

SUCCESS STRATEGIES OF FEMALE
PRISON WARDENS: MANAGING
GENDER IDENTITY IN A
NONTRADITIONAL
OCCUPATION

By

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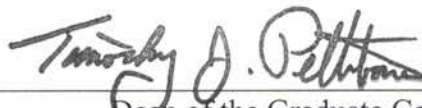
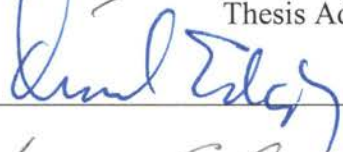
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Overview of the Research

The goal of this project is to explore the career experiences of women who hold leadership positions within the field of corrections. Specifically the research seeks to: (1) examine personal biographies of these women in an effort to document life experiences shaping their career choices; and (2) identify strategies used by these women to negotiate reality in their daily work routines. This is important because the field of corrections dramatically and rapidly changed throughout the 1990s. The growth of the nation's female inmate populations outpaced that of males. As a result, women's roles in the field of corrections have changed over the past forty years.

Historically, women administered and staffed institutions for females and juveniles, not males (Freedman 1981). Only in the last twenty years have women been allowed to participate fully in all areas of corrections and forge careers in so-called non-traditional areas of employment, particularly in male facilities (Zimmer 1986). There are numerous reasons for these changes, ranging from concerns of male and female inmates, legal battles filed by inmates and employees and changing societal attitudes surrounding the status of women in the workforce. "The percentage of women working has risen from 20.6% in 1900 to more than 76 percent in 1995...since 1970 the increase in women's participation has been dramatic" (Kimmel 2000:173). Despite the increased entry of women into the labor force, occupational segregation still exists, particularly for women who choose to enter into male-dominated fields.

In terms of inmate concerns, female inmates have been subjected to an array of abuses from male correctional officers and staff members, including violations of privacy, inappropriate surveillance, degrading and inhumane treatment, harassment, sexual abuse and assault, rape and even torture. Because of their concern for privacy, inmates have legally challenged the appropriateness of men working in female institutions and women working in male institutions (Collins [1991] 1997, Morton [1991] 1997). Many states have imposed limitations on male employees working in women's correctional facilities, which are similar to limitations imposed on women working in male correctional facilities. In 1988, there were eighteen legal cases centering on the issue of officers working in opposite sex facilities. Seventeen cases were filed against women working in male facilities, while only one involved a male working in a female facility. Most often these lawsuits are about privacy and are filed by inmates, staff and outside agencies (Morton [1991] 1997: 32).

Correctional employee lawsuits have centered on discriminatory hiring practices, sexual harassment, and promotions. According to William Collins, "several factors have come together to support the dramatic expansion of posts and functions that women may perform throughout corrections...equal opportunity and social recognition...and an increasing willingness of the courts to uphold legitimate interests of the institution...restricting constitutional freedoms of offenders" ([1991] 1997:18). As a result of these broad legal, political and social changes, women are increasingly entering the field of corrections and assuming leadership positions. As the workforce in general continues to change, it is important to document women's experiences as they enter into traditionally male-dominated occupations and professions.

Why Study Gendered Occupations?

Although societal practices and cultural beliefs about the role of women in the workforce are changing, occupations in the United States remain highly stratified along gender lines. For example, 24.5% of physicians are women, 13.2% of supervisors in protective services are women, 13.6% of police and detectives are women, and 10.6% of engineers are women (U.S. Department of Labor 1999). Historically, societal norms and laws prevented women from working outside the home. Even when women did enter the workforce their choices were limited to jobs that essentially extended their domestic role. In 2000, the leading occupations for women were secretaries, registered nurses and receptionists (U.S. Department of Labor 2000). Moreover, "Protective Labor Laws" prevented women from entering into certain occupations, such as factory work, and they restricted the number of hours a woman could work, prohibited women from lifting more than the specified amount of weight, prohibited women from working at night, and specified jobs that women could and could not hold (Reskin and Padavic 1994:20).

Clearly then, societal norms and legal practices contributed to the social construction of gender in the workplace and the emergence of rigid organizational cultures. Certain jobs were defined as masculine and appropriate for men, while others were defined as feminine and relegated to women. These definitions had real consequences --masculine occupations were defined as more valuable and consequently highly rewarded. Traditional notions of gender and the traits of masculinity and femininity became associated with certain occupations. Men are regarded as independent, intelligent, and competent, so they are thought to make good doctors, lawyers and executives. Women

are regarded as dependent, unintelligent, and incapable, should make good nurses and secretaries, subordinate to doctors, lawyers, and executives.

Of course, the social construction of gender does not start in the workplace; but it is perpetuated there. The social construction of gender begins at birth and is embedded in socialization practices throughout the life course. Gender socialization, which differs for males and females, functions in part to maintain male privilege by shaping and restricting the occupational choices of men and women. Some theorists claim that as long as women did not perceive masculine jobs as open and attainable, there was no use in pursuing them, thus perpetuating the stereotype that women are not as ambitious as men (Reskin and Padavic 1994; Weitzman 1979). In reality, most jobs that are open to women are low paying jobs with little opportunity for advancement. The research concludes that women accepted these jobs because work was not their primary focus. They were on the “Mommy Track”, that is they planned to work until marriage and then quit to raise a family. Even when women do take on more powerful and prestigious positions, they are often labeled as deviant for rejecting femininity and assuming masculine traits.

In recent years females have been increasingly entering historically male dominated fields, many with great success, but none without problems. Many women have experienced discrimination and sexual harassment. The number of sexual harassment charges filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission rose from 7,500 in 1990 to 15,500 in 1995 and 1996 (Kimmel 2000:193). Women in male dominated fields, particularly in supervisory positions, report that their subordinates challenge their abilities and often raise questions surrounding their advancement. In addition to

understanding the life experiences that lead women into historically male dominated fields this research also seeks to examine the challenges they face once in those fields and the strategies they develop to overcome those challenges.

Why Study Gendered Work in Prisons?

Traditionally, males have dominated the field of corrections; women were employed in secretarial and clerical positions, but rarely as correctional officers, supervisors, wardens or superintendents. In recent years the number of women working in all areas of corrections has increased tremendously. While many more women are working as correctional officers, there are still very few female supervisors and even fewer female wardens or superintendents. Because the field of corrections is still male dominated, it is important to study gendered work in prisons in light of the changing face of prison -- both in terms of inmates and staff.

Over the past forty years the number of inmates in U.S. prisons has grown tremendously, particularly female inmates. Between 1980 and 2000, the incarceration rate for males and females has more than tripled. "At year end 2000, 91,612 women were in state and federal prisons -- 6.6% of all inmates. Since 1990 the number of male prisoners has grown 77%, while the number of female prisoners has increased 108%" (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2000).

The number of females working in corrections has also steadily increased over the years. In 1986, women made up 26% of corrections employees; by 1991 it had increased to 29%; and by 1998 it had increased to 32% (Travisono 1986:3; Travisono 1991:6; Fins 2000:143). Despite these increases, women are still underrepresented as correctional officers, administrators, supervisors and wardens. In 1990, for example, female

correctional officers represented 17.08% of all corrections officers. That number increased in 1998 to about 21% (Travisono 1991:30; Fins 2000:144). At the supervisory level women are even more noticeably underrepresented; fewer than 13% of correctional supervisory positions are held by women (Fins 2000:144).

While women are still underrepresented in prison work, their numbers are increasing. These increases are due in large part to the dramatic increase in inmate populations and the attendant need for more corrections officers. Johnson ([1991] 1997) contends that, “a more pragmatic consideration for integrating women into the workplace is corrections' continuing need for competent, qualified workers...if people are excluded solely on the basis of gender, then half of the adult population cannot be considered for employment, no matter how qualified and motivated they may be” (1997:7). Clearly, there is a demand for correctional workers. Therefore research should attempt to identify barriers that block women's entry into and opportunities in this area.

Other reasons for hiring women for corrections deal with legal matters and affirmative action. Correctional organizations are now legally compelled to hire qualified women. Still, though, gender plays a role in this process. “Male staff would grudgingly admit that women tend to be more skillful at defusing hostility than they...the academic achievement and verbal skills of female recruits tend to be higher than for men, and on the average they wrote better reports and communicated more effectively” (Johnson 1997:12). The introduction of women into the field of corrections has positive and sometimes unanticipated benefits. Nevertheless, there are still many obstacles for women to overcome in the field of corrections.

Why Study Prison Administrators?

As the reality of prison work changes we need a better understanding of the experiences of women working in a traditionally male-dominated field, particularly in administrative, supervisory and leadership positions. Despite the increasing numbers of women in corrections, the vast majority of supervisors, wardens and superintendents are male. In this context, it is important to understand how female wardens or superintendents have achieved their positions and how they negotiate those positions on a daily basis.

Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick ([1991] 1997) outline several methods women use to negotiate reality in a male dominated prison setting. Many of these coping strategies correspond closely with Erving Goffman's notion of impression management, which focuses on the ways in which individuals alter their speech, appearance, and behavior to convey certain images to others. They discuss such concepts as how to interact with inmates, how to dress, maintaining a professional distance from inmates, how to deal with conflict and how to build relationships with male as well as female coworkers.

This research addresses two related questions. (1) Does gender socialization figure into occupational choice? (2) Do female wardens and superintendents engage in impression management strategies to negotiate reality in their daily work routines? In answering the first question I will explore the impacts of macro-level phenomena, such as gender roles and occupational segregation on the lives of women in corrections. To answer the second question, I will focus on the day-to-day micro-level interactions of these women.

Preview of the Remaining Chapters

Chapter II

The chapter will provide an in-depth analysis of current research conducted in the areas of females in corrections. It will consider female inmates and their experiences, female correctional officers and their experiences, as well as social and legal issues related to females in corrections. The number of female inmates has increased significantly in the last twenty years and so has the numbers of females working in corrections. This chapter briefly outlines the history of female inmates and females working in corrections. It also examines the challenges and barriers faced by females working in corrections. It is important to understand where these women have been to better understand where they are going.

Chapter III

This chapter explores the impacts of macro-level phenomena, such as gender roles and occupational segregation on the day-to-day micro-level interactions of female wardens and superintendents. It discusses the sociological foundations of gender and gender socialization with particular focus on the social construction of masculinity and femininity in the workplace. This chapter will also examine the relationship between gender and occupation. This is important because gender socialization affects occupational choice. Occupational choice is, in turn, constrained by gendered occupations, those defined as male dominated or female dominated. Male and female dominated occupations are maintained and reinforced by organizational culture. This research hopes to determine whether or not females working in male dominated fields

utilize Erving Goffman's impression management strategies to negotiate their daily routines.

Chapter IV

Chapter four, the research methodology, begins by stating the goals of the research and the researchers plan for accomplishing those goals. Qualitative research methods are well suited to the goals of this research. A brief overview of qualitative methodology justifies the techniques that will be used in this project. The data will be collected through a series of non-standardized or semi-structured interviews, conducted using in-depth interviews, telephone interviews and Computer-Mediated-Communication (CMC). The benefits to using multiple methods are detailed in the chapter. Chapter four also discusses the process used to gain access to the study participants as well as various aspects of the interview guide. One of the most important sections in chapter four discusses the ethical issues involved in conducting qualitative research as well as research conducted using in-depth interviews, telephone interviews and research conducted on the Internet. Finally, chapter four describes the coding strategies that will be used to analyze the data.

Chapters V and VI

Chapters five and six will consist of the data analysis exploring general trends and patterns in the participant's responses. The research hopes to find trends and patterns in the life experiences of the participants to determine how gender socialization impacted their career decisions. Chapter six hopes to find trends and patterns in the strategies that the participants use to negotiate reality in their work environments and assess the role of impression management.

Chapter VII

Chapter seven will provide a summary of the project; draw conclusions from the data as well as the limitations of the research. Chapter seven also hopes to make contributions for future research, such as laying a conceptual framework for studying other gender segregated occupations, applied or practical and to provide useful insights to women in gender-segregated occupations.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY

Females in Corrections

This chapter provides a broad overview of the role of females in correctional settings. Because the role of females has expanded recently, due in large part to the increase in female inmates, the first section briefly describes the recent dramatic growth in the female inmate population over the last decade. The second section reviews research on the experiences of women working as correctional officers, the level of most women working in the field. Next, various social and legal issues that have either impeded or facilitated women's entry into the field of corrections are discussed. Finally, since limited research has looked at female correctional supervisors, various studies of gender and organization that shed light on the experiences of female wardens are reviewed. The issues discussed in this chapter provide a starting point for thinking about female prison administrators.

Female Inmates and Their Experiences

Over the past forty years the number of inmates has grown tremendously, particularly among female inmates. Since 1960, the number of inmates per 100,000 persons in the United States has gone from 117.11 to 452.00 (Fins 2000:36). The number of female inmates doubled between 1985 and 1990 (Travisono 1991:45). In 1986 female inmates constituted 4% of total inmate population for prisons in the United States. In 1991, the female inmate population increased to 5% and in 1998 it had increased to 6% (Travisono

1986:41; Trivisono 1991:45; Fins 2000:35). This increase has played an important role in facilitating the entry of women into the field of corrections as inmates and employees

"To be a prisoner means to be defined as a member of a group for whom rules of what can be done to you, or what is seen as abuse of you, are reduced as part of the definition of your status" (MacKinnin 1987:170). Female inmates are "some of the most neglected, misunderstood and unseen women in our society" (Covington 2001:85). There is a lack of basic services available for female inmates, ranging from substance abuse treatment, medical care and psychiatric services to educational programs. Many women also report emotional, physical and sexual abuse in the prison system. The Human Rights Watch Women's Rights Project documented verbal abuse, sexual assault, unwarranted visual supervision, denial of goods and privileges, and use of threat of force (1996). In 2001, Amnesty International reported similar incidents of abuse towards female inmates. The report stated "custodial misconduct towards female inmates took place in 48 states". It is quite possible that the numbers of female inmates who are victims of abuse at the hands of correctional employees is underreported. "A woman prisoner who is the victim of abusive or improper treatment by male guards cannot legitimately use prison or jail complaint procedures unless the harmful treatment transgresses the standards of that specific jail or prison" (Fruchter, 2001:2). Other reasons for underreporting pertain to earning or losing privileges or fear of retaliation (Fruchter 2001, *New York Times* 2000).

Girshich (1999:3) contends that the differential treatment of male and female inmates is a result of gender inequality. "Women's experiences with crime and the criminal justice system are shaped by social structural constraints, societal gender ideologies...self-esteem and identity problems" (1999:17). Social structural constraints that contribute to

the female inmate population include the lack of educational and employment opportunity for poor, nonwhite, single-mothers, who make up the majority of the female inmate population. Women are faced with the pressures of working for less pay than men and raising children on their own. Many turn to crime and continue to be victimized by society (Girshick 1999). The application of the deviant label for the female inmate does not differ greatly from that of the female correctional employee; both categories of women are perceived to be violating their gender roles. Female inmates and female corrections employees are often subject to the same abuses in the prison system.

Female Correctional Officers and Their Experiences

Traditionally, males have dominated the field of corrections; women were employed in secretarial and administrative positions; but rarely as correctional officers, supervisors, wardens or superintendents. In recent years, the number of women working in all areas of corrections has increased tremendously. "The employment of women, particularly as correctional officers in male facilities, began to increase rapidly when the 1972 Title VII of the Civil Rights Act was amended to include state and local government personnel practices" (Morton [1991] 1997: 19). Many more women are filling the ranks as correctional officers; but there are still very few female supervisors and even fewer female wardens or superintendents. It is important to study women working in corrections because of the tremendous amount of change that has taken place in the field of corrections.

There has been little research on female supervisors, wardens or superintendents in corrections; most of the research has focused on women in the workplace, females working in non-traditional occupations and female correctional officers. The work of

Kanter (1977) and Kwolek-Folland focused on women and men in corporations. William's (1989) work focused on female marines. Bergman (1986) and Kanter's (1977) work focused on women in management. Zimmer's (1986) work entitled, Women Guarding Men set the standard for research on female correctional officers. Since then others such as Britton ((1997), Morton (1997), Jones (1997), Johnson (1997), and Collins (1997) have followed suit.

Growing Presence of Females

The number of females working in corrections has steadily increased over the years. In recent years, due to the increases in inmate populations and the need for more corrections officers, the numbers of women working in corrections as well as the roles of women in corrections has changed. Johnson (1991:7) contends that, "a more pragmatic consideration for integrating women into the workplace is corrections continuing need for competent, qualified workers...if people are excluded solely on the basis of gender, then half of the adult population cannot be considered for employment, no matter how qualified and motivated they may be" ([1991] 1997:7).

Other reasons for hiring women for corrections deal with legal matters and affirmative action. Correctional institutions now have to hire qualified females. Females were more qualified than males for some aspects of the job. "Male staff would grudgingly admit that women tend to be more skillful at defusing hostility than they...the academic achievement and verbal skills of female recruits tend to be higher than for men, and on the average they wrote better reports and communicated more effectively" (Johnson 1997:12). In some instances it is quite clear that the introduction of women into the field

has not been detrimental, but actually quite beneficial. There are still many obstacles for women to overcome in the field of corrections.

Women continue to be underrepresented in the field of corrections. In particular, women are noticeably absent from leadership positions. As a result, very little research has been done to document the experiences of women working in the highest levels of corrections. But as their numbers increase there is a clear need for this kind of research because they have been able to achieve success in male-dominated field. The following table illustrates the number of female wardens in comparison to men.

Table I. Female to Male Wardens by State for Adult Institutions

STATE	FEMALE	MALE
ALABAMA	6	33
ALASKA	0	10
ARIZONA	1	9
ARKANSAS	2	11
CALIFORNIA	13	18
COLORADO	3	13
CONNECTICUT	8	19
DELAWARE	23	66
FLORIDA	3	48
GEORGIA	16	64
HAWAII	0	3
IDAHO	2	6
ILLINOIS	5	27
INDIANA	7	30
IOWA	1	12
KANSAS	2	6
KENTUCKY	2	10
LOUISIANA	10	36
MAINE	0	11
MARYLAND	1	9
MASSACHUSETTS	4	19
MICHIGAN	10	19
MINNESOTA	3	14
MISSISSIPPI	9	13
MISSOURI	50	116
MONTANA	0	9

NEBRASKA	2	10
NEVADA	0	6
NEW HAMPSHIRE	2	4
NEW JERSEY	4	7
NEW MEXICO	1	6
NEW YORK	9	52
NORTH CAROLINA	6	50
NORTH DAKOTA	0	14
OHIO	6	16
OKLAHOMA	5	17
OREGON	2	11
PENNSYLVANIA	1	21
RHODE ISLAND	1	5
SOUTH CAROLINA	4	19
SOUTH DAKOTA	0	7
TENNESSEE	3	11
TEXAS	15	62
UTAH	0	6
VERMONT	0	0
VIRGINIA	10	32
WASHINGTON	6	15
WEST VIRGINIA	1	11
WISCONSIN	6	15
WYOMING	0	1
TOTAL	265	1029

Source: American Correctional Association Directory of Adult and Juvenile Correctional Departments, 2001.

*Not all Department report assistant/associate wardens and superintendents

Problems, Barriers and Challenges

The research that has been done on female correctional workers has shown that women in the field encounter numerous challenges and barriers. These include; “resistance and sly insubordination by trusted staff, including a warden or two, cruel social and job isolation of women officers by their male counterparts, sexual harassment, and set ups for failure were unanticipated and troubling barriers...some brutal assaults and even one rape-murder, of female officers may have occurred because of male indifference or even malice” (Johnson [1991] 1997:6). It is interesting to note that

female correctional employees are subjected to the same forms of discrimination and harassment that female inmates report from male correctional employees. Some suggest that the motivation for this behavior is to discourage women's employment in male-dominated fields and "keep them in their place" (Rhode 1997, Zimmer 1986, Farley 1978, Kanter 1977). Unfortunately, the attitude of a formerly male-dominated profession has not changed as dramatically toward female employees as it has changed toward inmates...many women working in penal facilities are working in a hostile environment as a result of sometimes deliberate, often subtle, and mostly unintentional sexual harassment" (Jones [1991] 1997:52). Many of the women in Zimmer's study claimed that the inmates were kinder than their male coworkers (1986).

When women's roles in the field of corrections changed, it was clear that women were not welcome. A study conducted by Joann Morton found that "the overriding reason given for hiring women was Title VII of the Civil Rights Act" ([1991] 1997:29). Hiring a person solely on the basis of their sex as a result of litigation implies that that person is not qualified for the job. The law was not clearly defined in terms of the female employee's role and some male employees and employers used the vagueness of the statutes to further discriminate against women.

Zimmer elaborates on the female correctional employee's experience in the following paragraph:

The female guard must learn the job and adjust to the working environment of the prison in the face of a set of problems which male guard need not confront. If she works directly with inmates, she may have to deal with their verbal abuse and sexual misconduct. She must develop techniques for obtaining inmate compliance to prison with little help from her male coworkers. She will face opposition and/or harassment from male guards, who will continually remind her that she is not only different but inferior. A few male guards

will treat her well and give her assistance; but most will be openly hostile. Because she is female, she will be harassed, shunned, ignored, teased, commented on, joked about, snickered at, and excluded from informal social interaction -- on as well as off the job. She will be denied access to some jobs in the prison. She will receive conflicting messages about the roles she should play and the duties she is expected to perform. Co-workers, supervisors, and inmates will have different expectations concerning the "proper" behavior of a female guard. Nothing she does will go unnoticed, and any mistake she makes will become part of local folklore about female guards. In spite of these obstacles, she will be expected to be a "good sport," refrain from complaining about her treatment, and above all, perform her job as well or better than her male counterparts. Her failure to meet any of these expectations will increase male guards' negative response to her presence and the presence of female guards in general.
(1986:78-79)

Masculine Organizational Culture

Because the field of corrections is dominated largely by a masculine culture, females entering the field are often confronted by rejection, resentment and antagonism. Male staff members have been very vocal about women working in corrections. With the advent of female correctional officers inside the security perimeter of prisons the most often voiced objection from males went like this, "They are increasing the danger for me because they are too small and weak to come to my aid...this also makes them more vulnerable to inmate assault and I'll have to risk my neck to bail them out more often" (Johnson [1991] 1997:11). Other concerns centered on stereotypical gender characteristics. "Another objection to female officers voiced early on by the males was that they were too timid, afraid, emotional, or naïve to handle inmates effectively" (Johnson [1991] 1997:12). Many males report that when women enter a male dominated field they receive special treatment, are exempt from doing the dangerous work, are assigned non-contact posts, and that they have to change their behavior due to the presence of women (Williams 1989; Zimmer 1986; Kanter 1977). This ultimately creates

more animosity between male and female correctional employees. Women who did exhibit masculine characteristics were subject to ridicule and thought to be lesbians or have hormone problems (Zimmer 1986). Male correctional employees discussed these attributes as if they only applied to females; males who exhibit behaviors attributed to females are chided and teased about their lack of masculinity.

In a job that is predominately male, “The occupational subculture itself stresses the importance of machismo for successful job performance, and even some researchers into the guard role have supported the view that the prison guard who cannot muster some version of this masculine image before both inmates and peers is in trouble” (Crouch 1980:217). Contrary to this statement, most women who hold onto traditional gender roles report fewer problems at work than do women with liberated gender role attitudes (Zimmer 1986). Perhaps that is because women who actively engage in feminine behavior and do not try to act masculine do not threaten the organizational culture. Martin's research on policewomen concluded that "policewomen are forced to choose between two polar patterns of behavior, "defeminization", in which occupational role obligations are stressed, and "deprofessionalization", in which typically female sex-role norms are given priority (Zimmer 1986:108, Martin 1980). The research indicates that the organizational culture is an important aspect of work, especially if the organizational culture is male dominated. Many feel that simply because women now have the right to work in all areas of corrections that they will be accepted into the organizational culture. According to Perry Johnson, “some of the issues of twenty years ago are now moot because legal employment rights of women have been defined” ([1991] 1997:6). What Johnson is not considering is the fact that some indifference and malice towards women

is a result of the defined legal rights of women. Just because women have a legal right to be employed in all areas of corrections does not mean that they have been accepted into the organizational culture. “The struggle of women for the right to work in the male correctional environment in jobs that carry higher salaries and promotion potential seems to be over. However, their struggle to win the acceptance of their male co-workers and male inmates and to achieve the cooperation needed to give them an even chance of succeeding is just beginning” (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:66).

Social and Legal Issues

Given the historically masculine nature of corrections work, various legal efforts have been made to facilitate the entry of women into the field. However, "the removal of legal and formal barriers to employment has only been the first step. The larger task of removing the less tangible human barriers of the workplace remains" (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:66). “Female guards, unlike women in other nontraditional jobs, have entered men’s prisons to work under a legally sanctioned system of near equality” (Zimmer 1986:4). This has created another set of problems. The laws tried to maintain a balance between women’s right to work in all-male facilities and inmate privacy. In its practical application, women often work in positions with little or no inmate contact. Non-contact positions are highly regarded among prison personnel because they are safer than contact positions. When female prison guards get these positions the male prison guards perceive it as special treatment.

“Although court mandated inequality has created some genuine problems for prison administrators, it is also the case that most administrators have not worked diligently to implement the maximum amount of male-female equality that is allowed under law”

(Zimmer 1986:10). The case law surrounding women's right to work in male prisons is vague and subject to the interpretation of prison administrators. Administrators and supervisors who feel that women are not qualified to fulfill all the duties associated with being a prison guard will often assign them to positions that limit their duties and training. Dana Britton suggests the ways in which officers are trained and assigned disproportionately benefits male officers working in men's institutions (1997). Some female guards accept this while others, who would like to the opportunity for advancement, do not accept it. Advancement is not possible without proper training and experience. "The voluntary hiring of women may help eliminate some of the overt hostility and discrimination that have occurred in the past. It will not however, ensure a fully integrated work force or the maximum use of women's talents and productivity" (Morton [1991] 1997:112).

The importance of gender, gender socialization, occupational choice, and organizational culture are shaped by social and legal history. "Pressure from unions and reformers led nineteenth century lawmakers in Europe and the United States to pass protective labor laws banning many employment practices. These laws prohibited firms from employing children and women to work more than a fixed number of hours per day, to lift more than specified weights, to work at night, or to hold certain jobs" (Reskin and Padavic 1994:20). The idea behind protective labor laws was to protect women and children; but they also protected men's jobs. Protective labor laws also contributed to the social construction of work as a man's world. "In putting many lines of work off limits to women, protective labor laws led to thereby contributed to the masculinization of the

labor force” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:20). Protective labor laws also contributed to institutional discrimination.

Laws were not the only impetus to women working; there were also strong social values against women working. “The Doctrine of Separate Spheres, called for a separation of work and family life” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:21). The stigma against women working was often difficult to bear for both men and women, women who worked were seen as deviant and men whose wives worked were viewed as failures for not being able to support their wives. “The social values that encouraged employers to ban women from the workplace made sex-discrimination commonplace” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:23). The Doctrine of Separate Spheres also limited what kinds of work that women could perform, leaving most of them to work from the home. Even when women began working outside the home, the types of work they performed were extensions of domestic work, such as sewing, laundry, cooking, serving and cleaning

Many women who needed to work or chose to work had difficulty finding employment. Often the employer's hiring practices produced inequality. “Some employers choose from a pool of applicants, some use formal intermediaries such as employment agencies, and still others rely on referrals by employees. This third method—worker’s referrals—is most common because it is free and effective” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:23). However recruiting new workers through workers' referrals tends to perpetuate inequality. First, people's social networks tend to include others of the same sex, ethnicity, and race. Second, sex stereotypes, fear of competition, and concern with coworkers’ and bosses’ reactions prevent workers from recommending someone of the “wrong” sex or race (Reskin and Padavic 1994). Many of the managers in Kantor’s

study reported that they preferred to work with others like themselves, those who would fit in and follow the program, when a position was available they would look for employees who had similar backgrounds and interests (1977).

Aside from gender and social differences, institutional policies and job requirements have also hindered women's opportunities. Institutional discrimination often prevented women from being eligible for promotion. "Agencies frequently require staff to have experience in a medium or maximum security facilities as a prerequisite for promotion to supervisory or management positions (Morton [1991] 1997:37). Prior to the passing of Title VII women were not allowed to work in these facilities. Many times women did have experience working in women's facilities; but women's facilities were not designated as minimum, medium, or maximum security. When women were allowed to work in male medium and maximum-security facilities they began to rise in the ranks. Morton also reports that medium and maximum security facilities also pay more, correctional officers have more respect, and the number of jobs available in these facilities is greater than in minimum security facilities (Morton [1991] 1997). Many women cite economic reasons for their willingness to work in male dominated fields, despite the obstacles they have to overcome to be able to work in those fields. "The data on female guards are incomprehensible without an understanding of the structural factors inherent in the job model the individualistic factors inherent in the gender model and the interrelationships between them" (Zimmer 1986:13).

Summary

This chapter has described the continually changing face of the field of corrections. It has provided data demonstrating the increase in the number of female inmates and the

number of females working in all areas of corrections. It provided an analysis of the experiences of female inmates and female correctional employees, stressing the trials and tribulations they face in a masculine organizational culture.

The organizational culture of the prison is a structured context for women to exhibit gendered behavior and impression management strategies. Due to the many challenges faced by women who work in prisons, impression management provides strategies women can use to negotiate their daily routines. The next chapter outlines a sociological framework for integrating the micro/macro analysis by discussing the social construction of gender and organizational culture as well as impression management strategies for working in the organizational culture of the prison.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Gender Socialization, Occupational Choice and Organizational Culture

There is very little research on female wardens or superintendents in the field of corrections because there are very few female wardens or superintendents. According to the Vital Statistics in Corrections published by the American Correctional Associations there are 300 female wardens or superintendents of adult facilities in the United States (Fins 2000). There are 1,194 male wardens and superintendents. There are several possible explanations for this. Our cultural definition of gender and the different gender socialization experiences of males and females is one explanation. Society has defined feminine occupations as those that are appropriate for females, and masculine occupations as those that are appropriate for males. As a result of gender socialization females learn what types of work they are expected to perform as well as what opportunities are available to them.

There have been numerous studies on occupational choice, work in nontraditional occupations, and organizational culture. Studies on occupation choice look at the gender differences in terms of occupational choice, stating that women and men entering the workforce work for different reasons; and those reasons are reflected in their types of work that women and men perform. Studies regarding work in nontraditional occupations contend that women chose to work in such fields for purely economic reasons; they pay better than other jobs available to women. Research on male and female dominated occupations look at the experiences of females working in male

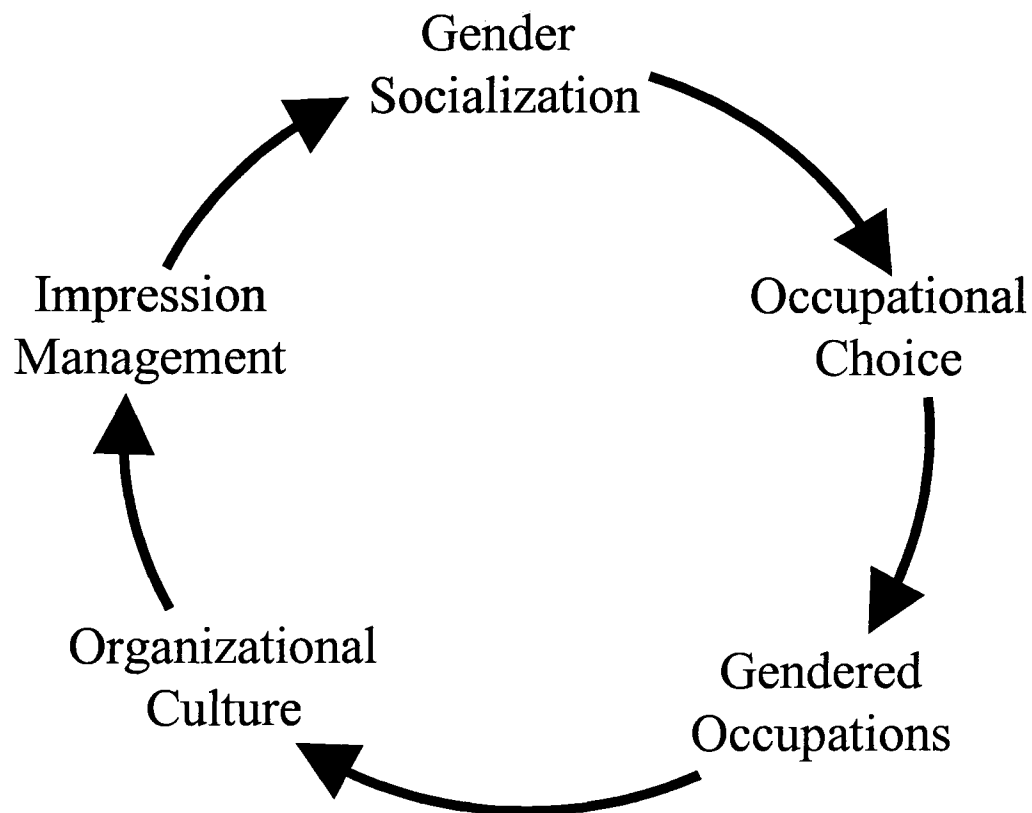
dominated fields and males working in female dominated fields. They also explore the ways that gender is defined in the organizational culture of nontraditional occupations

It is important to consider organizational culture when studying female prison wardens. As stated above, there are relatively few female wardens in comparison to male wardens. Therefore there are very few role models for career-oriented women (Rosen 2000). There are those few “pioneer” women who chose to work in nontraditional or male-dominated fields and this research hopes to explore the relationship between gender socialization, occupational choice and organizational culture.

The passing of Title VII impacted the organizational culture of corrections; prior to Title VII women were not allowed to work as guards in male facilities. This was perceived as a threat to the organization; but was actually a threat to male workers and their sense of masculinity. If a woman was capable of doing the same job a man could do then it could no longer be defined as masculine (Williams 1989; Kanter 1977). Male guards, in order to protect their environments developed several strategies to maintain the masculinity of their profession. They engaged in harassment and slander campaigns against women, prevented female guards from receiving proper training by assigning them to non-contact or administrative posts, and purposefully set women up failure (Williams 1989; Zimmer 1986). Regardless of the high turnover rates and transfers to female facilities due to the behavior of males in corrections, many women stuck it out and achieved great success. The purpose of this project is to look at women’s experiences as leaders in a male dominated field and how they negotiate reality in a male-dominated environment.

In order to look at women's experiences in the field of corrections we must consider several macro and micro level factors that may have influenced their career decisions as well as their day-to-day experiences. Those factors, illustrated in the model below, are: how gender socialization affects occupational choice, how occupational choice is constrained by gendered occupations, how gendered occupations are reinforced by organizational culture, and how organizational culture is negotiated through the use of impression management strategies.

Figure 1 Conceptual Model



Gender and Gender Socialization

In order to understand the life experiences of female wardens, we need to understand the nature of gender socialization. Socialization as a lifelong process whereby

individuals learn the roles and expectations imparted upon them in their cultural context. There are several types of roles that we are expected to fulfill; gender roles are imposed on us from birth. "Gender refers to the classification that societies construct to exaggerate the differences between males and females" (Reskin and Padavic 1994:3). Gender then, is a socially constructed and differentiates males from females by defining appropriate roles for both sexes. "Societies produce and maintain gender differences—that is, engage in gendering—through several social processes: socialization, the actions of social institutions, and interaction among people" (West and Zimmerman 1987:125). Through gender role socialization we learn societal expectations of appropriate behaviors and aspirations for each sex.

"Our gender identities are both voluntary--we choose to become what we are--and coerced--we are pressured, forced, sanctioned, and often physically beaten into submission in some roles" (Kimmel 2000:87). Gender roles are no exception. Rewards and punishments encourage individuals to conform to the socially constructed notions of masculine and feminine. "The typical child seeks the acceptance of parents and peers and wants to avoid their rejection. These motives predispose him or her to shun inappropriate activities and to choose responses that are congruent with sex role standards" (Weitzman 1979:17-18). Gender role socialization does not eliminate the disparities between men and women; but rather perpetuates them.

Gender role socialization is experienced differently for males and females. "Demands that boys conform much earlier to social notions of what is manly come much earlier and are enforced with much more vigor than similar attitudes with respect to girls... very young girls are allowed a wider range of behavior and are punished less severely for

deviation” (Weitzman 1979:14). Male socialization appears to be much more strict than female socialization. Boys learn that behaviors that are discouraged in them are encouraged in girls, to be a boy is to reject any behavior associated with being a girl. “Without denying the pressures on women to conform to the feminine role, one can see that women are socialized in an ambivalent or contradictory fashion. At the same time girls are rewarded for typical feminine behavior, they are also rewarded for some types of masculine behavior” (Weitzman 1979:81). However this can lead to role conflict. At early ages girls are able to express masculine and feminine behaviors; but as they get older they are pushed into feminine roles. Behaviors that were once acceptable become unacceptable. Weitzman hypothesizes that the little girl becomes quite anxious about being encouraged to perform a series of behaviors that are held in low esteem...she experiences considerable internal conflict when she realizes that her mother, a loved model, receives neither recognition nor satisfaction for such activities, and yet encourages them in her” (1979:15).

Given the nature of gender socialization, it is not difficult to understand why “masculinity is more important to men than femininity is to women” (Hacker 1957:231). Men are more likely to experience anxiety when engaging in nontraditional or feminine activities that threaten their sense of masculinity. When women engage in “masculine” activities they also serve to threaten the male sense of masculinity. If a woman can do the same activity, then it cannot be masculine.

“The different socialization of females and males may incline them to seek only jobs that society has deemed acceptable for their sex...also socialization may contribute to a tendency for men and women to hold different values that affect their work lives, such as

how important it is to have authority on the job or make lots of money” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:42). Other factors contribute to and affect women's career decisions such as future plans regarding marriage and family. Women are expected to leave work upon marriage to make child-rearing their first priority. Opportunity is another important factor affecting women's career decisions. Reskin and Padavic contend that women chose jobs based on the opportunities available to them, it just so happens that employers and society limit their opportunities (1994). These limited opportunities force women into traditionally female dominated occupations. Social influences also affect women's career decisions. "On the whole, mass media and popular fiction continue to portray the career woman as mannish, loose, or both; and the happy ending for the working girl still involves abandoning work, marrying, and having many children-and there the story ends” (Weitzman 1979:46). For women, success is equated to masculinity, loneliness, and unhappiness, while marriage and family denotes stability and happiness, the fairy tale come true. More recent literature on gender and occupation has focused on the intersection between gender, race and class as well as discrimination, the class ceiling and the wage gap. The sociological definitions of these concepts are quite static (Anderson 1994, Weitzman 1979), however the use of the concepts in recent research is not. While these are important factors when examining the sociology of gender and occupation, the focus of this study is on the social construction of gender as a social category that is subject to structural and social constraints in the workplace (Anderson 1994). Given these structural and social constraints on women who choose to work it is no wonder that women develop what Weitzman calls a "fear of success" (1978).

Occupational segregation begins with sex-role socialization and remains a dominant force in the educational system and the workplace.

Occupational Choice

Individual choices, including occupational choices, are shaped by gender socialization, which pervades every social institution and is reinforced by various cultural gatekeepers within those institutions. Through education and socialization women have different expectations and aspirations about work. When women enter the workforce it is often viewed as temporary, either until they get married or start a family. Women's careers are more likely than men's to be interrupted by child rearing. These views are not only held by women, but also by employers. Women are also regarded as having lower career aspirations than men, perhaps because of family, societal expectations placed upon men as the primary breadwinner, and career opportunities available to women.

Weitzman's study of children's literature supports the idea that there are few career opportunities available to young girls. Weitzman conducted a content analysis of award winning children's literature in 1974 to compare male and female roles. For every one female character there were eleven male characters. Male characters were often portrayed as independent and adventurous, and many occupational categories were present. The female characters represented in the books portrayed mothers, sisters, and housewives engaged in service activities. The only woman represented in the books that held a job was a fairy godmother (1974-1978). Williams replicated the study in the 1987 and found similar results. There were more female characters represented in the second study; but their roles had not changed much. Only one female character had a job, she was a waitress. These studies indicate to women that their roles are to serve others,

especially men, and that the job opportunities available to them are extensions of domestic work, with very little status, prestige or opportunity. Women learn, through socialization, that their roles are very limited.

While women see their roles as limited they also see their opportunities as limited. Kanter contends that there are structural barriers to women's opportunities, that the majority of women who work are stuck in dead end jobs, which causes a lack of ambition (1977). The types of jobs that women have provide little opportunity for advancement or promotion; they are terminal. "To the extent that women are denied the opportunity to experience psychological success women may be less likely to set difficult goals for themselves...which may lead to actual differences in performances over time due to limitations in self-concept" (Terborg and Ilgen 1975:372). "Girls are more likely to undervalue their abilities...especially in the more traditionally masculine employment arenas" (Kimmel 2000:161). Many women [prison guards] have been discouraged from full participation by discriminatory treatment during on the job training, male opposition and harassment, and formal policies that limit women's post assignments...these structural barriers set into motion a psychological cycle of failure that eventually destroys their motivation, desire, and ability to perform all aspects of the job" (Zimmer 1986:179-180). When women work in traditionally male jobs where they are subjected to substantial male co-worker opposition and sexual harassment, they experience low levels of job commitment, low productivity, physical and emotional health problems, and high rates of absenteeism and job turnover (Zimmer 1986:182, Gutek and Nakamura 1982, Rustad 1982, Merit Systems Protection Board 1981, Crull 1980, Goodman 1978).

Other researchers contend there is a relationship to the type of work women perform and their goals and desires about work. Studies indicate that women workers see intrinsic rewards, such as a pleasant work environment, the opportunity to engage in social interactions with co-workers, and the opportunity to be of service to others, rather than extrinsic rewards of pay and prestige that guide male choices (Zimmer 1986, Centers and Bugental 1966; Wagman 1965; Bendig and Stillman 1958; Singer and Steffire 1954; Jurgensen 1947). Hence women do not go to work merely for a paycheck; but for social interaction and personal fulfillment. Holland claims “people make adequate occupational choices to the degree that they chose a job with an environment that corresponds most closely to their own values, interests, skills, role-preferences, and lifestyle” (Holland 1959:35). It would seem that gender socialization influences occupational choice in terms of the work that males and females engage in as well as the occupational environment. Zimmer contends that negative experiences on the job can influence occupational choice as well (1986). Previous research claims that work environment is more important to women than men. It is not clear, however, if gender socialization determines occupational choice or occupational choice determines gendered behavior. Many argue that women make different choices than men because early socialization has provided them with different traits, skills and abilities, and encouraged them to have lower occupational expectations and aspirations than men (Zimmer 1986; Hetherington and Parke 1979; Ireson 1978; Waulm 1977; Mischel 1976; Bem and Bem 1970). Others argue that the occupational environment determines gendered behavior. Christine William's 1989 study of female marines illustrates this. Many of the female marines reported that as marines they were encouraged and expected to engage in feminine

behaviors, such as wearing make-up, dresses and being able to use umbrellas. There were also policies in place that separated and perpetuated notions of masculinity and femininity, for example females are not allowed to engage in combat (1989). Marini and Greenberger contend that "sex" and "segregation in the occupational structure" determine occupational aspirations and expectations (1978:147).

Other research studies focused on the differences between women when looking at career choice. "They found that career-oriented women possessed more stereotypically masculine qualities, they tended to be more competitive, more aggressive, and more achievement oriented than women who remained homemakers" (Zimmer 1986:38; Gysbers et al. 1968; Rand 1968; Wagman 1968). Jim Crawford researched pioneer women and traditional women, and the relationship between sex role attitudes and occupational choice. He found that traditional women had more traditional attitudes about female sexual behavior, female work roles and female family roles than did pioneer women. Crawford concluded, "there is indeed a connection between feminine role perception and vocational choice in females" (Zimmer 1986; Crawford 1978:136). A 1976 study reported that the more masculine the occupation, the more masculine or androgynous the female employee (Zimmer 1986, Fitzgerald 1976). When Susan Martin (1980) conducted research on female police officers, she found "what may distinguish many police women from other women is the large proportion who describe themselves as having been independent, athletic or tomboys when they were girls" (1980:61, Zimmer 1986). Another study conducted on women who worked in a variety of non-traditional occupations concluded that these women were independent or self reliant due to family background and support (Zimmer 1986, Walshok 1981). In Zimmer's study of female

prison guards, most female guards cited financial reasons for their occupational choice (1986:41). Other studies conducted on women working in non-traditional occupations, such as skilled trades, police work, construction, and mining, support this finding (Zimmer 1986, Westley 1982, O'Farrell 1980, Ermer, 1975, Drolet 1976, Baker 1975).

Gendered Work /Occupational Segregation

Given the historically masculine nature of prison work, it is important to understand how occupations become gendered in the first place. "Societies gender work by labeling activities as appropriate for one sex or the other. These labels influence the job assignments of women and men; they influence employers' and workers' expectations of who ought to perform various jobs (Reskin and Padavic 1994:8). Occupational segregation defines what type of work is appropriate or not appropriate for men and women. Gerson and Piess report that, "occupational segregation can produce gender difference and gender inequality by assigning women to secondary statuses within organizations" (1985:320). Most forms of occupational segregation are a direct result of social and historical ideologies surrounding gender roles. "Discrimination in employment by sex, still virulent today, is remnant of the time when it was considered good policy to reserve as many jobs as possible for men, for only they were thought to have a real and legitimate need for wages" (Bergman 1986:4). When women worked outside the home, regardless of their marital status, their income was believed to be supplementary or superfluous. Women were often employed in low-paying, dead-end jobs, those that men did not want. Most occupations were male dominated and defined as belonging to men. Employers play a crucial role in maintaining occupational segregation through hiring, placement, and promotion.

“Intentional discrimination by gatekeepers, those who have the authority to restrict access to jobs, is committed when prospective workers sex, race, and ethnicity influence hiring decisions” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:64-65). “Discriminatory employment practices, whether based on employers and supervisors overt hostility or their stereotypes, make a significant contribution to sex segregation” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:66). Personnel directors are not the only agents in the organization who contribute to occupational segregation. “Managers and supervisors are key players in the business of gendering...because they are in positions of authority, bosses have the power to implement their beliefs and stereotypes and thereby organize jobs in ways that make jobs gendered” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:131). When women are hired they may only be hired for certain positions within an organization, which also contributes to occupational segregation, defining some positions as female and some as male. “Employers play a central role in concentrating women and men in different jobs...they or their agents, intentionally separate the sexes or do so simply by adhering to past recruitment practices, requiring unnecessary qualifications, or indulging the preferences of some male workers” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:64). Employees also have a hand in promoting occupational segregation and gendering work. “Workers who work together day in and day out create shared values and ideologies, which constitute a workplace culture” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:134). Workers often create a workplace culture and establish boundaries, determining who does and does not belong. “Workplace culture serves several purposes. First it socializes new workers to the informal work codes and helps workers exclude unwelcome outsiders” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:134). In a male dominated workplace, women are the "unwelcome outsiders". “Men constantly remind women where their

place is and [through interaction, women] are put back in their place should they venture out” (Henley and Freeman 1994:391). These behaviors reinforce the workplace culture. According to Bergman (1986) men resent having women as coworkers or supervisors. “The belief that women should not have authority over men is embedded in employers’ personnel practices” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:96). This leads to discriminatory practices in training and promotion. “Employers tend to reserve powerful positions for men; women are less likely than men to exercise authority in the workplace. “Many employers adhere to an informal segregation code that keeps women from supervising men and that reserves the training slots leading to higher-level jobs for men. In many lines of work coworkers often help enforce the code” (Bergman 1986:114-116). This practice is not limited to male-dominated occupations. “Sex differences in promotions are manifested in the concentration of women at low levels in the organizations that employ them and in the lower ranks in their occupations and professions. Even in predominately female lines of work, such as nursing, the higher the position, the more likely the job holder is to be male” (Williams 1989:). Kanter’s research led to the same conclusions, “women populate organizations, but they practically never run them...even in areas decreed by tradition to encompass female concerns, such as the service fields, and in areas where the workers are largely women, managers are still overwhelmingly likely to be men” (1977:16-17).

"Women face a double blind in their efforts to achieve workplace equality...traditional gender ideologies prevented them from entering those occupations which paid well...when they [do] enter those well paying fields, they are prevented from moving up...this is what is known as the glass ceiling" (Kimmel 2000:186). Title VII prevents

discrimination in hiring and promotion, ideally giving women and minorities equal opportunity; but further action was necessary. “The Glass-Ceiling Act of 1991 was designed to encourage employers to remove barriers to the progress of women and minorities and reflects an increasing public concern with barriers to job mobility” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:81). The numbers of women and minorities in managerial positions has increased, but only because of government regulations, thus the positions are for the benefit of appearances. Reskin and Ross contend that when women are given managerial positions they actually have very little authority, they are the lowest level managers, they rarely supervise men, and they make recommendations rather than decisions (1992). “Despite World War II, the women’s liberation movement, and affirmative action, the most common occupations for women in 1990 were almost identical to those that employed the most women in 1940” (Reskin and Padavic 1994:54). For example, the Department of Labor reports that in 2001 over 90 percent of the following occupations were filled by women; secretary, receptionist, nurse, bookkeeper and hairdresser to name a few (http://www.dol.gov/wb/wb_pubs/20lead2001.htm). Some argue that women's access to good jobs and high pay has been closed of by their unwillingness to go through what men do to get ahead, rather than by discriminating employers or harassing coworkers" (Bergman 1986:64). "Those critical of high attrition rates of women in nontraditional specialties seldom mention the scope of the problem. Instead they blame women for their failure to adapt to these new environments” (Williams 1989:59). “Studies [based on gender and work] suggest that if women can only learn to act like men then barriers to their occupational equality will be removed” (Zimmer 1986:12). “It is impossible to determine exactly how much federal regulations have reduced segregation,

but without a doubt, federal regulations have expanded women's access to nontraditional jobs" (Reskin and Padavic 1994:71). As stated earlier, access and acceptance are two different issues; women who enter nontraditional occupations enter into an organizational culture unlike any other.

Male and Female Dominated Occupations/ Organizational Culture

As discussed in chapter two, prison work is largely dominated by a masculine organizational culture. Therefore it is important to understand how these cultures emerge and the functions they serve in order to more fully understand how women negotiate their way through the field of corrections. The Department of Labor defines an occupation as male or female dominated when more than seventy-five percent of the workforce is composed of one or the other (1999). "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...it is possible to argue that organizations or occupations are gendered to the extent that they are male or female dominated" (Britton 2000:419). The distinction between male and female domination carries significant social meaning in terms of defining the organizational culture and the nature of the work environment. "Observers speculate that men oppose women's entry into traditionally male jobs...they fear that women's performance may make men look bad, that women may not do their share, that women may use their sex to get out of work, that men may have to clean up their language or change their behavior, and that women's very presence may diminish the prestige of their jobs or undermine the status men derive from doing "real men's" work" (Astrachan 1986). If a woman is capable of performing the duties of a job that has been defined as masculine, it threatens the achieved

masculinity of the male workers. Males view masculinity as an achieved status, not everyone can be masculine or engage in masculine activities. As previously stated, masculinity is more important to males than femininity is to females. Male workers create structural barriers or subcultures to keep women out of the field or at best limit the number of women who enter the field. "Occupations that expose workers to fear or danger in the workplace are especially likely to foster worker subcultures...because overt displays of fear by some members can be detrimental to the entire work group, sub-cultural norms and values stress the importance of overcoming fear through overt displays of masculinity and machismo" (Zimmer 1986:24-25). When women enter into a male dominated field it is a threat to the masculine gender identity. "When our gender identities are threatened, we will often retreat to exaggerated displays of hyper-masculinity or exaggerated femininity. And when our sense of others gender identity is disrupted or dislodged, we can become anxious, even violent" (Kimmel 2000:104).

Females experience many problems entering into male dominated organizational culture. "Female newcomers in heavily male jobs often run into problems with on the job training, because it requires their male coworkers' cooperation. Failing to help train female coworkers is a key way that men resist women's entry into customarily male jobs (Reskin and Padavic 1994:73). Many women quit out of frustration or are fired from lack of skill and training. "Too much help can also hinder a woman's success in predominantly male jobs. One way that dominant groups can control and exclude outsiders is through paternalism. An overly protective attitude toward women sets them apart and prevents them from learning their jobs and establishing their ability to succeed" (Reskin and Padavic 1994:74).

2000:2). Beginning around the 1930's the structure, goals and organization of prisons began to change. Federal and state governments, as well as the courts put pressure on prisons to bureaucratize and began to oversee the daily operations of the institutions (Flanagan, et al. 1996, Sturm 1993, Zimmer 1986, Jacobs 1977). James Jacobs conducted an in-depth study of the bureaucratization of the Illinois State Prison System, with particular focus on one institution, Stateville Prison. "Stateville's transformation from a patriarchal organization based upon traditional authority to a rational legal bureaucracy was powered by the creation of the Illinois Department of Corrections, the emergence of a highly educated elite occupying the top administrative positions, and the injection into the organization a large number of civilians filling specialized treatment roles" (Jacobs 1977:74-75). Many states founded central administrative agencies responsible for creating and establishing rules and procedures for daily operations of prisons. "Today wardens at each prison largely execute rather than design correctional policy...they receive their instructions from a central office...the ability of today's warden to set policy and create rules is rather limited" (Zimmer 1986:16). Jacobs found that prison administrators had become increasingly professionalized, stating that many entering the field had come from academics rather than from the ranks (Jacobs 1977). These administrative changes also impacted the role of guards and the manner in which they could execute their duties. The powers that were taken away from the wardens were taken away from the guards as well and replaced with rules, guidelines, legal restrictions, and sanctions. In the aftermath of these changes, the civil rights act was passed followed by Title VII, allowing females to work in male facilities. "Women were not only entering a male dominated occupation but one that was troubled by internal tensions and

Aside from women being a threat to masculinity, some men oppose their entering male-dominated fields out of a preference for a homogeneous work group. "People who do not fit in by social characteristics to the homogeneous management group tend to be clustered in those parts with least uncertainty" (Kanter 1977:55). There was a preference for dealing with people who were similar. Many male managers in Kanter's study reported that communication with women was difficult, "there was a decided wish to avoid those people with whom communication was felt to be uncomfortable...women were decidedly placed in the category of incomprehensible and unpredictable" (1977:58). One woman at the American Correctional Association Conference spoke to that effect. She stated that "when I had an idea I would tell a trusted male coworker, he tells the supervisor as if it were his idea, and it is accepted...I cannot tell the supervisor because I make him uncomfortable". She was more concerned with the goals of the organization than self-promotion.

Occupational subcultures can be functional for employees by increasing solidarity, providing enjoyable social interactions on the job, improving morale, and helping workers find solutions to common problems (Ritzer 1977: Cohen 1970). Occupational subcultures in male dominated fields are completely dysfunctional in regards to women, often working to not include them and do not interact with them, with the exception of harassment, decreasing morale and withholding helpful information and training.

Organizational Culture of the Prison

"Individual prisons in 1900 operated almost autonomously and prison wardens exercised almost absolute power...much discretion was left to the individual staff member on how to deal with inmates, who were virtually at the mercy of prison staff" (Roberts

dilemmas" (Zimmer 1986:15). The fact that most women were only hired as a result of legal battles did not help their integration into this particular organizational culture.

The Department of Corrections Affirmative Action office has been the crucial force behind increased minority hiring. Likewise the Civil Service Commission, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the Fair Employment Opportunity Commission limit administrative actions with respect to hiring, promotion, and dismissal by posing a threat of reinstatement and other sanctions if the prison organization does not comply with guidelines contained in the federal system" (Jacobs 1977:125-126). The problem with anti-discrimination remedies is that they are often slow, hard to manage, costly, and ineffective (Bergman 1986, Zimmer 1986: Jacobs 1977). "Many staff members...view Affirmative Action...as an intrusion to be passively resisted" (Jacobs 1977: 127).

"Male prison guards have consistently displayed resistance to and resentment towards the many changes that have occurred in the prisons over the last decade or so" (Zimmer 1986:53, Zimmer and Jacobs 1981). The guards struggled to maintain the homogeneity of the organizational culture. However they were unable to prevent change from taking place. "After 1970, three developments had the effect of transforming the social organization of the staff: the introduction of the reform administration and the new professional roles, the advent of public employee unionism, and the much increased racial integration of the staff" (Jacobs 1977:175). By 1972, the number of women entering the field of corrections also increased. In terms of increased professionalism, "the advent of an academy represents an alternative to the traditional process by which guards were socialized into their occupation" (Jacobs 1977:124). Prior to the academy,

most guards were white males who lived in the community near the prison and most often recommended one another for hire. The academy eliminated this practice by establishing minimum qualifications and educational requirements, thus women could be accepted. However, just because a woman completed training at the academy did not guarantee employment. "In the prisons themselves, there was almost total opposition to changing the long-standing policy of hiring only men" (Zimmer 1986:53). For some men, the belief that women are unsuitable for guard jobs is so strong that they are absolutely convinced the policy will be reversed as soon as its irrationality is detected by those in power" (Zimmer 1986:58-59). Regardless of these obstacles many women still work in corrections and the numbers are increasing every year. The purpose of this research is to examine the lives of these women and their experiences at work.

Dramaturgy and the Negotiation of Organizational Culture

As mentioned in chapter one, female correctional workers develop negotiation strategies for surviving in a historically male-dominated occupation. "A sociological perspective examines the ways in which gendered individuals interact with other gendered individuals in gendered institutions" (Kimmel 2000:95). By using Erving Goffman's concept of Impression Management we can study several strategies women use to interact within the organizational culture of the prison.

Rose Etheridge, Cynthia Hale, and Margaret Hambrick outline numerous methods for negotiating reality in their article entitled "Coping Strategies For Women in All-Male Correctional Facilities". Many of these coping strategies correspond with concepts presented in Erving Goffman's Presentation of Self in Everyday Life and techniques of impression management. Many experts recognize that "impression management"

techniques are often used by individuals to build a positive image, increase their personal attractiveness, and build and maintain political relationships within organizations (Crampton and Mishra 1995; Wagner and Hollenbeck 1995; Robbins 1994; Kreimer and Kinicki 1992). Etheridge, Hale and Hambrick discuss such concepts as how to interact with inmates, how to dress, maintaining a professional distance from inmates, how to deal with conflict, how to build relationships with male coworkers as well as how to build relationships with female coworkers. According to the article, "women can take concrete steps to keep from falling victim to a stereotypical image. Women must examine their own attitudes and motivations for working in corrections, clearly establishing who they are and what they want to do. Once this important step is taken they can begin to build the kind of image they will need to carry out their jobs safely and competently" (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:59). There are several important concepts of impression management that will be addressed in the next section, followed by a discussion of specific strategies that can be employed by females working in corrections.

"The most straightforward definition of dramaturgy is that it is the study of how human beings accomplish meaning in their lives" (Brissett and Edgley 1990: 2). Erving Goffman is the leading proponent of the dramaturgical perspective. The dramaturgical perspective has been used to examine social phenomenon ranging from social relationships and motivations to funerals and politics. Dramaturgical analysis has also been applied to the study of work and organizations. According to Montagliana and Giacalone the use of impression management is necessary in the workplace (1998).

Individuals use impression management to define meaning, or define the situation when appearing in front of others. The individual tries to convey an image or impression that he or she wants others to comprehend. "Employees, as actors, consciously select specific impression management strategies to create images, within the constraints set by their organizations" (Rao, et al. 1995:147). The strategies advance the impression the individual wishes others to perceive, the impression given, the intentional impression. The way they are perceived by the audience are the impressions given off, the unintentional impression. "When one individual plays a part he implicitly requests his observers to take seriously the impression that is fostered before them. They are asked to believe that the character they see actually possesses the attributes he appears to possess that the task he performs will have the consequences that are implicitly claimed for it, and that, in general, matters are what they appear to be" (Goffman 1959:17). Once an actor is able to convince the audience of his or her abilities, he or she must continually play that role to maintain the impression.

Despite the actor's intentions, when they take on a new role, they will find that the front has already been created, based on societal expectations and context. Impression management strategies are influenced by the organizational context in which they are enacted (Rao, et al 1995; Gardner and Martinko, 1998; Kumar, 1986, Schlenker, 1980; Perreault and Miles, 1978). The audience has expectations about who should and should not fill certain social roles therefore the actor must put on or maintain a valid front. The actor will find it extremely difficult to establish a new front if the audience does not think the actor should be in a particular role. "Further if the individual takes on a task that is not only new to him but also un-established in society, or if he attempts to change the

light in which the task is viewed, he is likely to find that there are already several well-established fronts among which he must choose" (Goffman 1959:27). Fronts are selected, not created. An individual may have difficulty choosing a front if it does not correspond to their status. "Occupational presentation is a bundle of accounts, a set of role resources [well established fronts] that explain who one is and how one should be taken by others" (Fine 1996:90).

Through the socialization process, individuals learn ideals and expectations about social behavior and often incorporate those ideals and expectations into their own performances. "The notion that a performance presents an idealized view of the situation is of course, quite common" (Goffman 1959:35). Not only does the audience have expectations about performances; but actors do as well. When individuals play certain roles they incorporate society's values and ideals about that role into their performance. Richerson and Ambady contend that the presence of members of stigmatized groups, such as women, minorities and underrepresented persons, increase bias towards those individuals (2001). We learn social roles and the accompanying expectations of those social roles through our socialization experiences. We learn social roles but also who should and should not perform particular social roles, that is some social roles are appropriate for some individuals but not for others. If an individual seeks to fill a social role that society has not deemed appropriate, he or she must put forth much effort to perform that role and maintain front. "Such impressions have an idealized aspect, for if the performer is to be successful he must offer the kind of scenes that realizes the observers extreme stereotypes. If an individual is to give an expression to ideal standards during his performance, then he will have to forgo or conceal action which is

inconsistent with these standards” (Goffman 1959:40-41). The actor must dispel stereotypes to establish the validity of their performance and their abilities.

It must be made clear to the audience that they are the best person for the role and will have no problems performing the role. Haas and Shaffir (1987: 110) conclude, "the process of professionalization involves above all the successful adoption of a cloak of competence such that audiences are convinced of the legitimacy of claims to competence" (1987:110). Individuals whom the audience questions their ability will be subject to severe scrutiny during their performances. In studies of medical students, they quickly learn it is risky to display lack of certainty; impression management becomes a central feature of clinical learning (Beagan, 2001; Conrad, 1988). The actor under scrutiny must be extremely careful to maintain front, there is little room for human error. "Failure to regulate the information acquired by the audience involves possible disruption of projected definition of the situation; failure to regulate contact involves possible ritual contamination of the performer" (Goffman 1959:67). For many individuals once the front is disrupted, it is difficult to recover, thus resulting in a loss of faith on the part of the audience.

When an individual takes on a new role, he or she is given very little detail or direction about how to play that role. Therefore, the individual must invest some time preparing for the role. It is the actor's responsibility to make the audience believe that they are qualified for the role they are playing. Much role socialization occurs during the role performance. According to Beagan, in her study of medical students, they become immersed in their new roles and the situation defines their identity (2001). "It is commonplace to say that different social groups express in different ways such attributes

such as age, sex, territory, and class status, and that in each case these bare attributes are elaborated by means of a distinctive complex cultural configuration of proper ways of conducting oneself” (Goffman 1959:75). An individual who is adept at interaction and impression management will easily adapt to their new social roles.

In order to maintain the front, actors are careful to express behaviors that correspond to the role they are playing and suppress behaviors that call the actor into question. Leary and Kowalski contend that persons engage in impression motivation and impression construction, which "construction concerns how a person creates the desired impression through his or her choice of various self-presentation strategies...they mention several strategies including verbal communications about oneself, nonverbal communication, associations with others, physical appearance, material possessions" (1990:34). The behaviors that are excluded from impression construction reside in the back region. These suppressed behaviors are acceptable in the back region, when no audience members are present. Actors must exercise caution when going between the front and back regions. “Obviously, control of a backstage plays a significant role in the process of “work control” whereby individuals attempt to buffer themselves from the deterministic demands that surround them” (Goffman 1959:114). Audience members should not be privy to backstage information. If the audience had access to the backstage they would question the situation that was defined for them. A good social actor remembers his or her role and plays it flawlessly. A good actor does not allow the audience to the back region or give away the secrets of the performance. When errors occur, a good social actor is able to smooth things over with grace and skill, without damaging the performance (Goffman 1959).

One of the most common stages where social actors perform is at work. At work, the audience will be most concerned with the actor's performance. Particularly in terms of the actor's qualifications and abilities. It is the actor's responsibility to give the impression that they are able to perform the role they have been given. Audiences are most likely to scrutinize an actors' work when the actor, for some social or demographic reason, does not possess the ideal qualities attributed to a social role.

The organizational culture will define how the actor will act and react to new situations. The actor must maintain a front that corresponds with the organizational culture. Individuals must project the values of the organization, institution or social role, regardless of personal feelings or lack thereof. An actor must always engage in impression management to maintain the ability to define the situation.

According to Morgan, "little research explores how individuals proactively implement strategies for establishing favorable reputations" (2002:1). The next section discusses several specific strategies that females working in corrections can employ to negotiate reality and achieve success in the field of corrections.

Negotiating the Gendered Terrain of Prison Work

Interaction with Inmates and Coworkers. "Interact with inmates in a straightforward, non-manipulative manner and do so consistently. The lesson here for the female correctional worker not to contaminate the image she is trying to convey by being inconsistent. Inconsistent interactions or a lack of congruence between verbal and nonverbal messages is confusing and difficult to interpret" (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:59). Women must take into account that their body language is

just as important as oral communication. What they do is just as important as what they say.

"If one consults the literature on women in management, much of it could be translated into a manual on how women can fit in with management and the organization cultural assimilation that formerly acknowledges equality but in practice denies diversity of gender" (Gherardi 1994:595). A training manual on interaction does not guarantee the successful integration of females into a male dominated field. Through interaction newcomers learn how to "relate" and "express oneself", becoming socialized into the organization, and thereby learning the values and attitudes of the organization (Alvesson 1994). Females learn how their male coworkers perceive them and what is expected of them. Mark Pogrebin states, "because female officers are expected to conform to masculine sex-typed work norms, the integration problems faced by women entering this occupation are severe" (1997:41-42). Women are more likely than men to have to adjust their behavior to "fit in".

Dress and Appearance

"Dress appropriately, dress that is either too feminine or too masculine will cause problems. The clothing guide in a prison environment is much the same as dressing for any professional position...personal dress should be conservative...the clothing should fit well...they should be tailored and not frilly. In short, while on the job, a professional, no-nonsense image should be projected. There should be no dichotomy between how the female employee dresses and what she is required to do" (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:60-61). Dress and appearance, like verbal and body language can convey

certain messages to coworkers. Women need to be certain that they are not conveying the wrong message.

There is a vast body of research on dress in society from a variety of disciplines. Much of it concludes that dress communicates "strong and powerful" messages (Rafaeli and Pratt 1993; Forsyth 1990; Forsyth, Drake and Cox 1985; Fussel 1983; Laver 1982; Burgoon and Saine 1978; Mehrabain 1976; Conner, Nagasawa and Peters 1975; Douty 1973; Ketcham 1958). Clothing can communicate more than body language or oral communication. "Findings suggest that dress can be a useful vehicle for representing and negotiating a complex web of identity-related issues that together identify a member of an organization" (Pratt and Rafaeli 1997:868). Clothing can be used to help promote a particular image to others; but it can also hinder the image one wants to present.

Research conducted on the corporate dress of women has found that women who dress professionally are typically evaluated more favorably and are more likely to be hired for management positions than when they dress in a more traditionally feminine manner (Crampton and Mishra 1995; Forsythe, Drake and Cox 1985). "The rational woman may be pleasing and moderately feminine; but she should not be attractive, otherwise she will not be taken seriously, will encounter great difficulty in competing with her male colleagues, will arouse suspicions of collusion in cases of harassment, and so forth" (Gherardi 1994:594). The female working in corrections encounters the above-mentioned problems on a daily basis; proper attire can alleviate some of these job stressors.

Stereotypes

“Be prepared for negative reactions. Anything new in a prison setting is potential threat, and the introduction of women to the staff in an all-male facility is no exception.

Recognize that physical traits such as age, race, height, and weight may cause inmates or staff to react to you in a particular way regardless of what you say or do. Tearing down expectations based on stereotypical images may take time, but it is worth the investment” (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:61). Stereotypical expectations about women who work in corrections include unfeminine, lesbian, incompetent and unqualified. Most often these expectations are not based actual experience but social constructions of gender and deviance. It is possible to overcome these reactions.

Professional Distance

“Maintain a professional distance from inmates. Don’t get too involved in their personal lives and dealings on the compound. A role of professionalism allows for the kind of objectivity that makes for sound decisions and prevents the emotional drain that ends in burnout. The professional role may be hard to maintain because of the pressure from inmates to be more personal” (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:61). Getting involved in an inmate's personal life will be nothing but a source of conflict with the other inmates and coworkers.

Dealing with Conflict

“Deal with conflict decisively and assertively. Know the difference between being assertive and being aggressive. As a rule, assertive opens doors that aggressive can’t” (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:62). Many females who enter into male dominated occupations have to overcome certain stereotypes; the aggressive female is

one such stereotype. When women are too aggressive, a characteristic typically associated with men, they are perceived as deviant or abnormal. "Assertive impression management is initiated to establish a particular identity for an audience" (Tedeschi and Melburg 1984:32). Impression management strategies can be useful to negate stereotypes. "Charismatic leaders engage in impression management techniques to bolster their image of competence, increasing subordinate compliance and faith in them (Bass 1985:40).

Coworker Relations and Support Networks

"Build positive relationships with male coworkers. Treat male coworkers cordially and professionally at all times. Although a woman can't control vicious, unprovoked rumors started by men threatened by her presence, she can keep from adding fuel to the fire" (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:62). If a female shows that she is angry or upset, it can only make the situation worse. Most people conform to their environment to avoid being excluded; they change their behavior, and present themselves favorably (Williams and Sommer 1997; Baumeister and Leary 1985).

"Besides being fundamental to the maintenance of solidarity...coworker relations also can be important for affirming group identities including gender identities" (Hodson 1997:430). Most people seek peers and friends based on similarity. Similarity is an important factor affecting the development of workplace friendships (Sias and Cahill 1998; Brehm 1985). "Develop a support network of other women in the organization. It may even be helpful to create a formal organization of female correctional employees to deal more formally and in-depth with career issues of women. Invite men to the meetings...make an effort to sensitize them to the concerns of women in correctional

settings” (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:62). A support network and formal organization of female employees will provide a forum for problem solving, understanding and effecting positive changes in the organization. “Be supportive of other women. A woman will face enough roadblocks on the job without having more erected by those who share her ordeal” (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:63).

Work Performance

“Do your job. Neither ask for nor accepts special favors. Don’t let others make allowances for you because you’re a woman. Show by your actions that your femaleness will not be a burden to fellow staff and inmates. Never use your femaleness as an excuse” (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:63). Women who work in nontraditional occupations are often subject to more scrutiny than their male counterparts. Doing your job to the best of your ability ensures you will be treated as a competent employee, not a liability to your coworkers.

Mental Health

“Keep your mental health in good repair. The self-control and situational control needed to do the job is draining. Many women find it helpful to develop a satisfying private life outside the institution. They must not let work become their only source of reward, fulfillment, and satisfaction” (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:63-64). Positive relationships with peers and coworkers in the institution are extremely beneficial for maintaining mental health on the job. “Presenting positive images will depend largely on how a woman conducts herself in the institution. She is highly visible in the corrections community, which observes the way she dresses, the way she walks, and the way she relates to other staff and inmates” (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991]

1997:65). Female correctional employees are subject to more scrutiny than male correctional employees. "Expectations for a woman's performance are high; there is little room for error, especially where matters of personal integrity are concerned" (Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick [1991] 1997:65). The expectations of performing emotional labor are greater for women than for men. "Within the same occupation, women are expected to perform more emotional labor than men" (Morris and Feldman 1996:995; Wichroski 1994; Wharton and Erickson 1993; James 1992; Adelman 1989). In terms of traditional notions of gender, women are perceived as having more and expressing more emotion, therefore women would engage in more emotional labor.

In terms of impression management, the emotion given and given off may be different from the emotion that is being felt. The individual attempts to give an impression of emotion or lack of emotion that differs from the emotion they are feeling (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993:91; Grove and Fisk 1989; Gardner and Martinko 1988). If some aspect of the job creates an emotional response, one's image of competence and professionalism are shattered. One must always engage in surface acting. "Surface acting means the displayed emotion differs from the felt emotion" (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993:93). The inability to express felt emotions can have consequences. Hiding authentic emotions can cause psychological and physical problems (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993; Parkinson 1991; King and Emmons 1990; Pennebaker 1985). "A study of prison officers, found that a perceived need to suppress emotions in the workplace was positively associated with overall stress and negatively associated with job satisfaction" (Ashforth and Humphrey 1993:96; Rutter and Fielding 1988).

Summary

As discussed in the next chapter interviews will be conducted with female wardens or superintendents to answer these questions. While the interviews will be largely open-ended they will be semi-structured around the issues faced in this chapter. For example, the respondents will reflect on or interpret their own gender socialization experiences. They will discuss the occupational choices that were presented to them and why they chose to work in the field of corrections. They will share their perceptions on the field of corrections as a gendered occupation as well as their experiences working in a male-dominated or masculine profession. And finally, the next chapter will determine if female wardens or superintendents use impression management strategies to negotiate their positions on a daily basis, and if so which impression management strategies do they employ.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Qualitative Methodology

The goal of this project is to explore the career experiences of women who hold leadership positions within the field of corrections. Specifically the research seeks to: (1) examine personal biographies of these women in an effort to document life experiences shaping their career choices; and (2) identify strategies used by these women to negotiate reality in their daily work routines. These research goals can best be achieved using a qualitative methodology. Rooted in the symbolic interactionist tradition, qualitative methodology allows the researcher to gain in-depth insight into the worldviews of its participants. "Qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected interpretive practices, always hoping to get a better understanding of the subject matter at hand. It is understood that each practice makes the world visible in a different way" (Denzin and Lincoln 2000:3-4). Given the goals of this project, qualitative methods are most appropriate because they emphasize the progressive nature of social life and the various ways in which people define social situations. Thus, qualitative methods are particularly well suited for exploring the personal biographies of individuals and their daily interactions.

Because qualitative methodologies tend to be high in validity, they allow the researcher to gain a deeper insight and understanding of the research problem. They allow the researcher to explore a problem and base findings on interpretation of general trends and patterns of responses. However due to the reliance on the researcher's interpretation, qualitative methods tend to be relatively low in reliability. That is, it is

unlikely that if another researcher conducted the same research the results would be the same. But as Lincoln and Guba (1985) point out, the concepts of validity, reliability and generalizability grow out of a particular scientific paradigm, namely positivism, which views reality as something that is relatively static and whose ultimate "truth" can be discovered. According to Lincoln and Guba, qualitative research, or what they refer to as "naturalistic inquiry", proceeds on very different assumptions about the nature of reality. Contrary to positivism and the quantitative approaches on which it relies, qualitative research views reality as an ongoing social process that is continually defined and redefined by participants.

From this perspective, context is crucial --that is, social reality can only be understood by uncovering the ways in which participants in a setting define the social world around them, interpret their own experiences and manage interactions with others. Given their focus on process and participant's definition of the situation, qualitative methods are most appropriate for this kind of research. In using qualitative methods, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that we replace the conventional concepts of reliability, validity and generalizability with dependability, credibility and transferability, respectively. Because objectivity is an unattainable ideal associated with the positivist tradition, Lincoln and Guba argue that researchers should instead strive to establish "trustworthiness" in their studies.

Trustworthiness in qualitative research can be established by several means. They are defined by Lincoln and Guba (1990) as: prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, referential adequacy, peer debriefing, member checks, reflexive journal keeping and dependability and confirmability audit trail. For the purpose of this project

they will be employed in the following ways. Face-to-face interviews with follow-up interviews if necessary, telephone interviews and email interaction will fulfill the requirements of prolonged engagement. E-mail is unobtrusive; it can be read and responded to according to the participant's time schedule, on the participant's own terms. The researcher can accomplish persistent observation by following up questions from the interview guide and probing for deeper answers with face-to-face, telephone and email interviews. Triangulation is achieved by the use of multiple methods of data collection. This project will utilize, in-depth interviews, telephone interviews and email interviews. Referential adequacy can be obtained through the interview recordings and transcripts and the email responses written by the study participant's. The researchers committee members and graduate student cohort serve the function of peer debriefing. Following up responses and verifying interpretations with participants through electronic mail will accomplish member checking. The researcher will keep a reflexive journal to brainstorm, vent, and stay focused on the project at hand. The researcher will maintain a dependability and confirmability audit trail by keeping all records, correspondence, notes, and drafts in a secure location. These measures should serve to establish the trustworthiness of the researcher.

In-depth Interviews

Due to the potential theoretical applications of this research, in-depth interviews are necessary to carry out the goals of the project. A minimum of ten in-depth interviews will fulfill the research requirements, however more will be conducted as is practical and necessary. The interviews will be recorded and notes will be taken. It is necessary to

record in-depth interviews so that the researcher may focus their attention on the subject. Each interview should take between one and two hours.

Telephone Interviews

Telephone interviews will be conducted with participants who are outside the geographic proximity of the researcher and who do not wish to engage in email interviews. The researcher will call participants for the interview. The telephone interviews will be recorded and notes will be taken. Each interview should take between one and two hours.

Email Interviews: The Use of Computers in Conducting Qualitative Research

The use of in-depth interviews and telephone interviews have been practiced in qualitative research since inception, however the use of computers and the internet to conduct qualitative research is a relatively recent phenomenon, therefore much explanation of this methodology is required. "There have never been so many paradigms, strategies of inquiry, or methods of analysis to draw upon and utilize" (Denzin and Lincoln 2000:11). One of the most recent and innovative methods of obtaining qualitative data is the use of the Internet and Computer Mediated Communication (CMC). "Internet research is not only concerned with the study of online behavior. It is also concerned with using computer based tools and computer-accessible populations to study human behavior in general" (Walther 1999:1).

There are several advantages of using computer-mediated communication to conduct research. They are: extending access to participants, wide geographical access, reaching hard to reach populations, people with sensitive or resistant accounts, cost, time and

travel savings, venue accessibility, eliminating transcription bias, ease of data handling, participant friendly, conducive to easy dialogue, safe environment and extending the research population. There are also challenges to CMC. They are computer literacy for the researcher and respondent, making contact and recruitment of participants, ensuring cooperation and losing access. (Mann and Stewart 2000).

This project will utilize non-standardized or semi-structured interviews. "Non-standardized (semi-structured) interviews offer different levels of qualitative depth, as depending on the interview form, participants have more or less opportunity to answer questions in their own terms" (May 1993:92-94). Participants will be asked to answer open-ended questions through in-depth interviews, telephone interviews or on a web page designed specifically for this project. In-depth interviews allow the researcher to establish rapport with the subject and gain deeper insight and understanding into the research topic. Telephone interviews allow the researcher to access a wide geographical area of persons, who would like to participate, but cannot participate in in-depth interviews and would prefer not to participate via email. The researcher will assume the expense for the telephone interviews. An email interview has the advantage that it appears identical to all respondents. It is also easy for respondents to complete...simply by entering text and clicking a send button when done (Mann and Stewart 2000). The researcher will be able to follow-up the participant's responses via e-mail.

Gaining Access to Study Participants

The names and addresses of female wardens/superintendents were compiled from the American Correctional Associations 2001 Directory of Adult and Juvenile Correctional Departments, Institutions, Agencies, and Probation and Parole Authorities. For the

purpose of this project the sample was limited to wardens and superintendents of state adult institutions. Assistant and Associate wardens and superintendents were also included. Federal institutions, contract facilities, juvenile facilities and community treatment facilities were excluded. A letter was mailed to each warden or superintendent explaining the research and seeking participation. The letter describes the three methods planned for this study, in-depth interviews, telephone interviews and email interviews. In-depth interviews are limited to a local geographic area due to the time and expense required. After the letters were mailed, each warden received a telephone call from the researcher to schedule appointments for a face-to-face interview. A separate letter was sent to wardens and superintendents outside of the researchers geographic proximity to schedule telephone or email interviews. The use of multiple methods allows the researcher to gain access to a larger sample.

Description of Participants

A total of twenty-nine interviews were conducted for this research project. There were 17 face-to-face interviews, 5 telephone interviews and 7 email interviews. For 16 of the face-to-face interview the researcher traveled to the facility when possible. Another was held during attendance of a conference for women working in corrections. The average length of the face-to-face interviews was one and one half-hour, the shortest was an hour and the longest was three and one-half hours. The telephone interviews were scheduled in advance and the researcher called each participant at a specified time. The telephone interviews lasted from an hour to an hour and a half. The majority of email interviews were completed at the participant's discretion and often submitted in segments. Most email interviews were four to 12 pages in length. The interviews began in August

2002 and continued through January 2003. Due to the use of multiple methods the participants came from 13 states.

All of the participants were Caucasian with the exception of one who was African American. Women of all ages and races are underrepresented in leadership positions in corrections, according to the American Correctional Associations 2001 Directory of Institutions only 75 of the 265 female wardens in the United States belong to racial and ethnic minority groups. Although women's entry into corrections is increasing, it is increasing at a faster rate for white women than for women of color. Their ages ranges from 33 to 62, the majority of respondents were in their forties and fifties, with four in their thirties and one in her sixties. The experiences of gender socialization and daily interactions were different for the older women in the sample than they younger women, those issues will be addressed in the following chapters.

Seven of the wardens in this study began their careers as caseworkers, five started out as secretaries, seven others began as corrections officers, four started out as probation and parole officers (4), another four started in other areas of corrections or criminal justice and one began in the mental health field. They have worked in corrections as little as five years up to 35 with the average time in corrections being 20 years.

The wardens who participated in this research work at 21 male facilities, five at female facilities and three at coed facilities. Two of the facilities were work release facilities, three were minimum security, seven were medium security, six were maximum security, and 11 were multi-level facilities. The minimum number of inmates was 36, the maximum number of inmates was 1,968 and the average number of inmates was 924. In terms of staff the smallest facility had 10 staff members, while the facility with the most

staff members had 700, the average number of staff members was 334. Those numbers are more clearly represented in the following tables.

Table II. Institutional Profile

	Work Release	Minimum	Medium	Maximum	Multi-Level	Total
Male	2	3	7	5	4	21
Female	0	0	0	1	4	5
Coed	0	0	0	0	3	3
Total	2	3	7	6	11	29

Table III. Average Number of Inmates and Staff Per Institution

	Work Release	Minimum	Medium	Maximum	Multi-Level
Average Number of Inmates	117	480	978	1282	918
Average Number of Staff	111	107	398	396	363

The Interview Guide

The interview guide will be broken down into four sections; demographics, gender socialization and occupational choice, work experiences and the use of impression management strategies. The demographics section will address the female warden or superintendent's personal characteristics as well as basic questions about the type of institution they work in. Is it is male or female facility? What is the security level? How many inmates and staff members does the institution have? The section on gender socialization and occupational choice examines the role gender socialization played in their personal development and whether it not it affected their occupational choice. The work experiences portion of the interview guide will address their experiences working in a non-traditional or male-dominated occupation. How do their coworkers act towards them? What barriers and challenges have they faced in training, on their posts or in the

community? Have they been victims of discrimination or harassment? The last section of the interview guide will address specific impression management strategies and seek to determine whether or not they use them in their daily activities. For example, do they pay more attention to their appearance than if they were working in a different environment? How do they deal with conflict? How do they interact with inmates and coworkers? Do they maintain a professional distance?

These questions seek to gain a deeper insight and understanding into the experiences of female wardens and superintendents. They are open ended so that the respondent may elaborate and provide detailed answers. The researcher will also be able to contact the respondents to follow-up to certain responses, further providing insight and understanding.

Ethical Issues in Conducting the Research

"Email interviews, real-time focus groups or online observation all present dilemmas with which the online researcher must grapple" (Mann and Stewart 2000:47). These ethical queries are not much different from the ones researchers must consider when conducting face-to-face research. "Even with face to face (FTF) studies, the increased use of computers for the storage and analysis of information raises the level of risk to data" (Mann and Stewart 2000:42). Participants will be made fully aware of the risks of participation. The researcher would encourage the respondents to participate from a personal computer versus a work computer "The researcher can promise confidentiality in the way that they use the data, they cannot promise electronic communication will not be accessed and used by others" (Mann and Stewart 2000:43). The researcher will use

pseudonyms, change identifiable characteristics of places, names of institutions and times.

All participants will be given informed consent. "Informed consent involves giving participants comprehensive and correct information about a research study, and ensuring that they understand fully what participation would entail" (Mann and Stewart 2000:48). For the purpose of this project, a website will be created explaining the research, the information about the project and the website will be provided to the sample prior to their participation. Consent is implied by their participation in the project.

Data Analysis

There are six different ways of looking for patterns in the topic of your research: frequency, magnitude, structure, processes, causes and consequences (Babbie 1998, Lofland and Lofland 1995). Frequency considers how often a phenomenon occurs among respondents. Magnitude looks at levels of occurrence, for example mild to severe. Structure determines relationships among phenomenon. Processes look at the ways in which the phenomenon occurs. Causes look at why the phenomenon occurs. And finally, consequences look at how the phenomenon affects the respondents.

In analyzing the data gathered from the online interviews, this study will employ a coding strategy similar to the one outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1990). They suggest that the process of narrowing or reducing data is facilitated through a three step coding system. First, open coding refers to "the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data" (Strauss and Corbin 1990:61). This involves looking for differences and similarities, trends and patterns, among and between the responses. Second, axial coding involves "Putting the data back together in new ways

after open coding, by making connections between categories. This is done by utilizing a coding paradigm involving conditions, context, action/interactional strategies and consequences" (Strauss and Corbin 1990:96). In this step, the data are organized into meaningful categories and sub categories. Finally, selective coding occurs when "the process of selecting the core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships and filling in categories that need refinement and development" (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 116). This step involves establishing a relationship between the core category and the subcategories. By employing this strategy I will be able to discover and describe common themes that emerge from the data.

In terms of personal biographies of study participants, I will explore the common life experiences, turning points and career paths of female prison wardens and superintendents. The second phase of the analysis will identify the various impression management strategies the respondents employ on a daily basis to continually negotiate their positions in a historically male-dominated profession. Throughout this analysis, the goal of the coding process will be to identify common themes in the data.

Summary

This chapter began with an overview of qualitative research methods. One of the most important aspects of qualitative research is the researcher's ability to establish trustworthiness. This chapter provided a detailed strategy for achieving trustworthiness in this project. It went on to discuss the use of semi-structured interviews, telephone interviews and computer-mediated-communication in qualitative research as well as the interview guide, gaining access to participants, description of the participants, ethical considerations and data analysis.

The following two chapters will put the research plan into action by examining the personal biographies of female wardens and superintendents, their experiences, and the use of impression management strategies to negotiate gender identity in a nontraditional occupation.

CHAPTER V

BREAKING THROUGH THE BARRIERS: FACTORS FACILITATING WOMEN'S ENTRY INTO A NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATION

This chapter describes how participants in the study became prison wardens. Specifically, it will describe how they overcame substantial cultural barriers and entered a nontraditional occupation. As stated in chapter three, gender and the process of gender socialization functions to maintain segregation and perpetuates segregated occupations. Yet there is cross-over: that is, some men enter fields that have been historically defined as feminine and some women enter careers that have been defined as masculine. The purpose of this chapter is to explore how the women who participated in this study did just that.

In describing the process through which these women went through to enter a nontraditional occupation, this chapter seeks to answer five related questions. First, how do participants in the study perceive the occupational choices available to them? Second, to what extent did they consider their parents as role models? Third, to what extent do they value the support of parents and other family members as providing validation for their career choices? Fourth, how do these respondents perceive their own femininity and how has that perception shaped their occupational choice? Fifth, how do the study participants describe their professional aspirations now that they have entered a nontraditional occupation? In order to answer these questions we will briefly revisit the theoretical and empirical antecedents introduced in chapter three.

To understand the life experiences of female wardens, we need to understand the nature of gender socialization and how it shapes the life chances of women. Socialization as a lifelong process whereby individuals learn the roles and expectations imparted upon them in their cultural context. There are several types of roles that we are expected to fulfill; gender roles are imposed on us from birth. Gender and gender roles are based on classifications of what behaviors are appropriate for males and females and are used to highlight those differences (Reskin and Padavic 1994).

Socially constructed notions of masculine and feminine are enforced through a system of rewards and punishments. Children are motivated to seek acceptance of their parents by rewards and punishments and thus engage in behaviors that are appropriate for their gender (Weitzman 1979). The disparities between male and female are propagated by gender role socialization.

Realizing that gender socialization influences roles, it is clear that girls and boys experience socialization differently. As stated in chapter three "Without denying the pressures on women to conform to the feminine role, one can see that women are socialized in an ambivalent or contradictory fashion. At the same time girls are rewarded for typical feminine behavior, they are also rewarded for some types of masculine behavior" (Weitzman 1979:81). It is apparent that socialization is more consistent for boys than it is for girls. Girls are allowed to participate in a wide range of activities without fear of repercussion, a time-out period of sorts. However, upon entering adolescence, girls are subtly pressured and often forced to take on feminine roles, roles that offer little reward (Weitzman 1979). Thus the recognition of a woman's mother as

her role model is an important factor in looking at gender socialization and occupational choice.

The questions used in this study to determine the role of gender socialization on occupational choice consider such factors as the role of the mother, which parent was dominant in child-rearing, parental support for career education and career choice, whether or not subject viewed self as a tomboy or a traditional female, the opportunities these women perceived as being available to them after high school, their own career goals and whether or not they felt prepared to work in a nontraditional occupation when they began their careers. Based on an extensive review of the literature, these factors were determined to be relevant to the goals of the research.

The role mother's and father's play in the process of gender socialization is quite an important one. According to Lenore Weitzman, "typically girls have more readily available role models but they probably have less motivation to imitate those role models because they view the role as more confining and less rewarding than the masculine role" (1979:17). One must consider whether or not the mother worked outside the home and which parent was perceived as being the dominant parent, thus having more influence on gender socialization.

Parental support and involvement in nontraditional sex-typed behavior or "tomboys" are also important factors to consider. "Research suggests that girls whose fathers encourage feminine behavior typically display more traditional sex-typed behavior" (Weitzman 1979:12). One might find different outcomes with fathers who encourage their daughters to do whatever they want. Since boys are more likely than girls to be

punished for non-traditional sex-typed behaviors girls are allowed freedom to explore a wider range of activities without consequence.

The process of gender socialization can also impact perceived career opportunities and influence future goals and vice-versa. If a woman does not perceive a wide range of opportunities available to her then why should she set high career goals? Alternatively, if a woman plans to leave work for marriage and child rearing then why worry about success. "Even though college-educated women might study and prepare for a future occupation, they viewed these occupations as jobs, not lifelong vocational commitments [careers]" (Weitzman 1979:57-58).

The following sections focus on the conclusions reached from the data compiled from personal, telephone and email interviews. I will describe the pattern of responses in terms of overriding themes and define the significance of those themes as they relate to the literature. I will support these conclusions with direct quotes from the research participants.

"A teacher, a nurse, a secretary or a homemaker"
Respondents Perceptions of Occupational Choices

Most of the respondents in this study did not perceive their career opportunities as limited. Some respondents did indicate that their opportunities were limited, however the limitations were not based on gender but other factors such as parental support, finances, place of residence, prior education and changes in interests.

Due to the fact that this respondent had parental support, she did not feel limited:

Dad encouraged us to do whatever we wanted to do. I majored in Criminal Justice with an emphasis in law enforcement and a minor in political science.

Another stated financial reasons for following

I felt like the sky's the limit; but money was somewhat of an issue. I joined the service for six years. Some because of money, but military special ops are still closed to females for the most part. I always wanted to be a Green Beret or a Marine.

One respondent claimed her interests changed after she entered college:

I wanted to be a translator at the United Nations. I started out in foreign languages and because of that I took a lot of sociology classes. I don't know but at some point I took a lot more interest in the sociology and psychology fields and internships. I did a couple of internships. I think a lot of people in corrections probably have similar experiences, there's not too many of us who had a childhood dream of growing up to have a career in corrections. But it is not what you expect and it is so interesting. Different things and different kinds of people you deal with, it's easy to get hooked.

One stated her entry into corrections had to do with her place of residence:

The Department of Corrections was a good opportunity for a small town.

One respondent discussed the opportunities that she felt were available to her upon completion of high school, although she had parental support, she had no clear career goals:

Not in my early school years. When I got out of high school you really started to see that transition, when more things were open for girls. It's been a struggle. Folks today have more opportunity than we did when I was growing up. Mom and dad supported whatever I wanted to do, within reason. I never felt along the way that I was stifled. But you didn't think about what you wanted to do. When I got out of high school I gave some thought to being a teacher or doing secretarial work. I was not interested in being a nurse. I didn't have the awareness that the world is wide open; but I didn't feel like anything was closed as a result. It has been a benefit for me that paths started to open up for women.

One associated her prior educational experiences, parental support, peer relationships and social factors with her perceptions about the opportunities that were available to women:

I went to a city school with many problems as the race riots just occurred. My secondary education was poor at best. There were no sports for women and my parents did not insist on furthering my education. Many of my friends were getting married and dating with no real career aspirations. Most of them [majors,

activities or occupations] were [closed] at the time. It was 1974. Women were not accepted in the working world in non-traditional roles. Sports were not an option either. Women were just beginning to look at non-traditional roles and believe me it was ugly.

Two women stated that they knew they would have a difficult time in the criminal justice field and their opportunities were limited for a variety of reasons, but that they were determined to succeed:

In 1972 the criminal justice field was limited for women; I was the only female in some of my law enforcement college classes. Police departments were closed to women and veterans preference points kept females at the bottom of hiring lists.

My mother made sure I had every opportunity for an enriching education. I did not feel limited. At the time I chose to work in prisons many occupations were not considerations for me. I was taught a definite role of a woman, which was basically subservient.

Most of the participants perceived occupational choices as available to them. Some respondents did indicate that their opportunities were limited, however the limitations were not based on gender but other variables such as parental support, finances, place of residence, prior education and changes in occupational interests. Perhaps this is because as more women have entered the workforce they have also begun entering occupations that were once closed to women and reserved for men. Consequently as women became more visible in these positions, younger women perceive a much wider range of occupational choices than in the past. Respondents in the older cohort of this study did indicate that they perceived opportunities as limited or recognized that there were very few women in certain fields. Perceptions of occupational choice were also influenced by other factors, such as the presence of female role models, parental and familial support and perceptions of femininity and female roles.

"My mother was the rock of the family"
The Importance of Strong Female Role Models

The majority of women interviewed indicated that they considered their mothers to be strong female role models. The number of mothers who stayed at home was the same as the number of mothers who worked outside the home. Others stated that their mothers were not strong female role models citing other women as influential, while others contended that they did not have any strong female role models.

While many respondents claimed their mothers to be their strong female role models they distinguished whether or not their mothers worked outside the home. It was not a question on the interview guide. I found this interesting, as if they needed to justify their mother's choice or perhaps their own choices, as many had families. A possible explanation for this could be what Marian Thomas calls the Superwoman Syndrome that was propagated in the 1980's and 1990's. The "Superwoman Syndrome" - the have-it-all, be-everything-to-everyone, perfect wife, mother, and successful professional who could have her cake and eat it too. She could single-handedly raise a happy family, keep a perfect household, rise to the top of the corporate world, and still find time to relax and enjoy herself. The glorified "Superwoman" vilified the homemaker, generating negative attitudes towards women who chose to stay at home and raise their families, as if they were not contributing to society. The following response was common:

"My mother, she stayed at home until we were all in high school".

Others indicated that their mother worked outside the home and credit her for fostering a strong work ethic and supporting their own career choices:

My mother, she worked outside the home and instilled in me a strong work ethic. She taught me to take work seriously, do more than was expected and go the extra mile.

I did, my mom is a teacher. She and my dad were very strong influences. I have always had strong role models who were very supportive. I have been very fortunate.

My mother was the strongest role model growing up. She always worked hard and reinforced professionalism, education and independence.

One respondent indicated that her mother's influence was far reaching:

I was reared in a multi-generational home. My mother was a registered nurse...the rock of the family basically making a living for everyone. She was a tower of strength, not only for the family, but also for the church and the community.

One woman indicated that her mother passed away when she was twelve and she was raised by her father, the only women she knew were her friends mothers, relatives and teachers. She stated the following:

I did, but probably not so much professionally. I have always said I grew up and I don't recall any significant working-women, they were moms.

Another respondent turned to fictional characters and historical heroines as role models:

Not that I can remember. However I used to read Nancy Drew books and biographies of Clara Barton, Florence Nightingale, etc.

Several respondents denoted that they did not have any strong female role models growing up. The majority of respondents whose mothers were homemakers fell into this category:

I never thought about it. I come from a traditional family, my mother was always there, and a stay at home mom, everybody's was in those days. She wanted us all to have an education; but a career, not so much.

No, I did not; my mother is extremely dependent and has always been that way.

I have a wonderful mother but she is passive in nature. She does not have a high school diploma and wanted to be a mother and wife. She is great but not really strong.

Not really, my mother didn't work outside the home until I was in high school.

Not really, my mom stayed at home and dad worked away, he was only home on the weekends. I did consider my mom strong, she had to run the household while dad was away; but when he came home he was the boss.

One respondent contended that the absence of role models was not important:

I don't think...I don't know that I've thought about it. I didn't really have any super- duper teachers, there were some good ones but I don't know of any one person who was the reason I did or did not do anything. I don't think it mattered.

Stevens and Boyd suggests that women whose mothers work outside the home are more likely to work themselves (1980). That finding is most likely due to the fact that that is the role being modeled. This study, with less than half of mothers working outside the home, does not agree. Despite the fact that most of their mothers stayed at home, these women still pursued careers. Perhaps that is because most indicated that their mothers whether stay at home or working outside the home served a more dominant role. So perhaps working outside the home is less important than the role played in the home. The women interviewed indicated that regardless of whether or not their mothers worked or stayed home, for the most part they indicated that they worked hard. The majority of respondents indicated that both parents were present during their youth. One's parents divorced and she resided with her mother, one's mother died while she was very young and another lost her father at a young age. The majority indicated, for various reasons, that their mother was dominant, equal numbers indicated their father was dominant or that their parents were equal:

Mother...she was an only child and a daddy's girl.

One respondent claimed her mother was more dominant due to the fact that her father was only home on the weekends:

My mom was more dominant because my dad was gone so much for work.

Looking back one respondent considers her mother as playing a more dominant role:

My mother was probably more dominant as I recollect my childhood.

One respondent indicated her father was dominant due to his role as the primary breadwinner:

Daddy was the primary breadwinner. I never questioned his role. He was the boss.

Another claimed it was because her dad was strict and used to being in control:

My dad was very strict...he owned his own business.

The following respondent contended that her father played a more dominant role due to the fact that he supported and encouraged her aspirations:

My dad, he encouraged me to do whatever I wanted; he said I could do whatever I wanted.

Despite the fact that most of the women in this study mothers were homemakers, they still chose to have careers. For their mothers they defended their choice to stay at home claiming that they worked hard and in some cases instilled in them a strong work ethic. For the women in the study, most were married or divorced, with children. They seemed to fall victim to the superwoman syndrome either out of choice or necessity. Although most considered their mothers to be role models, they did not model their mothers' behavior. This brings us to the next section on parental and familial support.

"My mother was scared to death of it"
The Value of Parental and Familial Support

Many of the women who participated in this study cited parental and familial support as being invaluable to their success. Although some stated that their families had concerns, mostly for their safety, they were supportive.

The majority of female wardens and superintendents who participated in this study named their mothers as role models and dominant parent, we must consider the relationship between gender socialization and occupational choice. Stevens and Boyd (1980), contend that mothers and fathers occupations must be considered when looking at a daughter's occupational choice, particularly the choice to work in a nontraditional occupation. A study conducted on women who worked in a variety of non-traditional occupations concluded that these women were independent or self reliant due to family background and support (Zimmer 1986; Walshok 1981). In this study all of the women's fathers worked outside the home, some away from home and some in law enforcement, criminal justice and corrections. In some cases, parental support was a contributing factor to choosing a career in corrections. Most reported that although their parents may have had concerns about their careers choice, no one discouraged them from pursuing a career in corrections.

One woman described her family's support as unconditional:

Those who truly know me, know they might as well support me because I will do and attempt what I will.

Another's family thought it was a good career move:

Actually, my dad thought that was a good thing when I went into probation and parole. I think my grandmother at one time thought it might be dangerous

carrying a gun. In college they were promoting that degree and the whole career thing.

One woman, whose father worked in corrections, felt like her parents were proud:

I do not know how my mother truly felt about it, but I think she was pleased with my progress. My dad has been retired [from corrections] for 20 years now. He is very supportive of what I am doing.

Three respondents indicated that their families were concerned about the danger involved working in prisons and working with inmates:

My dad was not happy; he was a little upset because of the danger. He knew the history of the facility where I was going to work, it had some riots and an officer had been killed. My mother was not too happy either. But they both supported me.

No, my family is very supportive, other than my mother who is scared to death of it.

Basically, my father always wanted to know how much I was around "those people". He never appreciated my working in prisons; but it fed my child and me.

The role parents played in shaping their daughters futures proved to make a meaningful contribution to their success. Regardless of any problems parents may have had with their daughters career choices they served as a constant source of support. And this is important, according to Weitzman, because "the typical child seeks acceptance of parents and peers and wants to avoid their rejection. These motives predispose him or her to shun inappropriate activities and to chose responses that are congruent with sex role standards" (1979: 17-18). The parents of the women in this study provided support regardless of the fact that their daughters were involved in activities that would be deemed inappropriate. Some respondents indicated that their parents and other family members had concerns about their safety but supported them in spite of those concerns. The importance of parental and familial support in the lives of career women can foster a strong sense of self and self-efficacy.

"I could do anything a guy could do"
Respondents Perceptions of Femininity

Perceptions of femininity are important because how a woman perceives her femininity defines a large part of who she is and how she defines her capabilities, her sense of self and self-efficacy. For the women in this study, whether or not they considered themselves tomboys was not as important as the fact that they engaged in both masculine and feminine activities thus blurring the line between femininity and masculinity, girly-girls and tomboys. Those who did and did not consider themselves tomboys were about equal.

A woman's sense of self-efficacy is just one of many factors that contribute to career choice. Other factors that contribute to women's career decisions are future plans regarding marriage and family. Women are expected to leave work upon marriage to make child-rearing their first priority. Social influences also affect women's career decisions. As stated in chapter three, "on the whole, mass media and popular fiction continue to portray the career woman as mannish, loose, or both; and the happy ending for the working girl still involves abandoning work, marrying, and having many children- and there the story ends" (Weitzman 1979:46). The successful woman is doomed to loneliness, and unhappiness, while the married woman's life is happy and fulfilling.

Much research compared career women to homemakers. Those findings indicated that career women "possessed more stereotypically masculine qualities, they tended to be more competitive, more aggressive, and more achievement oriented than women who remained homemakers" (Zimmer 1986:38; Gysbers et al. 1968; Rand 1968; Wagman 1968). Research also found that career women had much more liberal attitudes towards

sex-roles than homemakers (Crawford 1978). Susan Martin found that women who considered themselves tomboys were more likely to work in non-traditional occupations. The participants in this study indicated that they were neither tomboys nor girly-girls; but engaged in a variety of activities, both masculine and feminine.

No. I played sports and I was a cheerleader.

Two respondents stated that where a person grew up had a lot to do with the kinds of activities they participated in, thus indicating no clear distinctions in regards to gender:

No, not really. In the community where I grew up it was not unusual for daughters to do the same chores as the sons.

No not really. I grew up on a farm so I guess I can't say that. I probably was in more ways than I realized. It was a rural thing more than a tomboy thing.

One respondent indicated that although she enthusiastically engaged in feminine and masculine activities, she did consider herself a tomboy:

Oh yes. I loved dolls; but I also hunted, frogged and did yard work.

One respondent considered her behavior to be neutral not leaning heavily towards tomboy or sissy.

Not at all; but I am not girly either.

Another claimed a sense of equality, being able to do the same things as being more important than doing them:

I don't know so much that I was a tomboy; but I always felt that I could do anything a guy could do except pee on a wall and that's just because I haven't figured out how yet. I never thought there was anything I couldn't do. I don't think I'm better, but equal.

Two respondents, in the older cohort, reported that they were not tomboys and cited clear distinctions between feminine and masculine activities:

No. I did typical feminine activities. At that time girls still wore dresses to school. I did girl things. Sports were for boys.

No, as a matter of fact, I loved dolls, playing house, dress-up and I studied ballet until I was 12 years old.

For the most part the women in this study contended that regardless of whether or not they considered themselves girly-girls or tomboys they engaged in both masculine and feminine activities. Involvement in a variety of activities may have contributed to a strong sense of self-efficacy, the belief that one is competent and in control. The sense of self-efficacy, conveyed in the title of this section, "I could do anything a guy could do" was more predominant than feminine role perception, particularly since half of these women in this study did consider themselves tomboys, but half did not and they all ended up in the same career. In this study there is no clear relationship between feminine role perception and vocational choice as found in Crawford's work (1978).

"A warden or a ballerina"
Professional Aspirations of Respondents

As previously stated, the media portrayal of the manly career woman and the happy homemaker continue to influence women's aspirations. For women marriage and family is equated to happiness and fulfillment. These portrayals may affect women's future goals regarding career, marriage and family. Many women interrupt their careers for marriage and family, and thus view their careers as temporary, in turn affecting their goals and aspirations. The title of this section, "A warden or a ballerina" is a wonderful statement about the career goals that young women aspire to. The statement was made by the six-year-old granddaughter of one of the participants in this study. It is indicative of the changes that have occurred in gender-socialization of women regarding career

aspirations and perceived opportunity. Women today perceive more opportunities as available to them and thus establish career goals based on those perceptions. Those changes are evident in this research. The majority of women I interviewed who were in their thirties indicated that it was their goal to become a warden when they began their careers in corrections. They said:

Yes, I wanted to go to the top.

Yes that was my goal.

Another woman in her thirties sees her career going even further:

Sure. Actually I often ponder about being governor. I am driven to do more to be more to positively affect the lives of those around me as well as my own.

Common responses for women in their forties and fifties suggested becoming a warden was not a career goal but realized that once they began working in the field that promotion was a possibility:

When I started I thought, let me get through this when I did get through I would start looking ahead. It was a slow, gradual process, a slow graduation.

One respondent began her career in corrections after high school.

Initially, I wanted to be the best secretary anybody had ever had. I made up my mind in high school that that is what I wanted to be. I saw what the program assistants were doing and I thought I could do a better job. That is when I decided I could do it. I was elated to become an assistant superintendent.

Two respondents entered corrections because they wanted a career change:

Never, I just wanted a different job something with benefits. Two and one half years in I knew I wanted to be an officer [I became an officer]. [After I worked as an officer] I did not want to stay in the custody arena. I knew there was something else I was interested in, something to try to move into. Casework and management were expanding and there was more opportunity. I was in the right place at the right time. Corrections has become a profession, a professional job.

No. I just wanted a nine to five job; but eventually I got bored being a secretary and I saw how successful my friend was.

Another respondent stated that she did not plan on a career in corrections:

No. If someone had told me I would still be with the agency 27 years later I probably wouldn't have believed that. I certainly would not be at an institution and certainly not a warden. I did not envision a career when I started.

One participant advanced as opportunities that became available to her:

No. I had no particular goals. As opportunity came by, I made decisions about whether or not to apply for them. Most of the time I was asked to take another job, they sought me out.

The only respondent in her sixties claimed her parents sent her to college because they loved her but she did not have any career goals:

No. My parents sent me to college. After that, I just wanted to work until I got married.

The majority of respondents did not establish career goals prior to entering the field of corrections, but over time, as they progressed in their careers and as opportunities were presented to them. It is interesting to consider the relationship between goals and opportunities. The literature contends that women who do not perceive opportunities as available to them do not set goals for fear that they will never achieve those goals. This data indicates that women take a passive role in career advancement that is they begin their careers with no clearly established career goals. Perhaps, career advancement is often sought following entry into the field, allowing the female to become comfortable in her environment and secure in her career choice before making claim to goals. A woman must also consider her plans regarding marriage and family when establishing career goals, what is the point of career goals when society deems that as a woman you will have to give yours up in support of your husbands. This is also a possible explanation for seeking advancement once a career has been established; women are constantly assessing

and reassessing their goals in response to the demands of caring for a home and a family. One can conclude that women do have career aspirations, but for various reasons alter them on a regular basis.

Summary

Gender socialization can either be a mechanism of social control that limits people's potential and perpetuates gender inequality or it can be a resource that expands opportunities and allows people to realize their full potential. While cultural barriers still exist and gender socialization continues to limit the aspirations of young women, those who participated in this study clearly demonstrated that those barriers can be overcome. They had strong role models growing up, they had the support of their parents and families, and they have proven that they can do anything their male counterparts can do.

As previously stated, most of the participants in this study perceived a wide range of occupational choices available to them and the perception of limited opportunities resulted from other factors aside from gender. The perception of available opportunities was due in part to strong female role models, parental support, a strong sense of self-efficacy and the presence of pioneer women who opened up many career paths for others. Those who did perceive opportunities as closed or limited did not let that stop them from pursuing careers in corrections and becoming wardens.

The women in this study chose a career in corrections over being a homemaker, although for some being a homemaker was not an option. It was interesting that most identify their mothers as strong female role models and as the more dominant parent; but justified their mother's decisions to be homemakers. This is indicative of greater social influences and the perpetuation of the "Superwoman Syndrome", that a woman can be a

wife, mother, and have a successful career. It also recognizes the value of parental and familial support on career choices.

Parents who offer unconditional support and encourage their daughters to participate in a wide range of activities play a major role in shaping their daughters future career decisions and her success in those chosen careers. Most of the women in this study came from traditional families, a father who worked outside the home and a mother who was a homemaker. Nonetheless many were encouraged and supported in terms of activities, education and career choices, although those choices were non-traditional. Corroboration and support created a strong sense of competency or self-efficacy in the women in this study.

Equal numbers of women who participated in this study considered themselves tomboys and equal numbers did not consider themselves tomboys. A strong sense of self-efficacy perhaps created by strong female role models and parental support seemed to prevail. These women reported engaging in a wide variety of both masculine and feminine activities and positive, can-do attitude.

Although the women in this study did not feel limited in regards to career opportunities, the majority claimed that it was not their goal to become a warden. They eventually arrived at that goal after they had been working in the field of corrections; but not upon entry. For many, the field of corrections was a job with benefits, a nine-to-five job, a job until something better came along, or a job until marriage. At some point in their lives, their jobs became careers, more opportunities became available and goals were established.

The following chapter will explore gender in the workplace. It will focus on the organizational culture of the prison, work experiences and the use of impression management strategies to negotiate gender identity in a non-traditional occupation.

CHAPTER VI

“THINK LIKE A MAN, ACT LIKE A LADY, WORK LIKE A HORSE”: STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN WORKING IN A "MANS WORLD"

This chapter identifies strategies used by female prison wardens to negotiate reality in their daily work routines. In describing the day-to-day interactions of women who work in a nontraditional occupation, this chapter seeks to answer six related questions. First, to what extent do they perceive their jobs as masculine and how do they deal with issues of working in a male-dominated occupation? Second, to what extent do they feel they are accepted into the masculine organizational culture? Third, how do the respondents in this study deal with stereotypes and harassment? Fourth, how do they manage interactions with coworkers and inmates and how do they maintain professional relationships? Fifth, what strategies do these women employ to succeed in their profession and how do they manage impressions given and impressions given off? Sixth, how do the study participants manage their emotions and unmanageable events? In order to answer these questions we will briefly revisit the theoretical and empirical antecedents introduced in chapters two and three.

As stated in previous chapters, women have only been working in all areas of corrections during the last 30 years. Prior to that time, women only worked in female and juvenile institutions. Social, legal, and political changes facilitated women's entry into the field of corrections. Women are increasingly entering the field of corrections and assuming leadership positions. Despite the increased entry of women into the labor force

and the field of corrections, occupational segregation still exists and it is important to document women's experiences as they enter into traditionally male-dominated occupations and professions.

As stated in chapter three, Etheridge, Hale, and Hambrick ([1991] 1997) outline several methods women use to negotiate reality in a male dominated prison setting. Many of these strategies correspond closely with Erving Goffman's concept of impression management, which focuses on the ways in which individuals alter their speech, appearance, and behavior to convey certain images to others. They discuss such concepts as how to interact with inmates, how to dress, maintaining a professional distance from inmates, how to deal with conflict and how to build relationships with male as well as female coworkers.

The following sections focus on the conclusions reached from the data compiled from personal, telephone and email interviews. The analysis highlights several important factors: stereotypes and harassment, professional interaction, acceptance into the organizational culture, achieving success in a male-dominated field, impressions given and impressions given off and managing emotions. This research will describe the pattern of responses in terms of overriding themes and relate them to the literature. These conclusions will be supported with direct quotes from the research participants.

"I Did Not Know What I Was Getting Into"
Issues Women Deal With Working in a Male Dominated Field

In recent years females have been increasingly entering historically male dominated fields, many with great success, but none without problems. Many women have experienced discrimination and sexual harassment. Many of the women in this study felt

prepared to enter a masculine organizational culture; for others it was a process. Those who felt prepared did so for a variety of reasons, such as having experience being a woman in a male dominated field or a background in the military. Another respondent indicated that her military background was not beneficial. Most others stated they were not prepared. Women who enter nontraditional occupations enter into an organizational culture unlike any other. While many felt they were prepared to enter into a nontraditional occupation, many did not. One woman felt that college did not prepare her but her previous experience working in a nontraditional occupation did:

"In my mind I didn't think so. But when I got started I realized there was nothing I learned in college that prepared me... book-wise. What I learned in college was how to write and how to think, that's what this job is really about, a lot of writing, that's one of my skills. When I worked in a factory I was only the fifth woman ever hired so I had experience with that".

One stated her previous experience working for the state did not prepare her:

I had done clerical work for the state for 7 years. I had no idea what I was getting into; but law enforcement always interested me.

One woman thought her military background would help; but found corrections to be very different:

"No. Because of my military background I am a no nonsense person. I was raised to respect authority. I do not appreciate game playing. From a woman's point of view that means nothing. In my state women do not deal with security or operations, those are male dominated positions. It is clear and apparent that those positions go to white males. Females and blacks get positions in programs or women's prisons, work release or juveniles. There is a good old boy system here, I am sure of it".

One woman did not have any problems entering the field of corrections and felt prepared:

Yes, I don't ever remember feeling uncomfortable with the job or questioning whether it was okay for me to be in this business. Whether thinking I could be afraid to work in that field, no. I've never handled a weapon before but haven't had any problem qualifying. I don't have that kind of background. I didn't grow up with guns or with a father who hunts or anything like that.

One woman recognized that she entered a male dominated field while another did not:

"I had to find a way to be accepted, a way of integrating myself into an organizational culture that didn't want me".

"At the time I did not know corrections was a non-traditional occupation".

Another respondent recognized the amount of re-socialization that occurs in the field of corrections and states the importance of having a strong sense of self:

"You're never prepared to work in this occupation. This occupation changes you and prepares you in a way that only by being here do you become prepared. You don't turn it off when you go home because it is a degree of change that goes with you, it is a part of the growing you do in any career; but you have to be stronger than the job, recognize it and in some ways you have to fight to preserve yourself you have to have your own identity and you have to be secure in yourself".

Resentment by coworkers is common among female leaders in male-dominated fields.

It is interesting to note that the women in this study indicated that both male and female coworkers showed resentment towards them for a variety of reasons; they did not like having a female supervisor, they had been in the field longer or thought the female was promoted based on sex. Some persons acted on their feelings of resentment as stated by the following respondents:

Yes and they quit.

Yes at another facility my car got egged. Many people were furious because they had been there longer.

Another participant indicated that both men and women resent her success:

Yes a lot of men were resentful. They retired because they couldn't accept a female assistant superintendent. Females are also very resentful of a female in my position. I deal with that a lot. They have resented the fact that I can do my job. I didn't flirt, I didn't sleep with anyone and I didn't compromise my integrity to get where I am.

One thought the resentment was based on the assumption that she was promoted quickly because she was a woman:

Not to my face. I had a couple of men that I came up [the ranks] with say things like I finally made it too. I get indirect reports of people who didn't make it say things like I was as good as she was...comments like that.

The women in this study did not feel prepared to work in corrections for a variety of reasons and the feeling of being unprepared were exacerbated by the resentment they encountered upon entry into the field, particularly when they began to promote. The next section addresses their perceived acceptance into the masculine organizational culture.

*"You're Going to Make One Hell of a Corrections Man Someday"
Women in the Masculine Organizational Culture*

Many of the women in this study indicated that although they have achieved a high level of success in a masculine occupation, they are not "one of the boys". Because the field of corrections is dominated largely by a masculine culture women are not welcome and they are aware of it. Males have been very vocal about their concerns working with women. Some concerns centered on stereotypical gender characteristics such as emotional factors. Claiming that women are timid and naive and women cannot handle inmates. These concerns ultimately create more animosity between male and female correctional employees.

Most of the women in this study contend that they are not one of the boys, others claimed whether or not they were one of the boys was situational, some tried to be one of the boys, and some say they are one of the boys and still feminine. One respondent indicated that she is not one of the boys and that women working in corrections cannot be one of the boys:

I have not become one of the boys, the way I look and my stature, no. I think some people who look less feminine appear to be one of the boys; but you'll never become one of the boys. There is a good old boy system and women just don't get in.

Many contended that they maintained their femininity:

I have maintained my femininity. I am not one of the boys. I have my own individual identity.

I am not one of the boys. I feel that if I were I would have been promoted sooner and given more favorable assignments.

I can't be one of the boys. I can only be myself with the understanding of my strengths and limitations. I am not exactly sure what femininity means anymore. I am professional in appearance and mannerisms.

I am totally feminine. There is nothing sadder than one, who tries to become one of the boys, don't even try it. But you can't be a flit or twit either.

Others claimed that their acceptance as one of the boys was situational or due to their position as warden, they still indicated differences between themselves and their male coworkers:

It depends on the situation. In an emergency I am one of the boys. Other than that I am who I am.

Both [one of the boys and feminine], I adapt to the situation at hand.

You are one of the boys. No not guy-guys; but you do have that camaraderie, it is just the nature of the role itself.

I am always one of the boys; but different, half and half.

The following respondents tried to become one of the boys by changing their appearance and behaviors:

I tried hard to maintain my femininity. At one point I changed my language. I talked like them to fit in and gain acceptance. It didn't last. I wear skirts. I am just not one of the guys.

I tried to be one of the boys in terms of changing my thoughts. It did not work. I let myself go. I quit wearing make-up and fixing my hair. I couldn't let myself become one of the boys. I do cuss a lot though.

Two other participants stated that they did not change to gain acceptance:

I don't think I would say I was one of the boys. I haven't felt the need to act differently with them or away from them or finding an interest in something that they were interested in that I really didn't share an interest in. I can't think about carrying on a different persona depending on the group. I have never found that necessary. I never felt like I had to act a certain way.

Yes, I have maintained femininity because I like who I am. I can still mix with the boys; but I have no desire to spit tobacco, scratch, lower my voice or curse. By the same token I do not appear to be a withering flower who needs a man to protect her while walking the inmate yard.

Some respondents stated that they were one of the boys and feminine at the same time:

I can maintain my femininity and be one of the boys. I am the only female firearms instructor and I can shoot just as well as the men in the department. The program supervisor is very supportive. I joke around with the guys a lot. I tell them if I break a nail I'm done, I've got to fix it, or if it is hot and my make-up runs or if it is muddy I don't want to get my clothes muddy.

Most of the participants did not feel that they had become one of the boys, while others stated their acceptance was situational perhaps due to their position. Even though some reported being one of the boys they acknowledged that there were differences between themselves and the men they worked with. The next section discusses how the women in this study have succeeded in a male dominated field.

*"You Have Watched Too Many James Cagney Movies"
Dealing With Stereotypes of Women in Corrections*

Many of the women in this study indicated that cultural stereotypes about women in leadership positions pose a significant challenge. Those stereotypes are clearly influenced by the media, which portrays the female corrections employee as a brutish, man-hating, sadistic lesbian and the prison environment as a violent, unforgiving place.

For the respondents in this study dealing with stereotypes goes with the territory of working in a non-traditional occupation.

One respondent stated that although stereotypes were not a problem for her she did see them: regarding women's motives for working in corrections:

I can't really think of any in my career. I have seen so many female staff get involved in that looking for a boyfriend or husband. I made it clear that I was not that when I started. There were rumors about female wardens at that time, that they slept their way to the top or partied with the boys; but I don't hear that anymore.

Another had to deal with several overt stereotypes surrounding her position:

Due to my young age and gender I received comments by other women like..."Who did you know" and "I thought all wardens had to be much older." As far as being a Lesbian...well in rural communities alone if you're not married by the time your 30 or even younger with a couple of puppies something must be wrong with you. I have to confess though I've had some fun with people regarding my sexuality. As far as dealing well, I work hard and I address issues as they come up but I try not to worry about what other people think.

Other participants claimed that people would rather believe the worst about women working in corrections and perpetuate the stereotypes:

Many blatant ones [stereotypes], a lot goes on in corrections. When I was a corrections officer I promoted to caseworker then chief of security quite a few people thought I knew someone politically. I know it's not true, with me anyway. I applied for the job and got it.

I was accused of sleeping my way to the top. I have also been accused of being a lesbian because of my short hair. I get my haircuts at the barbershop, just like the inmates.

At one complex, when I started as warden, at the facility across the street they showed Wanda the Wicked Warden to the inmates. Someone thought it would be funny. The media portrayal is interesting and unflattering, degrading and personally objectionable. That was the worst. There is also the expectation that a woman running a male facility is taking some sort of perverse pleasure of being in charge. I like being in charge and running things. I like being in a position to influence outcomes. But messing with people is not what I like to do.

Oh sure, I remember being told there are only two types of women who work in corrections, victims or bitches and I needed to make a decision which one I was going to be. I chose neither. Women play a very important role in corrections and that is because the men that we are dealing with inside have never had a positive female role model. Their mothers have been victims of one type or another or women who have done inappropriate things throughout their lives. These men see a woman as someone you need to victimize in order to survive or someone who has no values. Women who work in corrections owe it to themselves and the men that we work with to prove to them that women have value, women can know things and do things and were here for more than their enjoyment. You can't lose sight of that, you can't become the stereotypical, quintessential bitch or your just what it is they've always been fight against. Victim is the other side of that. You have to maintain femininity and strength, you can't become one of the guys, and you also don't acquiesce.

The common responses for women as wardens focused on such stereotypes as appearance, the prison environment and the assumption that if they are a warden it must be at a female facility. One warden stated that when she tells people what she does they are shocked:

They ask, how can you stand to go to work there? People have a bizarre perception about what goes on in a prison.

Two respondents have to deal with the assumption that it is a women's facility:

They assume that it is a women's facility and are even more surprised when I tell them it is a male facility. They are also surprised that I have been an administrator for 16 years.

They ask if it is a women's prison. When they find out it isn't there were many different responses. The most typical was don't you find it frightening or how do you do your job without feeling intimidated or threatened? Women say, "You go girl". Men...how do men feel about being supervised by a woman...some don't like it and others don't care [about it]. Prisoners, I have never had any problems with prisoners. They like things neat and orderly. I can't remember any prisoners having any real issue with me being a woman; but staff definitely did.

Another stated that most of the stereotypes she encounters come from women:

I feel sometimes it is harder for me to convince other women, they are surprised when I tell them what I do, women react more strongly than men. If anyone has challenged me it's other women.

Other stereotypes center around what a warden should look like and how a warden should act:

They say you don't look like a warden. I think what is a warden supposed to look like. You don't line up 10 people and say pick out the murderer.

They say, "You don't look like a warden". I say, "You have watched too many James Cagney movies". They also say that I seem too nice.

One respondent indicated that she dispels stereotypes when she encounters them:

I don't accept them [stereotypes]. I have had several conversations where remarks were inappropriate or pranks of jokes, whatever it is I am a person who hits it head on. If it is inappropriate they need to know, they not going to read your mind. I am not going to accept it and move on. People are entitled to their opinions; but they need to be pulled into today's times and realize that they are going to have a woman as a boss.

Often times the stereotypical beliefs about women working in corrections cultivate discrimination and harassment. The women in this study deal with harassment in several ways; confront it, do not define the behavior as harassment or discrimination, accept it as part of the job or ignore it. Although one respondent left the job and another filed a lawsuit. The following woman's male coworker reported harassment on her behalf:

At one time an incident happened where a person that outranked me was seen as sexual harassment. I was too young and naive to recognize it. However a male coworker did and reported it. He pulled me aside and said look...that opened my eyes. It happened another time and I didn't realize it until a day later. It was a comment and I made a comment back without realizing it and that probably shut the person down, the response was appropriate to get the person not to do it again.

The following respondents intentionally ignore harassment for a variety of reasons:

I ignore harassment as much as possible; but many times I address it with the person causing the problem right away and they stop. I can intimidate.

In the early years I put up with a lot of discrimination and harassment. I always felt like I had to. If you complained you'd never get anywhere. I tolerated it. Things seemed to get better; but now we're back to discrimination.

Yes there was an incident of sexual harassment with my supervisor. I held to my values and decided my respect was worth more than my body!

I perceived harassment at one time; but I continued to work with the person and things changed. I let it go.

Sexual harassment by my supervisor before you could do anything about it. I put up with it and tried to avoid being alone with him.

Yes but I never filed a grievance. I just tell the person that I don't like that [behavior].

One respondent successfully dealt with sexual harassment in the past and is currently dealing with gender and racial discrimination:

Yes, two times and it was very stressful. Once the person was higher up. I just said no and that his behavior was bordering on sexual harassment. I am dealing with it now also. I get stuck working long hours and covering for the fellows. If they want to play golf they change the schedule. I am treated with disdain. The warden has a reputation for that. Three black women have already left.

One respondent indicated that she realizes harassment and discrimination go with the territory, but she still confronted it:

I had people who thought they should have gotten this job because I had not been in an institution. As a result, remarks and comments were made. People questioned my promotion and how I got the job. I know it's hard work and 20 years with the department. The department has a website where employees can post messages, people used that to insinuate that I did not get the job based on skill, education or experience; but something else. I took care of that. That just goes along with the job, people are going to talk.

One respondent felt that leaving her job was her only option for dealing with harassment and discrimination.

Yes. I left that job and looked for another one. I was young and at that time the laws we have today were not in effect.

Another reported the harassment and after reporting decided to leave for another job:

I reported it and the response was, "he's got bigger friends than you'll ever have so deal with it. I did not stay and take it, I moved on. If I had overreacted I would have become a woman who was trying to get ahead because I was a woman and not because of my qualifications. I didn't want the negative attention.

Two respondents stated that confronting harassment and discrimination was the only option:

Not personally, I've seen it... I have a belief that you have to deal with those things, face it and deal with it head on. Be a victim or don't take it. I'm not going to take it. Women can become professional victims.

It is not something I accept in any shape or form. As an administrator you have to be very proactive and very cognizant and consequently make people aware and report and feel good about reporting. To deal with it and to take action is not the easiest thing to do; but it is not something to shove under the carpet, it's not going away, it never does.

Another filed a lawsuit:

Minor harassment, I simply talk with the individual and explain to them as professionally as I can my position. I really have not experience sexual harassment; I have only dealt with gender discrimination. I filed a lawsuit and it is pending.

One respondent indicated that harassment and discrimination are part of the initiation into the field of corrections:

It's definitely there although it is better. I have been around so long I don't get bitten anymore. Corrections' is like a family and it takes a long time to become part of the family, for men and women.

Many of the participants in this study developed other strategies for dealing with harassment and discrimination due to the negative attention associated with filing grievances or lawsuits. The following comments were made about the repercussions of filing grievances or lawsuits:

At lower levels yes; but at this level, no, at this level it is a career killer. .

There is retaliation.

I was never part of it [because] it is a career slower.

The participants in this study developed a variety of methods for dealing with stereotypes, harassment and discrimination. Although, for the most part their strategies were individualistic, with one exception, they did not address the issues on an institutional level, but rather on a personal level. Hence placing responsibility for addressing stereotypes, discrimination and harassment on an individual level and not on an organizational level. Only one respondent indicated that it was her role as an administrator to eradicate stereotypes, harassment and discrimination.

*“Keep it Professional”
Managing Relationships With Inmates and Coworkers*

For women working in non-traditional occupations the basis to managing interaction is to be consistent, firm, honest, respectful and professional. It is also important to establish and maintain boundaries for oneself, staff and inmates. As stated in chapter three, "If one consults the literature on women in management, much of it could be translated into a manual on how women can fit in with management and the organization cultural assimilation that formerly acknowledges equality but in practice denies diversity of gender" (Gherardi 1994:595). Females learn how their male and female coworkers perceive them and what is expected of them. Women are more likely than men to have to adjust their behavior to "fit in"(Pogrebin). Personal traits and personal relationships that foster opportunities for promotion in female-dominated fields diminish opportunities in for women who work in male dominated fields. For women, establishing and maintaining "professional work relationships" are required for success. There is no room for personal relationships. Having personal relationships or friendships at work can lead

to speculation, rumors and insubordination. For men, having personal relationships or friendships can lead to opportunity and promotion (Kanter).

The women in this study commented on establishing professional interactions with inmates and coworkers. One respondent professed the value of consistency:

With offenders, from the beginning I'll do my job. I'll do what I can for them; but I won't cross the line with them and they better not even attempt to cross the line with me. I am structured and rigid when it comes to following the rules with offenders. That's the way you have to be. But at the same time I can be caring, I can do that and still maintain my professionalism. I've never had an incident with an offender. They know what to approach me with and what not to approach me with. Consistency is very important. I have to come in and be the same person everyday.

Another discussed the importance of treating prisoners with respect and earning respect of prisoners and staff:

Prisoners are respectful because that is the way we treat them. The people who work for me respect me. I have earned respect and that is not an easy task. It is not just because of my position; but because I have shown that I can do it. It was a battle, being on my own and I had to learn. I wasn't afraid to make a decision.

One other stated that fairness is an essential in dealing with inmates and staff:

I believe in treating people respectfully whether they are inmates or staff. My philosophy is staff are not always right and inmates are not always wrong. Also when inmates are no longer inmates they are citizens just like everyone else. People come to prison for a lot of reasons and I have seen a tremendous amount of talent behind the bars. I try to be fair in my dealings with staff. If I can give them the benefit of the doubt I will; but if I have to make a hard decision I explain why and I am very straightforward with them. I believe fairness is essential.

Women working in corrections must also engage in strategies to sustain a professional image and personal distance from inmates and staff. The most common strategies are to avoid discussing one's personal matters in the workplace and establishing and maintaining boundaries. Some female wardens set different boundaries for inmates and different boundaries for staff, as stated by the following respondents:

I don't know how to answer that question. It is going to sound really mean but there are inmates and there are people. I realize they're all human; but there are things I would do with a staff member that I would never do with an inmate. I am friendly with them. I am interested in what's happening with them and what we can do to keep them out of this vicious cycle that they are in, but the line is there and it is easy for me not to cross it.

Personal life is personal. I don't interact with staff on a personal level and I don't have personal relationships with staff. It is the same with offenders; but a more dramatic line. You don't put yourself on a personal level with offenders at all.

Another alluded to the problems females can have when dealing with male inmates:

I am very firm with inmates. Women need to be. I have seen too many females taken advantage of by male inmates for being friendly. You have to keep your distance, establish barriers and be consistent.

One respondent discussed her approach to offenders and that it is her responsibility to establish boundaries:

By your approach to them, you approach them with respect, letting them know that you're in charge and where the boundaries are. It is inherent on me to set the limits because they [offenders] don't have any.

Two respondents indicated that they treat inmates and staff the same:

I always maintain a professional manner with inmates and staff it's my job. It does no service to anyone to act anything less, i.e. a friend.

You can be friendly and still business-like. Some people say that you can't do both. I visit with them; but you don't forget who you are and who they are. The majority of the time I am friendly with them and I laugh with them without ever crossing the boundaries of when it's appropriate and when it's not. I think it is a positive thing.

Socializing with coworkers is a relevant concern for female wardens. The women in this study discussed the problems that can arise from socializing with staff, such as difficulty maintaining boundaries, discipline problems and personality differences. One participant encountered difficulties in regards to personal or dating relationships:

I learned my lesson years ago about dating or getting close to people you work with. Can you say "trouble"? I only [socialize] during work or at work related functions or sometimes "Team Building" get-togethers.

Another stated the difficulties associated with socializing with staff and dealing with discipline and maintaining security at the institution:

I always want them to know that I am the superintendent. I don't have friends on the job. It is difficult dealing with discipline problems. Our first priority should be the security of the facility. I attend social functions; but when it turns to dancing and partying I go home. I don't want them to see me and I don't want to see them. I draw the line as to what kinds of activities to get involved in. The former assistant superintendent had lots of friends on the job. He would go to the bars with employees and often had to sleep in the unit because he couldn't go home to his wife. It was very wrong.

One participant was perceived to have a bad personality because she refused to socialize with coworkers:

One warden wanted me to be more charming. I told him to be more charming. If I am not charming, than I am a bitch. I struggle with that [socializing], it's difficult. I don't want to be buddies. It is different for women and men. People try to be careful with women; but not with men, they are always together.

Another respondent indicated that she had problems socializing with anybody due to the fact that she worked at a small facility in a small community and worked at the discretion of the governor and the Department of Corrections:

It is hard to socialize with anybody; you can't socialize with inmates and staff. I am single and it is hard to develop long-term relationships because the department could call and say we're going to promote you and you have to move here. You don't find many men who will jump up and follow a woman around; traditionally the woman follows the man around. I have not been married for 10 years because of that. I have friends outside the department. I bowl to get away from here and to be around people that don't have anything to do with corrections. I also crochet a lot and get involved with my kids activities.

One warden indicated the problems associated with socializing and maintaining boundaries:

Personal life is personal. I don't interact with staff on a personal level and I don't have personal relationships with staff. It is the same with offenders; but a more dramatic line. You don't put yourself on a personal level with offenders at all. I don't socialize with them away from here. I attend scheduled functions, softball games, the Christmas party, etc. You have a very difficult time separating that. If you socialize with them [staff] the line gets grayer and grayer and it can be difficult on both ends.

Another respondent noted the change in relationships with staff members after she became a warden:

Maybe even more important from coworkers than inmates when you're a warden. Before I was warden I was much closer to staff, we were one big family. We ate together and partied together; it was a place without barriers. When I became warden at another facility part of that change took over. Ultimately staff messes up, you have to take off your drinking with you hat and put on your warden hat. I was comfortable with doing that they [staff] felt betrayed. I learned that lesson and have been much more careful. I select people with who I have had relationships and I am confident that if they get into hot water, my warden hat is going on and we have to deal with each other that way.

Female wardens are consistent, firm, honest, respectful and professional. By engaging in those behaviors they have been able to establish and maintain professional boundaries. The most common strategies are to avoid discussing one's personal matters in the workplace and establishing and maintaining boundaries. Some female wardens set different boundaries for inmates and different boundaries for staff. The majority agreed that they do not socialize with staff outside the institution. The women in this study discussed the problems that can arise from socializing with staff, such as difficulty maintaining boundaries, discipline problems and personality differences. The next section addresses the acceptance of women into a masculine organizational culture.

"I Had to Prove Myself a Lot More Than a Man Has To"
Strategies for Success and Managing Impressions

Women who chose to work in a male dominated field must deal with several issues on a daily basis in order to do their jobs. They feel they have to work harder than their male counterparts because they are subject to more scrutiny and they are held to higher standards of professionalism than men. Many women stated they possess skills that contribute to their success. Due to masculine organizational culture of the prison and the fact that many corrections employees resent having a female supervisor, the women who participated in this study felt like they and other women have to work harder to prove themselves.

In general most women work harder in this field. There is a certain manner in which you have to work if you want to be promoted or want to be any kind of supervisor. You have to demonstrate your abilities a little bit more. If you just want to be line staff, which I think is more of a traditional role for women to be in, it is just a job and some women are okay with that.

Yes I work harder and I put up with more than any man because I am female.

One woman indicated that stereotypical beliefs about women who work in corrections, discussed in Chapter 5 prompt her to work harder:

[I] definitely [work harder] because of the rumors about how I got the job.

Two respondents stated that they worked harder than their male counterparts, which led to promotions; but also more work:

In the beginning, yes and as a result of it I have always gotten the more difficult assignments throughout my career.

I get more [of the] work...the delegation of duties is not equal. I have more than my male counterpart. Women are better workers.

One feels she works harder than her male counterparts and still is not appreciated at the same level:

Yes I have to perform at a higher level. For example, I can come up with a really great idea for programs or a money saving project, and it is appreciated. A male can shoot [a firearm] at the expert level and it is the greatest thing since sliced bread.

Working harder is not enough. The women in this study also feel that they are subject to more scrutiny than their male counterparts. The most common reason given had to do with the fact that there are so few female wardens and superintendents.

Yes I often get the feeling that someone is waiting for me to screw up.

Yes mainly because there are so few women at this level people tend to watch [us] more closely.

Another stated that the scrutiny was related to resentment, even when she performed well:

Yes, I sure do. I had to prove myself, a lot more than a man has to. You are watched more by subordinates than managers. So many men were resentful trying to catch me. Half were resentful and half were proud. I brought in an escapee by myself. They said I shouldn't have been out there.

One woman felt that her performance would affect other women's opportunities for promotion:

Oh yes, when I was the first woman to run a camp it was clear that if I messed up that was going to be it. I felt like it was a make it or break it thing and if I messed up there wouldn't be any chances for women for a while. It was a critical component.

The women who participated in this study also felt that they were held to higher standards of professionalism than men working in the field. One respondent indicated the double standards that exist for men and women in corrections:

Absolutely, there is definitely a double standard. There have been men who were involved with offenders who have not been fired, every woman who has been involved with an offender has been fired.

Another stated that it is the responsibility of all women working in corrections to maintain high standards of professionalism, due in part to the stereotypes that surround women working in corrections:

Women need to hold themselves to very high standards of professionalism. I hold myself to higher standards than anyone else does.

Women who work in corrections possess skills that have contributed to their success in the field. For many those skills involved the ability to communicate well and have strong interpersonal skills, the ability to create a supportive work environment, the ability to maintain a positive attitude, the ability to organize and multi-task, and their education and a sense of humor. Many of the respondents addressed one or more of these skills:

My writing skills, [I also have] strong organizational skills and time management skills. I give people an opportunity to try new ideas and encourage them to think outside the box.

One stated her willingness to work with staff as a valuable skill:

I have an open door policy and I don't expect staff to do anything that I wouldn't do. I have been criticized for having a "don't give a crap attitude" but I will give staff the tools and knowledge to do their jobs and expect them to do it. I am here to give direction, not stand on your shoulders.

Another cited years of experience:

Over the course of almost 27 years I have [gained] a diverse and experienced background as well as the skills of training, public speaking, organization and administration. I am effective at interpersonal relationships. Maintaining core values is key to success.

One emphasized a sense of humor and creating a nurturing environment:

I have a great sense of humor. I am not sure if I was 'twisted' before I got into corrections or if I got 'twisted' because I stayed in. You need to be willing to listen to others, nurture others and most of all be consistent and fair. Employees and inmates will accept a 'no' as long as they believe the decision has a basis and that all are treated alike.

The following respondent cited the importance of education and the need to stay current in the field:

A strong academic background, I read and study constantly. I will confront any situation. I have an ability to organize and to get things done.

Many of the women in this study indicated the importance of how they presented themselves to their coworkers. As discussed earlier in this section they are conscious of their need to work harder, they are aware that they are under more scrutiny and have to maintain higher standards of professionalism. This section addresses managing dress and appearance as well as how women can make a positive or negative impression in the field of corrections and the day-to-day challenges of working in a non-traditional occupation.

As mentioned in chapters one and three, female correctional workers develop negotiation strategies for surviving in a historically male-dominated occupation. By using Erving Goffman's concept of Impression Management we can study several strategies women use to interact within the organizational culture of the prison.

The next section discusses specific strategies that females working in corrections can employ to negotiate reality and achieve success in the field of corrections. The first deals with dress and appearance.

The women who participated in this study indicated the need to dress professionally; comfortable, conservative and modest. Some respondents indicated that they dress conservatively and comfortably in an effort to maintain a professional image:

Yes I wear pants and shoes that I can run in if needed. No make-up usually and my hair pulled back. I do not want to make myself too attractive. I am not here looking for a date. I am here to work.

Personally no, I have grown up in this field; conservatively, there is a professional dress and decorum that you have to maintain. You are the example and you're constantly being watched so if you lower that standard it is more difficult to be

accepted as a professional. We have a dress code that is pretty lenient for support staff but it is something that you constantly have to stay on top of. We're being watched and we want to maintain a professional look, I see no difference between a male and female facility.

I dress professionally, not flamboyant or attention seeking.

Others indicated that they alter their dress to avoid giving off the wrong impression:

Yes, I don't want to appear enticing to the inmate population or coworkers.

Yes, I personally wear shorter dresses. I wear different clothes when I am not at work. I tend not to wear make-up, just eye make-up. I don't want anybody to think anything improper or inappropriate. What your intentions are get flipped around. I live on site and I had some people over and we drank some beers. The next day the inmates were saying I was an alcoholic because of the beer cans in my trash. If I have company they see it, everyone knows your business. I try hard not to give the impression of anything inappropriate. The way you carry yourself is important regardless of your intentions.

Not more attention; but different attention. I am the first to talk to female officers about what is and is not appropriate; but that is more for their protection and being comfortable with where they are. I am aware of the rules.

Probably. I do not wear trendy fashions. I keep in mind that I am dealing with male inmates that have been away from mainstream society. I wear below the knee dresses, loose fitting slacks, no cleavage blouses and sweaters and minimal jewelry.

The respondents in this study indicated the need to dress professionally to maintain a professional image and avoid giving off a negative impression. They also cited personal safety as a concern. Comfort was another important factor due to the physical demands of the job. The ways females working in corrections can foster positive impressions and the ways females perpetuate negative stereotypes about women working in corrections will be discussed next.

The participants in this study cited several ways they create a positive impression, not only for themselves but also for other women working in corrections. The most common responses were that they served as role models, were honest, maintained a positive

attitude, were effective communicators and have proven that women can work in corrections. Many of the women in this study purported to engage in several of these behaviors. The following quotes demonstrate that they set the standard for a professional development, honesty and positive attitudes:

By setting an example and trying to make positive changes. In particular, with offenders, it has a positive effect on us because it is all about managements approach to things. Understanding that people have lives outside of here, understanding peoples differences and understanding that they are overworked and underpaid. This is not a positive environment, not a happy place to come to work everyday, if someone needs a day off, they need a day off.

I say what I mean and I mean what I say. I do not lie to my supervisor, my staff or inmates.

I make a positive impression by being honest, being myself and being a good leader. By showing staff that you can accomplish this, you can go further than you think. I am a good training officer. I have a positive outlook. I am a role model.

Others stated that being effective communicators fosters positive impressions:

Having an open door policy to talk to people. I once had a male supervisor who if I wanted to speak to him I had to make an appointment. None of the male caseworkers had to make an appointment; it was because I was a woman. I try to be a role model. I have a lot of experience. I have earned respect by telling it like it is.

I am a role model. I try to allow for personal growth and development of other people. I give them an opportunity to experience what my office is about. For other staff to be comfortable with me so that if they have questions they'll get their questions answered regardless of how minute the question might be. If staffers know that you really have their interest at heart then you have a good working relationship with people.

Two respondents claimed that supporting other women made a positive impression:

Pulling together groups of women who were feeling isolated and feeling a need to know that you can live through it you can survive it. It was an interesting phenomenon, women coming together for something positive, not bitch sessions.

I have proven that a woman can do this job, that a woman can have the respect of subordinates and inmates without getting unduly familiar. I was a pioneer, one of the first female superintendents of a male facility in my state.

Women who enter corrections and engage in behaviors such as whining, gossiping, and allowing co-workers to make allowances for them because of their status as women perpetuate negative stereotypes and impressions of women. Women that get involved with coworkers or inmates present another problem affecting all women in corrections. To a lesser extent, women who do not understand the "good old boys system" can also create negative impressions of women working in corrections. However, the several responses centered on negative stereotypes.

By giving into stereotypes, like sleeping their way to the top or whining and crying. By doing only what you need to do to get by. If a woman does it is different that if a man does it. We are still dealing with the entrenched good old boy system. There are women now who are superintendents. Men have been superintendents for a very long time. Women, I guess I don't know if it because of the stereotypes or because women are available for promotion. Before women were not allowed to hold jobs inside of prisons. There are gender issues, women get involved with inmates, they are needy, and they fall into a trap. We train about it and talk about it but it still happens.

Basically, by being unprofessional. I'm not saying you can't have fun while you work but you need to set some boundaries and follow them the best you can. Also, the way a woman dresses can have a negative impression in the field of corrections. Unless you work at a central department office, women should never wear too much make-up, jewelry, perfume, etc. while around inmates...no short skirts... no open toed shoes, etc. Most correctional facilities have dress codes. Do not date anyone you work with but if you have to...ensure they are not within the same chain of command...Do not gossip...Be fair, firm, and consistent.

Everyone has family situations. Don't use your status as a woman to get your way. You have got to be tough to get respect and not be abused. You can get respect and get somewhere without being abused. Always remember who you are working with.

Don't fall back into the typical female stereotype because there are men that think women shouldn't be here and here will always be. Do not let a man do your job for you because you are a woman. Use every opportunity you can to put yourself in the right place at the right time. See that there are successful women higher up.

By being a victim. Being involved with offenders. Being too much of what people expect us to be. There are a lot of people out there waiting for us to become victims. The close encounters of the worst kind. Wardens want a profile of who will or what kind of woman will become involved with inmates. You can't create that profile unless you just say don't hire women. When you hire a person, you train them and expect them to do the right thing. You don't wait for them to make a mistake and say "gotcha". If you see someone in trouble talk to them before they cross the line.

Having sex with an offender or getting romantically involved with an offender. They are not able to draw the line of have self esteem problems. They see an offender as another man who will tell them they look how pretty they look everyday.

Two respondents cited lack of understanding of politics and the good old boy system perpetuated negative impressions of women in corrections:

Women have to work twice as hard as men to get recognition. Understand that the good old boy network is alive and well and if you can stomach it play the games the boys play. They have a little more power than the women do. When you get in a position to support women and minorities do it. The queen bee syndrome is very dangerous for women. We need to create a culture where women support each other. Not I am on board now so I will pull up the gangplank [attitude]. Do not forget that you had help getting where you got so reach down and pull someone else up.

As a woman you have to make a decision about where you are and where you want to go. You have to have objectives and a strategy. The politics are huge and you have to learn how to maneuver pretty treacherous waters and meet objectives at the same time.

Other concerns centered on gender as well as using sex to get ahead:

By trying to be one of the boys, misrepresenting her gender in an effort to be accepted by the opposite sex. Sleeping with any and every one and flirting.

Don't act like a man and do not sleep with supervisors or coworkers.

Another stated that women who abuse their position generate negative impressions:

The biggest negative impact a woman can have is using her position as an authority figure...coming in and making changes or be on a power trip. Now I'm in charge things are going to be the way I want them. That's very detrimental to other women, to inmates and what we [women] have to offer.

Unfortunately, the negative impressions about women who work in corrections present a significant challenge. The women in this study stated that the most challenging thing about working in corrections is being a woman in a male dominated field. Other challenges were dealing with budgets, politics and public awareness. One woman found supervising others difficult due to the masculine organizational culture:

Supervising others, as a woman working in a field dominated by men is challenging enough at times, people are naturally biased in many ways whether they actually want to be or not.

Another felt like an outsider, even though she is a warden:

Being a woman in a man's field and breaking down barriers. It's not going to happen and I don't know how to do it. It is hard to be aggressive, to be included in the group. I feel like I don't fit in.

One alluded to the fact that women have only recently entered supervisory positions in the field of corrections:

There are many [challenges] for women. Ten years ago I would not be a superintendent.

Another indicated that until the "old-timers" retire it will be difficult to train a new generation of corrections employees:

Training. A lot of people have been here a long time and still think you thump the inmates and ask questions later. It is hard to bring new people in because those people are training them; those are their role models. The mentality about females is frustrating and it is a big challenge to keep younger people from falling into old thoughts. It is hard for females who don't want to be looked at as a female officer, but rather an officer. We try to get away from it, and get past the people that have been here 25 years, that are my biggest challenge.

One respondent indicate that scrutiny was a challenge:

Corrections' is a male dominated business that scrutinizes your every move.

Other concerns centered on budgetary and political aspects of corrections.

Keeping your eye on your objectives and not being distracted by politics and money. Remember what your here for and stay the course. Influencing the organizational culture so that all the staff knows we are not warehousing people. Staff needs to understand and believe the care-taking nature of the organization. Inmates are here as punishment, not for punishment.

The budget. Trying to deal with politicians and adversaries. Trying to do something with very little, for inmates, rehabilitation and programs with no funds. How little you are able to control what inmates do. Human rights activists have taken a lot of control away from prisons. What you have to allow them to do takes away from your ability to correct behavior. There is a lack of education in terms of what prison is all about in the general population and politicians.

Sometimes the work is subject to political winds. Oftentimes the philosophy of the agency will change on a dime and go in a direction opposite to where you think it needs to go. There is never enough money and never enough staff.

One respondent indicated that overcoming public perception about corrections is a challenge:

To get the public aware of what it is we're trying to do. It is not a deep dark secret. Trying to attract people who will make a difference rather than put on a mask of authority when they put on a uniform. Trying to make corrections a professional field. That's the biggest thing, if you increase the professionalism you can feel better about it yourself, so it can be more attractive to more people in the future.

The preceding section addressed managing dress and appearance as well as how women can make a positive impressions or a negative impressions in the field of corrections and the challenges of working in a non-traditional occupation. Women in corrections dress conservatively in order to present an image of professionalism. Strategies for fostering positive impressions about women who work in corrections include serving as a role model to others and leading by example, being honest, having a positive attitude, and being effective communicators. These acts create a positive and professional work environment. Women also avoid behaviors that create negative impressions for example getting involved with inmates and portraying women as weak

and incompetent. The biggest challenge for women working in corrections was working in a male dominated field. Those challenges can be the source of a great host of mental health issues; women working in corrections must also develop strategies to manage their emotions or engage in emotional labor.

"It Took a Long Time to Learn How to Be a Warden and a Woman at the Same Time"

Managing Emotions and Unmanageable Events

Women working in corrections must separate their work from their personal lives, manage stress and frustration as well and balance cynicism. They must also learn to manage unmanageable events, events they have little or no control over such as fear, embarrassment and mistakes. Women must perform emotional labor.

For many women, separating work from personal life is part of managing emotions and reducing the amount of emotional labor they must perform. Most of the participants in this study indicated that family activities, not talking about work at home or taking work home and familial support helped them separate work from their personal lives.

I don't take work home. It is difficult because of what goes on in a prison, it is a constant thought. You just have to say I am not going to think about work. It is important to have outside activities and involvements, children, hobbies. You have to get yourself engaged in other things or you are constantly on the job.

I am wrapped in my children's' activities so I don't often think about work when I am not there. I have never been a workaholic so I have never had a problem separating myself from my job.

Two women indicated that they do not talk about work at home because of their spouses:

I do not take work home and I do not work overtime. I do not talk about work at home. I do not talk to my husband about work because he wants to put his two cents in.

My husband could probably never understand what I am talking about, he doesn't truly understand so I don't talk about it at home. He is very supportive, my job is just as important as his. He understands that I get called out. We take turns with the kids.

Commuting provides physical and emotional distance for some female wardens:

I live 45 minutes away. By the time I get home work's done. I am involved in church and with my daughter and her activities. My friends are her friends' parents, none of whom work in corrections. We talk about our kids.

That's very difficult I have a 10-15 minute drive home, I like the drive it helps to turn it on and turn it off. I don't rely on work to provide me with social avenues. I have a close-knit family and I spend a lot of time with family.

Several women indicated that they had difficulties separating work from their personal lives:

I didn't used to. It took a long time to learn how to do that. It helps to go to church and to have friends outside the department, a life outside the department. If you don't separate it will consume you.

I never did it very well. My son went into corrections so I guess he wasn't dismayed by it. It did cost me one marriage. He could not deal with the fact that I made more money than he was, it became a real issue. The way I did the work you really couldn't separate personal and professional life. I didn't try real hard I didn't have a good balance. In retrospect I wish I had, especially early on. But I did take long vacations. As I got more mature I began to understand that it is good for staff for the warden to be gone. They get to try new skills and demonstrate their competence. Once I figured that out I started having a much nicer life.

That is very hard. My husband would tell you that I don't do well. I have to practice leaving work at work and home at home.

I don't think they can be completely separated. I try to leave work at the gatehouse and my personal life at the garage door.

Separating work from personal life was a good method for dealing with stress, although some wardens indicated that they are involved in specific activities such as reading or exercising to manage stress. Many mention involvement with family, friends

and church reduces stress. Some women indicated that they have problems managing stress. One woman joined a bowling league in a neighboring town:

I have friends outside the department. I bowl to get away from here and be around people that don't have anything to do with corrections. I also crochet a lot and get involved with my kids activities.

Another indicated that having a positive attitude helped her separate work from her personal life:

Sometimes I do and sometimes I don't. I didn't deal with my recent transfer well. There is the perception with an administrative transfer that I did something wrong. It is political and racial. I cry, get depressed, pray, exercise, garden, cook and watch TV. I took on a different attitude. I see the corruption. It is a challenge to me and I take on challenges. I got the right attitude and it is a resolution to my problems.

Some women developed health problems due to stress; but have learned coping strategies:

Not well. I have insomnia. I don't really exercise. I like to clean and reorganize, listen to music and take correspondence classes.

Initially I drank too much. That was not a good solution. I never worked out. I should have. I did cognitive restructuring with the prisoners and it helped me too. I went through it with them. In this business you have to learn what you can control and what you can't, let go. Try to do it better next time.

I eat too much. I recognize it. I talk about it. I have hobbies and I spend a lot of time with my grandchildren.

Learning to manage work related stress also helps women deal with anger and frustration in the workplace. Many women in this study have cited venting and a sense of humor as their weapon against anger and frustration.

I try to find humor in everything. Though I usually get quiet and go to my office and think things through.

Thank God I have an understanding husband who listens well.

I have a strong network of women that I can share anything with. I also have a supportive husband.

I certainly have people that I can "unload" on. They listen to me complain and I return the favor to them. I also have a pretty good sense of humor.

Other participants stated that venting helps to a certain degree but sometimes you need to cry and you better not let anyone see you doing it:

I'll vent. That is something my supervisor will always let me do. I go to his office and shut the door and tell him I'm mad about this or I don't like it. When I have got it off my chest it's okay. I may go home and talk to family; but my daughter doesn't really understand, she's a teenager. I'll talk to my in-laws or friends. If it is something that has upset me enough that I want to cry I will go to my office and shut the door and cry. But no one will ever see me cry at work. I tell other females I realize you want to cry but don't ever cry in front of your boss take it to your office, they'll see it as a sign of weakness. We have had females who will cry to get what they want. I say don't ever let them see you cry, you can do it; but don't let them see.

I walk a lot. I read a lot. I learn not to internalize it. My husband has worked in corrections and knows the frustrations. I can usually talk to him. Sometimes you have to take a day and realize that you are not fit company for anyone and work it out on your own. I can usually get through it and then fall apart. You find the strength to do what you have to do. You always hear never let them see you sweat, as a woman, you never let them see you cry, that's what you do on your own.

Three women felt the need to hide their anger or frustration from coworkers:

I keep it in check. I once called in sick for three days because I was mad about someone that was hired.

If am frustrated I either bounce it off the other assistant superintendent, the superintendent or close the door to my office and give myself the opportunity to calm down. I do not want to expose my staff to my anger or frustration thus causing them anxiety.

Others felt that accepting anger and frustration as part of the job and re-channeled their energies:

I came to understand that you don't beat your head against the wall. I turned that energy into training staff and opened up training to other institutions. I created change from the middle.

Frustration, not so much now, I wanted to make a difference; but I've come to terms with the fact that I work with male chauvinists and I am not going to be in the loop.

I try not to become angry because it shows lack of control. We could stay frustrated by the lack of progress but one must learn to manage.

Of course, I have anger about the way things are done, the bureaucracy and corruption. With staff, people don't have real high expectations, they are glad to have a job and appreciative of efforts. I don't see a lot of anger. I dealt with a lot at another facility. People did not want to do their jobs. I said you may not like it but we are professionals so deal with it and get over it.

Some of the participants felt that cynicism was a coping strategy for dealing with stress, anger and frustration. Some felt the cynicism derived from inmates, while others said it came from staff, while others said it came from both inmates and staff.

Sure, with the types of people we deal with on a day-to-day basis one has to be a little [cynical] or you might go nuts.

Of course I work with the worst of the worst. When I started in the public defenders office as a legal secretary I was very idealistic. I have changed.

Yes. I am trying to work on that. I don't feel cynical about my work but the people I work with, the warden. The workplace would be more balanced if we talked and communicated.

Yes, mostly about the work ethic of the staff.

One participant was cynical about the inmates and the staff:

Oh yes. I get tired of the same inmates and the same staff causing problems. It is always the same ones filing grievances. Some staff push it to the limit.

One respondent felt that becoming cynical was part of working in corrections while another has felt that she has always been cynical:

Absolutely. Cynicism is the biggest part of the change that occurs when you go to work in corrections. You have to balance that by maintaining your basic human nature, spend a little time with the small people. You have to laugh at yourself and what you do everyday.

I'm cynical all the time [laughing] it's part of my personality, part of the coping method.

While many female wardens discussed strategies for dealing with stress, anger and frustration, there are some events that occur in corrections for which there are no strategies one can engage in, these events are unmanageable and often out of the control of the warden. When unmanageable events occur is up to the actor to smooth things over with grace and skill and try to avoid damaging one's performance (Goffman 1959). Female wardens expressed concerns regarding impressions given off during embarrassing moments, fears they have about their work environment, and mistakes they have made. The participants in this study were concerned with giving off the impression of weakness or incompetence. One woman stated her concerns regarding acute illness:

I became very ill at work and had to be transported out. I was more embarrassed by the weakness; I was more concerned about that than being ill.

For many others the fear that someone would get hurt on the job because of their inaction, rather than their action was a major concern.

Something I did or didn't do, or should have done. Losing staff quitting, injury or death because of a decision I made. To me it's like there should have been something I could or should have done to prevent that. I am responsible for 143 people it wears on me personally sometimes then I get to the point where I realize I can't be everything to everyone. I try to make sure everyone gets what they need, not what they want.

Another felt a strong sense of responsibility:

Being inadequate on the job. There is a great deal of responsibility in knowing that I am between the community and 360 inmates, doing something that puts someone else at risk. Having one of these guys do harm when I was responsible. My very first day, about eight hours after they announced my promotion, they called me at home and told me 3 inmates were unaccounted for!

Others indicated that there were certain aspects of her job that they did not like:

I hate disciplining staff. There is nothing worse than having to decide whether or not you are going to fire somebody because you are changing his or her life and not in a good way.

I could not attend an execution.

One warden expressed concerns about working with certain types of inmates:

Mentally ill inmates make me nervous. You can never tell what is in their minds. You always have to have an awareness of what you are dealing with and never forget the fact that they are inmates. I stand between him and freedom and I can't forget that.

Another realized that escapees were part of the job:

I do not take responsibility; but when I was a caseworker we had three inmates escape from work crews in one week. That was a bad week; but it is part of the job.

One participant put it best:

In this job there is always a chance that no matter how good you are things can get out of control, there are too many factors involved.

Separating their personal lives from work was one way the women in this study manages their stress. In terms of anger or frustration, they felt the need to vent and-or hide it from their coworkers and inmates, particularly if they cried. Most reported that they have become cynical, if they weren't prior to entering the field, however they felt that venting was a coping mechanism of sorts. In regards to unmanageable events, most acknowledged that things go wrong and expounded the fact that they cannot control the universe, as much as they would like to. Learning to let go of unmanageable events and the realization that they are part of working in corrections also helped these women deal with work-related stress.

Summary

This chapter reaffirmed that corrections is a male-dominated field and discussed women's entry into corrections and how they identified themselves in the masculine organizational culture. It also identified several strategies used by female prison wardens to negotiate reality in their daily work routines.

Most of the women in this study reported that they were not prepared to work in a non-traditional occupation and had to develop strategies for dealing with resentment, acceptance, stereotypes, harassment and discrimination. The participants in this study carefully negotiated interactions with inmates and coworkers to build and maintain professional relationships. Once on the job, these women realized they had to prove themselves by working harder than men, they were subject to constant scrutiny and held to higher standards of professionalism. Nevertheless, they succeeded in corrections by building positive impressions and avoiding negative stereotypes. These women realized their contributions to the field of corrections. Through it all they are wives, mothers and friends and cited the need to separate their personal lives from their work to manage stress, anger, frustration, and cynicism. They also realized that they can manage an institution; but they cannot control it.

The following chapter concludes this research. It provides a summary of the work, addresses the limitations of this study and implication for future research on gender, occupation and impression management.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this project was to explore the career experiences of women who hold leadership positions within the field of corrections. Specifically the research sought to: (1) examine personal biographies of these women in an effort to document life experiences shaping their career choices; and (2) identify strategies used by these women to negotiate reality in their daily work routines.

This project began with an in-depth analysis of current research conducted in the areas of females in corrections. In an effort to understand the role of female correctional employees and inmates in it examined the history of women in corrections, social and legal issues surrounding women in corrections and the challenges and barriers faced by women working in corrections.

The study relied on a conceptual model that attempted to link macro level social structures with micro level interactions. It was conducted in the tradition of sociology and used the sociological imagination, that is the ability to develop a sociological perspective and to understand the larger social context in terms of its meaning for personal life (Mills 1959). This study looked at how gender socialization shapes gender identity and occupational choice as well as the influence of the organizational culture in interactional practices. In other words, it examined the relationships between structure and interaction. An extensive analysis of the literature on gender and gender socialization, occupational choice, gendered or segregated occupations, and organizational culture as well as dramaturgy and impression management was performed.

In the first phase of the analysis I examined the impacts of gender socialization on occupational choice in respect to occupational segregation, the formation of gender identity and the perception of careers in relation to marriage and family and why and how women enter into gender segregated or nontraditional occupations. In the second phase I described the interaction strategies women use in a masculine organizational culture. For example, how women interact with inmates and coworkers; the presentation of self in regards to dress and appearance, how they deal with stereotypes, how they establish and maintaining professional distance, dealing with conflict, their perception of work performance and mental and emotional health.

In order to support these claims, this research utilized qualitative methods in the form of face-to-face, semi-structured interviews, telephone interviews and email interviews. The goals of the interviews were to examine the personal biographies of female wardens and superintendents, their experiences working in corrections, and the use of impression management strategies to negotiate day-to-day interactions. I interviewed twenty-nine women from thirteen states. Questions dealt with the type of institution they work in, their family background, educational and work experiences as well as how they negotiate the daily reality of working in a prison.

Discussion of the Research

The literature indicated that women perceive their occupational choices as limited and therefore do not have high aspirations regarding careers. The participants in this study indicated otherwise regarding opportunity. While they did not perceive their opportunities of occupational choices as limited strictly because of gender, they

acknowledged constraints due to location, finances, prior education and changing interests. Many did indicate low career aspirations.

One very important factor in the participant's success was the presence of strong female role models. Many indicated that their mothers were strong female role models while others mentioned teachers, fictional female heroines and female historical figures. Parental support was determined to be invaluable in regards to career choice and achieved success. The women in this study reported that their parents encouraged their activities and fostered their sense of self and self-efficacy. Regardless of the fact that many participants reported their parents had concerns due to their choice to work in corrections they stated that their parents supported them unconditionally.

The respondent's perception of her own femininity was another important factor. The research indicated that women who work in nontraditional occupations possess characteristics traditionally associated with masculinity. However, the majority of participants in this study contended that they engage in a wide array of activities, both masculine and feminine.

Many of the women in this study contend that they have maintained their femininity throughout their careers, although some maintain that they can be feminine and be one of the boys at the same time. Others indicated that they tried to become one of the boys and risked their physical and mental health in the process. Those that did indicate that they are one of the boys did acknowledge that differences still exist. None reported that they have become more masculine.

Despite the fact that many of the women in this study did not perceive their career opportunities as limited, they did not have clearly established career goals. Most

indicated they entered the field of corrections for a variety of reasons and did not establish career goals until they had been in the field. However, many of the women in the younger cohort, particularly those in their thirties; indicated high aspirations regarding their careers in corrections.

Some of the participants in this research indicated that they felt prepared to enter into a non-traditional occupation for a variety of reasons. Some had experience in the military while others had worked in male dominated fields prior to working in corrections. However, for the most part they were not prepared to enter the masculine organizational culture. Some of the reasons for lack of preparation were lack of experience in the workforce and rejection by the masculine organizational culture. Many reported that others resented their presence because they were female and the perception that they were promoted because of their gender and not their qualifications. It is interesting to note that resentment was not limited to male coworkers, but expressed by female coworkers as well.

Another aspect female wardens deal with are the stereotypes of women who work in corrections. Some of the common stereotypes surrounding women who work in corrections are women's motives for working in a male-dominated field. For example, they are there looking for a boyfriend or husband or they hate men. Other stereotypes of successful women in corrections contend that they partied with the boys, slept their way to their positions or had political connections. Another common stereotype focused on appearance. Most indicated that they had been told they didn't look like a warden. Unfortunately, these stereotypes lead to discriminatory and harassing behaviors. The women in this study ignored the discrimination and harassment, confronted it or accepted

it as part of the organizational culture. Only two women in this study had filed lawsuits or grievances regarding discrimination or harassment.

The need to create and maintain professional relationships was a central factor in managing relationships with inmates and coworkers. The female wardens in this study do not discuss their personal lives at work with inmates or coworkers. They strive to project an image of honesty and integrity by being respectful and professional. Establishing boundaries for professional distance from inmates and staff was a common strategy for maintaining professional relationships. The participants also indicated that they do not socialize with coworkers and alluded to some of the problems that can occur when those boundaries are crossed, such as discipline, security of the institution and personality differences.

In order to succeed in corrections the women in this study indicated that have had to work harder than their male counterparts to prove themselves, they are under more scrutiny, and they are held to higher standards of professionalism. They discuss the skills they use to cope with these disparities between themselves and their male coworkers. Maintaining a positive attitude is valuable, as well as interpersonal and organizational skills and a sense of humor. For women working in corrections creating a positive impression and avoiding negative stereotypes is crucial. Women alter their dress and appearance to avoid appearing inappropriate and giving off the wrong impressions that perpetuate negative stereotypes. They also stressed the importance of being role models for inmates, coworkers and the community.

An important aspect for women working in corrections is separating work from their personal lives; dealing with stress, anger and frustration; managing cynicism and learning

what can and cannot be controlled. Separating work from personal life is a large part of coping with stress, anger, frustration and cynicism. Having outside interests and activities is vital for creating and maintaining separateness. The most difficult aspect of working in corrections was learning to manage unmanageable events, those events for which the individual has little or no control or responsibility. The participants in this study indicated embarrassing events, mistakes and fears that they have about working in corrections that give the appearance of weakness or incompetence. The respondents stated the importance of learning from mistakes and letting go of things that cannot be controlled, because "sometimes things just happen in corrections".

The major sociological findings of this research conclude that gender socialization can be liberating or constraining, occupational segregation still exists and marginalized individuals never gain full acceptance in the organizational culture. For women who chose to work in non-traditional occupations, the struggle continues.

Limitations

There are at least five limitations of this research that should be taken into account when interpreting the results. First, a regional bias is present due to the fact that seventeen interviews were conducted in three states. Another twelve were conducted with persons from ten states. Due to budgetary and time constraints the researcher traveled to locations within eight hours from a point of origin. When possible more than one interview was scheduled for a specific geographic region. If the researcher scheduled an interview in a specific location, she would try to schedule more interviews in that region. Only on one occasion did the researcher conduct two interviews in one day.

Second, this research involves the use of computer mediated communication and email interviews. The responses to the email survey were much lower than anticipated. Reasons for this are due to technological difficulties. Two surveys were returned blank. On a few occasions, there were problems with computer servers, email programs and document attachments. Another problem that arose regarded subject participation, several women agreed to submit email interviews, were sent the interview guide but more often than not did not return it. Perhaps the interview guide was overwhelming, with some 40 open ended questions. As researchers increasingly rely on Internet technology to gather data the potential limitations of this approach need to be considered.

Third, this research includes only women currently working in corrections. It does not address the experiences of women who are no longer employed in corrections. If research were conducted on women who are no longer working in the field one can only assume that the findings would be quite different. Particularly regarding the reasons they are no longer working in corrections.

Fourth, this study only looked at gender, it did not consider the intersection between race, class and gender and the impact of those factors on job status and prestige and the wage gap. Nor did it look at the increasing numbers of women entering all occupations, but focused on women in corrections. For future studies one might consider examining women in other occupations, particularly in leadership roles as well as the feminization of the labor force or feminized occupations, those inundated or taken over by women, particularly if the supervisory positions in those occupations are held by men when women make up more than 75% of the workers.

Finally, this research does not address legal issues surrounding women working in corrections. Two of the participants in this study had pending lawsuits against the Department of Corrections in their state. Thus, it would be interesting in future research to examine legal cases involving women working in corrections.

Implications for Future Research

Applied Implications. This research has the potential to provide useful insights for women who work in gender-segregated or non-traditional occupations as well as traditional occupations. This research provides valuable information for women who wish to succeed in their careers, regardless of whether they are male or female dominated occupations. It would also be useful for businesses, governments and organizations to enhance opportunities for underrepresented groups and to improve and diversify organizational culture.

This project provides an understanding of how occupations become gendered in the first place through macro level phenomena of gender socialization, occupational choice, and organizational culture. It is applicable to other types of occupations because it examines the development of organizational culture and provides a foundation for change. It focuses on women who have achieved success in a male dominated field and the barriers and challenges they had to overcome. This research presents strategies for negotiating daily interactions of micro level phenomenon such as appearing professional, establishing professional relationships, making positive impressions, managing stress and accepting unmanageable events.

Theoretical Implications. This research lays a conceptual framework for studying gender and organizational culture. According to the Bureau of Labor there are over 88 occupations where more than 75 percent of the labor force is male. This research provides a foundation for understanding why occupations are gender-segregated and how to facilitate the entry of women into those occupations. By understanding how occupations become gender-segregated, we can begin to understand how to create gender-neutral occupations or organizational cultures.

This research has the potential to contribute to the literature on Gender, Occupation, Organizational Culture and Impression Management. It shows the value of looking at both macro and micro levels of interaction. In terms of gender it looks at the social construction of gender, the process of gender socialization, the development of gender identity and how gender identity influences occupational choice. This research found gender socialization plays a significant role in not only career choice but in creating the organizational culture as well. The women who participated in this study did not perceive occupations as limited or closed to them; but still did not have clearly defined career aspirations; rather they established career goals after being initiated into the organizational culture. This research contributes to the literature on the sociology of work and occupations in regards to gender-segregated occupations, the women who chose to work in them and the experiences of women in those occupations. Women have been entering the labor force en masse for the last forty years, yet many occupations remain highly stratified along gender lines. When women do enter into nontraditional occupations, they face problems and challenges that need to be met on a daily basis. This research contributes to the literature on Dramaturgy and Impression Management by

identifying strategies used to negotiate daily interactions of women in gender-segregated organizational cultures. The strategies used by the women in this study to negotiate the gendered terrain of prison work can be applied to a myriad of work environments.

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APPENDIX A
IRB APPROVAL

**Oklahoma State University
Institutional Review Board**

Protocol Expires: 7/16/2003

Date: Wednesday, July 17, 2002

IRB Application No AS031

Proposal Title: SUCCESS STRATEGIES OF FEMALE PRISON WARDENS: MANAGING GENDER
IDENTITY IN A NON-TRADITIONAL OCCUPATION

Principal
Investigator(s):

Karen Ann Attendorf
006 CLB
Stillwater, OK 74078

Charles Edgley
006 CLB
Stillwater, OK 74078

Reviewed and
Processed as: Expedited

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

Dear PI :

Your IRB application referenced above has been approved for one calendar year. Please make note of the expiration date indicated above. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Sharon Bacher, the Executive Secretary to the IRB, in 415 Whitehurst (phone: 405-744-5700, sbacher@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,



Carol Olson, Chair
Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Demographics

Institution

Is the institution you work in male or female?

What is security level?

How many inmates does the institution have?

How many staff members does the institution have?

Gender Socialization and Occupational Choice

Tell me a little about yourself.

Did you have strong female role models growing up? Explain.

Were both parents present during your youth?

If one served a more dominant role, which parent was it?

How many same sex siblings do you have?

How many opposite sex siblings do you have?

Did you consider yourself a tomboy?

When you finished high school what opportunities were available to you in terms of education and occupation? Explain.

Did you perceive any majors, activities or occupations as closed to you? Explain.

Did you feel prepared you to work in a non-traditional occupation? Explain.

Work Experiences

How do people react when you tell them you're a warden?

What is your daily routine like?

How long have you been employed in the field of corrections?

How did you find out about the job?

Did anyone discourage you from pursuing a career in corrections? By whom?

Did a man, a woman or a committee/board hire you?

Has corrections been your only career?

When you began working in corrections was it your goal to become a warder/superintendent? Explain.

Do you have a mentor?

Is your mentor male or female?

Do you ever feel that less qualified men were promoted above you? Explain

What stereotypes have you had to face in corrections? (For example, Title VII or Affirmative Action Hire? Slept your way to the top? Accused of being a Lesbian?)

Explain. How do you deal with stereotypes?

Have you ever been a victim of discrimination or harassment? Explain. How do you deal with harassment?

Do you feel that your coworkers and supervisors encouraged you to succeed? Explain.

What barriers and challenges, if any, did you face in training?

Have you maintained femininity, or are you "One of the Boys"? Explain.

Do you ever feel a sense of powerlessness or inadequacy in the workplace? Explain.

How would you describe your interactions/relationships with inmates/clients and coworkers?

Do you pay more attention to your dress and appearance than if you were working in a different environment? Explain.

How do you maintain a professional distance from inmates?

Do you try to maintain a professional distance from coworkers?

Are women working in corrections held to a higher standard of professionalism than men?

Do you socialize with coworkers?

How do you deal with anger or frustration in the workplace?

Do you have strong support networks at work? Explain.

Do you allow coworkers to make allowances for you because you are a woman? Explain.

Do you feel that you are under more scrutiny than your male counterparts? Explain?

Do you feel that you have to work harder because you are a woman?

Has your role of authority ever come into question? Has anyone you supervise ever questioned your decisions or authority to make decisions?

Has anyone ever shown resentment, disdain or jealousy over your success?

How do you deal with stress?

Impression Management Strategies

What was your most embarrassing moment at work?

What is your biggest fear about work?

What was the worst mistake you have made at work?

How do you make a positive impression in the field of corrections?

How can a woman make a negative impression in the field of corrections? OR What advice would you give women just starting out in corrections?

What are the rewards of working in the field of corrections?

What are the challenges of working in the field of corrections?

What special skills or expertise do you possess that contributes to your success?

How do you separate your work from your personal life?

Do you ever feel cynical about your work?

Do you experience burnout?

Where do you see yourself in 5 or 10 years?



VITA

Karen Ann Altendorf

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: SUCCESS STRATEGIES OF FEMALE PRISON WARDENS:
MANAGING GENDER IDENTITY IN A NONTRADITIONAL
OCCUPATION

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Education:

Graduated from Webb City High School, Webb City, Missouri in May of 1989; received Bachelor of Science degree in Sociology from Missouri Southern State College, Joplin, Missouri in December 1994; received Master of Science degree in Sociology from Pittsburg State University, Pittsburg, Kansas in December 1997. Completed the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Sociology at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in August 2003.

Experience:

Graduate Assistant, Pittsburg State University from 1995-1997; Teaching Assistant/Teaching Associate, Oklahoma State University from 1997-2001.

Professional Memberships:

Alpha Kappa Delta; American Correctional Association; Mid-South Sociological Association; Midwest Sociological Association; Southwestern Social Sciences Association.