COSTUMED FOR A FATEFUL DAY: INFLIGHT WORK ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS ON COMMERCIAL JETS

by

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Abstract

The paper presents a partial ethnography from the work setting of commercial jet aircraft. Data was collected through participant observation in the work role of stewardess, mostly on prestige overseas flights. The flight is therefore the unit of study and has been treated as a social occasion for sociological analysis. Post flight diaries were written up, additional data came from other airline sources, i.e. manuals of procedures, etc. The perspective is directed from the cabin crew as a performance team.

The analysis is based on the everyday activities routinely performed as orderly events commonsensically produced by the persons located in the setting. The everyday work day's distinctive features i.e. crew impermanency, flight time and space pressures, excessively long on-duty periods, temporal marginality of duty periods, and stress norms, are described as a base from which to discuss team performances.

The requirement to set up work units very quickly, crew impermanence and team performances are positively correlated to the need for members to know something about each other. Status dimensions and job specific preferred characteristics are therefore a relevant part of each person's floating biography which is occupationally positively functional as a base from which coworker selection is made.
A setting orientation to ethnicity is an outcome of the presence of representatives from many cultural groups in the passenger population. Competency in the enactment of everyday activities is problematic and communication/interaction difficulties arise as a result.

The lack of organizational structures to provide relevant kinds of information on passenger populations (relevant as defined by the members of the cabin crew) necessitates that they form cognitive visual maps of the setting and participants. It is suggested that this is typical to other occupations and settings. Other demographically related problems are discussed.

Space and flight time pressures as related to territoriality, conflict behaviour and coercive practices used by the crew to maintain the social order are analyzed in terms of regions. An outcome of a lack of physical barriers is the socially constructed barriers of access to regions. Standardized patterns of work organization and social relationships are used to effect their fluctuating definitions. (They are mapped for visual reference.)

Processes of personalization of participants is presented; contrastively, impersonalized service relationships are perceived to be an organizational work requirement, and are socially created by distinctive communication patterns for the purposes of getting the job done prior landing. Lastly, a flight is analyzed as a 'safe but dangerous' fateful event, organizationally constructed, and dramatized
by the cabin crew. Ritual observance of passage of the take-off and landing stages of the occasion are imposed on all participants. Two products of safety management are the policing practices and gallows humor flight attendants are habituated to perceive as an everyday routine part of their job situation.
in memory of

Margaret J. Seyffertitz
Rock and trees
on which the frost in winter time
shines bright
Water flickering
purple
in the summer sun.

High above
the bird flies easy -
and with strength, its power
attests to man's fantastic mind.

Within this shell
some lonely
and afraid
leaving their blood
and friends below
the cloud.

Throughout the hours
their needs are succored and their thoughts
made calm
by slim young angels
with a gentle hand.

St. Expury (sic)

*This poem was written by a passenger inflight
and presented to the writer following upon a
conversation on literature and poets.
Contents

CHAPTER I
Framework For the Study of A Work Setting

I. The problem and sociological perspective ... ... 1
   Introduction; focus of study: methodology

II. The structure of the social and spatial organization
    on jets

   A. Features of the typical work day of cabin crews
      organizational structure of cockpit and cabin crews: instability of flight attendant
      classifications: cabin crew impermanency: flight attendant/passenger ratios: temporal
      marginality of duty periods: normal schizoid experiences, an outcome of stress: the spatial
      social structures:

   B. The production of the social occasion of a flight
      as an ongoing event ... ... ... ... 43

   C. The cabin crew as a performance team ... ... 46
      team member accounting of handicaps, as
      a routine part of greeting ceremonials: the floating biography: work position by
      assignment or institutionalized informal selection: the acquaintance process and
      floating biography: coworker selection: occupational personality:
CHAPTER II

Human Relations During The Social Occasion

I. Two sets of participants - passengers and organization representatives:

A. Demographic perspective for an explanation .. .. 87
   Introduction: occupational cognitive maps in specific work settings: orientation to ethnicity of passenger populations:

B. Customer service and impression management functions .. 105
   team management of group tension: accounting for failures: routinizing unexpected occurrences of medical crises:

II. Space pressures correlated to conflict behaviour and coercive practices.

A. Spatial and territorial aspect of power .. .. 127

B. The structures of male female relationships inflight .. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. 146

C. Occupational communication patterns .. .. .. .. 156
   personalization of passenger participants: accounting for disorganized interactions and alienation of participants: interactions for sociological interpretation:
CHAPTER III

The Dramatized Production Of the Occasion As A Fateful Event.

I. The 'safe but dangerous' social occasion 173
   policing practices: gallows humor:
   dramatizing survival:

II. Summary 204

Bibliography 210

Appendix 218
   A. Notes on ordering of interaction data
      for sociological analysis 219
   B. Notation system 231
List of Tables

Table I
Number of passenger kilometers flown for the years 1953, 1965, and 1968 for selected countries .. 218

Table II
Range of years of flight attendant experience for each crew member: by classification held and position occupied on a sample of scheduled flights .. 23

Table III
Range of flight attendant experience for each crew member by classification held and position occupied on a sample of charters .. .. .. .. 24

Table IV
Flight attendant passenger ratio by class of service and passenger seat capacity on scheduled and chartered flights .. .. .. .. .. .. 27

Table V
Correlation of onset of duty periods with geographic time zone for all duty periods worked by the sample population in the six month time span .. .. .. 32

Table VI
The production of an occasion as an ongoing event .. 47
Table VII

Absolute frequency distribution of flying time minutes for four scheduled domestic flights operated most frequently in a ten-month period .. .. 121

Table VIII

Absolute frequency distribution of flying time minutes for two overseas charter flights operated most frequently in a six month period .. .. 122
List of Illustrations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 1</td>
<td>Spatial organization of jet aircraft most frequently flown</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 2</td>
<td>a) Preflight plan of refreshment services in economy cabin</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Refreshment services as they transpired</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illustration 3</td>
<td>Aircraft region and territorial maps</td>
<td>139-140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preface

In contrast to sociological studies carried out by traditional empiricists, the partial ethnography of the aircraft setting presented here evolved out of participant observation in the role of airline stewardess. From the vantage point of direct personal involvement with crews and passengers, sociological facts and events were those constituted by everyday activities and practices enacted in the setting by the persons located there.

The study did not proceed from any preliminary hypothesis. It is intended to emphasize some aspects of how a flight is organizationally constructed by those in charge, by the various "members of" cockpit and cabin crews. Attention was given to social relationships which are distinctive to the setting, to everyday definitional work of situations and persons, to accounting for organizational failures, to everyday routines and so on. An attempt is made to present interpretations and analysis with as little use of airline jargon as possible.

The study was not designed to support or refute popularly held notions that persons in occupations associated with the travel industry lead adventurous, glamorous lives; or that pilots are just sky bus drivers, and stewardesses are just flying waitresses. Although it is not advertised in media promoting air travel, to share in the shaping of their routine work day is to realize that one of
their primary and constant concerns is with safety. This became one determining factor in the selection of areas to observe and discuss. Others derive from regularly recurrent problems crews experience in social control, in handling unexpected emergency situations and in adjusting to the normal peculiarities of their work day, i.e. coworkers who are strangers, the boredom of highly repetitive and highly structured work procedures, geographic displacement and physiological stress etc.

The writer takes this opportunity to acknowledge with pleasure the many kindnesses, emotional and moral support received from many friends and work associates during the difficult times of the past year and a half. Appreciation is also extended to the thesis committee members, Dr. Dorothy Smith, Mr. Adrian Marriage and Dr. Roy Turner for permitting a larger measure of freedom and independence than had been expected. An especial thanks to Dr. Smith for becoming a lady professor and for her admirable constancy through the years. Any shortcomings in the paper are wholly assignable to its writer.
CHAPTER I

FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF A WORK SETTING

I. The problem and sociological perspective.

Introduction:

The commercial aviation industry, developed between the late 1920's and 1930's, has advanced to a position of prime significance in the mass movement of people. Technologic progress has developed jet aircraft which travel twice as fast, have optimal engine efficiency at altitudes three times as high and which carry eight to ten times more passengers at one time than did the early propeller aircraft. Most large airlines introduced them to their services in the 1960's. One parameter of growth in the industry is passenger kilometers flown. In the fifteen year span extending from 1953 to 1968 the most dramatic increase was experienced in Japan where passenger volume by 1968 had increased 67.29 times what it was in 1953. In the same period Canada's had increased by 8.45 times, that of the United States by 6.93 times and that of the United Kingdom and France by 5.72 and 5.25 respectively.¹

The manifest function of the industry is to get passenger populations from one place to another. A latent function is to transport

¹. United Nations Statistical Yearbook, New York, United Nations Publishing Service, Vol. 21, 1969. Raw data is to be found in Table 1 located in the Appendix.
them in a certain 'style'. Economic competition is regulated by law, particularly fares, routes flown, refueling stops, passenger pickup rights, duty free sales inflight and so on. Flight services which are not regulated by law are available for exploitation for business purposes. Competition for consumers has greatly increased with the advent of jet aircraft.

Airlines build in prestige in different ways: 1) identification by name, emblem and colour scheme of the owner painted on the outside of the aircraft in addition to a naming or numbering system so that there is a difference if only psychological, between flying on one airline's 'Empress of Rome' and another's aircraft number 832; 2) manner of identification of flights. For example, all airlines use the numeral system in their timetables but their prestige flights are in addition specially named, as the 'Executive Jet' or 'Club Calypso'; 3) stress on quality and quantity of food and other refreshments provided; 4) increase in involvement items like reading materials, games, movies, stereo music, dictating machines, etc.; 5) high emphasis on uniform fashion for ground and aircraft personnel, but particularly frequent changes of those worn by stewardesses. Other prestige distinctions are available. Airlines operating on international routes represent their country of origin and the cultural patterns of that country. Thus to give one example, Japan Airlines have Japanese script and emblem painted on the outside of

2. Regulations applying to civil aviation are issued by Department of Transport (Canada), Federal Aviation Authority (United States), Air Registration Board (United Kingdom), International Civil Aviation Organization for all member nations with airlines serving international routes.
their aircraft and typical Japanese decor inside. Inflight, Japanese
cuisine, saki, Japanese reading material and movies are provided.
Announcements are made in Japanese first, then in other languages.
Japanese stewardesses are dressed in traditional kimono and in fashion­able nonuniforms typical of North American airlines, etc. Ethnic
orientation is consistent. This matter will be more fully dealt with
later.

As a direct result of competition for consumers, the social
stratification of passenger population has widened in range to include
more representation of persons from lower middle and lower classes
(as measured on the Warner scale). This was achieved by the introduc­
tion of fares economically available to lower income groups by way of
twenty-one day excursion fares, family rates, credit plans, charter
flights, group rates and more recently reduced rates for senior citizens
and youths under twenty-one years of age, etc. The popularly known
'jet set' style of living is promoted in advertising and is sampled by
a strata of society to whom it was previously unavailable. In addition
to the long standing 'Twenty Thousand Mile' business men's club, there
is the new 'Golden Club' for pensioners and a 'Swing Air Club' for
youths under twenty-one years of age.

Large scale economic enterprises require geographic mobility
of some portion of their members in order to maintain themselves, so
that air travel is associated with a routine and regular way of
conducting business. Regional domestic migration, also immigration/emigration, independent of business organization ties can be correlated to social mobility. Related to these processes is the breakdown of the extended family and dispersion of kin over wide areas. Families are reunited, kinship bonds are renewed and strengthened, frequently through participation in special occasions i.e. weddings, funerals, births, graduations, promotions, etc. Air travel is a means of getting to destinations for such purposes. There is, in addition, a modern trend to go away for the holidays.

Mass media advertising utilize these general sociological themes to promote the industry. A survey of such advertising whether by radio, television, billboards, newspaper and magazine layouts and articles, indicates that the general public is encouraged to view time as a 'commodity' to be saved, i.e. "gets you there faster". It is a commodity to be consumed in a style represented by the visual displays.

Participation in air travel produces aspirations for a style of living image with specific consequences i.e. "be a part of the action", "to join the jet set", "to succeed", "to leave it all behind", etc. Persons who participate by being passengers are engaged in consumption of a symbolic activity inferring social class. Any demographic

explanation would utilize such categories as 'business-man', 'tourist', 'immigrant', etc. for passenger populations.

There is therefore, also via advertising, built up in the public some notion of what it is to be a passenger. That is, there are procedures to follow; one makes a reservation, buys a ticket, presents oneself at the airport terminal check-in counter, buys flight insurance etc. There is some idea of the activities one will engage in on a flight, for example, one reads, eats, plays games, relaxes in a comfortable milieu and is attended by attractive well-groomed stewardesses. There is built up in the passenger a set of expectations as to how the airline conducts its business; that is, one expects to arrive at one's intended destination, one expects to arrive on time and so on.

Various economic enterprises exist as satellites of the airline industry, such as travel agencies, tourist bureaus, hotels, rent-a-car organizations. Large airlines are complex bureaucracies with formalized authority positions ordered in hierarchies typical of formal organizations. There is a formal division of labour. Responsibilities, duties, rules and regulations are defined and specified in manuals, management directives, etc. Responsibilities for general areas are delegated to specialized departments, for example, public relations, marketing and

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4. The male flight attendant, the purser or steward, is rarely included in advertisements although he performs much the same duties as the stewardess. This in itself is an interesting sociological phenomenon.
sales, maintenance, catering, who by and large employ their own specialists. This study is not intended to present a complete picture of the industry; it is only a partial ethnography from the setting of the aircraft. This limitation is primarily based on the requirements to restrict the scope of the study to manageable proportions. Despite the richness of the field the social sciences have largely ignored formally studying the industry. Special areas of social behavior are discussed by sociologists, notably E. Goffman\(^5\) and R. Sommer\(^6\).

Focus of the study:

Relevant to sociology is the study of common-sense knowledge, and common-sense construction of social reality, of everyday practices of members in socially organized settings and situations, of the production of on-going activities which can be observed while they are in the process of being constructed in the context of social occasions. This kind of focus on everyday life by Schutz, Garfinkel,\(^7\) Garfinkel,\(^8,9\)


Goffman\textsuperscript{10,11} and Sudnow\textsuperscript{12} is directed with a view to analyzing practical common-sense actions for their formal properties and social structure from the vantage point of the actual settings in which they are located and constructed. It is with this perspective and guideline that the body of data was selected and from which it is described and analyzed here.

The orientation of the study is on the management teams (cockpit and cabin crews) construction of a flight as a special kind of occasion for and with the passenger participants. It will deal with the spatial and social organization onboard jet aircraft and some of the interpersonal problems resulting from space pressures, loosely defined regions and flight time pressures. Observations made of everyday activities the cabin crew carry out in the routine performance of their job evolved an interest in the problems of organizational structure and occupational personality. Also on institutionalized patterns of work organization and social relationships which are not organizationally


\textsuperscript{11} E. Goffman, \textit{The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life}.

formalized in rules and regulations or duty charts but which result in programmed or procedural social behavior typically found in organizations providing specific services on a mass basis. For example, the problem of the appearance of nonpersonalized service given to customers. The third basic area is the examination of the construction of the occasion as a 'safe but dangerous' fateful event and the related problems of anxiety management, policing and accounting practices, etc.

The flight attendants are involved routinely in greeting, monitoring, policing, giving first-aid to, doing public relations talk with, restricting inappropriate behavior etc. of passengers and in so doing they, so to speak, 'make a passenger into a proper participant'. Relevant to the activities they perform are such categories as 'passenger counts', 'take-off safety check', 'refreshment services', etc. These are relevant to the enactment of the occasion; they are 'announced', 'programmed', 'organizationally structured' and 'procedurally performed'. As such they represent the members logic-in-use by which means events, occurrences and social actions are made understandable, reportable and explainable for all practical purposes to the members who perform them and to others who are involved. As much as possible the study is restricted to the aircraft setting.
Methodology

Participant observation methods of data collection was used. The writer worked in the capacity of stewardess for World Airways, as a regular not a supernumary member of the cabin crew. Former experience as a World Airways stewardess ensured a position of seniority high enough to obtain placement on prestige overseas scheduled and charter flights and a few domestic flights without the requirement of special concessions from company management or union personnel. It was also beneficial in that no familiarization period was mandatory for the learning of Company policies and practices, for acquiring technical and social competence on the job and for acquiring a working knowledge of airline jargon.

An attempt was made to work in both first class and economy sections of the aircraft and in all work positions available to a stewardess. Only long-range jet aircraft were worked, the findings cannot therefore be generalized to all types of aircraft. As a contributing crew member it was necessary to participate actively and directly

13. The name 'World Airways' is fictitious, any similarity to an existant airline by that name is coincidental. It will also be referred to as the 'Company'. Any personal names used in the body of the paper in presentation of data are fictitious.

14. There is a possibility that the required occupational personality of a flight attendant is so well incorporated that a totally unbiased perspective is unlikely and somewhat influential to inferences made. This difficulty contrasts with that of an observer in a field which is entirely new and strange, which results in a possible bias in the other direction.
in the planning and carrying out of work routines, in evaluating and 
analyzing passenger behavior, in decision-making, information control and 
the like.

Data was recorded in diary form and was continual for a period 
of six months with an additional selective recording of special areas for 
an additional four months. Wherever possible notation was made under 
selected categories to assist cross referencing during the period of 
analysis. Full accounts of a flight were made as soon as possible at the 
end of the work day with the following exceptions. When the duty 
period exceeded ten hours some notes were made inflight in order to 
assist recall later. When the duty period exceeded twelve hours and was 
located towards the end of an awake period of twenty-four hours brief 
notes were made prior retiring and a full account was written up after 
the rest period.

No formal techniques of data collection were used i.e. Company 
files, questionnaires, formal interviews or tape recording. The role of 
investigator was based on actual work experience, informal personal on and 
off the job contact with coworkers, other airline personnel and interaction 
inflight with passengers. Information was also obtained from World 
Airways inflight service manuals, internal Company organs and union 
magazines, letters of compliment and complaint from passengers directed to 
World Airways, letters of reprimand which are placed on individual 
flight attendant career files. Included also as a source are several
inter-airline magazines, articles from newspapers, and popular magazines and from works of fiction pertaining to flying.

II. The structure of the social and spatial organization on jets.

A. Features of the typical work day of cabin crews.

Organizational structure of cockpit and cabin crews

It is felt that as there is restricted access to aircraft, they being private not public places, it is appropriate and necessary to provide some basic information about them in respect to a place of work. It is hardly meaningful to discuss territorial aspects of power unless there is a clear picture in the reader's mind what the interior ecological arrangement is. Likewise, as there is a causal relationship between the manner in which members of a total flight attendant population get to work together as a crew on a particular flight and their reliance on status dimensions for coworker selection, it is necessary to present basic information on i.e. crew impermanency, interchangeability of persons, etc. For example, unlike the nurse who is hired to work in a hospital on a particular pediatrics ward, a stewardess is not hired to work in the first class or economy sections of a particular aircraft.

Flight attendants are at the lowest organizational level of the inflight service department, they are unionized members. There is no supervisory position on cabin crews, but it is Company practice to select persons to be supervisors from this body. Flight service
supervisors have office positions and are non unionized, they are at the lowest level of organizational management positions. Persons demoted from supervisors return to the flight attendant group. Supervisors are in a somewhat ambiguous position in that they are required to work on cabin crews when there is a shortage of flight attendants. They otherwise fly to 'check out' certain categories of flight attendants i.e. probationary members, and are required to provide performance evaluation reports for placement on flight attendant career files.

In the aircraft setting there are two separate teams, cockpit and cabin crews. On jets the cockpit crew is composed of three pilots, the classifications are Captain, first officer and second officer, on domestic flights. It includes a navigator on overseas flights, he is not a pilot. Cabin crews are composed of the following classifications of flight attendants: purser, assistant purser, stewardess with no special language qualification who is normally referred to as stewardess, and stewardess with special language qualification who also holds the title of multilingual stewardess and is normally referred to as multilingual.

There are currently four versions of the long range jet aircraft. The number of cockpit crew members remains unchanged, but the number and classifications of flight attendants vary with each type of jet, therefore it is more appropriate to speak of an aircraft crew
complement, or merely refer to a cabin crew as such. Charter flights generally carry one extra cabin crew member according to aircraft complement.

In the formal organizational structure the hierarchy of positions and lines of authority would be represented as follows:
The proportions of female/male flight attendants fluctuate somewhat, but females make up between 80-84% of the total population. At the time of the study the stewardess group at the base in relationship to years of flight work experience was 15% with ten years or more, 24% between five to ten years and 61% with less than five years. In the purser group the years of experience median is seventeen years and for assistant pursers it is under three years. Years of experience is a 'rough indicator' of seniority which begins upon graduating from flight service training. The seniority numbers, given according to year, month and day dates and position in the graduating class, are located along an ordinal scale and thus are discrete and have status value.

It is the seniority number, classification and subclassification held which regulate assignment to a 'monthly' schedule of flights called a block. Those with the highest seniority in each classification and subclassification are assigned first in accordance with each person's statement of preference and so on down the line until all the blocks with flights are assigned. The remainder of the flight attendants are assigned reserve blocks which only indicate days off and days they are

15. World Airways is a large North American airline with crews located in several large cities which are generally referred to as bases. The base selected for the study will be merely referred to as the base.
required to stand reserve to replace regular crew members as needed. Long range jet blocks are made up with designated classifications i.e. for an overseas block the crew complement is specified as 1 purser, 2 stewardesses, 1 multilingual, 1 assistant purser and on domestic may read 1 purser, 4 stewardesses, etc.

The female seniority scale is arranged formally from highest to lowest on an ordinal scale:

I. Classification 'stewardess' who qualify to operate all Company aircraft.
   a) subclassification 'multilingual' who qualify for multilingual category jet blocks, primarily used on overseas flights; as a subgroup they are arranged in an informal ranking scale based on their position in the formal one i.e. a multilingual whose stewardess seniority number is 400 could also be in number 2 position for bidding multilingual blocks.
   b) subclassification 'acting purser' currently restricted to short range jets. Hold double rank much as multilinguals do.

Male seniority scale is arranged from highest to lowest on an ordinal scale:

I. Classification 'purser' restricted to jet aircraft, generally operate only long range jets.
a) Subclassification 'assistant purser' restricted to jet aircraft, generally operate only long range jets; are placed in an informal ranking scale for bidding much as female subclassifications.

Pay scales are based on years of work experience in a classification; and include aircraft differentials by rank, so that short range propeller aircraft have lowest pay differentials and long range jets have the highest; category of flight operated, overseas flights pay differentials are higher than domestic flights; language differentials, multilinguals get pay increments for specified languages; subclassification differential, stewardess acting pursers currently get an aircraft differential only on short range jets. When correlated to seniority and classification held this means that for example, a multilingual stewardess with three years flight work experience is able to get overseas jet flights and thus has a much higher salary than a stewardess with six years experience whose bidding power gets her only domestic short range jet flights, likewise a male assistant purser with less than six months of experience is able to work on overseas jet flights and able to earn more than a stewardess with three years experience who is still on the reserve list and has no aircraft bidding power. With the introduction of jet aircraft and subclassifications, stewardesses have experienced consistent organizationally directed downward mobility although they are still the majority flight attendant group in total
numbers. This is one significant contributing cause of social strains among jet aircraft crew members.

**Instability of flight attendant classifications**

The historical, cultural and sexual division of labour has long been of interest to anthropologists and sociologists. Most recently it has been examined by Tiger in his theory on male bonding. Segregations based on sexual differences regards to classification held and division of labour of cabin crews inflight vary between airlines. Some airlines do not have any male flight attendants at all, others do; for example, Quantas has an all male cabin crew on overseas flights, with the exception of one female stewardess.

When long range jets were first introduced to the base selected for study on World Airways domestic flights, the most senior stewardess on the crew performed what are now called purser duties but received fifty cents an hour less than did the purser when he performed them. After union/management settlement of wage parity, stewardesses who had the seniority to qualify for jet blocks and who

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17. Personal communication.
volunteered for it were given a course called 'purser training' after final approval by Company supervisors that they had the necessary requisite leadership capabilities. They were however, not awarded the purser title, were unable therefore to bid purser blocks and were used by the Company only on a draft basis when males were lacking. So although there was wage parity there was no equality of status, the discrimination was on sexual qualification. In addition, females who had taken the purser training are required to retrain and requalify for any subsequent 'in charge position' while males do not. For example, stewardesses who desire to be in charge on short range jets are now given so called 'leadership training' and subsequently hold the title of acting purser. The classification is not transferable to other aircraft and does not restrict them from bidding stewardess positions. Stewardesses who had previous purser training were required to reapply and retrain in order to hold that title.

The position of assistant purser on long range jets has undergone a similar evolutionary change. Formerly the classification was blocked for overseas flights, it was held by stewardesses although the status was not formalized. The occupant of the classification was restricted to the economy galley position which was previously
rotated among stewardesses on the crew. At the present time this classification is formalized and held only by males, who will be promoted to pursers as vacancies arise. They are restricted to working the economy galley position; and inasmuch as there are insufficient numbers of assistant pursers for placement on all flights operated, they are interchangeable with the (any) stewardess who works that position. He is paid along the same scale used for stewardesses unless he works as purser.

From a historical standpoint, male flight attendants have never been denied changes in marital status. The privilege to marry was given to stewardesses only in 1965 following upon government intervention. They were formerly automatically severed from their positions upon marriage although whenever possible were given other ground airline positions. Leaves of absences during pregnancies are now also obtainable. A 1970 estimate indicates that up to 25% to 40% of World Airways stewardesses are married, depending on which base is measured. With the passage of time there are now among them the separated, divorced and widowed; this is a notable departure from a formerly all spinster group.

Contrary to popular notions longevity of stewardess experience is not promoted. Discrimination on the basis of sex is evident in retirement practices. A male flight attendant retires at age 60 as

do cockpit crews. Female flight attendants currently must retire at age 50 providing they were hired prior 1965, when following upon the privilege to marry, the Company instituted a ten year contract for all newly hired stewardesses. The contract includes financial remuneration called 'rehabilitation funds' starting at five years employment with yearly increases and maximally ($3,000) three thousand dollars after the ten year period, is an organizational effort to promote career change and maintain only a twenty to thirty-five age group cohort of females. The hiring of females is restricted to the twenty to twenty-five year age group. They have also informally lifted the ban on dating male passengers. A similar short career length is practised in the Japanese textile industry where female employment terminates on marriage, and a female who has not located a spouse and exited within five to seven years is actively assisted by the employer in making a suitable marriage. Abegglen indicates that this is a cultural norm for Japan. The same cannot be said for North American cultural norms.

Further changes are expected to evolve in the future as a result of regulation by law and union/management negotiation.

Among them are: 1) extension of stewardess retirement age to 60 years - parity with males; 2) invalidation of the presently used ten-year contracts for stewardesses; 3) extension of formal classifications of purser and assistant pursers to females - together with wage parity; 4) as a first step towards professionalization the licensing of flight attendants is in the early planning stages. At the present time there is a negligible amount of mobility of flight attendants from one airline to another generally because each has its own internal training school which is oriented to their own practices, policies and aircraft flown. Any mobility which occurs is generally from large airlines with international routes to small airlines with only domestic routes.

**Cabin crew impermanency**

Three classifications of flight attendants are static in the aircraft positions they may occupy, the others are delegated to the remaining positions or self select them. The purser is required to work the first class cabin, the multilingual is restricted to the economy cabin and the assistant purser to the economy galley. As mentioned previously blocks change monthly. Jet blocks are made up of all overseas flights, all domestic flights or a combination of both for full or partial crew complements. The general pattern is for separate blocks for multilinguals, assistant pursers and less frequently pursers. Crew permanency is therefore extremely low. For the highest
stability of crew units - this is provided by retaining the same cohort of coworkers together for the period of one month - the total population for a six month span would number thirty (small jet) to thirty six (large jet) different flight attendants, discounting all probability of any one of them being selected more than once. In the writer's experience seventy five different flight attendants were worked with during a six month span; of these twelve were pursers, three were assistant pursers and fifty were stewardesses (multilinguals included). No two consecutive flights were worked by the same set of persons and only three persons were repeaters in the six months. Crew impermanency also results when blockholders book off sick, are taken off for disciplinary reasons or to do public relations assignments, in order to attend to union business affairs, when they are drafted to work other flights, by exchanging flights with another blockholder or taking vacation time.

Tables II and III illustrate the range of work experience for various crew complements from the sample population of flights. Years of experience was obtained from the manual containing seniority lists and is based on date of hiring. This manual is kept in the flight attendant lounge in the terminal building and is available to all members. It is updated periodically by management to coincide with demographic changes, i.e. change of name due to changes in marital status, transfers into and out of the base, after promotion, demotion, death, retirement, employment entry or severance.
Table II

Range of years of flight attendant experience for each crew member by classification held and position occupied on a sample of scheduled flights.
(Each vertical column series represents one crew complement)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification on crew complement by work unit</th>
<th>Years of experience as a flight attendant</th>
<th>Aircraft position occupied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) first class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- purser</td>
<td>17 17 4(^b) 8 22 17 17 8</td>
<td>cabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- stewardess</td>
<td>5 5 17 9 9 17 17 9</td>
<td>galley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) economy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- stewardess</td>
<td>9 9 9 - - - 4 -</td>
<td>galley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- stewardess</td>
<td>6 9 9 9 10 9 - 9</td>
<td>cabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- stewardess</td>
<td>1(^a) 1(^b) - 2(^c) - - 9 -</td>
<td>cabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- multilingual</td>
<td>- - 8 - 2 10 3 2(^c)</td>
<td>cabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- assistant purser</td>
<td>- - 3 2 1 3 - 2</td>
<td>galley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total per flight</td>
<td>5 5 6 5 5 5 5 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Series 1-4: domestic scheduled flights
5-8: overseas scheduled flights

Code: a ... supernumary crew member off reserve, on her third flight
b ... from the reserve pool, not a jet blockholder
c ... multilingual, from reserve pool
Table III

Range of years of flight attendant experience for each crew member by classification held and position occupied on a sample of charters
(Each vertical column series represents one crew complement)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification held on crew complement</th>
<th>Years of experience as flight attendant</th>
<th>Cabin section or aircraft position occupied</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9. 10 11 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purser</td>
<td>17 2e 4 22</td>
<td>forward galley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stewardess</td>
<td>8 10 6 10</td>
<td>forward section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stewardess</td>
<td>9 9 - -</td>
<td>rear galley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stewardess</td>
<td>10 8 9 9</td>
<td>rear section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stewardess</td>
<td>4d - 4 6</td>
<td>forward section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stewardess</td>
<td>7 5g - -</td>
<td>rear section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>multilingual stewardess</td>
<td>- 10f 2 2</td>
<td>rear section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assistant purser</td>
<td>- - 1 1</td>
<td>rear galley</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total per flight  6 6 6 6

Code:  
- d ... vacation relief replacing blockholder on holidays
- e ... drafted for flight, no reserve pursers available
- f ... worked forward section
- g ... on flight to make-up lost blocked flight time
In this paper 'junior' will always refer to flight attendants who are not able to hold jet blocks on a regular basis and/or in the case of multilinguals and assistant pursers, those with less than five years of flight service. 'Senior' will apply to those who are able to hold jet blocks on a regular basis, but exclude multilinguals and assistant pursers with less than five years of flight service. The five year period was selected as the dividing line on the basis of the stewardess classification as these persons are the majority group. This definition coincides with the one in popular use by the group. Some general statements can be made on seniority status congruency in terms of senior/junior variables: 1) low status congruency is directly correlated to the presence of reserve stewardesses, assistant pursers and less frequently multilinguals on the crew; 2) first class work units have a high frequency of high status congruency; 3) economy work units have a high frequency of low status congruency. Number of years of disparity between high status congruency work units is not generally considered to be correlated to frequency of conflict situations and interpersonal tensions but it has a direct bearing in work units with low status congruency, i.e. series 4, 5 and 8 of Table II (page 23) economy work unit, the senior stewardess in each one would be under most pressure.

The high instability of work units requires complete interchangeability of persons in each classification. Detrimental to such interchangeability is the discrepancy in levels of efficiency which is
largely but not entirely an outcome of years of experience i.e. seniority. It has been shown that associated with a work system where impermanency of work units exists there are found to be social strains and psychological tensions in excess of those found in more permanent work units such as those found in the factory, hospital ward or office. Consequently, it was decided to explore the problem of how meaningful work and personal relationships are formed between crew members who must perform as a team in a publicly observable and social situation when they have had no previous experience in working as a team but only in 'teams of this kind'. This organizational system of formation of crews requires a continual adjustment of coworkers to each other's work habits and a continual acquaintance process, in addition to the adjustments required to be made to passenger populations who are largely strangers.

**Flight attendant/passenger ratio**

The flight attendant/passenger ratio varies considerably from class of service and by passenger volume capacity. On the basis of one passenger per seat available the first class section ratio is 1:8 on both types of aircraft while in economy it is 1:39 and 1:45.5 on the

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small and large jet respectively. When a full load is carried these are minimal ratios, in actual fact each flight varies. Ratios are smaller because not all flights carry full capacity and greater because infants and toddlers are permitted to be carried on the parent's lap. Also because two children may occupy one seat. Therefore, for highest accuracy head counts are much more appropriate. Table IV illustrates the ratio variations.

**Table IV**

Flight attendant/passenger ratios by class of service and passenger seat capacity on scheduled and charter flights.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of flight attendants</th>
<th>Section of aircraft</th>
<th>Flight attendant/passenger ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small jet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled flights</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>first class</td>
<td>1:8(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>economy</td>
<td>1:39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charter flights</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>all economy seating</td>
<td>1:24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large jet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scheduled flights</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>first class</td>
<td>1:8(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>economy</td>
<td>1:45.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Computations based on number of seats available

\(^a\) This figure does not include the cockpit crew whom they also serve. Ratio changes to 1:10 when it includes maximum size of cockpit crew.
Flight attendant/passenger ratios are meaningful when correlated to duration of a flight. For example, on the shortest flight operated the number of minutes service per passenger in first class is ten while in economy it is 2.1, based on ratios shown in Table IV. On the longest duration flight operated the proportion of service minutes per first class passenger is 68 minutes and per economy passenger 13.8 minutes. These proportions have a causal relationship to quality and quantity of services offered. They have a direct consequence on the tension with which work is performed, frequency of conflicts and stress situations which arise, and degree of depersonalization of interpersonal relationships in the setting.

Temporal Marginality of Duty Periods

An examination of the blocks worked reveals no regularity of work days to days off such as the five day work week followed by two days off. Work days before a day off vary from one to three or four days followed by one to five days off. This high irregularity is the usual pattern followed in blocks consisting of all overseas flights and in blocks combining overseas with domestic flights.

As geographic relocation is inseparable from flight work it is necessary to consider some of the dynamics of the interchange between a) time of day at which the work period - usually referred to as duty
period begins, b) duration of the duty period, and c) number of geographic zones crossed during the duty period.

The median duration of duty periods for overseas flights occurred between the interval of twelve to twelve hours fifty nine minutes. There were none under ten hours or in excess of sixteen. Although duty periods are not allowed by union and management agreement to be scheduled to exceed fourteen hours, they did in actuality occur as frequently as the median duty period when the two intervals of fourteen hours to fourteen hours fifty nine minutes and fifteen hours to fifteen hours fifty nine minutes are combined. Only two domestic duty periods exceeded the eight hour work day, one was in the nine to nine hours fifty nine minute interval, the other was in the ten to ten hour fifty nine minute interval. A median or mean duration of duty period for domestic flights is meaningless because they very frequently involved flying as a passenger for a portion of the work day. This is not rated at par as is time spent doing flight duties.

It is generally agreed among flight crews that the greater the number of time zones crossed in a duty period the greater are the

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21. Duty periods begin one hour prior scheduled departure time, include all time spent at enroute station stops, delays, and terminate fifteen minutes post flight arrival at the final termination point for the crew.
physiological and mental stresses experienced during the flight and as post flight fatigue. The stress is particularly excessive when duty periods exceed ten hours and when they begin towards the latter third of the normal twenty-four hour day. It is also their general opinion that the duration of overseas layovers (rest periods prior the return flight home) are insufficiently long to provide for an adequate physical readjustment to the change in clock time. When flight attendants give accounts of how well or how poorly they rested it is not uncommon to hear "...that means I've had four hours sleep in the last twenty-four hours", or "...six hours sleep in forty eight hours on arriving home". Very occasionally one hears "I slept sixteen hours straight", but on the whole the getting of proper amounts of rest during the time available is problematic. It is the twenty-four period that is meaningful in their accounts not daytime and night-time periods.

It is the custom for flight attendants to habitually use the geographic time zone at their home base (Pacific daylight time) as a reference point when discussing problems related to rest periods, location of duty periods in the twenty four hour day or in duration of time spent awake. To give an example of a time zone problem: in practical terms this means that a duty period which begins at 9:00 a.m. for a flight departing at 10:00 a.m. Greenwich Mean time when converted to the geographic time zone at home base means the duty period really begins at midnight for a flight departing at 1:00 a.m. at Pacific Daylight time.
The mean duration of a layover period following a flight with a nine hour time zone change was twenty nine hours with the exception of one extreme figure of fifty two hours. The mean duration of layover was fifty hours following flights involving a seventeen hour time zone change which included crossing the International Date Line, with the exception of one extreme figure of eighty-two hours. These means do not take into account duration of duty periods. The pattern of converting time at layover locations to home base time was performed for all duty periods originating at those locations as a reasonable procedure in explaining the temporal marginality of the sample group measured. The figures are presented in Table V.

The distribution of duty periods which the sample population worked in the six month period when correlated to the geographic time zone at the time of onset of the duty period indicate that 65.5% of these began during the day shift period which is society's norm and 34.5% of them originated in temporally marginal periods with an almost equal distribution between afternoons and nights as shown in Table V Column A. However, when the time zone variable is held constant at the home base location which is the physiological and mental reference point even away from home, the distribution changes significantly to one of higher marginality. When time conversions are done on the same sample population 59.2% of duty periods originated during afternoon and night shifts combined, with 44.9% during the night shift
period alone as shown in Column B. Night shift originations then exceeded those of day shift by 4.1%.

**Table V**

Correlation of onset of duty periods with geographic time zone for all duty periods worked by the sample population in the six month time span.

Column A: represents distribution of onsets of duty periods according to the time zone of their geographic origination point.

Column B: represents the same onsets but all the origination times were converted to the home base geographic time zone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shifts</th>
<th>Column A time zone 'variable'</th>
<th>Column B time zone 'constant'</th>
<th>Percentage change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Days</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 a.m.</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>-24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afternoons</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>-3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 p.m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nights</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>+28.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mn 8 a.m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Normal schizoid experiences, an outcome of stress.

One of the regularly recurrent problems flight attendants are required to adjust to and perceive as the result of stressful working conditions is their schizoid experiences which are induced by the combination of variables as: long on-duty periods; awake periods of twenty-four hours, more or less, where the duty period is located towards the latter portion; during night time hours; on high tension level flights. Normally schizoid experiences refer to a person's disruption of his relationship with himself i.e. the state of being an automaton, distortions of perceptions of the passage of time, and with the world i.e. hallucinations - defined as perceptions without an object. These are socially perceivable in that flight attendants inquire of each other an interpersonal confirmation whether the other heard a bell or said something. They are used as explanations for doing something physical or social. For example, during a quiet period when passengers were sleeping and crew members were having difficulty staying awake (they are not permitted to sleep or rest with eyes closed during a flight) one stewardess gave as a reason for her visit to another work unit, that "I was starting to see things so I figured

I'd better get moving". There is the common relinquishing of the self to that of an automaton, which is readily available as many of the mass services can be performed on a rote basis and as they do not require intellectualization. Such personal experiences are also socially perceivable in: 1) another's change of speech to stammering, stuttering and the inability to recall things which are well known, 2) contagiousness of emotional reactions, particularly hysterical form laughter to things which would ordinarily not appear to be funny, 3) incoherent actions which are not necessarily noticed by their producer as being aberrant, i.e. a stewardess in the galley emptied a cup of coffee onto the used meal tray instead of into the sink and did not notice or comment on her action, neither did the others present. It is taken for granted by others that such strange behavior is caused by temporary schizoid states and therefore need not be commented on or brought to the person's attention. To do so would cause unnecessary embarrassment and increase the strain the person is experiencing. If noticed and accounted for, tension is frequently released through humor. 4) Intense emotional reactions to space pressures resulting in verbal conflicts with passengers or isolation in the lavatory until emotional equilibrium is reestablished, 5) lack of recall post flight so that the stressful period is viewed as a dream, nightmare or blank time.

Schizoid reactions are routinely experienced, new members are
socialized to perceive them as normal and adjustments to them are learned. No form of pep pills or wake-up pills are used or seen as warranted. \(^{23}\) Persons do at times give the 'appearance of' being intoxicated although alcohol consumption on flights is restricted to a small subgroup and is not usually taken in amounts producing drunkenness. Some of these reactions are typical to the 'tired mother syndrome' experienced by mothers with young infants and/or other young children. \(^{24}\) This would suggest that various work environments and occupations have their own modal levels of stress, that such stress is perceived to be normal and is habituated to by those engaged in the everyday activities on the job and that the boundaries of normal schizoid

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23. Other physical disturbances resulting from long periods at high altitudes are: hemorrhagic eyes particularly at 39,000 feet altitude, dull chest pain over the sternum area with sharp pain on deep inhalation, swollen ankles sometimes up the calf to the knee, abdominal bloating combined with occasional severe gas pains, dehydrated throat resulting in frequent uncontrrollable coughing, menstrual irregularities, phlebitis and varicose vein congestion in the legs, are the more common ones.

reactions are collectively held by the membership.25

The spatial social structures

The aircraft environment has certain peculiarities which are constructive in delineating how the occasion of a flight will proceed, in necessitating selection processes of passenger participants, in interpersonal problems encountered by space and time pressures. Once the aircraft doors are closed, this environment is an isolate in that all persons are confined and not at liberty to terminate their participation at will at any time. This relinquishing of freedom is a natural cause of apprehension, interpersonal tensions and deviant behavior. It restricts the range of appropriate behaviors and enhances the responsibilities of all persons to assist in the maintenance of social order and of a safe environment.

As a consequence of functional limitations the interior organization of the aircraft is designed to get the maximum utility out of the space available. All work settings have an ecological arrangement that segregates persons who perform different functions,

25. The incidence of flight attendant nervous breakdowns occurring 'on the job' is extremely low, i.e. at the base measured the approximate ratio is one every five years. One was characterized by a stewardess' attempt to exit from the aircraft inflight, the other by a complete mental disorientation as to who and where she was. The frequency of sick time taken for psychological and emotional problems of a less serious nature is much higher but statistics are not available.
or who hold different positions, from each other; together with a separation of the total area into regions which may be perceived in terms of private/public or front/back stages with varying degrees of barriers to perception built into them. The illustration of a jet will be found on page 41 of this paper.

Workers in positions of greater prestige are more frequently located in back regions behind physical barriers. For example, pilots are located in a back region restricted to passengers, entrance is made through an unmarked door. This is the typical labeling pattern found in first class public waiting rooms, hotel lobbies, restaurants etc. and in business establishments catering to a middle class clientele. Thus lavatories are labeled, but galleys are not. Access to the cockpit by passengers is only with the Captain's permission or by his invitation. This privacy is required not only because of the crucial nature of their job, it also assists them in information control in the event that problems develop or are encountered which would unnecessarily cause anxiety in those whose trust they hold. The exclusiveness of the area ensures the continuance of the notion held by outsiders that the pilots continually and seriously attend to their duties when in fact they do relax with their hats and jackets off, at times chat and joke with each other and with the flight attendants, take turns to partake of meals and so on.
Workers at the lower levels of stratification in the setting are more frequently located behind visual barriers to perception i.e. counters, etc. Flight attendants have direct contact with the public, their work is performed in regions which fluctuate in definition from back to front regions. For example, galleys from which refreshments are dispensed have curtains or doors with which they can be closed off but while meals etc. are being served they must be opened and are front regions as anyone walking by can see in. The uncarpeted floor and technical looking nature of the area are not a sufficient barrier in themselves to keep passengers out. If any definition of distinct regions is required or desirable it is necessary for those in charge to create and impose social barriers, i.e. enforce formal or informal rules on their use. The visual barrier of vinyl covered flight attendant seats in contrast to the fabric upholstered passenger seats is also insufficient to define it as back region restricted area and socially structured barriers to their use is maintained. The relationships between the fluctuating definition of regions and the territorial aspects of power will be discussed later as they are somewhat problematic and consequently promote conflict behavior.

The passenger (public) regions are distinct according to class of service, the two classes of cabins are separated by a curtain barrier. The 'living room' concept is found in carpeted floors, blended color schemes, subdued and indirect lighting, fabric covered
seats, curtains on the windows, centrally controlled heating and ventilation systems. Music is piped in on the public address system. All passenger seats face forward and are immovable in their locations. This results in low visibility of cabin activities behind them. In the first class cabin seats are arranged two abreast on both sides of a center aisle and are more commodious than are those in the economy section. The social status of its passengers is considered to be consistently higher in accordance with the fares, and services provided are regarded as generally more exclusive, i.e. five to eight course meals with free cocktails, wines, champagne, liqueurs. In contrast, the economy meal is served at one time on one tray, not in courses, and liquor is required to be paid for. The cabin is located behind the cockpit and in front of the wing area, this provides them with a smoother quieter flight.

An aircraft inflight requires continual kinesthetic adjustments of its occupants. Outer environmental factors i.e. turbulence cause interactional problems i.e. flight attendants sometimes lose their balance and fall into the laps of aisle passengers. This happens much more frequently in the latter half of the aircraft. Turbulence is a sociological fact, as is the inner environmental factor of noise level. A passenger response of "Yes" to a stewardess' question "Would you like veal or steak", or "No thanks" to a stewardess' "You've got some tomato juice on your nose", are very frequent occurrences of inter-
actional difficulties experienced due to inadequate adjustments to engine noise level. On charter flights passengers talk, laugh, sing together very loudly and increase the need for voice over-projection.

First class passengers in addition are provided with a lounge area in which they may relocate themselves for the 'cocktail hour' or when they desire a change of scene. Economy passengers are restricted to their seats in the cabin therefore more frequently engage in deceptive practices to territoriality extensions. Economy seats are arranged three abreast on both sides of a center aisle. In the first class section each row of seats is opposite a window but there are several economy rows which are not. These two characteristics of the setting have direct consequences to seat selection behavior.

The control of passenger traffic between the two classes of cabin is the responsibility of the flight attendants. The formal rule they are required to enforce is one which permits unlimited access to the economy cabin(s) by first class passengers but 'restricts entirely' access to the first class section by passengers holding economy fares. Flight attendants have been known to be disciplined by management for rigid adherence to this rule without being given prior knowledge that exceptions are permitted. Flight attendants have likewise been disciplined for using their initiative in permitting exceptions to the

26. Formal rule will always mean that it is specified in a Company manual of procedures and instructions.
Illustration I. Spatial organization of jet aircraft most frequently flown.

Symbols:
- aircraft door(s)
- flight attendant seats (exclusive territory with socially structured barriers)
- solid line, floor to ceiling wall
- lavatory
- galley
- curtain (or door at G only) (movable physical barrier therefore back or front region).
- bar (counter)
- storage area
rule. The criteria for disciplinary action appears to be based on letters of complaint from passengers on flight attendant decisions. This double bind occurs with many other rule applications and has the consequence that some flight attendants never make decisions if they can pass them off to a coworker; so that they come to be perceived by coworkers as inadequate and troublesome, but as exemplary by management because they do not initiate disciplinary action. Flight attendants who consistently make decisions on their own initiative are respected and carry authority in work units but are contrastively perceived by management as being troublesome and as requiring surveillance. From the perspective of the flight attendants, management disciplinary practices are frequently perceived to be unwarranted and unreasonable; the result is low morale in the subgroup of decision makers. The attitude that, for all practical purposes deviant behavior is permissible providing one doesn't get caught or complained about appears to be organizationally created by reward/punishment practices.

The spatial organization of the setting provides no area for isolating deviant participants and directly contributes to problems of social control. Passengers occasionally become mentally deranged, hysterical, drunk and abusive, physically threaten others, etc. For example, it was reported that a passenger on one flight knifed two others. Aircraft hijacking is another example of deviant behavior. The most
frequent occurrence of deviance is that of inebriation. Of the sample population of flights, flight attendant concern, disagreement and conflicts over passenger drinking behavior occurred on all overseas flights and on the majority of domestic flights over two hours in duration.

B. The production of the social occasion of flight as an ongoing event:

According to Goffman, a social occasion is defined as having the following features:

1) It is the coming together of basically two sets of participants, only one of which is responsible for the management of the affair.

2) They locate at a specified time and place for the enactment of and participation in certain kinds of activities which are appropriate and in accordance with the setting and class of occasion.

3) Each class of occasion proceeds in an orderly way according to a pre-established program. The high point of the occasion is distinct from other phases. There is a prevailing emotional structure required by the class of occasion and definition of the situation.

4) Participants are obliged to become involved and to conduct themselves in socially acceptable ways, those who don't incur specified negative sanctions. 27

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The social occasion under examination is required to be managed by the cockpit and cabin crews, the passengers are largely observers and receivers. There are three main impressions to be managed. One is, in that flying involves risk, the notion that it is a fateful event is realistic, but that it is nonetheless primarily safe as any risk to participants is prepared for and comprises a routine occurrence; that any risk to participants' lives is minimal and of an adventitious nature as the crews are competent to cope with any contingency which may arise.\(^{28}\) Secondly, that the inflight period although of a serious nature is an occasion to be enjoyed in the manner of a social gathering somewhat festive in spirit and built around a host(ess)/guest orientation in preference to the customer service relationships. Thirdly, that the crew members operate as a team. The ecological arrangement of the setting into regions (to be described later) for the enactment of specific kinds of activities also promotes the notion of staged performances.\(^ {29,30}\) There is thus heavy emphasis on impression management and elaborate techniques to promote successful fulfillment.


\(^{29}\) Goffman, loc. cit.

\(^{30}\) E. Goffman, The Presentation of Self, pp. 22-105; 209-237.
The order of purpose of the presence of flight attendants can be delineated into three basic areas. These are briefly stated from highest to least in significance as:

1. The safety management role.
   a) To comply with the law which requires the provision of trained personnel to secure the safety of passenger lives in the event of an aircraft accident and to ensure their safety inflight i.e. the use of seat belts and adherence to 'no smoking' rule etc.
   b) To provide first-aid services to persons requiring them.
   c) To assist in security measures i.e. monitor suspicious behavior, apply informal social control to deviant behavior, detection of dangerous weapons and so on.

2. The host(ess) role. To fulfill the host(ess) functions in a private establishment that require social competence and special social skills in communication with persons from diverse backgrounds.
   a) The handling of greeting and parting ceremonials.
   b) The promotion of sociability; to manage the inclusion of anonymous persons into a group so that participation in activities typical of social gatherings will be accomplished in a sociable manner, i.e. in dining, drinking, conversing etc.
   c) To be a lay diplomat/public relations officer.

3. The organizational role. To provide the services required as an extension of normal patterns of living which require technical competence, knowledge of work organization, and practices and policies.
   a) To provide information services related to flying i.e. reservations, connecting flights etc. and promote the airline travel industry.
b) Regulate heating, lighting, ensure that all equipment is serviceable.

c) Dispense items for physical comfort i.e. pillows, blankets.

d) Dispense involvement items, i.e. newspapers, magazines.

e) Serve meals and beverages.

f) Responsibility for formal organizational accounting and reporting by the use of forms provided for that purpose.

The main routine activities engaged in by participants during an occasion are correlated to the categories relevant to the stages/time intervals of a normal flight are presented in Table VI and represent its production as an ongoing event by crew member participants. The staging of performances and rituals of passage will be discussed in the section on the production of the occasion as a fateful event.

C. The cabin crew as a performance team.

Team member accounting of handicaps, a routine part of greeting ceremonials

The uniformities of a flight attendant's work day discussed thus far are: 1) on-duty periods in excess of society's eight hour day norm; 2) temporal marginality of work periods; 3) fluctuating flight attendant/passenger ratios and inflight times which require an adaptability to requisite changes in work norms. The crucial factor
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of Stages</th>
<th>time intervals of flight</th>
<th>Stage of Occasion</th>
<th>Activities engaged in by participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A -45 min. cabin crew</td>
<td>preparation for onset</td>
<td>crew preparation of setting for staged performance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B -30 min. passengers requiring assistance escorted on</td>
<td>onset</td>
<td>1) entry of setting with greeting ceremonial with check of participant qualification status</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2) get located and settled in seats</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3) distribution of involvement items i.e. newspapers, magazines and comfort amenities i.e. pillows, socks, candy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C aircraft becomes</td>
<td>of occasion</td>
<td>1) passengers restricted to their seats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D----- ascent</td>
<td></td>
<td>2) departure announcement i.e. destination point, duration, cruising altitude</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cruising</td>
<td></td>
<td>3) staged performances - oxygen briefing and oxygen mask demonstration - emergency ditching briefing and demonstration of life jacket on overseas flights.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>E----- descent</td>
<td></td>
<td>4) emergency evacuation chutes attached at aircraft doors</td>
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<tr>
<td>F aircraft becomes</td>
<td>ritual of initiation</td>
<td>all participants restricted to their seats (flight attendants occupy their emergency take-off positions) till seat belt sign turned off</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>G aircraft becomes</td>
<td>main body of occasion</td>
<td>mood of supplication</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H arrival of aircraft</td>
<td>all participants restricted to their seats (flight attendants occupy their emergency landing positions)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I aircraft door(s) opened</td>
<td>closure of occasion</td>
<td>1) high point of occasion - refreshment services: bar, beverage, snack, meal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deplanementopened</td>
<td></td>
<td>on overseas flights include - duty free cigarette sales - distribution of immigration &amp; customs forms</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>exit prepared</td>
<td></td>
<td>2) landing announcement when seat belt sign turned on</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mood of benediction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 6 VI**
The Production Of An Occasion As An Outgoing Event
here is that unlike many ground occupations which permit a worker to finish a job after shift hours is not available here. If not done prior landing services never get to be done. Inflight work requires an increased change of pace, heightened tension and highly synchronized teamwork for assembly line type of service presentations the shorter the inflight period; 4) the high degree of crew impermanency is negatively correlated to highly synchronized team performances, yet teamwork is imperative and an organizational goal. The formation of work units and processes of coworker selection have a direct bearing on the adaptability of persons, work units and crews, to the pressures mentioned above. As these are not organizationally structured but as they are required by the system, the problem is 'by what informal institutionalized patterns are they structured'?

It was mentioned previously that one of the impression management roles of a flight attendant was that the cabin crew perform as a team. Goffman refers to a performance as

"...all the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continual presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers", 31

and further:

"A team mate is someone whose dramaturgical cooperation one is dependent upon in fostering a given definition of the situation; if such a person comes to be beyond the pale of informal sanctions and insists on giving the show away or forcing it to take a particular turn,

31. Presentation of Self, p. 22.
he is none the less part of the team". 32

It is evident that when a cabin crew first meet and engage in a greeting ceremonial, the "How are you?" question is not a ritual one to be answered ritually by "Fine, thanks". It is a request with interpersonal relevance to the fact that the team member is about to engage in a performance during a special kind of occasion, and what the question asks is "As a team member what kind of performance may we expect of you today?" For example, the response of a purser to a stewardess "Fine! Fine, Cynthia. Had a good sleep. Expect to have a good day. Yeh. Yeh. Well, let's see ...", in contrast to that given by a multilingual to a stewardess as "Oh, I've got a bit of a cold, I think I must have some kind of flu of something, I couldn't sleep last night....", indicates that very different performances may be expected. The latter type of account is a statement of the 'handicap' under which the person will be working and is an advance preparation for possible team performance failure. This type of accounting is also referred to on page 30 of this paper in the section on temporal marginality of on-duty periods.

Coworkers take into account each others handicaps as a base from which to make judgements inflight on coworker quality and quantity

32. Goffman, Ibid., p. 83.
of work performance, on adjusting interpersonal pressures to conform to certain standards and on preventing conflict situations from developing. There is general concensus to the following attitude summed up by a purser, "My philosophy is that no crew member should be emotionally disturbed prior to or on a flight for any reason or on any matter whatsoever if it can possibly be postponed". This becomes somewhat problematic to flight attendant supervisor contacts as if supervisors do not take opportunity of speaking to a flight attendant on some matter before flight departure no other time may be available. When a flight attendant is required to make a special trip to the airport to meet with a supervisor the matter to be discussed is of a serious nature and is perceived to be a disciplinary measure. It is commitment to the philosophy just stated that regulates the strict avoidance of inflight coworker conflicts; exceptions do occur. Most frequently such conflicts are unresolved and generally not referred to between the participants although they are aired to coworkers in the same work unit or in other work units. In this way emotional tension is interpersonally released. Most coworker conflicts occur in the economy cabin, the contributing variables are: low seniority status congruency and related intervening variables i.e. varying levels of efficiency; low ratio of minutes of service per passenger based on flight attendant/passenger proportions, and flying time duration. The first class stewardess is the most frequent recipient of such reports and may hold three different versions
of the conflict event. Her spatial separation permits such accounts to be given in relative privacy. She is not a mediator or peacemaker between conflict participants. Her team member, not work unit coworker, role appears to require merely that she listen and/or attempt to pacify the reporter.

The floating biography

As shown in Table VI the flight attendant team board their aircraft forty-five minutes prior flight departure. The first fifteen minutes are organizationally allotted for preparation of the stage setting for the passenger participants. Various duties are performed on the basis of aircraft positions, therefore as it is not regulated by formalized rules the first matter to be settled is who will work where and coincidentally with whom. As this is settled usually within the first three minutes after boarding the patterns are institutionalized. They are governed by the normative notions that work relations should be amiable and that the work day should be enjoyable. These are inherent demands of team work and of the nature of the social occasion required to be enacted.

Interpersonal relations between cabin crew members are both formal due to the team work requirements and social due to the socializing initiatives available during free time between services and/or meal periods. It is also a requirement of good teamwork that members
know each other. Blau says: one is an attractive associate who is able to impress others with qualities that are respected and admired, who has a background of experiences and opinions which can be shared and appreciated because they are similar or slightly distinctive, and who exhibits a willingness to seek in the other instances of compatibility.

Job specific preferred characteristics will refer to the performance characteristics which evolve out of actual on the job enactment of the everyday activities of an occupational group; they are 'perceived by the members' to be inherent in the occupation and are preferred characteristics for any one member, therefore there is a modicum of consensus by the members as to what they are; although any arrangement of the characteristics into hierarchies will be problematic as they are differentially evaluated. The characteristics are not all held by any one member but are distributed throughout the groups. Job specific preferred characteristics are related to and compatible with status dimensions but not completely correlated to all status dimensions used by the members.

As they are outcomes of one group's work experience they are sociologically relevant as evaluations of performances. It is asserted that there will be noncorrespondence between what members outside the occupational group consider to be job specific preferred

characteristics of the occupation under examination. Divergence is expected to be found within an organization itself, and may be located for example in hiring practices, categories of qualifications advertised for jobs and criteria used for accepting or rejecting applicants. The requirement and use of probationary periods might be examined as an organizational measure of adjustment to the divergence.

It is proposed that: as individual flight attendants have no control over who their work associates will be on a particular crew because of the seniority and classification system of block assignment -- these two are therefore status dimension variables -- the regulation of job specific preferred characteristics for a flight attendant, i.e. high level of technical efficiency, emotional stability under stress, etc. will be reflected by the norms regarding 1) selection of coworkers for the work units required by the social organization of the aircraft and 2) by the processes of placement in the positions available in each work unit.

It is further proposed that: job specific preferred characteristics are normatively controlled by the group as a collective, but that the socialization to group held norms will be in the direction of senior members to junior members rather than vice versa, and will

34. Two flight attendants may elect to bid together, they would state this preference on their bid sheets and would be assigned to a block on the lower seniority held by one of them. This practice is discouraged by management, the persons are viewed as troublesome because any tendency to exclusiveness is contrary to their notion of the interchangeability of persons and the required ability to get along with everyone.
occur during actual on the job interactions. The high degree of impermanency of cabin crews necessitates a continual acquaintance process during on-duty periods.

"Group cohesiveness is a very important source of social support as well as normative control"; as a sub-group, seniors will have more attitudes, values, and work habits in common with each other than with juniors, because they fly with each other more frequently. As a sub-group within work units they are able to exert more social control i.e. authority in superior/subordinate relationships, make more decisions, and be able to coordinate work relationships with fewer disruptions for replanning. There is much more likelihood that senior members will have an established friendship or at least a working acquaintance with each other which require only updating of intervening periods between contacts.

Institutionalized patterns of getting acquainted and therefore of status dimensions are reflected more frequently and obviously in the acquaintance process between unacquainted and 'unheard of' flight attendants (to a lesser degree and along a slightly different pattern also between the unacquainted but 'heard of') than between those who are already friends. In other words, more so between seniors interacting with juniors than seniors with seniors or juniors with juniors.

35. Blau, op. cit., p. 60.
The acquaintance process sets up a biography, a record of things known about a person, even if it is initially or, merely based on having worked together on one flight. In speaking on biographies and their 'informational connectedness' 36 Goffman asks,

"... given the important social facts about the individual, in what degree do those who know some know many?" 37

Biographical discontinuities and lack of informational connectedness among the group as a whole is positively correlated to the impermanency of work crews. Reliance on what will here be called a 'floating biography', that is, biographical information about a flight attendant which is transferred from one cabin crew to another along friendship and acquaintance networks, is a group tendency. A floating biography contains facts relating to status dimensions and job specific preferred characteristics.

It may therefore be said that: the further the temporal distance between the occurrence of biographic informational items and the further removed they become from the persons who know on a first hand basis because they were present (or were members of the same crew) when the event occurred, the following will be true:


37. Ibid., p. 82
1) the greater will be the number of biographical others, or persons who know of the event by hearing about it, and subsequently

2) the greater will be the distortion and concentration of the informational items

3) the less the personal biography will be in control of its originator.

The result is that brief biographical descriptions like the following are in a very real way consequential and sufficient in themselves to the ordering of social relationships in the setting. For example, while going out to board their aircraft a junior multilingual on being told by her senior stewardess companion the name of another senior stewardess on their crew for that flight remarked, "Hey, I think I've heard about her. She's the one who has nervous breakdowns isn't she?" On these grounds the two summarily agreed to work together and if at all possible not in a triad work unit with the stewardess who carries the stigma. Any announcement like 'I've heard of you!' or "You're the one!" immediately following a self introduction tends to cause the hearer to feel uneasy, causes tension between the two which is usually relieved through laughter and/or a demand made that the announcer elaborate or explain what was meant.

In a work organization that requires compatible coworker relationships in work units, where self selection is available, and particularly as work units are required to be set up approximately in the "first three minutes" after boarding the aircraft, floating
biographies have the positive function of providing a basis for quick judgment for coworker selection.

To be in possession of biographical information is a source of power, it provokes a whole set of background expectancies relevant to the social relationships between all persons present, and somewhat in determining the expectations to what the entire flight will be like. For example, when it is known by all that two persons on the crew do not get along to the extent that it can be taken for granted there will be an inflight conflict occurrence, some adjustment is made to set them into different work units. This kind of situation is an exception to the institutionalized patterns of work position assignment or self selection; because it is an exception, accommodation is not given top priority on these grounds. The second and more frequently used means of maintaining sociable relations among work unit coworkers is adjustments to individual work habit peculiarities. For example, to know that the stewardess assigned to the galley position views it as owned territory is to know that one cannot infringe on her territorial prerogatives without provoking a conflict. So that although it is very easy and time saving to reach into the refrigerator from the aisle for a carton of milk one would not do so at all, or would ask permission to do so.

Negatively, biographical others tend to have static and stereotyped floating biographies which are outdated. Floating
biographies which are basically not favorable to a good impression tend to have consequences of social isolation and avoidance in that persons approach each other with preconceived notions and biases, which may or may not be factual, so that satisfactory and stable interpersonal relationships are difficult to manage, particularly on short or very busy flights where time is consumed in passenger service with very little to nil available for correcting or changing misinformation.

As a floating biography is perceived as necessary, to have a good or favorable one on oneself is of value. There is a continual concerted effort by all flight attendants to maintain a favorable floating biography of themselves and their friends, to correct biographical misinformation which is damaging when they have personal first hand knowledge that it is unreliable. To solicit biographical information on others is seen as not untoward but as warranted. The tendency to gossip is not so much a personal motive as an organizationally based requirement that has pragmatic significance to their everyday work affairs. Because it is a thing of value, it is also an element of social control. Negative sanctions are applied when it is abused by persons who deviate from group norms. There is a sense of appropriateness as to amount and kinds of information which may be exchanged, those who exceed norms are labeled 'gossips' or 'nosey persons' and will be considered undesirable as a coworker by the majority. Other functions performed by floating biographies will be discussed later.
Work position by assignment or institutionalized informal selection

Outside of the three work positions which are static according to classification held, the purser has always had the legitimate authority to delegate work positions to all stewardesses; however, most frequently he permitted the informal selection process to operate. It will therefore be discussed first.

The most important status dimension regulating institutionalized patterns of work position assignment or selection is seniority. The first class stewardess position has priority over all others and is filled first. The stewardess with the highest seniority outranks the others and has first option for the position. If she refuses it, then it belongs to the one holding next highest seniority and so on until the position is accepted. The most junior on the crew is forced to occupy it if the others have refused. It is however, most frequently occupied by the most senior stewardess. If the entire crew are on the same block for the entire month it is taken for granted that she will remain there for all flights of that month.

The status of seniority as related to differentiation of work areas and duties is not unique to this setting. Donovan reports that waitresses who are more permanent employees of an establishment than are others work at tables and in areas which are routinely used by more regular customers, while new employees are consistently given counter areas and section near the door or entrance to the dining room.
where customer turnover is high and income from tips much lower. In open room beauty shops which cater to a lower middle class clientele senior hairdressers are located closer to the reception desk so their work is displayed to more persons, those with lower status by seniority are located at the back of the room next to the shampoo area. An establishment that serves a higher class of clientele shields their customers in cubicles and senior hairstylists are located in the more secluded areas so that their customers receive personal grooming services with less public exposure. In nursing, another occupation predominantly female, typically in non training hospitals the more senior and longer term registered nurses who are not head or assistant head nurses will be assigned to medications and treatments while junior nurses are assigned ward work. In-training hospitals use this same type of differentiation of duties for senior and junior nursing students.


39. Flight attendants as a rule turn down tip offers. Their social embarrassment is based on a self-image and definition of their status as being relatively higher than service occupations in which tipping is a norm. It is informal Company policy that tips be accepted when passengers are insistent so that they are not embarrassed publicly by a refusal. Sizeable tips are normally shared by the entire cabin crew, smaller tips are individually retained or shared with work unit coworkers.

40. Personal communication from hairdressers and several beauty shop owners. Observation in Canada, United States and England.

41. Personal experience as a nurse in training in Alberta and as a registered nurse in British Columbia and California. Total - eight hospitals.
The position to be filled first in the economy section is that of the economy galley. It is seen as the least desirable because of the much lower rate of social interaction with passengers. It is also felt to be a dirty and menial job as it involves the 'preparation' of meals and beverages, much 'bending and lifting of weights', working in confined quarters i.e. the floor space in the galley is approximately three and a half feet by four, frequently feeling overheated due to the poor ventilation and heat supplied by the ovens used to warm entrees and boiling water for beverages. When the blockholders expect to remain 'together' the entire month the senior stewardess, of the ones remaining after the first class position is filled, is obligated to volunteer for the position on the first outgoing flight of the month, after which a rotation according to decreasing seniority is instituted. In contrast to the first class position this one is rotated on outgoing and incoming (return to home base) sections of a return flight.

When the remaining stewardesses are made up of blockholders who will not remain together all month because they hold different blocks, or because of the inclusion of a replacement, negotiation for the galley position is instituted and follows routinized patterns. While on her first outgoing flight of the month the most senior stewardess of the three is still obliged to volunteer for the position but is permitted to initiate a negotiation ritual or wait for one to be initiated by the next most senior one. This may be treated as a
power play. Whichever one of the two says "where do you want to work today?" or "Do you want to work the galley?" obligates the other to volunteer for the position as what the message conveys is "I'd rather not work the galley today but I will if you make me". The third stewardess (most junior of the three) may break into this ritual and volunteer to occupy it providing she does it before one of the others has accepted; but if she does not, her subsequent effort is considered half-hearted and her offer is rejected even though the accepting stewardess is unhappy about the settlement. The obligation is so powerful that friends will occasionally become temporarily i.e. several days or weeks, disaffected from each other when one or the other feel it was unjust. Crew impermanency contributes to such occurrences. It does occasionally happen that an obligator will subsequently attempt to withdraw the obligation but it has never been reported or observed to occur that the accepted obligation is reversed. Pursers also use the "Do you want to work (mind working) the galley today?" approach in their work position assigning, it is perceived to be obligatory by the person spoken to.

An alteration of the negotiation ritual just described occurs in the latter third of a calendar month when the two seniors feel that they have been doing more than their reasonable share in the galley, for example, due to book-offs, flight exchanges etc.; it is appropriate for them to give accounts of how many galley turns they
had already taken in order to equalize the balance. Towards the end of
the month they may rightfully also refuse to do the galley but the most
junior blockholder is not.

The economy galley position carries many responsibilities. It
is largely one of coordinating the activities of the cabin stewardesses,
of setting up the equipment for the services to be provided in such a
way that the presentation of a service will go smoothly once it has
been started, of delegating and checking that special services like the
feeding of children are done during periods when they will not disrupt
on-going synchronized work patterns and so on. It requires a high level
of proficiency and leadership abilities. As it is generally felt that
a flight can succeed or fail on the basis of who occupies the galley,
reserve stewardesses are not permitted to occupy this position on overseas
flights. The may 'occasionally' be allowed to on domestic flights of
longer duration when there is a light passenger load as there are fewer
pressures to perform efficiently.

An exception to the obligation and negotiation for the galley
position is always made in the case when a stewardess requests the
galley by way of an announcement that she is assuming it or by way of
a plea to be allowed to assume it, as these forms of approach always
carry with them the information that she is for some reason not feeling
up to par physically, emotionally or spiritually and does not feel she
will be able to put on the highly sociable performance required by
a cabin stewardess. The plea form is always honoured, the announcement
form is most of the time. Understanding in this area is mutual and reciprocity is extended readily as all know they will at some time require such a favor. Such action is a collective preventative measure against failure in impression management. With the introduction of assistant pursers who are static in the galley position the stewardesses no longer have this way of removing themselves from the public audience and necessarily are paying a higher personal cost in emotional and mental strain in the attempt to perform as required by the Company.

In the informal selection process the method consistently used to indicate a desire to occupy a position that one's seniority does not warrant is through what may be considered as invasion and occupancy of territory. This applies only to first class and consequently the work position of first class stewardess. It occurs infrequently on scheduled overseas flights but quite regularly on scheduled domestic flights and on non scheduled charters, therefore involves multilinguals also. When the more junior stewardess desires or intends to usurp the first class position she proceeds in the following manner.

1) She boards the aircraft in advance of the required three quarters of an hour preflight time and establishes herself there by stowing her belongings there and proceeding with the duties that are assigned to that position so that when the others board they find her already occupying the territory and the position. This method is used more often than the other described next. The strategy in no way ensures that she will retain the position when the others board.
2) When she boards with the others and places her suitcase and/or belongings on the first class lounge table this is interpreted as a declaration of intent and as an aggressive act, as a challenge to the priorities given to seniority and the informal system although it is at the same time also considered as a legitimate desire. There is a distinct difference in the behavior of all persons present when baggage, purses, etc. are left there while greetings and introductions are being made, as these tend to be deposited on the floor. The objects on the lounge table are in effect territorial markers and are seen as such because one of four things happen.

For one, the senior stewardess — and any others willing to get involved as witnesses or in settling the issue by participating actively — confronts the subordinate and states her intention of assuming her rightful place accorded to her by seniority status. When this happens the junior usually complies and goes back to the economy cabin. This response is made to the first type of occupancy also. Or secondly, the senior stewardess picks up the cue, takes the initiative and verbalizes the challenge then relinquishes her position with good will. In this way she exercises the prerogative of her seniority and in addition maintains control over the situation and the persons involved by initiating the solution. By doing this tactfully and in a friendly manner she contributes positively towards group cohesiveness.

The senior operates from a power position and one of personal
influence but she does not necessarily indicate approval or establish amiable relations between them from the initial contact; her behavior does reinforce common norms regarding selection of work positions.\(^42\)

The junior stewardess remains in the subordinate position in her personal relations even though she occupies both territory and position which goes with it. She is also obligated to the senior stewardess and others senior to herself whom she has displaced for relinquishing their options. A base is set upon which to begin building mutual ties through reciprocity.

Thirdly, the senior stewardess (an others) pick up the cue, ignore the challenge and the challenger and all proceed to the economy cabin so that in effect she gets the position almost by default. She is not accorded the status that normally goes with the position as no one bothered to interact with her. Minimal greetings may be made, these are considered as recognition of presence. Ignoring the challenge occurs when the others have a low regard for the purser who will be the coworker in the first class section, when there is low regard for the stewardess herself and the group prefer not to have her as a member of their work unit, or when they have no desire to occupy that position on that particular flight. Interaction with the junior will proceed out of politeness or as the work organization regulates but the extrinsic benefits of amiable personal relations with friends and

colleagues such as arise out of the exchange relationship in the second type of approach are largely lacking.

Fourthly, the senior stewardess attempts to regain her status privilege but the subordinate does not comply as in the first instance so that a conflict situation develops. When this happens the purser is required to make the decision as to who will occupy the position. His authority is legitimate and his decision is binding on both. If feelings of anger and ill will have been generated, it is the junior one who is in a more unfavorable position in regards to interpersonal relations with the others, who needs to work towards bringing about a more relaxed emotional atmosphere. Stewardesses who stake out claims to territory and positions are thought of as pushy, rude, ignorant of rules, immature. The senior stewardess does not face the same derogatory comment because of the long standing nature of seniority privileges and because most of them are willing to relinquish the position when approached with a request for it so that a territorial and position takeover is unnecessary.

Typically, when pursers delegate work positions the following patterns are observed: a) if the entire crew are on the same block for a whole month he assigns work positions on the first outgoing flight and thereafter allows the informal selection process to take over; b) when they are impermanent by blocking, he selects his first class stewardess coworker and allows the informal selection process
to operate for the economy section; c) the purser is required to delegate the first class position when those he selects or attempts to select indicate they do not desire it, he will not delegate it to a lower range stewardess of the junior (nonblocked) subgroup on domestic flights and would insist on at least an upper range one for overseas flights if he honours the refusals of the jet-blocked stewardesses.

Pursers who consistently assign all work positions and duties on every trip deviate from the norm. They are felt to be having a problem with the office (meaning supervisors) are trying to prove that they're a man, are accused of being dictatorial or too authoritarian or felt to have a personal problem. As there is general agreement that such work relationships are unnecessary they are frequently spoken of in derogatory terms, and may be called 'tin gods', or 'peacocks', similar to the descriptive characteristics of employee/officer relationships in the bank as described by Argyris\textsuperscript{43}. the difference is that they are not in the management level of organizational structure. It is a natural outcome that when it is exercised by few and when it is not required by the system, authority is resented.\textsuperscript{44} His legitimate authority position enforces compliance but leadership depends on the

\textsuperscript{43} C. Argyris, \textit{Organization of a Bank}, New Haven: Labour and Management Center, Yale University, 1954, p. 93.

\textsuperscript{44} G. C. Homans, \textit{The Human Group}, New York, Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1950, p. 278.
social approval of subordinates in order to be effective\textsuperscript{45} and this they are not able to obtain.

Established work norms include that persons in a work unit arrange the details of their work among themselves. When the purser specifies too many of the instructions or intervenes in ongoing activities, he reduces the number and type of interactions available to the coworkers in a work unit which would normally occur between them in the process of planning and setting up; foundations on which superior/subordinate relationships are worked out are disorganized, persons who are not too well acquainted with each other are under somewhat of a strain as the basic work oriented structures of talk have been eliminated or disorganized. Also by reversing decisions already agreed upon democratically, by coalitions, or however, he causes hostilities and frustration. In either case the structures which produce work unit cohesiveness are disrupted.

Although leadership rightfully involves coordinating the work of others,\textsuperscript{46} the basic problem is that the members of the economy work unit(s) do not perceive the purser as included in their work unit as his duties keep him in the first class section most of the time, while they are permanently located and their work organization requires a permanent leader. Within their work unit, if the flight attendant

\textsuperscript{45} Blau, \textit{Exchange and Power}, p. 201.

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 215.
working the galley position does not exercise authority, leadership may be 'assumed and expected to be assumed' by the most senior stewardess who is also respected for status dimensions other than seniority; although a subordinate with a dominant personality will sometimes engage in a power play for leadership.

Approximately midway through the study 'flight attendant work distribution' slips were introduced by the Company together with the directive that pursers were to use a rotation system so that "all flight attendants would have an opportunity to train and gain experience in all work positions". It was presumably meant to apply to stewardesses only, as assistant pursers who are also flight attendants and who perform the same duties as a stewardess who works the galley, were never in fact rotated as were the stewardesses, multilinguals were also excluded on overseas flights. In addition, the pursers were coincidentally directed to provide "the best possible service inflight". These two directives are contradictory.

The rotation system in practice required the purser to do alot of training as many of the more junior of the senior blockholder group or even junior nonblockholders had either not ever worked in first class before or had not done so for some time. As meal service presentations tend to change in this cabin about twice a year there is a real difficulty for even all of the middle range seniors to remain up to date on the procedures. In addition, the purser was required to
exchange work positions with one economy cabin stewardess during a 'portion of' the economy meal service. This resulted in first class passengers receiving a lower grade of service unless the purser replacement was a high range senior. There was a disorganization of all formerly established stable work patterns.

Besides the requirement of the purser to continually train someone new as a coworker, there was the impossibility of using rotation in a situation of high impermanency of crews, and impossible for others to exercise any control on pursers. After a few months of trial most of the pursers reverted to the older well established systems, giving preference to good service rather than rotation. The informal selection process which has been described in detail is based on seniority rights, which is regarded as a non emotional objective criterion. Some of the pursers took advantage of the Company directive and of the high crew impermanency to select as their coworker in first class the stewardess in the crew who was a 'favorite', 'the most physically attractive', 'young and attractive', 'one with whom he had a public kissing relationship', 'one to whom he desired to make sexual overtures to', 'one whom he could drink liquor in front of', etc. This created dissension among the female group as a whole. The former structures became correspondingly disorganized and it initiated the inclusion of 'coworker selection' criteria into the particular purser's floating biography.
Some pursers and assistant pursers have been known to coerce stewardesses who are unwilling to engage in some form of sex play, this is occasionally publicly voiced to other crew members. Typically, these males refuse to speak to them unless they have to, refuse to socialize with them and will isolate them from group activities i.e. they are required to guard the economy cabin while the others visit with each other in the first class section, delegate them to the economy galley position and exclude them from the first class position, publicly reprimand them for small deviations that go unnoticed on others i.e. for not wearing regulation hair bows, by speaking of them negatively before supervisory staff and maximally by reporting them to supervisors on some unprovable trumped-up charge that will cause the supervisor to keep the stewardess under surveillance. This kind of floating biographical item is explicitly stated or is implied in some conversational way between stewardess coworkers one of whom does not appear to be aware that she is being selected or excluded on these grounds. Stewardesses inquire of each other the marital status of the male, will defend each other, good naturedly or sarcastically negatively sanction the males in front of others, or leave the stewardess to her own resources for individual identity management. The knowledge of reporting to supervisory staff on unprovable charges is generally restricted between close friends. The stated attitude of one senior purser whose floating biography includes the fact that he consistently
fails to support his coworkers before supervisors and alters his accounts on them in order to save himself from disciplinary action, was given as "I didn't used to think that one little girl here or there mattered". This remark indicates a longstanding pattern. He is referred to as a Don Juan type, swinger, playboy; these have specific effects on individual inflight aircraft coworker relationships and on crew cohesiveness.

Flight attendant interpersonal relations which are observed and evaluated by passengers to be too overtly sexual are negatively sanctioned by letters of complaint which tend to indicate that they view such behavior as 'offensive' and 'unprofessional'. Infrequently, stewardesses report to supervisors also although this is generally considered as a last resort. They complain to each other much more frequently. This is a form of social control, it is felt that such pair behavior damages the image of the stewardess group.

The acquaintance process and floating biography

In getting acquainted or reacquainted, greetings and introductions are sometimes made in the crew room in the terminal but most often are made on boarding the aircraft. Those who are already acquainted with each other resume their relationship and close the intervening lapse of time with personal information and are therefore somewhat involved in floating biography construction. This always
precedes involvement with any stranger in the group. Those who are not blockholders and thus are unexpected as coworkers are expected to volunteer an explanation for their presence on the crew. Those who do not do so are asked for the information. Sometimes the reason for a replacement is available from the crew roster at the time one checks in for a flight, sometimes it is available from another crew member; the amount of detail accompanying the reason varies with the informer. This effects a body of knowledge about the work and personal affairs of biographical others on the base which otherwise there is no access to, mainly because there is such a restricted contact with others. It becomes known who is off sick, away on holidays, who has exchanged flights and why, who is on a public relations assignment or away on union business. There is some attempt to prepare one's blockholding coworkers in advance when an absence is expected i.e. flight exchanges are 'announced'. This pattern is a work norm. Most concern to know details occur when a replacement is due to a flight attendant's being grounded or suspended due to disciplinary action for some misdeed. It is then that many of the rules governing employment are learned. It is usually the case that the more senior members are more aware of what the rules are, how they are interpreted by both union and management and in discussing them the rules regarding the ways by which crew members protect each other in problematic situations etc. are learned. As a by-product, it is coincidentally learned in what situations crew members may not expect any protection and support from
each other.

This points out another positive function of soliciting and transference of biographical information and of floating biographies. It is that what is achieved is a 'routinizing of other's mistakes'. In this manner rules regulating deviations from formal rules are learned, by which group cohesiveness is built up and by which proof is provided as to which flight attendants are trustworthy. These are rules of mutual protection. 47

With the unacquainted there are basically four areas of a personal biography that are solicited for a basic floating biography in an attempt to identify and evaluate the person, and as a means of finding things in common on which to base or begin a personal relationship and to actualize an enjoyable work experience. Among the first to be established is how long the person has been flying. This locates him/her on the seniority scale relative to oneself and is an index of work experience and therefore expected efficiency inflight. It also somewhat orders relationships -- who may give directions and instruct whom regardless of position occupied on the aircraft. Thus in a work unit with high status congruency by the status dimension of seniority anyone can and does give orders to

anyone while in a unit of low status congruency the highs may direct
the lows but not vice versa. With blockholders, in addition, any
indication of who their coworkers were in the preceding month is also
an index of whether they had a 'good' or a 'bad' month and is a clue
to the emotional tension with which a new month is begun. With the
unacquainted placement in some friendship or acquaintance network is
mandatory. Some of this may be inferred from the person's seniority,
some from what flights were most recently worked and some from which
flight attendants were worked with. Friendships are made known by
the individual, or of course through gossip.

The other two areas explored are biographical facts which
appear in career files also: 1) what occupation the person engaged
in before entering this one, this is closely associated with
educational background, and 2) where the person was born, raised,
educated or hired in an effort to establish values, attitudes and
ethnic backgrounds. These are criteria for establishing the achieved
and ascribed social status of the person. There is a sense of
appropriateness with regard to a 'proper' former background. For
example, stewardesses with no previous occupational experience i.e.
directly out of university or high school are according to group
attitudinal norms lacking in proper qualifications, as entry by
youth and physical attractiveness is not highly regarded. They are
exceptions, as the majority are hired on the basis of achieved social status, i.e. former secretaries, models, teachers, nurses, bank clerks, etc. These become status dimensions by which persons rank each other. Rank is somewhat changeable with each crew as not all persons evaluate status dimensions in the same way. Likewise, pursers who were formerly mechanics or policemen etc. are not rated as having a 'proper' background. A proper background is a status dimension relevant to coworker selection and formation of work units. This deficiency is apparently eventually much more easily overlooked in females than in males but has a tendency to be brought out during or after disputes regardless of the passage of time, as are such status dimensions as ethnic background, sex, marital status, friendship etc. Recruitment of flight attendants is made from middle class social strata and coincides more closely to the social class of the larger proportion of passenger population.

Not all biographical information is obtainable in the first fifteen minutes, it generally begins then and continues inflight as time permits. Flights on which there is no time for any kind of socializing or getting acquainted work to get done are highly unsatisfactory to flight attendants and contribute to feelings of social isolation which normally accrue due to the temporal marginality of work periods and impermanency of crews.
Coworker selection:

With minor variations, the priorities of coworker selection among the acquainted blockholders subgroup are: friendship compatibility; familiarity with each others work habits and communication patterns; high technical competence; ability to work well under space, time and interpersonal pressures; social competence, good qualities of a team-worker i.e. reciprocity, hardworking, durability on long on-duty periods, reliability, amiability etc., character, intelligence and a sense of humor. Physical attractiveness is at the bottom of the scale although a certain standard of good grooming is seen as mandatory but not as a primary basis for coworker selection. To quote a senior's judgement on a very junior reserve replacement's performance during a rushed meal service "Batting your eyelids doesn't get the trays in."

Coworker selection on these grounds reflects the significance of job specific preferred characteristics, selections appear to come about quite naturally, and pairing is smooth and quickly accomplished. Effectiveness as a team is therefore also higher than when unacquainted members are included or entirely compose a work unit. Coworkers continually monitor each other's faces as one way of interpersonal problem location. Faces which may be described as pleasant, not overly serious, composed, happy, are the requisite faces of the occasion. Changes are of sociological relevance. Particularly during interactions with passengers a face change to one of surprise, protest, annoyance,
embarrassment, or the putting on of a mask smile indicate that a problem has been encountered. On return to a back region the flight attendant will be asked for an account of what happened by the coworker(s). The interaction is an event to be reviewed. A collective agreement might subsequently be made on 'what to do', on 'how to treat' the passenger on future interactions and is binding on all. If a passenger has been categorized earlier as a troublemaker a coworker is permitted to come to the assistance of the one having the difficulty. Only persons who have known each other and worked with each other for a period of time are able to recognize a mask smile from all the other smiles typical to the person; or, when a twitch of a nose means a difference of opinion, that there is difficulty in maintaining emotional equilibrium and verbal silence, rather than due to an itch, and so on. As a team member one is then in a position to assist, sympathize, to make oneself ready to communicate a meaningful glance, or to take some preventative action to offset a conflict situation from developing.

Priority of coworker selection among the unacquainted are patterned on a minimal number of status dimensions and may be entirely unavailable as frequently what happens is that those who have not been selected by blockholders are so to speak left overs who have no choice of whom they are to work with. The status dimensions when used are: compatibility of seniority, as a combination of high and low extremes cause an immediate psychological strain; a favorable floating biography, and personal appearance.
Persons are not preferred as coworkers who are lazy, inefficient, tactless, hard to get along with, authoritarian, prejudiced, etc. These facts are floating biographical facts which evolve out of interpersonal relations on the job and may be quite static for some persons.

In contrast to the acquainted subgroup, grooming, for these persons rates high. This does not necessarily mean that it is a job specific preferred characteristic for the practical purposes of getting the job done; although airline hiring practices treat it as one. For example, "good appearance is one of the first things the airline looks for in a would-be stewardess". Letters of compliment from passengers provide a general consensus that their commendations are given for such things as efficient service, sociability - charm and courtesy - with passengers and between coworkers, provision of special services i.e. care of medical crises, special attention to families, sightseeing information, etc. character and personality, but not solely for beauty, good physique/figure or personal attractiveness. Any mention of poor grooming in letters of complaint always follow and are associated with

an evaluation of poor service. This concurs with the former subgroup practices rather than with the unacquainted subgroup or Company management of hiring practices. Indirectly, the public passenger participants also support established seniority rights, permanency of cabin crews, and job specific preferred characteristics.

**Occupational personality**

The discussion in this section will apply mainly to the female flight attendant for three reasons: 1) stewardesses form the majority of the total population, 2) recruitment of stewardesses is publicly advertised, 3) airline advertising emphasize the female flight attendant rather than the male counterpart.

The industry ensures a stewardess' ability to perform within the boundaries of the requisite service standards by recruiting persons whose personalities and qualifications are of a specific type. To quote one airline

"...the perfect stewardess has personality, sparkle, pizzazz...good looks...(has) the flying bug....people that love people, she loves her job and that enthusiasm has a way of coming out....healthy....physical stamina....she exudes confidence and you automatically relax with her....she has empathy and awareness of passenger needs....has a warmth you can't buy." 49

( ) content within the bracket is inserted by the writer.

The following occupational characteristics are extracted from a Company pamphlet used by the public relations department to promote career interests at the secondary school level.

"A successful stewardess possesses charm, intelligence, and enthusiasm. ....a candidate....should strive to develop poise, tact and the ability to get along well with people....(engage in) activities (that) develop self expression, which in turn promotes self-confidence, discipline and poise....appearance is of paramount importance."  50

( ) content in brackets is in inserted by the writer for purposes of readability.

These characteristics can be taken to be the organizationally structured occupational personality. Social skills and competence are given top priority second only to appearance. This is in conflict with the order of job specific preferred characteristics as held by the occupational members themselves as reflected in coworker among the acquainted.

In contrast, the persons who work in a bank are selected for stability, they reflect a strong desire for security and predictability in their lives and prefer to work in relative isolation. 51 They maintain communication patterns that are serene and brief rather than enthusiastic and warmly friendly as does the stewardess.

50. Company pamphlet used in career talks by the public relations department to promote career entry.

In addition to selective recruitment, the stewardess image quoted above is the only one presented and stressed during flight service training as the appropriate one. What the new recruit lacks in the way of personal grooming, poise, voice culture and extroversion she is expected to adopt. Any subsequent personality change is enhanced by being in the presence of persons living through the same experience and facing the same problems. Removal of the new recruit from her former geographic place of residence and places her in a totally new environment where she has no ready made social relationships and is forced to relate to those selected to be her reference group. Environmental changes are known to aid in the necessary personality transformations which are demanded in modern division of labour, as may be seen in training methods used by the medical professions and religious institutions both of which require a uniform and typical population. 52

Once out of flight service training occupational contacts reinforce the development of the stereotyped image by providing models on which to base the transition and make it seem more natural. As stewardesses frequently also live together a more total life organization is more likely to occur. The organizationally structured personality does not place a high value on technical efficiency nor

52. Hughes, Men Work, pp. 32-44
teamwork efficiency\textsuperscript{53} and this notion is periodically brought out to
the occupational group in flight attendant meetings conducted by
management personnel, and at which attendance is mandatory; to be
absent at such a meeting is a punishable offense.

To effectively perform the stereotyped and desired personality
in a natural way takes years of experience and practice at the discipline
till it becomes a second self; in that sense it is necessarily originally
somewhat theatrical, it is a mask one wears.\textsuperscript{54} As such it belies the
differentiation between individuals as much as the uniform, and the non-
uniform, does. Eventually the stewardess is conscious of wearing a
mask only when very physically, emotionally and mentally tired but is
required to perform some service in the cabin, during disputes or
scenes with passengers when she is having difficulty maintaining her
emotional equilibrium, when entering the passenger area of the cabin
after an emotional scene or game with another flight attendant in a
back area, and when dignified deportment is absolutely required in
order to reassure passengers that all is well but which can be or are
contemplatively fateful, for example after aborted take-offs or aborted
landings, after announcements of aircraft mechanicals are made which
require emergency landings at the nearest airport, after a public

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{53} Personal communication from a Company official above
the supervisory level.
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\textsuperscript{54} L. Mumford, \textit{The Conduct of Life}, New York, Harcourt,
Brace and Company, 1951, pp. 97-100.
\end{flushright}
address announcement that a bomb scare had been received on the flight, etc. Flight attendants are aware that they put masks on for performances and frequently are heard to complain among themselves that "it is unnatural". that sometimes they would prefer to "just be myself", etc.

The stereotyped personality appears to be a real and serious expectation held by the public, this is reflected by passenger letters of complement/complaint. The flight attendant is therefore channeled to adopt and maintain the stereotype; although the range of duties and responsibilities makes this an incongruously limited stereotype. In that letters of reprimand are placed on career files for deviations from the stereotype, i.e. for rudeness, anger, public social embarrassment of passenger, etc. the stereotyped personality is organizationally maintained on a continual basis. The mandatory 'smile' promotes a "glamourous but dumb" evaluation also, and a few airlines have responded by using alternate image projections i.e. advertisements that read "Behind every smile there's a brain" or the 'mother image'.

Disparity between the distinctions of job specific preferred characteristics priorities held by two separate groups is not limited to the industry under study. The academic market is a good example of conflicting criteria for evaluating, promoting and hiring of professors. 55 Contracts are made for teaching services, promotions

on grounds of research contributions and publications, and for all practical purposes hiring is frequently based on a personal level i.e. personality factors, having the right kind of wife, hobby, or clothes, personal influence, etc. It is expected that such divergence exists in all large scale occupations, organizations and work settings.
I. Two sets of participants = passengers and organization representatives

A. Demographic perspective for an explanation.

Introduction

Social relationships in any setting and social situation are dominated by the pragmatic motive to perform competently all the routine activities of everyday life. Pragmatic competence in their performance is based on a body of common-sense knowledge shared by ordinary members of a society. In an inclusive sense such knowledge utilizes shared language and its associated standardized definitions, assumptions and reciprocity of perspectives for the 'typifications' of social actors and social events. By way of these typifications members of society can interpret everyday activities as normal courses of action and can participate in their production as naturally occurring events.

The routines built up by these typifications have for their members an inherent common-sense logic. They are necessarily shared

55. A. Schutz, Collected Papers I, pp. 70-76.

- 87 -
by one society, culture or language group although some knowledge may also be common to or shared with another group. The available social stock of knowledge differs from the body of common-sense knowledge in that it is of a more complex nature and is distributed throughout society in specialized persons i.e. engineers, lawyers, pilots etc., but of whom the ordinary member has some adequate typification for everyday understandings.56

In the construction and interpretation of social reality in the setting under question, particularly on international flights, routine performances are not likely to proceed in standardized ways when the participants involved in any one interaction come from different cultural backgrounds. They may be, to use Garfinkel's term 'competent' members57 of their respective societies and still not be able to enact a routine performance in an unproblematic way, as their general background expectancies, norms and rules of action are not shared. Deviations from routines initiate the institution of social controls, both of which work towards the maintenance of the social order.


A demographic explanation is appropriate for certain types of inflight social relationships, and has already been used for: 1) the fluctuating ratios between flight attendant/passenger proportions, 2) those proportions as correlated to minutes of service per passenger based on duration of flying time; as a base from which to discuss work norms i.e. inflight tension with which work is performed, conflicts between coworkers, and so on. Passenger populations can be described using such variables as sex, age, social status, etc.; however, there is no formal organizational structure set up to provide reports of demographic categories of a passenger population in advance, i.e. by way of special forms.

Flight attendants receive minimally a 'verbal estimate' demographic count prior boarding their aircraft from the passenger agent in the hold room, at their own initiative. This takes the form of: "10 first class and 108 economy", or, "...full load expected. We've got six stand-bys", (persons with no reservations who are boarded at the last minute when there are seats available). This is purely numerical categorization with relevance to number 1) and 2) ratios as mentioned above. The estimate is perceived as valuable and significant as a base from which intuitive inferences are made as to the pace at which work will be required to be performed, to how much advance preparation will have to be made prior passenger arrival etc. and are based on past experience i.e. typifications of other
flights.

At the same time an account of the subcategory 'preboards' is obtainable and is reported out of the total passenger population expected on the flight as: one family with two chfs (children on half fares), one prisoner with plainclothes policeman, an elderly lady speaks only Hungarian; or, two V.I.P.'s (names and positions relevant to social status held may or may not be available), three wheelchairs, one unaccompanied chf, two deportees, etc. Except for V.I.P.'s all variables used to label and identify persons are relevant to competency of the passenger participant and are indicators for particular kinds of adjustments the cabin crew will be required to make in order to assist them in routine everyday activity performances in the setting. Preboarding as a routine activity is organizationally instituted as a means of segregating them for various reasons: a) in that they have physical deficiencies i.e. blind, deaf, invalid, armless etc., b) in that they require more time to be settled as i.e. families with children, unaccompanied minors who must be familiarized with the aircraft i.e. lavatory, the elderly who are slower, etc., c) or who have no civilian legal status or have restricted freedom such as deportees, persons in transit without visas, prisoners, delinquents, etc. d) in that they are medically marginal i.e. stretcher cases, paraplegics, mentally confused, etc.

Large groups travelling together on scheduled flights such
as sports teams are boarded in advance of other passengers but after preboards, so although they receive special privilege it is not meaningful to the participant competency status. Passengers who would normally be preboarded sometimes do not receive this service due to their late arrival at the terminal and are boarded with competent passengers so that some problem exists as to completeness of flight attendant knowledge of their existence and presence. Preboarding practices assist the flight attendants in being prepared for assisting the passenger to participate in the activities of the occasion with a minimum of disruption to work organization and social embarrassment. Knowledge of the nature of the categorization calls into play relevant background expectancies of extra services to be provided for that person. For example: knowing that the passenger in 16C has only one arm the flight attendant will without being asked to do so, fasten his seatbelt or precut his steak and butter his roll in advance of giving him his meal tray.

Special procedures exist for the routine handling of the formal immigration and passport forms and documents of unaccompanied minors, deportees and passengers travelling without a visa on international (and connecting domestic) flights. These persons and
their papers are in the custody of the Captain and the cabin crew. These persons are not permitted to deplane during enroute station stops as are other passengers. They are required to be escorted off at their destination and handed over to appropriate persons.

Prisoners are always escorted handcuffed to a police officer, they usually remain handcuffed during boarding until the plane takes off, and during deplaning. However, if the passenger is considered dangerous or desperate by the police officer he remains handcuffed to him during the entire flight. It has been observed that both prisoner and policeman will enter a lavatory together with no special concern from the flight attendants. This acceptance does not extend to two civilian dressed males or male female pairs who may behave similarly.

Although the presence of persons requiring special consideration and particular kinds of extra services are a uniformity of a flight attendant's work life it is also true that mistakes are regularly recurrent and mainly result from an inadequate organizational system of reporting, identifying and locating of such persons, together with time pressures experienced inflight. There is no special area

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58. If lost while in custody a monetary fine is levied against the Company. Also, on international flights if the actual passenger head count does not coincide with the number shown on the 'General Declaration' form given to immigration officers the aircraft can be impounded and a fine levied against the company.
for preboards to sit in as a group. They are scattered throughout the cabin. Thus a stewardess reported that she was embarrassed and angry to discover at the end of a flight that she had been extra solicitous inflight to a young passenger whom she thought was the one who was dying of cancer, but who in fact turned out to be the prisoner, and that she had been brief and cool to the one whose condition she felt warranted special kindesses. As there is no exhaustive list available, no use of identification markers as i.e. lapel signs for passengers, no posting of names, seat location and relevant information, such mistakes frequently happen. As a result, one of the talents required to be developed by a flight attendant is the setting up of a cognitive visual map of the cabin, particularly locations of special categories of persons; such a map is made up on every passenger load of every flight worked. It is sometimes so strongly imprinted on the memory that a flight attendant may not see a particular passenger for several years but on meeting or recognition will be able to recall the exact seat or area location, conversations held, or problems encountered with the person. It is a reference point for identifying whom coworkers are attending to when they are seen in certain areas, and coincidentally in identifying what kinds of work is being done. It is also useful in basing probabilities for types of service requests which may be expected and setting up of priorities when a call button goes on at
a certain row of seats. So that, knowing there is a spastic child in 10C means that it is more important to answer that call for service rather than a call from row 20 or 40, especially when it is felt the latter number request will be for a drink 'too many'.

It is on the basis of such maps that flight attendants are able to formulate typifications of passenger behaviour to be expected in certain areas i.e. male passengers at the rear of the cabin are generally heavier drinkers, noisier and more demanding than those who sit towards the front of the cabin. Mapping is also positively correlated to a flight attendant's categorization of who regular customers are on particular routes, this takes some years to formulate and different flight attendants will have different passenger lists.

Cognitive visual maps of work settings vary with the occupation, and information items that go into making them up are specific to both setting and occupation. Location identification, category of population and classification of occupant are primary facts. For example, when a surgical nurse sees a call light from room 104, it is associated with the category of a population of 'patients'; classification of surgery; potential crisis factors for example, number of hours or days post operative, state of vital signs as blood pressure, and possible request correlated to these factors i.e. that the call will be a request for an analgesic. So that in fact
nurses do prepare such medications and arrive with them prior receiving a verbal request from the patient in advance. A hotel telephone operator's cognitive visual map is based on the switchboard representation of the hotel floor plan of guest rooms and when an inside call light and buzzer go on she can be heard to announce "There's our troublemaker", or "Mr. Smith's morning call I'll bet", (the latter sentence translated out of hotel jargon means "Mr. Smith is going to ask me to put his name down on the wake-up list so that he doesn't sleep in tomorrow morning"), and she will be right both times. There is in this occupation an aural identificatory scheme also so that a switchboard operator is able to identify the stranger in front of her as Mr. Jones, occupant of 310 on hearing his voice, by associating it with her cognitive visual map. A formerly indirect social relationship becomes a face-to-face one. Updating of maps in this case is done each shift of duty by going over the room cardex, from which it is learned i.e. length of expected stay, silent registers on whom she is not permitted to give out any information, etc.

In closing, once on the aircraft the demographic count received prior boarding is compared to the passenger count stated on

59. Participant observation in the hotel setting, located at the front desk in the lobby. Passive observation combined with the role of switchboard operator and front desk clerk.
the 'flight service report' form which lists the number of meals boarded, the two counts do not always coincide and therefore unless there is a full to capacity aircraft load and a full complement of meals, a passenger count must be done prior departure from the terminal in order to establish whether there are enough meals on board or whether departure will have to be delayed for this reason. There is no way to confirm the reported list of preboards.

Orientation to ethnicity of passenger population:

Reference was made earlier to the fact that the cultural orientation of a flight is that of the airline's country of origin. Passenger populations, particularly on overseas flights and to a lesser degree on domestic flights which connect with overseas flights, contain representation from many ethnic groups. It is possible that persons may be competent and 'bona-fide' members\(^60\) of their own group but being unknowledgeable of North American culture, not be able to perform competently the everyday activities routinely performed in the setting on World Airways flights.

\(^60\) As defined by Garfinkel a 'bona-fide' member is a member of a collectivity who "is entitled to exercise that he is capable of managing his every day affairs without interference" and that his competence can be taken for granted. Garfinkel, *Ethnomethodology*, p. 57.
The following examples are just two out of many which could be presented. On one occasion it was observed that a sudden hostility with overtones of racial prejudice erupted when an African male wearing dark sunglasses passed a three man occidental queue lined up before the washrooms and proceeded to try the lavatory doors. The man at the head of the line angrily informed the deviant of the queue rule and using an arm gesture pointed out where the end of the line was. The African gave no response, stepped aside but not in line, and waited. The first lavatory vacated was taken by the head man, the second by the African, with no restraint by the other two. For all practical purposes the African 'appeared' to be Western as he wore Western clothes. Similarly, judging by appearances, for all practical purposes it was possibly not altogether clear that the group indeed were a queue in that they were leaning against the bulkhead hands in pockets, talking, and could easily be interpreted as gathered there for a chat. In this case interpretations and responses were initiated on the basis of visual stimuli. Likewise flight attendants frequently make mistakes in interpreting up and down head nods to mean 'yes' rather than a 'polite bow of dismissal' from a sitting position so frequently used by orientals and Europeans. Just as frequently, for example, is the difficulty of interpreting the French 'merci' when it properly means 'no' rather than 'yes'. When the mistake is made both participants become somewhat flustered and embarrassed. This is followed by an
apology from the flight attendant sometimes accompanied by an explanation of why the mistake occurred. The explanation is 'instructive', in particular it reveals the logic-in-use by which the activity was being performed. Apologies are an interpersonal ritual following mistakes, when they are performed by flight attendants deference is paid to the passenger. This is governed by the client/service relationship between the interactants. Social ease is thereby reestablished. Often the resultant interaction tension is relieved through humor.

In face to face engagements such as those just described, members of a society rely heavily on the linguistic communication system to make themselves understood; however, in cross cultural contacts verbal content loses its primary significance where neither participant can translate the other's language. Reliance on other communication channels is then greater and occurs out of necessity. It involves communication at the behavioral, kinesic and paralinguistic systems

levels. When there is a non correspondence between two languages there is a greater degree of reliance on gestures, pantomime and facial expressions in the interactions for interpreting what persons say. For this reason it is important to know what ethnic groups are represented by the cabin crew. For example, an English speaking stewardess who does not understand a slavic language would call on the help of one from a slavic background to assist in determining what language the passenger is speaking. It is possible for a Ukrainian speaking stewardess to interpret languages closely related i.e. Polish, Russian, Czechoslovakian etc. on the basis of hers. Enough at least for everyday activities in the setting. Most frequently interestingly enough, the two participants can be seen to continue to speak their own language although at a much slower pace and with exaggerated paralinguisitc emphasis i.e. voice stressing, even when content is meaningless. Efforts are most successful when related to food, drink, elimination and minor body pains like head and stomachaches, clock time and geographic locations which can be pointed out on a map. They are least successful towards achieving the desired goal when it is merely conversational.

Interactions between two such participants, for example a stewardess and a passenger, become social events which incorporate other passengers in the immediate surrounding area when they have become problematic and when resolution is unlikely due to language
incompatibility. Interference by others is seen as warranted and expected behavior. Others frequently voluntarily act as interpreters, they offer the stewardess their interpretative versions or suggestions as to what course of action to take and may even set about to question the passenger directly. In either case, a small group is formed, and although the group dissolves whether the problem is successfully resolved or dropped from further concerted effort, it readily and naturally reforms during any subsequent interactions of the kind.

In effect, other passengers are for a period of time admitted to the team responsible for rendering services. Passengers who have been mere observers to the action view such events as social happenings to be 'commented on', 'talked about', or 'concerned about' and frequently use them to initiate interactions with each other or with the stewardess as she walks by. Flight attendants are habituated to view such occurrences as routine events in their everyday life.

A person of another culture sometimes initiates very specific kinds of action by merely entering the aircraft. For example, when an East Indian is noticed, the message is relayed on to check whether a vegetarian meal is on board and a plan of action is initiated if there is not. It is based on the typification of Indian cultural eating habits. Likewise, when a group of other nationals board one crew member might jokingly comment to another to sprinkle some Nil-Odor
disinfectant around as they are known to have a more noticeable body odor and in a closed cabin others' sensitivities become offended. In this setting perceivable odors are sociological events. They are required to be 'identified' and 'investigated'. When the source is located 'decisions' must be made as to what to do about eliminating them. Whether they are due to a passenger smoking a cigar, burning incense, taking his shoes off when he has smelly feet or someone being airsick, etc., some 'plan of action' results to either inform those in the surrounding area what the odor is, and/or to ask their permission as to whether the offender may continue to smoke etc., or not. Individual's actions are transformed into group social events. Usually such investigations are performed by the crew but they are also initiated by passengers particularly when odors are difficult to identify or appear to come from burning fabric or electrical sources. The collective sense of responsibility is a feature of social organization in an environment so precarious that the maintenance of a safe environment is a matter of 'any' individual's concern, awareness and monitoring.

As a consequence of the daily requirement to have social intercourse with members of other nationalities, races, and ethnic groups, stereotyped images of them are developed by flight attendants. Such knowledge is accumulated out of experience, shared accounts of problems encountered on other occasions, are often retold during
pastimes of funny story telling on a flight. A 'working knowledge' of costumes, accents, attitudes, behavior patterns or other identification means specific to a group is necessary in order not to offend them or embarrass oneself in a social situation. Some notion of the typical kinds of problems they present inflight enables the crew to see them as 'ordinary' problems that can be prepared for in advance and handled with ease rather than as extraordinary problems that are disruptive to the social order of ongoing activities.

One of the institutionalized patterns of informing each other of the presence of specific ethnic representatives is done through assuming the passenger's manner of speech and accent when making requests of each other or in giving explanations of what they are doing. For example, when a cabin stewardess comes up to the galley and asks the galley stewardess for a cup of water in an Irish brogue she implies that the water is not for an unknown (or just any) passenger but especially for an Irish one. As time is a precious commodity, various communication patterns exist which concentrate a lot of information into minimally time consuming interactions. It is a functionally logical outcome of working conditions and requirements of the job.

The presence of a 'cultural stranger' in the group, that is, a person who looks different in some way but whose ethnicity, nationality or group cannot be identified or is doubtful, is treated
as constituting a problem to the crew in that no one knows how he should or should not be treated. On the basis of self or coworker selection an assimilated flight attendant, one with little or no ethnic prejudices, engages the passenger in conversation and elicits information which will enable them to see him as 'one of a kind about which something is known'. The authority vested in a flight attendant's position i.e. uniform, enables any interviewer to get minimal information from a passport; but a skilled interviewer with social competence enables the interaction to be guided to that of a social visit, i.e. one smiles, admires the costume or the baby and so on. This assures the passenger of friendly intentions and of his welcomed presence. Further, inclusion into a group may be initiated by the incorporation of neighbouring passengers into the interaction. The conversation when held becomes one of cultural exchange with the flight attendant and others presenting relevant facts from their society. Through this process the passenger is made to feel less of a stranger in the predominating cultural orientation in the aircraft. It is not intended to imply that all flight attendants are assimilated in their attitudes but that skill in social competence enables even those with prejudices to put on a public performance of the above description. Only other crew members would know the real attitudes concealed.

Occasionally, such action is initiated following an enquiry
from another passenger. It is not treated as an untoward request. Orientation to ethnicity is standard practice. It provides a frame of reference for all by which to order their social relationships and need not necessarily infer discrimination or stereotyping of a negative kind. It is standard practice for airlines to hire persons to be flight attendants whose appearance will permit passengers from several ethnic backgrounds to identify with as one of their kind. For this reason minority groups are minimally represented. The majority will be representative of the ethnic groups who comprise the majority of passengers, this is closely related to major routes flown. One of the outcomes of a public service occupation is that nonoccupational characteristics such as ancestry, among others, is publicly rated making this kind of selection mandatory.

Charter flight passenger populations are frequently ethnically homogenous, there is some attempt by the Company to place a flight attendant(s) of the same ethnic background on the cabin crew. It is effectively a good public relations and political gesture. On any

66. Personal Communication from World Airways management personnel.
flight, passengers are particularly pleased to be able to relate to a flight attendant on the basis of shared ethnicity and will frequently engage in conversations with an ethnic orientation content. Others appear to derive much pleasure in guessing ethnic background, etc.; this is a typical aircraft game and pastime, and may continue through half a flight, enlarge to incorporate other crew members and neighbouring passengers. They may be used to advantage by a flight attendant to promote feelings of inclusiveness of strangers and as such are socially creative and constructive to the occasion as a special kind of social gathering. It becomes sociologically relevant when used.

B. Customer service and impression management functions

Team management of group tension

The airline industry provides a public service. The final product to be consumed is the flight itself and those whose occupation it is to provide the services and manage the activities inflight are subject to the evaluation of the public, as are other service occupations. Often there is a chronic tension between the two groups. The flight attendants by and large feel the public is

68. E. C. Hughes, Men Work, pp. 50-56.

incompetent to judge their performances, resent any interference and frequently support their actions by explaining 'why they are doing' 'what they are' 'in the way that they are'. The public readily complain, criticize and demand special services directly to the crew inflight or officially by letters to the Company. In that such complaints etc. are successful in changing a flight attendant's behaviour or cause disciplinary action to be taken by the Company against the crew member(s) the public occupy a position of power. The control exercised is comparable to that of an actual organizational position as Argyris points out is exercised by the public using the services of a bank.\(^70\) The serious post flight consequences of inflight social relationships which passengers feel have been mismanaged can result in a Company letter of reprimand on a flight attendant's career file, suspension from flying with the result of a loss of income, or in threats to loss of employment; any of these may be referred to the flight attendants union grievance committee for assistance in a settlement by a flight attendant.

Passenger rights to compliment and complain are directed from a market transaction frame of reference. Such a reference point

\(^70\) C. Argyris, *Organization of Bank*, pp. 55-56.
involves the person who renders the service to: 1) treat the customer with exaggerated forms of deference regardless of their respective statuses, 2) with 'nearly absolute consistency in manners' to all customers, 3) with a greater show of concern for the customer's personal affairs than the customer is required to return, and 4) an attitude that 'the customer is always right' towards differences of opinion. The flight attendants power position stems from being the organization's specialists who are required to accomplish the organization's goals. Overt conflicts are avoided as are prolonged exchanges in differences of opinion, by and large both groups are pliant and conform to the rules of the setting. The social psychological strains in the social system are caused by space and time pressures, coworker relationships, demographic variables, unexpected crisis or emergency occurrences among others.

As in the restaurant industry, the routinization of work, timing, coordination, and harmonious interpersonal relations are key factors to success. Flight attendants are routinely oriented to time limitations; work organization goals are fitted into structured time intervals and the number and type of passengers to be served, as the

71. Caplow, Sociology of Work, pp. 113-120.

primary factors bearing on how much energy they will be required to mobilize in order to 'pace' their work so that it gets done. The experienced socialize new members into adopting the appropriate amount of tension required by any particular flight. A member who consistently achieves the 'proper' amount of tension and manages interpersonal relations with passengers and team members without stress is valued as a coworker. It would appear that this is one criterion for judging a member as a 'bona-fide' member. So that, a well coordinated senior team will be able to manage the same type of meal service in the same amount of flying time i.e. one and one half hours, to two vastly different passenger populations i.e. full load versus one third aircraft load capacity, and just barely manage to get finished in time prior landing each time. This is managed by intuitive judgement of the rate of speed (pace) with which the work will have to be performed. It bears directly on how personal the service presentation will be and how much pressure will have to be exerted socially on passenger participants who are involved in the activity i.e. meal or beverage service. Communication patterns used to create interactional pace and group tension is of vital concern to the impression management team. Such demographic variables as first flighter versus regular customer or tourist versus executive categories etc. are especially significant to the ease or frustration with which the flight attendant team will be able to function to create the required group tension. These, as
previously noted, are not provided by organizational structures in advance of a flight and pose one difficulty for smooth enactment of services.

The occasion of a flight is evaluated in terms of being good or bad by any and all participants. They are all contributors to what Mills calls group emotion and of which he says:

"...the elements of group emotion include (1) the needs and drives which serve in the first place as causes of group formation; (2) feelings of satisfaction or frustration resulting from actual group experience; (3) interpersonal attachments and animosities; and (4) feelings of attachment to, or alienation from, the groups as a whole." 73

Hypothetically speaking, if the time limit to the occasion is one hour twenty minutes, it takes place during the dinner hour on a Friday evening, passenger load is maximum seat capacity plus children, the refreshment services are dinner and bar, there is turbulence encountered inflight, the water supply system is malfunctioning, etc. then it is going to be distinctively different from a flight of eight hours on a Wednesday morning with half a passenger load and all systems functioning properly. The formerly described short flight will be evaluated by all as bad, there will be an observable and intuitive high group tension not particularly conducive to relaxed enjoyment of refreshments. Passengers are as a group 'directed' to become part of the management team; for example, by the standard public address

announcement: "Ladies and gentlemen; we are about to serve dinner. Due to the short flying time to -- you will assist us by lowering your chair table if you would like to have lunch. Thank you." The second flight example will be evaluated as good, and the standard announcement quoted would not be used at all. It need be noted that the announcement gives an explanation of why their participation is required; compliance is expected and is the norm. They are encouraged or pressured individually to conform to the flight attendants service initiation offers i.e. passengers who request or dictate on a short flight that they will have their meal later are negatively sanctioned, refused point blank, pressured in a good humored way, briefly argued with or ignored and forgotten. These passengers are typically executive males who travel a lot and who hold some notion that they are privileged persons; although occasionally are received from naive first flighters, in which case they would be informed of why they ought to accept at the time their turn comes.

The time categories relevant to work organization are descriptive of a flight as an ongoing event. (Refer to Table VI, page 47 of this paper.) The stages are boarding, taxi (away from the terminal), take-off, ascent, cruising, descent, taxi (to terminal) and

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74. World Airways Manual. Unless otherwise stated all subsequent directives bounded by quotation marks are extracted from any of World Airways service manuals.
deplanement. The time intervals for each stage are 'more or less' exact and in practice they are differentially defined for cabin crew participants and passenger participants in respect to what they may and may not do. Thus during taxi periods passengers are required to be seated as a safety measure against personal injury, and any passenger who does not comply is seen as posing a problem about which something must be done; while flight attendants are permitted to continue to perform services like distributing reading materials, candies or the staging of oxygen demonstrations etc.

There is evidence to suggest that members of the cabin crew become identified as such in the eyes of the passengers during the initial taxi period. Male flight attendants wear uniforms, including gold braid and white piping on the sleeve jacket and are easily identifiable although sometime misidentified as a pilot. Females wear a non-uniform dress and are easily confused as passengers by naive travellers, often to the embarrassment of both when some Company service shortcoming is voiced. That identification of crew members from others is not easy is recognized by the organization in their directive that "during an emergency, all crew members should wear their complete uniform, including the hat for Pursers...." That is, in anticipation of and preparation for a fateful and/or terminal accidental conclusion to the (or all) occasion(s) crew members are to be appropriately costumed. This directive pertains to preparations to be made for emergency landings.
Accounting for failures

In this setting, delays in scheduled departure and arrival times, landing at alternate destinations, inflight changes in aircraft functioning based on expectations of how an aircraft should 'sound' and 'ascend or descend', outer environmental factors i.e. turbulence and wind velocity are sociological facts as they disrupt or are perceived as potentially disruptive to the onset of services or orderliness of the occasion. They are perceived as events which are attended to by all participants and as requiring special kinds of action on the part of the cockpit crew as they are in charge of management of the aircraft.

Social pressures constrain some flight deck authority figure, but particularly the Captain, because he is at the top of the management team hierarchy, to give a 'reasonable account' which for all practical purposes will be 'understandable', 'acceptable' and 'as sufficient as possible for the situation on hand'. Information must be of a kind that will satisfy nonprofessional members i.e. passenger participants and therefore cannot be too technical. In this respect even private organizational failures are required to be shared by persons outside the formal structure of the organization.

The network of inquiry usually originates with the passenger and is directed to a flight attendant who in turn inquires information of the purser or directly from the Captain. Information which is
known in advance by a flight attendant may or may not be given to
the passenger depending on the nature of the problem. Announcements
from the flight deck are standardized and their presentation is
institutionalized; for example, an account of a delay must proceed
from the flight deck on the public address system within five minutes
after the scheduled departure time has expired. When noise abatement
flight procedures are used after take-off over populated residential
areas in which there is a perceivable cutback in aircraft power,
speed and rate of climb, it is mandatory that this be followed as soon
as possible by the standard noise abatement announcement from the
cockpit to assure unknowledgeable passengers that it is a normal,
routine event and not the beginning of a fateful termination to the
occasion.

When a public address announcement related to the above
mentioned situations is made the speaker is usually the Captain although
he may delegate it to the first officer, second officer or purser.
The announcer addresses the participants, introduces himself by name
and title if he is a pilot, or by title only if he is the purser;
if he is not the Captain, then as speaking on behalf of the Captain.
He 'acknowledges' the problem exists, 'apologizes', 'identifies' the
the problem and sometimes gives an explanation of why it constitutes
a problem, gives some indication of 'specific action being taken'
to rectify it, 'assures' them that all is under control and if it is a delay in departure or arrival 'provides an estimate' as to the length of delay and new arrival/departure times. He may or may not include an availability to answer any (further) questions. In closing he thanks his audience for their attention.

Inflight, receipt of bomb threats and aircraft mechanicals of a serious nature, are treated as one of the special instances that require a delay or modification of information handling in order that passengers are not unnecessarily stressed. When the Captain decides to return to the airport of flight origination, it must be announced on the public address system as cabin participants are continually sightseeing and any change in expected or announced flight path would be noticed. When a flight is required to be terminated before cruising altitude is reached he puts the landing signs ('fasten seat belts' and 'no smoking') on. This allows the cabin crew team to be inaccessible to passenger inquiries until after landing although the cabin crew usually (but not always) are aware of or suspect the exact nature of the problem. When the decision is made sometime during the cruising period the cabin crew is informed first, a public address announcement is then made that i.e. bomb threat necessitates a return to the origination point or landing at the first available alternate airport and includes information regarding manner of deplanement and the security procedures all participants will be
required to go through at the landing point. The cabin crew terminate any refreshment service as soon as possible unless the altered flight time allows them to finish, and/or then circulate through the cabins assuring passengers as best they can.

Unlike ground transportation vehicles, jets, or any large aircraft for that matter, cannot land 'just anywhere' when a problem develops, so that the alternative of delayed informing of passengers is more practical from the standpoint of anxiety management. For example, on flights in which the Captain announced that he might not be able to land at the destination point due to fog, or other weather conditions like blizzards, thunder storms etc. before the latter third of the flight duration was reached passenger requests directed to flight attendants for information on the conditions at the destination point were so frequent as to be easily categorized as 'harassment'. The prevailing group emotion consequently is one of tension, excessive emotionality in interpersonal interactions, psychological anxiety reflected in excessive consumption of liquor etc. It is much more problematic for the cabin crew to control.

Flight attendants who are unable to maintain a front and deport themselves in a dignified manner when in view of the passengers remain in a back region where the dropping of the mask is inconsequential from the passenger standpoint. Composure, the
ability to maintain emotional equilibrium in the face of situations which are potentially or contemplatively fateful is an occupational requirement. As a job specific preferred characteristic it is a criterion for evaluating a 'bona-fide' member. Flight attendants who are too easily frightened by contemplatively fateful events are not perceived as desirable coworkers. There is some tendency for nervous tension to spread from one coworker to another in a work unit or cabin team, and for this reason there is a constraint on expressions of fear; although, some fear is almost always experienced. This will be referred to again in the section on the production of a flight as a fateful event.

A flight attendant's first actual encounter with a situation which is potentially or contemplatively fateful i.e. severe turbulence, bomb scare, emergency landing and emergency evacuation of passengers and so on, may be viewed as an on the job 'rite of passage' to bona-fide membership, particularly in connection with the safety management role; at the completion or termination of the incident or event an announcement is made to one's team members that one is now a member that can be trusted. For example, the following kind of announcement

75. Goffman, Interactional Ritual, p. 225.
is proudly delivered and is typical "Boy, now I've lived through that I feel I can take anything, (or, "take anything this plane has to offer.")." This does not imply that the person will never again be afraid, but that he/she can manage to maintain a certain degree of emotional and mental equilibrium. Neither does it imply that an admirable heroic performance is assured in the event of an actual emergency landing or aircraft accident. Subsequent to the individuals rite of passage the story is retold many times as being "the incident which proved beyond doubt" that one had the composure it takes to qualify as a bona-fide member. As one senior stewardess conversationally said to the writer, after her flight on which a bomb threat had been received, "It was the only exciting thing that happened to us on the whole flight." The evidence suggests that such rites of passage become routinized with time but remain newsworthy. They are reportable in any accounts given of flights, i.e. routines such as meal services are not part of such accounts but aircraft mechanicals, aborted take-offs, destination by-passes, severe turbulence, etc. are.

76. These are recountable to fellow members only. A manual directive reads "Passengers will occasionally ask you about your experiences with the airline. When replying, avoid the thrilling and keep to the routine experiences." Flight attendants habitually deny having any such experiences. In doing so they compromise their safety management role. An alternate perspective is that should they recount such events they might directly cause anxiety in the passenger. This conflicts with their responsibility as a member of the impression management team.
It was mentioned earlier that turbulence and changes in wind velocity at cruising altitudes are of sociological concern. Specifically, they have the consequence of transforming flight attendants' right decisions into wrong ones and are therefore problematic. Routine everyday decisions do in fact with the passage of intervening time intervals become fateful decisions with consequences to the social order.

Illustration 2 visualizes the preplan for a meal service on an expected routine flight, illustration 2b visualizes the same flight as it actually transpired; they are simplified for purposes of explanation. It is at point (X - X) of turbulence and subsequent required delay in meal service presentation of twenty minutes that results in i.e. overdone steaks and dried up peas which would have, according to the decision made at 0:45 minutes, been received by passengers as rare to medium steaks. The right decision at point 0:45 minutes has the appearance of being for all practical purposes someone's mistake at point 2:20 hours; a wrong and fateful decision. This kind of fatefulness is not controllable. It increases interpersonal tensions and creates one of the regularities of the everyday life of flight attendants which is the necessity of changing work norms. Together with the decreased time available for meal presentation due to turbulence, at point Y on additional change of pace is required due to wind factors. A heightened group tension
Illustration 2

a) Preflight plan of refreshment services in the economy cabin

b) Refreshment services as they transpired

Code: X-X interval of turbulence, meal delayed
      Y point at which landing time announced as advanced by 15 min. due to favorable winds.
is required to be created in order that the same amount of activities and work gets completed in a shorter time. It is one of the uniformities of such a change of pace, and fatefulness of routine decisions, that flight attendants are continually 'explaining why', 'apologizing for', 'accommodating' and 'pacifying' for events they have no control over but for which they are held accountable. The logic of preplanned services is not necessarily accepted by passengers as satisfactory, flight attendants feel frustrated in that passengers tend to view them as excuses rather than reasonable accounts. Events of this kind also cause interpersonal tensions and conflicts between coworkers in decision making as to courses of action to follow. The alternatives frequently are, 1) whether to delay the meal service and incur passenger hostility, and formal letters of complaint, or, 2) whether to serve during the turbulence in order to keep the passengers happy, and thus coincidentally to take the risk of personal physical injury. Claims for injuries cannot be made to the Company when received while being up and about while the seatbelt sign is 'on', so the risk taken can be seriously consequential and thus causes much coworker friction on decision made to ignore the sign. In most instances work units are divided, and most frequently the fear of passenger complaints is so strong that services continue through all but moderately severe to severe turbulence.

Tables VII and VIII illustrate the varying duration of flight times the cabin team are required to adjust to on a regularly recurrent and routine basis.
Table VII
Absolute frequency distribution of flying time minutes for four scheduled domestic flights operated most frequently in a ten-month period. (Flying time begins when aircraft wheels move from terminal at origination point and ends when the wheels stop at the destination terminal.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-stop</th>
<th>One</th>
<th>Two</th>
<th>One enroute stop</th>
<th>Three</th>
<th>Four</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># of flights</td>
<td># of flights</td>
<td># of flights</td>
<td># of flights</td>
<td># of flights</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>minutes</td>
<td>minutes</td>
<td>minutes</td>
<td>minutes</td>
<td>minutes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>258</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>245*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>290*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>284</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>270*</td>
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<tr>
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<td>290</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>271</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>295</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) minutes difference from least to greatest... 63 55 33 78
2) 28.9% of these flights were classified as late arrivals.

Code: a ... flying time is combined for both flight legs
* ... flight time in minutes taken from printed Company schedules
+ ... on time arrivals by Company definition meaning within fifteen minutes of published timetable, all entries beyond this symbol indicate flights categorized as late arrivals.
### Table VIII

Absolute frequency distribution of flying time minutes for two overseas charter flights operated most frequently in a six-month period.*

(Flying time is defined as for Table VII)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Two</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Flight leg B</td>
<td>Flight leg A</td>
<td>Flight leg B</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of flights</td>
<td>flight minutes</td>
<td># of flights</td>
<td>flight minutes</td>
<td># of flights</td>
<td>flight minutes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minutes difference from least to greatest: 30 38 159 73

*There are no Company printed timetables for these particular charter flights therefore these cannot be compared to any specified scheduled time.
Routinizing unexpected occurrences of medical crises:

Interruptions in service presentations also arise due to unexpected medical crises experienced by passengers which require the flight attendants to give first aid. In this category common occurrences are: fainting, airsickness, nosebleeds, asthmatic attacks, heart attacks, epileptic seizures, claustrophobia anxiety reactions; 'occasionally', injuries due to turbulence or pressurization failure, death or suicide attempt. This is not an exhaustive listing.

Such incidents may require a work reorganization or a temporary halting of ongoing service. One flight attendant may be temporarily dropped from a work unit in order to remain with the passenger past his crisis period. When present, a stewardess who was formerly a registered nurse is selected above others as she is perceived by them to be the 'proper' person to provide assistance. Because of their former specialty they are also routinely delegated by pursers to give special attention to passengers inflight who are known to have medically related problems i.e. diabetes, recent post operatives, mentally ill persons, the emotionally distressed, etc., even though their status is not formally recognized by way of a special classification or increased pay differentials.

77. World Airways originally hired only registered nurses as stewardesses. When this qualification was dropped a St. John Ambulance first aid course was given during initial training. This training is no longer provided.
There is a tendency for other flight attendants to expect her to look after all airsick passengers. This is somewhat resented as it is felt to be an abuse of her specialty in that it is generally accepted that it does not require an orientation to 'airsickness as a crisis', but only an 'orientation to airsickness as a regularly recurring event' in the same category as headaches and stomachaches, which are seen by any flight attendant as not warranting the consultation of or decision of a specialized person. It is however considered as one of the dirty jobs and is avoided or delegated to another person for that reason.

The ordinary and minor everyday ailments, of the kind which anyone might regularly suffer from in this setting, are those which are treatable from the contents of a 'medicine kit' which is kept readily at hand. It serves much the same purposes as the medicine cabinet in a home. The 'first aid kit' on the other hand serves a class of events which are non-ordinary, infrequent and of a much more serious nature. This kit is in the category of emergency equipment, it is kept sealed, contains such items as sterile gauze pads, sutures, tincture of iodine swabs, penicillin and demerol tablets etc. for the treatment of, for example, burns, puncture wounds, fractures and so on. In contrast to the medicine kit there is a procedure for its use. It must be resealed and logged as used in the aircraft logbook located in the cockpit. 78

The first aid kit, but not the medicine kit, is required to be taken off the aircraft in any land or sea emergency evacuation following an emergency landing.

All treatments are reportable on the 'flight service report' form but in everyday practice the treatments of minor ailments do not get reported except occasionally and unless they have been given to children. Usually this is due to time pressures to provide refreshment or other services. Any occurrence of unexpected medical crises such as the list provided on page 123 are reportable on the 'flight service report' form and on the 'injury report' form also. The latter named form also requires the Captain's signature. It is of legal import when liability claims are laid against the Company.

The Captain is notified and given an account of any crises which occur, the treatment provided, the degree of seriousness or some evaluation of whether the incident is critical enough to warrant an unscheduled landing as in the case of severe heart attacks where death is a serious and real possibility, or whether an ambulance and/or medical doctor are required to be called at the scheduled destination. Medical doctors are paged for inflight when a crisis is severe or unaccountable for, and usually at the initiative of the flight attendant, particularly in cases where there is no nurse among the group and there is difficulty in defining the crisis.
Crises are perceived as events which require normalization by the person to whom it has occurred and especially by the person(s) in attendance. Accounts are volunteered or solicited by the flight attendant through interview techniques to make their occurrence "common-sensical" and for all practical purposes 'explainable'. That is, a biographical history of previous occurrences of the same kind is sought, or biographical facts which would be relevant to the production of the crisis are sorted out and arranged to provide a logical and consistent account sufficient for the purposes at hand.

Thus to account for his fainting episode a passenger might explain (or it is so constructed for him) that he has been recently extremely overworked, had not slept in the last thirty six hours and has in the meantime travelled at high altitudes from one end of the continent to the other. This would be accepted as a reasonable account, the crisis would then be perceived to be a 'naturally occurring event'. Likewise, a passenger suffering an acute asthmatic attack with palpitations of the heart, nausea and vomiting assured the flight attendants that she had had similar attacks for the past ten years and that it was following a 'typical' pattern, that she was prepared for its occurrence was corroborated by the fact that she had her own atomizer and medication. She also produced a letter from her medical doctor to support her information, and his approval for her to fly. Although it is accountable for, the crisis is no less a crisis while it is occurring and all appropriate forms of action are taken as mentioned.
II. Space pressures correlated to conflict behaviour and coercive practices.

A. Spatial and territorial aspect of power (see illustration 3, pages 139, 140)

One of the problems which flight attendants are routinely oriented to is the requirement to define for passengers, and socialize them into, is the distinctions of regions and the use of the space available to them. (Refer to Illustration 1 for refamiliarization of setting.) In order for impression management to be effective and the staging of performances actualized regions must be distinctive. 79

It is particularly necessary that a division of back regions where the preparation work is done from front regions be made; however, on the aircraft these are not always distinct and/or permanent. For example, during take-off and landing they acquire distinctive characteristics because all participants are required to be seated, but immediately after the 'seat belt signs' are turned off the region of the flight attendant seat area becomes blurred into a visual front region as it is opposite the lounge or washrooms, and mainly because it has no visual barriers. It is also therefore somewhat available to misinterpretation as a passenger front region. The social structures which act as barriers to region use regardless of physical and visual barriers will now be discussed. Definitional changes of regions are mapped in Illustration 3.

There is a general consensus that invasions of primary and personal space in public conveyances are problematic to travellers and require interpersonal adjustments. Personal space refers to "the area with invisible boundaries surrounding a person's body." Extra space is therefore perceived to have positive value. Flight attendants are routinely oriented to their power over the passenger use of extra space as having possibilities of use for reward and punishment purposes. The territorial aspect of power includes coercive tactics much as does the process of team creativity of group tension for the purposes of getting refreshment services completed in time.

Legitimate power for regulating the use of space by passengers is vested in the impression management teams position as organizational representatives in the setting. Entry into the cockpit area is an especial privilege and requires the Captain's invitation or permission before it becomes a front region by entry of a passenger, as it is perceived by the cockpit crew to warrant changes in their behaviour to coincide with the spatial definitional change. Passengers must be escorted in by a flight attendant who is required to remain with the visitor during the stay, is responsible for terminating it and escorting the passenger


back to his cabin. Adult requests are generally refused on grounds of Federal laws or Company policy. Exceptions are almost never made on overseas flights since sky hijacking has become a real possibility. Flight attendants generally offer a view of the cockpit to those desiring it during station stops enroute or at terminal points so as to remain within the rules and decrease risks of any untoward happening.

When time permits, cockpit visits are mainly used as a reward to children who have behaved well inflight, who are engaging as persons or who show a keen interest in some aspect of flying as a career. This also indirectly rewards the parent/guardian for attending that politeness forms have been used by the child in conversation interactions with the flight attendants and for cooperating regarding the use of aisle space during services. Families require more assistance than the ordinary passenger, those that assist in building interpersonal relations that are mutually satisfactory by being cordial rather than using the service approach for interactions i.e. by way of orders or demands, will be recognized by the crew as exceptional and deserving of rewards. Pilots as a rule enjoy male children and frequently engage in informal recruitment for aviation career entry.

When the cockpit is about to be changed into a front region for a visitor, entry is timed so that no one there is partaking of a meal and all signs of food services have been removed. Visits may be
timed so as to correspond with certain duties so that the visitor can see for himself that the pilots are engaged in his welfare, or so that they may ignore him without seeming to do so. One or several may recognize his presence but do not encourage conversation. Those who are so inclined time the visit so that one or two of them are free to engage him in conversation, this is implied to the flight attendant before passenger entry. All will have checked their grooming beforehand and depending on the age or status of the visitor may don their uniform jackets and hats. This requires the flight attendant to estimate this kind of information before he/she first presents the passenger's request to the Captain. Except for children's visits all passenger stays are of very short duration. Introductions are made most frequently when there is intention to converse and may be handled by the flight attendant or the Captain. Although the second officer, and navigator on overseas flights are closest to the cockpit entrance door, deference is given to the Captain's high status for introductions and conversation initiations.

Galley areas in which meal, bar and beverage equipment and products are stored and from which they are dispensed tend to give the appearance of being back regions because they may be closed off partly or entirely by curtains or doors, and because they look very technical and are usually occupied by flight attendants. When services are in progress anyone passing by can look in, they are then front regions,
but they are strictly flight attendant territory. Inflight when the galley is closed with the curtains or doors uninformed passengers may inadvertently break into the back region in their search for lavatories. The knowledgeable traveller takes this liberty when he wants a service performed or when he wants to socialize with a flight attendant who is present. In the latter case the passenger is treated in such a way as to make it obvious that he has broken a barrier that should be respected especially if the person(s) inside are eating or performing duties. If they are not so engaged they are required by aircraft host(ess) etiquette and informal rules to open the barriers and make the area open region.

By formal rules stated in manuals galley areas are to be off limits to passengers and closed back regions between services. However, especially in the economy cabin where there is no space available for passengers to relocate themselves as i.e. first class lounge area, individuals, pairs or groups 'take over' the galley and use it as an extension of their own territory in the cabin proper. It is possible for them to do so only when the programmed refreshment services are not being performed. Passengers involved in territorial takeover behaviour are: 1) those who are afraid of flying and have a need to socialize but do not feel at liberty to break the nonsocial barrier maintained by most neighbours, 2) by persons who want to be more gregarious in their conduct than is appropriate in a confined area where consideration for
the privacy of one's neighbour has to be paid, 3) when persons travelling together have not been able to get seats together and wish to talk business or socialize with each other, 4) and when males wish to smoke cigars or pipes but cannot do so in the cabin because their neighbors refuse to give permission for them to do so and have so instructed the flight attendant. Select persons may also be invited into this area as a public relations gesture or as a reward. These are generally females who show an interest in seeing the kitchen area and learning how the equipment is operated and catering done. Female children are also invited when they indicate an interest in a stewardess career, so that in their talk flight attendants become engaged in soliciting career replacements. Occasionally a passenger enters to use the galley sink or garbage can to vomit into because the washrooms are full and he does not wish to use the airsickness bag in the front region at his seat, or when a passenger is in the early stages of disorientation prior fainting. On a more temporary basis a passenger might enter in order to use the galley window for picture taking, he might also be invited to use it.

When the flight attendant is present and must remain because of duties in preparing for a service this territory may be shared. There is a high tolerance for the presence of and interruptions made by passengers when there is no particular tension due to flight time
limitations although those flight attendants with definite feelings of ownership to this territory may exclude both passengers and other coworkers from occupying it when they are responsible for galley duties. Once a service is about to begin or has begun this area again reverts to strictly flight attendant territory although it still remains open region because of visual access. Territory is established by the request or tactful order that the area is required, and why, or by the moving of equipment and more personnel into the area so that the passenger(s) submits to the authority of the stewardess and leaves voluntarily. As the galley floor space is approximately three feet by four it doesn't take much pressure to make definitional changes meaningful. Use of this area is not perceived by either group of participants as disputable territory, passengers concede rights to the cabin crew. Aisle space in the cabin does not permit two average adults to pass without turning sideways, related problems are discussed later.

The region next to the washrooms is viewed by both groups as disputable territory as there is a lack of indicators making it flight attendant territory. However, the crew must have the space to set up for their various cabin services, and when they do they establish it as their territory whenever it is necessary to do so, in this case the passenger wishing to use the same must make do with whatever space
is left. Equipment is left in the area because there is no other space for it and also at times to retain ownership of same. This applies to meal and bar trolleys and the counter area usually used for a stand-up bar. Passengers use the area as an extension of their cabin territory for the same reasons as given above with the exception of use of the sink and garbage can users. On long flights any passenger needing to exercise feels more free to do so in a relatively back region rather than in the front region of the cabin and therefore uses this area temporarily. The attitude of the crew is that any passenger who stays in the area overly long in some sense establishes ownership of the territory, he is discouraged from doing so as other passengers feel inhibited by such behaviour, are known to become jealous or hostile about it. Authority to vacate the area is exercised as a last resort in extreme situations where a number of conflicting interests are present. The definition is that of an aircraft traffic problem; for example, when passengers congregate in the rear for socializing, the washroom lineup is twelve deep and the stewardesses require the aisle and area to bring in trays and stow them when finishing a meal service.

The flight attendant seat area is perceived by the cabin crew as their exclusive territory although it is visually a front region, and defense of it is particularly intense and emotional. Physical barriers are lacking but are socially constructed. Extensions
for passenger use are by prior permission and/or invitation. Ownership
is not disputable. Temporary permission for its use are generally
voluntarily given for the following categories of persons: mothers who
wish to nurse their infants or are having difficulty settling a child
to sleep in the cabin, passengers recovering from medical crises that
have occurred there or have a preference to be treated there, the claus­
trophobic has extended use during a state of incipient panic but this
is a rare occurrence as very few of them will fly if they tend to get
severe attacks, the elderly and infirm are offered it as a place to rest
if the lavatory line-up necessitates a long wait.

Passengers who are denied use of the seat and moved out of it
as soon as possible are the ones who are given socially negative or
deviant labels i.e. inebriated, so called loud-mouths and show-offs,
any passenger who has been rude to or overly demanding of a (any) flight
attendant especially if unappreciative of efforts made on his behalf.
The latter kind of information is always shared among the group as is
exceptional niceness. These people are pointed out by seat position for
cognitive visual map insertion so that familiarization with his
appearance can be made and he can be recognized anywhere in the cabin.
The playboy, swinger, or otherwise bothersome is moved out of the entire
area or moved out of the seat and then ignored. This is done especially
if he sits down beside a stewardess without an invitation, if the
stewardess he has selected for special attention has asked the others for protective help in maintaining spatial and interactional distance from him, or when none of them is bored enough, in the appropriate mood or has not developed the talent to manipulate a sex-oriented game.

When time permits flight attendants further treat this area as owned territory by inviting select passengers to join them there for more intimate conversational host(ess)ing than formal rules and public front regions permit. They are therefore treated as privileged persons. Invitees are especially prevalent in the economy cabin when there is a full load and the flight attendant must stand with bent back while going public relations work and where conversational privacy is not possible because of physical proximity of other passengers. Invitations are extended by flight attendants who enjoy meeting and getting to know people, and because it is one of the few rewards available to them for the exceptional passenger. Ordinarily, to be seen talking to a stewardess is perceived by passengers to have status value. This gives an added dimension for its value as a reward. Relationships at this time are more informal, the predominant attitude is one of mutual respect and admiration, all persons present may participate in a coffee

or smoke break. Depending on the number of persons present the passenger may be invited to share the flight attendant seat. Any flight attendant who has invited someone to the back is obligated to inform the others, these people are expected to be shared by the group. Introductions may or may not be made. In the list of possible passengers to invite are those who by way of generous responsiveness to a flight attendant during enmasse service presentations warranted placement in a cognitive visual map. Selections are made out of this particular list.

They are passengers who respect offers of hospitality as such, who have been found to have achievements, interests, or ideas of interest or import and who are willing and happy to share them. They are eager and stimulating conversationalists but need not be entertaining, although sometimes there is a preference for the light-hearted and comic to the serious and intellectual content. The exceptional and therefore privileged passenger is more frequently the average man and woman, rarely the celebrity or well known public person. They are more frequently strangers than friends or recognized regular passengers, and as more males than females fly more males than females are invited. Marital status and age are irrelevant. Contrary to popular belief the executive male is not preferred above others. Other than those who can contribute to flight attendant enjoyment of the work day by way of interesting conversations are the exuberant first flighters, those who are appreciative of special considerations and services, and those who are
sympathetic to their work day problems.

Infants provide a diversion of a different kind. They are brought into the area to be played with and loved or to be comforted and put to sleep when the mother (or parents) cannot do so or has lost her patience, or has too many other children to look after. It is also done for the mother who is unwell. It is not done for the mother who demands baby-sitting services.

This area is common ground for all flight attendants and etiquette demands that no flight attendant treat it as their personal exclusive territory. Those who attempt to do so are felt to display bad form, the pair or group are most frequently harassed by the other coworkers until they break up or eased out into the aisle. Passengers who pass by and attempt to join a collective group that forms around an invited person are eased out in order that the sense of exclusiveness of persons and of owned or private territory is maintained. When there is a passenger call from the cabin during this time the call is answered and the service is provided by any flight attendant except the one who extended the invitation. The invitor is also one who is responsible for terminating the visit.
Illustration 3. Aircraft Region and Territorial Maps
(Refer to Illustration 1 for refamiliarization)

a) Rigid front and back (-----) regions on take-off and landing. During cruising only if all passengers are seated, i.e. turbulence and the seat belt signs are "on". (front region (-----)).

b) Pliable front regions by visual access - during cruising
c) Disputed territory (C) conflicts inflight

- Diagram of a plane showing disputed territory.

d) Front region by 'invitation' (лежащее) - to exclusive territory

- Diagram of a plane showing a section with 'invitation' region.

e) Disputable territory during refreshment activities (лежащее)

- Diagram of a plane showing a section with refreshment activities.
Passenger territoriality evidenced by seat selection behaviour and seat occupancy parallels the general patterns to be found in railway stations, cafeterias and reading rooms. Window and wall seats are preferred and selected first. Besides the privacy and better visual contact with the outside world at windows personal space can be extended onto the wall and is useful in resting and sleeping against. The next preferred are the aisle seats. These afford better visual contact with the activities that take place in the aisle therefore have 'action' value, and permit the most leeway for space extensions. Such extensions constitute an occupational hazard; flight attendants continually suffer body blocks at the hip level from passengers' shoulders, bruising on the thighs from passenger elbows, cigarette burns to clothing and arms, and frequent stumbling and tripping. An attempt to avoid these presents a swaying walk easily interpreted as evidence of stewardess' sexuality. As all passenger seats face forward interested males are frequently locatable by a flight attendant standing in a rear back region as they will pop their heads into the aisle after a stewardess walks by. Flight attendants will sometimes alternate walks down the aisle for the entertainment value derived by coworkers.

Center seats are least preferred and last to be taken. This latter pattern is problematic to flight attendants when seat selection is not available in the terminal prior boarding because it causes congregation at the rear of the aircraft (or milling in the aisles) of persons waiting for seating assistance unnecessarily i.e. they will have passed by empty seats but refused them. It also delays departures as the aircraft door is not closed and the aircraft does not begin to taxi until all passengers are seated or it is confirmed that there are seats available to them.

The requirement to handle passenger seat location as quickly as possible as their part in team responsibilities that departures are made on time, flight attendants are socialized to recognize as one of the uniformities of their daily life that passengers engage in deceptive practices to claim extra space as their territory. They are therefore routinely required to recognize deceptive practices and take action on them if necessary, to evaluate territorial markers as to their appropriateness and to use decisional rules regarding the honoring of 'occupied cards' which are provided for passengers' use as territorial markers.

During boarding personal belongings, i.e. clothes, purses, valises, reading material etc. are the most frequent objects used as territorial markers for claims of extra space. When they are placed on the neighboring seat they are effective claims to passengers looking
for space but not to flight attendants. Such claims are viewed as unwarranted and if it is known that a full load is expected such a claim is reversed whenever seen by them. Two persons travelling together who take two aisle seats rather than two seats together use this strategy to monopolize both center seats next to them and aisle space as their territory. At an enroute station stop particularly, but at origination point also, if such passengers are troublesome or rude they will have this extra seat space taken away on them above others behaving similarly. Flight attendants direct unseated passengers to these first. This may be perceived as a negative sanction or as an abuse of position, but is also performed in an effort to keep double seats available out of the need to relocate passengers in an attempt to reduce emotional hostility and anxiety in certain categories of passengers, and thus promote a favorable attitude towards enjoyment of the occasion. Relocating is against the formal company rules but is provided on the initiative of the flight attendant to assist those who cannot afford to pay for a chair for infants and children, for those whose families are split up because they checked-in late especially if the children are disturbed at separation, for elderly and married couples and passengers travelling together who board late. Male passengers travelling singly have been reported by others of recruiting a female passenger in the terminal building so that they can board as a married couple and demand special privileges.
Rearrangement is done as soon as possible as people form a psychological attachment to their location the longer they are in it. During a flight passengers normally retain the seats they originally claimed. Territoriality is respected, that is, it is not necessary for them to leave a territorial marker to reserve their seat when for example, they make a trip to the lavatory or go to the magazine rack for reading material. Men will sometimes change their seats in order to pick up women or for female company inflight although this is usually done more discreetly during original seat selection. A male who wanders up and down the aisle 'looking at the passengers' is viewed as a problem about which something must be done. Inebriated males who attempt to pick up women passengers are asked to return to their original seats. Passengers who desire seat relocation during flights i.e. because their neighbors are over talkative, too personal or pressure liquor consumption, request the service from flight attendants together with an account of why the request is being presented.

During boarding at enroute stops flight attendants recognize that the 'occupied seat' marker is not always valid, as passengers going through use them to extend their personal space. This marker and claim to territoriality is honoured except in the terminal phase of the boarding period i.e. the last five minutes. It is appropriate for a flight attendant to lift the marker, give away the seat, and for all practical purposes treat it as untrustworthy even if a subsequent attempt
to reclaim the space is made. A deceptive claim of this kind is more effective when it is combined with personal belongings and a flight attendant will frequently be heard to ask a neighboring passenger if the belongings are his. This kind of practice can be consequential to the passenger in that flight attendants are required to deplane luggage which is 'presumably forgotten' or on the grounds that the passenger has missed his flight.

Passengers travelling long distances particularly, but any passengers travelling through several enroute stops, get very distressed when they reboard the flight and find their seat occupied by someone else even though they left no territorial markers to reserve it. They resist placement in another seat even though it may be more favorable in many ways. On flights where all passengers must deplane for customs clearance and no belongings can be left on board these passengers are very concerned to know whether they will be reboarding 'the very same aircraft'. Even though they are assured of occupying the very same seat position, and even though each aircraft is the same as the other, there appears to be a firm psychological attachment to the aircraft travelled on. This subject will be taken up again in the section on observance of rituals of passage, as will the concern for knowing 'right here and now' geographic location and 'right here and now' clock time.
Interpersonal pressures accrue and jeopardize the establishment and maintenance of a favorable group emotion and satisfactory participation in the occasion.

B. The structures of male female relationships inflight

The male/female distinctions which are not found in flight attendant division of work are found in interpersonal relations, are observable on a reciprocal basis and is similar to the cultural male female relationships of deference found in North American society at large. Newer members are socialized to regard each other in these ways. Norms are stated directly in disputes or reprimands, are learned by pressures to conform i.e. social isolation, or through the use of humor. Humor as an agent of social control and tension release⁸⁴, ⁸⁵ was preferred over social isolation and varied from individual to group teasing, sarcasm, banter, or by drawing in by horseplay the member⁸⁶ with whom there was a work requirement to be friendly but towards whom there was some need to correct deviance from norms. These means were used by flight attendants for example to socialize new assistant pursers into doing their share of cleaning up jobs and tidying, and to perceive these as being proper for males to perform rather than


perceiving them as sexually differentiated and as primarily women's work.

The establishment and maintenance of joking relationships between flight attendants, is especially significant in that tensions are quickly released, a more satisfactory emotional base from which to establish interpersonal relations with passengers and thus a more favorable group emotion is likely to emerge in a work setting that has a lot of tension producing characteristics. The joking relationship between persons will refer to the jovial manner of greeting and relating to each other in the work setting, mutual teasing, and will include funny story and joke telling. This definition was used by Bradney to refer to the joking relationship expressed between clerks during tense situations in the department store setting. In this paper that basic definition will also include gaming, horseplay, and pranks.

An example of an instance of humor after a tense situation: a male passenger had come up to the galley where an assistant purser and stewardess were standing. He had a dazed expression, was incoherent in speech and as he started to stumble both realized he was going to faint. As the purser was nearby she grabbed him by the arm and pulled him into the galley to help. When the man had been revived and had returned to his seat the purser did not praise her or anyone for fast

action as one might expect of a person in the leadership position, he proudly declared that he wasn't going to wash his arm for a week. The humor that resulted was on the grounds of male female contact rather than other context relationships available.

A stewardess will frequently ask a male to lift bar units or set up and disband meal trolleys for her out of deference to his masculinity, and although they are not required to comply they are frequently flattered to do so, and are seen to offer to do so as a way of complimenting her femininity. When a male is not around stewardesses readily perform these activities themselves. In male female discussions, or coincidental conversations during assistance, mutual admiration is explicit and the basis of exchange is specified i.e. "...because you're a man!", "...it's a nice thing to do", "I agree, muscles belong to a man", and so on. It is the reciprocal consciousness of sexual differences and/or mutual admiration that regulates much of the frequency with which gender posturing, reciprocal grooming and preening are performed during interactions. Corrections for shortcomings in physical appearance when placed within this context are much more readily accepted by both groups. Those between whom a joking relationship exists find multiple opportunity to emphasize this context in the regular performance of their duties. Thus, a male's complaint of sore eyes is transformed by a female into
a natural consequence of ogling and the manner in which a gerkin is held up to be set on a canape tray by a male, can intimate obscenity to a female.

When there are many inflight pressures it is advantageous to give evidence of a quick sense of humor and well placed wit. When used to relieve stress it has status dimension value. A positive function is served in that those who can relate in this fashion remain more mentally alert during rushed flights and long on-duty periods. Boredom and mental lethargy are common complaints resulting from the required assembly line type of service offers talk. For example, as variations are not indefinite, in simplified form; 60 vocalizations of "Would you like a newspaper", followed by 110 vocalizations of "Would you care for a pillow", followed by 60 vocalizations of "Would you like something from the bar" etc. for three flight loads in one on-duty period produces a psychological need for an outlet. It is frequently interpersonally expressed. Aggressive horseplay is spontaneous and free form or planned and carefully staged. Most frequently several females will conspire against a male who is known as a good sport. An incident where a male is overpowered to carry out a prank or who innocently cooperates and for example gets his trousers zipper padlocked with the bar lock, can subsequently be used as a joking threat or counter coercion by the stewardesses.
It is culturally based background expectancies which dominate in a senior purser's reprimand of an assistant purser with less than six months experience, on passengers' use of the rear flight attendant seat during an overseas on duty period of twelve hours. Note that in both utterances the purser's use of pronominals 'we' or 'our' is absent when referring to the seat even though it is theirs also. Utterance 1 produced in an angry tone of voice. "Did you let those people use the flight attendant seat? Did you tell them to leave?" and utterance 2 in a scolding tone "Well you should have, that's the only place the girls have to sit. The passengers have no right to use it. I told them so!" He then walked off abruptly.

Likewise, females are encouraged to and permitted to eat first, are allowed the better of foods available, and may even be served by the purser particularly if she is the purser's coworker in the first class, has high seniority status, or is one of his favorites. Stewardesses are also encouraged to sit down and eat leisurely when time permits while pursers will frequently eat on the run or standing up at the bar. As extra passenger meals are not boarded, and as occasionally accidents occur, i.e. a casserole is dropped during turbulence or when the trolley is bumped against a seat, passenger meals are replaced with crew meals. When a shortage of crew meals does occur, deference is paid to females and males go without. These
deference patterns are a normative expectation and when not complied with stewardesses feel they have a right to complain about poor treatment and inconsiderations.

A survey of the publications of 'Stewardess and Flight Service News' for the past year indicated that all of them featured photographs and/or articles on airline uniform changes in the first two pages, most frequently on the first page. The title of one airline's advertisement layout reads "Probably the most visual pleasure is the new non-uniform worn by our stewardesses;" it was especially directed towards the executive male passenger group. The public reacted by changing airlines, this includes executive males. Although most airline advertising is not quite so direct there is an increasing tendency to play up the glamour in the stewardess stereotyped image. World Airways standard girl


90. W. R. Slean, letter to the writer, dated 8 January 1971. (standard form letter mailed to all respondents of a survey of public opinion on the C.P. Air new midi non-uniform. Carried out officially by Canadian Pacific Airlines.)
next door image was altered with the following manual bulletin:

"You are now permitted any hair style (including the use of hair pieces, falls and wigs), any eye makeup or cosmetic, false eyelashes; false fingernails, eye glasses for aesthetic or practical purposes, rings, bracelets and earrings provided that their use will present a more glamourous appearance to our passengers."

Female costuming and attractiveness is directed towards arousing the interest of unspecified males and as such is grounds for the sexually-oriented potential type of action. The notion that stewardesses are sexually available persons overlays many of the teasing and joking verbal references made by male passengers to stewardesses inflight to the "Coffee, Tea or Me" book and its explicit presentation of stewardesses as highly promiscuous. The action trend was summarized by an American male passenger as "The executive trend is not to sit by the window seats any more. It's to sit on the aisle seat. That's where the action is... see the skirts goin' up. A lot of leg showing. Getting a feel," had the effect of completely isolating him from all but minimal service interactions with flight attendants on that flight, together with the setting of the deviant label of 'pervert' on himself. Mention of the "Coffee, Tea or Me" book is perceived as requiring negative sanctioning and stewardesses will frequently intone that the passenger is reading trash.


The Company recently published in an internal organ, a picture of their stewardess' non-uniform dress with a caption including the description of it being "the aisle-passerenger's delight". This organizationally and formally verifies the general male attitude quoted above. They have at the same time however, also presented to the flight attendant group two bulletins reprimanding heavy drinking and crew misbehaviour at layover points. The two perspectives somewhat conflict with each other. Articles of an expose kind initiate many inflight queries from passengers as to the nature of crew relationships. Stewardesses generally are socially embarrassed by such questions.

It is proposed that: male and female flight attendants are mutually oriented to sexual availability kinds of action and that they reciprocally apply commonly held decisional rules to enforce an image of stewardess sexual 'unavailability' as one of the uniformities of their everyday activities; further, that by adhering to group held norms they socially sustain a social definition of a stewardess as a female to be morally respected and whose femininity is to be protected and defended.

Sexually-oriented 'action' approaches received from male passengers by stewardesses which infer an attitude that she is perceived by them to be sexually available to any(11) males, initiate isolation and negative sanctions of a procedural kind enacted by the work unit. The unit coworkers are informed of the passenger's 'seat location' for cognitive visual map placement. They are given a 'description' so that he will be 'recognizable' anywhere in the cabin. An 'account is given' of what he said, will include her counter response and is frequently closed with a negative evaluation of his moral character. Negative sanctions and rudeness are seen as warranted and are collectively applied. The male is sarcastically told off, put-down, ignored, avoided, given slow unfriendly or poor service; 'interactional separation' with the stewardess of his choice will be collectively enforced. He is 'reportable to male crew members' if he persists, particularly if he is inebriated, rude or coarse. In that the male cabin crew 'give a talking to', 'threaten to deplane', 'cut off liquor sales to him', and 'deny the use of extra space' to such passengers i.e. rear flight attendant seat area, they engage in defensive practices specific to the setting.

Male cabin crew regulate the social class and moral character of male passengers who may be seen by others to associate with stewardesses during periods when no specific cabin service is being performed i.e. meal, bar. A male whom they label 'drunk', 'alcoholic',
'slob', 'blowhard', 'hood', who appear to be shabbily dressed and poorly groomed, who use coarse language to tell dirty jokes in front of stewardesses are viewed by them as ones who must be put down in a publicly observable manner so that it is clear to all persons that a social definition or moral propriety is routinely expected. A purser's explanation of his sharp command to a male who had come up to talk to the stewardess he was standing with was, "I've a sneaking suspicion he's shacked up with that young girl he's with..."

A certain amount of exclusiveness to males of higher status who are properly behaved i.e. not drunk, is permitted, without negative sanctions, to stewardesses on an individual or collective basis for quasi-sexual oriented gaming providing it proceeds in such a way that for all practical purposes it is not perceivable as a game with post-flight sexual consequences. That is, tactful flirting is permitted but is not condoned when followed by intention to date the passenger, and the stewardess who does so risks the inclusion of this information in her floating biography.

When a request for a date is received out of hearing of coworkers it is an 'announceable event' to work unit stewardesses and it is appropriate for them to request this information following a stewardess' period of public relations conversing with a male passenger from whom such a request would be seen as honorable and favorable if the situation were right i.e. availability for marriage. Male flight
attendants will occasionally ask for this information also, either directly or from other stewardesses. There is some suspicion that they base their own coercive practices on these grounds.

C. Occupational communication patterns

Personalization of passenger participants:

There is some discrepancy between passenger and flight attendant definition of proper work, or significant and insignificant work. While the presentation of services on an en masse basis is generally agreed upon by both as constituting work, as is also the provision of special services for example to persons suffering from medical crises, this does not appear to apply to public relations work performed on an individual basis. For example, passengers frequently interpret a stewardess who is standing and talking to some passenger in their visual vicinity as 'not doing anything which constitutes a definition of proper work' and feel free to interrupt with requests for extras i.e. another drink, matches, etc. To resist this kind of interpretation of their public relations role work, to maintain control of their own activities and to decrease their availability to interact with others they will habitually and whenever possible: 1) sit down next to the passenger they are talking to, 2) avoid looking about at others so that they are not required to recognize another's desire to
interact i.e. eye contact or signal, 3) stand with a few magazines or newspapers in hand so as to give the appearance of a mass service function, 4) play with or carry infants in arms, or 5) handle some object belonging to the passenger i.e. camera book, etc. Passengers are socialized to view public relations work as 'proper and required' work. It is appropriate for a flight attendant who is talking to some passenger in the cabin to ignore the fact that a passenger call button has gone on, it will be answered by a coworker as this is a team work norm.

Public relations work when performed outside of enmasse services i.e. amenities, reading materials, refreshments, is not done merely for its entertainment value but for the positive functional benefits to the social order and meaningfulness of interpersonal relations. When problems are readily locatable they can be used to create an instance of this kind. Deviant behavior frequently takes on the added significance of being 'understandable' considering the causal factors.

In this respect a flight attendant(s) might decide that a group of passengers are being over boisterous, will discover in talking to them that they are on their way to a convention, fishing trip, etc. and can leave after diplomatically reminding them of their responsibility not to disturb their neighbors. Excessive drinking becomes understandable, although not necessarily acceptable, when the flight
attendant is aware that the passenger is afraid of flying, is escorting his friend's human remains back to the homeland and relatives, or going to see someone who is dying, etc. in which case frequently conversing 'substitutes for' an extra drink. It is the occasion for sympathizing with a parent whose children are being difficult to handle or for pacifying passengers who feel they have been mishandled by ground personnel and so on. Briefly, public relations is the humanizing of passengers into people. At the same time the flight attendant comes to be perceived as someone who cares and understands rather than a non-person who serves indifferently on a mass basis. It is for such work also that passenger letters of compliment are received, that job offers are extended, for which kisses are bestowed on parting or during which time solicitations are made by passenger for prayers for loved ones who are in need. Some flight attendants find such public relations work satisfying and do alot of it, others do very little at all outside of en masse services.

Accounting for disorganized interactions and alienation of participants

Communication patterns during speed services have a much higher content of communication by way of kinesic responses. The more leisurely the (any) activity can be performed the greater will be the personalized
verbal content in the interaction. Brevity or largess of verbal content and individual interaction time span are positively correlated to flight time duration, flight attendant/passenger ratios and number of services to be provided. As a direct result of these variables the stewardess is required for example to address a row of three passengers as one group. When she says 'Would you like coffee or tea?' she pours it for the first person indicating he/she would like whichever one she is holding. Pouring is done merely after an up and down head nod, a beginning hand movement toward the cup, eye contact, the beginning of a smile, a slightly upraised cup, etc. She will engage in sociable conversation only of the kind which can be easily and quickly terminated or which can be carried as side involvements while engaged in pouring beverages for neighbouring passengers. This depersonalizes their service. Such sociable conversations are necessarily public. They are disorderly and required to be controlled by the flight attendant and any passenger who attempts to retain a crew member unduly long will find himself ignored not for personal reasons but because of the organizational requirement to get the total job done. Such service performances are highly unsatisfactory to both groups. It is from such flights that letters of complaint are received that flight attendants were cold and unfriendly. Compounded by management reprimands, cabin crews are highly pressured to learn how to handle interactions of this kind so as to appear friendly, but not so
friendly as to initiate interaction severance with social embarrassment of the passenger. Passenger populations who travel short distances will correspondingly have an image of a flight attendant as being a person who is a 'glamourized (waiter) waitress'.

Only a highly synchronized senior crew who get along well together can perform as a team in stressful situations without becoming frustrated and emotionally distressed. Evidence of excessive inflight stress results in voluntary social isolation and/or crying in the washroom, verbal conflicts and/or followed by grudges, refusal to take nourishment, and complaining to other work unit members. In extreme situations, the cockpit crew are enlisted to support the cabin team. When problems of control of the social order of the occasion are jeopardized by excessive emotional strain among the cabin crew the Captain is known to put the 'seat-belt sign' on so that all passengers must be seated. The cabin crew are thus relieved of much of the pressure. This occurs only very occasionally and is a last resort to solving territoriality conflicts i.e. traffic problems and exclusive territory. The latter example in particular would be non existant if physical barriers to the flight attendant seat region were present. In that their rest area is not secluded that way they are forced to be continually available for social intercourse with the passengers and to pay minimal attention to physiological needs.
Difficulties arise due to passengers' approach to a flight as a 'special occasion' while to the flight attendant it is a 'routine and everyday' kind of occasion. It is not inconsistent therefore with this frame of reference for passengers on a charter flight to consume most of the liquor boarded during the first two hours of a nine hour flight, but the consequence is that the crew speak of them in derogatory terms like "pigs", "mental midgets" etc. Neither is it inconsistent from the first class passenger viewpoint that a large hot breakfast can be consumed one and one half hours after he/she dined on an eight course meal with wines, champagne and liquor which was preceded by cocktails, canapes and hot hors d'oeuvres. Flight attendants have a notion that there are 'proper amounts of requests' for services, 'appropriate amounts of food and liquor' to be consumed and 'proper ways of requesting' services. For example, a gentleman approximately sixty years old stood up and approached the writer who was sitting with another passenger, got her attention and chomped his teeth twice then returned to his seat. This was supposed to communicate to her that he wished her to serve him and his friend another round of drinks. None of the unit coworkers

94. Personal communication on another airline. Some charter flights have been required to return to their origination point because immigration and customs officials at international points refused to process the passengers on the grounds that they were too inebriated and offensive. To prevent this, pilots are occasionally required to extend flying time by circling etc. while the passengers sober up.
were able to decipher his communication code. Passengers who communicate their requests by snapping their fingers, flagging down, or pulling on the clothes or body of a flight attendant, unnecessarily aggravate her(him) as there are call buttons at every row of seats for the purpose of making requests for services known. Although flight attendants are required to be sociable and are paid to provide services, they feel themselves to be abused by the types of passenger behaviour just described. It is not uncommon for the crew to be up on their feet and busy for five to seven hours before getting a coffee break.

When under stress of this kind passenger/flight attendant relationships are somewhat aggressive and antagonistic. It may be said that the whole occasion is a failure as an enjoyable social gathering because the crew are pressured into using negative sanctions in order to maintain a semblance of social order and respectability. In this respect, charter flights are sometimes easier to manage because passengers will sanction each other or the head of the group might impose i.e. a no more drinking or no more smoking rule, whereas on regularly scheduled flights this is not possible because passengers are largely strangers to each other.

The final outcome of highly unsatisfactory interpersonal relationships displays itself in an abandonment of flight attendants host/hostess role and duty to perform the required farewell ceremonial as passengers deplane. Preliminary and lengthy farewells may be given
to special or privileged passengers i.e. those who have been polite, kind and responsive, during the descent and taxi after landing periods while others are entirely ignored. The manner of enactment of the ceremonial can be used as a measure for evaluating the success of the occasion. As all passengers deplane through the forward exit they are bid farewell by the purser and/or the first class stewardess at least.

It was shown that new and junior flight attendants must prove themselves worthy of being considered bona-fide members. It would appear that there is a comparable notion that passengers are in some sense required to prove themselves worthy of a flight attendant's services beyond having paid for the flight and that they are perceived as obligated to assist in building satisfactory interpersonal relationships with the crew. It is the real and serious attachment to the safety management role and the expectation that extrinsic benefits are to be derived from their work that are decisive in a flight attendant's complaint to another that i.e. "These people aren't worth dying for". It is towards the end of a flight that attachment or alienation between the two sets of participants is most evidently crucial to a
final evaluation of the occasion as such.

Interactions for sociological interpretation

Two case examples of raw data interactions are presented to demonstrate coworker communication patterns and difficulties experienced inflight. They are duplicated as they were created i.e. as ongoing activity events. The reader is required to refer to the notative system in the Appendix for explanation of the symbols used in data presentation.

Interaction Case I

1) Flight—overseas charter; first flight leg of a two section flight, this means there is one enroute stop.

2) Onset of duty period — 2:30 A.M. Pacific Daylight time

3) Time of occurrence — in the second hour of flight or 5-5:30 A.M., of an expected fourteen hour on-duty period.

95. Post flight reactions to excessive inflight stress results in: excessive consumption of liquor, the Company periodically puts out bulletins reminding flight attendants of their obligation to properly deport themselves as they are continually considered to be representatives of the Company; withdrawal from social activities and interpersonal contacts; emotional collapses into crying episodes, this includes females and males; short periods of isolation followed by feelings of loneliness and a compulsive need to be with people, this is reflected in mingling with crowds downtown or in hotel lobbies including at home base. The compulsiveness in particular appears to be restricted to a very few people. There is a greater difficulty of establishing the range of post flight reactions, these presented are based on conversations and floating biographical items.
4) Crew:  
   a) work units represented - 2  
   b) seniority status congruency of participants - high  
   c) identification by classification - purser as B  
      stewardess as $S_1$  
      stewardess as $S_2$  
      multilingual as $S_m$  
   d) coworker cohesiveness - high  

5) Passenger load factor: full to capacity; homogenous population of adults, no children; representatives of one large business organization and spouses. Most of the passengers are asleep or resting.  

6) Situational context - a discussion on whether to wake up the passengers for the breakfast snack service or to wait until the departure from the enroute stop and serve it then.  

7) Ecological arrangement - participants are located in the lounge at the front of the aircraft. In relation to each other, visually demonstrated  

\[
\begin{array}{c} 
S_m \\ B
\end{array}
\]  
three seats face table  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\end{array}
\]  
lounge table  

\[
\begin{array}{cc}
S_2 \\ S_1
\end{array}
\]  
two seats face table  

8) Main involvement - conversation  
   Side involvements - $S_1$ is smoking  
   $S_2$ plays card game solitaire  
   $S_m$ has none  
   B is fiddling with a piece of paper in his hands  
   All participants are leaning with arms on the table
9) Raw data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U1&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>B was giving his opinion on the snack service and was looking at S&lt;sub&gt;m&lt;/sub&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P1&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>is an intra utterance pause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U2</td>
<td>S&lt;sub&gt;m&lt;/sub&gt; paralinguistically defensive tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U3&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>paralinguistic emphasis of abruptness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U1&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>&quot;..../</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K1 S&lt;sub&gt;m&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>left eyebrow raised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1 B</td>
<td>(pause)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U1 B</td>
<td>You don't agree with me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2 S&lt;sub&gt;m&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>Laughs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U2 S&lt;sub&gt;m&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>&quot;I didn't say anything.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U3 B</td>
<td>&quot;No,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3 B</td>
<td>hands held together on table and moved downward slightly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U3 B</td>
<td>I know you didn't, but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3 B</td>
<td>I saw that left eyebrow go up and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3 B</td>
<td>moves to straighten back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U3 B</td>
<td>I know</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3 B</td>
<td>sits upright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U3 B</td>
<td>when you do that,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3 B</td>
<td>moves to lean against table again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U3 B</td>
<td>you don't agree with me.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3 B</td>
<td>points briefly at S&lt;sub&gt;m&lt;/sub&gt; with right forefinger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P4 S&lt;sub&gt;1&lt;/sub&gt;, S&lt;sub&gt;2&lt;/sub&gt;, S&lt;sub&gt;m&lt;/sub&gt; and B laugh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10) Interaction conclusion:

The interaction is indicative of cooperativeness and lacks interpersonal tension. The purser's pause shows sensitivity to kinesic communication. The stewardesses were all for postponing the snack service. All persons contributed their opinions. There were no time pressures requiring fast decisions and the topic was concluded after joint agreement for postponement. Conversation topic change followed. S_m's preflight distress over being assigned by P to a work unit including a stewardess perceived as undesirable was expressed to him as "I hate working with people who aren't intelligent". S_1 offered to take S_m's place but P refused to permit it. S_2 apologized to S_1 for not offering to take her place. The stewardess being avoided has a floating biography with high emphasis of being 'dumb'. Towards the end of the on-duty period she antagonized S_m to an aisle conflict (front region) by placing dirty cups on S_m's side of the trolley top rather than her own. Territoriality of trolley top space, and ownership of same, is a point of issue only between antagonists.
Interaction Case II

1) Flight - overseas scheduled flight consisting of three flight legs - two enroute stops.

2) Onset of duty period - 1:30 P.M. Pacific Daylight time.

3) Time of occurrence - on the third flight leg just after seat belt sign had been turned off after take-off. In the sixth hour of a thirteen hour on-duty period.

4) Crew: a) number of work units represented - 1
   b) seniority status congruency - low
   c) identification by classification - assistant purser as AP stewardess as S₁
      (reserve) stewardess as S₂
   d) coworker cohesiveness - low

5) Passenger load factor: full to capacity, heterogeneous population including several families with children.

6) Situational context: a conflict situation over rule priorities. At this stage of ascent on this particular flight leg the work unit prepares for the presentation of the bar trolley service to be followed by wines, then a hot meal service. Conflicting pressures: a) passengers who have skipped their dinner prior boarding agitate for meal service presentation as soon as possible, b) passengers who snacked prior boarding prefer to have a leisurely drink or 'two' before their dinner, c) families pressure to get the children fed as soon as possible so that they can be bedded down, d) services are required to be presented on an emmasse assembly line in order to retain a sense of order, e) the two previous flight legs were short and services were rushed. Interpersonal tensions between crew members had accumulated somewhat.
7) Ecological arrangement - location at the flight attendant seat area in the economy cabin. Participants are located in relation to each other as

![Diagram]

8) Main involvement - $S_2$ was standing and busy setting up the bar trolley - $S_1$ and AP - conversation/conflict situation

Side involvement - $S_1$ was getting some 217's out of the medication kit for a passenger who had complained of a headache.

AP was relaxing with a cigarette, sitting on the flight attendant seat with his left foot crossed over his right knee.

9) Raw data:

| $S_1$ asks AP if he had made the service announcement. She is looking for the medicine kit. | $S_1$ asks AP if he had made the service announcement. She is looking for the medicine kit. |
| U1 | U1 | S1 | "...." |
| U2 | AP | "Relax." |
| (0 pause) | |
| U3 paralinguistic tone of impatience; implies it is an order | U3 | S1 | "Listen, would you make the announcement?" |
| | A4 | S1 | Moves over to counter with kit |
P6 accompanied by marked inhalation

K5 AP Turns his cigarette sideways
and looks at it; twirls it
in his fingers, moves his hand
over to the ash-tray,

P6 S₁ "uh /

K6 S₁ quickly touches AP's hand as
it reaches ash-tray /

K7 AP slight facial grimace of
annoyance

K7 S₁ moves her hand away

A8 AP stubs cigarette and stands
up, looks to S₂

U9 AP "When S₁ asks for something
she means right now!"

b eye contact with S₁

K9 AP tense facial expression,
slight stiff smile

K9 S₁ eye contact with AP

c, ve+ev, d, ve+ +ev

U9 AP Boy! "Have I learned that!

d

K9 AP tense facial expression,
slight stiff smile

P10 S₁ S₂ AP all laugh

All AP he turns away to the public
address handset.

S₁'s subsequent attempt to
explain her position was
put off by AP, by this time
she had the 217's and set
about to deliver them.
10) Interaction conclusion:

$S_1$ presented her request for a services announcement for the passengers because as she came through the cabin she had been stopped about half a dozen times by persons desiring to know at what time the meal was to be served. Any subsequent trip down the aisle would have been interrupted by other passengers desiring the same information. This becomes troublesome, to preserve time and patience, the announcement is made on the public address system, all passengers are therefore informed and the flight attendants would not feel harassed. However, the assistant purser gave priority to a smoke break. There is an informal rule which allows a slight reprieve before bar and meal services are begun, especially since this was the beginning of a seven hour long flight; however, it is customary between stewardesses to take such a break after such an announcement is made, so as to prevent passengers from psychological uncertainty about what the program of events are on the flight. The assistant purser had not been sufficiently socialized to standard group norms binding how priorities are set.

He is annoyed enough to interrupt and at the same time reject her P6 and K6 gestures which implied that he did not need to stub his cigarette, by a response at the kinesic level. $U_9^a$ is meant for $S_2$ to be inserted as a crucial item for setting up a biography of facts to know about $S_1$. $S_1$ does not deny that fact. His $U_9^{c,d}$ indicate that
he has learned the hard way i.e. through other conflict situation experiences. The next three and a half hours were taken up with a pace of work describeable only as 'hectic' and a direct result of the pressures listed under the section - situational context. As mentioned previously, in a work unit of high seniority status congruency anyone may give orders to anyone and it is accepted that anything said during rushed services is acknowledged as being significant. Action would be taken on minimal cues. For example, a senior flight attendant would perceive S's utterance one to mean "Have you made the services announcement? And if you haven't would you please do so", so that in effect, the person would proceed to explain whether it had been made or not, or might move immediately to make it. The conflict situation would not have developed at all. It is due to crew impermanency that socialization into group held communication norms take a long time to accumulate and cause unnecessary frustration. One of the crucial separations that require to be sorted out is individual patterns from group held interpretative norms. The flight can be evaluated as bad on the whole, work unit members were not on speaking terms with each other at the end. Passenger contributions to the crew stress factor will not be dealt with at this point.
I. The 'safe but dangerous' social occasion.

As an everyday activity a flight is a "safe but dangerous" fateful event. The inherent contradiction is problematic to the participants in their selection of which definition of the situation will predominate or is accurate for any one instance or time interval. The management team in particular is responsible for the enforcement of the appropriate definitions. Team members interpretations do not necessarily coincide, contradictory rules might be simultaneously appropriate so that decision making becomes consequential to the social order.

For example, there is the general overall rule that participants ought to be seated when the seat belt sign is on during turbulence and refreshment services must be terminated. However, the cabin crew are permitted to continue with a service with the Captain's permission. The passengers seeing the crew up and about feel free to break the rule. The flight attendants are required to see that they conform. Conflicts over this rule occur frequently.

The organizations orientation to emergencies as a 'continual and real' possibility is acknowledged and has been routinized through programs of action in order that emergencies will be handled "calmly and logically" as "quick thinking and quick action are essential to
preventing injury and loss of life." In respect to the flight attendant role of safety management, there is the socially perceivable role inconsistency that while the preparation for the role of saving lives is routinized and regularly performed, the actual cabin crew enactment of life saving by emergency evacuation of passengers is a rare occurrence and for all practical purposes remains only a remote future possibility. In that they are so rarely called to actual performances of this kind they are unable to gain any social status or recognition of legitimacy on these grounds. Society's recognition and glorification of life saving performances by the giving of awards, generally follows only upon a crew member's act of heroism ending in death. It is a matter of commiseration between coworkers that smaller acts of heroism through which the person survives are not 'properly' recognized and in some instances not even informally rewarded by the Company.


Fatefulness is organizationally routinized in:

1) the standardization of emergency procedures in a manual to be carried by 'all' flight attendants on 'all' flights, i.e. procedures of action exist for the event of "rapid decompression", "take-off or landing emergencies with little or no warning", "ditching drill for all crew members", etc.

2) the normalization of emergency oriented duties as routine activities by placing them alongside other duties, and by the exclusion of the word 'emergency' in duty charts i.e. "... greet passengers and check boarding passes. Do all possible to make passengers comfortable.... Connect chutes after the aircraft has started to taxi.... Take position for take-off."

3) public staging of safety oriented activities ritually, meaning prior every take-off. These are performed along standardized patterns, i.e. oxygen mask and life jacket demonstrations are synchronized to standard public address announcements. In this connection a dramaturgical perspective of analysis is therefore appropriate. It is an organizational goal that the passenger participants be socialized to perceive flying as dangerous, that they are required to be aware that safety is not taken for granted and that survival requires their individual concern and
familiarization with the rules and procedures specific to the setting.

Take-off and landing time intervals are the most crucial stages of a flight because they 'initiate' environmental medium changes; that is, on take-off the land-bound craft becomes airborne and on landing vice versa. Its airworthiness is only partially proved on its ability to fly, final proof comes only with a normal i.e. non-emergency or non-accidental, landing. While these are "ordinarily held" background expectancies to a routine flight, they are organizationally protected and for all practical purposes socially constructed as intervals for "ritual observance of the periods of passage" i.e. landing and take-off. The fatefulness inherent in this dramatization is that of the notion that flying is dangerous. It is therefore felt that for the purposes of participation in the occasion the take-off period can appropriately be called the "ritual passage of initiation" and the landing period as the "ritual passage of closure" of the occasion.

Three formal ritual observances during the passages are mandatory for all participants: 1) straighten chairbacks and chair tables to the upright position, 2) fasten seat belts, and 3) no smoking. They are "announced" on the public address system and "enforced" by the cabin crew in take-off and landing safety checks. After the announcement is made, observances are not taken for granted. When the stewardess responsible for the cabin safety check performs this duty and
she asks someone to tighten his seat belt or straighten his chair for him she indicates that he is not sufficiently aware of the seriousness of the coming ritual passage. In not observing the rules properly she defines him as a faulty participant. In that she remains to see that he corrects his observance she indicates that she takes her safety management role seriously although at the same time it can be interpreted that once deviant he is no longer trustworthy. Males sometimes take exception to the rigid on-the-spot enforcement of these rules i.e. a passenger was overheard to remark "You'd think I was a little boy" after receiving such correction although generally their annoyance is communicated kinesically. Ritual observance is organizationally and socially created.

When flight attendant emergency take-off and landing positions in the passenger cabin are occupied due to a less than full passenger load, flight attendants are required to occupy them as their "normal positions", otherwise they occupy all the flight attendant seats at the front and rear of the aircraft. From observations made when occupying the cabin positions and from reports of incidents received from coworkers it is evident that passengers tend to observe the rituals of passage informally in socially structured kinds of ways. It may properly be said that a mood of supplication is sensed to prevail on take-off and one of benediction on landing.
Informal observances are particularly noticeable the closer the aircraft comes to lift-off and touch-down. Passengers who previously have been conversing stop or interrupt their conversation, or who have been silently reading, turn to look out the window silently. Parents scold and hush their children quickly so that they are at liberty to stare out. Unlike the mentally ill, the person in a religious trance, autistic or i.e. epileptic "awayness", the withdrawal awayness which is socially acceptable and socially structured in this setting is of a very temporary and transient nature. Visually, the window as the focus does not necessarily present something to see i.e. as in fog. It is not inappropriate for the religious to cross themselves and be seen to mouth a prayer or finger rosaries; nor is it inappropriate for others to engage in quiet magical supplicatory talk i.e. "Come on baby, get up there", etc. Such talk is usually directed out of the window not interpersonally. Neighbors who are strangers and who have not previously spoken to each other feel at liberty to remark that "She feels heavy" or "Good landing", etc. and may thereafter ignore each other. Couples are seen to hold hands during these periods but enact the appropriate awayness individually. Children do sometimes engage in squealing and excited talk without reprimand from parents, but it is felt improper for adults to give verbal expression to the same kinds of intense excitement.
It is only after landing that passengers collectively engage in clapping, calling hurrahs and stomping their feet. Joyous observances of thanksgiving, and it may be said, explosive release of accumulated tension, are engaged in by most of the passenger load especially on charter flights as passengers are generally acquainted with each other. On scheduled flights anonymity somewhat dampens the spirit of benediction. It is also on charters that a passenger is permitted to use the public address system post-landing for purposes of a prayer of benediction, for leading the singing of a hymn or for public praise of the technical competence of the cockpit crew. The cockpit door is sometimes opened by a flight attendant so that the pilots and navigator hear the clapping, cheering and public acclaim. These are normative patterns of making involvement in ritual passages socially perceivable and acceptable.

Normative levels of involvement are felt to be breached by emotional overinvolvement i.e. verbalized fear of flying together with crying, or by excessive physical tension i.e. clutching the chair arms in fear, facial pallor etc. Female passengers are more prone to overinvolvement. Neighbouring passengers will involuntarily, or are engaged to do so by the flight attendant, hold the person's hand and/or engage them in conversation so as to normalize the observance of ritual passage. Individual failures constitute a problem and require social recognition and the construction of interactional inclusiveness into group processes. The pair may or may not perform the 'awayness'
depending on how much restructuring and consolation the lay therapist is required to do to stabilize the overinvolved to conform to socially acceptable patterns. It is apparent that appropriate levels of emotive involvement are socially structured in this setting as they are in the hospital setting as Sudnow's analysis of death announcements and grieving make evident.  

Landing attempts made during blizzards, fog etc. or landings which are for any reason aborted are consequential in that the destination is missed and problematic as the ritual passage of closure becomes necessarily transformed and blended into some phase of a ritual passage of initiation. The formal observances during these periods are continual and not disturbed; but informal observances are spoiled in that the period for their observance is protracted, and accompanied by an accumulation of emotional, physical and psychic tension. Participants tend to break into and out of their observances irregularly rather than maintaining one peak experience as a group.

When they are not in the passenger cabin positions flight attendants informal observances give evidence of attachment to their safety management role. Take-offs and landing periods are perceived to be the most likely time they will be required to enact the emergency evacuation of passengers. They are required to observe, and new

98. Sudnow, Passing On, pp. 127-152.
members are socialized to recognize, that awareness of how the passage is progressing is of consequence to their 'state of readiness' to perform as a team member. Interpretations are based on sensations and past experience, they are voiced as a stream of comment or mutual exchange. Conversation content analysis indicate that there are norms for: 1) how the aircraft "sounds" as it speeds down the runway for a short domestic flight, long overseas flight, etc., 2) visual characteristics i.e. how much runway flashes by prior lift-off, so that it is a safe and accurate judgment that "...Wow! we almost didn't make it", 3) accumulation of acceleration and deacceleration pressures are "felt" and accurate judgment of an aborted take-offs and landings are made in advance, 4) kinesthetic characteristics i.e. how straight the plane is on its course so that it is felt appropriate to supplicate "Straighten those wings out, Captain".

Increased body tension is "assumed" during landing periods particularly. For example, the severing of an ongoing conversation is accompanied with concentrated facial expression demonstrating strenuous efforts to "see" and/or "hear"; there is some fidgeting; feet are braced and new members are instructed in proper ways to brace i.e. not against storage units but against the floor in order to prevent personal injury and therefore be able to contribute to team evacuation; and male female pairs terminate flirting and cuddling. In addition, a few
seconds prior touch-down what may be called a "body freeze", is assumed and might be interpreted as a readiness to spring to action if necessary. That is, together with the body tension and bracing position, posture and muscle tone is held rigid, breathing is temporarily held, and eye contact is directed not shifted from whatever object it is focused on. The strained moment is particularly interpersonally displayed and enacted at the rear flight attendant positions because the tail of the aircraft is set down first, the responsibilities of the persons there are proportionately greater in respect to the ratio of persons they must evacuate and also as there is no window from which visual contact with the outside can be maintained. Body freeze is released on touch down. Stewardesses are subject to states of anxiety if they are required to occupy the rear position alone and negatively sanction pursers who fail to come back to their proper place. No account or excuse is perceived as appropriate for this kind of deviance in responsibility as a team member.

Formal and informal observances are occasionally spoilt by the requirement to function in other role contexts. For example, a flight attendant might undo the seat belt and leap up during lift off and touch down to close a storage unit which has come unlatched in order to prevent loss of meals. On a very busy flight priority is required to be given to cabin services with the consequence that during landing the galley area floor has to be cleared of movable equipment to prepare it as a useable exit in the event of emergency evacuation. The result is that there is no time to make a dash for the landing seat position. When the reason for non observance is not self evident to
others the flight attendant is expected to give an account of why
the formal ritual was not observed. They are almost never negatively
sanctioned.

Policing practices:

It is one of the uniformities of their everyday life that the
cabin crew are required to conscientiously perform policing duties.
Mainly this is a consequence of having little or no knowledge of the
competency of passengers to be proper participants to the occasion.
Categories of talk reflect the orientation to the passenger as "suspect",
for example, it is not unnatural to speak of "patrolling the cabin" be­
tween services, or "standing guard" while coworkers have their meals,
or "checking someone out", and so on. Although it is known that
passengers are normally preselected and/or occasionally precleared i.e.
by weapons detection machine or police and company officials frisking
and carry on luggage clearance checks, these processes are not
recognized as being sufficient for all practical purposes of competency
to enact their participant role. As a result of the increase in
frequency of aircraft hijackings in 1969 and 1970 aircraft crews are
more aware that an attitude of suspicion is required and diligence in
policing is routinely expected. The Captain as aircraft commander is
legally empowered as a Peace Officer and may arrest and search without
warrant. Flight attendants hold no such special status. Flight attendants are not provided with special storage spaces for purses and suitcases away from passenger access. Valuables, rings, money, wallets, passports have been stolen inflight.

As an everyday activity policing is continual throughout the occasion and as a routine performance it is embedded in the carrying out of some socially visible and acceptable service activity. The wide range of hostessing functions alleviates the problem of shielding policing activities from passengers. These are frequently performed under the umbrella of doing hostessing talk or public relations talk, which is appropriate to this setting and the flight attendant role as it is socially perceived. If a stewardess' suspicion is aroused by some strange seat selection behaviour on boarding, she can legitimately offer to fold the passenger's coat or stow his luggage, meanwhile observing him more closely and engaging him in hostessing talk. Refusals of assistance, possessiveness and closeness of personal belongings are relevant facts to be mentally retained should an account be required or volunteered. Exceptions are made for couriers. Unexpected and irrational verbal responses are viewed as warranting an explanation and

a flight attendant may subsequently linger by the passenger while distributing i.e. magazines or pillows or pouring coffee and as a natural consequence of that service performance engage him in talk. There is a considerable amount of social skill involved in doing investigation work of this kind in such a way that the passenger does not become aware he is being kept under surveillance, although he may subsequently realize that he was being policed when some restrictive action is taken against him. For example, a passenger whose glass of ginger ale is never drained and continues to darken in color will be asked to relinquish his mickey or bottle and/or is cut off ginger ale by the entire work unit. Generally a warning is given first so that he has no grounds for complaint like being unaware of the rules of the establishment.

A common policing procedure is the initial pre take-off "Walk down" through a cabin to look at the passengers. This act assists in setting up a cognitive visual map. A subsequent analysis like "There's nobody on", is particularly relevant to the action oriented flight attendant who is interested in fun and gaming. The flight might actually be filled to capacity but the participants are perceived to be of the wrong kind. A comment relevant to policing is one like "There's a real weirdo in 6A", and all unit coworkers or all crew members will walk down to see for themselves, to familiarize themselves with the
passenger so that they will be able to keep him under surveillance anywhere in the cabin.

Selection of facts for a descriptive account is made on the basis of how a person ought to look and behave from the standpoint of a middle class orientation to congruency between physical appearance and public behaviour in a first class public establishment. The weirdo was initially so labeled because he looked odd and unkempt and talked to himself a lot. A neighbouring passenger was observed to change his seat location. He managed the inflight period well until descent for landing when he was heard to talk very loudly and to shout obscenities. A stewardess broke her formal observance of the seat belt sign rule, walked up and touched his arm after which he quietened down. He did not deplane with the rest of the passengers and ignored the stewardess' hint that he had arrived at his destination. As the cabin crew were fearful of physical violence the police were called to deplane him and it was subsequently found out that he had a long criminal record. The incident was touched off apparently when the purser had instructed him to stub his cigarette during the landing safety check. The stewardess was not aware of this when she calmed the man, and he was unaware that the passenger had created a scene. Lack of communication was a direct result of time pressures imposed by the flight interval and respectively by the duties required to be performed following landing. In fact, the incident was coherently structured as such only in retrospect.
Unlike other public transportation vehicles, passengers who prove themselves faulty participants cannot be deplaned enroute as easily as from a bus, nor is there a space designated for isolation and detention i.e. like a cell or drunk tank, nor a means to restrict a passenger i.e. handcuffs. Deviant behaviour must be tolerated and contained as skilfully as possible so as not to precipitate violent behaviour and/or physical injury. It is the most problematic area of maintenance of social order in the setting and occasion.

An account of a "real crazy man" was structured in the following way: incongruence 1) the passenger gained attention and initiated policing onto himself when he "helped himself" to cherries and olives from the bar trolley and "put them in his pocket", incongruence 2) while walking down the aisle he was "seen to take" another passenger's lighted cigarette away from him and "keep" it. The passenger who had his cigarette stolen did nothing to retrieve it but did report it to a crew member; incongruence 3) he stayed in the lavatory for about fifteen minutes and was "heard to bang loudly on the door" as though demanding help but when the door was unlocked from the outside he was "angry and abusive" to the crew. He relocked himself and stayed there for another fifteen minutes. He was not interfered with in any way thereafter but would have been refused further passage had not the next stop been the final destination of his flight.

Flight attendants are oriented to perceive passengers who talk
of their fear of flying as a proper and regularly recurrent feature of flying as a fateful event within two general categories: normal concerns and reasonable fears, and normal concerns resulting in unreasonable feats. The most frequently expressed fears concern time and geographic dislocations. That these concerns and fears are legitimate is recognized organizationally in that cockpit crew are required to routinely give public address announcements in order to provide an anchor for time and place. When requests for this information are made too frequently or required to be too precise they are considered to be troublesome as flight attendants cognitive visual maps of geographic routes flown are not overly detailed in comparison to those of the aircraft setting. This necessitates trips to the cockpit for confirmation of geographic locations and is time consuming. Thus a passenger who wants to know the "exact here and now time" to the minute, too often, i.e. every half hour, rather than the time relative to the time at his origination or destination point is considered unreasonable as is the passenger who desires to know "precisely here and now geographic location" to be pointed out on a map as a dot, and will not accept i.e. area location like 'between two cities' or 'over a province'. It requires of the cabin crew that they interrupt ongoing services and make a special trip to the cockpit for the information, and is very time consuming.
Environmental security is seen as a proper individual concern i.e. whether the emergency exit window can be accidentally or inadvertently opened by a real strong man, but it is unreasonable for him to be so concerned as to expect a technical answer like \((X)\) number of pounds pressure force will open a window at \((Y)\) altitude with \((Z)\) cabin pressurization level". Likewise, it is proper to be concerned about quantities of radiation fallout in higher altitudes but improper to become agitated when the Captain announces a change in cruising altitudes from 32,000 feet to 39,000 feet. It is proper to inquire how close to the North Pole the flight path is, but to fear that the aircraft will be pulled off course by the magnetic field at the Pole and that the aircraft will somehow get lost is an unreasonable fear. These are all peculiarly specific to the setting, they indicate that a successful ritual passage of initiation is not final proof that the participants feel secure that fateful events will not occur.

**Gallows Humor**

Flight attendants attachment to their role of safety management when particularly intense, as for example during or following actual occurrence of an event which is contemplatively fateful as receiving notification that there is a bomb on board or knowing that one engine is overheating and may have to be shut off over the middle of the
Atlantic, or when they are particularly frustrated, as for example under certain demographic variable combinations i.e. if the passenger load is full capacity and contains too high a proportion of elderly, invalid, children, inebriated and self drugged persons, the emotional tension is frequently released through gallows humor between coworkers.

Gallows humor is that humor expressed by a victim on his day of execution but it is also more broadly defined as any humor which is intentionally pointed and which arises in a precarious or dangerous situation. A flight is sometimes morbidly referred to as a "Coffin Express" when the feelings of vulnerability are excessive. By it, the flight attendants mean themselves as victims, although in the case of the heterogeneity of passenger load some of the categories of passengers mentioned above would be victims also and a direct cause of flight attendant death as they are required to be last off the plane. However, under either class of circumstance, individual commitment to the role, technical competence, composure and poise are obviated.


Participation in gallows humor provides tension release. Role distance which Goffman defines as that "'effectively' expressed pointed separateness between the individual and his putative role"\textsuperscript{102} permits a period of time for role abandonment with impunity. As Obrdlik found to be the case with wartime humor, \textsuperscript{103} expressions of gallows humor change pessimistic attitudes of failure and death to optimistic ones. It helps keep up the morale and cohesiveness of the ones who create and express it. Role abandonment as a group process is joking and laughing portrayal of the role enactment because for example, "Listen. Even at XXX speed you'd be buried on impact! Forget it baby, you're dead!" or "There wouldn't be anything left of you, you'd be blown into smitherines!" One will therefore never be called upon, and with dramatization anxiety is allayed.

Seniors are more accomplished in producing group anxiety management than are junior members. As flight attendants are required to trust each others ability to perform under stress as a team, such socialization in role distance and appropriate emotive management is positively constructive. Such joking tests and trains newer members for expression control and established whether they would be able to

\textsuperscript{102} E. Goffman, \textit{Encounters}, p. 108.
\textsuperscript{103} Obrdlik, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 709-716.
put on serious performances. For all practical purposes "trust" is socially provable by demonstrating psychic equilibrium and poise by participating in gallows humor and in immediate switches from group humor of this kind to passenger hostessing. Male female pairs will sometimes engage in this kind of humor unconsciously as a form of sex play, the winner of this game is the one who keeps his cool and forces the other to lose theirs.

The most fun appears to be dervied from the topic of hijacking and occurs during discussions of constructive procedures to follow in the event of an actual occurrence. Methods of coping are sexually differentiated. Males consistently propose realistic actions like "no action" or "I don't want to be a dead hero. I'd say 'The plane's all yours'". Out of the cultural background expectancies that males are strong, brave and responsible for defensive i.e. warrior behavior, females greet their comments with humorous ridicule, sarcasm and laughter. They draw the men into their gaming plans of action by providing procedures of action of the kind that reverse the position of victim from the flight attendant onto the hijacker himself. Plans of action are peculiarly suitable to the equipment located in the setting.

104. Goffman, Presentation of Self, p. 217.

In the dramatized staging of the change of definition of persons and situation successfully, they jest at hacking the hijacker with the fire axe, freezing him with the carbon dioxide extinguisher, burning him with scalding water from the hotcups or seducing him, etc. In the acting out, aggression and tensions are interpersonally released. The production of a plan of action appears to give the members a certain security that the Company directive of "common-sense and good judgment" does not seem to provide.

Ground personnel involved in preparation or servicing of the aircraft prior flights or during station stops i.e. aircraft groomers, ramp personnel, etc. sometimes direct gallows type humor at the flight attendants in direct or insinuating ways implying either that the risk is peculiar to the day i.e. weather conditions, or as a reasonable expectation of any one day's probability of not surviving one more time ought to be seriously considered. This expression of concern indicates that ground personnel who routinely are involved in some aspect of flying are not at the same time able to perceive themselves as being able to accept the dangers of flying 'on an ordinary everyday basis'. In that the flight crews do they are praised, and gain in esteem. Gallows humor of this kind is most frequently observed to be directed at the stewardesses by male ground personnel.

106. Personal communication reported during a conversation with a former member of that group: These men hold the notion that stewardesses are sexual consorts of the Captains. A probable hypothesis would be that their gallows humor is in response to their relatively lower social status in comparison to the high status of Captains. They would therefore be seen as not acceptable competitors for stewardesses as sexual partners because of their location in the social stratification of the society at large.

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106.
Passenger participation in gallows type humor with the flight attendant is negatively sanctioned unless they have previously established a joking relationship between them. In speaking on tact Goffman says that a performer's tactful paralinguistic use of jest allows him to later disclaim any serious intention to this utterance. In the aircraft setting, there is a category of gallows humor that is required to be perceived as tactlessly made remarks which cannot be tactfully ignored even though they appear to be innocently made and for all practical purposes are engaged in to tease or goad the stewardess or show off in front of one's fellow male companions. Direct comments or ones overheard to be made, which in any way connect to the notion that there is a bomb on board initiates a reporting through crew networks and notification by the Captain to Company and police officials that a passenger had made a reference that threatened the security of the lives of the persons on board.

When this situation develops during boarding the passenger is deplaned by one or both officials. In denying him participant status he is informally categorized as deviant. He may subsequently be denied passage on the airline. Police interrogate and search these persons and may formally charge them depending on the circumstances. It is not known whether airlines cooperate to keep a file on such persons similar

to the 'skip-chain' file which first-class hotels keep on persons who leave without paying their bills or who are classed as undesirable.\(^{108}\)

In either setting, those directly connected with the public have procedures and basis by and on which decisions are made to deny participants contextual status on the grounds of improper social behavior.

One of the concerns with impression management is with how things appear to other participants.\(^{109}\) The removal of the deviant established the fact that persons responsible for safety are serious about their duties. In the eyes of those who remain that know of the offense, is the fact that their own responsibilities to maintain the social order of the occasion is a serious responsibility and if violated will be noted and acted upon. Unlike remarks on service or i.e. quality of food, which can be tactfully ignored, gallows humor is to be recognized as consequential.

110

Dramatizing Survival

The passenger audience is created for the dramatization that in the event of an accidental fateful occurrence, survival is a mutual

\(^{108}\) Participation observation at the front-desk of a first class hotel, passive observation combined with the role of switchboard operator and front-desk clerk.

\(^{109}\) Goffman, op. cit., p. 237.

\(^{110}\) In this section the writer is highly indebted to Goffman's Presentation of Self.
responsibility. The performers in the front region before their audience demonstrate the emergency equipment - oxygen mask, life jacket - and the Safety Features Card which outlines emergency evacuation routes, by a synchronized pantomime to the announcers verbal part which is delivered on the public address system from a back region.

Organizational preparedness for fateful terminations to the occasion as a real possibility is coincidental with their routine expectation that the probability of an occurrence of the kind they are pointing out is not very high. The reality of the danger and risks taken is not specifically stated, nor is it framed in life and death terms. For example, the oxygen briefing lacks any tone of emergency, it says "If oxygen is required...." It is taken for granted that the audience knows that the oxygen mask is for the event of accidental depressurization at high altitudes. They are not instructed that their lack of immediate action results in their loss of consciousness, that deaths have occurred and are a real possibility, or that the aircraft will be taken into an immediate nose dive by the pilots and they might suffer injuries.

In that the performers are aware of these consequences they are frustrated in their role of safety management by the high degree of audience inattention, besides the fact that it is a normal expectation of an actor that the audience will attend. A recent survey
carried out by the Flight Safety Foundation in the United States revealed that only 15% of the passengers understood the oxygen briefing, only 25% knew where their life vest was located and less than 10% of all passengers looked at their emergency instruction cards to familiarize themselves with evacuation routes. It was therefore decided to analyze the problems of staging and team dramatization peculiar to the setting.

The problems of sustaining proper audience attention may be summarized as follows:

1) **Timing** The act can be staged only after the aircraft door is closed to prevent it being ruptured by late entry of audience. It is performed during the taxi period and the audience is involved in competing interests i.e. waving a last goodbye, getting settled more comfortably, watching another aircraft landing, etc.

2) **Physical proximity of performer and audience:** the seated audience and standing performer are on the same floor level which results in visual difficulties because some are too close and others too far away to view the act comfortably. To compensate for those far away, if the performer

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moves down the aisle during the performance he/she turns their back on part of the audience and cuts them off from the act. They must therefore remain stationary.

3. **Interactional unavailability** of a pantomime performer: the performer must be in position before the announcer can begin his part. This leaves the performers vulnerable to passenger initiated interactions because of their proximity. Because they do not have a verbal part they can easily carry on side involvement, although the two roles are incongruous and downgrade the serious nature of the primary pantomime act. Out of an attachment to their safety management role a flight attendant might verbally demand a first flighter to pay attention but out of a sense of proper kinds of disturbances would leave unanswered a question like "When do we get bar?" until released from the act by the announcer. As a means of preventing interference and communicating unavailability some performers turn their backs on the audience until they are required to perform. Only a semblance of an entry to a stage is available to the performer. The one in the first class cabin can cope by using the galley for exiting out of and into, and the performer at the front of the economy cabin can use the curtain dividing the cabins similarly.
4. **Audience spoiling of performance**: children have a tendency to grab at demonstration articles. This results in disruption of the act or a struggle for possession by the actor, and may cause the whole act to be lost or abandoned. When the performer is a female, sexually aggressive and exhibitionistic males sometimes derive satisfaction and pleasure by, for example, attaching the loose end of the oxygen mask tubing to some part of their body or blowing into it while it is on her face. A performer who is unskilled in stage presence may be embarrassed as both actor and act are profaned. The seated passenger has the advantage in that he remains anonymous while her embarrassment is public and to most viewers unaccountable for. Normally the inflation tabs on the life vest are merely displayed, on the rare occasion a male passenger will jerk them and activate the vest. This is accompanied by a noise loud enough to gain the attention of a large proportion of the audience.

Staging problems also result from individual and collective team failures of the performers. Standardized announcements are required to be used, they are changed periodically with the result that all performers have several versions of the act in their repertoire. Flight attendants, male and female, are interchangeable as announcers; the formal rule is that all announcements are to be made by the flight attendant who can produce the best results i.e. voice culture, delivery, technical ability with microphone telephone-hand set, stage presence, etc. Foreign language announcements are made by those who speak the particular language as their mother tongue, it is inadmissible to practise at a language. Especially with staging, the usual division of labor is that stewardesses and assistant pursers do pantomime parts and pursers are announcers.

There are basically five problem areas which affect dramaturgical effectiveness:

1) **Initiation of the act**: It is common that performers are located in different areas of the aircraft doing other passenger services during the taxi period and there is a difficulty of coordinating those required services to the staging of the act. Announcers will sometimes begin their part without checking whether the other actors are ready to perform. The usual warning that he is about to begin and they are required to be at their stage positions is made by clicking noises across the public address system.
2) **Synchronization of parts:** Announcers must use a proper pace. Those who speak too fast, lose their pantomime team and those who speak too slow cause the pantomime actor to feel like a 'slow motion' study. In either case the cabin performer is publicly frustrated as the actions are incoherent. Incoherent actions are also produced by an announcer using an announcement which is not current or is an ad lib production.

3) **Actor inattention:** There is the common problem of boredom in producing an act ritually so that maintaining awareness is a problem. It sometimes happens that an announcer 'comes to' when he is distracted or gets lost in a rote delivery, and a performer might 'come to' after performing some incoherent act when she realizes that an ad lib version is used while she was performing a standard version. A performer will sometimes as a means of coping with space pressures make him(her)self unavailable to interaction initiations by assuming a distracted attitude, with the result that the withdrawal is excessive and the performance is absentmindedly and incoherently presented if the announcers part is not standard. Mental withdrawal is sometimes a natural result of physical exhaustion. For example: a) a duty period of fourteen hours originating at an overseas point, b) onset of duty period is in the
early night shift hours of home base geographic time zone, c) there are two enroute stops which means at least three partial passenger load changes, d) one hot meal is boarded for the cabin crew for the first flight leg of seven hours while the passengers receive a hot meal 'and' a sandwich snack, e) 'no food hot or cold' is boarded for the cabin crew in the remaining seven hours of their work day but they are required to serve a hot meal to passengers on each of the two remaining short flight legs. An overlong duty period combined with the requirement for high sociability and fast work performance etc., combined with lack of nourishment, are not conducive to mental efficiency and a high degree of awareness.

4) **Lack of dramaturgical discipline:** resulting in announcer voice fractures, hesitations, stammering etc. and stage-fright of cabin performers resulting in faces of apprehension, self consciousness, flustered behavior, blushing etc.

5) **Training and testing of dramaturgical discipline:** coworkers engage in testing and teasing each other while the act is on. A flight attendant from a back region position mimes or parodies the cabin actor or assumes an exaggerated and humorous audience pose. The performer who succumbs is not
a bona-fide actor. The announcer in the back region is razed, flirted with etc. and may have to cover up his failure to maintain his poise by coughing, throat clearing or apologies, and when he does so he communicates to his coactors in the cabin that a game is on; so that it also happens that they are required to pretend not to know and to perform as usual. Such testing is generally seen as a challenge, not to pick it up means a loss of face. It may be initiated by an actor desiring to show off his/her excellence and sophistication. The entire work unit or performance team might engage in gaming and boisterous horseplay and immediately switch to their actors role and stage the act with superb nonchalance. Unlike the real anger expressed between actors after other kinds of impression management failures, anger in this particular case is always mock anger.
B. Summary and concluding remarks

There was an attempt in this paper to reproduce the lay sociological reasoning practised by the flight attendant crew in the everyday activities and social relationships in their work setting. A flight was the unit of study and as much as possible restrictions were made to include only such material for analysis as was directly related to the social occasion. Although the Company refers to the flight attendant occupation as a profession and the public refer to it in those terms in their letters of complaint, the members are unionized, have no lengthy training by which they could acquire professional status, and have no code of ethics, as for example the medical professions do, by which they could rightfully claim professional standing.

As a public service occupation, the flight attendants triple role and range of responsibilities conflict with each other. It is evident that some persons are more committed to one role and are lax in another. Team work performances and group cohesiveness are problematic to establish when the range of status dimensions varies greatly between persons. For example, when a graduate from a European finishing school is required to work alongside another who does not even have a high school senior matriculation, when the former model or beauty contest winner is paired with a dowdy
unattractive person, when the former secretary, nurse or teacher with social poise and previous occupational experience has to work with the immature giggly stewardess with no previous occupational experience, social and interpersonal relationships will be strained. Any one member's prestige in a work unit varies with the status dimensions represented by the coworkers in the team. They affect the stability of superior/subordinate relationships and require that all members be pliable to deviations in ranking which occurs due to crew impermanency.

Of the total population, the flight attendants who have been hired in Europe, who are therefore European born and educated, are the largest subgroup who feel themselves to be superior to the average flight attendant. Their manner of establishing friendship patterns differs from North American practices. They complain of feelings of isolation from the group and of estrangement from North American culture. There is a general tendency to form exclusive friendship bonds between themselves and other European born people outside of the occupational group. For these reasons they are also somewhat resented and misunderstood by their coworkers.

Publicly visible differential services to customers are an outcome of the differing needs of certain categories of persons, such as preboards, those suffering unexpected medical crises, those who demand extra services, members of other cultural or ethnic groups
and so on. The marketing frame of reference with its inherent notion of equal services to all is not applicable to this work setting. Participants with the lowest rates of interaction with the cabin crew are those categorized as competent participants who know the rules of the setting and occasion, and who comply with them. These are more so persons who fly regularly or frequently.

An in-group label for a domestic flight has in the past year changed from 'The Cardiac Special' to 'The Hippie Special'. This can be taken as an indicator of passenger population change, and consequently of adjustments required to be made between all participants to different modes of public behaviour. Supervisors at the terminal check-in counters at the central Company base have as a result made a formal request for specific guidelines to be used for rejecting those who are not properly attired and groomed. There is an orientation to flying as a special kind of occasion and expectations regarding dress decree that Sunday clothes rather than work clothes be worn. In addition, that more formal rather than informal behaviour is expected. In this respect shoes should be worn, persons should not board an aircraft barefoot; women should not appear with curlers in their hair, male female couples should

113. Internal Company organ.
not sleep together on a row of seats, and so on. In that such behaviour does occur there are interpersonal strains in the setting.

The organization failure to provide its representatives with rules and regulations for all kinds of situations, or with proper kinds of information on passenger populations for the successful enactment of the occasion, has been accommodated to by the workers by institutionalized patterns of coworker selection which relies on floating biographies, and on the necessity of the members to formulate cognitive visual maps to assist them in their performances.

The peculiarities of the ecological arrangement and outer environmental factors bearing on the occasion's social order places a requirement on the crew to utilize their formal power positions to establish and maintain proper participant behaviour, also to limit access to regions and define territoriality. Varied degrees of personalized or impersonalized service relationships are not organizationally or publicly preferred but are in effect a direct outcome of flight time restrictions and amount of work to be performed. A very important factor to be added here also is the passenger imposed group pressures which work to effect a time limitation to any service activity. For example, if a meal service in the economy cabin exceeds one and one half hours or if a snack service exceeds half an hour passengers get up and move about in the
aisles, go to the washrooms or back regions and thereby disrupt the smoothness of ongoing services. Especially when the meal trolley is in the aisle, conflicts occur over aisle occupancy as passengers cannot pass in the two inch free space zone and some accommodation to their desire to pass is required. This lengthens the service presentation, imposes on the crew a need for impersonalized service interactions and its attendant brief communication patterns, and requires tension management. Such practices are a logical outcome of social pressures, although they are generally perceived to result from a bureaucratic system and thought to be found in all organizations providing public services.

The social occasion is organizationally produced as a 'safe but dangerous' event and is so dramatized by the team, especially prior rituals of passage of the occasion for which formal ritual observances are expected of all participants. Norms of acceptable conduct in the setting are limited in range, policing practices are routinely performed in order to maintain the social order. Deviant behaviour therefore has consequences to any participant's future participation in occasions of the kind.

114. A characteristic of the career files which helps to define the occupation as a dangerous one is the mandatory 'personal identification' form. It is used by the Company to identify human remains of cabin crew members in the event of an aircraft accident that results in death.
The ethnographic areas covered result out of personal choice and in no way represent completely the social organization inflight or in the setting. Many of the problem areas covered were initially so defined by coworkers during their everyday routine work performances. Although some of the findings are generalizeable to any inflight period, they are particularly relevant to human relations on jet aircraft commercial flights.
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III Journals and Periodicals

A. Articles in Scientific Journals


Williams, W. K. and Whyte, W. F. and Green, C. S. "Do Cultural Differences Affect Workers' Attitudes?" Industrial Relations vol V, No. 3 (May 1966).

B. Articles in Periodicals


C. Newsmagazines

Canadian Interline News, Toronto, P. Rodney publisher, Toronto, Canada. (monthly)


D. Article in Newsmagazines

Kelly B. "The Day the Captain and the First Officer Pulled Down the Stewardess' Girdle at 10,000 Feet." The Canadian Magazine, insert of Vancouver Daily Province, Oct. 31 p. 3-4.

E. Pamphlet articles


F. Personal Communication


St. Expury (sic.) Poem to the writer, undated.
APPENDIX

Table I

Number of Passenger Kilometers flown for the years 1953, 1965 and 1968 For selected countries*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1953</th>
<th>1965</th>
<th>1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1,424,863</td>
<td>7,564,906</td>
<td>12,044,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francea</td>
<td>1,651,596</td>
<td>7,510,875</td>
<td>9,677,793</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>134,461</td>
<td>4,593,609</td>
<td>9,048,824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>2,610,797</td>
<td>12,485,691</td>
<td>14,943,404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>29,361,168</td>
<td>110,521,167</td>
<td>183,393,126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: International Civil Aviation Organization. I.C.A.O. Figures cover both domestic and international scheduled services registered in each country.

a Air France only.

Notes on ordering of interaction data for sociological analysis

It is felt that sociologists, particularly ethnomethodologists involved in conversation analysis and interpretation of everyday activities, lack a satisfactory notation system for the preservation of the dynamic nature of interactions and conversations as they are produced in the real world. The hard data that is used is frequently reproduced in print merely as isolated conversations for their content value, a large measure of what is communicated in the exchange is lost even though an interpretation of other relevant facts is summarized in the body of a paragraph; as for example Sudnow's chapter on death announcements made by physicians to relatives of the deceased. It is proposed that when ordering hard data for transcripts and subsequent analysis, the presentation of conversations as isolates oversimplifies the communication process. The transcripts must somehow provide the reader with evidence of behavioral, kinesic and paralinguistic data that occurred coincidentally as a part of the participants systematic ongoing production of the interaction. This is not to say that assignment of a datum to one of the four areas can be done with ease as they are not discrete or absolute systems. The existing notation systems used by linguists and anthropologists

are not suitable for this kind of transcribing. It might also be added that data collection merely by tape recorder is insufficient for the purposes of understanding everyday activities as ongoing events creatively produced.

The sophisticated notation system used by Pittinger, Hockett and Danchy\textsuperscript{2} is suitable for a psychiatric perspective of analysis. The taped interview allowed for precise measurement of duration of silences, coded symbols were used for paralinguistic phenomena etc. The system does not suit the problems of transcribing for example, different kinds of interruptions, simultaneous speech, parallel talk and so on, which the writer feels are relevant to sociological analysis. It was however, an important frame of reference as was the notative system of R. L. Birdwhistell\textsuperscript{3} for the one which is extended for consideration here. Birdwhistell's elegant Kinesic notative system

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{2} R. E. Pittinger, G. F. Hockett, J. J. Danchy, \textit{The First Five Minutes}, New York, Paul Martineau Publisher, 1960, pp. 195-206.
\item \textsuperscript{3} R. L. Birdwhistell, chapter for \textit{Conceptual Bases and Applications of Communicational Sciences}, University of California, 1965. 'Not to be quoted', (reprint of the draft in writer's possession).
\end{itemize}
is equally suitable to analysis of social Kinesics. However, in the "Kinesics and communication" article particularly the reader's lack of access to the notation system used makes the illustration of both interactions largely unintelligible. The descriptions of the actions etc. opposite the illustrations give the appearance of both participants taking turns at acting in a cooperative manner i.e. while one is talking and moving the other is not doing or communicating anything. Yet it may be generally said that communication is sequential and continual. It is also proposed that it is necessary to arrange and present data to preserve the fact that for example, verbal responses i.e. answers are made to another's kinesically demonstrated questions and vice versa. Likewise, as with simultaneous talk production, it is evident that a participant will select one kinesic stimuli to respond to and by-pass others. This is not to say that the others which occur at or near the same time are insignificant or that they remain unprocessed, it is just to say that for social interaction purposes (and subsequently for sociological analysis) only that particular one is relevant.


Without the use of tape-recorders and film, it is assumed that the observer collecting data is competent to judge which kinesic, paralinguistic items are relevant to an interaction. For the purposes of studying everyday activities which are produced by 'ordinary' members of a society, it is not inconsistent to select an ordinary member to be an observer; although it is required that the person be perceptive and have a retentive mind. Interactional pieces of data are necessarily restricted to short spans of time. The problem that is posed is: "How can data be presented to display the internal coherence of communication patterns used by ordinary members in their social interactions?"

Problems of data organization:

Speech production tends to be delivered according to a speaker's norm in keeping with the kind of talk that is going on, i.e. a chat, interview, quarrel. Deviations from a speaker's norm, such as: a) when there is an increased stress through volume or intensity with which a word(s) is said or an utterance(s) is produced, or b) when there is a de-stress or relative change to softness from the speaker's norm in the same manner; where these deviations effectively introduce shades of meanings, non mutuality to a co-operatively produced i.e. friendly interaction, double-talk, anger, confidentiality, change in the definition of the verbal exchange as a friendly chat
that becomes an argument, and so on, they are required to be noted because they are then sociological facts. Differentiation in transcripts between this kind of stressing and the additional paralinguistic features of: a) elongation or stretching of a word(s) or utterance(s) as frequently associated with teasing, taunting or mimicking, and, b) clipping or slurring of speech as in anger or reluctance, is necessary as these perform different and special functions.

Some general statements can be made about crude indicators of different kinds of conversational interactions. For example, racey dialogues and joking proceed with a faster rhythm, have a higher frequency of paralinguistic features i.e. laughing, a faster rate of kinesic changes, briefer periods between and more overlapping of turns at talking and so on. Consistencies for formal interviews or interrogations would indicate that two speakers generally take turns at talking and that one speaker asks the questions while the other does the answering and/or that the interviewer's verbal content is brief while the interviewee is lengthy, etc. Typically, interactions proceeding from a cooperative base as i.e. brief marketing and purchase interactions would reflect that a) the speakers consistently take alternate turns at speaking, b) there are few if any variations from the norm in stress and de-stress, c) there are few (if any) interruptions and the whole interaction can be accomplished successfully at the behavioral, kinesic level. Transcripts of arguments which proceed from
a base of conflict would in contrast be expected to reflect a higher frequency of interruptions then occur in mere disagreements, simultaneous speech, a high frequency of stress symbols, a higher rate of use of gestures accompanying speech, etc. Variations depend on the degree of formality and context of the interaction and/or occasion in which these occur, the definition of persons, their relationship and the degree of intimacy between them, and so on.

One problem area is that of correct representation of sentential structures as they are produced in utterances. A speaker may have the peculiarity of producing speech in monotone 'streams' with no phonetic adjustments after combination of words, so that one could say there is no syntactic structure within the utterance. This kind of talk can of course also be a tactic used by a speaker in order to accomplish such work as the reluctant giving of an account, the retention of a turn at speaking during an argument or the persuasion of the hearer just to mention a few instances. To cope with this adequately requires the observer and transcriber to adhere to the actual production when providing punctuation marks i.e. commas, periods. Violations are felt to contaminate the data.

An utterance (turn at speaking) consisting of one or more sentences will contain one or more sentence-end pauses which can be adequately transcribed with the use of a period(s). Intra-utterance of intra-sentence pauses do occur and can be accounted for in transcripts
by the use of (pause) at the place in which they occur; with the exception that when such a pause is used to advantage by a hearer to interrupt the ongoing utterance with one of his own, this pause is transformed and need not be noted as a pause but rather replaced by the use of the interruption (/). Utterance end pauses have a normative duration consistent with the type of verbal exchange, the context in which it occurs and the degree of intimacy between the speakers. In transcript this type of pause can be followed by the transcription of the next utterance unless that utterance introduces another interaction.

Utterance end pauses that extend their normative duration, providing they are not routine interaction closures, are sociological facts. Pauses and turns at speaking may be properly assigned to and owned by persons, and likewise relinquished by them. For example, consider the following:

1) When a speaker (A) asks a question of his hearer (B) there is an obligation placed on (B) to speak next. B may be said to have some ownership title to the utterance end pause which follows, and it is assigned to him when he is the next speaker. However, if an extended pause ensues and (A) speaks again then (B) may be said to have relinquished his turn at speaking and the pause in transcript should indicate this relationship between the persons.
2) When the speaker to follow an utterance end pause is optional the pause may be assigned to whomever speaks next. There is in this case no proper ownership title by obligation and thus no transformation by relinquishing needs to be considered.

Obligations to speak need not appear in verbal data in order to be considered significant, as frequently such obligations are placed on persons at the kinesic/paralinguistic level.

Pauses are frequently paralinguistically 'loaded'. They can be described as 'frozen', 'dreadful', 'awkward' etc. and may herald a change in the definition of the situation or relationship between the participants, as i.e. a cooperative interaction changing to one of nonmutuality. When such pauses terminate an interaction they are required to be noted as terminal pauses regardless of their other properties. Such pauses frequently follow put-downs, slams etc. between strangers and can be used to advantage by a participant to sever an interaction. The terminal pause in effect is a paralinguistic reply to a vocalized question or an obligated turn to speak.

In dealing with the problems of adequately transcribing utterance closures it is felt that there are basically two types of closures, elective ones and non-elective ones. An utterance with an elective closure has all the attributes of phonetic changes and sentential structure, or is one which is terminated voluntarily without the other features. In either case such closure can be punctuated with a
period. A non-elective closure as an interrupted utterance which is completely severed may be punctuated with the interruption symbol (/) regardless of the type of interruption, i.e. another person's utterance, a doorbell ringing etc. A non-elective closure not by way of an interruption in the proper sense as above but characterized by the 'petering off' or tapering off of speech flow as when a speaker is giving an account and cannot find anything else to say, becomes embarrassed or loses track, etc, should be noted. If another speaker takes over, whether the normal utterance end pause is present or absent, does not warrant classifying the closure as an interrupted utterance. Simultaneous talk, which involves an interruption of an ongoing utterance of (A) by another speaker (B) may result in a tapering off of speaker (A) as just described, may result in (A's) elective closure, or in (A's) continuation of his utterance past the point at which (B) drops off his. That is, two utterances can and do occur coincidentally and transcripts should display this visually.

Irrespective of their sociological import Bateson has called units such as the positive uh-huh or negative uh-uh 'vocal segregates'. These roughly correspond to Pittinger et al.'s use of 'vocal identifiers'. Parallel talk in this paper refers to a speaker's

7. Pittinger, et al., First Five Minutes.
use of words, phonemes, or grunts, etc. for the purposes of indicating to an ongoing speaker that he the hearer is listening, is aware and is thereby instructing the ongoing speaker of that fact. In this sense they cannot rightfully be classified as interruptions, as 'yeah', 'mn-hm' etc., in this case convey the message that the ongoing utterance is being attend to; \(^8\) they will in this paper be referred to as insertion units of parallel talk. Parallel speaking is a norm in telephone conversations, and when absent the ongoing speaker may interrupt his account and ask "Are you still there?" When there is no such confirmation that the hearer is attending and/or understanding. In a conversation where one person is explaining something to another, the presence or absence of insertion units at the vocalized or kinesic level, is significant towards promoting the continuation or severance of the utterance they accompany and is therefore relevant in maintaining and defining the relationship between the persons. Examples are readily available as this is a frequently used communication pattern.

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It is proposed that for the format used in presenting data these be supplied for the reader, a description of the ecological arrangement the participants are located in and the location of the participants in relation to each other. It is beneficial to supply this information for the reader in order that a visual picture can be kept in mind as this makes the data which is presented more meaningful and understandable.

9. The location of the participant observer (or the camera for that matter) is very crucial to the kinds of data which will be available for recording and also somewhat determine the amount of time which will be consumed in obtaining specific kinds of information. The following is presented from the writer's experience as an observer at the registration desk of a first class hotel.

The desk clerk stands behind a closed counter area which is slightly above waist level, the observer is seated and slightly to the right of the clerk. Customers coming up to the counter from the lobby face the clerk and observer. Not all customers make reservations in advance so that it is part of the clerk's responsibility to accurately evaluate the customer and accept him or turn him away. People are turned away even when there are vacancies. The observer's problem in this respect was to collect interactional data which would reveal the structure of institutionalized talk for rejecting potential customers. The difficulty was that as not every interaction was of this kind how could judgments be made early enough so that those which would be fruitful would be attended to and others bypassed, thereby conserving time. The problem was solved when it was accidentally discovered that when, for example, clerk John had decided to turn someone away he habitually tensed his buttocks - pressed the cheeks together. The observer in any other location, i.e. on the customer's side of the counter, would not have had access to this kinesic clue. It was not relevant for inclusion as a datum in the clerk/customer interaction as the ecological arrangement of the setting and their physical relationship made it inaccessible as a communication item.
Problems will arise in transcribing an interaction with respect to the proper sequencing of data. A consecutive order of datum items must be adhered to, this can be achieved by the use of numerals of increasing order i.e. utterances U1, U2, U3, or kinesic data as K4, K5 and so on. When an U datum and K datum occur simultaneously they would be assigned the same numeral and if possible and/or necessary can be placed at the juncture at which one intervenes with the other. It is suggested that such raw data be placed to the right side of a vertical center line and that interpretations be placed to the left of the line. This would include interpretations of paralinguistic features accompanying vocalizations, and pauses, or of kinesic data i.e. U3 delivered with an impatient tone of voice, or, P5 an awkward silence etc. They should be placed parallel to the material being interpreted by the observer. It is suggested that summary accounts of gross actions be placed to the left side also when they are not directly related to the face to face interaction, i.e. side involvements. Depending on the type of interaction being transcribed other sociologically relevant facts can be provided in advance i.e. if variables of age, sex, marital status etc. are necessary they can be coded and included in the transcript or summarized in a paragraph preceding the transcript. The reader's comprehension of an interaction as it was produced can thus be made adequately complete for the purposes at hand.
Notation System

"U" an utterance, one turn at speaking, bounded by punctuation marks.

"U." an "U" followed by a period indicates the end of the utterance by elective closure of the speaker. Periods will also indicate the termination of sentences within an utterance.

, and . commas and periods are used to match the speakers syntactic precision rather than according to the writer's knowledge of correct grammatical structure. The decision for either one is based on variations in the intervals between words and/or combinations of words, and to some extent with respect to phonetic changes associated with sentence and pauses.

- the dash is used to indicate that the interval between words where it is used was not a normal interval so that the effect is one of clumped or slurred speech production.

!? follow utterances interpretable as exclamatory and interrogative respectively.

K a kinesic datum (data)

P a paralinguistic datum, will include laughing, crying, pauses etc.

A an action datum i.e. John sits down.

Numerals of increasing order following U,K,A,P, are used to indicate their chronological production. If any two i.e. U and K or U and P are simultaneously produced they are assigned the same numeral.

Small alphabets are placed above a typed line to indicate that the contents have been divided into different sections for analytic purposes.

( ) brackets surround an explanation for verbal content which is doubtful or was not obtainable because it was inarticulate i.e. garbled, or not obtainable due to noise etc.
"...." indicates that the first portion of the utterance is not available due to

- a) the observer's late arrival on the scene
- b) the observer's unawareness at that stage of the interaction that it could qualify as a piece of data
- c) the content was not considered relevant for inclusion but is available in some form
- d) an exact verbal reproduction cannot be provided for other reasons.

"...." indicates that further verbal material followed but for reasons listed as c) and d) above is not included as data in transcript.

/ the interruption-symbol, used in utterances which are terminated by non-elective closure caused by another speaker breaking in, noises, etc. Can also be used for interrupted kinesic and action data.

"U *" the utterance here is ended by a tapering off of speech flow or an inability to proceed and where there is a failure to properly terminate an utterance so that a sentence is abandoned, a pause ensues or another speaker takes over. If the same speaker continues after a pause the * symbol should still be used.

"U /s" an utterance which is interrupted at the /s point by another speaker, but is not completely severed so that there is simultaneous speech. The /s symbol has no relevance to type of utterance closure.

"U s ss" the utterance interrupting and simultaneous with another speaker's ongoing utterance at the s to ss points. When two speakers begin their utterances at the same time they can both be assigned the same numeral together with the use of s ss. Also used for kinesic data.

(( ))) double brackets surround insertion units when they are used as parallel communication meaning a 'carry-on' instruction. They will be dropped one line and placed directly below the part of the ongoing utterance they occur simultaneously with.
(pause) When imbedded in a sentence or utterance is defined as an intra utterance pause. In duration it is significantly different from a comma, period or semi-colon.

(0 pause) an owned pause, ownership being accorded to the next speaker as being the proper person to speak next i.e. the one to whom a question is posed, or by virtue of being the next speaker if the selection is optional.

(R pause) a relinquished pause. When the choice of next speaker is not optional but obligatory, and when this proper person is not for any reason whatever the next speaker, he can be said to have relinquished his turn. It is used only for a pause longer than a normal utterance end pause as this indicates that others present recognized his rights to speak next for the proper span of time before proceeding.

(T pause) a terminal pause as an indicator of interaction closure is an extended pause which is paralinguistically loaded i.e. a frozen pause following a cut or slam, where no attempt is made to recover or continue with the interaction.

\[\text{v+ } +v\] indicates that the words over which this set of symbols appear was stressed - emphasized - by being relatively louder than the preceding word(s), utterances or the entire norm of the verbal exchange. When used over one word the \[v+ v\] short form will be used.

\[\text{v- } -v\] indicates that the words over which this set of symbols is de-stressed and is relatively softer than the preceding word(s), U's or the norm of the verbal exchange. The short form \[v - v\] will be used when only one word is so spoken.

\[\text{ve+ } +ev\] this set of symbols indicate that the words beneath them were stressed and produced in an elongated drawn out fashion as i.e. when teasing, mimicing etc. The short \[ve+ev\] is used over one word.

\[\text{ve- } -ev\] this set of symbols indicates de-stressing of words plus elongation as above. Over a single word the short form \[ve-ev\] is used.
the symbol will appear over an utterance, or portion of, which is whispered but not voiced. The + or - can be added for loud and soft whispers respectively, as was done for volume changes above.

replaces an utterance which was whispered or mouthed but not decipherable by the observer.