battles, failures, misunderstandings, breakthroughs, and rare moments of clarity that are essential parts of the story. If I were to leave them out, I would be telling only part of the tale.

This dissertation, although theoretically based and empirically sound, is just one story of a multitude that could be told. I am not seeking to convince you of "truths", I am merely leading a conversation that might not otherwise be had.

A Brief Overview...

The rest of the dissertation is revealed in the following manner: Chapter Two details my analysis of Joan Acker's work and the evolution of the gendering processes. It

identifies the emergence (and sometimes the disappearance) of various antecedents to the gendering processes and concludes with the important but potentially incomplete analytic. Chapter Three provides a close look at each of the gendering processes in isolation and as part of the whole, and identifies how they have been variously interpreted. The fifth process set emerges as particularly problematic which explains its centrality within this dissertation. Chapter Four positions the dissertation by providing the theoretical lens through which this research is undertaken (Feminist Poststructuralism) and outlines the methods used. Chapter Five details the analysis of the gendering processes at PAA in the 1950s and Chapter Six does the same for the mid 1970s to mid 80s. It becomes evident in the 1950s that the greater discourse of family serves as a sort of organizing logic and significantly influences the gendering processes. Although the dominant discourse in the 1970s and 80s changes to one of competition, it too works as an organization logic which, in turn, affects the gendering processes. Finally, Chapter Seven provides a discussion and a conclusion. It provides a modified heuristic as well as a discussion of the limitations of this research and an overview of the exciting potentialities of future research in this area.

Chapter Two

Acker's Gendering Processes: An Unfinished Tapestry

In order to assess Acker's gendering processes, it is important to understand, conceptually, the evolution of the framework. That is, where it came from, how it evolved, and where it stands today. Careful examination of Acker's work from 1973 to present day brings to mind the image of a reluctant weaver. Threads are carefully examined and explored and, eventually, woven in such a way as to create a tapestry. For several periods during the creation of the tapestry it is set aside while other projects take precedence. As well, there are several attempts to perfect the tapestry and numerous episodes of unraveling occur. However, the tapestry is never completely unraveled, just the parts that don't seem to fit or those that demand alteration. After each unraveling, the re-weaving begins. As will be demonstrated, it may be argued that Joan Acker has not completed the tapestry and that the tapestry has never been fully appreciated. Using this metaphor of the weaver, the evolution of Acker's gendering processes framework will be explored.

The Early Threads – Antecedents to the Gendering Processes

In 1973, Joan Acker wrote "Women and Social Stratification: A Case of Intellectual Sexism." Within this piece, she identifies several threads that continue to be evident in her later work. The first important thread becomes evident in the following words: "Sex is an enduring ascribed characteristic which (a) has an effect upon the evaluation of persons and positions, and (b) is the basis of the persisting sexual division of labor and of sex-based inequalities" (Acker, 1973, p.940). She identifies, quite early on, that sex-based inequalities exist and challenges theorists to incorporate sex as a

variable into social stratification research and theory. She dares us to consider women as
more than "appendages" to men and identifies the resultant effects on theory and
theorizing.

One of the effects of the transformed thinking that she suggests is evident in the
following: "Generalizations about social mobility patterns and trends on a societal level
are based primarily on studies of white males (Blau and Duncan, 1967). Since this group
does not comprise even one-half of the population, the validity of the generalizations
might be questioned" (Acker, 1973, p.943). Clearly stated, theories created by, for, and
of men are not representative of entire populations, and, given the changing face of the
workforce, may no longer boast validity. Although seemingly intuitive, this is a battle
that is still being waged in the world of Organization Theory today (Calás & Smircich,
1992a; Martin, 2000; Martin & Collinson, 2002; Mills, 1988, 1989, 1996a). This is the
second of many threads.

Although this work (1973) focuses on social stratification and gender inequities in
society at large, the threads exposed are later applied more literally to gender in
organizations. The first thread, that of the sex-structuring of organizations, becomes
immediately evident in a subsequent publication, "Differential Recruitment and Control:
the Sex Structuring of Organizations" where Acker and Van Houten (1974) write:

We suggest, along with Caplow (1954: 239-247), that there is sex

structuring in organizations, which consists of differentiation of female

and male jobs, a hierarchical ordering of those jobs so that males are

higher than females and are not expected to take orders from females. As

a result males generally have more power in organizations than females;

we call this the sex power differential. Furthermore, this sex structuring of

organizations may be as important as social psychological factors in

understanding sex differences in organizational behavior and may provide

alternative or additional explanations for some well known generalizations

in the organizational literature. (p. 152)

This discussion of sex structuring in organizations continues to be woven through

Acker's later work (1980, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1992) and eventually becomes central

to the first set of gendering processes within the framework that is focal to this thesis.

The second thread is also represented as she highlights the simple fact that much

organization theory and research has been based on male society and reiterates the

problematic of this phenomenon. Although not the only researcher of her time to make

such discoveries, Acker was definitely an early and important voice in Organization

Theory (OT) to take on the embedded sexist nature of organizations.

A third thread, critical to her later works, also emerges from this piece with Van

Houten:

Most organizational analysts attribute sex differences largely to

differential patterns in socialization and adult roles outside the

organization, such as women's family roles not shared by men (Blauner,

1964; Furstenberg, 1968). One cannot rule out the importance of such

differences in trying to explain the sex structuring of organizations, but

what is disturbing is the neglect of other processes that sociologists have

commonly associated with problems of social organization: patterns of

selective recruitment and social control mechanisms other than

socialization. (p.152)

This is salient in two regards. First, Acker identifies the existence of gendering

processes, although she does not label them as such. The identification of processes is

valuable but her use of the term "sex" is not consistent with what she ultimately

concludes. Biological sex is, for the most part, static and its use in this instance creates

essentialist claims and ignores the social and personal construction of sexual identity (i.e.

gender). However, it wasn't until much later that theorists began to dissect the notions of

"sex" and "gender" and a clear, universal understanding still remains elusive (Acker,

1998; Calás & Smircich, 1996; Mills, 1996a). Her use of the term "sex" was arguably

consistent with the understanding of the times. However, the value of the work lies in her

recognition that processes, rather than static phenomenon, construct the differences that

we have come to know as gender. The second important contribution here is the

recognition that organizations, through recruitment and selection, play a role in sex

structuring.

Acker and Van Houten further support the assertion that organizational processes

are at least partially to blame for problems of social organization by re-examining the

work of Crozier and the Hawthorne studies, as is evidenced by the following:

Our reexamination of the Hawthorne studies and Crozier's work seems to

support our contention that organizational structures and processes are

influenced by sex. Specifically sex differences in organizational

participation are related to (1) differential recruitment of women into jobs

requiring dependence and passivity, (2) selective recruitment of

particularly compliant women into these jobs, and (3) control mechanisms

used in organizations for women, which reinforce control mechanisms to

which they are subjected in other areas of society. (p.161)

Once again, the authors have identified the presence of processes that impact sex

differences in organizational participation. As before, the focus on sex, as opposed to

gender, essentializes the argument and limits the contribution afforded by the theoretical

piece. Despite this, acknowledgement of the phenomenon is of importance because it

underlies much of what can later be seen in the first and fifth sets of gendering processes

– gendering structures and gendered organizational logic.

In the following excerpt from this same work (Acker & Van Houten, 1974), the

authors continue to identify other evidence of processes which are experienced

differently for the sexes. Perhaps more significantly in this paragraph, we begin to see

the emergence of new threads:

It is not possible to suggest all the dimensions on which control

mechanisms might vary with sex. Control mechanisms for women may

more often resemble those used with children, as indicated by both studies

analyzed in this paper. Also, in these studies, adult women were

frequently referred to as girls. The use of this word shaped the

construction of reality for both the men and women, and allowed for

control. Also, organizational rewards offered women may be often

products or services stereotypically thought to be preferred by women,

while rewards offered men are not so sex-linked. (p.161)

Here, we see early glimpses of three more of Acker's gendering processes – gendered cultures, gendering communications, and internal gender construction, though they are not identified as such. More importantly, Acker and Van Houten identify the interdependent nature of the process sets. In this case, they identify that the words chosen when one communicates with another may impact the construction of the other's identity. Similarly, the rewards given might have a similar effect.

From 1975 until 1980, Acker's work continues to focus on the plight of women. Although little of her work during this time contributes to her framework of gendering processes, some of the threads that emerged earlier are reinforced and more strongly woven into the tapestry. For example, in her 1980 article, "Women and Stratification: a Review of Recent Literature," she renews her argument against the belief that women can be integrated into existing theories without changing those theories:

> Stratification theory has been a theory of white males. Such a theory
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> becomes more obviously inadequate as white males become more and
>
> more a minority (numerical) in the labor force... A theory that includes
>
> women will have to conceptually bridge the gap between women's unpaid
>
> and paid labor and bring the structural sources of sex inequality into the
>
> analysis. (p.33)

Some Unraveling and New Threads

In 1984, Acker's published work takes a significant turn, at least on the surface. It is at this point that we first see that she has changed the discussion to center on gender, thus unraveling a few of the threads in her tapestry and re-weaving them using this new paradigm. In a review of MacKinnon's Feminism, Marxism, Method, and the State,

Acker and her colleagues (Miller, Acker, Barry, Johnson, & West, 1984) note, "The task for feminist theory is to begin to understand how such social processes, although usually seen as separable from and more primary than gender, are constructed in and through gender relations" (p. 176). Here, she takes up the thread of gender construction and identifies its recursive nature. Unfortunately, this thread appears weak and Acker does not seem to fully explore its addition to the tapestry yet.

The discussion of gender is then applied to her earlier work on class and relations of distribution in her article entitled *Class, gender and the relations of distribution* (Joan Acker, 1988). Although published in 1988, this work began in 1981. Because I am not privy to the first version as it appears to have been unpublished, it is difficult to determine exactly where, when, or based on whose influence, her thinking changed. In this paper, Acker relies significantly on the works of Dorothy Smith (1974) and, less evidently, on that of Joan Scott (1986).

Acker uses Smith's early work to strengthen a thread already woven into the tapestry, this time with an emphasis on gender. She writes, "Dorothy Smith's proposal for building a sociology for women suggests starting from women's concrete experiences, recognizing differences in economic and cultural contexts, and then locating the processes through which these experiences come into existence in the social relations of the society as a whole" (Smith, 1974, p.476).

Although Acker uses the term "gender" throughout this piece, it is not clear that she is making a distinction between gender and sex. Rather, she appears to be using the notion of "gender" as a synonym for "sex", as is demonstrated in the following quotation: "Patriarchy or the sex/gender system is analytically distinct from capitalism and the

apparently gender-neutral class structure. The central conceptualization of class relations...does not distinguish between women and men as gendered subjects" (Acker, 1988, p. 475).

This piece of work also re-emphasizes the notion of gendered processes, and this time they are articulated as such:

Studies of the labor process and of the intertwining of gender and

technology in the restructuring of production are part of an emerging

approach to unraveling how gender is implicated in the organization of

production, the labor process, and the wage relations. These studies show

how processes and relations are "gendered," how gender enters as a

constitutive element [1] in actions and ideas. The term "gendered" indicates

that gender-based beliefs and images along with gender-based

asymmetries in power and rewards mediate relations. (p.477)

It is here that the notion of "gendered processes" first comes to the forefront in Acker's work. It is also where she provides us with a definition of "gendered." She uses this notion to re-weave the concept of class, as in the following: "In this paper, instead of positing two systems or sets of relations, I reformulate the concept of class by expanding the definition of the relations that produce class and by arguing that these relations are gendered processes" (p.478). One must keep in mind, however, that this first definition fails to acknowledge that "sex" and "gender" are not, in fact, the same thing.

Although this article focuses on societal relations of distribution and societal processes and is not specifically targeted towards processes in organizations, Acker identifies gendering processes in society that can easily be transposed to the organization.

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[1] (Scott, 1986)

For example, a very interesting discussion of the genderedness of wages can be applied directly to organizations. In this discussion, Acker identifies a logic that evidently explains why women receive lower wages in society at large, as she writes:

> Wage differences are justified by arguments pointing to invidious
> distinctions between the sexes. It is said that women eat less than men and
> thus need less, their work is less skilled and thus less valuable, women do
> not develop their human capital so their labor is less valuable, women
> need less because they do not support a family as men do. (p. 481)

Once again, what will become Acker's fifth set of processes becomes evident – gendered logic.

Perhaps of greatest significance in this paper is the hint of something greater that we glimpse in the following:

> In its present form, the wage is gendered in another sense; the concrete
> relations of production as experienced in the process of work are
> permeated with the *ongoing social construction of gender*. Tasks and
> activities that actually produce the pay check at the end of the week or the
> month are gendered in both obvious and subtle ways. Gendering occurs in
> the sex segregation of jobs within work organizations that typically locates
> women in some jobs and men in others. For example, study after study
> shows that blue-collar women work routine production line jobs while
> men maintain the machines. Such a division of labor generates and
> reinforces the association of masculinity with mechanical and technical
> skills and the association of femininity with patience and selfless

dedication to repetitive tasks. The linkage of masculinity with skill can, in

turn, be an ideological weapon in the exclusion of women from male-

dominated jobs. (p. 481)

Here, Acker's work reflects recognition that gender is at least partially socially

constructed and interwoven with understandings of masculinity and femininity. It

appears that she has picked up a thread lost from one of her earlier pieces of work. This

understanding is crucial to the framework of gendering processes, as it is eventually

proposed.

Another discussion of interest identifies the role of organizations, reinforces the

notion of sex structuring and sex-based wage differentials, and emphasizes the social

construction of gender, all threads identified earlier and carried throughout Acker's work:

The hierarchical order of work organizations, with disproportionate

numbers of women at the bottom and disproportionate numbers of men at

the top, is also an expression of gender. This order preserves traditional

power relations between women and men and confirms the symbolic

association of masculinity with leadership and femininity with

supportiveness. Gender is so deeply embedded in hierarchical structure

that alteration of the gender order tends to threaten the hierarchy itself.

Wage differences are integral to hierarchies; entrenched hierarchies result

in persistent wage differences between the sexes. (p.482)

What is perhaps most interesting and disappointing about the passage above is the re-

emphasis of another important thread, and the subsequent apparent disposal of that

thread. Acker talks about linkages between process sets – almost a sensemaking (Weick,

1995), circuitous system where the interdependence of the processes is clear. Unfortunately, this thread is not immediately evident in the final presentation of the framework, despite the evidence that the process sets are linked.

Finally, it is in this piece of work that Acker's appreciation of Joan Scott's (1986) work first becomes evident, although similarities between her work and Acker's become much clearer later on. In order to draw comparisons and to understand the similarities, we must take a quick detour into the work of Scott.

A Detour: Joan Scott's Work on Gender

In 1986, Joan Scott published a piece of work entitled "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" in the *American Historical Review*. In it, she defines gender in the following way:

> My definition of gender has two parts and several subsets. They are
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> interrelated but must be analytically distinct. The core of the definition
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> rests on an integral connection between two propositions: gender is a
>
> constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences
>
> between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships
>
> of power... As a constitutive element of social relationships based on
>
> perceived differences between the sexes, gender involves four interrelated
>
> elements... (Scott, 1986, p.1067)

Scott then proceeds to identify the four elements of gender. The first recognizes cultural symbols and their subsequent influence on representations of women and social constructions of gender. For example, she uses a discussion of Eve and Mary from the Western Christian tradition to help demonstrate the multiple understandings of women

and femininity. The similarities between Scott's first element and Acker's second set of processes (gendering cultures) are undeniable and important.

The second set of elements is defined as "normative concepts that set forth interpretations of the meanings of the symbols, that attempt to limit and contain their metaphoric possibilities. These concepts are expressed in religious, educational, scientific, legal, and political doctrines and typically take the form of fixed binary opposition, categorically and unequivocally asserting the meaning of male and female, masculine and feminine" (p. 1067). Although the linkages between this set of elements and Acker's work are not as clear as the first set, we can see some evidence of similarities. For example, although the stated normative concepts are not the substructure itself, they help to structure relationships within the substructure. As defined here, they appear to contribute to a certain type of hegemonic masculinity, frequently described in today's feminism. As such, this set of elements appears related to Acker's concept of a "gendered substructure" which comes into view in her latest work. Acker describes this phenomenon as manifesting itself in "material forms in written work rules, labor contracts, managerial directives, and other documentary tools for running large organizations" (Acker, 1990, p. 147), much like the manifestation of Scott's elements.

Scott's third element reflects the impact of politics, social institutions, and organizations on gender relations, thus providing support for one of Acker's earliest threads, that organizations play a role in gender construction.

The fourth element of gender, as identified by Scott, is subjective identity. She states, "Historians need to examine the ways in which gendered identities are substantively constructed and relate their findings to a range of activities, social

organizations, and historically specific cultural representations" (p. 1068). This element

provides support for, and appears similar to, Acker's fourth set of gendering processes.

Scott then goes on to state:

> The first part of my definition of gender consists, then, of all four of these
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> elements, and no one of them operates without the others. Yet they do not
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> operate simultaneously, with one simply reflecting the others. A question
>
> for historical research is, in fact, what the relationships among the four
>
> aspects are. The sketch I have offered of the process of constructing
>
> gender relationships could be used to discuss class, race, ethnicity, or, for
>
> that matter, any social process. (p. 1069)

What is interesting here is the recognition that the four elements are interdependent,

much like the argument supplied by Acker. As well, Scott identifies that this framework

of gender can be used to discuss a myriad of social processes. Acker appears to take up

this challenge in her next published works.

The purpose of this detour was to explore the context of Acker's work and the

consistent understandings of gender and organizations, despite their housing in very

different fields of study. Joan Scott is a feminist historian, while Acker is a feminist

organizational theorist. It is not clear whose work informed whom. However, it is clear

that the threads identified in Acker's work are supported in Scott's work. Similarly,

Acker references the work of Scott, thus supporting the notion that Scott's work did, in

fact, inform her thinking.

The Framework Appears

One of Acker's most influential and oft-cited works appears in 1990 in an issue of

Gender & Society. Entitled "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered

Organizations," this piece declares itself to be an attempt at a systematic theory of gender

and organizations. Acker defends the need for such a theory in the following:

> A systematic theory of gender and organizations is needed for a number of
>
> reasons. First, the gender segregation of work, including divisions
>
> between paid and unpaid work, is partly created through organizational
>
> practices. Second, and related to gender segregation, income and status
>
> inequality between women and men is also partly created in organizational
>
> processes; understanding these processes is necessary for understanding
>
> gender inequality. Third, organizations are one arena in which widely
>
> disseminated cultural images of gender are invented and reproduced...
>
> Fourth, some aspects of individual gender identity, perhaps particularly
>
> masculinity, are also products of organizational processes and pressures.
>
> Fifth, an important feminist project is to make large-scale organizations
>
> more democratic and more supportive of human goals. (p. 140)

This piece appears as our first glimpse of the tapestry with its multiple,

interwoven threads. Acker also uses this platform to introduce us to some new

threads and their originators. Specifically, Acker introduces us to the notion of

sexuality and the problematic identified as the obscuring of both gender and

sexuality through a "gender-neutral, asexual discourse" (p.140). She then goes on

to "suggest some of the ways that gender, the body, and sexuality are part of the processes of control in work organizations" (p. 140).

This work is undertaken through the deconstruction of the work of Kanter, Ressner, and Ferguson. Acker acknowledges the significant contributions of each to feminist thought in general, as well as her own work but concludes that "some of the best feminist attempts to theorize about gender and organizations have been trapped within the constraints of definitions of the theoretical domain that cast organizations as gender neutral and asexual. These theories take us only part of the way to understanding how deeply embedded gender is in organizations" (p. 145). This passage is important as it identifies the problematic of attempts to neutralize or desexualize organizations and organizational processes. In her discussion, she identifies that practices touted as gender neutral are typically based on the bodiless/genderless worker which is, in actuality, based on conceptualizations of the male worker. In her words, "the concept of a universal worker excludes and marginalizes women who cannot, almost by definition, achieve the qualities of a real worker because to do so is to become like a man" (p. 150).

This is the first published piece where Acker's framework, along with a definition of "the gendered organization" appears:

> To say that an organization, or any other analytic unit, is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine. (p. 146)

Acker then describes all five gendering processes, as we first come to know them, and as are described in the first chapter of this thesis. To summarize, Acker states that gendering occurs in organizations as the result of five sets of processes:

1. *Gendering practices/structures.* The production of gender divisions through ordinary practices such as the gender patterning of jobs, wages, and hierarchies.

2. *Gendering cultures.* The creation of symbols and images that create and maintain gender divisions.

3. *Gendering interactions.* Interactions between individuals within the organization that enact dominance and subordination.

4. *Internal gender constructions.* The mental work of individuals as they consciously construct their own gender identities within the organization.

5. *Creating and conceptualizing social structures (gendered organizational logic).* The organizational logic and the gendered substructures that are reproduced in daily organizational activities and the writings of organizational theorists (Acker, 1990).

Acker uses the work of others to support each of these categories. Each category appears to have come from an overview of the literature on women at work. For example, West and Zimmerman (1987) did work on conversation analysis which supports the third set of processes, and she uses her own work on job evaluation to support the fifth set. As Acker builds the framework, the image on the tapestry becomes clearer. However, the placement of a few other threads that are evident in this piece of work appear unclear.

As stated previously, Acker introduces us to the notion of sexuality in organizations. She talks about the absence of sexuality in the organization theory of the bodiless worker and states that connections between organizational power and men's sexuality are deeply embedded in organizational processes, e.g., cultural metaphors, norms, etc. So she actually hints that there may be a home for the identification of repression of sexuality in her second set of processes. However, the processes, as defined, show no mention of this. Although Acker identifies the importance of this thread, it does not appear to fit within the framework. The thread is curiously missing from the tapestry.

A final note of interest within this piece of work focuses on the line that Acker uses to introduce her framework according to which "gendering occurs in at least five interacting processes (see Scott 1986) that, although analytically distinct, are, in practice, parts of the same reality" (p. 146). This is consistent with discussion in her earlier work, and in the work of Joan Scott. Although Acker notes the interaction of the process sets in this piece, the nature of the interaction is not clearly discussed. However, if one looks closely at the fifth set of processes, it becomes apparent that this fifth set serves as a centre point for the other four. As stated in Chapter One, this final set of processes are centered around organizational logic and the gendered substructures that are reproduced in daily organizational activities and the writings of organizational theorists (Acker, 1990). This organizational logic manifests itself in "material forms in written work rules, labor contracts, managerial directives, and other documentary tools for running large organizations" (Acker, 1990, p. 147). This process set may be seen as a set of fundamental, ongoing processes that encompass and influence the other four processes.

Unfortunately, the fifth process set disappears in Acker's later work, thus potentially losing the thread of interdependence.

The disappearance of the fifth set of processes becomes evident in one of Acker's next publications in this area, "From Sex Roles to Gendered Institutions" (1992b). In this piece, Acker begins by clarifying her own understanding of gender by discussing two commonly accepted definitions and then settling on one of her own:

> In the emerging conceptualization, gender stands for the pervasive ordering of human activities, practices, and social structures in terms of differences between women and men. These activities and practices always have symbolic significance, and, as Joan Scott (1986) points out, gender is a pervasive symbol of power. In this approach, gender is a process, not a characteristic of persons, although, of course, the assignment of persons to gender categories is a central aspect of the process. (p. 567)

She also further explains the notion of gendered institutions, thus strengthening existing threads, "The term "gendered institutions" means that gender is present in the processes, practices, images and ideologies, and distributions of power in the various sectors of social life" (p.567).

From here, Acker goes on to describe four sets of gendering processes. She does not discuss them as a framework that should be examined in its entirety. Rather, she identifies the four sets as elements in a "list of gendered processes" (p. 567) and, later, as "analytic views" (p. 568). Although she does claim that the process sets are inherently connected, she suggests that they can be analytically distinguished. From this piece, it

appears that the framework, as a framework, is losing some of its strength. However, this is a short piece of work, part of a symposium on gendered institutions, and it may be problematic to read too much into Acker's words.

However, what is curious is the absence of the fifth set of processes. What does emerge, perhaps in its place, is a discussion of the "gender understructure" (later referred to as a gendered substructure) of organizations. The passage below gives some indication as to how Acker sees the understructure as it relates to the gendering processes:

> To investigate the creation and re-creation of the gender understructure, I
>
> think it is necessary to look at organizational practices, the sites of
>
> concrete institutional functioning (Acker 1992). Processes and practices
>
> of different types can be analytically distinguished, although they are
>
> inherently connected elements in ongoing social life. Some are obvious
>
> and open; others are deeply embedded and invisible. (p. 567)

It appears, from this passage, that Acker sees the processes as being responsible for the gendered understructure. Although the gendered understructure is not clearly defined in this piece, Acker simply states it is the "divide between reproduction and production," one begins to wonder if it isn't just the fifth set of processes (gendered organizational logic), placed more accurately in the picture. That is, the processes help to create and re-create the gendered understructure (the logic of the organization), which, in turn, is responsible for gendered organizations. However, what appears to be missing here is a discussion of the recursive nature of the gendered substructure. In its original placement within the framework, it was more apparent that the logic of the organization could

influence or be influenced by the other process sets. In this iteration, the same relationship is not obvious.

Also in 1992, Acker joins a growing discussion of the gendered nature of organizational analysis itself in her article, "Gendering Organizational Theory." Many previous threads appear as Acker emphasizes the need for theory aimed at understanding the persistence of "the apparently endless reorganization of gender and permutations of male power" (p. 248-249). She also revisits the discussion of apparently gender-neutral processes that, in fact, serve only to perpetuate gender divisions.

The main purpose of this article, as articulated by Acker, is to "build on an earlier article of mine (Acker 1990) to examine the meaning of "gendered organizations" and to suggest some elements in a process of gendering organizational theory" (p. 250).

Acker starts the body of the article by discussing the meaning of "gender" and acknowledges that "in spite of all the writing and talking about gender, the meaning of gendered processes, gendered practices, or gendered organizations is often ambiguous. Feminists disagree about the meaning of gender (Butler 1990)" (p. 250). She provides a definition and states that, "gender refers to patterned, socially produced, distinctions between female and male, feminine and masculine" (p. 250) and stresses that gender is not something we are – it is something we do, consistent with the arguments of West and Zimmerman (1987). This discussion of gender, and gender as a process, is important as it aids our understanding of the gendered processes and is more consistent with a non-essentialist theory of gendered organizations.

Another important thread emerges from this piece of work. Acker writes of the impact of external influences (e.g., banking regulations) on internal restructuring and

genderedness. She states that "to understand the persistence of gender patterns, even as external changes cause internal organizational restructuring, I think we should consider the gender substructure of organizations and the ways that gender is used as an organizational resource" (p. 252). It seems that Acker is acknowledging the importance of context and greater societal influence on the genderedness of organizations. This is evidenced in the following: "Gendered processes do not occur outside other social processes but are integral parts of these processes" (p. 251). This has significant implications for the study of the utility of Acker's framework as it suggests the necessity of studying the process sets within the greater societal context. However, the framework, as suggested, does not provide for this. Abstraction of the framework to society in general has been undertaken by Acker but it is not apparent that application of the framework within organizations has been undertaken with this greater context in mind.

The thread of sexuality is also re-visited in this article. When introducing the four process sets, Acker notes that "sexuality, in its diverse forms and meanings, is implicated in each of these processes of gendering organizations" (p. 252). Despite this acknowledgement, this is never fleshed out conceptually and the reader is left wondering how sexuality fits within the framework. Subtle clues are left by Acker such as, "gender images, always containing implications of sexuality, infuse organizational structure" (p. 253). A discussion of gender and sexuality as organizational resources does follow the explication of the four sets of gendering processes but this discussion exists outside of the confines of the framework.

Once again, the gendered substructure thread appears and is discussed at length. Interestingly, Acker uses the example of job evaluation procedures to emphasize the

phenomenon, reminding us once again of her original fifth set of gendering processes. In Acker's original discussion of the fifth set of processes, she uses similar examples. This further supports the notion that Acker has simply removed the fifth set from her framework due to its all encompassing nature.

The relationships of the gendering processes with each other and with the gendered substructure of the organization become clearer in Acker's concluding thoughts:

> A gendered organization theory should produce better answers to
> questions about both the organization of production and the reproduction
> of organization (Burrell and Hearn 1989). I have suggested one strategy
> for developing such a theory, starting with an inventory of gendered
> processes that necessarily include manifestations of sexuality. In any
> concrete organization, these processes occur in complex interrelations.
> Gendered processes are often resources in organizational control and
> transformation. Underlying these processes, and intimately connected to
> them, is a gendered substructure of organization that links the more
> surface gender arrangements with the gender relations in other parts of the
> society. (p. 259)

In 1998, Acker re-visits her framework of gendering processes again and sets forth some challenges for the field of gender and organizations. The first challenge is her own:

> The first challenge is really one to myself – to assess and extend my
> earlier argument (Acker 1990, 1992b) that a gendered substructure
> underlies organizations and helps to explain the persistence of male

dominance and female disadvantage, in spite of years of attempts to

implement gender equity policies.... To develop this idea, I (Acker 1990,

1992b) suggested that there is a gender substructure of organization that

operates to help reproduce gender divisions and inequalities, even against

the best intentions of some women and men working in organizations.

(p.197)

Once again, we see the presence of the gendered substructures and the absence of the

fifth set of processes, thus strengthening earlier observations. We also see discussions of

sexuality and external influences of gender in organizations. Perhaps of greatest

significance in this piece of work, given the interest of this thesis, is the emergence of

three new threads. These threads, although seemingly outside of the original framework,

guide us in the development and use of the framework.

The first is the application of the framework to our more modern times. Acker

acknowledges that contemporary trends and changes may alter the conditions that created

the gendered substructure, now called the *understructure*. For example, teams,

temporary work, and telework have implications for women in organizations. Acker

states that these changes, although theoretically potentially good for women, have

actually translated into longer hours, intensified work, and more pressures. This leads us

to examine the gendered understructure a bit more closely as it must hold the key to the

perpetuation of the gendered organization, despite structural, procedural, and policy

changes.

The second thread stems from Acker's acknowledgement of some of the potential

criticisms of her framework:

Thus the gender understructure of organization continues to shape work and non-work lives. However, I have become aware that this notion of 'gendered understructure' could be taken as an essentialist, ahistorical argument that organizations inherently create gender divisions. To avoid that possibility, I have thought that I need to be better able to show how the understructure works, what practices produce this understructure. To that end, I offer the following ideas – that the underpinnings of gender are produced between as well as within organizations, and that the gender understructure is anchored in the privileging of organizations and in their successful claims for non-responsibility for human reproduction and survival. (p.198)

This discussion takes the framework to an entirely new stage – one that encompasses the level of society. At this point, she makes clear the relationship between gendered organizations and the society at large. It also suggests relationships between multiple gendered organizations. This discussion also acknowledges the recursive nature of such relationships.

Finally, the third new thread to emerge is the notion of theoretical paradigm, although it is not articulated as such. In a discussion of the impacts of globalization on organizational theorizing, Acker states that "both gender and class patterns look very different depending upon where we locate the boundaries. Moreover, our judgment about the degree of gender inequality in an organization can be strongly influenced by the setting of boundaries" (p. 202), thus reminding us to be cognizant of geographic and

cultural boundaries, as well as our own paradigmatic boundaries, when studying

organizations.

The Tapestry Today

A thorough review of Joan Acker's work leaves us with an important, yet

potentially incomplete, picture of gendered organizations. Her work has helped to inform

us of the inequities that exist in organizations, the processual nature of the phenomena

responsible for such inequities, a clearer understanding of gender, and awareness that

organizations create and are created by and within notions of gender. We are left with a

possible framework for identifying gendered processes in organizations, the notion of a

gendered substructure that informs and is informed by those gendering processes, and

some signposts that guide the use of the theory when examining organizations.

We are also left with some specific questions: How does sexuality fit within the

framework? Acker has convinced us of the necessity of including sexuality, yet her

framework appears relatively silent on the issue. Given the importance of context and

societal influences, how does one integrate those processes external to the organization

with those internal to the organization? How do the process sets inform and influence

each other? We are told that the processes are intertwined, but we are not made privy to

the nature of this relationship. In fact, the relationship is de-emphasized in some of

Acker's work. These are but a few of the questions that remain as we look upon Acker's

substantial, yet unfinished, tapestry.

Chapter Three

A Closer Look at the Process Sets

Joan Acker first introduces us to the framework in her article, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations" in 1990. When introducing it, she notes that there are "at least" five "interacting" processes that are "parts of the same reality." As discussed in Chapter Two, her subsequent publications contain developments, new iterations, and curious absences within the process sets. The process sets are also variously interpreted and applied by scholars in a multitude of fields and disciplines (for examples see Anderson & Tomaskovic-Devey, 1995; Holgate, Hebson & McBride, 2006; Lachover, 2005; Macalpine & Marsh, 2005; McDowell & Court; 1994; Skuratowicz & Hunter, 2004). The purpose of this chapter is to explore such developments, iterations, applications, and interpretations. A review of how Joan Acker first introduces and subsequently develops each set is followed by an exploration of how the process sets are interpreted and used as analytics by others.

Gendered Structures

According to Joan Acker. This process set is first introduced as "the construction of divisions along gender lines" (Acker, 1990, p. 146) and includes the division of labor, behaviors, locations in physical space, and power. Although introduced in this way, the discussion that follows mainly supports the notion of the sex segregation of work (supported by the work of Moss Kanter) while behaviours, locations in physical space and power are left relatively unexplored. This initial interpretation seems quite broad and the inclusion of behaviours blurs the line between this and the other process sets. We are

left wondering if Acker is referring to behaviours that are appropriate for one sex and not the other. Perhaps this is the case but clarification is not provided.

In 1992, this same process set is introduced as "the production of gender divisions," and explained as "ordinary organizational practices [that] produce the gender patterning of jobs, wages, and hierarchies, power, and subordination" (Acker, 1992, p.252). Most of the discussion centers on the gendered nature of hierarchies and the sex segregation of jobs (resulting in segregation of wages). Noteworthy is how behaviours and physical space are no longer part of what some might term the "official definition" of this process set. Although not included in the definition, behaviours and physical space are mentioned in the explanation that follows the definition. However the mention is small and contained in a short example whereby men and women in Britain were given separate offices so as to discourage sexual encounters at work.

What is perhaps crucial to this new definition is the addition of the notion of "practices" that create these gendered divisions. Here, we can start to see what Acker means by processes. That is, merely identifying sex segregation of jobs or "masculine" hierarchies is not entirely helpful. Her new definition encourages us to look at the everyday practices that are responsible for such gendering.

Acker's "new" definition of this process set, though clearer (due to the removal of behaviours and space) still leaves scholars with certain levels of ambiguity. When studying this process set, it is clear that practices leading to the gendered patterning of jobs and wages, and the gendered nature of hierarchies are at the fore. However, what is unclear is how power and subordination could be identified and understood within this process set, other than the obvious existence of both, inherent in the notion of hierarchy.

In other words, what do they "look" like and how can we identify them? What are the "practices" that lead to power and subordination? Additionally, where does sexuality fit and how can it be identified? In her later work, Acker notes the importance of understanding sexuality within each of the process sets, but we are not instructed in how this can be accomplished. I believe that issues of power and sexuality can be studied within this framework, and indeed have been, but it has been through the development of Acker's ideas by others that this has been accomplished, as we'll see in some of the following examples.

As interpreted by others. Numerous articles address this process set, dealing predominantly with organization structure, wage differentials, representativeness of women in management, gender patterning of jobs, and discriminatory organizational practices. Indeed, the majority of articles identified in an earlier study (Dye and Helms Mills, 2005) as referencing, using, or mirroring Acker's framework focus within this category of processes. A few of these studies will be discussed in order to help us understand how this process set is interpreted by others.

McDowell and Court, in their article entitled "Missing Subjects: Gender, Power, and Sexuality in Merchant Banking" (1994), use the notion of the gendered organization to study the gendering of occupations and subsequent sex segregation of jobs. Although written at the level of industry, rather than organization, they cite Acker's work on gendered organizations and the disembodied worker. Their analysis is especially rich in terms of inclusion of the notion of sexuality, as is indicated in the following: "An important stimulus for our own work on the construction and maintenance of gendered occupations in the financial services came from within organization theory, especially

from recent studies that have drawn attention to the ubiquity of sexuality in organizational processes and the ways in which it is related to the structures of power (Acker 1990; Hearn and Parkin 1987; Pringle 1989)" (p.235).

Cynthia Anderson and Donald Tomaskovic-Devey (1995) also focus their work within this level of processes and take as their hypothesis the assertion that "the degree of gender inequality in workplaces should vary as a function of organizational structure, resources and practices" (p.328). They find that gender composition is a source of gender inequality and that structure, indeed, impacts this particular form of gender inequality. Their conclusion is particularly interesting:

> We think that Acker's (1990) more encompassing notion of gendered organizations may be useful here. Although we have been successful in identifying organizational variance in gender earnings inequality, our two primary mechanisms – gender segregation and exclusion from high skill/authority jobs – are clearly not the whole story. We suspect issues of organizational culture, promotion practices, and variations in the gendered evaluation of jobs require more attention in the future. (p.350)

Clearly, their work has led them to conclude that gendered structures are but one process set responsible for the gendering of organizations.

Another study, "Reproducing Gendered Hierarchies in Everyday Work: Contradictions in an Employment Office" by Paivi Korvajarvi (1998), looks at organization structure and its impact on gendered organizations, with a special emphasis on power and subordination. Korvajarvi recognizes the interdependence of the process

sets but has a unique interpretation of this relationship, as is demonstrated in the following passage:

> Forms of doing subordination are highlighted by Joan Acker (1992, pp.252-54), who distinguishes between the well-known four sets of gendering processes in organizations. In Acker's theory, the core of the processes lies in the making of divisions between women and men. The other sets support the creation of the divisions. Consequently, symbols and metaphors such as efficiency, teams and goals pass through the organizations that have links with the masculine images. Furthermore, interaction between women and men enacts both dominance and subordination and creates alliances and exclusions. In addition, women and men work on their behaviour to comply with the gender expectations of their organization and to create their appropriate gender identity.
>
> These sets of processes operate together and interact with each other at the workplaces and usually result in the gendered hierarchies. This means that the gendering practices leave women in lower positions, and these practices are more advantageous for men in organizations. (p.20)

According to this interpretation, the first set of processes (gendered structures) lies at the center of the framework, and the other process sets work to create and reinforce it. At first, this seems in direct contradiction to Acker's later contention that organizational logic lies at the core, and similar interpretations by other scholars (see Benschop and Doorewaard, 1998a, 1998b; Britton, 1997, 1999, 2000). However, upon closer inspection we see that Acker does note that gendered organization cultures serve to "explain,

express, reinforce, or sometimes oppose those divisions". This brings into question exactly how the process sets interact and which, if any, of the process sets lies at the core.

Korvajarvi doesn't ignore the concept of organizational logic but its place in the framework is uncertain. She states that "the organization logic is full of ongoing practices which simultaneously both constitute and hide the gendering processes and gendered characteristics of organizations (Acker, 1989, pp.218-21)" (p.20). Her placement of this phenomenon does little to clarify the situation.

Peggy Kahn, in her article entitled "Gender and Employment Restructuring in British National Health Service Manual Work" (1999), notes Acker in terms of the gendered organization and gendered organizational logics. Her study focuses on restructuring and how it affects the gendered patterning of work, as does Janne Tienari's "The First Wave Washed up on Shore: Reform, Feminization and Gender Resegregation" (1999). Tienari identifies the key issue of his study as "how and why seemingly ordinary organizational practices reproduce pervasive and persistent structuring along lines of gender (see e.g., Acker 1990 and 1994; Billing, 1994), albeit in new forms, parallel to women's advancement to specific managerial positions" (p.1). His work provides insight into the notion of "practices" as (re)producers of gendered organizations, as identified by Acker.

Bente Rasmussen's work, "Corporate Strategy and Gendered Professional Identities: Reorganization and Struggle for Recognition and Positions" (2001), continues in this same vein as the focus of the study is the effects of dehierarchization and decentralization on the sex segregation of jobs. This work is guided by the main tenets of

Acker's definition of this process set – the gendered nature of hierarchy and sex segregation of jobs.

Other studies start with the premise of the gendered structure of organizations but actually delve into other gendered process sets, thus demonstrating the possible interconnectedness and interdependence of the process sets. For example, Eva Skuratowicz and Larry Hunter (2004) attempt to understand the occupational sex segregation that occurs within the restructuring of a large American bank. Their discussion of gendered jobs centers on Acker's work but appears to draw from the notion of a gendered logic or subtext, without noting it as such. This is demonstrated in the following passage:

> Gendered jobs are also perpetuated because gender is embedded in
> organizational assumptions and practices. Acker (1990) argued that these
> practices, in effect, function to maintain sex segregation. In the
> bureaucratic hierarchies that dominate the economy, higher ranking jobs
> go to workers who are fully committed to employment. Acker observed
> that employers assume that such a worker is likely to be a man whose life
> is arranged around his job. Less desirable positions, in contrast, are filled
> with workers, presumably women, who divide their loyalties between
> domestic responsibilities and organizational duties. (p.75)

Here, we can see that the gendered logic or subtext plays a role in the gendering of positions within organizations. Other process sets are also suggested as the study concludes the following:

The data from our interviews suggest an interactive, fluid, and often overlapping 4-step process that leads to a detailed understanding of how jobs are gendered. First, management incorporated gendered assumptions into the duties and responsibilities of the new jobs. Next, workers, within this framework, sought specific jobs. Third, management assigned jobs in a manner consistent with their own gendered assumptions and with the employees' choices. And last, during the initial period after restructuring, employees and managers solidified the gendered norms for the new positions through their daily experiences. (p. 103-104)

Here, we see the implications of gendered assumptions and values, internal mental work of employees as they seek positions, and gendered norms – all elements of other gendering processes within the framework.

Ulla Forseth's work, entitled "Gender Matters? Exploring how Gender is Negotiated in Service Encounters" (2005), investigates the gendered financial services industry. She references Acker (1994) in her contention that hierarchies are gendered and states that "jobs are not gender neutral but are created as occupations suitable for either men or women (Acker, 1990, 1994)" (p.443). She also notes that "due to the gendered expectations and gender-appropriate behaviour (Acker, 1990), versions of femininity and masculinity are thus constructed in service interactions" (p.443), thus addressing Acker's initial conceptualization of gendered structures which included behaviours.

Although seemingly focused on gendered structures, the first set of processes, this work gives considerable attention to gendered interactions with customers. In doing so,

the discussion evolves into one of the gendered identities that service providers adopted in order to serve customers. These roles include the dutiful daughter, the caring mother, and "just an old biddy." This work gives us a glimpse into the gendered interactions and internal gender constructions process sets, although Acker's conceptualizations of these process sets are not noted.

Synthesis. As indicated by the previous discussion, much of the work in this area is consistent in its treatment of organization structures and hierarchies as gendered, just as indicated by Acker in her conceptualization and subsequent development of this process set. There seems to be agreement that positions are gendered and sex segregation of jobs exists. Through the work of others, we can possibly see how issues of power, sexuality, and the interconnectedness of the process sets might fit within the framework. There seems to be a relatively consistent application of this process set across scholars and disciplines. The same is not true of all the process sets, as we will see in the following sections.

Gendering Cultures

According to Joan Acker. This process set is first introduced to us as, "the construction of symbols and images that explain, express, reinforce, or sometimes oppose those divisions" and language, ideology, popular and high culture, dress, the press, and television are all mentioned as sources (Acker, 1990, p. 146). Here, the work of Moss Kanter (1975) and Cockburn (1985) are used to support the notion that cultural images, in this case the masculine image of the business leader, serve to gender organizations.

In 1992, the discussion of this process set, while acknowledging the impact of society and popular culture at large, focuses more on the impact of organizations

themselves. Defined as, "the creation of symbols, images, and forms of consciousness

that explicate, justify, and, more rarely, oppose gender divisions" (Acker, 1992, p.253),

this process set is now described in terms of symbolic production within organizations.

A discussion of masculine organizational metaphors and images is used to support this

process set.

Of interest is the change in emphasis from external influences and practices to

practices within organizations. Although this focuses the discussion more on gendering

processes within organizations, making it consistent with Acker's theory of the gendered

organization, some context is lost. In her later works (1992, 1998, 2000), Acker laments

the lack of context in gendered organization studies and encourages researchers to

acknowledge the impact of external influences on the gendered organization. Perhaps a

meeting in the middle of these two conceptualizations would best address this process set.

Also of significance is the addition of the "forms of consciousness." One can

only assume that Acker intends this to include examples such as images of teamwork,

"soldiering on," and other similar metaphors that serve to guide thinking and decision

making in inherently masculine ways. However, without explication, this description

comes perilously close to the notion of gendered organization logic or subtext, thus

further blurring the lines between the process sets.

As interpreted by others. As stated in Chapter One, much has been done to address

gendered organizational cultures (Gherardi, 1995; Maddock, 1999; Mills, 1992; Mills,

1994b). Significant research within this area addresses issues of organization culture

itself (including study of rituals, symbols and discourse commonly found in

organizations), prevalent ideologies with regards to gender, and organizational norms

(Helms Mills, 2002; Mills 1996). Interestingly, very few do so in the name of Acker's

gendering process set. Perhaps this is due to the existence of the organizational culture

paradigm and its prominence in organizational research, parallel with, but very much

outside, of Acker's work.

One noteworthy exception is the work of Sonia Liff and Kate Ward (2001). Their

work, entitled "Distorted Views Through the Glass Ceiling: The Construction of

Women's Understandings of Promotion and Senior Management Positions," examines

the messages women are sent about the promotion process and the requirements of senior

jobs through the everyday culture of the organization. Specifically, the long hours

culture is noted as significantly impacting women's career success. Although Acker is

not mentioned until the end of the article, the following statements are used to defend the

necessity of studying gendered organization cultures:

> Attention needs to be paid to the range of what Acker (1990)
>
> characterizes as the gendered processes which make up organizations.
>
> She provides a framework for analyzing the organizational culture aspects
>
> of this arguing that organizations construct 'symbols and images that
>
> explain, express, reinforce, or sometimes oppose' gendered divisions of
>
> labour (ibid, p. 146). In addition, there are processes such as interactions
>
> between organizational members, the creation of gendered individual
>
> identity, and the gendered conceptualizations of elements of
>
> organizational structure and activities. (p.34)

Within this article, it is often difficult to discern whether the authors are talking

about structure or culture, as the latter is said to reinforce the former. This seems to be

consistent with the work of Korvajarvi (1998) discussed earlier in this section, which contends that all of the process sets served to support the gendered structure. Although this study doesn't openly acknowledge or discuss Acker's framework, it does offer a glimpse at the interconnectedness of the process sets. It also reminds us of the contradictions within the gendered processes arena as it suggests that the gendered process sets of culture, interactions, and internal gender constructions serve to reinforce the gendered structures and divisions, thus leaving gendered organizational logic and/or subtext in an ambiguous place.

Synthesis. Evident in our public and private lives, symbols, images, and forms of consciousness serve to shape societal norms and values. One can analyze the effects on both a societal and an organizational level. For example, organizational symbols and slogans emphasizing strength, speed, or power help to create an environment that values characteristics traditionally associated with "maleness." Similarly, pop-culture icons help to shape societal understandings of what it means to be "male" or "female." Acker's later work suggests that we study both levels and acknowledge the relationship between the two.

Work within this area, whether presented as one of Acker's process sets or not, is fruitful and important but suffers from issues of boundaries, definition and clarification (J. Martin, 2000; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Mills, 2002b). If this process set is to be useful as an analytic, it is important to sort through these issues and to articulate clearly the scope of the process set.

Gendering Interactions

According to Joan Acker. These processes are first introduced as "interactions between women and men, women and women, men and men, including all those patterns that enact dominance and submission" (Acker, 1990, p. 147). Acker uses conversation analysis to demonstrate that turn taking, interruptions, and topic setting can be studied to demonstrate the gendered nature of ordinary talk. She notes that in conversation, men are the actors and women the emotional support. This discussion is relatively short and clarification of the processes is not forthcoming.

As in the case of gendered cultures, the description in 1992 is much more focused on organizations. This time, the process set is described as, "interactions between individuals, women and men, women and women, men and men, in the, multiplicity of forms that enact dominance and subordination and create alliances and exclusions...Interactions may be between supervisors and subordinates, between coworkers, or between workers and customers, clients, or other outsiders" (Acker, 1992, p. 253). The notion of sexuality and its role in interactions is also introduced briefly.

Although more applicable to organizations, the description loses some of the richness in terms of what gendered organizations might look like. Perhaps a combination of the earlier description, with its example of conversation analysis, and the newer definition, with its focus on interactions within organizations would be most useful.

As interpreted by others. Moving to a more micro-level of analysis, work in this category emphasizes the importance of individual level interaction as a gendering instrument, and articles suggesting strategies aimed at lessening the gendered nature of

interactions are common. These strategies include diversity initiatives aimed at better communication between groups and/or reductions in power distances in organizations.

Examples include the work of Baker (1991) who endorses the use of reciprocal accommodation, a process that encourages women to use empowering communication strategies and Zipfel & Kleiner (1998) who propose that positive interactions with women positively influence men's attitudes toward women as managers. Similarly, Reardon & Reardon (1999) demonstrate how leader communication styles can influence Army gender integration. The field remains relatively small (Dye and Helms Mills, 2005), and much of this work lies outside of Acker's framework.

One example of research that partially addresses Acker's notion of gendered interactions is that of Einat Lachover (2005). "The Gendered and Sexualized Relationship Between Israeli Women Journalists and their Male News Sources" reports on a study that looks at "the ways in which the interactions between female Israeli journalists and their male news sources are gendered and sexually structured" (p.291). Although there is not a lot of mention of Acker, the article focuses on structure, mental work, and "interactions between women and men, women and women, and men and men not only among co-workers but also between workers and outsiders such as clients" (p.292). The focus is on the gendered interactions and the tactics (flirting, helplessness, and sexuality) that the women use to manipulate outcomes. This is a particularly revealing piece of work in terms of what gendered interactions might look like, and it provides an important and unique interpretation as it "turns the tables" on gendering and demonstrates how power and sexuality can be "used" by women in a gendered fashion. Additionally, this work provides an important focus on sexuality and how that might be

manifested in interactions. It also analyzes the stereotypes that the men in the study relied on to guide their interactions – women as sexual objects, women as weak, women as motherly, thus giving us a hint at the gendered substructure.

Synthesis. This area in particular appears to hold significant importance and yet appears grossly neglected, despite the significance of the existing contributions. The relative dearth of work in this area is problematic and decries the need for a clear understanding of Acker's gendering process set so that this gap can be addressed.

Internal Gender Construction

According to Joan Acker. The introduction of the fourth set of processes in 1990 is brief. The processes are described as those that, "help to produce gendered components of individual identity, which may include consciousness of the existence of the other three aspects of gender, such as, in organizations, choice of appropriate work, language use, clothing, and presentation of self as a gendered member of an organization (Reskin and Roos 1987)" (Acker, 1990, p.147). At this point, this is all we are told as no further explanation is provided.

In 1992, this process set is described as, "the internal mental work of individuals as they consciously construct their understandings of the organization's gendered structure of work and opportunity and the demands for gender-appropriate behaviors and attitudes (e.g., Pringle 1989; Cockburn 1991). This includes creating the correct gendered persona…" (Acker, 1992, p. 253). A very brief mention of the role of sexuality and the necessity of properly negotiating one's sexuality is also made.

Acker never really expounds on this process set, and we are left with a somewhat vague notion of what the processes might look like. Clearly, she intends the set to look at

how individuals navigate their gendered identities within organizations and that this navigation is guided by expectations of how one ought to look and behave, the rules of which are assigned by sex. However, Acker doesn't guide us as to how this can be discovered.

As interpreted by others. Work in this area, largely outside of Acker's framework, includes studies focusing on individual values, beliefs, and interpretations of gender in organizations, as well as the "doing of identity" (see Clark and Salaman, 1998; Kondo, 1990; Mills, 1993; Prasad, 2002). As with the previous category, despite important contributions in the field, this category appears to be underdeveloped. Indeed, no studies that look at internal gender constructions that fit squarely within Acker's framework could be identified. A few studies do, however, look at gendered and/or sexual identities and make note of Acker's work without actually discussing the framework and/or without attempting to situate their work within it. For example, Attila Bruni (2006) examines the heterosexual biases of organizational practices and the subsequent impact on gendered identities. This work provides us with a glimpse of how one might gain some insight into the creation and affirmation of gender identities.

Fournier and Kelemen's (2001) "The Crafting of Community: Recoupling Discourses of Management and Womanhood" addresses the necessity of women managers to reconcile the dualistic positions of "manager" and "woman," thus examining how identities are constructed and negotiated, as competing gendered processes, within organizations. This is accomplished within their organization of study by creating a new space for the renegotiated identity in a collective forum. Although Acker is mentioned several times throughout the article, the fourth set of processes is not noted and the work

is not specifically situated within Acker's framework. The work does, however, provide

us with an exemplar of what research into gendered identity construction might look like.

Wicks' (2002) analysis of the Westray mine disaster demonstrates how "individuals

in organizations can experience other sorts of institutional influences from a variety of

sources simultaneously in a way that encouraged a particular gendered identity to form

and be continually reproduced" (p. 313).

Finally, Thomas and Davies' (2002) "Gender and New Public Management:

Reconstituting Academic Subjectivities" examines the impact of New Public

Management (NPM) on university organizations and, specifically, the impact on female

academics' professional identities. In the process of identifying how gender identities are

constructed and impacted by NPM, this work addresses rituals, ceremonies, language,

and university environs within academia and the resulting impression of class,

exclusivity, elitism, and patriarchal masculinity. Once again, the interconnectedness of

the process sets is illustrated.

Synthesis. Acker's definition of this process set serves as a guide of sorts. That is, we

know that we are looking for clues about how individuals construct their own gender

identities within organizations and that we may find these clues within commonly held

beliefs about what "appropriate" gender might look like. However, it is in the work of

others that we can find examples of what this exploration might look like.

Gendered Organizational Logic

According to Joan Acker. This set has been given several different labels, has

been located both inside and outside the framework, and is definitely the most difficult to

interpret. Initially, it is introduced as the fifth set of processes and is described as, "the

ongoing processes of creating and conceptualizing social structures" (Acker, 1990, p. 147). From here, Acker discusses organizational logic and underlying assumptions and practices. She suggests that these underlying logics and assumptions manifest themselves in rules, work contracts, managerial directives, and other documentary tools. A lengthy discussion of job evaluation is used as an example. During this first identification of gendered organizational logic as a process set, Acker also notes the "bodiless worker" phenomenon and the underlying gendered assumptions inherent in the notions of "job" and "worker."

In 1992, the fifth set of processes goes noticeably missing. In her article, "Gendering Organizational Theory," she introduces the entire framework in the following way: "Gendered organizations can be described in terms of four sets of processes that are components of the same reality, although, for purposes of description, they can be seen as analytically distinct" (Acker, 1992, p.252). From the onset, it is evident that the fifth process set is missing.

Although the fifth set is missing, Acker does write at length about the notion of a "gendered substructure" which she describes as lying "in the spatial and temporal arrangements of work, in the rules prescribing workplace behavior, and in the relations linking workplaces to living places" (Acker, 1992, p. 255). She further suggests that these practices and relations are encoded in arrangements and rules, are deeply embedded in organizations, are rooted in notions of family and reproduction, and are relatively inaccessible to change. Once again, Acker uses the notion of the disembodied worker and the phenomenon of job evaluation as her example. It appears that Acker's notion of gendered organizational logic has become the gendered substructure. Unfortunately, the

relationship between the framework and the gendered substructure is not made clear and we are left wondering which informs and which is informed.

Many of the elements of the fifth set, as introduced in 1990, are evident in this new discussion, despite the fact that the processes as a set have been removed from the framework. New additions to the argument include the relationship between the gendered substructure of organizations and the greater society, the notion that the gendered substructure stems from notions of family, and a statement about the difficulty of implementing change at this level.

Although relatively silent on the gendering processes framework, in her latest book, Acker defines substructure as, "practices, arrangements, and ideologies that organize the broad parameters of daily life" (Acker, 2006, p. 86). If this is applied to the notion of the gendered substructure, as described in 1992, it becomes problematic. If substructure encompasses practices, arrangements and ideologies, do the lines between the process sets not become blurred once again? In terms of the framework, wouldn't practices fit within the first and second set of processes, arrangements within the first, and ideologies within the second and fifth? Perhaps the notion of substructure doesn't fit within the framework and should remain on the outside of it. Or perhaps the notion of gendered logic is more befitting of the framework as it fits nicely within it and doesn't compromise the framework as an analytic with distinct categories.

As interpreted by others.   As with the first set of processes, this process set (or the notion of the gendered substructure as external to the framework) is well supported in the extant literature. In fact, support can be found for both of Acker's conceptualizations.

For example, several articles speak to the notion of the bodiless, sexless, or disembodied worker (see Benschop and Doorewaard, 1998; Britton, 1999; Budig, 2002; Fournier and Kelemen, 2001; Macalpine and Marsh, 2005).   As well, several articles address notions of organizational logic and/or gendered substructures (Britton, 1999; Benschop and Doorewaard, 1998).   While recognizing that these two concepts are not the same, there appears to be a conflation by Acker and others, and a subsequent blurring of what this process set (or not) actually entails.   A brief look at some of the work in this area may provide some clarification.

Dana Britton has done significant work using Acker's gendering process framework.   In 1997, she published "Gendered Organizational Logic: Policy and Practice in Men's and Women's Prisons" which offers "a working definition of one of Acker's key concepts, the idea of "gendered organizational logic," and [showed] how this is played out in a comparative case study of a male- and a female-dominated organization, the men's and women's prison" (p.797).   Note the claim that this gendered organizational logic is one of Acker's key theoretical concepts.   This notion that the gendered logic is critical to understanding gendered organizations is further strengthened in the following:

> One of the most important ways in which organizations are gendered,
>
> Acker contends, is in terms of organizational logic itself, which she
>
> defines as "the assumptions and practices that construct most
>
> contemporary work organizations" (1990, 147).   This logic takes material
>
> form in work rules and policies, as well as in practices that may or may
>
> not be mandated in any formal way. (p.797)

We can see that Britton is using Acker's initial conceptualization of this process set which manifests itself in practices, rules, and policies. These policies and practices are "defined as gendered to the extent that, although it may be gender-neutral in its face, it reproduces and sustains gender stratification and/or gender-based inequality in an organizational or occupational context." (p.798). The study itself looks at seemingly neutral policies and practices and assignments within men's and women's prisons and demonstrates "the deeply gendered nature of organizational logic in shaping work in both a male- and a female-dominated organization" (p.812) by revealing how logic (assumptions about male strengths and female strengths and weaknesses) informs these policies and practices.

Britton's subsequent work, "The Epistemology of the Gendered Organization" was published in 2000. In it, she notes that "Joan Acker's (1990) formal statement of a 'theory of gendered organizations' systematized more than a decade of insights by researchers in the area of organizations, occupations, labor markets, and gender" (p.418). In this work Britton discusses the notion that bureaucracy is inherently gendered and uses Acker's notion of gendered organizational logic as support.

Benschop and Doorewaard (1998a, 1998b) have also done significant work in this area. "Six of One and Half a Dozen of the Other: The Gender Subtext of Taylorism and Team-based Work" examines gendering processes in two models of work organization – Taylorism and team-based work. When discussing gender distinctions in organizations, the authors state:

> To understand its persistence, it is also important to gain an understanding
>
> of the latent, subtle and indirect processes in organizations underlying the

gender distinction. These processes are called the gender subtext of

organizations (Smith 1987, Fraser 1989, De Bruijn 1991, Acker 1992).

(p.5)

First, it is important to note the use of the term "subtext" as popularized by Smith (1987).

Given the use of Acker's name in the referencing, one can only assume that the notion of

the gendered subtext is similar to that of the gendered substructure. Second, it is also

important to note the relationship between the gendering processes, of which the authors

note there are four, and what they identify as the gendered subtext. They suggest that the

processes **are** the subtext. As a result, this article is one of the first to address the

framework in its entirety. Although the authors are not speaking directly about Acker's

four gendering processes, and reference several authors' work in support of the gendered

subtext notion, they mention four levels of structure, culture, interaction and identity.

They are described in the following:

> In short, structural arrangements refer to the design of work and to the
>
> allocation of personnel. Cultural arrangements are expressed in manifest
>
> expressions, underlying values and basic assumptions. Interactional
>
> arrangements pay attention to the role orientation of men and women in
>
> the organization, to status characteristics (specific of diffuse), to sexual
>
> and nonsexual attraction and to information patterns shaping interaction
>
> (see, for example, Pringle 1989; Burrell 1984). Identity-arrangements
>
> refer to self-image and the perception about/of others and have to do with
>
> gender identities as well as with professional identities (cf. Gutek and
>
> Cohen's (1992) reasoning of the sex role spillover). These layered

arrangements are closely connected and function as an analytic framework

for empirical research of the gender subtext of organizations. (p.6)

Once again, we see the relationship between the four process sets and the gendered

subtext as one where the process sets are distinct but make up what is understood to be

the gendered subtext. From the following, we might conclude that the gendered

processes, which make up the gendered subtext, (re)produce the gendered organization:

> The whole process of the organization of work may run a different course,
>
> but the result is the same: the similarity of both types is the opaque and
>
> implicit character of the gender subtext (re)producing time and again a
>
> systematic and hierarchical gender distinction. (p.16)

Benschop and Doorewaard also published "Covered by Equality, The Gender

Subtext of Organizations" in 1998. In this article, the gender subtext is described

as, "the opaque, power-based processes that systematically (re)produce the gender

distinction via a set of arrangements (Benschop, 1996)" (p.789). This piece is

particularly important as it discusses issues of arrangement (described in terms of

structure, culture, interactions, and identity) as well as hegemonic power

processes. This perspective addresses a gap in Acker's otherwise comprehensive

analytic.

As well, this piece goes the furthest in terms of incorporating all of

Acker's gendering processes as, under the heading of "coherent arrangements,"

structure, culture, interactions, and identity are addressed in terms of their

relationship with the gendered subtext. Benschop and Doorewaard suggest "the

duality of gender – the simultaneous existence of the practices of gender

inequality and the impression of equality – stems from the structural arrangement of job and task design, is reinforced by organizational culture, sustained by interaction patterns and is deep-rooted in the identities of organization members" (p. 800-801).

Metcalfe and Linstead (2003) examine the gendered nature of teamwork and claim that "with the exception of Wallace (1999) and Benschop and Doorewaard, (1998a, 1998b), the gendering processes and the dynamics of gendered relations have not been unraveled" (p.97). Their case study draws on Acker's (1992) research, particularly the roles of structure, culture and identity, stating that this allows them to "read the gender subtext which shape team dynamics (Benschop and Doorewaard, 1998a)" (p. 107). Drawing on the work of Benschop and Doorewaard (1998a; 1998b), they too support the notion that the processes make up the gendered subtext.

Synthesis. Initially, Acker suggests that a gendered organizational logic exists as a process set. After a time, this process set disappears, but the notion of a gendered substructure appears outside of the framework. Work completed by others seems to be contradictory in nature. Though many seem to support the notion of the disembodied worker as male, some argue for a gendered organization logic which manifests itself in rules, policies and practices while others support the notion of an organization "subtext" that can be analyzed by the study of its parts – the gendered processes. I am not certain that the two conceptualizations are dramatically different, other than their placement of the phenomenon. Unfortunately, this is an important distinction. In one case the

phenomenon is part of a whole (one of five process sets) while in the other it is the embodiment of the whole (the process sets make the subtext). This process set is arguably the most problematic and it will be interesting to see where the study of Pan American Airways (PAA) takes us in this dilemma.

Multiple Levels

Several articles do not focus on one set of gendering processes but address multiple levels. It is important to take a brief look at some of these attempts to gain further insight into the interpretations of Acker's gendering processes. Shortall's (2001) study analyzes the experiences of women in farming organizations. In her analysis, she claims that "the processes identified by Acker (1991), through which organizations are gendered, are clearly discernable" (p. 172). The following examples are provided:

Participation in the championships is divided along gender lines, with the much smaller participation of women largely confined to the farmerette class, itself classified on the basis of gender. The symbols and images that explain, express and reinforce these divisions are found in how both the popular media and the farming organization deal with the female winner of her class. (p. 172)

She notes that female winners are given the dubious honour of being crowned "Queen of the Plough" whereas male winners are given trophies and media attention.

In a similar vein, Miller's (2004) work looks at the experience of women engineers in the Canadian oil industry. Although she doesn't immediately reference Acker, she identifies "three primary processes which structure the

masculinity of the industry" (p.47), which include the everyday interactions which

exclude women, consciousness derived from culture and myths in the industry,

and values and beliefs about engineering which reinforce gender divisions in the

profession (gendered division of labour), so it can be argued that she is addressing

at least three of Acker's gendering processes. She does reference Acker when

discussing engineering and oil industry cultures and myths. Miller also notes that

the women in her study had to learn what types of behaviour were "appropriate"

and that they developed strategies for coping with the gendered nature of the

industry. It could be argued that these are both elements of internal gender

construction, thus providing some insight into what analysis within this process

set might look like.

Recognition of the Process Sets Without Empirical Application

Several works identified note Acker's gendering processes and use them or

reference them in theoretical arguments. These, too, are important when gauging the

development and interpretation of Acker's work.

Holgate, Hebson and McBride (2006), in their work on industrial relations

research in the UK, draw on Acker's (1992) work and "theorize gender as socially

constructed distinctions between male and female that become infused with power

relations through gendered processes that are enacted at all levels of society" (p.312).

These authors note that these gendered processes, as identified by Acker, describe "how

these distinctions are constructed as power relations through the concrete activities of

what people say and do (Acker, 1992; 251)" (p. 312). Interestingly, the process sets are

not mentioned and the focus is on the power relations. Although this piece does not

engage in analysis of the process sets or of the framework in its entirety, it does provide

insight into the relationship between Acker's work and the notion of power.

Calas and Smircich (2005) say the following about Acker's work:

Acker's (1990; 1992; 1004; 1998; 2004) formulation of the interrelation of

gendered practices with a gender substructure of organization has been

enormously influential in the last decade, serving as a theoretical

foundation for much contemporary 'gendered organization' scholarship

(Britton 2000; Martin and Collinson 2002), and stimulating much

empirical research. (p. 306)

They further contend that gendered organizations are reproduced in several ways and use

all five of Acker's process sets in way of explanation. Interestingly, the terminology of

"gendered substructure" is used, and interpreted much the same way Acker herself

describes it. However, in Calas and Smircich's work, this process set is introduced as

one of several ways in which gendering is reproduced (one of several process sets),

thereby possibly situating it within the framework instead of outside of it, despite the

newer label.

Some Concluding Thoughts

A review of Acker's conceptualization and subsequent evolution of the process

sets, coupled with an analysis of interpretations by others, leaves us in a rather precarious

place. Although useful for identifying boundaries and potentialities, we are left with

relatively few definitive answers. Perhaps the safest conclusions can be drawn about

individual process sets, with the exception of the gendered organization logic set. With

that exception, analysis of various interpretations has provided some insight into how

each process set might best be interpreted. Perhaps this new information can guide us in the development and refinement of the process sets in such a way that they can be clearly understood and applied.

However, we have also seen that much of the study of the process sets exists outside of Acker's framework and substantial work is ongoing in many of the spheres. This begs the question; is the framework useful then? Does it offer us something more than the arenas in isolation? Does it offer us something new? Does the notion of a framework and the relationships between the process sets do more to explain the gendering of organizations?

The most problematic area centers on the fifth set of processes and the subsequent relationship between it and the other process sets. The work of others has shown us the possible interconnectedness of the process sets that Acker did not. However, there seems to be little agreement on what the relationship might look like, whether one set influences the others or vice versa, or whether a recursive relationship exists. As such, this problematic is central to my analysis of gendering processes at PAA.

Chapter Four

Theoretical Underpinnings and Research Method

Poststructuralism, Feminism, and the Notion of Discourse

This research is located at the intersection (Fletcher, 1998) of poststructuralism, feminism, and the notion of discourse, drawing from each of the three to provide a platform from which to engage Acker's framework. In doing so, there is recognition that the three are not mutually exclusive and are often combined in this way. However, it is important to note the characteristics of each that lend themselves well to this research, as, despite their interdependent usage, the three can and do often stand alone.

The poststructuralist notion of the reproduction of meaning is extremely important to this study as "to reproduce existing meanings exactly is also to reaffirm the knowledges our culture takes for granted, and the values that precede us – the norms, that is, of the previous generation" (Belsey, 2002, p. 4). According to poststructuralist understanding, it is through the study of language that we can identify and potentially release the norms and values that precede us (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000; Belsey, 2002).

Poststructuralists also recognize the ability of language, embedded in discursive practices, to shape our existence. As stated by Alvesson and Karreman (2000), "In the broadest terms, language defines the possibilities of meaningful existence at the same time as it limits them. Through language, our sense of ourselves as distinct subjectivities is constituted" (p. 1131).

The marriage of feminism and poststructuralism is certainly not new (see Prasad, 2005; Thomas & Davies, 2005; Weedon, 1993). For the purposes of this study, the

emphasis on language and socially constructed subjectivities of poststructuralism have been combined with the concern for power and the criticalness of feminism. This plants the current research firmly in the world of feminist poststructuralism.

Feminist poststructuralism is a theoretical lens that is as varied as the academics that use it (Weedon, 1993). Seeking a common definition and agreement on its essential tenets would most likely prove fruitless. However, careful study of various accounts of feminist poststructuralism does reveal several commonalities. Three of these commonalities are of central importance to this research. They are defined as follows:

1. Language plays a central role in constructing gendered subjectivities and power relationships (Belsey, 2002; Prasad, 2005; Weedon, 1993).

2. Meaning is socially and historically located in discourse (Belsey, 2002; Prasad, 2005; Weedon, 1993).

3. By destabilizing truths, challenging subjectivities, and normalizing discourses, space for change emerges (Thomas & Davies, 2005; Weedon, 1993).

Language. Drawing from the tenets of poststructuralism, the emphasis on language is also central to feminist poststructuralist theory. According to Weedon (1993), language is the common factor in "the analysis of social organization, social meanings, power, and individual consciousness" (p. 21). It is through language that meaning is constructed. This is supported by Alvesson and Karreman (2000) who contend, "Language, put together as discourses, arranges and naturalizes the social world in a specific way and thus informs social practices" (p. 1128).

Given this understanding, it is assumed that the study of language will help us to better understand the creation and maintenance of gendered spaces. In essence, we wish

to understand social organizations, normalized meanings, and individual understandings of the self, as developed through language and informed by those gendered spaces.

Meaning as socially and historically located. Within feminist poststructuralist understanding, meaning is not concrete; rather, it is fluid and ever changing. Feminist poststructuralism differs from other feminist perspectives in this way, in that it recognizes the fluidity of the meaning of gender – the constantly changing nature of the phenomenon.

The fluidity of meaning suggests that meaning does not result from the language itself – that is, the vowels and consonants in a specific order. Rather, meaning combines the mechanics of writing with a greater context. That greater context consists of the location of the language within time and space, defined by feminist poststructuralists as the social and historical location of the language. This implies that the study of language would be incomplete without recognition of social and historical influences on language.

The space for change. Prasad (2005) acknowledges that, "unearthing the gendered nature of social arrangements is a vital part of the feminist agenda, for it is the first step in accommodating women's interests and preferences in the wider fabric of society" (p. 168). This notion of consciousness-raising is not unique to feminist poststructuralism and has been a tenet of feminism since the emergence of Liberal and Radical feminism (Calás & Smircich, 1996). What is perhaps different is the nature of change. According to Thomas and Davies (2005), "Rather than focusing on revolution, the forms of resistance portrayed in poststructuralist feminisms are of a more localized and small-scale nature, centering on the destabilizing of truths, challenging of subjectivities and normalizing discourses" (p. 720). This research aims to do just that by

studying gendered processes through the lens of Joan Acker's framework. It was

anticipated that the framework would help to identify otherwise taken-for-granted

policies, practices and procedures as "truths" that silence some while privileging others.

In an undertaking such as this, one is faced with many possibilities and it becomes

difficult to determine which road will lead to the most complete picture of the

phenomenon of study. It is essential that the research capture a comprehensive picture of

what is happening in and around the organization under study. Although it is understood

that it is not possible to identify "truths" about what is happening (Prasad, 2005), it is

important to strive to capture a representation that can aid in the best understanding of the

organization as a social construction. This is consistent with the feminist poststructuralist

approach which "is highly skeptical about universal and transcendental truth claims, and

regards all systems of knowledge production as exercises of power through which women

are discursively (and disadvantagedly) positioned in society (Diamond & Quinby, 1988;

Gavey, 1989)" (Prasad, 2005, p.165).

As previously noted, feminist poststructuralism invariably concerns itself with the

study of language. However, the mechanics of language are rarely the focus of study

within this realm; as such a study would have difficulty incorporating the implications of

the social and historical locations of the language. Similarly, interested in more than the

simple use of language, feminist poststructuralism is concerned with the normalized

"truths" and personal meaning imbued within language. To fully understand this, a more

comprehensive understanding of meaning is required. The study of discourse permits

this.

According to Prasad (2005), "Discourses are responsible for prescribing roles and expectations for different individuals and groups, and are substantially gendered. Discourses of femininity, the family, management, consumption, sciences, and so on chart out gendered spheres of action (Flax, 1990) and create gendered identities such as the housewife, the career woman, and the Supermom, each with its accompanying script and expectations" (p. 165-166). This creation and maintenance of such gendered identities and realities is precisely what this study wishes to address. It is anticipated that a study of discourse, through Acker's lens, will provide a deeper understanding of gendered organizations.

As stated previously, feminist poststructuralism also recognizes the fluidity of gender – the constantly changing nature of the phenomenon. One of the advantages of an examination of discourse is the compatibility of this fluid notion. As stated by Knights and Morgan (1991), "Discourses change as actors adapt and change the conditions of the process of reproduction. If this were not the case, we could not talk about the emergence of new discourses, by which we mean the emergence of qualitatively new ways of 'accomplishing' social relations" (p. 254). Joan Acker's framework provides the opportunity to study gendered organizations at a given point in time. The addition of discourse provides us with a way to look at the fluidity of genderedness by studying the discourses over time.

Similarly, one of the questions posed in this research concerns the utility of Acker's framework. We want to know if the framework is useful. It is useful if it helps us enact change. To enact change, we need to understand what change looks like within the realm of study. One might argue that we can't do this with Acker's framework alone.

A link between the framework and the enactment of change is required. If we can see change, by studying changes in discourse, then we can understand change, and we can draw conclusions about the utility of Acker's framework. This is supported by Prasad who states, "A major contribution of poststructural feminism can be found in its transformation of subjectivity into a fluid phenomenon that can be actually changed" (p. 166).

The previous discussion was not meant to provide a thorough examination of theoretical arenas. Rather the intent was to briefly describe the three arenas that inform the design of this research and the subsequent analysis of findings. With this in mind, a discussion of the research design follows.

Research Design

The first part of the study addresses the utility of the framework. Simply stated, archival data is "sifted" through Acker's framework. From this, it is anticipated that a clearer picture of the processes themselves will emerge, as well as their strengths and limitations, and perhaps even a glimpse into the dynamics of the processes. Questions about the strengths, limitations, comprehensiveness, and interdependence of Acker's gendering processes are addressed.

The second part of the study addresses changes within the processes over time. The objective is to identify changes in the processes, through changes in discourses, and gain greater understanding of the gendering of organizations, and the potential reduction of gendering. The proposal of this second phase of the study is based on the assumption that, at minimum, evidence of at least some of Acker's gendering processes are discovered in the first phase of the study. By studying the changes (or lack thereof)

within these process sets, through the notion of discourse, a richer understanding of the genderedness of the organization and the conditions necessary to change the level of genderedness may be gained.

During both parts of the study, previously published histories of the airline and the airline industry are used to set the stage and to provide much needed social and historical context for the study. The remainder of this section outlines the rationale for the site of my research and the methods employed.

The Research Site

As previously argued in Chapter One, airlines are ideal for the study of gendered organizations due to their extreme genderedness and the transparency of the phenomenon (Helms Mills, 2002; Mills, 1994a, 1994c, 1995, 1996b, 1998a). Phillips and Hardy (2002) use the work of Eisenhardt (1989) to support their assertion that transparency is of utmost concern. That is, they suggest a good research site is one where the phenomenon of interest is easily visible, in fact, even extreme in nature. Airlines definitely qualify, given this criterion.

PAA was chosen over other possible airlines for several practical reasons. First, the organization meets much of the criteria noted by Mills (2002) as required for the study of organizations over time. Specifically, the airline was in operation for a lengthy period of time, thus allowing for the study of the creation, development, and change of policies and practices. Two other criteria successfully met are the requirement of an established archive and existence of several written histories (Mills, 2002a). PAA has an extensive archive and access to the site was easily gained. Additionally, several historians have written about the Canadian, British, and American airline industries (see

Campbell-Smith, 1986; Mills, 2006; Nielsen, 1982; Penrose, 1980a; 1980b; Pigott, 1998),

with several focusing specifically on PAA (see Bender & Altschul, 1982; Daly, 1980;

Mills, 2006). These publications help to provide the context required to effectively study

changes over time.

The Texts

Once deciding on the airline as a research site, the next step is to choose which

texts to use within that site. Phillips and Hardy (2002) suggest "naturally occurring"

texts – in the sense that they appear in the normal day-to-day activities of the research

subjects – are considered a better source of data for discourse analysis because they are

actual examples of language in use. By this we mean that the text forms part of the

discourses that constitute the phenomenon under investigation" (p. 71). In this case,

various types of archival material were considered. However, it became ultimately clear

that the greatest single source of data within the PAA archival set would be the internal

newspaper, most commonly titled the "Pan American Clipper." As a result, issues of the

Pan American Clipper from the 1940s through to the 1980s are used.

The Archive

Prasad (2005) notes, "Feminist researchers of a somewhat radical persuasion tend

to be more interested in uncovering the *gendered* nature of organizational practices and

policies. The gendering of work and organizations is believed to exist at both the formal

and informal levels of the organization and is elicited with the help of interviews,

documents, and observation" (p.174). She further supports the use of archives for

uncovering the genderedness of organizations by citing influential researchers who have

engaged this method (i.e., Mills, 1997 and Hammond & Oaks, 1992).

Data gathering occurred during several trips to the Pan American Airways archive at the University of Miami. The four-person research team, of which I was a member, gathered material for a larger project. I was able to draw from the material for this larger project, as well as specifically focus on material for this study.

The data was collected through extensive note taking and photocopying of materials. The archive contained a myriad of documents and photographs, including sales reports, annual reports, speeches, internal memos, internal newsletters, training manuals, advertisements, and correspondence. However, the main focus for this thesis was the internal newsletters because not only did they make up the majority of the archival holdings, but through their focus on creating a strong sense of organization, they also provided a rich source of "information."

Upon returning from the archives, data was carefully entered into a database system for ease of retrieval. Paper copies of photocopied material were catalogued and filed. These two sources, along with notes taken at the archives, provided the data for analysis. All of this sounds rather "sterile" and unproblematic – simply gather the data, record it, and draw conclusions. However, the combination of archival analysis and critical discourse analysis is never so tidy. It is a complex, personal, and challenging endeavor, and this part of the journey cannot be easily described in just a few words.

Although archival materials can provide rich sites for feminist poststructuralist readings, archival research also presents several unique challenges. The one most often encountered in this phase of the research is the abundance of information. The sheer volume of information is often intimidating and, due to its richness, one is often lured into believing that everything is of importance and must be recorded/interpreted. In an

effort to overcome this, relatively clear parameters were established before engaging with the endless boxes of internal newsletters. The parameters were simple – the task was to look for clues about gender and to recognize that historical statements are not "truths" (Mills & Helms Mills, 2006) but merely contribute "to our understanding of the *notion* of men and women, rather than (being) a descriptive record of men and women" (Mills and Helms Mills, 2006, p.35). This meant that the goal was to look for clues that appeared to contribute to the discourses (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000) of gender. That is to say, whenever anything that spoke to the discourses of gender, masculinity, and femininity, was encountered, field notes were made, and, in many instances, material was photocopied. Often, the contribution to discourse was not immediately evident and only became clear as the stories unfolded throughout the newsletters. There was a considerable amount of "to-ing" and "fro-ing" as a result, as the discourses were explored. Field notes began to take on the appearance of a series of related stories.

Here, reference was made to Van Dijk's (1993) guidelines for critical discourse. Using his guidelines as a very loose map, clues about gender that justified inequality, negative and positive representation of "the other," contrasts of "us and them," discussions of equality, social and local meanings, and paternalistic undertones, to name a few, were sought. These guidelines didn't, however, constrain the research and any paths that seemed interesting in terms of the research were explored.

At the end of this first phase of data collection, I had gathered 56 pages of field notes and more than 119 photocopied pages. My colleagues gathered an additional 61 pages of field notes and more than 100 photocopies during this first trip to the archives. The availability of rich information was never an issue.

Analysis

During the analysis stage, a more probing form of poststructuralist content analysis, in the form of critical discourse analysis, is used to analyze the archival material (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000; Fondas, 1997; Prasad, 2005; Silverman, 2000; Weedon, 1993). This is deemed appropriate, given the theoretical frame of this project. As well, Acker's work itself appears to lend itself to discourse analysis. Descriptions of her framework, which include notions of symbols, images, forms of consciousness, consciously constructed understandings, managerial directives, and documentary tools, all seem to suggest that poststructuralist analysis, particularly through the analysis of discourse, would be appropriate.

Discourse analysis in general can be described as the study of the relationship between discourse and reality (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Phillips & Hardy (2002) argue that it is both a perspective and a method as indicated in the following: "It is a perspective in that it brings with it a particular view of social phenomena as constituted through structured sets of tests of various kinds. It is a method in that it is a way of approaching data collection and analysis." (p.59-60). Many agree that it is a method, but few agree on what that method is (Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998b). Some argue for Foucault's (1972) Archeology or Genealogy while others prefer conversation analysis. Phillips and Hardy (2002) list eight examples of traditions in discourse analysis while Alvesson and Karreman (2000) provide four categories with multiple iterations within each category. It seems that researchers are left to map their own journey and to make their own way without a conclusive guide. In this case, the purpose of the dissertation

and the theoretical frame provide the clues as to which form of discourse analysis, critical or otherwise, is appropriate.

This study, in keeping with feminist poststructuralism, focuses on the central role of language in the construction of gendered subjectivity and the social and historical location of discourse, in an attempt to destabilize truths and challenge subjectivities.

Additionally, the interest in discourse is framed as its ability to identify the creation and maintenance of gendered identities (Prasad, 2005) and the fluid nature of discourse. For these reasons, and the obvious emancipatory aims of this research, critical discourse analysis is deemed appropriate. As per Van Dijk (1993), critical discourse analysis is different from other forms of discourse analysis in that, "critical discourse analysts (should) take an explicit sociopolitical stance; they spell out their point of view, perspective, principles and aims, both within their discipline and within society at large... Their hope, if occasionally illusionary, is change through critical understanding" (p. 252). In this case, it was hoped that the change would be more than illusionary.

Critical Discourse Analysis Defined

According to Alvesson and Karreman (2000), "discourse works as a structuring, constituting force, directly implying or tightly framing subjectivity, practice and meaning" (p. 1145). Following this, <u>critical</u> discourse analysis should aim to understand how, why, and under what circumstances these structuring, constituting forces "privilege some actors at the expense of others and how broad changes in the discourse result in different constellations of advantage and disadvantage..." (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 25). Once again, the goal is to explore the relationship between discourse and reality (Phillips & Hardy, 2002), but to do so with power and privilege at the fore.

Critical discourse analysis focuses on the processes that construct and maintain our social world (Phillips & Hardy, 2002) but do so in an effort to understand what "structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role" (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 250) in the construction and/or maintenance of power relationships. In the case of this research, the specific power relationships center on gender and the gendering of organizations.

A Method of Critical Discourse Analysis

As stated previously, there isn't a prescription for critical discourse analysis (which is a good thing, given its placement among the "post-traditions" [Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998b; Prasad, 2005]). However, for the purposes of this research, it seems appropriate to loosely follow the guidelines set forth by Van Dijk (1993), a well-regarded and oft-referenced scholar on the methods of critical discourse analysis. The flexibility provided by only "loosely" following Van Dijk's version of critical discourse analysis provides the ability to truly interrogate the data, as is suggested by Mills and Helms Mills (2006), yet allows the research to stray from prescribed methods if it is deemed necessary.

According to Van Dijk (1993), "the analysis begins with various properties of the context, such as access patterns, setting and participants, and then examines the properties of the 'text' of the speech itself, such as its topics, local meanings, style and rhetoric" (p. 270). From there, we move to a micro-level of analysis which looks at "intonation, lexical or syntactic style, rhetorical figures, local semantic structures, turn-taking strategies, politeness phenomena, and so on" (p. 261).

Using this as a guide, the following elements of discourse were sought:

1. Those that justify inequality through the positive representation of one group and the negative representation of another. Examples at PAA include articles about women engaging in predominantly male activities, such as the article which depicts female bowlers as less exciting to watch in terms of technique than their male counterparts.

2. Those that contrast "us" and "them" by emphasizing tolerance, help, or sympathy. Examples include an article expressing sympathy for the wives that stay at home and wait for their husbands, who are working overtime for PAA. Expressions of tolerance for the "weaker sex" are also quite common in the newsletters.

3. Strategies that make negative statements acceptable – for example, "I understand their concern, but..." This was especially evident at PAA in terms of articles about equity initiatives that expressed "understanding" of the plight of women employees.

4. Discussions of "equality for all" that actually silence dissenting voices. In the 1970s and 80s, articles about equity initiatives became prominent in the newsletters. This apparent commitment to equality unquestionably silenced dissenting voices.

5. Paternalistic undertones. This is particularly evident when studying speeches, public addresses, and letters to employees at PAA. It can also be found in the names used to describe employees – gals, skirts, men, etc.

6. Access to discourse. Access, although more difficult to see, becomes evident in notations of attendees at important meetings, editorial staff of the newsletters, and names of policy makers.

7. Participant positions and roles. Evidenced by employee lists, photographs accompanied by titles, and even cartoons, it is not difficult to ascertain which roles were played by whom.

8. Social and local meanings. Discourse analysis of stories, legends, unwritten rules, and

common understandings permitted the identification of such meanings.

(Van Dijk, 1993)

In the first phase of analysis, critical discourse analysis is used to interrogate the

newsletters. Incidents of gender or gendering, as identified through critical discourse

analysis, are then sifted through Acker's gendering framework. Specifically, the absence

or presence of Acker's gendering processes are identified. For example, the newsletters

are used to identify masculine slogans and symbols that represent Acker's second set of

processes. Relationships, linkages, and interdependencies within the process sets are also

explored. This is determined by finding examples that affect more than one process set

simultaneously. Photographs showing women serving men are good examples of the

third and fourth sets of gendering processes.

The process sets, in their entirety, require different levels, or depths, of analysis.

For example, some of the elements within the first set of processes, Gendering Practices

and Structures, don't appear to require much in terms of depth of analysis. Gender

patterning of jobs and wages are easily identified through employee lists, group

photographs, and publicly stated hiring and compensation policies found in the

newsletters. However, more subtle evidence of these processes can only be identified by

using more micro-analytical methods, such as critical discourse analysis. For example,

discourses of work and gender are used to identify gendering processes within notions of

hierarchy and power. This is consistent with Van Dijk (1993) who states, "... dominance

may be enacted and reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of text and talk that

appear 'natural' and quite 'acceptable'. Hence, CDA [critical discourse analysis] also

needs to focus on the discursive strategies that legitimate control, or otherwise 'naturalize' the social order, and especially relations of inequality (Fairclough, 1985)" (p. 254).

Similarly, the fourth set of processes, internal gender constructions, requires a level of critical discourse analysis that is sensitive enough to ascertain the discourses that aid employees in their understanding of relationships at work, what is deemed as "appropriate" behaviour, and in their own gender identity construction. In essence, I am looking for "clues."

Both Hardy and Phillips (2002) and Van Dijk (1993) argue that an understanding of individual level cognition can be achieved through discourse analysis. Hardy and Phillips deem discourse analysis as essential, for "without discourse, there is no social reality, and without understanding discourse, we cannot understand our reality, our experiences, or ourselves" (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p.2). Similarly, Van Dijk (1992) states, "social cognitions mediate between micro- and macro- levels of society, between discourse and action, between the individual and the group. Although embodied in the individual, social cognitions are social because they are shared and presupposed by group members, monitor social action and interaction, and because they underlie the social and cultural organization of society as a whole (Resnick et al., 1991)" (p. 257).

Although discourse was useful in my attempts to "understand" how employees constructed their identities at PAA, one could argue that without actually being privy to the internal identity constructions, actual understanding of the process could never really be achieved. Some would argue the need for interviews in order to fully capture what people were thinking and feeling. However, Philips and Hardy (2002) caution us that

interviews are not naturally occurring discourses and that their efficacy for identifying internal constructions may be limited by the interviewer, and the interview process. As well, the ability to recall what was happening, what one was thinking or feeling, within a different time and discursive space, would be difficult, if not impossible, more than 65 years after the fact.

Others would argue that participant observation (PO) is the best way to "observe" how individuals construct their identities. Unfortunately, PAA's demise in the 1990s made this impossible. This may cause one to ask why PAA was chosen if PO is not possible. As discussed earlier, PAA was chosen for several reasons, not the least significant of which was the inclusion of PAA in a greater study which also includes British Airways and Air Canada. Both of these airlines had already been studied (Helms Mills, 2002; Mills, 1994a, 1994b, 1997, 1998a; Mills & Hatfield, 1998; Mills & Helms Mills, 2006). PAA, with its large archive and written histories, was ideal for inclusion in this large study. Although PO could possibly have aided in the "observation" of gender construction, it is still questionable whether witnessing behaviour would have added to an understanding of what was happening internally. One also has to question whether my presence, as a female gender scholar, would have caused undue influence as, "Whether the field worker is totally, partially, or not at all disguised, the respondent forms an image of him and uses that image as a basis of response. Without such image the relationship between the field worker and the respondent, by definition, does not exist" (Vidich, 1955, p. 355). Finally, PO has a significant time dimension – one can only study the here and the now with PO. This study required a trip to the past.

Due to these factors, and the growing critique of participant observation as a tool

for observing "truths" (Alvesson, 2003; Stafford & Stafford, 1993; Vinten, 1994), the

fact that PO is not possible within PAA becomes less salient and does not outweigh the

benefits of using PAA in the study.

In this instance, an understanding that "the individual is socially and self

constructed through discourse" (Thomas & Davies, 2005, p. 718) is critical, as is the

belief that discourse analysis provides us a way to unpack this construction (Phillips &

Hardy, 2002). Specifically, how men and women write about each other and themselves,

and what the discourses "suggest" would be appropriate ways for men and women to

construct their identities, is examined. In the absence of private diary entries, streams of

consciousness, and/or transcripts of internal dialogues, one can never be sure that what

one is observing/reading/hearing is actually the process of constructing one's identity.

One only has the "clues" afforded by the evidence left behind.

The second phase of the analysis starts off much the same as the first; that is,

newsletters from a later period of time are analyzed using critical discourse analysis and

the results are subsequently sifted through Acker's gendering processes. This addition of

a second period of time is crucial for understanding changes over time.

"Success" and Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysts claim that success can be measured by the contribution

of the research to change (Calás & Smircich, 1999; Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Prasad,

2005; Van Dijk, 1993). In this case, the challenge is to ascertain whether Acker's

gendering process framework is ideal for the study and understanding of how

organizations become and stay gendered. By following dominant discourses over time,

and by using Acker's framework as an analytic, it is anticipated that a better

understanding of how such gendered structures are created, maintained, and/or changed

will be obtained. This better understanding may precipitate change.

On a different scale, it is important to note the impact of awareness on change.

As stated by Van Dijk (1992), "many more or less subtle forms of dominance seem to be

so persistent that they seem natural until they begin to be challenged, as was/is the case

for male dominance over women, White over Black, rich over poor" (p. 255). At the

very least, if this research finds that Acker's framework (modified or otherwise) provides

an analytic for raising awareness of the dominant discourses that constrain our thoughts

and actions, then the goals of this research will have been achieved.

Chapter Five

The Discourse of Family in the 1950s

When studying gendering over time, one has to consider whether to choose discrete time periods or a continuous approach. Mills and Helms Mills (2006), in their study of organization culture, suggest "that a potentially fruitful way of studying time is not as a continuous process but as a series of discrete periods of time" (p. 35). They argue that this helps us to see "how things were viewed during a given period of time" (p. 35). This line of thinking, coupled with the "snapshot nature" of Joan Acker's framework suggested that two distinct time periods were more appropriate for analysis in this case. To clarify, Joan Acker's framework allows us to take a picture of the gendering processes at one point in time. Although she acknowledges that we are looking at processes, which are by nature fluid, the picture we get represents only one point in time. By choosing another time period, one that is significantly removed in terms of chronology, we may be able to get a clearer picture of changes over time.

After determining that discrete time periods would be used, the task turned to choosing which time periods. Although several arguments have been adopted for making such decisions (Mills, 1995, 1996b), the method employed here is best supported by pragmatics and three main reasons guided the selection of time periods. In the first instance, it is essential that a considerable amount of data exist for the periods chosen. For reasons stated previously (see Chapter Four), internal newsletters have been chosen as the texts of interest for this study, and it is important that there be enough of them to gain some insight into PAA.

The PAA archival holding is fairly substantial and hundreds of issues of internal newsletters were easily, if sporadically, accessed. Most periods are relatively complete, but gaps do exist due to war times, budget cuts, and volumes that are simply missing. As well, due to the size of the archival holdings, it is impossible to access all of the material. Time periods that contain relatively complete information are deemed the most appropriate for use in this study.

Second, when considering the time periods to be studied, it is important to recognize the greater societal and political contexts. For example, the 1940s were a turbulent time, significantly impacted by the war and the exodus of men in the workforce, thus necessitating the influx of women into industries once dominated by men. Because two periods are to be examined in an effort to look at the phenomenon of change, it seems more appropriate to choose periods that appear relatively stable – i.e. where there were few drastic societal changes that significantly impacted gender in the airlines. Finally, it is important to choose two periods of time that are of some distance apart. This allows for the study of two periods of time that are potentially significantly different.

Although material is available for the 1940s, the impact of the war on the employment of women significantly altered the number and perception of women in the workplace and is thought to be a period of significant transition. Although it would indeed be of interest to follow gendering processes through this transition period, such a path is not consistent with the aims of this research. Future research will, no doubt, return to this important era of transition.

The 1950s seemed to be the first appropriate time period. This era was chosen for several reasons, not of least significance is the availability of a seemingly complete and continuous set of internal PAA newspapers. Initially, it was anticipated that a ten-year period would be appropriate for analysis simply because a ten-year period provides a natural beginning and end point, and more than adequate material needed to gain a "sense" of the organization. However, rather than pre-determine this, the apparent beginning and end of the dominant discourse of the time was used to guide the "edges." That is, the dominant discourse was followed backwards and forwards in an attempt to determine where it was most prominent. In this case, it appeared to fit nicely between the very late 1940s and the late 1950s. As a result, this period is referred to as the 1950s.

Although the archive holds significant materials for the 1960s, this period did not seem ideal due to its proximity to the first period chosen. In order to truly capture difference, this period was ruled out under the assumption that change would have been more incremental than obvious. The 1970s and the 1980s were considered next. Given the criteria noted above, both seemed ideal, though material is in shorter supply than in the 1950s. As with the previous time period, the dominant discourse served as a guide for establishing the boundaries of the period of study. The resultant time period fell between the mid 70s and the mid 80s. This will be discussed further in Chapter Six. PAA met its demise in the 1990s. The turbulence of the company's history during this time, coupled with an incomplete set of internal newsletters made it inappropriate for inclusion in the study.

"Ackering" the Data

The process of analysis began with an examination of the contributions to the discourses of gender, through Joan Acker's gendering processes framework. This was relatively unproblematic for the first three sets of gendering processes as the data fell quite nicely into the categories determined by Acker. For example, the following excerpt[2] easily contributes to the discourse of gender and fits within the first set of gendering processes, Gendering Practices/Structures:

> *"London Airport News. Flags have been out recently in maintenance in recognition of the recent visit to the base by Mrs. Carrie Suthard from PAA at Miami. Mrs. Suthard is, we believe, one of the few, if not the only, female electrical mechanics employed in the aviation industry."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1952e, p.4)

Other examples of this same set of processes came from pictures that identified work groups where sex segregation of jobs was visible.

> *"Meet the People Who Serve Pan American Customers in Brazil's Second Largest City."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956t, p. 5-6) [In this article, an associated photograph identified 27

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[2] This special format was deliberately chosen for the display of quotes from archival material to create emphasis. Any material contained in an outlined, shaded box was retrieved from the Pan American Airways archive at the University of Miami.

men but only 6 women (3 secretaries, 1 stenographer, and 2

sales representatives).]

[In a picture of a reservations meeting, there are 18 people, only

one of which is female. She is the secretary and is identified as

Mrs. Margaret Anstey. She is the only one captioned with

'Mrs.' All the men are given first and last names, with no title.]

(PanAmericanAirways, 1956x, p.3)

Evidence of the second set, Gendering Cultures, was easily identified through slogans,

symbols, events, and PAA ceremonies and rituals, a few of which are evidenced below:

"1951's Snow Ball Queen Will Win Trip to Paris."

The Atlantic Division holds a beauty contest at their annual

Snow Ball. (PanAmericanAirways, 1951b, p.1)

"Part is Taken in Search for Miss Universe. Pan American

World Airways, Catalina, Inc., and Universal International

films have joined forces to put over what is now being

publicized in the United States as "the most spectacular

promotion ever conceived in the history of merchandising" –

the world-wide beauty contest to discover Miss Universe, the

> *world's most beautiful girl.* " (PanAmericanAirways, 1951e,
>
> p.1)

> *"Engineers' Wives Meet. Three new members...have joined the*
>
> *PAA Engineers' Wives Club.*" (PanAmericanAirways, 1948,
>
> p.3)

The third set of processes, Gendering Interactions, was identified by looking at how men and men, women and women, and men and women interacted. Although not witness to actual conversations per se, it was actually quite easy to identify how those interactions were "supposed to look," as sanctioned by PAA executives, employee contributors to the newspapers, article writers, and editors. In this instance, cartoons were often valuable sources:

> Cartoon – Boss looking at pretty secretary from behind.
>
> Tongue hanging out, he's getting out of his chair. A sign over
>
> his desk reads *"Do it now!"* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956j,
>
> p.12)

> Cartoon – Bride and groom leaving the church. Caption:
>
> Husband to wife: *"We'll have to hurry back to the office dear.*

> *I want you to take a few letters"* (PanAmericanAirways, 1954e,
>
> p.6)

When it came to identifying evidence of the next set of gendering processes, Internal Gender Construction, the task was more difficult as there was a need to "see inside" the thoughts and feelings of individuals as they constructed their gender identities. In this instance, reliance on the understanding that "the individual is socially and self constructed through discourse" (Thomas & Davies, 2005, p.718) was essential, as was an understanding that discourse analysis provides us a way to unpack this construction (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Specifically, how men and women wrote about each other and themselves, and what the discourses *suggested* would be appropriate ways for men and women to construct their identities, were studied.

The following excerpt is one example of how one man writes about another man, thus revealing to us some of his own identity construction:

> *"Calcutta Clippings. By Bill Correia. And speaking of*
>
> *bachelors, our sales cashier, Melville Fernandez, no longer*
>
> *uses wire staples in his cuffs or hip pocket. This leads us to*
>
> *believe he's taking a step in the right direction – having*
>
> *someone to care for him. The higher tax on bachelors, we feel,*
>
> *may have also prompted him to move in this direction."*
>
> (Correia, 1955b, p.10)

Although subtle, this passage tells us a bit about what a bachelor "should" look like and a bit about the role of women. There were many examples such as this one that articulated how the employees at PAA at least thought gender identities should be constructed. It was interesting to note that whenever an employee appeared to behave in a manner not in keeping with the commonly approved gender-prescribed manner, the exception was noted:

> *"Although Rosemarie now has a beautiful apartment, in addition to a husband, she will continue to work for the company for a while."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956g, p.2)

> *"Ulrike Budde, our only Cargo girl, looks quite lost among the boys, but she knows how to cope with them as well as with manifests."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956e, p.12)

The final set of processes, Creating and Conceptualizing Social Structures, is at once difficult and easy to see. Although this category of processes was eventually dropped by Joan Acker, it has been variously interpreted and applied by different scholars, as discussed in Chapter Three (for examples see Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998a; Britton, 1997). Acker first introduces us to the concept as an organizational logic that can be determined by corporate rules, policies and procedures. This is easily identified, as demonstrated in the following:

> *"Scholarships Available to Coemps' Sons."* [Atlantic Division personnel are reminded of the fact that scholarships to Yale University are available to sons of PAA employees.] (PanAmericanAirways, 1955k, p.1)

> *"Retirement Plan Assures Employees a Steady Income."* [Normal retirement age – 60 years for flight and female personnel, 65 years for ground personnel.] (PanAmericanAirways, 1953f, p.2)

> *"Flight Service Announces Plans to Put Japanese Speaking Stewardesses on All TYO-SFO-TYO Trips. Requirements for Japanese speaking stewardesses will be the same as for other girls, with the exception of the height, which will be from 5 feet 3 inches to 5 feet six inches, and of course the language requirement."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1955f, p.5)

As previously noted, Acker later speaks of this same process set as more of a gendered substructure which, "links the more surface gender arrangements with the gender relations in other parts of the society" (Acker, 1992b, p. 259).

This was much more difficult to apply using this surface level approach and presents the first potential problem with the application of Acker's framework in this manner.

At the end of this exercise, I ended up with an "'inventory" of "evidence" of Acker's gendering processes. For each of the five process sets, extensive lists of such evidence were easily created. However, this left me with an overwhelming sense of "So what?" Herein lays a potential problem with Acker's framework, as initially presented. The framework, as an analytic, lends itself quite easily to simplistic, surface level analysis that some might interpret as purely positivist in nature. Without rich descriptions and in-depth guidance as to its interpretation and analysis, the analytic appears limited in its ability to aid in making sense of the gendering of organizations. A more careful analysis is required.

A Deeper Look

As just noted, it was relatively easy to demonstrate evidence of Joan Acker's gendering processes at PAA during the 1950s. However, this exploration created more questions than answers, thus strengthening the need for deeper, more thoughtful analysis. These questions included: Where does sexuality fit? What is the fifth set of processes? Does it exist? What is the relationship between it and the other process sets? How do the process sets influence each other? Where does society fit in? How can we understand change by this snapshot approach? Is this snapshot approach appropriate? And the all-important question, is this useful? Does Joan Acker's framework of gendering processes inform us in a way that helps to enact change? As well, this study reinforced the questions posed in Chapter Three in terms of the individual process sets, their location

within the framework, and the utility (or not) of studying the framework in its entirety rather than studying the process sets individually, as is currently happening in the field of gendered organizational studies. All of these questions reinforced the need for deeper understandings of gendering at PAA and indicated that perhaps the notion of discourse could be utilized in a new way.

Acker suggests several times that the process sets are related and, intuitively, this makes sense. However the relationship never seems to be fully fleshed out by Acker and, as demonstrated in Chapter Three, is variously interpreted within the field of gendered organization studies by others. Understanding this, it became evident that this research required something more, something that would capture all of the process sets, sexuality, and possibly society. It seemed that an analysis of dominant discourses could accomplish this.

A return to the data with this in mind followed, with the goal of discovering the dominant discourses. Interestingly, there appeared to be (quite blatantly) one dominant discourse that shaped the PAA organization.

The Dominant Discourse in the 1950s

A discourse of "family" seemed to pervade everything in the PAA newsletters. This was discovered by re-reading the field notes and photocopies at a much more "removed" level, and jotting down single words and phrases that seemed to capture the essence of what was being read. Passages were read and then the question, "What is this telling us?" was asked. In essence, an interrogation (Mills and Helms Mills, 2006) of the archival information was undertaken. It became apparent that everything, from rules and regulations to slogans and nicknames, was related to family. More and more symbolism

of the family, the use of the family metaphor, and similarities between the 1950s family and PAA, the organization, became evident.

It appears that PAA in the 1950s was very much about family. At its most mundane level, it was about working together under the "we're all in this together" rhetoric whereby all members are "one big happy family" and referred to each other as "brothers" and "sisters." At more complex levels, this metaphor served to structure the organization in a patriarchal fashion and influence the values, beliefs, and identities of its members.

At its most basic level, the metaphor of a family was frequently used to describe the members of the organization:

> *"Two Members of LAD Family Join 25-Year Service "Club""*
>
> (1953h, p.5)

Whether intended to garner buy-in, to more deeply commit employees to the organization's goals and values, or to simply motivate employees by helping them feel "included," these references to employees as family members served to further gender the organization, as will be demonstrated.

The discourse of the PAA family also extended to the families of PAA employees, as is evidenced by the fact that PAA employees and their entire families were included in internal communications. Mention was often made of wives, children, and, more rarely, husbands or spouses. In fact, newborn babies of PAA employees were often referred to as "baby stewardesses" and "baby stewards" (PanAmericanAirways, 1956f,

p.2). This implied that they, too, would become PAA employees and were already members of the PAA family.

This inclusion in the PAA family was also evident in the content of the communications. One example demonstrates how the Pan American Clipper is a service for the whole family. The November 1956 issue of the Atlantic Clipper announces a Christmas Toy Sale, going so far as to categorize toys in terms of their "appropriateness" for tots, girls, and boys (PanAmericanAirways, 1956a). Clearly, PAA the organization felt able to influence/inform from more than a mere "employer" position. Other examples included "wife saving" techniques (PanAmericanAirways, 1954b, p.9), benefits for family members (PanAmericanAirways, 1957a, p.10), and activities for wives and children of PAA employees (PanAmericanAirways, 1955a, p.12).

This surface level use of the discourse of family encouraged a deeper look, to see if it was anything more than just a surface level phenomenon. Upon closer examination, it was discovered that many elements of PAA life were built around the notion of family. It appeared that roles, responsibilities, and behaviors were prescribed according to how a family might look in the 1950s.

When reading the archival material, clearly prescribed family roles emerged. Men at PAA were fathers, sons, or uncles/cousins. More senior men at PAA, the fathers, were described as strong leaders who took risks for their family (PAA family), solved problems, and ruled fairly but firmly. They were clearly the "head of the PAA household," just as they were the head of the typical family in the 1950s:

> *"Reduced Fares Spur Tourism - Under the family plan, the head of a family pays a full one-way first class fare while his*

wife and any children between the ages of 12 and 21 can travel with him for half fare. " (PanAmericanAirways, 1956w, p.1)

"There are some who think it weak for a supervisor to be tactful and kind to the people he directs; while the opposite is true. " [This article discusses how "Big wheels" need to be kind to the "little wheels" within the organization.] (PanAmericanAirways, 1956b, p.10)

The father was admired, served and respected by all but was deemed practically useless when it came to all things domestic:

"Join In: You Too Can Save a Wife. To properly observe it, maybe the old man should prepare the meals. On second thought, instead of saving a wife, that might destroy the whole family. " (PanAmericanAirways, 1954g, p.9)

"Briefing Session: Patsy Eade, eight months old, seems to enjoy having her father Malcom "Sparky" Wade, fumble through a diapering session, despite her chances of being stabbed with a safety pin. " (PanAmericanAirways, 1952c, p.1)

Younger men at PAA were treated as sons. They were young and looking for wives but feared being "caught". Men getting married were variously described as "taking the long walk" and were warned to be wary of some beautiful woman "putting the jinx on him" (PanAmericanAirways, 1956f, p.5). One article refers to a man getting married as "the latest to bite the dust" (PanAmericanAirways, 1956f, p.3).

These sons were still learning their trades but were, otherwise, afforded much of the respect shown to more senior men. Training at PAA molded them for management roles (PanAmericanAirways, 1952a).

These men, fathers and sons, were all part of a special group. They shared in a "brotherhood" both within their professions and within PAA. Not only were unions called "brotherhoods," but references were often made to special interest groups, specifically for men, as brotherhoods or fraternities (PanAmericanAirways, 1952b). The family connotation is significant, as is the "exclusivity" of such groups. Historically, brotherhoods and fraternities have been secret, exclusive organizations that wield much power, legitimate or otherwise.

Customers at PAA were sometimes referred to as uncles or cousins. They were important to the family but separate from the inner sanctum. However, as men, they too were to be served and soothed:

> *"Efforts should be directed toward our most important asset - our PASSENGER. Look at him - look again, he is not the greedy, nasty, ignorant question-asker always wanting to disturb our peaceful daydreams - Let's see him handing us a portion of our pay checks, buying groceries for our children,*

> *making the payment on our car. Surely this wonderful "Uncle"*
>
> *can afford to be irate sometimes and demand a bit of*
>
> *attention... Sometimes he just wants a smile and someone to*
>
> *listen to his problems or assure him that he is not deserted."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1956b, p.2)

This passage is interesting. It appears to be directed mainly towards women – those who serve the benevolent uncles. The words "disturb our peaceful daydreams" are particularly condescending and seem to imply that stewardesses might be daydreaming when they should be working. This is consistent with the image of female employees often encountered.

Women at PAA were treated as mothers/wives, daughters, or mistresses. These roles were characterized by domesticity, servitude, and pleasant efficiency:

> *"Probably the most outstanding requisite required of a flight*
>
> *stewardess is her ability to be a gracious hostess, alertly*
>
> *anticipating her passengers' needs and providing the necessary*
>
> *services in an attractive and efficient manner.....the lot of the*
>
> *flight attendant is hard work, but her life is one of real*
>
> *usefulness and few careers for women offer so many*
>
> *opportunities for personal development through travel."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1956h, p.6)

The wives were characterized as being long suffering, persevering in the face of adversity, and always willing to serve with a smile. Because many women left employment after marriage and/or children, much of the discussion surrounding this role was about events outside of the PAA organization, but still very much within the PAA family:

> *"Congratulations on Your 10th Anniversary - We feel that it is fitting to offer a little praise to our "silent ones" - the wives who have the table all set only to receive a phone call saying "I won't be home for supper...expect me when you see me"... or the ones who try to get the kids back to sleep after a midnight phone call or, finally, the gal who is all dressed up but finds she has no place to go because the weather in New York is bad."*
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1956m, p.8)

Women who did work at PAA after marriage were typically older and were slated for less glamorous jobs, usually not within the public domain. Many were secretaries and telephone operators. Sometimes they were placed in positions which allowed them to mother/mentor/train/handle the younger women.

The daughter role, although also characterized by domesticity, is curiously distinct from the wife/mother role. Variously labeled as gals, little girls, young women, and little misses, these women are typically characterized as being young, attractive,

aspiring to be successful in all things feminine, and obsessed with trying to "catch" a husband.

> *"One little girl that is really going to be missed in the Flight Service Office at IDL is Jean Steecker…"*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1956b, p.3)

It was expected that these girls would leave PAA once they had been successful in the latter. It is not uncommon for newspapers to state that a woman is resigning from PA to "devote her full time to being a housewife" (PanAmericanAirways, 1956f, p.5).

Also different from the role of wife/mother, it seemed acceptable, even appropriate, to discuss these young women in terms of their appearance – including dimensions:

> *"Other specifications for this Clipper: Brown hair, five feet five, 34-24-37 fuselage dimensions, from north to south."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1955j, p.2)

Examples like this one abound. Very often, these young women were discussed as assets to the organization because of their beauty. It was expected that these young ladies would be fit and trim, pleasant and eager to please, and would serve as decorations at PAA. The comparison of a young woman to an airplane in the example above, was not a unique instance. Many newsletter articles referred to "pretty" young ladies as necessary objects:

> *"Every station has to have a pretty secretary so here is Judith Mencia, secretary to Schutt, district traffic/sales manager."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1956c, p.4)

Although these young women were often good at domestic activities, they were considered "silly" and in need of guidance, and incompetent in areas dominated by men. This was evident in the "Silly Sally" comic series which ran in the Clipper in the 1950s. Whereas "Clumsy Clem" highlighted safety issues for men, "Silly Sally" taught women how to behave in organizations. For example, one comic strip depicts a young woman who is about to call in sick because she doesn't feel like going to work. Another employee then shows her the error of her ways (PanAmericanAirways, 1954a, p.10). Other examples attempt to demonstrate what can happen when a woman brings her emotions to work.

> Cartoon: [Female secretary upset and cranky because her boyfriend didn't send her a valentine. She is grumpy to everyone all day, gets home, and sees that he did send one after all]. Caption: *"It's a fact. Everybody has personal troubles. Don't burden other people with yours."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1954c, p.9)

Women are often made fun of in gossip columns, and it is not unusual to see examples of women doing silly things:

> *"Even Chinese Will Do- Miss Maria Luiza Sa, Rio de Janeiro*
>
> *DSO, who is in charge of booking film shows for the Institute*
>
> *for the Deaf and Dumb, had a problem. She wanted to know if*
>
> *it made any difference whether the sound track was in*
>
> *Portuguese, Spanish or English."* (PanAmericanAirways,
>
> 1956n, p.2)

Stories of this nature, divisive along gender lines, serve to perpetuate biases and prejudices, effectively silencing the voices of young women, and limiting their ability to move beyond the stereotypes.

The role of mistress is a very interesting and somewhat surprising one. Here, sexuality seems to play its biggest role. Throughout PAA newsletters in the 1950s, men can be seen ogling "attractive" women. Jokes are made, nuances are suggested, and it appears that men, otherwise intelligent and stable creatures, lose all rationality in the presence of an "attractive" woman. Innuendos about clandestine affairs and adultery are surprisingly common in the PAA newsletter. These are some of the less offensive passages:

> *"We have the reputation in Shannon for having a group of girls*
>
> *in communications, each of whom is very easy on the eyes. All*
>
> *right, so most of the boys here are married (forget that stuff*

> *about the vanishing Irishman), but we can look, can't we?"*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1956f, p.6)

Cartoon – [Picture of business man with a woman who looks like a movie star (very glamorous).] Caption: *"Quick! Pretend you're the scrub woman...Here comes my wife!"*

(PanAmericanAirways, 1954d, p.8)

What is interesting about the role of the mistress is the potential for power dimensions. In almost all instances, the women are still subject to the whims of the man – "pretend you are the scrub woman" scenarios, boss and secretary affairs, and other similar situations would seem to indicate that the men hold the power in the relationship. However, it is possible that there is another power relationship at play. Because seemingly rational men drop tools, have work accidents, drool incessantly, and overlook work to stare dreamily at these women (according to the newsletters), the women involved do possess some power. This is an area that needs further development.

Each of these roles is visited in greater depth as the chapter progresses. The previous section is not an attempt to give a "checklist" of "proof," nor is it an attempt to provide a comprehensive picture of the discourse of family at PAA in the 1950s. Rather, it is merely an introduction to the discourse that will now be

followed through Joan Acker's gendering processes framework, in keeping with the intent of this study.

Acker and the Discourse of Family

As the discourse of family is followed through each of Acker's process sets, the complexities and interconnectedness of Acker's gendering processes become clearer.

Gendering practices/structures. This first set of processes was described in Chapter One as the production of gender divisions; specifically, "ordinary organizational practices produce gender patterning of jobs, wages, and hierarchies, power and subordination" (Acker, 1992b, p. 252). As discussed in Chapter Three, there seems to be agreement within the extant literature that issues of structure and sex segregation of jobs dominate this process set. Without a doubt, the patterning of jobs and responsibilities can also be seen in the "family organization." It is not uncommon, even today, for husbands to be socialized to be "providers" and wives to be socialized to be "caregivers" and "homemakers." In the 1950s, these roles were even more clearly defined and the social pressure greater. Men, women, and children had specific roles within the family domain and these roles were not unlike those prescribed in PAA. Not only were jobs divided according to gender, but the tasks assigned to men and women varied considerably, according to the gender lines in the family.

At the most basic, surface level, one can see the gendered divisions at PAA in terms of numbers. Early in the analysis, it is easy to see that men dominated the industry as well as the powerful positions. This is consistent with the notion of the male as the head of the household. Women only appeared to be included in secretarial and support roles, again consistent with the 1950s image of a family. The following passages

demonstrate how it is possible to read the gendered nature of jobs at PAA, as well as the

parallels with the discourse of family:

Photo (2 page photographic spread): *San Salvador Station is Important Junction on PAA's Central American Routes* [Shows 46 men. 3 women] (PanAmericanAirways, 1956y)

Photo (2 page photographic spread): *"Meet the People Who Serve Pan American Customers Brazil's Second Largest City."* [Shows 27 men and 6 women identified-- 3 secretaries, 1 stenographer, and 2 sales representatives]. (PanAmericanAirways, 1956u)

Although no articles were encountered that said men could only fill certain

positions and women could only fill certain others, the divisions are clear. Photographs,

employee lists, directives, job requirements, and news stories are all indicative of this

phenomenon. Just as in a family, there are certain beliefs about which jobs are women's

jobs and which are men's. This is consistent with the discussion noted above, whereby

men are incompetent in all things feminine (diaper changing and cooking) and women

are silly and incompetent in all things masculine.

Whenever a man or a woman holds a position that isn't consistent with commonly

held beliefs, it is duly noted, further perpetuating understandings of sex segregation of

jobs, as in the following:

> *"London Airport Lowdown - Operations is wearing a decidedly "new look" these days both from layout and personnel viewpoints. Perhaps the most notable change is the addition of Ann McDonald, the first female to encroach upon operations territory in more than three years. Ann is working at the message desk."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956s, p.5)

The language used in this article is interesting, most notably the term, "encroach." This suggestion, that women are appearing where they are not usually seen, not supposed to be, or not wanted, appears several times within this period. This can hardly be deemed as progress from the feminist poststructuralist standpoint, yet liberal feminists could claim this "increase in numbers" as a win. Discourse helps us to further assess the gendered nature of this organization by delving below the surface. While "numbers" may appear to be getting better (marginally so), the language tells us more of the story. The next two excerpts are equally as revealing.

> *"Traffic Talk at Idlewild - Station tradition was broken when Madeline Cuniff was made the first female senior agent."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1953g, p.5)

Note the use of the words, "tradition was broken." This phraseology, with its negative connotation only serves to reinforce the taken-for-grantedness of the sex

segregation of jobs and does little to celebrate the breaking of stereotypical barriers. This is, in fact, a breakthrough, but the language used serves to make the announcement almost ambiguous with its contradictory messages.

"Co-Ed Wins "Seven Seas" Diploma - Bob Adent, instructor in the DC-7C ground training school at San Francisco, does some explaining to Ermyl Bell, statistical clerk in Service Analysis. Ermyl was assigned to take the short course with mechanics from Line Service and Plan Service in order that she might become more familiar with the flight engineers' log on the new airplane. The only girl in what was, until her matriculation, an all-male school, Ermyl must have paid good attention. In the final exam she got the highest grade in the class, beating out among others, her boss, Don McCann."

(PanAmericanAirways, 1956l, p.1)

This paragraph does some interesting things. First of all, we are told that Ermyl is the first woman to take a course at the all-male school, thus reinforcing that it is an all-male school. Second, an explanation is given as to why she is taking the course – not to become a mechanic, but so she can better understand the log of the new airplane. One could argue that this explanation serves to make the reader know that she is still an "outsider" and that there was a good reason for her to take the course. Finally, the sentence that states she "must have paid good attention" belittles the fact that she got the

highest grade in the class. Her success is used to further differentiate her. It would be erroneous not to note that the message was indeed a positive one for women in the sense that it symbolized the opening of at least one door. However, once again the language leaves us with an ambiguous message.

There are many such examples in the data of "firsts." Although these may be interpreted as progress, again from a liberal feminist standpoint, one cannot ignore the confirmation and reification of sex segregation of jobs, or the silencing effect that these stories may have. The content of these stories seems to lie outside of the discourse of family, yet they are written in a way so that they can be made sense of in terms of the discourse. As well, by making these stories ambiguous, they are less of a threat to the dominant discourse.

Study of the training provided by an organization can be quite revealing. At PAA, there is a very clear divide between training for men and training for women. It is clear to see which jobs are deemed appropriate for each sex, as well as which qualities are deemed to be important. One can also see that the expected roles of each "family member" are supported and reinforced by the training, thus supporting inclusion of the notion of gendered hierarchies in this process set. The following excerpts demonstrate just who is being trained for which positions:

> *"Look as Smart as You Are - That's the theme of a new program that has been running at the System Offices for several weeks. Miss Bettina Thayer, an expert on office grooming and manners, has been conducting two classes of an hour and a half*

> *each for female employees... The course, to which every female employee has been invited, is designed to assist in the grooming of employees at work."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1955h, p.3)

This training supports the family roles identified previously. Women, silent, attractive, efficient, polite wives and daughters, are given refresher courses on how to look and behave. Note that men are not even invited to this training. A very clear message is being sent about what management deems is important for female employees. The message also undermines the intelligence of the women as it assumes they are not able to figure out how to look and act on their own.

Articles discussing training for men are very different in nature. For example:

> *"Management Training Program Opens for LADers at Miami. Eight Men Selected For 'Class'. Subsequently the Division Executives plan to develop courses for the training of more Junior Grade management personnel, and probably a course for men who have already arrived at high rank within the company, but who feel that they might benefit from additional study and training."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1952h, p.3)

Note that these men are being trained to lead and to manage others, thus supporting the notion of gendered hierarchy. The training is targeted to junior level managers (sons) and high level managers (fathers) who "feel they may benefit" from the training. The option is theirs if they feel a need, thus not undermining their abilities as

was done in the passage about training for women. Notice that women are not invited to this training.

PAA makes it very clear, through training opportunities, which positions are appropriate for which sex and which skills/attributes are important for such positions, making it very difficult for either sex to break into positions not deemed appropriate for them, and for women to move into positions of power. The skills/attributes deemed appropriate for each are consistent with the family roles discussed previously.

The family discourse becomes even more predominant when "women's work" is more closely examined. Throughout the newsletters, jobs primarily occupied by women (wives or daughters) are often compared to housekeeping, beauty, and hospitality:

> *Spring, Fall No Different – Housecleaning Daily Chore For Pan American Clippers. It takes more grooming to launch a Pan American World Airways flight than it does to launch a debutante – and lots more planning ... As supplies are loaded, the stewardess comes aboard, counting and checking in fresh blankets, silverware and pillows as carefully as a bride setting up housekeeping... "* She checks on *"all the things a woman needs to run a home or an airliner."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956z, p.7)

The passage just noted is rich in meaning. The language is replete with examples of domesticity and family. "Housecleaning," "chore," "debutante," "blankets," "silverware,"

"pillows," "bride setting up housekeeping", and "all the things a woman needs to run a home" all support the notion that roles in PAA are shaped by the roles of a 1950's family. We can clearly see where wives/mothers and daughters fit. Other examples are just as telling:

> *"Among the Flying Babysitters last month were: Dottie Bohanna, Marilyn McDermott and Liz Rudge."*
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1956b, p.11)

> *"Missile Sitters – Think you have babysitting problems? Take comfort from knowing there are three gals at Pan Am who sometimes "sit" as long as 20 hours at a stretch. They're Mary R. Brodie, Dorothy M. Vissers and Doris A Tekos, Pan American nurses who baby-sit some of the biggest and often most ornery babies in the world – our missiles."*
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1958a, p.3)

It is interesting to note that even when a woman holds a position as sensitive and dangerous as "missile sitting," that their jobs are compared to babysitting. This labeling serves to further gender the positions and demonstrates how power can be "enacted" and "seen" within this process set.

Even when the role is not a traditional one within the airline industry, comparisons are made to the role of housewife:

> *"Familiar Female Role. But Nelly Bosses CCS Cargo Instead of Henpecked Hubby - A woman has "arrived" when the world's largest international airline, traditionally run by men, picks her to head one of its largest cargo offices in Latin America."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1955e, p.5)

This is an excellent example of the treatment of a woman in a non-traditional job in the airlines. The "henpecked" language places her squarely in the "wife" role, even though she has reached a management level position. It would be hard to devalue this success story any more. Though she has broken through one gender barrier, she will never move outside of the role of "wife" at PAA.

In conclusion, what can we surmise about Joan Acker's first set of gendering processes? How has this set been enacted and realized? Has it? In the first instance, a more surface level analysis provided clues about the existence of this process set. It was easy to see that gendered divisions did occur. However, it wasn't until the introduction of critical discourse analysis, and the unearthing of the dominant discourse, that the how's and the why's became clearer. It appears that the dominant discourse, that of family, was used as an organizing principle which, in turn, served to shape the organization in terms of gender. It is no secret that early organizations formed in the image of churches and prisons (Foucault, 1979; Toffler, 1981) in the absence of other models. With the introduction of significant numbers of women in the workforce, organizations had to suddenly deal with new organization members. They were faced

with questions about where these women should fit, how they should be engaged, and brand new issues of power. Not only were they employees, but they were women! It almost makes sense that power holders would turn to the only other known organization that included women – the family – for an understanding of how they would fit. This would explain the logic behind the positions deemed appropriate for women (and men) and the subsequent gendering of the organizational structure. As we will see, this holds true for many, if not all, of Acker's gendering process sets.

At this point in our analysis, sex segregation of jobs, gendered hierarchies, and the "doing" of power have been observed in terms of the practices (formal or otherwise) that created them and the discourse that informed them. One could argue that sexuality has also been represented in terms of the gendering of positions as a result of rules of sexuality. For example, flight attendants, as sexual objects are predominantly women. However, the application of sexuality to this process set has not been made entirely clear. The notion of physical space, as included in Acker's first definition, has not been present in our analysis thus far. We have, however, pretty clear indications about what a relationship between this process set and the others might look like.

Gendering cultures. Acker's second set of processes was described in Chapter One as "the creation of symbols, images, and forms of consciousness that explicate, justify, and, more rarely, oppose gender divisions" (Acker, 1992b, p.253). To evaluate the gendering processes within this category, it is important to look at what PAA as an organization values. This is determined by looking at rituals, popular events, celebrations, and ideals. What is discovered is that PAA's culture (in terms of ceremonies, celebrations, etc.) is very much informed by the discourse of family. Ideals, as determined by the discourse of

family, are embraced, celebrated, and reinforced by cultural artifacts. For example, it

seems that almost every celebration at PAA includes a beauty contest of some sort, thus

supporting the requirement for beauty within the role of daughter:

[The Miss Pan American 1955 competition was held during the company Christmas party.] (PanAmericanAirways, 1956b, p.14)

"1951's Snow Ball Queen Will Win Trip to Paris" – Atlantic Division holds a beauty contest at their annual Snow Ball (PanAmericanAirways, 1951a, p.1)

"400 Caracas, Maiquetia Staffers, Families Attend Anniversary Party - One of the highlights of the festivities was a beauty contest to select "Miss Pan American" – and two winners emerged." (PanAmericanAirways, 1953a, p.2)

Similarly, PAA stewardesses are often celebrated for their participation in

pageants external to the organization. Announcements about PAA employees who were

beauty pageant contestants are quite commonplace:

> *"Angela Brading (Traffic) who entered the Miss London Airport of 1956 competition, came a very close runner up."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956b, p.5)

> *"Flight Service Log. Ellen Forseth, popular publicity stewardess, has been selected to represent Pan American in the airline beauty contest to be held in Johannesburg. She will compete with representatives from various other airlines and the prizes are really terrrrific!"* (PanAmericanAirways, 1955g, p.10)

> *"And a hearty welcome home to Ballindoon, County Sislgo, goes to Miss Ireland, U.S.A., who is none other than 22-year-old Eva Foley, of the PAA ticket counter on 42nd street, New York."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1955b, p.9)

When discussing pageants, the PAA employees are commonly referred to as "our girls," and always referred to as "girls." The implication is that these women are young and unmarried, thus fitting the daughter role, and "belong" to PAA.

Finally, PAA demonstrates its level of commitment to pageants by sponsoring the Miss Universe pageant:

> *"Part is Taken in Search for Miss Universe - Pan American World Airways, Catalina, Inc., and Universal International films have joined forces to put over what is now being publicized in the United States as "the most spectacular promotion ever conceived in the history of merchandising" – the world-wide beauty contest to discover Miss Universe, the world's most beautiful girl."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1951d, p.1)

The beauty pageant discourse is highly visible. Almost every edition of the Clipper makes note of pageant winners, former beauty queens becoming stewardesses, company sponsored pageants, and beauty queen travelers. No other type of event is featured this extensively, thus demonstrating the embeddedness of the importance of young female beauty at PAA.

In 1954, the editors of the Pan American Clipper began a new feature called the "Clipper Cuties." The goal was to present a new PAA employee, typically a young female, in every issue. Not only did it reinforce the organization's emphasis on pretty young women ("cutie" indicating youth), but the Clipper Cutie feature helped to "educate" the readers about what a pretty girl should look like.

> *"Clipper Cutie - She has curves in the right places."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956k, p.3)

> *"Clipper Cutie - Other specifications for this Clipper: Brown hair, five feet five, 34-24-37 fuselage dimensions, from north to south."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1955c, p.2)

> *"Clipper Cutie. She's 21, 5 feet, 5 ½ inches tall and weighs 122. Sorry, no address."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1955d, p.4)

Akin to the effect of today's glamour magazines, these photo displays with accompanying articles demonstrate a sexual ideal to which one could compare themselves or others. These articles often comment on "appropriate curves" in "all the right places" and frequently provide dimensions. One article even goes so far as to suggest that Marilyn Munroe's dimensions are getting a bit out of proportion and that she should cut back on the cookies (PanAmericanAirways, 1956b, p.12).

Once again, it is important to visit the passages that speak directly to young women in terms of how they "ought" to look. The second passage in the list above, as mentioned previously, describes the dimensions of the "cutie" in terms of "fuselage dimensions, from north to south." This, too, was not unusual, as the young women are often posed with aircraft machinery or described in terms of aircraft equipment. One cannot help but wonder about the deeper level meaning of such descriptions – were young women merely objects in the airline industry, part of the fleet, so to speak? Did the identification of young women by their curves and measurements, demean their

competency as employees, thereby significantly limiting their power? On the other hand, did some of the women recognize the counter power potential and use their attractiveness as leverage within the organization? Even if this were true, it would be a case of men creating the game and women playing it – just as hoped for by the creators.

In direct contrast to the "Clipper Cutie" feature is the "Man of the Month" feature (PanAmericanAirways, 1952g, p.9). Here, we see what is expected and rewarded when it comes to male employees. Within this feature, men are introduced to other PAA employees and their accolades are celebrated – accolades that reflect the discourse of family. This most often includes military service (the ability to protect), athletic achievements (strength and stamina), promotions (the ability to provide), mechanical ability (the ability to solve problems and fix things), and demonstrations of service to PAA that go above and beyond usual expectations (commitment to the family). The men are described by their successes and their hobbies, rarely by their physical attributes – except for moustaches. Moustaches are a common theme and are heralded as a sign of masculinity. The "Man of the Month" feature celebrates men for all things masculine, many of which can be found in societal expectations of husbands and fathers.

What is perhaps even more telling about this feature is the occasional inclusion of women. This isn't a common occurrence but it is worth noting what is celebrated about the women in this feature. The next two passages tell us an interesting story.

"Man of the Month – London. The August Man of the Month award in the London sales office was made to (miss) "Mac" McFall, of the filing department. Miss McFall has always been a most conscientious and hard-working employee and she is a

> *major asset in the reservations unit of the sales office. When a*
>
> *new system was implemented, she worked from 9 am until 6 am*
>
> *the next day and then went back in at 14:00 the same day to get*
>
> *it up and running."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1955i, p.7)

> *"Man of the Month – London. January's Man of the Month*
>
> *award went to Mrs. Ruth Hole, of the telephone sales section in*
>
> *the London sales office. Mrs. Hole has displayed salesmanship*
>
> *of high order in carrying out her duties."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1954h, p.7)

These women are celebrated for "acting like ideal men". Throughout the Pan American Clipper editions, women are rarely celebrated for being hard-working or for working long hours, yet men are often celebrated in this way. When a woman is "caught" working longer hours, she is deemed worthy of this dubious honor, but the honor is never re-named. The following passage, although not part of the "Man of the Month" feature is further evidence of this, and supports the notion of silly, incompetent women:

> *"Calcutta Clippings - By Bill Correia. Alice Godenho, our*
>
> *"secretary cum mascot," took us rather by surprise the other*
>
> *evening. Way past office hours, she was seemingly engrossed*
>
> *in her work. This being quite unusual for her, we ventured to*

> *ask her reason. And we found out that she was working an all-*
>
> *out effort to beat the compiler of India's popular pastime, the*
>
> *Commonsense Crossword."* (Correia, 1955a, p.6)

In this passage, it is noted that it is unusual to see this woman working after hours. Upon discovery, it was important to find out why. This revealed that she wasn't actually working and was merely completing a crossword puzzle, which seemed a more logical explanation for her behavior (the assumption being that women don't usually work late hours). The description of her as the department's mascot speaks volumes as well.

Moving through Acker's process sets, it becomes evident that the process sets are very much intertwined. Examples used for one process set could easily be clues for other process sets. In fact, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain where certain excerpts should be discussed. For example, an excerpt that speaks to female "beauty" and the celebration of beauty, as just described in this section, could just as easily be used to provide clues for internal gender construction processes.

Gendering interactions. Acker's third set of processes were described in Chapter One as the "interactions between individuals, women and men, women and women, men and men, in the multiplicity of forms that enact dominance and subordination and create alliances and exclusions. In these interactions, at various levels of hierarchy, policies that create divisions are developed and images of gender are created and affirmed" (Acker, 1992b, p. 253). Moving to a more intimate level of analysis, this category emphasizes the importance of individual level interaction as a gendering instrument.

As mentioned previously, not being privy to actual interactions make this task somewhat more difficult. In essence, organization sanctioned "rules" or "understandings" of interactions have to be discovered and used for analysis. This is done by studying how each gender writes about their own gender and the other, how they are quoted as speaking to each other, and how common interactions are portrayed. There are definitely consistent patterns and once again, the discourse of family is prevalent.

Communications from "higher-ups" in the organization very clearly serve to define where the power is held and the patriarchal nature of PAA. A good example is an address by Juan T. Trippe, President of Pan American World Airways, before the 40th Convention of the National Foreign Trade Council, New York, N.Y., on November 16, 1953. He was the chairman of the convention committee and his speech began with. "Gentlemen, you have a job to do – I know you will do it well." Juan Trippe seems to rarely, if ever, address the women of PAA, and his addresses are often paternalistic in nature. One could almost imagine him sitting before his male children, giving them a stern, fatherly lecture. The mothers would be left to instruct their daughters in all things domestic.

When women are addressed in the newsletters, they are often referred to as blonde eyefuls, skirts, gals, cuties, or girls, and the messages often continue in this paternalistic tone. This treatment is consistent with the roles of wife and daughter described earlier. Though competent in all things domestic, wives and daughters need guidance. Interestingly, this paternalistic tone is not reserved for the women of PAA, but can also be heard in the language used to describe the accomplishments of minority male

employees. Although beyond the scope of this study, the treatment of minority male and female employees presents an interesting avenue for further study.

The relationship between the boss (almost always male) and the secretary (almost always female), far from paternalistic, is often exposed in a tongue-in-cheek manner but is, in actuality, an extension of the reality. For example, the boss marrying the secretary is not uncommon and is often represented in the cartoons:

Cartoon – Bride and groom leaving the church. Caption:

"We'll have to hurry back to the office dear. I want you to take a few letters." (PanAmericanAirways, 1954e, p.6)

However, the clandestine relationship is even more celebrated in the cartoons. It seems that a lustful interest between the boss and the secretary is the norm:

Cartoon – [Boss looking at pretty secretary from behind. Tongue hanging out, he's getting out of his chair. A sign over his desk reads *"Do it now!".]* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956j, p.12)

Cartoon – [A secretary sitting on her boss's lap. Caption reads, *"I like this work much better than filing, Mr. Higgins. I'm not on my feet so much."]* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956j, p.2)

Finally, these cartoons are telling of the competencies and resulting power relationships of the two. Secretaries are often made to look like quite incompetent but necessary office equipment, consistent with the earlier discussion of mothers/wives and daughters:

Cartoon: [Attractive secretary taking dictation from her male boss. Caption: Secretary says *"Would you mind repeating the last two pages?"]* (PanAmericanAirways, 1952d, p.6)

Cartoon: Angry boss yelling at secretary who is eating.

Caption: *"Please re-type these letters, Miss Harris – this time without mustard!"* (PanAmericanAirways, 1952d, p.11)

Cartoon: [Picture of a salesman who has just entered an office. Three secretaries are reading a magazine, filing nails, and doing hair. Caption: *"I see Mr. Struman isn't in. When will he be back?"]* (PanAmericanAirways, 1953c, p.16)

Cartoon: [Woman standing before personnel Mgr's desk (male). Caption: *"I don't care what the salary is. As long as the boss is single."]* (PanAmericanAirways, 1953b, p.3)

The last example is also consistent with the notion that the young ladies are more than preoccupied with finding a spouse.

It seems that a sexual tension between the men and the unmarried women at PAA is a very natural and celebrated thing. Married or not, it seems that the men, acting as men do (according to the discourse), will and should appreciate the beautiful, young unmarried women:

"Recognize 'em?" [Photo of seven sets of crossed legs.] *"This picture just goes to show how a photographers mind, and viewfinder, can wander. He undoubtedly appreciates the finer things in life."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1953e, p.3)

Cartoon: [Picture of three maintenance workers - Two men and one very shapely woman in overalls. Caption, *:"Take this week off, Miss Le Boop. We're trying to win the Safety contest."]* (PanAmericanAirways, 1954e, p.12)

Through these cartoons, we can see the sanctioned communication patterns between men and unmarried women at PAA. However, communications look much different when the women are married. As stated previously, married female employees are rarely referred to in terms of their beauty, and their measurements are never noted. Instead, they are now given titles (Mrs.) and are referred to in terms of their husbands and

children. One exception of this was noted, as was its acknowledgment by the editors as an exception:

> *"We'd Never have Guessed It - Grandmothers don't often qualify in this department, which makes this titian-haired clipper cutie something special. She is Eve Kohlberg, secretary-personnel liaison, Accounting Department, with Pan American since June 1944. Eve measures up to the assignment in more ways than one, such as 35-25-36; height 5 feet 6 inches! Weight 125 pounds. She says she is 'over 21'. Besides four lovely grandchildren, her hobbies are dancing, swimming, and music."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1957c, p.7)

The statement, "Grandmothers don't often qualify" further supports the distinction between single women (daughters) and married women (wives).

This process set is evident but only in an indirect way, due to the nature of the research. Through the archives, clues are provided as to how men and women relate to themselves and others. Photos demonstrate time and again the act of women serving men, cartoons hint at the sexual tension between men and women and the potential for romance, and women are addressed as girls, gals, chicks, and other possibly demeaning terms. However, actual interactions were not observed. In this instance, the assumption that discourse is a signifier of reality was essential.

Internal gender constructions. The fourth set of processes, Internal Gender

Constructions, was described in Chapter One as centering on the "internal mental work of

individuals as they consciously construct their understandings of the organization's

gendered structure of work and opportunity and the demands for gender-appropriate

behaviors and attitudes" (Acker, 1992b, p. 253). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the

task here is to look for discourses that contribute to this internal mental work. According

to Prasad (2005), "Discourse ... refers to far more than speech, writing, or conversation;

it refers to "varied bodies of knowledge, regimes of enunciation, strategies and protocols

of knowledge production, [and] cultural and sub-cultural grammars of behavior" (Prasad,

2001) that govern the formation of subjectivities and mediate the interpretations of the

social world" (p. 165). These bodies of knowledge, protocols, and sub-cultural grammars

of behavior that appeared to be shared and understood, are the source of "clues" for this

set of processes. What appear to be universally accepted behaviors, conditions of

employment, and understandings at PAA that serve to guide employees' understandings

of their own identities, are used for analysis.

Perhaps one of the most prominent discussions of appropriate behavior within the

PAA newsletter is the understanding that women will most likely leave their employ at

PAA after marrying. Sending one's daughter off to work until such time as she secures a

husband to take care of and provide for her seems to be the natural order of things. Once

married, her duties lie with the home and children. Announcements celebrating the

successful capture of a man are made regularly:

> *"Dorothy Bartone as Staff Clerk to replace Jean Stoecker who has left for wedding bells and southern belle living in Georgia."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956b, p.3)

> *"Flight Service Log - Stewardesses Chris Evans and Tove Riesel are resigning this month and will devote their entire time to being just Mrs. Patanos and Mrs. Reilly, respectively."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1954f, p.8)

When women do marry but choose to remain at work, this is also considered noteworthy:

> *"Although Rosemarie now has a beautiful apartment, in addition to a husband, she will continue to work for the company for a while."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956d, p.2)

This discourse speaks volumes about where work should fit into the lives of men and women at PAA. It is expected, as is not unusual in any industry at this time, that women will return to the home after getting married and that their primary roles are to manage the home, raise children, and look after their husbands. Men are expected to remain in the workforce and to support their families.

Men are also expected to look, perform, and behave in certain ways. For example, the newsletters often celebrate men for their military service, athleticism, and their ability to fix cars. It is also not unusual to find suggestions about what "manly men" might look like:

> *"The Cargo department no longer needs any forklifts. Our two new Cargo reps, Hans –Joerg Hesse and Valentin Schwing are of such dimensions that they can load and unload their "shunds" without any technical help."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956i, p.2)

> *"Bill Kayser, our chief mechanic has grown a man-sized mustache and he seems to be proud of his accomplishment."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1954d, p.11)

> *"Idlewild Crowd Sees PAA Mechanic Shot."* [Article about how Norman Rockwell was visiting to Find a mechanic who will typify America to millions of Americans throughout the world. He was doing a series of ads for Pan American and needed a mechanic's face to finish.] *(PanAmericanAirways, 1956p, p.1)*

Women are expected (by other women as well as men) to act like women. This usually translates to mean that they should be attractive, pleasant, charming, and perhaps a little helpless (especially the younger girls).

> *"Pan Am Gals Gaining 'Our Fair Ladies' Look – Flight Service has introduced an "our Fair Ladies" stewardesses personality program, designed to re-emphasize graciousness, better speech, and better grooming. Lloyd Wilson, Division Service Manager, said that the program stresses development of the personality of each stewardess as an individual – to make her a more interesting person."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1958b)

> *"Young Women Must Work Hard to Be Stewardesses - The comely young misses who wear the Tunis blue uniforms of LAD stewardesses are the products of PAA's own "finishing School of the Air" in Miami, where each stewardess-to-be spends three weeks of intensive study before boarding her first aircraft... The school prepares its students to be Emily Post-perfect hostesses..."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1951f, p.3)

> *"London Profile - Paula Locke-Padden who is one of the first girls to serve Pan American in London, and, therefore fittingly, the first in this series of profiles from the London Sales office. Good-looking, good-natured, and altogether charming, Paula has something which gives her a good start, even before she applies the "Gariepy Sales Technique" to the would-be PAA traveler..."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1952f, p.4)

Once again, we see the belief that women need training to perform appropriately or even to be an "interesting person." We also see that they are expected to be perfect hostesses (a domestic term), attractive and charming. The language is suggestive of family roles – girls, comely young misses, and finishing school.

Consistent with some of the discourses discussed earlier, young women are inculcated with how they "should look." This includes everything from their dimensions, how their uniforms should fit, to personal grooming. Reserved mainly for unmarried women, the frequency and transparency of such comments would certainly have impacted a young woman's gender identity.

> *"First Class Confirmation - All this clipper cutie needs is wings. That's Yolanda Ortega, secretary at Tocumen Airport Panama. She seems to have the propeller in hand, The fuselage reads like this-bust 36, waist 24, hips 37, height 5 feet 6 inches,*

> *weight 125. The age, 20 years, makes her practically a jet*
>
> *model. With Pan American since April 1954, Yolanda goes in*
>
> *for swimming, tennis, fencing, and movie magazines."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1957b, p.3)

Note the continued use of comparisons of young women to aircraft mentioned previously, the emphasis on average age, and the height, weight, and dimensions that make her a "jet model."

Women are also celebrated for moving closer to the ideal:

> *"Jo'burg Jottings. Daisy Eskenazi, off to Istanbul last month on*
>
> *vacation, came down with a fever and is now back (she'll love*
>
> *us for this) minus a few pounds. Which makes even the most*
>
> *staid of us purse our lips for a long low whistle."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1956r, p.8)

Even Marilyn Munroe is not immune to the standards set within PAA:

> *"It Figures"* – [An article about Marilyn Munroe bulging in
>
> places she shouldn't and the necessity of reducing her intake of
>
> cookies]. (PanAmericanAirways, 1956q, p.12)

Consistent with the fact that young women (daughters) require guidance, courses are offered to help them "look good" as demonstrated by some of the previous excerpts.

As well, it appears that managers at PAA have the responsibility of telling young ladies when their appearance is not appropriate – when they don't look "good enough." In essence, the young ladies are being "mothered" as they are instructed in all things feminine – including charm, etiquette, and grooming.

The "appropriate" way to look is most often linked to employment, but hints are also evident in regards to appearance and suitability for marriage (important to daughters), as can be seen in the cartoon described below:

Cartoon: [Picture of a captain talking to someone at a desk. Behind him is a very large, 'unattractive' lady. Caption: "*She wants a job as a stewardess...says she is not likely to leave to get married."]* (PanAmericanAirways, 1953b, p.1)

Once again, one is left with the feeling that internal gender constructions are not something that can be "witnessed," just experienced. Even interviews or participant observations would likely be unable to capture the inner workings of individuals as they made sense of gendered organizations and their own gendered identities. As such, this process set becomes difficult to assess. Although almost certainly an important part of the gendering of organizations, the "internal mental work of individuals as they consciously construct their understandings of the organization's gendered structure of work and opportunity and the demands for gender-appropriate behaviors and attitudes"(Acker, 1992b, p. 253) cannot be "seen" as easily as some of the other gendering processes. However, an examination of Acker's fourth process set, through an

understanding of the dominant discourse, does come closer to making this process set "real."

Creating and conceptualizing social structures. The final set of processes, Creating and Conceptualizing Social Structures was described in Chapter One as centering on organizational logic and the gendered substructures that are reproduced in daily organizational activities and the writings of organizational theorists (Acker, 1990). This organizational logic manifests itself in "material forms in written work rules, labor contracts, managerial directives, and other documentary tools for running large organizations" (Acker, 1990, p. 147). It is evident that Acker's first definition of this process set is easier to identify than her subsequent description of it as a "gendered substructure." This "easier" definition will be discussed first.

Very often, the rules at PAA, expressed as policies and procedures, subtly but effectively establish who belongs where. For example, the following excerpt makes the assumption that employees are male by stating that employees can bring their wives. Husbands are not mentioned:

> *"New York Kicks off Yule Season With toy Sale, Kid Party, &*
>
> *Dance - Each ticket will be good for one coemp and date, wife,*
>
> *friend, or whatever."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1956v, p.2)

The same assumption is made in the following:

> *"Reduced Fares Spur Tourism - Under the family plan, the*
>
> *head of a family pays a full one-way first class fare while his*

wife and any children between the ages of 12 and 21 can travel

with him for half fare." (PanAmericanAirways, 1956w, p.1)

"The Old Man is Just An Undependable Dependent - A

dependent, as far as this policy goes, can be a wife or a child –

never a husband – even tho she may buy the old boy a beer now

and then." (PanAmericanAirways, 1954i, p.1)

The last two passages are particularly telling as they seem to provide clues to what the family - in the discourse of family that prevails at PAA - would look like. If it is widely believed (on a social level) that the husband is the head of the household and can never be a dependent, then it is not difficult to see why PAA, informed by this discourse, looked the way it did in the 1950s.

Policies and procedures about job requirements are particularly powerful in determining who belongs where at PAA. They reinforce the sex segregation of jobs, the culture of beautiful women, and the identity construction of employees. For example, the next passage outlines the requirements for stewardess and overlooks nothing – age, vision, height, weight, education, attractiveness, and personality requirements are all outlined.

"Glamorous Travel Rewards Miami-Trained Stewardesses - A

Candidate must be a US citizen; 21-27 years of age at time of

employment; between five feet three inches and five feet seven

inches tall, and her weight must be in proportion to her height.

The candidate must have a minimum of high school education.

Abut 60 per cent of those qualifying for PAA in Miami are

college graduates. She must be single, have the ability to swim,

must have 20/20 vision, without glasses, and must speak

English and Spanish. The Spanish requirement is flexible and

one's understanding of the language can range from slight to

fluent but conversational ability is desired. In addition PAA

stewardesses must pass a physical examination and personal

interview. Probably the most outstanding requisite required of

a flight stewardess is her ability to be a gracious hostess,

alertly anticipating her passengers' needs and providing the

necessary services in an attractive and efficient manner.....the

lot of the flight attendant is hard work, but her life is one of real

usefulness and few careers for women offer so many

opportunities for personal development through travel."

(PanAmericanAirways, 1956o, p.6)

The next passage is interesting for several reasons. Note the discrepancies between the requirements for male and female flight attendants:

"Jobs Available in Flight Service

	Steward	*Stewardess*
Age:	*21-35*	*21-26*
Height:	*5'4"-5'8"*	*5'2"-5'6"*
Weight:	*125-160*	*100-130*
Marital Status:	*Married or single*	*Single, not widowed or divorced"*

(PanAmericanAirways, 1951c, p.1)

These requirements support the roles outlined earlier in the chapter. As stated in the marital status requirements, women must not be widowed or divorced. This is curious. Are widowed or divorced women undesirable? If so, why? The age requirement already precludes older women so the issue must be one of "youthfulness" or "desirability." Perhaps these more "experienced" women don't fit the youthful ideal of the role of daughter.

The final passage outlines the requirements for a management training program. The most noticeable feature is the use of the pronoun "He," thus excluding female employees. Closer examination reveals support for the role of son, as outlined previously. These positions are clearly for young, educated, career-oriented young men who have demonstrated hard work and commitment to PAA.

> *"Four More Participants Selected for Rotation Phase of*
>
> *Division Management Training Program - Among the*
>
> *qualifications required of the candidate for rotation training*
>
> *are:*
>
> *HE MUST HAVE had at least two full years of active and*
>
> *satisfactory service with the company and have demonstrated*
>
> *exceptional capabilities.*
>
> *HE MUST POSSESS formal education, or the equivalent,*
>
> *qualifying him to handle a job of at least sub-department head*
>
> *status.*
>
> *HE MUST NOT have reached his 35th birthday.*
>
> *HE MUST HAVE the unqualified recommendation of his*
>
> *department"*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1953d, p.3)

Once again, the discourse of family seems to have influenced roles and perceptions at PAA.

As stated previously, this interpretation of Acker's fifth set of processes is not the only one. Later in her work, Acker speaks of this same process set as more of a gendered substructure, which "links the more surface gender arrangements with the gender relations in other parts of the society" (Acker, 1992b, p. 259). It is here that things become theoretically exciting. Even when

Acker drops the fifth set of processes, she often refers to this gendered

substructure. This gendered substructure remains throughout her later work and

appears to be critical.

Some Early Observations

The initial, more surface level analysis of PAA, although useful in identifying the

gendering process sets, raised some important questions. These included: Where

does sexuality fit? What is the fifth set of processes? Does it play a role in

relation to the other process sets? What is the relationship between it and the

other process sets? How do the process sets influence each other? Where does

society fit in? Left with more questions than answers, it became obvious that

Acker's framework, as initially conceptualized, was potentially prone to an overly

simplistic application that resulted in a mere inventory of gendering processes.

Something more was needed - something that could help to address these

questions. As was anticipated, the notion of discourse was useful in this regard.

It appears that the dominant discourse served as the framework for the

gendered substructure at PAA in the 1950s. That is, the discourse of family

informed (or was) the gendered substructure. It was that which informed all of

the other gendered process sets. Therefore, the dominant discourse, in this case

the discourse of family, *IS* the gendered substructure. In the case of PAA, the

discourse of family provided the organizational logic and the policies, procedures,

and gendered processes flowed from there.

The discourse of family also provided the links between the process sets.

As demonstrated through the chapter, ribbons of the dominant discourse are

woven throughout the process sets. Although they can be analyzed separately, their interdependence is undeniable. Finally, the importance of the larger societal stage can be incorporated through discourse. Acker encouraged us to acknowledge that the gendered substructure informs and is informed by the world around us. The dominant discourse appears to show us how these links are made.

While exciting, these are early observations and I hesitate to draw conclusions.

Chapter Six

Pan Am in the Mid 70s to Mid 80s - The Dueling Discourses

The original intent of this second study was to look at the 1980s. However, as the dominant discourse became evident, an attempt was made to follow it backward and forward to try to gauge where it started and where it ended. As discourse is more fluid than this, and rarely has clearly defined "edges," it was only possible to discern where it started to become prominent and where it stopped being prominent and to gauge within a few years. As a result, this second era has fuzzy boundaries but seems concentrated between the mid 70s and mid 80s.

The Dominant Discourse – The Discourse of Competition

Once again, an interrogation of the newsletters led to an abundance of clues which, in turn, led to some general observations. The transformation in the discourse was clearly visible. It was interesting to note the extent and type of the gendering that still occurred, despite the emergence of a new and vastly different discourse – the discourse of competition. Just as the wider discourse of family had played a pivotal role in the "organization" of PAA in the 1950s, the wider discourse of competition played a pivotal role during this second period. It is important to understand what was happening on the societal stage during this time.

Work in North America during this time was still reeling from the impacts of unionization, the women's liberation movement (Oakley, 2002; Walters, 2005), affirmative action and equity initiatives (Appelbaum & Batt, 1994), and a growth in litigation aimed at employers (Skoppek, 1989). All of these situations had the unintentional consequence of an "us against them" atmosphere. Workplace divisions

became more visible in terms of employee/employer relationships, majority group members versus non-majority group members, and unionized versus non-unionized employees. Finally, deregulation became a reality for airlines during this time. Judicial hearings on airline deregulation began in 1975 and deregulation came into effect with the Airline Deregulation Act in October of 1978 (Bender & Altschul, 1982). This single act probably had the biggest impact on the new discourse, but all of the events just mentioned created potentially adversarial relationships and resulted in increased competition.

Competition could be seen on two levels. The first was competition of and between airlines. This competition forced a "tightening of the belt" for many airlines. This led to organizations that were more "careful" and "businesslike" where conversations centered on efficiency, rationality, productivity, and the bottom line. Nobody could afford to make mistakes – especially those that resulted in costly lawsuits. Employees were expected to perform as cogs in the big corporate wheel, and their goals were expected to match those of their employers – becoming number one in their industry. This isn't unlike the atmosphere described by Kathy Ferguson (1984), nor was it unlike the sterile, efficiency-centered environments that created the "ideal" or "disembodied" worker identified by other organizational researchers (see Acker, 1990; Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998a; 1998b). What was perhaps unique here was the centrality of the notion of winning over others. Although this discourse shared characteristics with those just mentioned, the emphasis on winning and competing served to more narrowly define it.

Competition at the second level occurred within the airline. In this new, businesslike environment, it was, quite literally, every man for himself. Growth with the company was expected to be earned and employees now "competed" for positions and promotions. Gone was the notion that the "family" would take care of its own and that promotions would automatically come with tenure – the oldest members of the family being the "wisest" and afforded the most respect. One could suppose that this new level of competition, coupled with employment equity initiatives which will be discussed later, facilitated the creation of the disembodied worker – which, after the fact, scholars came to understand as the male worker ideal in sheep's clothing (Acker, 1992b; Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998a, 1998b; Ferguson, 1984) .

At PAA, the internal newsletters in this second period of study looked very different from what they did in the 1950s. Gone were the cartoons and gossip columns. In their place were relatively serious employee profiles, operating statistics, directives from above, and news stories about legislative and policy changes that impacted all employees of PAA. The family discourse was but a distant memory. In fact, the new culture suggested that family issues were old news, not of interest for newsletter readers, and possible distractions as far as efficiency of work went. The following excerpt is indicative of this:

> *"Birthdays? Ho-hum. Anniversaries? Too numerous to list.*
>
> *Weddings? A church full. Births? Just a few (thank heaven) –*
>
> *and only when they couldn't be helped. But a U.S. Air Force*
>
> *reenlistment aboard a Pan Am Clipper?"*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1982a, p.8)

The language of the newsletters also changed dramatically. References to employees as family members, sisters, brothers, and cousins all but disappeared. Of more importance was the fact that PAA airplanes were chosen for important military work over those of other airlines.

The use of the word "employee" was everywhere. It was clear – employees were employees, and as such were expected to meet certain expectations. This is demonstrated by the following passage, part of a letter to employees from then PAA president, William Seawell, that talks about poor performance and lower standards on passenger handling, on-time performance, and telephone reservations. The pressure caused by competition is also evident:

> *"DEAR FELLOW EMPLOYEE: Obviously, if we perform poorly for the customer, he has a number of other airlines to select from."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1981a, p.1)

This new employee was characterized by hard work, complete and utter dedication to PAA, and were "lifers" with the organization, servants to the customer, rule followers, and willing to sacrifice leisure time and family demands for the good of the company and its ability to compete. They were also "bodiless" and "sexless," and therefore all "eligible to compete." The following passage is representative of a successful career progression at PAA:

> *"Leadership Changes – Crucian in Charge at St. Croix – Svend*
>
> *A. Ovesen, Jr., a native Crucian, has been moved into the top*
>
> *slot at Pan Am on St. Croix, reports correspondent Claire*
>
> *Roker. Born in Frederiksted 32 years ago, Ovesen has worked*
>
> *with Pan Am St. Croix since 1963. He began his career as*
>
> *operations representative, was promoted to operations and*
>
> *ramp manager and then to passenger services superintendent."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1974d, p.28)

The term "company man" and all of its connotations, seems highly appropriate for employees at PAA in the 1970s and 1980s.

The newsletters of this period were laden with charts, diagrams, and measurements of company success. Employees were constantly asked to better their performance or give up something for the benefit of the company.

> *"Pan Am Reports Second Quarter Profit"* – [Personnel expense
>
> also benefited from the extension of a wage freeze in effect for
>
> certain contractual groups. The article notes a work force
>
> reduction from 30, 570 at the end of the second quarter of 1982
>
> to 27,626 employees this year] (PanAmericanAirways, 1983b,
>
> p.3)

> [Report of an agreement with the Teamsters, the International Union of Flight Attendants, Transport Workers Union, Pan Am had threatened the unions with a "shutdown," Unions agreed to continue a wage freeze for flight attendants, clerical workers and cargo handlers.](MiamiHerald, 1982)

The only seeming remnant from the family discourse was the thread of paternalism. Directives, programs, and policies seemed to bespeak of the need to "take care of" employees. However, rather than being a leftover from the family discourse, I feel this existed as part of the new discourse. Remember that this new discourse demanded utter conformance and obedience from employees in order to ensure that the company remained competitive. These two characteristics are compatible with the paternalistic tone in the way that a servant would be loyal to a master, and a master would feel the need to take care of and guide a servant so that he or she would be able to best perform their job. Programs aimed at "improving" employees were often touted as "sound business practices":

> *"He (Seawell) emphasized that Pan Am is fully committed to improving job opportunities for women within the corporate structure – not just because it is required under federal law but because it's good business and a sensible use of valuable personnel resources."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1974a, p.24)

This paternalistic tone will be further examined later in the chapter, particularly in the discussion of gendered interactions.

Other Discursive Spaces

What is perhaps most interesting about this period of time (the 1970s and 80s) is the availability of choice in terms of discourse. There were more spaces within PAA for identity construction, establishing communication norms, and justifying "less gendered" positions. These included the discourses of community service and volunteering, environment, safety, and global business. The most prominent, and perhaps most difficult, of these less dominant discourses was the women's liberation discourse.

Feminists, Betty Friedan (1963) and Simone De Beauvoir (1952) were but two of the influential writers who had published books that were getting increased attention during this time. Their books and public appearances served to spur the women's liberation movement forward. Struggles from within the movement, often led by flight attendants from TWA, PAA and other airlines, precipitated new legislation in the form of the Title III, 1964 amendment to the Civil Rights Act, a landmark win for women.

The movement was in full swing by the 1970s, labeled by some as the "second wave feminist movement" (Rowe-Finkbeiner, 2004; Walters, 2005). This period was characterized by conferences on women's issues hosted by the UN, a shattering of the happy middle-class housewife myth (Friedan, 1963), the first glossy "feminist" magazine published by Gloria Steinem (Walters, 2005), an emphasis on consciousness raising (Walters, 2005), and a mounting pressure for women to "change their condition" (De Beauvoir, 1952).

At PAA, the women's liberation discourse was manifested by subtle, as well as more overt, forms of resistance. Women were seen moving into positions traditionally held by men and were better represented in management. Additionally, lawsuits that dealt with women's issues began to appear. These included issues of maternity and weight restrictions for flight attendants. These will be discussed further as the chapter moves through the discourses.

In the case of PAA, it is suggested that the women's liberation discourse could sometimes be found *in* the discourse of competition but was not *of* it. This is done because, although the notion of equality was certainly co-opted into the dominant discourse and there was definitely overlap, it appears that the women's liberation discourse and the discourse of competition did not always go hand in hand. In fact, the discourse of competition (even with its emphasis on equality at PAA) often contradicted the discourse of women's liberation.

Within the discourse of competition at PAA, there was a clear attempt to "equalize" the sexes – to suggest that both sexes were treated equally. This began in the 1960s at PAA and was no doubt a reaction to changes in labour legislation, unionization and employment equity initiatives, and was therefore a cooptation of part of the women's liberation discourse. It fit nicely with the discourse of competition, as playing by the rules was an important part of competing during this period:

> *"Equal Job Opportunities – In cooperation with the President's*
>
> *Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Pan Am*
>
> *continued its policy of employing the best qualified persons*

available, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin. It

is Pan Am's intention, pursuant to its voluntary undertakings

and its obligations under Presidential Executive Orders on this

subject, to assure the opportunity of members of minority

groups to full consideration for jobs at all levels within the

company. This can be accomplished through affirmative action

on a continuing basis. "

(PanAmericanAirways, 1965, p.19)

We can see the notion of competition between employees in this passage. The words "best qualified persons" suggest that employees, regardless of sex or ethnicity, would all be eligible for positions and would be chosen based on competitions for positions. This looked very different than the cozy family of the 1950s.

Although equal opportunity initiatives began in the 1960s, it was still very much alive in the mid 70s (the Women's Opportunities Council at PAA was formed in 1973) and influenced the discourse of competition (although originating in the discourse of women's liberation) into the 1980s and beyond.

"No Nonsense About Women's Opportunity – Women came to

hear what's in store for them at Pan Am at two major meetings

sponsored by the Women's Opportunities Council late in June.

They were assured that opportunities for women to move up

> *and into management are expanding – and that the airline's top*
>
> *leadership is solidly behind the Women's Opportunity*
>
> *Program... He (Seawell) emphasized that Pan Am is fully*
>
> *committed to improving job opportunities for women within the*
>
> *corporate structure – not just because it is required under*
>
> *federal law but because it's good business and a sensible use of*
>
> *valuable personnel resources. "* (PanAmericanAirways, 1974g,
>
> p.24)

This passage demonstrates the uneasy relationship between the discourse of competition (with its emphasis on equality) and the discourse of women's liberation. On one hand, opportunities for women appear to be forthcoming and this is a good thing. On the other hand, the last sentence tells us that these changes are being made for legislative reasons and are for the best interest of the organization – it makes good business sense. The rights of women are not at issue here, when many would argue that they most certainly should be at the core. We can see how the dominant discourse, by "adopting" a selective part of the competing discourse, appears to destabilize the competing discourse – if everyone is treated "equally", what do the "libbers" have to complain about?

This message of equality for all is repeated one year later in a letter to all female employees which quotes PAA President, Seawell as saying:

> *"Pan Am's interests are served by making certain that its most talented people, regardless of sex, have the opportunity to put their full talents to work in the service of the company."*
>
> (Rogalin, 1975)

Note - the equality measures are in place to ensure that all employees, regardless of sex "have the opportunity to put their full talents to work in the service of the company". Again, we see the emphasis on competition for positions and service to the company.

Contrary to what the dominant discourse espouses, the importance of the equality initiatives and the equal opportunities for women is often trivialized as in the following:

> *"Steam Escapes as Coemps Explore Job Opportunities –*
>
> *Dozens of employees concerned about expanding management opportunities for women at Pan Am "let off steam" and "spoke their piece" in meetings at JFK during August."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1974h, p.17)

"Letting off steam" and "speaking their piece" are most commonly associated with women who need to be listened to but not truly heard, and serve to trivialize the women's liberation discourse. It appears to even undermine the parts of it that

have been "embraced" by the discourse of competition – the notions around equal opportunity.

Discussions of the Women's Opportunities Council and equal opportunity at PAA appear to permeate the newsletters during this era, thus representing the women's liberation discourse. However, often when we see this influence in the newsletters, the same words that are used to create an impression of equality are often guilty of further dichotomizing the sexes and silencing the voices of those who are truly disadvantaged, thus stifling the women's liberation discourse. Although we will explore this further later in the chapter, we can certainly see the how the two discourses are at odds.

As before, for the remainder of this chapter the dominant discourse, the discourse of competition, will be taken through Acker's gendering processes. Through this process, the observations just described may be illustrated. Additionally, it is anticipated that further investigation into the changes in discourse, coupled with the gendering processes, will aide in our understanding of the potential for change.

Acker and the Dueling Discourses

Gendering practices / structures. Once again, it wasn't difficult to see the gendered division of jobs at PAA. The numbers alone tell a story:

> *"President's Sales Award"* – [There were 24 sales awards based on sales and recommendation from Pan Am managing directors. Of the 24 recipients, 2 were women.]
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1980g, p.4-5)

"Company Intern Program Paying off for Pan Am Student Trainees" – [There are 13 interns in picture – 5 are women] (PanAmericanAirways, 1984a, p.7)

"The 16 Newest Pan Am Flight Attendants" – [This is a photo of the newest recruits from Yugoslavia. There are 16 students – 12 are women.] (PanAmericanAirways, 1985, p.2)

"Pan Am's Professional Secretaries – Definitions for Success" – [41 professional secretaries are shown in the accompanying photo – all are women.] *"There are about 235 Secretaries, or Administrators as some of them are classified, working for Pan Am worldwide. Whatever their exact job title, they're here to do a professional job, and it shows. Secretaries at Pan Am have been relied on to handle many job functions within a department. Whether a secretary is sorting and logging mail, handling telephone calls or organizing a business meeting – a secretary helps keep her boss, and the department, on track... Department heads are often commended for successful projects,*

> *and this success is often the result of many contributions of a hardworking secretary who handles each job with skill, competence and efficiency.* (PanAmericanAirways, 1989c, p.4-7)

The use of the word "her" supports the notion that secretaries are women -- not men. Not only does this limit opportunities for women, but makes it very difficult for men to apply for secretarial or administrative positions. What is interesting here is the consistency with the new discourse of competition. The article focuses much more on performance, work tasks and efficiency, than it did in the 1950s. Gone are the references to being silly, promiscuous, office furniture. The references to beauty are not gone but are less common and usually more subtle.

Despite attempts at equality for all and the fading of the family discourse, sex segregation of jobs is still evident. This new discourse of competition, with its language of hard work, efficiency, and dedication, has not altered the division of work between the sexes. An important question thus arises: Is it a matter of embeddedness of the gendered divisions originated by the family discourse or does the new discourse also serve to divide jobs along gender lines? Hopefully further exploration of this new discourse will enlighten us.

In defense of the first explanation -- the deep embeddedness of the gendered divisions -- we can look at how the divisions were perpetuated. Unlike in the 1950s, the process of segregating jobs by sex wasn't as overt and was portrayed as a "matter of choice" and "the best man for the job", not a company mandate. This was consistent with

the new discourse of competition. Under the guise of "equality," women were allowed into positions traditionally held by men. If this were truly the case, one might ask why the numbers appear to tell such a different story. The study of discourse helps us to identify clues that suggest that the sex segregation of positions was possibly so deeply embedded that it had become taken for granted and that overt statements were no longer necessary for its perpetuation. Using this argument, the deep embeddedness of the gender divisions are in direct opposition to the new discourse of competition. That is, the new discourse touts equality and the genderless worker but the deeply embedded beliefs about what is "appropriate" work for men and women contradict the new discourse. The following excerpt will be used for illustrative purposes:

"It's a Woman's Touch for JFK Fleet Service – It takes brains and brawn, but ten women of varied ages and backgrounds are equal to the task. Loading aircraft, operating forklifts or skimming across the runway at the helm of a baggage tug, they are part of the JFK fleet service, doing what used to be called a man's job. They like their work, and find it a challenging change from the secretarial, nursing, teaching and sales positions they've held. How do the men react to this invasion of traditionally male turf? Positively, according to the women, who have found their colleagues very helpful." [One of three accompanying pictures has the following caption: Adeline

Ferrandi loads baggage under the supervision of lead man

Frank Galea. It shows her lifting a bag while he stands very

close by and watches.] (PanAmericanAirways, 1980e, p.7)

This passage, in its attempt to demonstrate that men and women are equal (in accordance

with the new discourse), is potentially rendered ambiguous due to the language in use.

For example, the language, "It takes brains and brawn, but ten women... are equal to the

task" is telling. The use of "but" suggests that women don't normally possess these

qualities. Then we should ask – why does it take ten women to do one man's job? The

use of the word "invasion" is also problematic as it suggests that the women don't belong

and are unwanted. As well, mention of more traditional positions for women –

secretarial, nursing, teaching and sales – remind the readers of more "appropriate"

positions. Finally, the photo positions the woman as needing close supervision – from a

male supervisor. These are all consistent with deeply embedded beliefs founded within

the family discourse. However, does it also speak to the new discourse of competition?

Perhaps efficiency, hard work, and "brains," all characteristics of the disembodied

worker, are traits associated with masculinity? Again we ask ourselves – does the new

discourse of competition merely push the process of gendering underground by

attempting to be more subtle or does it truly aim to promote equality but is just unable to

overcome the deeply embedded stereotypes and prejudices of yesteryear? This isn't the

last we'll see of this question.

As discussed previously, the Women's Opportunities Council at PAA was formed

in 1973. Its mandate was obviously the advancement of women's careers at PAA and the

creation of a more equitable workplace, and appears consistent with the discourse of

women's liberation. Its "successes" were evident within a few years of its creation:

> *"During the first six months of this year 53 women succeeded*
>
> *in changing their status (upgrade to management/move within*
>
> *management) and of these, 13 occurred in June."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1976, p.1)

> *"Women Actively Participate in Pan Am Cargo Skills*
>
> *Workshops - Five years ago it was very unusual to find a*
>
> *female employee of an air cargo agent enrolled in a Cargo*
>
> *Skills Workshop but no more, reports Peter Cornwall, manager*
>
> *of Cargo Training for [PAA]. Now, in session after session Pan*
>
> *Am's cargo agencies have sent an increasing number of women*
>
> *to the workshops held in various cities . . . What used to be*
>
> *known as strictly a blue collar operation is now basically a*
>
> *computer controlled, sales oriented, highly trained group to*
>
> *whom marketing is the primary objective. Women's skills, long*
>
> *used in the selling and transporting of passengers, are needed*
>
> *today to perform the same tasks in transportation of cargo ..."*
>
> (Roglin, 1977b)

> *"Women in management in the past year have increased from 9.2% to 9.8%. As in the past, approximately half of Pan Am's women employees are in the Flight Service Department. Of the total U.S. dollar airline payroll, 29% are women."* (Roglin, 1977a)

Note that these successes are touted in terms of numbers, consistent with the Liberal feminist movement of the day (Calás & Smircich, 1996; Weedon, 1993) and the way they are expressed is consistent with the new discourse of competition – women are competing successfully. There is clearly an attempt to make hierarchies appear less gendered. Although it is difficult to argue, as stated previously, that significant changes in numbers are not indicative of progress, it is possible that this type of "success" only serves to instill a feeling of "fait accompli", thus silencing the deeper issues, and, in turn, the discourse of women's liberation. Because, despite the numbers, the following passages might indicate that the success is only superficial:

> *"Robin Smith Knows her Cargo Business - Some 90 percent of the agents and freight forwarders in Robin's courses are men, and "I do get some funny looks when I walk up to the front of the classroom, write my name on the blackboard and tell the class I'm the teacher," she says. It wasn't too long ago when it*

> *was unusual to have women attending the class as students,*
>
> *Cornwall points out. "Now that has changed, but it is still a*
>
> *rarity that a woman should be teaching the cargo courses.""*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1979k, p.3)

When progress is labeled as a "rarity", what are we really saying about the progress? Perhaps that it is only superficial? The fact that men are responding with "funny looks" suggests that they are not completely supportive of or educated about the "progress of women" at PAA.

> *"Don't Call me Ms. She Says - When asked to comment on*
>
> *their new boss…Cargo superintendent Leonard Turbe reserved*
>
> *comment. Phil Rhymer, cargo leadman, said "I guess if I*
>
> *worked directly under her I might feel differently, or something.*
>
> *But she gives orders to Turbe, and he gives orders to me. She*
>
> *works hard, I know that….Senior secretary Marvel Scobie, who*
>
> *works as close or closer to Barbara on a day-to-day basis than*
>
> *anyone else, candidly said: "She's good. But problems because*
>
> *she's a woman? In good times, yes, probably so. But now,*
>
> *most of the people want to hang on to their jobs and they will*

> *accept her for the good of the station and the good of the*
>
> *company".*" (PanAmericanAirways, 1974b, p.7)

This last passage also suggests that Pan Amers are not embracing this new policy of equality. It seems that employees are quite open about their reluctance to take orders from a woman. This suggests that equity policies may indeed be opening doors to women in management positions, while doing little to address preconceived notions and stereotypes. Again, we see that the discourse of competition may appear to be furthering issues of equity while stifling issues of liberation. The next passage, part of the same story just quoted, may be key to the duel between the discourses:

> *"Rumenik, of course, figures Barbara is man enough for the*
>
> *job."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1974b, p.7)

This simple sentence speaks volumes. The new discourse of competition promises equality for women. They are free to compete - if they can act like the ideal worker – the man. At this stage, it is only suggested that this may be the case. Further study is needed. However, these observations are consistent with other work done in this area which suggests that the "disembodied" or "ideal" worker is actually created in the vision of the male worker (Acker, 1990; Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998b). Other examples of "women acting like men" follow:

> *"Three New Miss Fixits"* – Three female maintenance workers
>
> are described as making 'non-traditional career choices'. They
>
> are proud that they work just like the men do.
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1979m, p.8)

> *"Lady Ramp Boss leads LAX Team – "When I joined fleet*
>
> *service, I felt I really had to prove myself," she said. I can load*
>
> *bags and freight with the best of them". And she does."*
>
> *(PanAmericanAirways, 1979i, p.1)*

There are many stories like the ones noted above that speak of women holding "unusual" positions. At first glance, it appears as if "progress" is being made as more women move into the ranks of traditionally male positions. Perhaps this is true. How can we not see the breaking of barriers as a positive thing? This appears consistent with the discourse of women's liberation. But, just as in the era studied earlier, these otherwise positive messages are "muddied" and potentially become ambiguous due to the discourse around them.

Despite the "success" of the equality movement at PAA, there still exists a discourse about what is appropriate women's work and it carries much of the same sentiment as the discourse of the 1950s. For example, women are often portrayed as serving, nurturing, and, the newest addition, "escorting":

> *"The Challenge - Nine Million Mouths to Feed. The well-groomed flight attendant moves quickly, efficiently up the aisle. She stops beside each passenger, pad and pencil poised, and asks: "Would you like to order something to drink after takeoff?""* (PanAmericanAirways, 1979c, p.3)

> *"Ad Slogan Supports Service Changes"* – [Picture of flight attendant with a father and his three kids. She's the 'stand-in mom'. There is definitely a theme of comfort, service, attention, etc.] (PanAmericanAirways, 1979b, p.1)

> *"World Wings to Escort China Tour - Your primary concern is the friendly and efficient care of our customers."* [36 women are chosen to be 'escorts' and are taught by a male instructor.] (PanAmericanAirways, 1979n, p.8)

These excerpts are consistent with the new discourse of competition on the first level in that they emphasize the comfort and care of the customer and quality, efficient work – in order to remain competitive. The absence of labels like "babysitters" and "gals" are evidence of an attempt to conform to the new directives of equality and political

correctness. However, the gender lines are still pretty clear. The women at PAA have not been "liberated" from the stereotypes that haunt them.

Once again, gendered hierarchies and sex segregation of positions are evident. However, there are not as many examples of the rules and policies that create such divisions. Largely as a result of the Equal Opportunities movement, they have simply moved to "unwritten" rules and policies or subversive tactics that reinforce these divisions. This move is important as it suggests that study in this area should focus on what isn't written down, as much as what is. Discourse helps us to do this.

Gendering cultures. As in Chapter Five, in order to evaluate the gendering processes within this category, it was important to look at what PAA as an organization valued. This was determined by looking at rituals, popular events, celebrations, and ideals. And as in Chapter Five, it was discovered that PAA's culture (in terms of ceremonies, celebrations, etc.) was very much informed by the dominant discourse – in this case the discourse of competition. Ideals, as determined by the discourse of competition, were embraced, celebrated, and reinforced by cultural artefacts.

Within this set of processes, the most noticeable change came from the absence of celebrating all things family, and the prominence of celebrating all things business and success, sometimes to the detriment of family. For example, employees are often honored for going above and beyond at PAA:

> *"1972 Customer Service Awards"* – [Loma Spitz worked 32 hours straight, Ann-Elise Wagner-Larsen gave up eight hours of her layover time to help a passenger, Peter Lerrigo worked a

full day and then drove late baggage across the Italian border arriving at home at 1:30 am.] (PanAmericanAirways, 1972a, p.16)

"Airport Services Awards for Service Above and Beyond." [This article talks about airport services awards given to Alan Yorston who took an assignment that kept him away for 9 weeks, Luma Musharbash who came into work late at night to schedule 11 state department employees, and Moin Husainy who was planning to take a few vacation days to tend to family matters but was then asked to defer his plans. He did – three times.] *"Moin's spirit and enthusiasm in serving Pan Am, while foregoing personal interests, is a true example of superior service to the company and fellow employees."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1988, p.1&7)

In this excerpt, the tenets of the discourse of competition are celebrated – hard work, dedication, the willingness to put all other things aside to get the job done and help the company become number one in its field. Employees are expected to make sacrifices for the organization. In the excerpt above, these sacrifices come at the expense of family and social life. Other sacrifices are also required:

> *"Officers, staff cut in latest cost-saving move – The reductions include management jobs and 10 vice presidential positions. Management work days will be extended to 10 hours, and all management vacation time in excess of two weeks will be cut in half. In a joint letter sent to all Pan Am employees, Acker and President Bill Waltrip said "we feel confident that all our employees will rally to this need to produce more product with no increased labor cost. We are not asking for additional pay cuts or changes in rates of pay, but rather, for work rule changes that will make each of you more productive"."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1982b, p.1)

This utter commitment to the organization is celebrated in other ways as well:

> *"Rod Dixon, Superstar – and Dedicated Pan Amer - Winner of the grueling 1983 New York Marathon – in "the race of my life" – Dixon displayed the stamina, tenacity and determination to win that, he says, "is the trademark of the Pan Amer". He is quoted as saying, "The other was the fact that I had done it not only for myself, but Pan Am. The company emblem on my shirt*

> *was not only seen by hundreds of thousands of spectators in*
>
> *New York, but a television audience of millions around the*
>
> *world. When I carry that symbol, I do so with tremendous*
>
> *pride. Pride in myself and the 28,000 other people around the*
>
> *world who are proud to call themselves Pan Amers, working for*
>
> *America's premier flag airline."'* (PanAmericanAirways,
>
> 1984b, p.2)

Note that the language no longer denotes Dixon, and others, as part of the PAA family. On the contrary, they are employees who "work for America's premier flag airline" – the number one airline. As employees, they possess "stamina, tenacity, and a determination to win." This major win was done not only for himself, but for his company. Employees are well indoctrinated with this new discourse of competition. They are aware of what is required in order to succeed at PAA:

> *"Human Resources Puts Employee Development in Clear*
>
> *Focus"* – Senior VP Human resources, Ken Meyer quoted as
>
> saying, *"The employee who shows outstanding performance,*
>
> *advances his or her education, who clearly demonstrates*
>
> *superior job knowledge and skills, who devotes personal time*
>
> *and energy to his or her development and demonstrates a*
>
> *desire to carry that development to its fullest potential will be*

> *recognized and will be able to create a career track with plenty of opportunity and excitement."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1989a, p.1&7)

Although this article appears to focus on employee development at first glance, it appears to be less about the employee and more about the company. In the excerpt, employees who perform according to high standards and devote **personal** time and attention will be rewarded. As with much of the discourse of competition, this directly contradicts the former discourse of family and could possibly serve to further gender PAA. That is, employees with family or community demands may be limited in their ability to expend personal time and energy on business matters, thus limiting their ability to compete in the organization. During this time, as it is today, women were still the primary caregivers of children at home and filled the majority of volunteer positions within the community (Bashevkin, 2002). This is just one area of many where concessions to women's liberation, through the disguise of equal opportunity, don't seem "liberating" at all.

Women who do get ahead at PAA know what it takes, according to the new discourse of competition, to succeed:

> *"Don't Call Me Ms. She Says – In the years preceding that resume, Barbara had worked hard, long hours, learned quickly, demonstrated competence and efficiency, responsibility in a number of jobs. And, she was in the right place at the right time."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1974b, p.6)

> *"I'm a secretary, but... "It's very important that both the secretary and the company dedicate themselves to professional improvement " Amria says, "the secretary by trying to give her best to performance and the company by making it easier for her to learn new methods that would speed up her work.""*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1974c, p.4)

> *"Management by Example is Hella's Style - Successful career management requires a commitment beyond the nine to five routine, Hella comments, noting that a willingness to diversify, adapt and learn are high on her list of management 'musts'...Unlike many of today's working women, Hella felt unable to combine family life with a career. "Successful men put their jobs first and their personal lives second. I think women have to set the same priorities. Perhaps that's why I never had time to get married – although I had three "near misses." Perhaps it was for the best, because I would have found it hard to give up my career. And I would have, because it would have been too difficult for me to combine the*

> *responsibilities of a career commitment and children and excel in both.""* (PanAmericanAirways, 1979j, p.3)

> *"Los Angeles – For Joyce Moreno, the usual workday begins when she leaves the house at 8 a.m. and ends when she returns at about 7 p.m. With a schedule like that, there isn't much time for Joyce – who's secretary to Director-Passenger Marketing John McCommons – to be a typical housewife. The kids have taken care of that though...(they) have formed a combine to handle all household duties. They even pitch in to fix dinner most evenings."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1974e, p.21)

In return for dedication of this magnitude required by PAA, the company felt some sort of obligation to take care of employees. This is evident in the paternalistic tone used to communicate with employees, as well as new programs and policies put into place to ensure employee well-being:

> *"Flight Service - Federal Aviation Administration chief Langhorne Bond has ordered a crack down on passengers who harass flight attendants."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1980c, p.2)

> *"Forum - A new Clipper feature, Forum aims to provide frank answers to employee questions about Pan Am and its policies and operations."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1980d, p.2)

Another new feature helps PAA employees by teaching them about crime prevention:

> *"Crime Fighting Facts for the Family."* [This one is about preventing bicycle theft. The last one was about car theft]. (PanAmericanAirways, 1979d, p.6)

> *"Crime Fighting Facts for the Family"* - [This one is about walking at night. There are several non-gender specific tips and then: Women can carry a whistle … and Women should not carry purses…] (PanAmericanAirways, 1979d, p.4)

All of these attempts to "take care of the employee," presented as paternalistic directives, feed the discourse of competition by making PAA appear as one of the "best" and "most caring" employers, while simultaneously bettering the competitiveness of the organization.

Just as in the 1950s, PAA sought to be seen as a "glamorous" organization – in fact the "most glamorous." In the 1950s this was expressed by using photographs of

scantily clad women in their advertising, publishing dimensions of service staff, and by promoting pageants and "beautiful" women. Within this new, gender neutral and politically correct discourse, these tactics would no longer be appropriate. However, rather than lose the glamorous image, the new discourse of competition sought glamour in only the more "appropriate" and less controversial ways. This is accomplished through the celebration of pageantry and fashion. The notion of competition is also evident in the phenomenon of pageantry. PAA often celebrates the fact that their "girls" won external beauty competitions – especially those which were industry specific. Although the provocative pictures and suggestive cartoons are gone, the celebration of "beautiful" women continues in the seemingly endless number of pageant announcements:

> *"She wins Washington: Now 'Nationals' Next for Pan Am Beauty – She was Miss Black Washington for 1979 and headed for the Miss Black America pageant... "* (PanAmericanAirways, 1979l, p.1)

> *"Stacey Crowned Moomba's Queen - Miss International Tourism, Pan Am flight attendant Stacey Gould. "* (PanAmericanAirways, 1980h, p.1)

Although still promoting feminine ideals, pageants are socially acceptable ways of promoting glamour and competition at PAA. Fashion shows are also a really big deal at PAA. It is quite common for newsletters to carry color inserts and expansive stories

about lavish fashion shows held by PAA. Very often, the new uniforms are at center

stage, portrayed by "lovely" models:

[Color insert of new uniforms – after merger]

(PanAmericanAirways, 1980a, insert)

"Pan Am People" – [Uniforms are shown off on TV talk show.]

(PanAmericanAirways, 1980f, p.4)

"Fashion Press Likes Our Sky High Show – Fashion show

aboard Flight 111 from Rome to New York. Showing uniforms

from the 40s until the newest launch. The press evidently liked

our style. The lofty fashion show and Pan Am's new look were

featured in fashion magazines and news columns in Japan,

South America, Europe, and the USA." (PanAmericanAirways,

1980b, p.5)

"Sky's the Limit for Pan Am Airborne Fashion Soiree" - Used a

flight from Paris to New York for a fashion show – big names.

Flight attendants were models. (PanAmericanAirways, 1981b,

p.8)

Most often these fashion shows are attended by the well-heeled in fashion and industry, thus differentiating PAA from its competitors. Models are almost always women and are described not only by their attire, but by their "beauty." In keeping with the celebration of "beautiful women" we still see the occasional description of women by their size:

> *"I'm a Secretary, But... - London – Five-foot-three in her knee high boots and a neatly packaged 112 pounds, Vivian Farrant, 26, is hard to imagine as running the Pan American operations at London Airport."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1974c, p.20)

It is often quite revealing to examine what a company truly values by looking at what is celebrated and encouraged. As we have just seen, PAA during this period celebrates being first – in efficiency and productivity, beauty, marathons, and anything that contributes to the success of the organization (commitment, sacrifice, going above and beyond). This emphasis on winning creates gender lines – although carefully and quietly.

Gendering interactions. The interactions demonstrated in the PAA newsletters provide interesting examples of the new discourse of competition. The clear change in language use is indicative of a more inclusive strategy. Men and women are acknowledged. Note the language used in the following passage:

> *"From The Top"* – [In a letter from Vice President Personnel Kenneth L. Meinen that talks about the new pension plan, he

> uses the language of "his or her" and talks about 'spouses' instead of wives or dependents.] (PanAmericanAirways, 1979f, p.2)

The language here, with its inclusion of men and women, is quite different than the language used in the 1950s. Both the title of the column and the content of the news article are consistent with the discourse of competition. The title clearly indicates from whence the message comes and further supports the hierarchy and impersonal culture. The content of the message looks much like many other newsletter articles of the 1970s and 80s. The "let's get down to business" attitude is undeniable.

The "From the Top" column is a regular feature in 1979 and often contains this type of directive from the upper echelons of PAA. Always a reminder of the hierarchy, these articles are often paternalistic in nature.

One of the noticeable themes within the new discourse of competition is the emphasis on top notch service. This service varies from secretaries serving bosses to Pan Amers serving customers. Within this theme, one thing is clear - despite attempts equality, there is still a theme of women serving men. Photos often depict a woman serving a man:

> *"Employees Star in New Ads"* – [This is a photo spread of the new advertisements There are 5 photos and there is a woman serving a man in all five of them. One captions reads: *"Poised woman steps forward with a Scotch on the rocks for a*

> *distinguished-looking Japanese businessman... "]*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1979e, p.4&5)

The following is indicative of the long history of women serving men:

> *"Eleanor Muller, executive file clerk, retired in October after*
>
> *44 years of service. Ms. Muller began her career in 1935 and*
>
> *served all of Pan Am's chief executive officers."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1979a, p.4)

It is not uncommon, as is indicated in the service awards, for women to spend their entire careers "serving" men. Women are rewarded for serving them well and, as such, are singled out as "winners" of awards and accolades.

As in the 1950s, there exists a theme of romance between the sexes at PAA. However, contrary to the clandestine nature of some relationships celebrated in the 1950s, the relationships celebrated in the 1970s and 1980s are more "legitimate" and are often discussed in business terms:

> *"Romance in Reservations – It was another blue/orange*
>
> *merger, as Jeff Lavender and Rory Nicolaides of Los Angeles*
>
> *reservations tied the knot on Feb.6. The two met when the*
>
> *former National reservations center on Los Angeles' Wilshire*
>
> *Boulevard was merged into Pan Am reservations center at the*
>
> *airport. Jeff was assigned to brief Rory on the PANAMAC*

> *system. Three weeks later they were engaged."*
>
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1982c, p.7)

The "merger" referred to is the merger between PAA and National Airlines that took place on January 7th, 1980.

Finally, I would be remiss not to bring up the reaction of men to women in management positions again, for it is here that we are provided with clues about the appropriate ways of interacting among and between the sexes. As stated previously, despite a visage of equity and seemingly supportive policies, it appears that not all are convinced:

> *"Don't Call me Ms. She Says – The captain stormed into Pan Am's airport office, his close-cropped gray hair bristling. "I want to see the station manager," he barked. "What can I do for you," asked Barbara Knight. "I repeat, I want the station manager." "and I repeat, what can I do for you?" "Well, I'll be damned. Somebody said there was a lady boss at St. Thomas, but I didn't believe it," the captain said. "now, how in hell do you cuss at a lady? Particularly a good-looking one? And in miniskirts?" "Just like you would a man...if you must," Barbara calmly replied. "now, Captain, what's your problem?"'* (PanAmericanAirways, 1974b, p.3)

A passage used earlier in this chapter is important once again:

> *"Don't Call me Ms. She Says - When asked to comment on their new boss...Cargo superintendent Leonard Turbe reserved comment. Phil Rhymer, cargo leadman, said "I guess if I worked directly under her I might feel differently, or something. But she gives orders to Turbe, and he gives orders to me. She works hard, I know that....Senior secretary Marvel Scobie, who works as close or closer to Barbara on a day-to-day basis than anyone else, candidly said: "She's good. But problems because she's a woman? In good times, yes, probably so. But now, most of the people want to hang on to their jobs and they will accept her for the good of the station and the good of the company.""* (PanAmericanAirways, 1974b, p.7)

It is important to remember the context of this passage. Employees of a new, female manager were asked about their experience with and opinion of their new boss. It was understood that the information would be published in the company newsletter. One declined to comment and the other openly stated that he is only OK with it because he doesn't have to deal with her directly! A third stated that she is accepted because people don't want to lose their jobs – they do it for the success of the organization. This casual resistance to the equity program speaks

volumes about how employees at PAA might interact and demonstrates the tension between the discourse of competition (with its focus on equality) and the discourse of women's liberation.

Internal gender constructions. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the task here was to look for clues that contributed to the internal mental work of individuals as they constructed their gender identities. These clues, in the form of bodies of knowledge, protocols, and sub-cultural grammars of behavior that appeared to be shared and understood (Prasad, 2005), became my sources of "evidence" for this set of processes. Universally accepted behaviors, conditions of employment, and understandings at PAA that would have served to guide employees' understandings of their own identities were sought.

Although, there is little mention of what men "should" look like or how they should act or behave, there is lots to say about how the "employee" should look and behave. Article after article speaks of how efficient, well groomed, effective, dedicated, and committed PAA employees should be. There is clearly an attempt to "ungender" the employee and to create universal standards. One could argue that this universal, genderless employee was molded in the male ideal. Despite this gender neutral employee, there are clear signals to women about how they should look and behave at PAA:

"Pan Am People" – [This column features a Pan Am employee every month. They are asked 15-20 standard questions. When a stewardess was asked – If there's one thing I've learned in my

career with Pan Am it's: She answered, *"Pretending to be poised, graceful and beautiful despite the 90 minute call-out on reserve".*] (PanAmericanAirways, 1989b, p.8)

" 'Lady Dynamite' an Award Winner – That one, though, was a bit too big for her to handle herself, so she did the next best thing – went to her marketing boss to get his support... "I give credit to Stuart Rose of the Visit USA program for making this possible." She called his patience 'gigantic' and his cooperation 'tremendous'. And this clearly gives away one of Florita's hidden assets in her drive to the top of the heap – her self-effacing manner of giving credit to where she says credit is due." (PanAmericanAirways, 1979h, p.5)

"The Challenge - Nine Million Mouths to Feed – The well-groomed flight attendant moves quickly, efficiently up the aisle. She stops beside each passenger, pad and pencil poised, and asks: "Would you like to order something to drink after takeoff?..."" (PanAmericanAirways, 1979c, p.3)

There seems to be a theme about the new working woman. In it, women are indoctrinated with what this working woman should look like:

> *"Manila – Maria Lourdes Oledan, executive secretary to Douglas M. Mackenzie, director here, typifies today's working woman – efficient, ebullient… and easy on the eyes".*
> (PanAmericanAirways, 1974f, p.21)

How they *should not* think and act is almost as visible. It is fascinating to note the number of "successful" women at PAA who are quick to state that they are not part of the feminist movement:

> *"Janice Clark: Los Angeles' first Woman in Fleet Service –*
> *"I'm not a women's libber. I just like to drive tugs". She has no trouble adjusting to the workload."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1979g, p.7)

> *"New Breed"* - [Temporary female executive, Donna Gibson.]
> *"I'm no great crusader for the 'women's lib' thing-possibly because I don't feel discrimination-and anyway, I like being feminine!"* (PanAmericanAirways, 1971, p.3)

> *"Management by Example is Hella's Style - If her perspective is not essentially feminist, it's because she feels she was given the opportunities to grow when "liberation" was not a household word. "I was fortunate in working for people who were secure in themselves," Hella smiles. Unlike many of today's working women, Hella felt unable to combine family life with a career. "Successful men put their jobs first and their personal lives second. I think women have to set the same priorities... Successful women, in Hella's view, don't ask for special prerogatives and maintain an unemotional view of their jobs while retaining an essential feminine identity. "It's important to remain what you are – a woman and feminine – especially in what is still a man's world," Hella insists. "Don't copy male behaviour. Being a woman is what you do best. A copy will be only second best""* (PanAmericanAirways, 1979j, p.3)

Earlier, women passionate about the Women's Opportunities Council were labeled as "letting off steam" and "speaking their piece." The implication may be that they just need to blow off steam and then everything can go back to normal. It almost suggests that these women are not being taken seriously. The passages just noted,

whereby women are disassociating themselves from the women's liberation movement, may be sending similar signals. Whatever the case, there seems to be a struggle between the new discourse of competition and the women's liberation movement. The women noted above seem to be saying, "just do your job (according to the tenets of the new discourse of competition – like a man) and don't rock the boat." Hella's quotes seem particularly contradictory. She says that women need to prioritize like men do in order to succeed but they shouldn't try to act like men. She seems caught in the duel of the discourses (Mills, 1997). This pulling away from association with the women's liberation movement is not unusual – then or today. Women have often resisted labels such as "feminist" and "women's libber' because of the negative connotations contained in such labels (Walters, 2005).

The following passage seems indicative of the feeling about the woman's liberation movement:

> "*Creeping Women's Lib - It seems that women's lib is creeping into everything these days and the SFO Pan Air Club is no exception. For the first time in the club's 30 year history, a woman was elected President. She's Marji Nadeau, who will be aided by an all-woman cabinet; Anne Justice, vice-president; Carol Bell, Secretary; Lela Lea Stiltz, treasurer, and Sarah Cleary, corresponding secretary.*" (PanAmericanAirways, 1972b, p.6)

Once again, the language around the announcement, which should be a positive one, sends mixed messages. Although "creeping" might mean "advancing," the choice of words suggests a negative connotation.

Despite the negative attention afforded the women's liberation movement, and the resulting negative connotations, the discourse of women's liberation is providing a space for change. It is within this set of gendering processes that we first see what appears to be the type of resistance typical within the greater women's liberation movement. Women in the organization are beginning to voice concerns about what they consider unfair practices in the organization, some going as far as litigation. For the most part, these lawsuits are aimed at rules or regulations that unfairly "tell" women who and how they "ought" to be. For example, in 1973, a class action suit is filed against PAA for allegedly discriminatory maternity leave policies (Securities and Exchange Commission Forum, 10K Annual report Commission. File number 1-3532 31, Dec 1978, P.25). Women are standing up for themselves in terms of their ability to be a mother and an employee.

Another case is brought forward when stewardesses complain that weight rules are discriminatory (Flightlog, published by the steward and stewardesses division of the Air Line Pilots Association, Sept. 1973, vol. 11, no.8). Interestingly (and perhaps sadly) enough, this issue is revisited in 1989 when PAA settles for $2.35 million over another weight rule issue (San Francisco Recorder Friday, Nov. 10, 1989). Despite some disappointing results, these law suits represent resistance to the dominant discourse and represent real change afforded by the women's liberation discourse.

Creating and conceptualizing social structures. As in Chapter Five, this processes set will first be discussed using Acker's initial definition. Doing so unearths ample clues to suggest that PAA, on the surface, was attempting to create a fair, businesslike, and equitable workplace:

> *"TO ALL WOMEN GROUND EMPLOYEES - This is a memo stating that women can now work to 65 (instead of 60) and can accrue an additional 5 years of pension benefits. It will also eliminate the features of the Plan which are viewed by federal and state agencies as contrary to laws prohibiting discrimination by reason of sex. "* (PanAmAirways, 1967)

> *"Minority and Small Business Development - With government contracts totaling well over $400 million and the determination to make its participation in affirmative action the best of any U.S. carrier, Pan Am is committed to encouraging minority enterprise. Overseeing its activities is Maurice Wardlaw. Pan Am's minority and small business development programs not only meet Federal guidelines. They cut costs. Sharply. Only recently, one such program saved the company $13,000. And*

> *more and bigger savings, promises Director Wardlaw, are on the way."* (PanAmericanAirways, 1983a, p.7)

As before, these changes in policy seem to be consistent with the discourse of competition and the result of legislative changes. Although seemingly speaking to equality, one could argue that they only serve to silence the women's liberation discourse. Benschop and Doorewaard (1998a) make this same argument in their study of the banking industry. The following, although not from a company newsletter, demonstrates what can happen when the discourse of competition wins:

> *"Court Favors Pan Am in Pregnancy Case - The Supreme Court Monday left intact a ruling that allows Pan American World Airways to force its stewardesses to take unpaid leaves of absence when they become pregnant (once pregnancy is diagnosed)."* (MiamiHerald, 1983, p.10D)

If we look at Joan Acker's fifth set in terms of how she later defined it, as we did in Chapter Five, we see a similar story. That is, we see how the dominant discourse shapes the organization's logic. In this case, it takes the discourse of competition, as influenced by society at large, and uses it to shape the organization at all of Joan Acker's five process sets. In this case, more than one space is available for this structuring to occur, but the dominant discourse seems to prevail. For example, a female employee at PAA in 1982 could choose the

discourse of competition from which to construct her identity. In the spirit of equality, she knows that if she performs as well as a man (in fact, **like** a man) she can compete and climb the ranks at PAA. On the other hand, she may choose to construct her identity in terms of the woman's liberation discourse - one taken from society. If she does this, she may choose to break barriers and be all that she can be. However, if she announces her affiliation with the woman's liberation movement, she may not find success, as the discourse of competition seems to suggest that this movement is invasive and unnecessary. The discourse of competition, with its emphasis on "equality" seems to offer a safer harbour and one which, on the surface, appears to satisfy some of the women's liberation discourse as well.

Examining the New Terrain – Similarities and Differences

At first glance, it is evident that the dominant discourse, and subsequently the organizational logic, has changed from the 1950s to the mid 70s and 80s. Despite this change, the gendering processes still exist and maintain interdependent relationships with each other and the dominant discourse.

What is perhaps interesting about this new terrain is the relative absence of sexuality. This absence id significant but it is often more intuitive to discuss what is there, not what isn't. In this case, to do so would be problematic. The relative absence of sexuality is very important and needs to be deconstructed further. Upon closer examination it becomes apparent that the absence is really just one of female sexuality. That is, any hint about female sexuality has been removed, probably in an effort to remain "politically correct," and to reinforce the

masculine hegemony – no sex, no emotions, etc. However, male sexuality is still in evidence. The language still privileges aggressiveness, being "first," dominance, competition, and other typically masculine descriptors of the time. Once again, we are left feeling that the "disembodied worker" is really contained in the body of a man.

Also of interest when comparing the two periods of time is the introduction of multiple (sometimes competing) discourses in the 1970s and 80s. With the introduction of multiple discourses, different potentials exist. One might argue that actors are given multiple paths to choose from and that the availability of multiple discourses provides the potential for change. However, one must not ignore the consequences of choosing a path that is not consistent with the dominant discourse. Locke (2004) warns us that "the power of a discourse relates to its subscription base and the social status of its subscribers. On this basis, some discourses are more powerful than others and subscribers of non-powerful discourses are therefore marginalized and relatively disempowered" (p.37). Perhaps then, we should be encouraged to introduce new discourses, generate ample support for these discourses, and ensure that people in perceived "positions of power" are at the helm. This is not unlike the argument made decades ago by Kathy Ferguson (1984), and it is definitely something that bears further investigation.

Chapter Seven

Discussion and Conclusion

At the conclusion of any dissertation, it is important to ask whether the objectives set forth at the beginning have been achieved. In this case, I believe they have. This dissertation has demonstrated that we can, in fact, gain valuable insight into organizations and what it may take to inform change within them. A gendering processes framework, not unlike Acker's, does offer value as it has the potential to move us further than studying the gendering processes in isolation.

The remainder of this chapter will be used to present a new version of the gendering processes framework based on what has been learned throughout this study, to revisit the questions posed at the beginning of the study, and to discuss how the framework may be used to effect change. A discussion of the strengths and limitations of the study itself and some remarks on future research will conclude this dissertation.

Some Thoughts on the Evolution of the Framework

Chapter Three indicated that there was significant activity "around" the framework but little "within" it. Given the ambiguous definitions and various interpretations encountered in the study of extant literature, it is not difficult to see why little had been done to build on such an important piece of work. Despite the feminist poststructuralist abhorrence of boundaries and essentialist notions, more definitive illustrations of the process sets and their placement within the framework may have aided in the development of the field of gendered organizations. This is not a criticism of Joan Acker as she was very much a

pioneer in the field, but is more a statement of what was. Perhaps only now, given what we have learned in other arenas of gendered organization studies, are we ready to further define the gendering processes framework.

The New (old) Framework

Joan Acker's initial conceptualization is important and of significant value. However, some would argue it isn't finished (as done in Chapter Two) and many would agree that it was never fully appreciated. Chapters Two and Three helped to identify missing elements, ambiguities, and incompatible interpretations of the individual process sets and the framework as a whole. These were acknowledged throughout this study and used to guide the research. As a result of the findings, a modified heuristic is proposed.

Richness and further refinements are simply added, by incorporating things learned during the dissertation process. The "finessing" will be explained and supported as it is unveiled.

The gendered substructure. Based on the results of study, it seems apparent that the gendered substructure of an organization is central to the framework. Encompassing both the organizational logic and the gendered social construction of the organization, it appears to serve as an organizing principle, structure relationships within the organization, and privilege some voices over others, thus impacting power. Looking for "logic" or "social construction" is no easy task. However, if we truly believe that discourses construct social reality (Townsley, 2003) and provide clues to underlying assumptions and beliefs, then it appears that the study of discourse may be ideal for their identification.

The discourse of family presents a clear example. PAA in the 1950s was very clearly dominated by the metaphor of the family. The language used indicated that the structures, relationships, power plays, and gender identities were constructed from within and around the language of family. It was through the discourse of family that members of PAA were able to make sense of themselves and their organization. It was also through this discourse that hiring decisions were made, rules and policies were created, and relationships were established. There was very little of PAA that did not reflect this reality.

In the 1970s and 80s, the dominant discourse was equally as compelling. The discourse of competition had much the same effect as the dominant discourse in the 1950s - it served as an organizing principle that established and informed structures, relationships, and identities. The introduction of competing discourses also had a significant effect by offering new possibilities and serving as an advocate for change. It was interesting to see how the dueling of the discourses, and the co-opting of parts of one discourse by another, served to destabilize some truths and created more ambiguity and less certainty around either discourse. However, this ambiguity could be seen by some as useful, as it has the potential to undermine the impact of the dominant discourse. In the case of PAA, the impact of the less dominant discourse, the discourse of women's liberation, appeared to have been undermined.

This adaptation of what used to be the fifth set of processes is consistent with Acker's later work in which she challenges herself to further develop the concept of the gendered substructure (Acker, 1998). In this piece, she acknowledges the strength of the gendered substructure in the persistence of the gendered organization. The study

amplifies this somewhat by demonstrating the strength of the gendered substructure and the linkages between this and the other gendering processes.

One of the early, but often dropped, threads of Acker's work is also addressed through the redevelopment of this set of processes. As indicated in Chapter Two, Acker often speaks of the gendered process sets as being parts of the same reality and engaged in an interdependent relationship. An understanding of the gendered substructure, through the use of discourse, helps us to more clearly see this and to define it. As demonstrated through PAA, not only are the process sets inextricably linked, but the dominant discourse is often a great source of that linkage.

This adaptation is also consistent with Joan Acker's concern that the process sets, particularly the notion of the gendered substructure, not be taken as an "essentialized, ahistorical argument that organizations inherently create gender divisions" (Acker, 1998, p.198). She suggests that, "To avoid that possibility, I have thought that I need to be better able to show how the understructure works, what practices produce this understructure. To that end, I offer the following ideas – that the underpinnings of gender are produced between as well as within organizations..." (Acker, 1998, p.198). She concludes this argument with the idea that gendered substructures (or understructures as she is calling them at this time) are linked with society at large, inform and are informed by this greater society, and should not be studied or interpreted in isolation from it. The inclusion of this process set, and the emphasis on understanding dominant discourses, provides a tenuous yet tangible link between the organization and the greater society. As demonstrated by this study, dominant discourses at PAA were informed by greater societal discourses and, indeed, reified and supported them.

In terms of the existing literature on gendered logics/subtext/substructure, this new placement isn't in accordance with many of the various applications. As discussed in Chapter Three, some researchers place it within the framework while others place it outside the framework; some consider it central while others give it a supporting role. According to the findings at PAA, this process set is a central and important part of the framework. It exists within the framework because of the recursive nature of the relationships between it and the other process sets and the fact that it represents part of the same reality as the others.

What does remain consistent is the broad interpretation of this process set. Despite differing labels and placements, most agree that this process set consists of logics or underlying beliefs that serve to inform, and be informed by, the other gendering process sets.

Gendering practices / policies / structures. This next set of processes encompasses all of the practices, policies and structures that result in the production of gender divisions of jobs, wages, power, and opportunity. Note the inclusion of practices (as in Acker's second definition of this process set) and the addition of policies. Practices in this process set must be understood to include those that are mandated by rules, procedures and work processes, as well as those which are not so clearly stated. For example, Friday afternoon golf games that are understood to be critical for advancement, but cannot be attended by those with family responsibilities, would be included here. Similarly, practices such as the placement of offices and gender specific facilities within an organization would also be included, thus bringing back one of the elements of Acker's initial conceptualization (gendered use of physical space).

According to Acker's original framework, policies belong in the fifth set (as an outcome), but it is suggested here that they fit better in this set as they are often guilty, blatantly or not, of gendering in terms of jobs, wages, and hierarchies. They are not the "logic" of the organization but are representations of it that result in gendered structures and sex segregation of positions.

As before, gendering in this process set can be identified through the patterning of jobs, wages, hierarchies, and power (Acker, 1992b). The processes in this set can be identified through sheer numbers, clearly gendered policy statements (such as age and height requirements for stewardesses) or the more subtle study of language. Policies and procedures aimed at segregating positions by sex are less evident than they once were due to legislation, unionization, and equal opportunity/affirmative action/ diversity management initiatives. However that does not mean that this type of segregation does not still exist (Benschop & Doorewaard, 1998b). For example, why are the majority of nurses still women and engineers still men? With today's more "careful" attitude, adherence to equality legislation, and union activity, we must look at more subtle hiring requirements, job qualifications, unstated understandings, and perhaps most importantly, the language used in and around these positions. It has been suggested that language describing position holders as aggressive, strong, and competitive, may serve to segregate the positions just as successfully as policies once did. A good example of research demonstrating such a phenomenon is a study on how managers are chosen which has demonstrated that the use of more typically masculine requirements and language results in the hiring of more males (Gorman, 2005).

When identifying processes at this level, we can see how it is also important to understand the logic of the day, just as Joan Acker did in 1988. In this particular piece, Acker identifies a logic that evidently explains why women receive lower wages in society at large, "Wage differences are justified by arguments pointing to invidious distinctions between the sexes. It is said that women eat less than men and thus need less, their work is less skilled and thus less valuable, women do not develop their human capital so their labor is less valuable, women need less because they do not support a family as men do" (Acker, 1988, p. 481). We can see from this argument the importance of understanding the gendered logic or substructure of the organization. Without this, it makes it more difficult for us to identify the more subtle forms of job and wage segregation, thus supporting my contention that an understanding of the gendered substructure is important for the study of gendered organizations.

There is another element within this process set that Joan Acker raised early in her career that may have been overlooked, at least in terms of application of her framework. It is the notion of power and it is intertwined with the sex segregation of jobs and wages. In 1974, Acker and Van Houten described it as the sex power differential. Although inherent in any gendering of jobs or wages, this power differential must not remain merely an underlying assumption and must be studied more carefully. This is supported by Benschop and Doorewaard (1998) who suggest, "A framework on gender in organizations should explicitly address power, for questioning how gender relations are to power relations in several contexts is the *raison d'être* (Davis et al. 1991) of feminist scholarship" (p. 5). It is precisely the "explicitness" of the address that is of concern with Acker's framework.

Drawing from examples at PAA, I am suggesting that perhaps we can see more subtle examples of "power at play" through "unofficial" practices. For example, if the office administrator routinely hangs up the boss' coat, gets them coffee, and picks up their dry cleaning, are we not observing a power relationship? Subtleties such as this are important for our understanding of power in this process set.

Finally, the issue of sexuality was raised in Chapters Two and Three. Acker suggests that sexuality is implicit within all process sets and urges us to consider it carefully. McDowell and Court (1994) demonstrate that perhaps a useful way to address this is through the "ubiquity of sexuality in organizational processes." Although only a glimpse of this was achieved through the analysis of PAA, perhaps careful analysis of individual organizational processes would prove valuable. In retrospect, perhaps it would have been possible to identify the sexuality inherent in the role of flight attendant, thus providing support for the notion of sexuality as a determinant of sex-segregated jobs.

Gendering cultures. This process remains relatively unchanged from Acker's conceptualization as, "the creation of symbols, images, and forms of consciousness that explicate, justify, and, more rarely, oppose gender divisions" (Acker, 1992b, p.253). Symbols and images are not difficult to identify, once individuals are aware of the impact such artefacts can have on the genderedness of organizations. However, symbols and images are not the only cultural artefacts that should be considered. As demonstrated through PAA, celebrations, rituals, ceremonies, awards, and organizational values should be included here. The organization culture paradigm has done a good job of raising awareness in this arena and much work has been done to identify cultural phenomena that lead to gendered organizations.

The notion of forms of consciousness is not as "observable" and requires a closer look. How do we identify "forms of consciousness" that contribute to an organization's culture? Once again, though certainly debatable, we can probably move forward by relying on the ability of discourse to provide clues as to systems of meaning (Townsley, 2003) and commonly held beliefs and ideals. Liff and Ward's (2001) notion of the long hours culture is a very good example of what should be intended by "forms of consciousness." Although perhaps difficult to "see," insight into it can be gained by looking at what is valued and rewarded in the organization, just as we saw in the case of PAA.

It is particularly important that organization culture be examined in a wider context as this is one of the arenas where linkages between the organization and the greater society can be most easily achieved. The study of PAA demonstrates the inextricable linkages between societal cultural values and those of the organization. In this case, this was achieved through an understanding of the dominant discourses of the day.

Gendering interactions. Acker's third set of processes are described as the "interactions between individuals, women and men, women and women, men and men, in the multiplicity of forms that enact dominance and subordination and create alliances and exclusions. In these interactions, at various levels of hierarchy, policies that create divisions are developed and images of gender are created and affirmed" (Acker, 1992b, p. 253). Moving to a lower level of analysis, this category emphasizes the importance of individual level interaction as a "gendering" instrument.

In her first conceptualization of this process set, Acker suggests the use of conversation analysis for the study of this process set. In her second conceptualization, we are not guided as to how to examine these interactions. If we return to her earlier work, we can see how turn taking, interruptions, and topic setting might be used to identify gendered interactions. Unfortunately, if actual conversations or transcripts of such are not available, this is a difficult undertaking. How, then, do we study the communicative patterns between individuals? Drawing from work that has been done to date is important in order to truly capture this. Organizational theorists have used various methods to examine interactions including conversation analysis, participant observation, and other ethnomethodologically inspired techniques. For example, Lachover (2005) demonstrates how interviews can be used to identify tactics one sex uses to interact with the other. Another possible route is the study of the unwritten "rules" about communications in organizations.

Throughout the study of PAA, actual conversations could not be observed. However, adequate clues as to organizationally sanctioned communicative patterns were evident. The study of discourse was used to tease out the subtle nuances that were powerful in their capacity to impact the genderedness of the organization. For example, a plethora of photographs depicting women serving men suggested the nature of the general relationship between men and women, thus structuring communications and providing hints for PAA employees about what was deemed appropriate. As well, cartoons making fun of the "boss and the secretary", although tongue in cheek, spoke volumes about the level of sexual tension that was permitted/expected in that relationship.

Finally, examination of the language used in written communications is also telling. Labels, greetings, and salutations can be analyzed to discover power relationships and relative perceptions of organizational members. For example, men at PAA were rarely referred to as "cuties" or "skirts". Notations of paternalistic language, belittling or demeaning language, language used in praise or respect, and language that depicts familiarity or lack thereof are also telling.

Perhaps future research engaging a combination of interviews, conversation analysis, participant observation and/or discourse analysis would be beneficial.

The study of PAA and the work by Lachover (2005) demonstrate the utility of this process set in terms of its ability to tease out issues of sexuality. Whether studying communicative patterns or strategies, issues of sexuality can be discovered. The issues of sexuality discovered in both of the works mentioned are imbued with notions of power, thus serving to accommodate two of Acker's concerns that were relatively undefined before.

Internal gender constructions. The fourth set of processes centers on the "internal mental work of individuals as they consciously construct their understandings of the organization's gendered structure of work and opportunity and the demands for gender-appropriate behaviors and attitudes"(Acker, 1992b, p. 253). This is a particularly difficult one to address and initially presented the first major issue with Joan Acker's framework. However, as mentioned in Chapter Five, the understanding that "the individual is socially and self constructed through discourse" (Thomas & Davies, 2005, p.718) and that discourse analysis provides us a way to unpack this construction (Phillips & Hardy, 2002) was central. In essence, discourse allows us to look for "clues" in the

form of bodies of knowledge, protocols, and sub-cultural grammars of behavior that appeared to be shared and understood (Prasad, 2005).

In the case of PAA, how men and women wrote about each other and themselves, and what the discourses *suggested* would be appropriate ways for men and women to construct their identities were examined. Doing so, we could see what organizationally sanctioned identities looked like quite easily. So much so that "appropriate" characteristics of identity could be read like job descriptions. One example is the "new working woman" of the 1980s. This individual looked like a woman, worked like a man, and wasn't interested in having a family. Similarly, it was quite obvious in the 1950s and 1980s how a "company man" was expected to look and behaved.

As indicated by Fournier and Kelemen (2001), it is also important to consider multiple identities and the reconciliation of such. This can possibly be achieved through discourse, as was demonstrated at PAA in the 1980s. Women were faced with the dual, and often competing, identities of employee and woman. If the identity of employee was informed by the discourse of competition, and the identity of woman by the discourse of the Women's Liberation Movement, the two were often in conflict.

In Chapter Five, arguments for and against the use of participant observation and interviews in the case of PAA were provided. Although not possible for this study, and not without their own limitations (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000), it may be of benefit to consider them going forward. It is not suggested that they be used in isolation, due to the limitations stated in Chapter Five. It is merely recommended that they be considered as options to be used in conjunction with discourse analysis in order to gain further, though limited, insight into how gendered identities are constructed. As stated previously, in the

absence of private diary entries, streams of consciousness, and/or transcripts of internal dialogues, one can never be sure that what they are observing/reading/hearing is actually the process of constructing one's identity. One only has the "clues" afforded by the evidence left behind.

One such clue, in the case of PAA, was the choice of address used when referring to women. As mentioned in our discussion of gendered interactions, women at PAA were often referred to as gals, girls, and little ladies. Interestingly, Acker and Van Houten noted the power of this phenomenon to shape realities in 1974:

> It is not possible to suggest all the dimensions on which control
> mechanisms might vary with sex. Control mechanisms for women may
> more often resemble those used with children, as indicated by both studies
> analyzed in this paper. Also, in these studies, adult women were
> frequently referred to as girls. The use of this word shaped the
> construction of reality for both the men and women, and allowed for
> control.(Acker & Van Houten, 1974, p.161)

This passage supports the notion that clues to identity construction can be uncovered by studying language. It also links this set of processes with the central notion of power and control. This is critical, as in our quest to identify and understand the gendering processes, the critical outcome of power and control is often left underdeveloped.

Using the New Framework

In chapter Three, the work of Prasad (2005) and Thomas and Davies (Thomas & Davies, 2005) is used to define what "progress" might look like from a feminist poststructuralist perspective. Both agree that incremental moves forward, precipitated by

mere awareness of the "gendered nature of social arrangements" (Prasad, 2005, p.168) is important. It is suggested that the framework of gendering processes, modified as a result of the study at PAA, provides a way forward. This framework's ability to raise consciousness about the genderedness of organizations, destabilize truths, and create new conversations through the introduction of competing discourses will be discussed next.

   Raising awareness. This idea of "consciousness raising" is certainly not new. Feminist groups have long been using this technique as a catalyst for change both inside and outside of organizations (Chiaramonte & Mills, 1993). Understanding how one's reality is constructed and retained is the first step toward growth, development, and, ultimately, freedom (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). More recently, Prasad (2005) contends that it is "the first step in accommodating women's interests and preferences in the wider fabric of society" (P. 168). Undeniably, if we want to make change, we need to know and understand what needs changing.

   What is really promising about the framework is its ability to raise awareness on a level that is not usually easily accessible and to move the idea from theory to application. By using the framework, we have access to underlying beliefs and assumptions that serve as the very organizing principles that are responsible for much of the gendering. As demonstrated by the PAA study, we also have access to the competing discourses which, if understood and supported, may hold promise for effecting change. If nothing else, they serve to render elements of the dominant discourse ambiguous, thus reducing their potency. As noted earlier by Locke (2004), competing discourses can only gain power if they are generously subscribed and awareness is the first step.

Destabilizing truths. As indicated earlier, poststructuralists believe that through the study of language we can identify and potentially release the norms and values that precede us (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000; Belsey, 2002). In essence, language provides the keys to problematizing what we might otherwise take for granted. In the case of PAA, many everyday practices were not contested, because organizational members simply didn't understand the "truths" that hid beneath them. For example, the use of the term "little girl" to describe a female employee would not immediately appear problematic without an understanding of where it came from, the values belying it, and the implications in terms of power and control. The framework allows us to explore these "truths," thereby destabilizing them and providing impetus for change. It also encourages us to identify existing alternatives and to introduce competing discourses, thus creating new spaces and the potential for change.

Creating new conversations by introducing new discourses. Kincheloe and McLaren (in Locke, 2004) contend that "certain groups in any society are privileged over others and, although the reasons for this privileging may vary widely, the oppression that characterizes contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept their social status as natural, necessary, or inevitable" (p.26). One could contend that this acceptance is sometimes because the subordinates in question simply know no other discourse.

At this point, it is essential to recognize that discourses are fluid phenomena. As expressed by Knights and Morgan (1991), this understanding is central to our aspirations of change; "Discourses change as actors adapt and change the conditions of the process

of reproduction. If this were not the case, we could not talk about the emergence of new discourses, by which we mean the emergence of qualitatively new ways of 'accomplishing' social relations" (p. 254). The study of PAA over time demonstrates how the emergence of new discourses can effect change. Although a competing discourse and not the dominant discourse of the time, the discourse of women's liberation in the 1970s and 80s started a new dialogue which resulted in the creation of the space for change.

We were also able to see how elements of one discourse could be co-opted by another, thus destabilizing the strength of the competing discourse. This was demonstrated by the co-optation of the notion of equal opportunities by the discourse of work. This co-optation, while appearing to embrace notions of the competing discourse and making some positive change, also served to silence dissenting voices. Once again, this is similar to the work of Benschop and Doorewaard (1998a, 1998b) who found that a dominant discourse of gender equality serves to silence gender inequality by 'disallowing' it to be expressed as such, calling it the "gender inequality that cannot be" (1998a, p.792). In the case of PAA, this phenomenon was made visible through the use of the framework, coupled with the notion of discourse.

Answering the Unanswered Questions

Chapter Two concluded with a set of unanswered questions. These included: How do the process sets inform and influence each other? Where and how does the fifth set of processes fit within the framework? How does sexuality fit within the framework? Given the importance of context and societal influences, how does one integrate those processes external to the organization with those internal to the organization? And

finally, does Joan Acker's framework provide us with a useful heuristic for examining the genderedness of organizations? Chapter Three added some new questions, namely, can the processes sets be defined in such a way as to provide the clarity required for relatively universal application of the framework? Does the concept of a framework offer us something more than the gendering process sets in isolation? Does it offer us something new? Does the notion of a framework and the relationships between the process sets do more to explain the gendering of organizations? It could be argued that this dissertation has provided insight into many of these issues.

Unveiling of the dominant discourse has proven useful in addressing several of the questions posed above. For example, it is through discourse that we were able to observe the impact of what Joan Acker originally called the fifth set of processes. Moved more to the fore, this process set has proven itself to be central to the gendering of organizations, through its role as providing a sort of organizing logic – thus creating a gendered substructure for the organization.

The identification of the dominant discourse also allowed us to see the interaction between the gendering processes. Very much part of the same reality (as defined by the dominant discourse), the process sets are undeniably linked and intertwined. The identification of separate "sets" merely provides us with a heuristic through which we can identify and analyze the phenomena. As suggested by Benschop and Doorewaard (1998), "these layered arrangements are closely connected and function as an analytic framework for empirical research of the gender subtext of organizations" (p.6). The framework may be used in this way, but may also be used in the reverse – to use the dominant discourse,

as informing the gendered subtext, to understand the policies, practices, cultures, and relationships which may unwittingly be perpetuating the genderedness of organizations.

Finally, the notion of the dominant discourse aided in our ability to integrate those processes external to the organization with those internal to the organization by providing a link between the organization and the greater society. The discourse of family was particularly valuable in demonstrating the open nature of gendering processes and the ability of society and organization to both inform and be informed by each other.

The question of sexuality is also a bit clearer as a result of this study. Although the relationship between sexuality and the framework still remains relatively elusive, further insight has been achieved. By applying the insight of others in the field, we were able to see how sexuality might be uncovered within some of the process sets.

Through discourse, we were able to identify sexuality (as in the case of PAA in the 1950s) or the repression of it (as in the 1970s and 80s) and could see how it was informed by the greater discourse. Perhaps of most interest in this study was the repression of sexuality and the introduction of the bodiless worker in the 1970s and 80s. Acker contends that this type of gender-neutral, asexual discourse obscures both gender and sexuality and further genders the organization in that "the concept of a universal worker excludes and marginalizes women who cannot, almost by definition, achieve the qualities of a real worker because to do so is to become like a man" (Acker, 1990, p.150). If nothing else, this study encourages researchers using the framework to look for what is not evident as well as that which is.

However, it still remains unclear where sexuality fits within the framework. One could be so vague as to suggest that sexuality is inherent in all of the gendering

processes, and it seems intuitive to do so, but further exploration is warranted. This is an important arena for future research.

Looking Backwards to See the Future

As with any research endeavor, it is important to deconstruct the process and the learning. This information is invaluable when moving forward. This process, although rewarding, has not been without its difficulties. The first of which was the insertion of myself, as an individual with beliefs, feelings, biases and prejudices, into the research. As with most critical analyses, the separation of the researcher from the research is rarely, if ever, possible. In this case, the researcher is in essence the interpretation, and the analysis can rarely be separated from the interpretation (Fairclough, 1992), thus the relationship between the researcher and the research must be acknowledged. Without hesitation, I acknowledge myself as a feminist, thus inscribing my research with political aims and agendas. However, I feel that the journey has been an honest one that adheres to the rigours of good research.

The next potential problem with the study centers on its design and involves the possibility of treating the texts as if the phenomenon of interest (in this case Acker's gendering processes) exists and is waiting to be plucked from the pages (Locke, 2004). Obviously, this is contrary to the core tenets of poststructuralism and as such should be avoided. This was something that was continuously addressed, especially in light of the discovery that Acker's framework lends itself quite easily to surface level "inventorying" of the gendering processes. It is important to understand the role of interpretation and the acknowledgement made earlier in this dissertation that the goal was to search for clues of what might lie beneath, recognizing the fluidity of discourses, identities and processes.

Finally, the problem of authority needs to be addressed (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). Despite adhering to the "rules of science", a linear and empiricist approach to feminist poststructuralist research, or any other critical research is problematic (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). Declaring that I, as a researcher, have done "good scientific research" and have achieved a set of "conclusive findings", would be absurd. What is offered as a result of this journey seems articulated best by Alvesson and Deetz (2000):

> Through making it clear that it is not an objective picture of social reality
>
> but a set of impressions and interpretations produced by a situated person,
>
> and characterized by feelings, imagination, commitments and a particular
>
> pre-structured understanding associated with education, intellectual
>
> heroes, etc., the reader is reminded that what is offered is one story – at
>
> best empirically sensitive and well-grounded, and full of insights and
>
> theoretical contributions but still open to other readings, and informed by
>
> other perspectives, interests or creative powers. (p.136)

Assuming that this dissertation is empirically sensitive, well-grounded and full of insights, where do we go from here? This story suggests that a well-defined framework of gendering processes, coupled with the notion of discourse, is indeed a useful heuristic for exploring the genderedness of organizations. Perhaps the most useful discovery has been the locating of the fifth set of processes and its more prominent placement within the framework. It has been suggested, through the example of PAA, that changing the substructure, by changing the dominant discourse or introducing competing discourses, may help to destabilize "truths" and may interrupt the perpetuation and reification of policies, practices, and understandings that are often taken for granted, despite their

ability to silence voices and privilege some groups over others. This seems promising, given repeated cries from noted scholars for better understandings of the processes responsible for the creation and maintenance of gendered organizations (Acker, 2000; Britton, 2000; Calás & Smircich, 1999).

This research is by no means over - organizations are still gendered and many of the practices, policies, and everyday events that serve to perpetuate this genderedness are ongoing. Much work still needs to be done, but it is hoped that this dissertation aids in our understanding of the gendered organization and provides substantial argument for the use of a gendering processes framework in our quest to reduce or eradicate gender discrimination in organizations.

Along the way, some questions were raised that were beyond the scope of this study that may guide future research. These included, but were not limited to: What was the impact of the WWII on the changing discourse? How did men and women cope and how did the change in discourse come about? In essence, what did the change look like? How does the dominant discourse affect other marginalized groups? Are the gendering processes also segregating processes for other groups? Do things like organization cultures and structures, communications, and internal identity construction have a silencing effect on other groups? How was sexuality used in terms of power and control? Was it used for counter power? What did resistance look like? How do organizational members actually introduce new discourses? Does it take an act of legislation or unionization for this to occur? You see, many new paths have been introduced and each one holds the promise of a new and exciting journey.

Table 1
ISI Web of Knowledge Citation Search
Journal Articles that Cite Joan Acker's Work From 1990 and Beyond*

#	Author	Title	Journal
2	[Anon]	Beyond Armchair Feminism: Applying Feminist Organization Theory To Organizational Change. Overview	ORGANIZATION
3	Aaltio-Marjosola, I; Lehtinen, J	Male Managers As Fathers? Contrasting Management, Fatherhood, And Masculinity	HUMAN RELATIONS
4	Abrahamsson, L	Gender Is Done Even In Modern Organizations	SOCIOLOGISK FORSKNING
5	Abrahamsson, L	Restoring The Order: Gender Segregation As An Obstacle To Organisational Development	APPLIED ERGONOMICS
6	Achatz, J; Hinz, T	Organizational Change In Research Institutes And The Integration Of Women	ZEITSCHRIFT FUR SOZIOLOGIE
7	Acker, J	Inequality Regimes - Gender, Class, And Race In Organizations	GENDER & SOCIETY
8	Acker, J	Gendered Contradictions In Organizational Equity Projects	ORGANIZATION
9	Acker, J	Revisiting Class: Thinking From Gender, Race, And Organizations	SOCIAL POLITICS
10	ACKER, J	The Gender And Race Structure Of Market Processes	ORGANIZATION
11	ACKER, J	Gendered Institutions - From Sex-Roles To Gendered Institutions	CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGY-A JOURNAL OF REVIEWS
12	ACKER, J	The Future Of Women And Work - Ending The 20th-Century	SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES
13	Acker, S	Gender And Teachers' Work	REVIEW OF RESEARCH IN EDUCATION, 21
14	Addi-Raccah, A	Accessing Internal Leadership Positions At School: Testing The Similarity-Attraction Approach Regarding Gender In Three Educational Systems In Israel	EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION QUARTERLY
15	Addis, ME; Cohane, GH	Social Scientific Paradigms Of Masculinity And Their Implications For Research And Practice In Men's Mental Health	JOURNAL OF CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY
16	Adkins, L	Cultural Feminization: "Money, Sex And Power" For Women	SIGNS
17	Adkins, L	Community And Economy - A Retraditionalization Of Gender?	THEORY CULTURE & SOCIETY
18	Adkins, L; Lury, C	The Labour Of Identity: Performing Identities, Performing Economies	ECONOMY AND SOCIETY
19	Aitchison, CC	Feminist And Gender Research In Sport And Leisure Management: Understanding The Social-Cultural Nexus Of Gender-Power Relations	JOURNAL OF SPORT MANAGEMENT
20	Ajzenstadt, M; Gal, J	Appearances Can Be Deceptive: Gender In The Israeli Welfare State	SOCIAL POLITICS
21	Aldridge, M	Lost Expectations? Women Journalists And The Fall-Out From The 'Toronto Newspaper War'	MEDIA CULTURE & SOCIETY
22	Alvesson, M	Beyond Neopositivists, Romantics, And Localists: A Reflexive Approach To Interviews In Organizational Research	ACADEMY OF MANAGEMENT REVIEW
23	Alvesson, M	Gender Relations And Identity At Work: A Case Study Of Masculinities And Femininities In An Advertising Agency	HUMAN RELATIONS
24	Alway, J; Belgrave, LL; Smith, KJ	Back To Normal: Gender And Disaster	SYMBOLIC INTERACTION
25	Amancio, L	Reflections On Science As A Gendered Endeavour: Changes And Continuities	SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION SUR LES SCIENCES SOCIALES
26	Amancio, L; Oliveira, JM	Men As Individuals, Women As A Sexed Category: Implications Of Symbolic Asymmetry For Feminist Practice And Feminist Psychology	FEMINISM & PSYCHOLOGY
27	Andersen, ML	Thinking About Women - A Quarter Century's View	GENDER & SOCIETY
28	Anderson, CD	Understanding The Inequality Problematic - From Scholarly Rhetoric To Theoretical Reconstruction	GENDER & SOCIETY
29	ANDERSON, CD; TOMASKOVICDEVEY, D	Patriarchal Pressures - An Exploration Of Organizational Processes That Exacerbate And Erode Gender Earnings Inequality	WORK AND OCCUPATIONS
30	Anderson, E	Orthodox And Inclusive Masculinity: Competing Masculinities Among Heterosexual Men In A Feminized Terrain	SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES
31	Anderson, RS; Speck, BW	Oh What A Difference A Team Makes: Why Team Teaching Makes A Difference	TEACHING AND TEACHER EDUCATION
32	Anderson-Gough, F; Grey, C; Robson, K	Helping Them To Forget..: The Organizational Embedding Of Gender Relations In Public Audit Firms	ACCOUNTING ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIETY
33	Apelt, M	The Integration Of Women Into The Armed Forces Has Been Completed	SOZIALE WELT-ZEITSCHRIFT FUR SOZIALWISSENSCHAFTLICHE FORSCHUNG UND PRAXIS
34	Appold, SJ; Siengthai, S; Kasarda, JD	The Employment Of Women Managers And Professionals In An Emerging Economy: Gender Inequality As An Organizational Practice	ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCE QUARTERLY
35	Arndt, M; Bigelow, B	Professionalizing And Masculinizing A Female Occupation: The Reconceptualization Of Hospital Administration In The Early 1900s	ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCE QUARTERLY

No.	Author	Title	Journal
36	Ashcraft, KL	Feminist-Bureaucratic Control And Other Adversarial Allies: Extending Organized Dissonance To The Practice Of "New" Forms	COMMUNICATION MONOGRAPHS
37	Ashcraft, KL	Organized Dissonance: Feminist Bureaucracy As Hybrid Form	ACADEMY OF MANAGEMENT JOURNAL
38	Ashcraft, KL	Managing Maternity Leave: A Qualitative Analysis Of Temporary Executive Succession	ADMINISTRATIVE SCIENCE QUARTERLY
39	Ashcraft, KL; Allen, BJ	The Racial Foundation Of Organizational Communication	COMMUNICATION THEORY
40	Ashcraft, KL; Kedrowicz, A	Self-Direction Or Social Support? Nonprofit Empowerment And The Tacit Employment Contract Of Organizational Communication Studies	COMMUNICATION MONOGRAPHS
41	Ashcraft, KL; Pacanowsky, ME	"A Woman's Worst Enemy": Reflections On A Narrative Of Organizational Life And Female Identity	JOURNAL OF APPLIED COMMUNICATION RESEARCH
42	Ashcraft, KL; Trethewey, A	Developing Tension: An Agenda For Applied Research On The Organization Of Irrationality	JOURNAL OF APPLIED COMMUNICATION RESEARCH
43	AUNGER, R	On Ethnography - Storytelling Or Science	CURRENT ANTHROPOLOGY
44	Bailey, L	Gender Snows - First Time Mothers And Embodied Selves	GENDER & SOCIETY
45	Bain, AL; Nash, CJ	Undressing The Researcher: Feminism, Embodiment And Sexuality At A Queer Bathhouse Event	AREA
46	Baird, CL; Reynolds, JR	Employee Awareness Of Family Leave Benefits: The Effects Of Family, Work, And Gender	SOCIOLOGICAL QUARTERLY
47	Ballantyne, PJ	The Social Determinants Of Health: A Contribution To The Analysis Of Gender Differences In Health And Illness	SCANDINAVIAN JOURNAL OF PUBLIC HEALTH
48	Barrett, FJ	Finding Voice Within The Gender Order	JOURNAL OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE MANAGEMENT
49	Barry, J; Berg, E; Chandler, J	Academic Shape Shifting: Gender, Management And Identities In Sweden And England	ORGANIZATION
50	Barton, E; Evans, L	A Case Of Multiple Professionalisms - Service Learning And Control Of Communication About Organ Donation	JOURNAL OF BUSINESS AND TECHNICAL COMMUNICATION
51	Bascia, N	Women Teachers, Union Affiliation, And The Future Of North American Teacher Unionism	TEACHING AND TEACHER EDUCATION
52	Benschop, Y	Pride, Prejudice And Performance: Relations Between Hrm, Diversity And Performance	INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
53	Benschop, Y; Doorewaard, H	Covered By Equality: The Gender Subtext Of Organizations	ORGANIZATION STUDIES
54	Benschop, Y; Meihuizen, HE	Keeping Up Gendered Appearances: Representations Of Gender In Financial Annual Reports	ACCOUNTING ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIETY
55	Bensimon, EM; Marshall, C	Like It Or Not - Feminist Critical Policy Analysis Matters	JOURNAL OF HIGHER EDUCATION
56	Bhopal, K	Researching South Asian Women: Issues Of Sameness And Difference In The Research Process	JOURNAL OF GENDER STUDIES
57	BHOPAL, K	Women And Feminism As Subjects Of Black-Study - The Difficulties And Dilemmas Of Carrying Out Re-Search	JOURNAL OF GENDER STUDIES
58	Bielby, DD; Bielby, WT	Women And Men In Film - Gender Inequality Among Writers In A Culture Industry	GENDER & SOCIETY
59	Bihagen, E; Ohls, M	The Glass Ceiling - Where Is It? Women's And Men's Career Prospects In The Private Vs. The Public Sector In Sweden 1979-2000	SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW
60	Bird, SR	Sex Composition, Masculinity Stereotype Dissimilarity And The Quality Of Men's Workplace Social Relations	GENDER WORK AND ORGANIZATION
61	Bird, SR; Sapp, SG	Understanding The Gender Gap In Small Business Success - Urban And Rural Comparisons	GENDER & SOCIETY
62	Bird, SR; Sapp, SG; Lee, MY	Small Business Success In Rural Communities: Explaining The Sex Gap	RURAL SOCIOLOGY
63	Bird, SR; Sokolofski, LK	Gendered Socio-Spatial Practices In Public Eating And Drinking Establishments In The Midwest United States	GENDER PLACE AND CULTURE
64	Blair-Loy, M; Wharton, AS	Mothers In Finance: Surviving And Thriving	ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
65	Bloom, LR	Locked In Uneasy Sisterhood: Reflections On Feminist Methodology And Research Relations	ANTHROPOLOGY & EDUCATION QUARTERLY
66	BLUM, LM	Mothers, Babies, And Breast-Feeding In Late Capitalist America - The Shifting Contexts Of Feminist Theory	FEMINIST STUDIES
67	Boggs, C; Jansma, LL	Subtle Sexism: Current Practice And Prospects For Change.	JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY
68	Brandth, B	Agricultural Body-Building: Incorporations Of Gender, Body And Work	JOURNAL OF RURAL STUDIES
69	BRANDTH, B	Rural Masculinity In Transition - Gender Images In Tractor Advertisements	JOURNAL OF RURAL STUDIES
70	Brandth, B; Haugen, MS	Doing Rural Masculinity - From Logging To Outfield Tourism	JOURNAL OF GENDER STUDIES
71	Brandth, B; Haugen, MS	From Lumberjack To Business Manager: Masculinity In The Norwegian Forestry Press	JOURNAL OF RURAL STUDIES
72	Brandth, B; Kvande, E	Flexible Work And Flexible Fathers	WORK EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIETY
73	Bretherton, C	Gender Mainstreaming And Eu Enlargement: Swimming Against The Tide?	JOURNAL OF EUROPEAN PUBLIC POLICY
74	Brett, JF; Atwater, LE; Waldman, DA	Effective Delivery Of Workplace Discipline - Do Women Have To Be More Participatory Than Men?	GROUP & ORGANIZATION MANAGEMENT
75	Britton, DM	The Epistemology Of The Gendered Organization	GENDER & SOCIETY
76	Britton, DM	Cat Fights And Gang Fights: Preference For Work In A Male-Dominated Organization	SOCIOLOGICAL QUARTERLY
77	Britton, DM	Gendered Organizational Logic - Policy And Practice In Men's And Women's Prisons	GENDER & SOCIETY

78	Britton, DM; Williams, CL	Class, Gender, And Parental Values In The 1990s - Response To Baxter And Wright	GENDER & SOCIETY
79	Broughton, S; Palmieri, S	Gendered Contributions To Parliamentary Debates: The Case Of Euthanasia	AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
80	Brown, G; Harris, CC	A Longitudinal Study Of Environmental Attitudes Of Women And Gender Diversification In The Us Forest Service 1990-1996	FOREST SCIENCE
81	Browne, I	Opportunities Lost? Race, Industrial Restructuring, And Employment Among Young Women Heading Households	SOCIAL FORCES
82	Bruni, A	'Have You Got A Boyfriend Or Are You Single?': On The Importance Of Being 'Straight' In Organizational Research	GENDER WORK AND ORGANIZATION
83	Bryans, P; Mavin, S	Women Learning To Become Managers: Learning To Fit In Or To Play A Different Game?	MANAGEMENT LEARNING
84	Brzuzy, S; Ault, A; Segal, EA	Conducting Qualitative Interviews With Women Survivors Of Trauma	AFFILIA-JOURNAL OF WOMEN AND SOCIAL WORK
85	Budig, MJ	Are Women's Employment And Fertility Histories Interdependent? An Examination Of Causal Order Using Event History Analysis	SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
86	Budig, MJ	Male Advantage And The Gender Composition Of Jobs: Who Rides The Glass Escalator?	SOCIAL PROBLEMS
87	Budig, MJ; England, P	The Wage Penalty For Motherhood	AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW
88	Bulan, HF; Erickson, RJ; Wharton, AS	Doing For Others On The Job: The Affective Requirements Of Service Work, Gender, And Emotional Well-Being	SOCIAL PROBLEMS
89	Burghardt, DA; Colbeck, CL	Women's Studies Faculty At The Intersection Of Institutional Power And Feminist Values	JOURNAL OF HIGHER EDUCATION
90	Buttner, EH	Examining Female Entrepreneurs' Management Style: An Application Of A Relational Frame	JOURNAL OF BUSINESS ETHICS
91	Buzzanell, PM; Liu, M	Struggling With Maternity Leave Policies And Practices: A Poststructuralist Feminist Analysis Of Gendered Organizing	JOURNAL OF APPLIED COMMUNICATION RESEARCH
92	Cadge, W	Gendered Religious Organizations - The Case Of Theravada Buddhism In America	GENDER & SOCIETY
93	CALASANTI, TM	Bringing In Diversity - Toward An Inclusive Theory Of Retirement	JOURNAL OF AGING STUDIES
94	CALASANTI, TM; ZAJICEK, AM	A Socialist-Feminist Approach To Aging - Embracing Diversity	JOURNAL OF AGING STUDIES
95	Calvey, J; Jansz, J	Women's Experience Of The Workers Compensation System	AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES
96	Carr, C	Tomboy Resistance And Conformity - Agency In Social Psychological Gender Theory	GENDER & SOCIETY
97	Carr, D	The Psychological Consequences Of Work-Family Trade-Offs For Three Cohorts Of Men And Women	SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY QUARTERLY
98	Carroll, FO; Freemuth, J; Alm, L	Women Forest Rangers - Revisiting Kaufman's The Forest Ranger	JOURNAL OF FORESTRY
99	Cassell, C; Johnson, P	Action Research: Explaining The Diversity	HUMAN RELATIONS
100	CASSIDY, ML; WARREN, BO	Status Consistency And Work Satisfaction Among Professional And Managerial Women And Men	GENDER & SOCIETY
101	Cassirer, N; Reskin, B	High Hopes - Organizational Position, Employment Experiences, And Women's And Men's Promotion Aspirations	WORK AND OCCUPATIONS
102	Chan, AEW	Gender, School Management And Educational Reforms: A Case Study Of A Primary School In Hong Kong	GENDER AND EDUCATION
103	Charles, N; Davies, CA	Cultural Stereotypes And The Gendering Of Senior Management	SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW
104	Chenevert, D; Tremblay, M	Managerial Career Success In Canadian Organizations: Is Gender A Determinant?	INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT
105	Cheung, CK	Gender Differences In Participation And Earnings In Hong Kong	JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY ASIA
106	Claringbould, I; Knoppers, A; Elling, A	Exclusionary Practices In Sport Journalism	SEX ROLES
107	Cognard-Black, AJ	Will They Stay, Or Will They Go? Sex-Atypical Work Among Token Men Who Teach	SOCIOLOGICAL QUARTERLY
108	Cohen, PN; Huffman, MRL	Individuals, Jobs, And Labor Markets: The Devaluation Of Women's Work	AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW
109	Collom, E	Worker Control: The Bases Of Women's Support	ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
110	Coltrane, S; Adams, M	Work-Family Imagery And Gender Stereotypes: Television And The Reproduction Of Difference	JOURNAL OF VOCATIONAL BEHAVIOR
111	Connell, R	The Experience Of Gender Change In Public Sector Organizations	GENDER WORK AND ORGANIZATION
112	Connell, RW	A Really Good Husband - Work/Life Balance, Gender Equity And Social Change	AUSTRALIAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES
113	Conrad, BK	Neo-Institutionalism, Social Movements, And The Cultural Reproduction Of A Mentalite: Promise Keepers Reconstruct The Madonna-Whore Complex	SOCIOLOGICAL QUARTERLY
114	Conway, AM	Girls, Aggression, And Emotion Regulation	AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ORTHOPSYCHIATRY
115	Cook, C; Waters, M	The Impact Of Organizational Form On Gendered Labour Markets In Engineering And Law	SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW
116	Cotter, DA; Hermsen, JM; Vanneman, R	Women's Work And Working Women - The Demand For Female Labor	GENDER & SOCIETY
117	Coventry, BT; Morrissey, M	Contested Workplace: The Case Of The Strike Of The United Food And Commercial Workers Union Versus Meijer	JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WELFARE
118	Cox, JW; Minahan, S	Unravelling Woomera: Lip Sewing, Morphology And Dystopia	JOURNAL OF ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE MANAGEMENT
119	Cranford, CJ; Vosko, LF; Zukewich, N	The Gender Of Precarious Employment In Canada	RELATIONS INDUSTRIELLES-INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS
120	Creegan, C; Colgan, F; Charlesworth, R; Robinson, G	Race Equality Policies At Work: Employee Perceptions Of The 'Implementation Gap' In A Uk Local Authority	WORK EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIETY

121	Creese, G	Gendering Collective Bargaining: From Men's Rights To Women's Issues	CANADIAN REVIEW OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY-REVUE CANADIENNE DE SOCIOLOGIE ET D ANTHROPOLOGIE
122	CREESE, G	Power And Pay + British-Columbia-Electric-Hydro And Its Women Employees - The Union And Equal Pay At B-C-Electric-Hydro	LABOUR-LE TRAVAIL
123	Crompton, R	Employment, Flexible Working And The Family	BRITISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY
124	Crow, M	Personnel In Transition: The Case Of Polish Women Personnel Managers	PERSONNEL REVIEW
125	Cubranic, D; Murphy, GC; Singer, J; Booth, KS	Hipikat: A Project Memory For Software Development	IEEE TRANSACTIONS ON SOFTWARE ENGINEERING
126	Curtin, J; Higgins, W	Feminism And Unionism In Sweden	POLITICS & SOCIETY
127	Czarniawska, B	Doing Gender Unto The Other: Fiction As A Mode Of Studying Gender Discrimination In Organizations	GENDER WORK AND ORGANIZATION
128	CZARNIAWSKAJOERGES, B	Narration Or Science - Collapsing The Division In Organization Studies	ORGANIZATION
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344	Martin, PY	Gender, Accounts, And Rape Processing Work	SOCIAL PROBLEMS
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519	Skidmore, P	A Legal Perspective On Sexuality And Organization: A Lesbian And Gay Case Study	GENDER WORK AND ORGANIZATION
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528	SMITH, V	Institutionalizing Flexibility In A Service Firm - Multiple Contingencies And Hidden Hierarchies	WORK AND OCCUPATIONS
529	Smith-Doerr, L	Flexibility And Fairness: Effects Of The Network Form Of Organization On Gender Equity In Life Science Careers	SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES
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531	Smithson, J; Stokoe, EH	Discourses Of Work-Life Balance: Negotiating 'Genderblind' Terms In Organizations	GENDER WORK AND ORGANIZATION

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*this period was chosen due to the emergence of the gendering processes framework in 1990. Much of her later work discussed the gendering processes.

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