

'Creamy and seductive': Gender surveillance in flight attendant work

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ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 28 April 2022

Received in revised form 27 October 2022

Accepted 10 November 2022

Available online 4 January 2023

Associate editor: Adele Ladkin

Keywords:

Flight attendant

Feminist poststructuralism

Surveillance

Grooming

Resistance

ABSTRACT

Despite attempts by airlines and the wider tourism industry to cultivate more diverse working environments, gendered practices and pressures persist. A feminist poststructuralist approach involving interviews with flight attendants from three airlines is used to examine how airlines attempt to construct the ideal aesthetic flight attendant, and how individual workers may resist these gendered practices through their work. The findings demonstrate that airlines consistently shape and discipline flight attendants' gendered grooming performances through rules, peer-surveillance and engendering self-regulation. While flight attendants occasionally employ subtle forms of resistance, they primarily adhere to traditional gender norms. The paper provides a conceptual shift from binary perspectives on surveillance in tourism work to a relational understanding that reveals circulatory force.

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Introduction

While research examining gender within the field of tourism remains marginal (Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015), several studies have progressed understandings of gender in the tourism workplace by investigating the division of labour (i.e. underrepresentation of women in management) (Kimbu et al., 2021), aesthetic labour (Ren, 2017), and the ideal tourism worker (Costa et al., 2017). These studies attest to the gendered nature of tourism work and how gender roles reflect broader societal gendered norms. The occupational roles women hold are based on the normative construction that women are more suited than men to nurturing roles that provide service and care (Hall, 1993). Collectively, research on the gendered nature of the tourism industry draws attention to gender performances in the workplace because of repetitive social performances, sexualised roles, and gendered expectations.

Air transport, an integral part of the tourism industry, is a leading example of where such gendered divisions persist (UNWTO, 2019). Aviation is an industry historically and structurally influenced by gender (Neal-Smith & Cockburn, 2009). The impact of feminised roles within the airline industry, which are deeply rooted in traditional ideology that controls and creates disciplinary standards shaping gender identity, has a long research history. Early examples of research into femininity in the cabin and flight attendants' body management include Hochschild (1983) and Tyler and Hancock (2001). More recently, focusing exclusively on

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the experiences of male flight attendants and masculinities, Simpson (2014) draws attention to space (i.e. feminised cabin) and how it may be used to invoke performative acts that maintain the formation of gender identities.

Airline organisations, in part, maintain the feminised cabin by setting strict appearance standards that workers embody. Forms of compliance with gendered norms are discussed in Ayuttacorn's (2016) work on the body politics of Thai female flight attendants. Focusing on aesthetic labour, findings indicate that female flight attendants actively maintain their 'slim' bodies according to organisational rules by routinely engaging in body treatment. In examining women's aesthetic labour through a focus on the discriminatory practices in recruiting and selecting flight attendants, Ren (2017) uncovered that airlines often demand additional aesthetic performances from women, which are not extended to male employees. While previous work has advanced understanding of how flight attendants negotiate gender, the mechanisms of the organisational disciplinary practices used to surveil and control flight attendants' gendered behaviours and performances remain largely unknown. Notably absent from previous literature is a focus on how the regulation of gendered performances takes place in ways that ensure airlines are able to utilise their organisational power to regulate bodies in gendered ways and thus produce the 'ideal' worker.

The aim of this study is therefore to examine how airlines utilise and disperse organisational power to shape and maintain gendered conformity in flight attendant appearances and embodied performances to produce the 'ideal' worker. Using a feminist poststructuralist approach that questions conventional binary concepts by conceptualising gender as a complex performance, alongside Foucault's notion of surveillance, this paper uncovers the manifold ways in which airlines constitute the ideal aesthetic flight attendant through dispersed and circulatory forms of power. The paper is first theoretically framed by existing literature on gendered bodies and surveillance, focusing on the organisations' role in constructing and shaping the ideal worker. We then turn to the paper's empirical findings, based on semi-structured interviews with flight attendants across three airlines – Emirates, Qantas, and Virgin Atlantic.

Gendered bodies in airline employment

All work is gendered and embodied. Acker's (1992) seminal work on gendered and gendering organisations provides an understanding of the extent to which individual bodies are shaped in highly gendered ways. Organisational structures and processes are both informed, and are informed by, gendered constructions (Acker, 1992). Masculine work qualities are typically favoured in the workplace, aligning with the notion of the ideal worker. Organisations create a standardised version of the ideal worker that often favours men. Organisational processes and structures (i.e. organisational culture, policies, and symbols/images) are interrelated systems used to discipline and control individual bodies and influence their performance. Importantly, in viewing organisations as gendered, this paper identifies workplace practices as processes that continuously shape masculinity and femininity. Favouring men and masculine qualities creates a gender segregated workforce, further placing men in valued positions, and women in more feminised and less valued roles.

The tourism workforce is a highly gender-segregated industry constructed from and constructing gendered societies and influenced by discourses on gender relations (Swain, 1995). Traditionally, airline work maintains two distinct gendered realms, namely the flight deck, a space occupied by 'manly' pilots, and the cabin, inhabited by glamorous female flight attendants. As such, gender diversity, or lack thereof, in airline employment remains a current topic of academic discussion (cf. Smith, Cohen, & de Jong, 2021; Smith, Kimbu, et al., 2021). Barry (2007) investigates the glamorised femininity of flight attendants as 'attractive', white women, while Baum (2012) charts the representation of female flight attendants' work from its 'golden era'. Tiemeyer (2013), in contrast, details the history of male flight attendants, drawing attention to homophobia as threatening their position in the occupation. Collectively, these studies provide valuable insight into the embodiment and gendering of airline work, highlighting how glamorised femininity has assisted in creating flight attendant's workplace culture.

While earlier improvements in the profession have been made to create a more diverse environment (i.e. Women in Aviation and Aerospace Charter), the flight attendant role remains associated with femininity (Hochschild, 1983). Simpson (2014) explores the unique flight attendant role, emphasising domesticity and femininity as profoundly intertwined in every aspect of the occupation. Examining this further, Ayuttacorn (2016) investigates female Thai flight attendants' bodily practices revealing that a combination of factors such as Thai nationalist discourses, strict organisational rules, and self-regulation collectively contribute to maintaining cabin crew appearance. A core component of Ayuttacorn's (2016, p. 147) work is the extent to which female flight attendants maintain their 'beautiful bodies' to nurture their feminine 'look'. Flight attendants, until very recently, were seen as glamorous exemplars of femininity and popular icons of feminine attractiveness and allure (Barry, 2007). Thus, flight attendants' bodies and appearance became crucial elements in the performance of hyper-femininity, an exaggerated adherence to a stereotypical feminine gender role (Murnen & Byrne, 1991). Though previous research, including Ayuttacorn's (2016), has identified work performance as gendered, to understand the processes of control, more insight into how this is enforced through organisational power is required.

Gendered performances and surveillance in tourism work

Gender performance is based on the idea that gender is a learned behaviour informed by societal and cultural norms of masculinity and femininity. Butler (1988) emphasised that rather than being natural, gender is performed through stylised repetitive acts that mimic dominant gender ideologies. Thus, to say something is performative is to produce a series of effects that consolidate the impression of 'being a man' or 'being a woman' (Butler, 2006). Dictating appropriate performance of gender is the fundamental belief that 'women' and 'men' are categorised based on their biological differences. This creates a false binary of gender

essentialism, the idea that unalterable and essential biological characteristics differentiate 'men' and 'women' (Witt, 2011). Viewing gender as dualistic categories of 'man' and 'woman' thus distorts biological anatomy with socially constructed identities.

Feminist scholar Butler (2006) problematises the traditional essentialist conceptions of male and female as a 'hierarchical dualism' that favours men and masculine qualities, above women and feminine qualities. Feminist theory emerging in the 1960s strongly contested essentialist frameworks and sought to move beyond a dualistic opposition. Drawing on Butler's (1988) theory of gender as performance, we acknowledge gender as multiple and fluid. In doing so, the focus turns to gendering processes and how gender is negotiated in everyday practices, that is, the process in which gender is (un)done (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Undoing gender (i.e. resistance) involves subverting gender norms and enacting gender in ways that go beyond dominant ideologies (Butler, 2004). Examples of undoing and rejecting dominant, restrictive gender norms are queer and transgender individuals who may disrupt the traditional sex/gender paradigm and subvert the gender binary. Connell's (2010) research exploring transgender employees found that trans workers undermine gendered expectations and challenge gender assumptions by performing their 'new gender'. However, Thanem and Wallenberg's (2016) work on transvestitism in organisations reveals that while transvestites positively undo gender, they may maintain the gender binary by repressing and concealing their identity due to dominant organisational regimes and expected behaviour. Unequal power relations between an organisation and an individual influence the individual's ability to publicly resist normative performance. Whereby resistance or questioning is often met with significant repercussions (i.e. peer group exclusion), thereby upholding normative gendered performances.

Though it is possible to contradict gender norms, individuals often conform to socially appropriate gendered behaviour to belong to social settings (Deutsch, 2007). Foucault's (1977) analysis of Jeremy Bentham's panopticon, a circular prison reform used as a model to reflect how societies function, can deepen our understanding of gender conformity. Foucault (1980) views power as a circulatory force that exists everywhere and is exercised through, and within subjects and structures, which become a significant source of social discipline and conformity. Designed as a prison system for corrective purposes, Foucault (1977) uses the panopticon concept to question modern power and its influence on agency, proposing that individuals, without significant interference or coercion, may be always observed and at every moment. Foucault (1977) draws attention to the 'docile and socialised body' that is subjected, used and carefully manipulated under meticulous control and continuous surveillance, denying the subject's agency. Viewing power as a circulatory force, Foucault (1977, 1980) demonstrates how the panopticon facilitates constant surveillance of 'docile bodies', thereby maintaining order and structure. The possibility of constantly being seen, but unable to see, leads individuals to self-surveil. Foucault utilises the panopticon as a metaphor for understanding how power is used to enforce societal norms. The normalising power of society shapes individuals due to the perception of being watched and the fear of being disciplined. Foucault (1977) insists that awareness of being observed represses individuality and creates conformity. Crucially, aware of the threat of perpetual observation and fear of punishment, women, for example, fulfil constructs of femininity through maintenance of the body (Foucault, 1977) – i.e. grooming practices.

Central to panopticism is the power of surveillance (Hollinshead, 1999), a process integrated into everyday life that makes visible the identities and behaviours of individuals (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005). Focusing on a 'surveillance society', power and agency, Jordan and Aitchison (2008) explore the gendered surveillance of solo female tourists. Subject to unwanted male attention and observation, Jordan and Aitchison (2008) found that women often engaged in self-surveillance to maintain socially and culturally appropriate gendered behaviour. However, 'where there is power, there is resistance' (Foucault, 1976, p. 95), as such individuals may resist or 'counter-conduct' power relations. Thus, to avoid sexualised attention, solo female travellers regularly employ resistance strategies (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008). Similarly, Reddy-Best and Olson's (2020) recent work on trans travellers identified that despite popular discourses surrounding their regulated bodies and self-surveillance, trans travellers also resist normative ideological appearances to maintain their agency through authentic dress, style and appearance practices. Reddy-Best and Olson's (2020) work draws attention to the constant push-pull of agency and control, and the complexities of negotiating identities. Building on traditional conceptualisations of a 'surveillance society', recent work on how surveillance is enacted within the workplace draws attention to 'new surveillance' techniques – technology – providing new ways of ensuring 'docile bodies' and conditioning the ideal tourism worker. Manokha (2020) argues that new digital surveillance techniques in the workplace that intensify control mechanisms over workers and shape workplace behaviour are truly panoptic structures. Rydzik and Kissoon's (2021) recent work exploring the implication of digital surveillance (i.e. video/audio recordings, tracking technologies) on lower-skilled and lower-paid tourism workers identified that increased digital and direct control negatively affects workers and diminishes dignified work. Additionally, those actively surveilling employee performance and behaviours (i.e. management) play a crucial role in monitoring compliance.

Collectively, these studies draw attention to surveillance as maintaining complex power relations that contribute to the construction of gendered tourism spaces (Scraton & Watson, 1998). However, while recent tourism research has engaged with the concept of surveillance to understand employee performance, focus has been with understanding the ways employers utilise direct control over employees. This conception has constructed a binary understanding of how surveillance works within organisations, whereby employers surveil and employees are surveilled. This focus on direct control overlooks how employees enact surveillance and how surveillance exists everywhere.

More work is needed to examine the broader complexities of regulation and maintenance of gendered performances and how this produces conformance to the 'ideal' worker. Based on a Foucauldian understanding of power as a circulatory, all-pervasive, and an encompassing force that maintains conformity, appearance and 'appropriate' behaviour become part of constant surveillance towards disciplined, 'docile bodies' (Foucault, 1977). Behaviour is further reinforced through panoptic structures, subtle everyday experiences, and encounters, which directly discipline the 'subject'. While the negotiations of gendered performances of flight attendants have been explored, the mechanisms through which governance is dispersed and power is made circulatory

(i.e. all-encompassing and everywhere) within the context of the gendering of flight attendants' appearances remains unexamined. This paper draws on Foucault's work to understand the governance processes and mechanisms used to discipline and control flight attendants' bodies. Through a feminist poststructuralist lens, we examine organisational control mechanisms and processes that engender (non)conformity, and the potential negotiations employed by flight attendants across three airlines, who may challenge gender conformity.

Methodology

This paper follows a feminist poststructuralist approach, a philosophical position concerned with investigating relations of power inherent in and deriving from institutional structures (Cheek, 2000; Weedon, 1997). In the feminist poststructuralist approach, the researcher calls into question dualistic gender categories and instead embraces relationality, fluidity, and complexity (Alvesson & Sköldböck, 2009). Gavey (1989) argues that rather than seeking to 'reveal truth', feminist poststructuralism seeks to disrupt and displace dominant and authoritative systems of knowledge, welcoming the plurality of meanings and seeking to articulate alternative ideals. A qualitative approach based on semi-structured interviews was used to gather an in-depth understanding of gendered practices that persist in airline cabins and the processes by which flight attendants from multiple airlines may negotiate their aesthetic and grooming performances within the workspace.

It is essential to disclose how the lead researcher's positionality shaped the research, as it influences how the research was conducted and how the findings were interpreted (Lafrance & Wigginton, 2019). The lead author is a mixed-raced female who, at a young age, desired to embark on a career as a flight attendant. Having had several opportunities to travel, she was captivated by the perceived glamour and romance of the work. However, becoming more aware of the aesthetic standards that often reflected a narrow view of femininity and what is deemed 'attractive', motivated a personal interest, and encouraged the critical evaluation of physical and aesthetic demands in the occupation. This strong perspective on this hyper-glamorous femininity was considered throughout the research process.

Data collection & analysis

This study was firstly based on purposive sampling, which enabled the selection of information rich cases to yield an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon (Patton, 2002). Three airlines were selected as part of this research – *Emirates*, *Qantas*, and *Virgin Atlantic*. The selection of airlines was informed by the strong statistical female representation of flight attendants in the cabin, geographical spread, and brand image (i.e. brand popularity and recognition). While the latest figures on the global number of male and female staff in the cabin are limited, available data indicates that women constitute the majority of flight attendants (ILO, 2019). At *Emirates*, women constitute around 40 % of the total workforce (Emirates, 2020), over 18,000 of which work as flight attendants (Emirates, 2017). The most recent available data on the total number of female flight attendants working for *Virgin Atlantic* indicates that of 4118 members, 78 % are female (Statista, 2015). Finally, *Qantas* reports that 68 % of its flight attendants are female, further highlighting the cabin as heavily skewed towards female workers (Sydney Morning Herald, 2017).

The sample was obtained using multiple entry points, namely the lead author's own and extended network, as well as flight attendant-related social media groups/communities. While accessing the lead author's network provided an essential entry point, this sampling method is prone to researcher bias (Sharma, 2017). Consequently, a recruitment flyer was posted in flight attendant groups/communities on Facebook. The use of social media platforms such as Facebook as a research recruitment tool is deemed advantageous as it allows researchers to access a broader segment of the population, particularly hard-to-reach populations (Gelinis et al., 2017).

To be eligible to participate, participants were required to be currently or recently employed at the identified airlines and have at least one year of experience working at the selected airlines. It was essential for participants to have spent sufficient time in the occupation to understand the organisation's rules and role expectations. We acknowledge that the length and variation of time served may influence flight attendants' experiences. As such, increased attention to this throughout the data analysis was applied to accommodate the variation in time served and the context in which participants recalled their experiences. Eligible participants were invited to join the lead researcher in a one-to-one interview. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the ideal method as they allow greater depth of information and provide opportunities to explore participants' experiences of reality through their personal narratives (Blee & Taylor, 2002). An interview guide was developed and divided into three sections (Appendix 1). The first, designed to build rapport, involved asking about their length of employment and their motivations for pursuing a career in the field. The second section focused on gaining an understanding of participants' general perceptions of the occupation and personal experiences by examining what it is like being a flight attendant and encouraging participants to describe their workplace culture and interactions. The final section, having explored participants' gendered sense of self through workplace practices and performances, examined how they negotiate gendered meanings in the workplace.

Challenges faced within the research design included flight attendants' geographical distance, global distribution, and changing work schedules. The study employed Zoom, a secure videoconferencing service, to overcome these difficulties. The visual element offered by 'video calls' in semi-structured interviews can, to a degree, mirror face-to-face experiences while offering, in some cases, an intimate environment (Hanna, 2012). Thirteen in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted from July 2021 to April 2022 with flight attendants across the three airlines. The data was obtained through a small sample size that provided a deep level of analysis (c.f. Czernek-Marszalek & McCabe, 2022). Rather than seeking representation and generalisation, informed through the feminist poststructuralist approach, this study was concerned with the ways individualised experience provided

Table 1
Participant profiles^a.

Pseudonym	Gender	Occupation	Airline	Length of employment	Occupation status
1 Amelia	F	Flight Attendant	Qantas	2 years	Furlough
2 Bessie	F	Flight Attendant	Qantas	4 years	Former Flight Attendant
3 Claire	F	Flight Attendant	Emirates	4 years 6 months	Active
4 Doris	F	Flight Attendant	Emirates	3 years	Active
5 Emily	F	Flight Attendant	Emirates	4 years	Former Flight Attendant
6 Felix	M	Flight Attendant	Emirates	15 months	Former Flight Attendant
7 Geraldine	F	Flight Attendant	Emirates	5 years	Former Flight Attendant
8 Harriet	F	Flight Attendant & Cabin Supervisor	Emirates	10 years	Former Flight Attendant/ Cabin Supervisor
9 Igor	M	Flight Attendant	Virgin Atlantic	4 years	Active
10 John	M	Flight Attendant	Virgin Atlantic	15 years	Active
11 Katya	F	Flight Attendant	Virgin Atlantic	5 years	Active
12 Louis	M	Flight Attendant & Cabin Supervisor	Virgin Atlantic	15 years	Former Flight Attendant/ Cabin Supervisor
13 Manfred	M	Flight Attendant & Head of Cabin Crew training	Virgin Atlantic	16 years	Former Flight Attendant & Head of Cabin Crew training

^a Former flight attendant employment range 1984–2020.

opportunity to question normative constructions (de Jong, 2017). Several factors influenced data collection, including strict organisational contractual policies and the impact of the pandemic (e.g. furloughs and redundancies). The gender composition of the sample included more women (8) than men (5). Table 1 summarises participants' profiles at the time of the interviews. Each online video interview was recorded and lasted between 30 and 90 min, with a typical length of an hour.

The interviews were transcribed verbatim and supplemented by interview notes and observations (i.e. of body language). Participants were assigned pseudonyms to ensure anonymity. The method of analysis chosen was interpretive thematic analysis, a process for systematically identifying and reporting patterns (themes) across a dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In the context

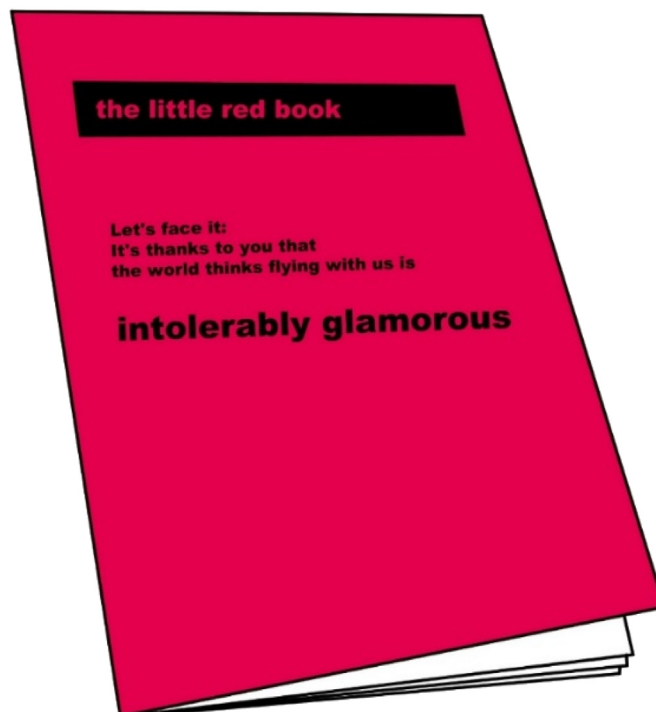


Fig. 1. Airline Pamphlet Cover Page (year unknown).

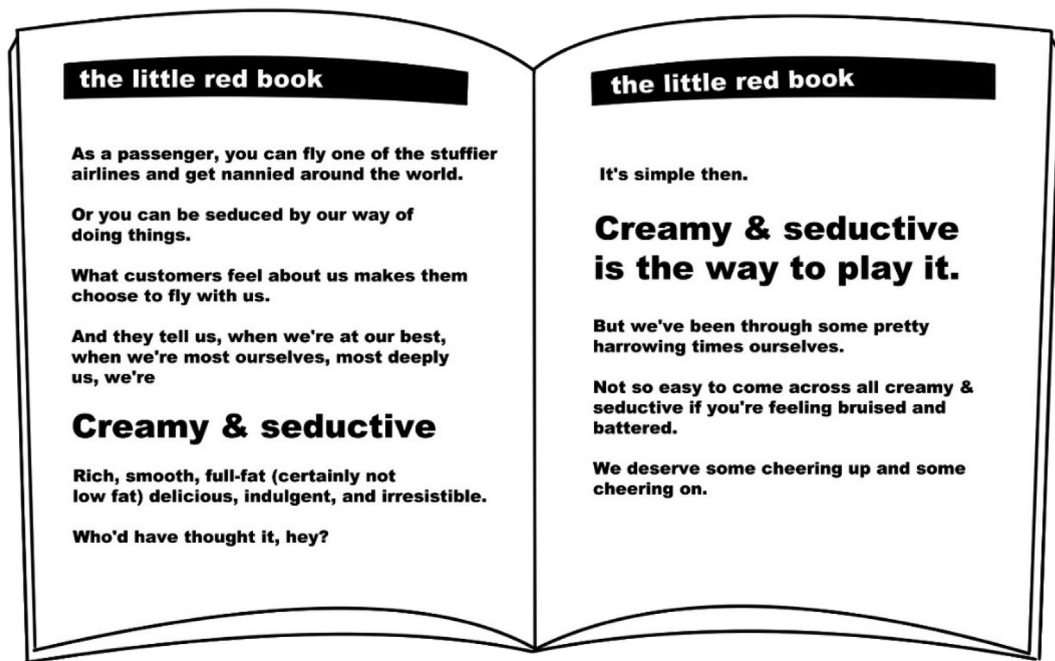


Fig. 2. Airline Pamphlet Content (year unknown).

of examining how the airline industry maintains and regulates gendered conformity in flight attendant appearances, thematic analysis is effective as it enables an examination of the realities of participants' lived experiences, making meaning out of these experiences and how they construct their social worlds (Evans, 2018). Data analysis involved (1) data familiarisation through reading and re-reading interview data and noting down initial ideas surrounding the negotiation of gender identities, (2) manually creating initial codes by reporting features of the data and collating data that presented dominant discourses, (3) searching for primary themes of complex negotiations of gender and collating codes into themes, (4) reviewing themes and potential sub-themes in relation to the coded text and entire data set, and (5) defining and naming specific themes. An ongoing record of reflective thoughts, observations, and initial ideas was kept throughout the data collection process, creating an audit trail, thereby ensuring the credibility and trustworthiness of the findings (Czernek-Marszalek & McCabe, 2022).

Findings and discussion

Three themes relating to surveilling and negotiating gender in flight attendant appearances and embodied performances emerged from the data: (1) Organisational disciplining practices, (2) peer- and self-surveillance, and (3) resisting embodied grooming performances. The following sections discuss each theme, with supporting excerpts. Adopting a feminist poststructuralist approach has allowed us to unpack the complex processes of how surveillance is relationally engendered and dispersed through three types of surveillance mechanisms, identified here for heuristic purposes – namely organisational rules, peer-surveillance, and self-surveillance.

Surveillance of embodied grooming performances

Organisational disciplining practices

The study findings reveal that airlines take an active role in regulating and shaping flight attendants' appearance. Presenting a professional face and clean appearance, Simpson (2014) argues, are aesthetic codes that symbolise the glamour of air travel. One way in which flight attendants are informed of grooming and physical appearance standards is through detailed manuals (i.e. a 'lookbook'), which dictate every aspect of a flight attendant's physical appearance (e.g. uniform, application of makeup, appropriate hairstyles), further perpetuating the notion of glamour at work. One participant shared images of previously used material that details organisational expectations of glamour and seduction (Figs. 1 and 2; images reproduced for publication as cartoon illustrations). As illustrated, the suggestive and sexually charged terms 'creamy' and 'seductive' reflect hyper-sexualised and glamorous ideas surrounding the ideal flight attendant.

Participants provided a detailed overview of such organisational rules concerning aesthetic expectations and standards:

...they are very streamlined with what they want. You know, especially, especially for women. Um, there's certain earrings you can wear, there's only certain diameter of earring you can wear, there's certain lipstick shades, certain blush shades, certain nail polish...!

love red lipstick. Like, I will always put a red lip on. Um, so but after a while, you know, that can get really boring, because you got to do it every flight. So, it doesn't really show anything individual necessarily.

[(Amelia, Qantas)]

Yeah, well, we've got what's called a Runway Guide. So, it tells you exactly what is allowed, what isn't allowed. So obviously, I'm off today. I've not had a shave. So no, I wouldn't be confirmed to fly. So, yeah, they are very strict. So, making sure your uniforms clean, the shoes are polished. That your hair, you know, compliant, you're clean shaven or you've got a beard within a certain parameter even says how it should be...it is very strict.

[(Igor, Virgin Atlantic)]

The experiences shared above suggest that there are uniform gendered expectations to adhere to that align with and reinforce essentialist ideas regarding what a man and a woman is. As such, diversity or individuality is perceived as a threat to traditional gender norms within the context of these airline organisations. For Amelia, the challenge does not lie with the requirements for hyper-femininity but rather with the lack of creativity and individuality the rules afford. Further, Amelia's experience of strict organisational rules that dictate female flight attendants' appearance draws attention to a repetitiveness in the use of makeup, supporting Butler's (1988) conceptualisation of gender as a performance, a repetitive, everyday practice. Repetitive acts or practices are led by and associated with dualistic gender categories. Butler (1988) argues that acts of repetition of gendered practices and norms (i.e. use of makeup and clean shaven face) are necessary to be recognised as a viable, intelligible organisational subject. In streamlining a standardised model of femininity and masculinity, airlines deny subjects agency and control gendered grooming performances. As powerful mechanisms of control (Foucault, 1977), standardising grooming performances creates specific expectations, which narrow the ideal worker's view.

The participants all expressed that their airline pays close attention to flight attendants by assigning dedicated personnel (i.e. supervisors or pursers) to monitor organisational standards. Thus, in addition to organisational policy and lookbooks, supervisors and pursers, as panoptic structures, are strategically positioned to ensure compliance. Flight attendants shared their experience of how airlines maintained strict rules of appearance and re-emphasised the importance of the 'flight attendants' 'look' at various 'checkpoints', including gates and pre-flight briefing rooms. The use of pre-flight briefing rooms is particularly interesting as another site of surveillance and an additional dispersed layer of control over flight attendants' physical appearance because it emphasises the value placed on hyper-feminine performance. It is an example of how methods of power are used in explicit organisational practices that control and construct the ideal worker (Foucault, 1980). Louis, a former Virgin Atlantic flight attendant, reflects on a briefing room ritual, recalling:

...you used to hear a lot of gendered languages, like in the briefing room, for example, everyday common parlance for people to say 'right girls remember tits and teeth'...I was guilty of saying it myself...It wasn't just like, everyone's smiling, get your boobs out...that was what we use to describe this performance face that we used to put on, you know, because a lot of the time it was just, it was a performance and the glamour was such an important part of it...

Louis, through his role as manager, accepted and enforced the continued sexualisation of women and the performance of glamour, essential components that characterise female flight attendants as glamorous icons (Barry, 2007). The use of gendered language and emphasis placed on female sexuality excludes men and their gender performances. Discussing the issue further, Louis (Virgin Atlantic) shares:

When we got the Vivienne Westwood uniform, then glamour was rammed back up again, you know, and everything and grooming had to be absolutely perfect...that kind of, the gender disparity here, so the females are in very tight skirts now which have been designed to, to accentuate the curvature of their bum, and the guys are in a three-piece suit, completely covered up with a tie. You know, so those, so the girls' uniforms are getting tighter, and more revealing. And there's this kind of red high heel the females have to be quite high heels, and the guys have got flat shoes on with a three-piece suit. So, there's no sexualisation of the males but complete sexualisation of the females.

Exclusively focusing on the sexualisation of the female body and how to maintain the standardised version through the application of airline organisational rules and regulations (i.e. uniform and makeup) highlights that airlines place higher value on women's visual appearance compared to their ability to perform tasks effectively. The persistent sexualisation of female flight attendants is supported by Duffy et al.'s (2017) work which argues that Virgin Atlantic consistently exploits a narrative that exaggerates women's femininity. Yet, building on this previous work which identifies the hyper-sexualisation of the flight attendant image, the example shared by Louis demonstrates how checkpoints (i.e. briefing room) are used to control employees, ultimately constructing the ideal worker in a way that aligns with the organisational image. While Louis describes the three-piece suit as 'covered up' compared to the tighter, revealing female uniform, men's bodies can also be a point of sexualisation, objectification, and the female gaze (Rohlinger, 2002). Early practices of objectification are noted in Tiemeyer's (2013) investigation of Pan Am's 1933 fictional character *Rodney the Smiling Steward*. 'Rodney's' depiction of youthful attraction and approachability identified 'him'

as an alluring sex object. Pan Am's Rodney campaign challenged traditional notions of masculinity by emphasising male physical beauty and youthfulness (Tiemeyer, 2013). Overall, consistently regulating aesthetic rules to ensure standards are met illustrates the strong value placed on physical appearance (Ball, 2010). Exercising this level of control over employee appearance through checkpoints allows airlines to ensure conformity to the brand.

In addition to briefing flight attendants pre-flight, the participants drew attention to the measures by which airlines 'patrol' strict grooming and appearance standards. Former cabin supervisors Harriet (Emirates) and Louis (Virgin Atlantic) reflect on their role as rule enforcers and their responsibility to correct 'rule breakers'. Attesting to the pressures of her role, Harriet shares:

...we start at some small briefing rooms in the headquarters. And so basically, I as cabin supervisor have [a] duty to check all of them, of their [flight attendants] whole appearance. Yeah, sometimes you have to address some very difficult topics such as you have body odour [or] something like that and you 'Okay, let's tell the purser, let him do it'...it's a tough one that you have to give some comment to a person about that appearance. But yeah, we have to address that. Because if we do not address it, then the purser will be asking like: 'Did you see that? Why don't you address them?'

Harriet's experience as an Emirates cabin supervisor provides evidence of Emirates' authoritative approach and the consequences she may encounter when not enforcing organisational grooming standards. Further, pursers' and supervisors' surveillance of flight attendants' grooming and appearance standards reflect Foucault's (1977) ideas of hierarchies of control, the idea that hierarchical observations (i.e. pursers and supervisors) maximise surveillance. Despite initial hesitation, Harriet fulfils her requirements as cabin supervisor due to her fear of being called out. According to Foucault, Harriet as cabin supervisor is not exempt from surveillance, instead, she is both the product of power and the producer of it. Normalising observations as part of the organisational disciplinary practices is a critical component of exercising control over flight attendants who occupy a subordinate position. Adopting a hierarchical order and assigning multiple authoritative figures to enforce and maintain rules increases surveillance and allows information to be passed from lower to higher levels. This demonstrates that power is dispersed vertically and horizontally, through multiple layers – rather than simply hierarchically, as previously conceptualised in tourism research (Rydzik & Kissoon, 2021).

At Virgin Atlantic, Louis, as cabin supervisor, participated in the maintenance and monitoring of flight attendants' grooming standards:

So, we had to score the crew members on their grooming, every single flight. And grooming was the one thing that if you had scored an unacceptable for your grooming, you weren't allowed to be promoted for six months...you could have an unacceptable for safety and still be promoted, you could have an unacceptable for customer service, and still be promoted. But if you weren't well groomed, you couldn't be promoted. So that was almost used as that kind of, that was used as a way to, to leverage this glamorous lifestyle...But say, for example, a female skirt was too tight because they'd put on a bit of weight or their blouse was pulling, they could get marked unacceptable for their grooming. And that would prevent them from being promoted just because of their body which is a hugely challenging thing. How was that ever allowed? It was a cultural norm.

The structural procedures set in place by Virgin Atlantic construct and control the body to ensure it fits the uniform, thus reflecting the organisational expectations. Louis's experience draws attention to the cultural and organisational regimes at play that influence conformance (Ren, 2017). Felix, a former Emirates flight attendant experienced the strict organisational regimes at play, sharing:

Emirates has very high standards...So, for men, at least, we need to be shaven...I can be offloaded, for example, if the grooming officer sees me with a little bit of beard, for example, or they will tell me to go to the toilet and just shave it.

Foucault's (1977, 1980) work provides further understanding through the concept of disciplinary power and how surveillance and fear of punishment may be used to control behaviour. The forms of punishment shared in the excerpts above emphasise that flight attendants conform to standardised gendered performances because the structures set in place ensure that these performances within the organisation equate to promotion and are thus indications of professional success and organisational belonging. For Ball (2010), excessive surveillance of specific tasks, in this case, grooming and appearance expectations, highlight what is deemed valuable by the organisation. As a result, workers learn to pay great importance to behaviours that surveillance reinforces (Ball, 2010). Thus, organisational structures, such as those within Virgin Atlantic, demonstrate how punishment and reward defines what is valued.

Peer and self-surveillance

Flight attendants routinely engage in the reporting culture (referred to as 'writing-up') and observation of the rules. These control mechanisms reflect Foucault's (1977, 1980) ideas on how surveillance is exercised. Providing some understanding of the motivations behind reporting, former Emirates flight attendant Emily recalls:

...everyone was for themselves. And especially the ones with higher authority, like supervisors and pursers...to get to be a supervisor, you have to provide your manager or the training team, you're sort of at the beginning...I heard about cases, and I know of cases, where because they couldn't obtain it, you fly with nice people, you make up stuff. So, reporting was a big deal, unfortunately. And you will have to be so careful on how to behave. Because otherwise you would have, and I would say in 40% of the cases, it wasn't

even your fault. It was simply because that person wanted to pick up on something, they will report to, write a full report, next day 'Coffee and Biscuits' with your manager, you know what I mean? So, from this point of view, unfortunately, the company was like, they would try to make everybody, for themselves.

This excerpt further emphasises the importance of reporting undesirable performances and behaviours. Beyond this, at Emirates, the practice of reporting and emphasis placed on maintaining the corporate image inadvertently constructs the perception that there are undesirable performances to be regulated. For Emily, the habitual process of reporting is based on an individual need to achieve their productive ends, in this case, career progression. The internal pressures by the manager, Emily argues, would lead to unjustified reporting. The example shared demonstrates that employers perform authoritative power, supporting Foucault's (1980) idea of power as an omniscient and circulatory force that maintains employee performances. For flight attendants, particularly women, this means subjecting themselves to peer/team surveillance. This is emphasised by the importance of 'behaving'. At Virgin Atlantic, Louis recalls a practice employed by crew members as they enforce standardisation:

You know, if you're a bit overweight...there was a lot of instances of people, of crew members taking photos of other crew members... we have a cart you know, like a trolley, that's got food on it for the crew... And it was very common for people if there was a larger crew member getting food out of the crew cart to shame, to take photos and share them among their friends. So very image, very image conscious and if you were a bit overweight you were an oddity. There was a lot of pressure to fit those kinds of those norms of being an attractive, thin person.

Louis's experience at Virgin Atlantic demonstrates that those in charge do not just govern larger organisational rules but rather each employee plays a role in monitoring and peer pressuring aesthetic labour that counters the company image. The 'naming and shaming', a form of punishment, reflects the panopticon effect, a concept of surveillance to ensure societally appropriate behaviour (Foucault, 1977). Here, grooming and appearance standards allow airlines, through dispersed individual policing, to control each employee to perform according to company policy. Encouraging employees to report others in a large organisation such as Emirates contributes to the maintenance of organisational rules that become further embedded in the broader culture and structure of the institution. Finally, in addition to securing promotional advancements and fulfilling supervisory requirements, Louis's example demonstrates that reporting colleagues becomes an integral part of the culture that values conformist behaviour and contributes to creating the ideal worker as hyper-feminine (Mills, 2017).

Former Emirates flight attendant Geraldine recalls her encounter with weight management and the surveillance processes set in place:

...they weighed us so, and they would write it down...we'd be told what our BMI is. And then we'd have to maintain that weight plus or minus, like a little bit. So yeah, and if we gain weight, like too much weight, they put us on weight management, and all these crazy things...So, I know in the beginning, there's a lot of adjustments.

Geraldine's experience demonstrates that employees adjust to a standardised version of the ideal gendered worker as slim. Manfred, a former Virgin Atlantic flight attendant, recalls a similar practice employed in his early years of flying:

...if your weight was getting bad then you were, you were called in. And sometimes people were grounded. Grounded meant that you were, they will put you into a ground role, you know, working at the airport, until you have got your weight to a sufficient weight.

Similar to Louis's experience of 'naming and shaming', a form of punishment, Manfred's recollection of inadequate weight management (i.e. 'getting bad') led to the physical removal of flight attendants from the cabin, further emphasising how punishment signified what is valued. While the flight attendants generally reflected organisational aesthetic rules, the following section demonstrates in contrast how flight attendants enact agency by engaging in subtle forms of resistance that diverge from these narrow organisational gendered performances.

Resisting embodied grooming performances

While social structures shape individuals, they are not solely determined by them (Risman, 2009). Thus, if gender is constructed, it can also be deconstructed, that is, resisted, by subverting standardised grooming regimes. Individuals are not mere 'docile bodies' shaped by power but social agents that can resist disciplinary power and confront constant surveillance (Hartsock, 1999). While the participants regularly conform to organisational grooming and appearance standards, the findings also reveal that they occasionally resist organisational rules. This was mostly noted in interviews with female flight attendants at Emirates and Qantas. Research by Tyler and Hancock (2001), Ayuttacorn (2016), and Simpson (2014) provides an understanding of how flight attendants negotiate gender in the workplace. Our research extends these studies identifying that despite the watchful eye of the 'uniform police' and peer-surveillance, flight attendants resist standardised grooming regimes through subtle subversive performances:

...I got my nails done and it wasn't the shade that I was supposed to have...I didn't really think I would get caught or anybody would say anything. Oh, but I got completely told off...my supervisor pulled me over like after the flight and she was like: 'You need to fix those before the return flight or I'm writing you up.' And I'm like, okay, like, I'm not fixing them. Like, I just got them done. Yeah, I

was being like a little rebellious at the moment. I didn't fix my nails and, on the flight back, like, she, she's like: 'I'm reporting. I told you I would.' So, I got an email from my manager to come into the office about my nails. And I was like, this is absolutely ridiculous.

[(Geraldine, Emirates)]

I've been like caught by 'Image and Uniform' for so many things and I get this, like you're supposed to look perfect... So, I love doing my eyelash extensions just because I have oily eyelashes, so then they smudge. So, imagine for 16 h, 20 h, and no one ever tells you, like 'you have smudges on your eye', you know? So, I do them very naturally and I've been told to remove them.

[(Doris, Emirates)]

This example shows that flight attendants do not always accept a standardised model but find ways to challenge, even if in small ways, the airline's strict grooming regimes. Despite being made aware of the consequences, Doris and Geraldine's small acts of rebellion and appearance alterations may partially have been motivated by the 'ridiculousness' of specific rules. In another example, former Emirates flight attendant Emily recalls her struggles with the large fit of the uniform and how she confronted uniform regulations. Comparing the Emirates uniform fit with other airlines (e.g. Etihad Airways) that favour a tighter look, Emily shares:

The uniform we had; it was more a potato bag...the reason for that is being [a] Muslim country... But at the same time, you have Abu Dhabi with Etihad airline, which is the same Muslim country...they have this slim, super tight, nice uniform and like super sexy and hot and then you're just here in the potato bag...you would go to the tailor and get them a bit more fit or with time they would shrink in the laundry. So, you were like, 'Oh, that's great'. But then you would always have a grooming officer that would stop you and be like, 'you have to take your skirts for revision'.

Sharing a similar experience at Emirates, Claire recalls:

Dubai is so sensitive when it comes to you know, skin showing and everything, so they don't want it [uniform] to be like skin hugging...the uniform itself, there's nothing to it. So, they give me an extra-large skirt. So basically, I just look like a potato sack.

The experience shared above highlights that cultural dimensions, including religion, influence female flight attendants' looks. As a result, they are not always hyper-feminised. Claire and Emily express issues with conforming to the regulation. Their issue is not the hyper-sexualisation of the flight attendant but rather the cultural dimensions that demand a conservative look. Beyond this, Emily's experience confirms that airlines control any deviation from the organisational ideal through surveillance and construct the standardisation that creates the ideal worker. Geraldine and Emily's seemingly trivial alterations, as those like many other female participants, further supports observations that airlines take an active role in disciplining flight attendants' appearance through observations, warnings, and reporting. However, challenging organisational grooming standards has implications. Emirates and Qantas flight attendants shared that deviations from the strict grooming requirements result in offloading or a meeting with the manager. The consequences of discipline and punishment associated with non-conforming behaviour and performance are used by airlines to assert control over gendered grooming and appearance performances. Thus, the subtle performance of resistance by flight attendants is somewhat influenced by fear of potential consequences.

Providing another example of the resistance, Emily recalls an experience of an Emirates colleague drawing further attention to the consequences associated with altering grooming performances:

I had a case, with a girl who got reported because she had six bobby pins in her bun, and she was only allowed to have maximum four...These things seem so stupid, right? It's so ridiculous, but they take it so seriously...You're not hurting anyone...How are you not going to be able to sleep at night because I had two extra bobby pins in my hair.

Emily illustrates how Emirates uses surveillance strategies to control specific performances. The degree of control is a powerful tool used to monitor employees and influences acts of disobedience, including potentially trivial grooming standards (i.e. the number of authorised bobby pins). For [Hochschild \(1983\)](#), the claims to control flight attendants' physical appearance are justified by the need to represent a professional organisational look. However, while a professional organisational look is of value, upholding such strict requirements, which take specific focus with the governance of women's bodies, sends a clear message of the essentialised requirements of women to uphold feminine aesthetic ideals within the workplace. The continued use of disciplinary power and feminised work may, in part, be motivated by the airline industry's traditional ideology and organisational culture that values aesthetic performances. Furthermore, setting strict gendered grooming performances allows airlines to send a clear message about women's perceived roles in the workplace and airline industry.

Acts of resistance were notably limited and subtle due to flight attendants performing self-surveillance and their awareness of the threat of perpetual observation and fear of punishment (i.e. being laid-off and denied promotions) ([Foucault, 1977](#)). As such, normative performances are largely upheld, albeit reflecting a constant push-pull of agency and control ([Reddy-Best & Olson, 2020](#)). In most instances, flight attendants' conformance and the adoption of organisational rules reinforced essentialist ideas

regarding the traditional female role of women in aviation. Nonetheless, resistance is a process that narrows organisational constructions of gender. As such, flight attendants resisting standardised grooming regimes through subtle subversive performances may gradually challenge constraining organisational rules and norms.

Adapting to broader societal developments and responding to the considerable efforts female flight attendants invest in their physical appearance, in 2019 Virgin Atlantic made significant changes regarding gendered grooming standards by removing its long-standing makeup requirement, as well as offering trousers as an additional component of the female flight attendant uniform (BBC, 2019). Having experienced the change, Katya recalls as *'somebody that would normally not go out plastered in makeup'*, the alteration to the rules was *'quite freeing'*. For male Virgin Atlantic flight attendants Igor and Louis, the new rule change was met with mixed responses, as Igor shares:

...you did suddenly see, all the women not wearing makeup and a lot of guys actually wearing it. But now that's just completely stopped. I think people just did it because it was just like, 'we can, so we're going to'. But I think people have actually fell [sic] back into the way it was before.

Allowing male flight attendants to wear makeup may be viewed not as a contradiction to airline rules that, in the past, prohibited this form of aesthetic expression, but rather as an example of resisting broader societal gendered norms. Nonetheless, Igor identifies some reservations with the rule change, noticing that many flight attendants *'fell back'* into aesthetic grooming habits, further contributing to the standardisation of personal appearance and individual practices of self-surveillance (Hochschild, 1983). Thus, while changes encouraged both male and female flight attendants to exercise more flexibility in their aesthetic appearance (e.g. men wearing makeup), the habitual conditioning as the ideal worker prevents flight attendants from sustained adaptations. While resistance may be used to further engender social change through the breaking of conventions (Butler, 1988), flight attendants are aware of acceptable and socially determined ways to enact gender successfully. The gendered worker is achieved through stylised repetitive acts, in this case, habitual conditioning, that mimics dominant gender ideologies. *'Falling back'*, as Igor observed, may further be informed by airline cultures that typically value physical and aesthetic qualities. Providing further insight, Louis recalls:

...none of us really believed that Virgin were doing that because they wanted to be more fair. It was external pressure on the industry that Virgin reacted to that, said, 'okay, you can wear a full face of makeup, whether you're male or female, but it must be the perfect face of makeup. You can't deviate from it'. So yeah, that was challenging, and I think it was just another Virgin marketing thing to say we're now fairer to the genders.

The sudden move towards greater gender equality in the industry reflects the current wave of equality, diversity and inclusion initiatives. From a marketing perspective, Virgin Atlantic is viewed as celebrating its willingness to adapt according to societal demands. Airlines are increasingly leveraging marketing campaigns that seemingly demonstrate their support for diversity and inclusion projects (Morrison, 2021). For Duffy et al. (2017), Virgin Atlantic's sexualisation of flight attendant work remains deeply embedded in popular consciousness. Thus, while Virgin Atlantic shows a willingness to evolve, their actions may be viewed as paying lip service, that is, superficially supporting gender agendas without actively seeking to change gendered practices. Furthermore, as pointed out by Louis, Virgin Atlantic still set strict rules surrounding how this change in practice could be enacted by staff. Therefore, the removal of some grooming expectations does not fundamentally alter the gendered nature of the industry.

Conclusion

Adopting a feminist poststructuralist approach, this paper examined how flight attendants perform and resist gendered identities by uncovering the ways in which airlines regulate and control through surveillance to produce the ideal worker. While previous research has advanced knowledge of surveillance in tourism work as a binary form of direct control, this paper provides a conceptual shift by demonstrating how surveillance as a form of power is dispersed, relational, circulatory and pervasive, thereby rendering all workplaces a panoptic structure. Our findings reveal that power is employed and exercised through three main types of relational surveillance mechanisms, namely organisational rules, peer-surveillance, and self-surveillance. Collectively, they demonstrate how the power to control grooming, aesthetics and the ideal gendered worker is ubiquitous and inescapable, manifesting at all levels. Employing panoptic structures and processes that engender conformity is a way in which airlines exercise power, the effectiveness of which is recognised by employee conformance and the adoption of organisational rules. Airline organisations ensure their workers uphold narrowly defined and constructed performances and gender roles that reflect broader societal gendered norms.

Though tourism research has engaged with the concept of surveillance, previous tourism surveillance studies have predominantly adopted structuralist binary framing whereby the employer surveils and the employee is surveiled. The poststructural complexity of surveillance as dispersed and circular has not been sufficiently explored within the tourism and aviation literature. Foucauldian concepts of discipline, panopticism, and circulatory power in relation to aviation, and the broader tourism context, shed new light on how the ideal gendered flight attendant is shaped according to gendered standards and expectations. While previous work demonstrates how flight attendants negotiate their gender, little was known about how airlines regulate gendered performance in ways that ensure conformity and produce the ideal gendered worker. This study has moved beyond the predominant understanding of surveillance in tourism work that is premised on binary oppositions (i.e. direct structural control from employers to

employees). Using Foucault's notions of surveillance as a form circulatory power, we provide a deeper understanding of how the ideal gendered flight attendant is surveilled (Fig. 3). This brings into view complex forms of self-surveillance and, perhaps more importantly, peer-surveillance. Peer-surveillance shows most strikingly how circulatory power does not rest with a structuralist binary between employers and employees but rather is relational, and dispersed through multiple layers. Social norms and cultural context underpin these processes and shape the organisational context and behaviours within the airline industry.

A crucial aspect of surveillance as a form of circulatory power is the constant push-pull of agency (i.e. resistance) and control. Our findings note that mechanisms of surveilling the gendered flight attendant do not prevent workers from enacting agency by negotiating alternative gender expressions and individuality. Female flight attendants in this study occasionally resisted the narrowly defined hyper-feminine performances as constructed by the organisations by employing small, subtle changes (e.g. nail polish shade) in their appearance. In some cases, alterations to the uniform and appearance are made to improve one's overall look; however, importantly, alterations ultimately upheld expectations of glamour (e.g. tight uniforms) and hyper-femininity (Ayuttacorn, 2016). The threat of perpetual observations and surveillance ensured that the hyper-feminine ideal worker was upheld, with even resistance remaining within the confines of normative identity construction. Penalising non-conforming performance and behaviour through peer- and self-surveillance establishes aesthetic ideals that reflect a narrow view of femininity and what is deemed 'attractive'. Constructing the ideal flight attendant heightens the physical and aesthetic demands in the occupation and the importance of maintaining them in accordance with socially and culturally ascribed rules (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008). Using disciplinary power and surveillance in this way contributes to the gendering of flight attendants and tourism workers more generally. Exploring how the power to control grooming and appearance is dispersed through circulatory force, this paper extends understandings of surveillance in the domain of tourism work and provides a broader understanding of the fluidity and complexity of gendering in tourism employment.

The research has several important limitations that should be considered to strengthen the direction of future studies. Firstly, while social media platforms offer a wealth of opportunities for accessing a broader segment of the population (Gelinas et al., 2017), there are issues to be considered, including sampling bias. Secondly, the sample size was small and largely influenced by strict organisational contractual policies that prohibit employees from publicly sharing information about working for the organisation, as well as by the impact of the pandemic (e.g. furloughs and termination of employment). Finally, this paper focuses solely on gendered experiences, particularly the experiences of women. Future research should consider more engagement with the perspectives of individuals from all genders, while exploring gender alongside other identity positions (e.g. race and sexuality), as an intersectional approach may provide further knowledge into existing inequalities and forms of governance within the industry. In doing so, airlines may identify more effective diversity strategies, allowing for more flexibility in gendered performances. Finally, future research may also consider the affordances of surveillance in upholding the ideal worker, particularly technology as a 'new surveillance' technique.

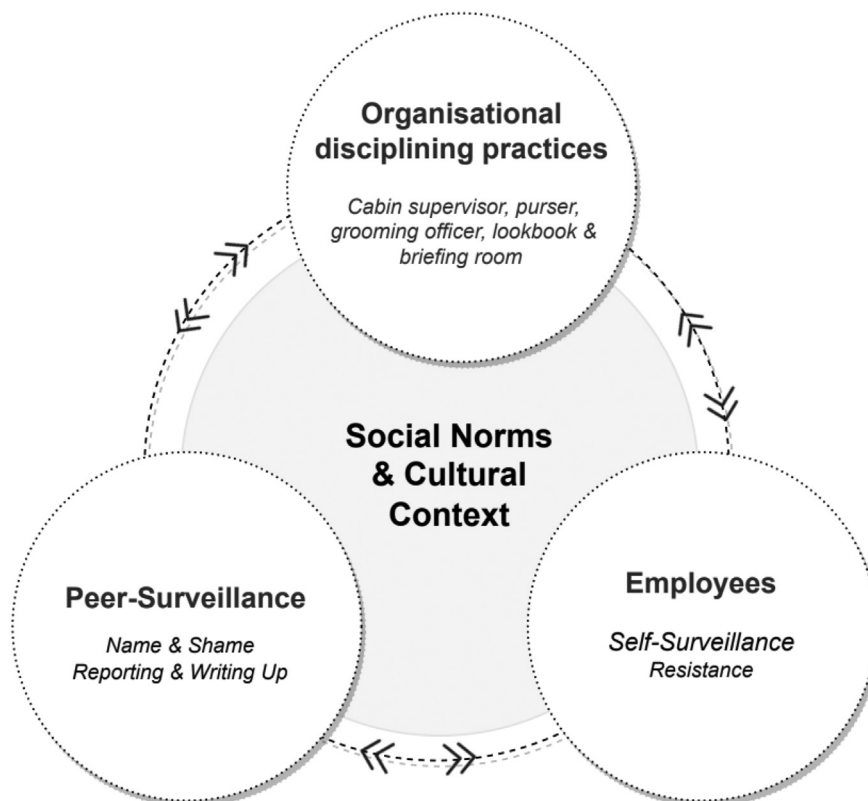


Fig. 3. Poststructural mechanisms of surveilling the gendered flight attendant.

CRediT author statement

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Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

Appendix 1. Interview guide

Interview Framework	Semi-structured open-ended questions	Follow-up Probes
<i>Discuss with the participants confidentiality, anonymity, purpose of the research and ask for consent form to be filled in (if not already).</i>		
<i>Informant Background/Opener</i>	1. How long have you been flying for Emirates/KLM/Qantas/- Virgin Atlantic? 2. Could you share what led you to becoming a flight attendant?	(2.1) Prior to becoming a flight attendant, what did you think about the occupation? How about after/during? Was there a difference? If so, why?
<i>General perception of the occupation & personal experience</i>	3. What does it mean to be a flight attendant at Emirates/- KLM/Qantas/Virgin Atlantic? 4. What did your family, friends, acquaintances think of your decision to become a flight attendant? 5. Please describe your main duties and responsibilities as a flight attendant. 6. What aspects of the role are important to you? 7. How does the job align with your identity?/What aspects of your identity align with being a flight attendant? 8. Do you feel that you belong/have you ever felt out of place? 9. How do you dress/prepare yourself for work? 10. What are the expectations around the uniform and physical appearance?	(5.1) Among your duties, what are the common tasks that you perform repetitively?
<i>Negotiating gender in the workplace</i>	11. Can you tell me of any experiences when you felt gender was an important aspect of your work? / In what settings/situations would (do) you experience gender as an important aspect of your work? 12. What are the expectations in how you perform your role and how do you negotiate this? 13. What do you think are some of the (potential) barriers flight attendants encounter in carrying out their work? 14. How do you interact with colleagues and passengers at work? 15. Can you recall any experiences in which you changed yourself to better adapt to the flight attendant environment? (e.g. your behaviour, language, comporment etc) / Can you give me any specific examples when you acted counter to stereotypical 'female' behaviour? 16. Can you reflect on some of the ways or strategies you use to express your femininity/masculinity at work? Or, can you recall any strategies your colleagues may have used to express their femininity/masculinity at work? 17. I'm interested to learn more about the community of being a flight attendant – Can you give any specific examples of how you socialise with colleagues outside of work? What sort of activities do you engage in? 18. How do you manage your work with other aspects or commitments of life (i.e. family, friends, personal plans/-goals etc)?	(11.1) As a male/female flight attendant, what are the advantages or disadvantages you experience because of your gender? (13.1) Have you ever experienced any of these? (13.2) Can you share any examples? (13.3) How did you deal with this? What impact did this have/has it had on your identity? (14.1) What do you observe from people working around you? For example, language differences, etc.? (16.1) Do you ever feel pressured/the need to act more masculine or more feminine? (18.1) Have you had to make any sacrifices to get where you are today? In what ways? What influence has this had on your performance, work and view of the profession?
<i>Concluding remarks</i>	19. What advice would you give another flight attendant about to enter the workforce? 20. Is there anything else you would like to add based off what we talked about in the interview?	–

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