

Toward Intersectional History

By

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Abstract

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In this thesis, I introduce a theoretical approach called Intersectional History (IH). IH is theorized by bringing together a critical approach to intersectionality with a postmodern approach to the study of the past. The purpose of bringing these two domains together is to provide a theoretically-informed way to focus on revealing intersectional-based privilege and marginalization in historical accounts of organizations. A primary focus of IH is to consider how categories of identity are constructed and reproduced within organizational materials from the past, over time. In particular, IH is concerned with the ways that those powerful constructions of categories of identity overlap and reinforce systems of oppression, such as racism, sexism, and colonialism, within organizational contexts. Another key purpose of IH is to reveal the stories of those at the intersection of overlapping, marginalized categories of identity and re-centre their experiences and contributions in organizations. I demonstrate the potential of IH through an analysis of the Australian Airline, Qantas, with a specific focus on how women and Aboriginal Australians are constructed within the organizational material, over time.

Keywords: intersectionality, history, management, organization studies, discrimination

April 20, 2022.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my father, Richard Shaffner. Thank you for your love and support, for enthusiastically reading and celebrating all of the many stories I wrote as a child, and for your continued encouragement of my education and my writing. Your steady belief in me, your quiet fortitude and your strength of character have kept me going and inspired me to persevere, both as a scholar and as a person. I am here and will be here, because of you.

*А он, мятежный, просит бури,
Как будто в бурях есть покой.*

Rebelliously, it seeks the storm
As if in the storm there is peace.

-Mikhail Lermontov, 1832

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Chapter 1: Introducing Intersectional History

Overview and Contribution of the Thesis

In this chapter, I outline the direction of my thesis. The main contribution of the thesis is a theoretical framework which I call Intersectional History (IH). IH combines two broad strands of thought: intersectionality and history (more specifically, the study of the past) to understand phenomena over time, specifically in management and organization studies (MOS). I suggest that IH combines the outcomes of theorizing on the nature of the past (Jenkins, 1991; White, 1973) that has preoccupied the field of MOS for several decades (MacLean et al., 2016; Mills et al., 2016) with a critical theorizing of intersectionality (Collins, 2019; Collins & Bilge, 2016; Crenshaw, 1991). The purpose of IH is to better situate an approach for exploring intersectional experiences in organizations over time. The field of feminist historical thought has worked to recover the contributions of women in history (Morgan, 2009); however, there has been less focus on individuals and groups in the past who were impacted by the overlap of multiple, socially-constructed categories of identity. IH picks up this thread, and involves questioning how social categories of identity, such as race, gender, and class (among others) impact the way marginalized individuals and their experiences are oppressed in an organization's material of the past. By bringing together a theorized understanding of intersectionality with a postmodern theorization of the past, I suggest that it is possible to approach the study of the past in a way that specifically focuses on overlapping systems of oppression over time, and the impact of systems of oppression on the privileging and marginalizing of particular groups of individuals. This can help generate alternative accounts of an

organization's dominant history, and surface new and novel insights of those lost in the intersectional margins of history.

Contributions.

The primary contribution of this thesis is to develop and advocate for the theoretical framework of intersectional history. I hope to demonstrate that IH can fulfill an important role in MOS, by providing a theoretically-informed approach for specifically considering those at multiple intersections of socially-constructed identities, in traces of an organization's past. In the same way that feminist history has worked to recover the stories of women, so too does IH aim to reveal the untold stories and experiences of intersectionally-oppressed individuals. An IH-informed approach can reveal new insights about those we consider important to an organization's history and success and can thereby act as a way to destabilize the status quo of what is known about the organization. This can then provide alternatives to commonly-held assumptions or understandings of an organization's history – or what they purport their history to be (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004). Additionally, I see IH as a means to provide insights into the discursive nature of discrimination in organizations over time. Through the lens of the theoretical model of IH, I suggest that it is possible to show how identity-based discrimination can become embedded in an organization's practices over time.

I suggest that a second significant contribution of IH is that it builds a bridge between intersectionality and history. For example, there are challenges to bringing intersectional thinking to empirical work (Collins & Bilge, 2016), without reifying intersectionality itself or the common categories of identity it references (Collins, 2019). One proposed resolution to this challenge has been that intersectionality must be thought

of in relation to history (Brah & Phoenix, 2004), in order to consider how categories of identity are employed through time (Dhamoon, 2011). However, intersectionality has not been significantly theorized using ideas emerging from historiography and the study of the past. Instead, while intersectional scholars often point to how oppression emerges from history, there is little interrogation of how that knowledge about the past is produced, and the discursive elements involved in that production. Conversely, scholars in the field of MOS/MOH have debated the nature of the past fairly extensively (Bowden, 2018) and have engaged with postmodern and amodern approaches to the past (Durepos & Mills, 2012a; 2012b). However, there has been little work that focuses on combining intersectional theorizing with a historiographic theorizing on the past (Hendricks et al, 2020; Ruel et al, 2018; Shaffner et al, 2019).

There have been similar calls in MOS/MOH to those in intersectional work for more empirical research (Carraher, 2012). MOS/MOH scholars have been encouraged to embrace and explore new and novel approaches to the study of the past through increased empirical consideration of the past (van Lent & Durepos, 2017; 2019). I suggest that IH provides a theoretical approach which can be a foundation for empirical work that treats both intersectionality and the past as discursive constructions, versus fixed objects or realities. I suggest that IH brings together what has been missing from both of these areas of study, by providing a useful framework that historicizes intersectionality and intersectionalizes the study of the past in ontologically and epistemologically-complementary ways. In this thesis, I focus on theoretical framework of IH in the context of MOS/MOH specifically.

Empirical Case.

To demonstrate the potential of IH, I turn to the Australian airline, Qantas. Qantas is a well-known international airline that was founded in 1920 (Fysh, 1966), and continues to operate today. My empirical work uses Qantas as a case organization to consider the possibilities of the theoretical approach of IH in practice. I rely on a broad archive of material related to the organization, including archival material collected at The State Library of New South Wales and the Qantas Heritage Museum, both located in Sydney, Australia. I also rely on two trilogies of written histories, the first by Qantas co-founder Hudson Fysh (Fysh, 1966, 1968, 1970) and the second by Australian historian John Gunn, who was commissioned by Qantas to write a history of the organization in the 1970s (Gunn, 1985, 1987, 1988). I use the archival material and some background from the two trilogies to consider how individuals are represented within the material; how categories of identity are produced and maintained through that representation, and how those categories of identity contribute to overlapping systems of oppression that privilege some, while marginalizing others, over time (Shaffner et al., 2019). Approaching my analysis through the theoretical positioning of IH, I work through two time periods in the organization's past. I review staff newsletters in particular, using a process of familiarizing, interrogating and generating, explained in Chapter 5, which I suggest helps clear new paths (Ahmed, 2019) of understanding through the organization's past. This allows me to generate alternative, intersectional understandings and versions of Qantas's past, while also providing insight into the embedded nature of identity-based oppression over time.

A Reflexive Pause

Why Qantas?

I became interested in Qantas as a result of an ongoing project studying airlines and their histories. My supervisor, Dr. Albert Mills, and one of my committee members, Dr. Jean Helms Mills, have led this project for many years, and focused on several large airlines around the world: British Airways, Pan-Am, and Air Canada. My other committee member, Dr. Gabrielle Durepos, for example, wrote her dissertation using material from Pan-Am, and others have used Air Canada and British Airways to generate new understandings of history, discrimination and culture in these organizations (Durepos, 2009). Qantas was last on the list of airlines to be studied when I first began working with them. For me, being able to dive into a new archive, of sorts, was an exciting opportunity. I began by reading Fysh's histories of the organization, and quickly became enthralled with the unique circumstances of the airline's endurance in Australia. However, I also had the guidance from others to note the stories that were hidden beneath the surface of the texts – the stories of women, staff at outposts, and Australian Indigenous peoples. I felt that by focusing on Qantas, I could tell some of these stories.

Epistemic Power & Resistance.

Before I move on, I will note that I have been afforded great privilege in life through socially-constructed categories of identity: according to some of these constructions, I am white, female, able-bodied and financially secure. I have had significant access to education. Although I have experienced oppression on account of my gender, my other identity positions mean that this oppression does not usually overlap with other, traditionally marginalized categories of identity. I am not intersectionally-

oppressed. I struggle with the thought that perhaps this makes me less worthy of writing a thesis like this. That said, I also struggle with the thought that I should use my privilege to write as an ally for those with less privilege to do so. I aim to resolve this tension through what Collins (2019) refers to as epistemic resistance, to undermine epistemic power.

Collins (2019) suggests that “Epistemic power organizes not just the visible, formal structures of collective inquiry but also the backstage, typically anonymous practices of evaluation” (p. 130). She argues, and I agree, that by unreflexively employing the term intersectionality for inquiry into taken-for-granted, reified notions of race, gender, class, sexuality, and others, we are reproducing a hierarchy of knowledge production in academia that privileges objectivity in theory and method. We who claim intersectionality as within this hierarchy all contribute to the endurance of epistemic power, and thus the reproduction of social inequalities through an approach [intersectionality] that is meant to be “more closely aligned with the very resistance traditions that catalyzed intersectionality in the first place” (p. 131). Collins’ caution against reproducing epistemic power by placing intersectionality *within* a framework that supports or implies capitalist assumptions, highlights the need for epistemic resistance.

Epistemic resistance in reference to intersectionality involves decoupling knowledge production from western measures of epistemic legitimacy. To do this, Collins argues that it is necessary to see intersectionality as a critical discourse, that can only be explored through attention to power relations and the structures that maintain power hierarchies in the production of knowledge. Essentially, embracing epistemic resistance involves a commitment to intersectionality as a critical discourse that cannot be separated from power relations, and a commitment to knowledge production that seeks to

destabilize those things that, without considering power relations, become taken-for-granted.

In the spirit of epistemic resistance, I do not view this thesis as an opportunity to generate something that reproduces dominant epistemic power and knowledge; something that ultimately reifies existing positivist and capitalist discourses in my field of MOS/MOH. Instead, I undertake this work with the aim of doing intersectional analysis through epistemic resistance, producing knowledge by destabilizing that which is unreflexively dominant. My hope is that by approaching this thesis with this spirit of epistemic resistance, I can employ intersectionality in a way that furthers it as a critical, discursive theory of oppression. While I do not exist individually within a radically intersectional frame, I exist in a societal context that is structured according to identity-based relations of power, and I am committed to not reproducing a discussion of intersectionality which would undermine intersectionality as discursively constructed. I hope that this focus within the field of MOS/MOH can help uncover new insights about intersectional-based processes of privilege and marginalization within organizations, over time.

The remainder of this chapter will provide more direction for this thesis and briefly lay out the case for IH by discussing MOS/MOH, intersectionality and history in more detail.

Toward Intersectional History

History in MOS.

The field of management and organization studies (MOS) has featured calls for inclusion of historical perspectives for several decades (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004; Zald, 1991). The emphasis on historical perspectives in research on organizations has led to a proliferation of debates focused on ontological, epistemological, and methodological issues exploring how history may be a useful part of MOS (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006; Durepos, 2017; Rowlinson et al., 2014). These debates have led to an increasing amount of fragmentation among those engaged with history work in MOS (Durepos, 2017), with some scholars embracing history as an objective thing, while others embrace the notion of the past and history/historiography as a discursive practice. I belong in the latter camp.

This historical work across the field of MOS is characterized by many different approaches, including postmodern and amodern approaches, which theorize the nature of history, historiography and the past (Durepos & Mills, 2012a; Jacques, 1995; Rowlinson, 2004). There have also been a number of empirical accounts which apply these theorizations of the past, with the aim of contributing to alternative understandings of management and organizations over time (Bruce, 2006; Bruce & Nyland, 2011; Cooke, 1999; Wanderley & Faria, 2012).

Alongside the increased historical focus in MOS, leaders in organizations have also been increasingly turning to the past for legitimacy, investing in the curation of their dominant organizational stories in order to explain their success (Durepos, 2016). There are even consultancies focused solely on helping an organization leverage their history as an asset that can be used for reputational purposes (Suddaby, 2016). However, the

dominant histories of organizations are often carefully-crafted narratives that sell a version of the past in which organizational founders or figureheads (often white men) are celebrated for their triumphant success in business (Rowlinson & Proctor, 1999). These celebratory versions of the past may serve to mask undesirable organizational or founder behaviour (Booth et al., 2007). Dominant organizational histories, whether employed by organizations (Suddaby, 2016) or reproduced by MOS/MOH academics engaged in history work (Decker, 2013), also tend to mask the contributions and importance of women and other minorities in organizations.

While the increase of historical work in MOS has led to further insight on how the past is constructed and employed by those in organizations, as well as ontological and epistemological theorizing of the term “history” (Durepos, 2017), the abundance of work in these areas has not generated a significant focus on equity, diversity, inclusion or accessibility (EDIA) (Mills & Novićević, 2020). Work in this area has increased (Mills, 1995; 1998) and continues to do so (Myrden et al, 2011); however, with a few notable exceptions (Mills, 2006; Phillips & Rippin, 2010a, 2010b; Ruel et al., 2018; Williams & Mills, 2017), it has received relatively little attention compared with other subjects in MOS. Based on this general lack of research at the intersection of history and EDIA concerns, I suggest that there is significant potential for a theoretical framework such as IH that draws together discursive theorizations of intersectionality and the study of the past.

Intersectionality.

Intersectionality has become a familiar term both in academia (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins & Bilge, 2016) and throughout practitioner fields such as government, health, and

social policy (Hankvinsky & Cormier, 2011; Verloo & Lombardo, 2007).

Intersectionality refers to the broad idea that individuals can be oppressed in amplified ways based on their identification across multiple social categories of identity, such as gender, race and class (Crenshaw, 1991). This broad notion was understood and discussed in black feminist scholarship and critical race studies throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Collins, 1986, 1989; hooks, 1981) and has long been acknowledged as a lived experience (Brah & Phoenix, 2004). For example, Sojourner Truth referenced the struggle of being both black and a woman in an 1851 speech, asking “Ain’t I a woman?” (Brah & Phoenix, 2004). Kimberlé Crenshaw, a black legal scholar concerned with critical race studies, introduced the term intersectionality, based on the metaphor of multiple city streets meeting and overlapping at an intersection (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991, 2016). Since the crystallization of the term, intersectionality has been applied across multiple fields and perspectives (Davis, 2008), including feminist studies (McCall, 2005), sociology (Choo & Feree, 2010), political science (Hancock, 2007a, 2007b), and more recently, management (Sayce & Acker, 2012). Intersectionality has been invoked in multiple different ways across these fields, with a broad spectrum of definitions and understandings of the term (Mercer et al., 2016). For example, intersectional approaches have ranged from the highly scientific advocating quantitative approaches of measurement (Cole, 2009; Covarrubias, 2011; Dubrow, 2008; Hall et al., 2019) to more subjective and critical work which recognizes categories of identity as discursive and socially-constructed (Ruel et al., 2018; Shaffner, et al., 2019). The ongoing debates regarding what intersectionality is, for whom it is applicable, and how it can be applied echo the fragmented nature of history work in MOS. Collins (2019) advocates for intersectionality as an alternative way of producing

knowledge that, when approached through attention to power relations and the discursive production and reproduction of inequality via systems of oppression, can serve goals of social change and justice.

The Space Between Intersectionality & History.

While intersectional approaches have been useful to situate the experiences and outcomes of oppression, there remains a lack of intersectional work in the management field (Mills & Novičević, 2020). There is little intersectional focus in MOS/MOH, and intersectionality has not often been theorized in relation to historiography when employed in other disciplines. Instead, research that is described as intersectional has been largely focused on the present, or it has incorporated discussions of the past that conform to a traditional understanding of history and historiography (Marwick, 1989). This creates an epistemological disconnect, wherein intersectionality as a critical discourse (Collins, 2019, p. 143) is cut off at the knees by the epistemic power of traditional history work. A theorization of history as objective, and intersectionality as discursive, is not, I suggest, commensurate. Similarly, a theorization of the past as a discursive construction is not commensurate with a theorization of intersectionality that reifies the term and its associated categories of identity. There is a need to combine the understanding of intersectionality as a critical theory together with the understanding of history as a subjective, discursive construction of the past in the present (Jenkins, 1991) in order to bring these two fields together in complementary and philosophically commensurate ways.

While I advocate for IH as a theoretical framework for historical-focused organizational research in this thesis, IH may also be a useful foundation for historical research in other fields as well. However, I suggest that developing IH for MOS is particularly important, due to the hegemonic nature of the field of management, and the hetero-patriarchal discourses that have historically promoted business as a predominantly [white] male realm (Mills & Williams, 2021; Phillips & Rippin, 2010).

Distinguishing Intersectional History from Feminist History.

Feminist history, or feminist historical thought (FHT) is an approach to history which works to center the experiences of women over time, in organizations and society (Morgan, 2006). Work in the area of FHT typically has a strong focus on language, discourse, and power relations (Ferguson, 1984; Scott, 1986, 1999), and is often associated with poststructuralism (Ferguson, 1984; Scott, 2007). While a concern with discourse and power relations is central to both FHT and IH, I suggest that IH is not just concerned with the experiences of women. FHT particularly focuses on revisiting traces of the past (Jenkins, 1991) to recover and resituate the experiences and contributions of women (Morgan, 2006; Stanley, 2014), while IH holds the possibility of considering many other categories of identity. I suggest that IH builds upon the tradition of FHT that has been influential in the small field of gender and diversity in MOS (Morton & Lindquist, 1997; Williams & Mills, 2017). FHT also engages with exploring broader structures that have impacted gendered relations in work practices, organizations and society (Ferguson, 1984; Morgan & de Vries, 2009; Rowbotham, 1997; Scott, 1983,

1986). IH focuses on these broader structures as well, but through examining multiple categories of identity and their connection to overlapping systems of oppression.

Morgan (2009) suggests that the essence of FHT is rewriting historical narratives by featuring or inserting feminist perspectives and the experiences of women. However, she also warns that scholars must consider new and alternative ways to continue to critique and destabilize privileged accounts of white men and masculinized ways of writing. IH is, in part, inspired by this openness to alternatives. While parts of IH overlap with work done in FHT, such as power relations and discourse, IH is intended to center marginalized others of multiple, different, overlapping categories of identity, not just womanhood.

Arriving at Intersectional History.

For me, moving toward intersectional history has involved recognizing a need for an approach to historical work in MOS that centrally features those at the margins. There is a distinct lack of empirical research that combines postmodern understandings of the past (Jenkins, 1991) with a consideration of marginalized others. For example, while historical work in MOS has resulted in important insights about the past, its ontological and epistemological conditions, and advocacy for multiple approaches to historiography, much historical work in MOS has remained focused on the masculinized emplotment of white men and their business savvy (Hendricks et al., 2020). Work that has resituated women in this dialogue (Morgan, 2006; Williams & Mills, 2017, 2018) has disrupted some of the hegemony; however, I feel strongly that a way to consider intersectionality – through analyzing the discursive power relations impacting individuals, categories of identity, and systems of oppression – within the study of the past, is largely missing.

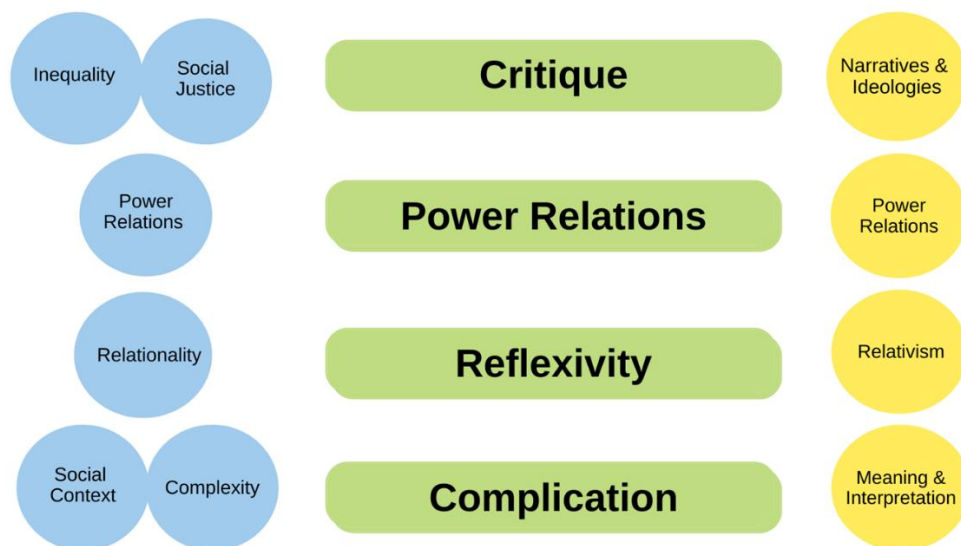
Intersectionality provides the focus on how one's socially-constructed categories of identity can lead to oppression across multiple, overlapping fronts, amplifying one's marginalization in society. But intersectionality has not yet engaged with postmodern understandings of the past (Jenkins, 1991, 2003b; White, 1973). This has contributed to a lack of research considering how socially-constructed categories of identity are discursively produced in the past, and reproduced through time, such as Dhamoon (2011) emphasizes, as well as how these overlap in oppressive ways. The historiographic research in MOS provides the focus on ontology and epistemology that drives alternative theorizations of the past (Durepos & Mills, 2012a); however, it has not focused on integrating intersectionality in any way to its theorizing. I attempt to bridge the gap between these two areas. To me, there is a clear space for IH in MOS, and I contend that it can provide important insights for understanding the processes and endurance of systems of oppression at work, and that it may be a novel alternative for destabilizing the status quo of dominant organizational histories.

Characterizing Intersectional History

Collins and Bilge's (2016) characterization of intersectionality suggests that there are six core ideas that contribute to the architectural frame (Collins, 2019) of intersectionality. These six ideas are: inequality, relationality, power relations, social context, complexity, and social justice. In theorizing IH, I suggest that these six ideas overlap with four key considerations of a postmodern approach to the study of the past: narrative and ideology, power relations, relativism, and meaning and interpretation. This overlap results in four philosophical contours: critique, power relations, reflexivity and

complication. By theorizing intersectionality as a critical approach using these six core ideas, and history as a postmodern approach to the past, I bring together two distinct literatures that are each missing something key that the other can provide. This foundation is not what IH *is*, but rather, refers to its philosophical shape. From these core ideas, IH emerges as a theoretical framework for analyzing intersectionality and the past together. Figure 1.1 below shows how each ‘side’ contributes to the overall characterization of IH.

Figure 1.1 The Contours of Intersectional History



Note. The figure above shows how the core ideas of intersectionality (blue) and key themes from postmodern historiography (yellow) contribute to the four contours of IH (green).

Demonstrating Intersectional History

As part of theorizing IH, I aim to demonstrate the usefulness of the framework when deployed empirically. I do this in Chapter 6, my application chapter. In order to consider the insights that IH can provide, I review archival material and authoritative accounts of Qantas’s past. By centering on the key philosophical contours of the IH

framework, while critically and discursively analyzing the material using a general approach of familiarizing, interrogating, and generating to facilitate the analysis, I am able to surface how inequality within the organization is constructed through socially-constructed categories of identity, how they overlap to enforce and reproduce systems of oppression, and how destabilizing the status quo through a discursive reading of the archival material allows for alternative stories of the past to emerge. In the next sections, I provide a brief introduction to Qantas and the material I rely upon for my thesis.

Qantas.

Qantas (Queensland and Northern Territory Aerial Service) is a well-known Australian airline. It was officially founded in 1920 in rural Queensland, envisioned by its founders, Fergus McMaster, Paul McGinness and Hudson Fysh as a means to connect the outback with more populated areas of eastern Australia (Fysh, 1966). The organization survived in the early 1920s by relying on government mail delivery contracts, and slowly began to establish a passenger base. By the 1930s, Qantas had moved from rural Queensland to Brisbane, and it soon partnered with the British company Imperial Airways to help deliver overseas service from London to Sydney. Although Qantas suffered significant operational setbacks during World War Two, they regrouped as a nationalized airline by the 1950s and were designated the international operator of Australia. The airline continued to grow and remains a large, international operation today, with regional flights throughout Australia and long-haul routes around the world.

Material.

With the support of the larger airline project I mentioned previously, I was able to travel to Australia with two of my committee members to collect the material that I primarily rely upon in my analysis. The material was collected largely from the State Library of New South Wales in Sydney. While the library does not have a specified Qantas collection, it does have a great deal of archival material related to the organization, including annual reports, staff newsletters and staff newspapers, as well as external marketing material. Much of this material comes from cofounder Hudson Fysh's papers, which were donated to the library by Fysh upon his death. This archival material, together with the dominant accounts of the organization's past as written by Fysh (1966, 1968, 1970) and Gunn (1985, 1987, 1988) makes up the majority of material that I use in my empirical demonstration of IH. In order to demonstrate how the theoretical framework of IH can inform praxis, I review Qantas staff newsletters from 1925-1939 and 1946-1954. I chose these time periods because there was a consistent abundance of material available from these two periods for analysis. In my review of these two time periods, I analyze who is present in the material, and how individuals are represented; the idealized notions of categories of identity that emerge from those individual representations, and how those categories of identity overlap to produce and reproduce enduring systems of oppression.

Conclusion

The aim of my dissertation is to introduce and outline the theoretical framework of IH. As discussed throughout this chapter, IH is intended to inform organizational research

through the study of the past, with a particular focus on intersectionality in organizational accounts of the past. IH is conceived out of two broad strands of thought: the [postmodern] study of the past and intersectionality. I suggest that IH combines the theorizing on the past in MOS with the important considerations of oppression and marginalization that arise out of intersectional thinking (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Throughout the thesis, I aim to show why MOS needs *this* combination of intersectionality and the study of the past to best analyze the discursive silencing of individuals through power relations and the reification of intersectional systems of oppression, in organizations, over time.

Outlining the Thesis.

The thesis proceeds as follows. In Chapter Two, I review the literature on intersectionality, discussing the concept in depth, as well as its application in the management field. I outline my theoretical position and demonstrate the need for intersectional approaches that engage with a [postmodern] study of the past. In Chapter Three, I review different approaches to history and clarify my postmodern position on the past. I also discuss the need for a focus on those in the margins in historical MOS. Chapter Four brings together my theoretical positions on both intersectionality and history in order to outline IH and its philosophical contours of critique, power relations, reflexivity and complication. In Chapter Five, I problematize the notion of the *archive/archive* (Mills & Helms Mills, 2011) in order to explain my archival process and its suitability for IH, and discuss how I collected, managed, and analyzed the material. Chapter Six features the empirical application of IH, which focuses on the representations

of individuals in the organizational newsletters and demonstrates how these representations connect with categories of identity and systems of oppression. I conclude with Chapter Seven, in which I review the work done in the thesis, clarify the potential contribution of IH, and address the challenges and limitations for this framework.

Chapter 2: Intersectionality

Introduction

The theoretical approach of intersectional history (IH) draws significantly from the idea of intersectionality. Intersectionality has multiple understandings, and what the term means, as well as how intersectionality should be applied, is widely debated in and across multiple fields (Collins, 2019; Collins & Bilge, 2016; Hancock, 2016; Mercer et al., 2016). To explain how I arrive at my understanding of intersectionality, as I use it in this dissertation, I will outline key features of intersectionality, as well as important debates that shape its multiple understandings. I will also review how intersectionality has been used and applied across academic disciplines relevant to this dissertation, such as management and history. My goal is to provide a thorough overview of the intersectionality literature and to explore what is missing from intersectionality that the theorizing of IH can provide. I suggest that a key missing piece is an incorporation of history as discursively produced, an idea which I explore further in both Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

Chapter Outline.

This chapter unfolds as follows; first, I discuss my approach to intersectionality, laying out how I understand and use the term in this dissertation. I then move to explaining how I arrive at my understanding of intersectionality by developing a [problematized] history of intersectionality. This traces the ideas of intersectionality as they emerged from the 19th century to the late 20th century. I then review the most salient debates that have characterized the intersectionality literature over the past twenty years,

using intersectional research across multiple fields to demonstrate the disparate understandings and applications of the term. I then discuss how intersectionality has been used in management-related fields, including management history, and how intersectionality can be seen as an important part of studying organizations. This will demonstrate the need for more intersectional work in MOS/MOH. I then suggest that one way this work may manifest is through the combination of intersectionality and a critical approach to the study of the past via my theoretical model of IH. I address how this can bolster the insights of intersectionality in the context of history work and MOS more broadly. Finally, I return to my theorization of intersectionality as I develop it for IH. This theorization embraces conditions of possibility and plurality, while being grounded in a focus on power relations and critique.

Theorizing Intersectionality for Intersectional History

I consider myself to be both a critical management scholar, and a critical feminist. For both these reasons, my overarching philosophical position towards scholarship, as well as towards intersectionality, is driven by the concept of critique (McKinzie & Richards, 2019) and postmodernism. I am committed to an ontologically nominalist and social constructionist view. Epistemologically, I am opposed to dominant, positivist forms of knowledge production, instead focusing on destabilizing the hegemonic practices that maintain a hierarchy of knowledge that begins and ends with the notion of 'truth' (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). I embrace the subjectivity and dismiss the truth-claims of objectivity. As I approach all research and my own life from this position, my theorization of intersectionality is drawn from this focus on social constructionism, multiplicity and

critique. What that means is that my own engagement with intersectionality is focused on considering the complexity of multiple, overlapping, socially-constructed notions of identity, how power relations impact and construct these intersectional identities, and what it is possible to learn from analyzing the insidiousness of these power relations as they serve to reproduce processes and positions of advantage and disadvantage, over time. Further, I understand intersectionality itself as a critical theory (Collins, 2019), one which is necessarily postpositivist (Prasad, 2005) and epistemically-resistant, and that intersectional theory can serve to disrupt dominant practices, discourses, and assumptions. This is in opposition to those who believe that intersectionality can be applied to mainstream organization studies in order to contribute to understandings of efficiency, effectiveness, and profit-making. While I suggest that my position is in opposition to this ‘other’, I do not intend to construct a binary, but rather a spectrum upon which a multiplicity of intersectional interpretations might reside. I set up this comparison only to emphasize that the meaning I make of intersectionality is underpinned by a critique-focused philosophical position, and this connection with critique is an important feature of intersectionality as I theorize it. This position is important because it is also reflected in my approach to the study of the past, in Chapter Three. While there are some scholars who have combined intersectionality and history in the past (Woods, 2012; Evans-Herring, 2003), the ways in which either intersectionality or history are used in these examples are not clearly aligned ontologically or epistemologically. By taking time in this chapter to expand on my theorization of intersectionality, and in the next chapter, my theorization of history, I hope to demonstrate the value of these two concepts coming

together in IH to provide a theoretically-informed and philosophically-aligned way of bringing intersectionality to the study of the past.

Constructing a History of Intersectionality

For many scholars, myself included, one of the major challenges of intersectionality is that it resists a singular definition. To categorically state what intersectionality ‘is’ is problematic, Hancock (2016) suggests, because to define the term acts as a boundary condition that is opposed to the philosophical roots of intersectionality. This resistance to defining the intellectual concept of intersectionality is echoed by a number of scholars (Collins & Bilge, 2016), while others seek to cut through the confusion by creating clear understandings of what intersectionality is, and what it is not (McCall, 2005). That debates about intersectionality begin with an attempt to define the term is a reflection of the ongoing philosophical disagreements that exist around the ontological and epistemological character of intersectionality as a concept. These disagreements rise out of differing views as to the purpose of intersectionality, whether it be used as a concept, as a lens, as a method or as a paradigm (Mercer et al., 2016). Some scholars advocate that intersectionality is an intellectual concept belonging to research done by and for women of colour (Alexander-Floyd, 2012; Bilge, 2013). Others suggest that if we accept intersectionality as informed by subjectivity and as epistemologically diverse, then intersectionality can have application to broader studies of identity (Collins, 2019). In short, if I could say that intersectionality ‘is’ anything, it would be that intersectionality is complex. To consider this complexity, I turn to the roots of intersectionality as an intellectual concept and construct a version of the term’s past which helps explain from whence the complexity and disagreements arise.

Crenshaw, Truth & Cooper.

A dominant version of intersectionality's intellectual past that is often reproduced in intersectional work suggests that the term was 'coined' by Kimberlé Crenshaw in the late 1980s (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). Crenshaw, a critical race scholar focused on justice and the law, used the term to describe the increased oppression faced by African-American women in the US justice system, due to their identities as 'Black' and 'female.' Crenshaw was certainly instrumental in helping academics engaged with intersectional ideas coalesce around a single term, and her contribution ought to be acknowledged. However, well before Crenshaw captured the experience of African-American women in the justice system with a precise term, 'intersectionality' was described by women of colour in the Western context to make sense of their unique oppressed positions for at least a century and a half. For example, Brah and Phoenix (2004) connect intersectional experience to the preacher Sojourner Truth, whose speech in 1861 identified the additional burdens of being both Black, and a woman. Truth's speech emphasized that Black women were not represented or advocated for by abolitionists, who focused primarily on Black males; nor were Black women included in the suffrage movement and its advocacy for the rights of white women. Truth spoke to existing within a political and social space that sought change for both Blacks and women, but which failed to serve Black women.¹

The existence of records and writings by Black women in the US in the 19th century further demonstrates that women of colour in this western context were

¹ Here I will note that the term 'Black' in this thesis is a pre-existing, discursive construction. This single modifier is insufficient to capture the fluidity of what being a Black woman means. There are as many notions of 'Black,' as there are of women. However, I use Black in this thesis as it is seen by many as preferred terminology, and as a form of "collective resistance" (Britton, 1999, p. 134).

experiencing an existence on the margins of identity-based advocacy and change - advocacy that ultimately placed them at an intersection of racism, sexism and classism amongst the social movements of the time. For example, scholar Anna J. Cooper (1892 [2000]) explored the overlapping oppressions of gender, race and class, focusing on the need for Black women such as herself to become educated, as a means of conquering their social position and working to overcome racial and gender-based discrimination. Like Truth, Cooper's work demonstrates a clear recognition of the experience of being oppressed in multiple and overlapping ways as a result of socially-constructed identity categories and social structures (May, 2012). The notion of oppression based on multiple identity categories is also a central feature of the writings of W.E. Du Bois, who focused on the overlap of race, ethnicity and class. However, Du Bois did not use gender as a central category for analysis in his work (Gillman & Weinbaum, 2007) and in fact, repeatedly resisted helping Cooper publish her work (James, 2007; Moody-Turner, 2015). This has been interpreted by some as evidence of limiting bias in Du Bois' otherwise emancipatory thinking through race (Du Bois, 1903; Cooppan, 2007; Moody-Turner, 2015), and points to the way in which some socially-constructed identities become so mundane they are immutable, even to advanced scholars.

While Du Bois' work is important for its attention to race, the ethos of what became known as intersectionality was specifically lived and experienced by Black *women* in the 19th century American context (among other locations). The history of intersectionality then, can be seen less as an intellectual advancement of the 20th century, and rather more as a complex and lived set of ideas that impacted and ordered the lives of marginalized individuals well before the term was introduced by Crenshaw. Removing

intersectionality from the epistemological realm of rational knowledge-production, and instead recognizing it as a term borne out of lived, subjective experience has important philosophical implications if one considers its roots as important to understanding the term today, as I do.

Local and/or Global?

As I have discussed in the above section, the term intersectionality has risen out of a western context. In debates about the use and purpose of the concept, there has been insistence that the term ‘belongs’ to critical race or Black feminist studies, and that it should not be used by others to study other marginalized or privileged groups (Alexander-Floyd, 2012). However, this reflects a narrow focus on intersectional experience as an experience solely of those in the global north. While Black women in the 19th century were acknowledging their experiences of complex, identity-based oppression, so too were women in the global south articulating their oppression as a function of gender, race, and their subject-position as colonized ‘other’ (Mohanty, 1984). Work surfacing these experiences in the field of transnational feminism and postcolonialism highlights that while the term intersectionality formalized a specific western concept borne out of the experiences of Black women in the US, similar ideas were being simultaneously explored and experienced by colonized women in the global south (Herr, 2014). By opening up the possibility of intersectional experience as global, rather than particular to the global north, it is possible to recognize the similar lived experiences of marginalized populations in many different contexts and geographical locations. The set of ideas that came to underpin intersectionality are not exclusive to the experiences of African-American women, but rather a global set of ideas. As I again consider the roots of intersectionality

in the debate about ‘who’ intersectionality is for, it makes little sense to confine intersectionality by making it the domain of one group. As transnationalist feminists and those focused on decolonization continue to surface alternative notions of the past that involve intersectional experiences and writings from the global south, it is necessary to revise the understanding of intersectionality’s history arising out of the west alone, and being for the west or global north alone.

The Origins of Intersectionality.

The ‘origins’ of intersectionality, or the set of ideas that make up the concept of intersectionality, then, can be understood in multiple ways, and it is this multiplicity that continues to fuel debates regarding the appropriate use of intersectionality, as if there may be one best way to ‘do’ intersectionality, waiting out there to be found. This again speaks to the ontology and epistemology of the concept, as in its multiplicity, it seems necessary that intersectionality be considered subjective, and outside of positivist understandings of knowledge production and its concern with truth (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). However, if one lets go of the idea that intersectionality ‘is’ something, it is possible to understand its origins as diverse and multiple, and that these are important features of the intellectual history of intersectionality. Collins and Bilge (2016) speak to understanding intersectionality in this context by suggesting:

Intersectionality’s core ideas...formed within the context of social movements that faced the crises of their times, primarily, the challenges of colonialism, racism, sexism, militarism and capital exploitation. In this context, because women of colour were affected not just by one of these systems of power, but by their

convergence, they formed autonomous movements that put forth the core ideas of intersectionality, albeit using different vocabularies. (p.64)

Collins and Bilge highlight here that the core ideas of intersectionality cannot be seen as arising out of a single place or time, but instead as a function of social context and systems of power in the lives of women of colour globally. This factor is often ignored in articles concerned with theorizing and debating intersectionality today. While I now return to focusing on intersectionality's past in the western context, I hope to demonstrate, throughout this dissertation, that I do not solely consider intersectionality a domain of the west, but rather a global concept and idea with many possibilities and understandings.

Activism & Academia.

While Black women were describing and explaining their intersectional experiences throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the civil rights movement in the United States served an important role in making space for Black activism. Against this backdrop, the Black feminist movement began to articulate core ideas of intersectionality as a means of activism (Collins & Bilge, 2016). For example, Beal (1969) described the notion of double jeopardy, a concept similar to intersectionality which referred to a double discrimination faced by Black women as a result of both racism and sexism. Beal also situated racism and sexism as an outcome of capitalism, and suggested that these concepts were all social processes. Beal's assertion of identity-based discrimination being socially-constructed importantly contributed to the notion of categories of identity as produced through social activity, rather than as fixed. Similarly, Bambara (1970) edited a key text emphasizing the importance of acknowledging that Black women were oppressed across multiple axes of identity, including gender, race and

class. Although these ideas were surfaced in the 19th century, the collective activist voice of Black women in the 1970s was able to disperse these ideas more broadly and within more formal channels. The establishment of the National Black Feminist Organization speaks to the potential reach of these ideas in the latter half of the 20th century. However, although discrimination and oppression across the multiple axes of race, gender, and class was widely discussed in Black feminist circles, other non-normative identities were less accepted, contributing to the ongoing oppression of Black women across multiple, additional axes outside of the 'big three' (Springer, 2005). One example of the limits of acceptance is described in the next section.

The Combahee River Collective.

The Combahee River Collective was a social justice group that formed out of a fundamental disagreement with the National Black Feminist Organization. The women of the Combahee River Collective (CRC), which had a significant impact on the development of intersectional thought, splintered from the National Black Feminist Organization because non-normative sexual orientations were not accepted by the NBFO (CRC, 1977). The CRC focused much-needed attention on the connected oppressions of powerful discourses such as racism, patriarchy, and capitalism, *as well as* heterosexuality and discrimination based on sexual orientation. The expansion of what could be considered oppressive by Black women in the CRC made an important contribution to intersectional thought, as it served to broaden understandings of oppression that could place Black women at overlapping margins of discriminatory practices (Springer, 2005).

The Chicana Movement.

As Black activists focused on the ideas of interlocking systems of oppression, and the ways in which these systems were based in discourse and social activity, Mexican-American women as part of the Chicana movement were exploring similar ideas (Garcia, 1997). Chicana women, like Black women, recognized that the frameworks employed by dominant groups of the civil-rights era were insufficient to describe the experiences of women of colour, and in particular, Mexican women (Anzaldúa, 1987; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015 [1983]). Women in the Chicana movement pointed out that the activism of women (gender only), Marxists (class only) or civil rights workers (race only) failed to capture the complex experiences of Hispanic women of colour. The Chicana movement focused specifically on Mexican women, and like the CRC, sought alternative ways to describe and explain the power relations of women of colour to broader social discourses and the multiple oppressions they faced (Blea, 1992).

Into the Academy.

The intersectional ideas brought forth by Black and Chicana activists gained strength through the 1960s and 1970s, as their social justice movements, such as the CRC, sought to draw attention to their unique positions. As US societal shifts led to the establishment of Black, gender, and critical race studies departments in universities, women from these movements began to access positions in higher education in significant numbers, as well as in government. The notion of interlocking systems of oppression uniquely affecting women of colour began to be 'legitimated' and dispersed through academic and policy channels. The 1980s saw a number of seminal academic works on issues of gender, race and class published by Black feminists across multiple fields

(Collins, 1986; Davis, 1981; hooks, 1981). Collins and Bilge (2016) note that, “gaining access to academic positions enabled African-American women directly to bring ideas from Black feminist politics with them into the academy through the dual streams of Black feminism and race/class/gender studies” (p. 78).² It is through this admittance to the academy in the US that intersectionality shortly thereafter entered into the vernacular (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) to describe the similar but disparately-developed ideas that connected the notion of interlocking systems of oppression and enduring inequality with power relations and social processes.

A Common Language.

Crenshaw’s introduction of the term ‘intersectionality’ therefore reflects a long past of experiences lived by Black women, Chicana women, and other women of colour throughout colonized territories in the global south. However, Crenshaw’s naming of the term pushed groups of scholars who were studying similar ideas in-depth to use a common language (Collins, 1989; Davis, 1981; Dill, 1988; Zinn & Dill, 1996). As this common language began to be picked up and employed, women of colour scholars across disciplines were able to access and discuss one another’s work more readily. The nineties featured evidence of this cross-pollination across fields such as sociology and political science, and continued focus in legal studies, as intersectional ideas began to become accepted in these areas (Anthias, 1998; Brah, 1996; Rosenblum, 1994; Grillo, 1995; Zinn & Dill, 1994, 1996). However, the single name ‘intersectionality’ to describe the multitude of what these scholars were engaged with has, as I have described so far, led to ongoing disagreements and debates as individuals attempt to categorize what

²Collins was a key figure in bringing these ideas into the academy at this time.

intersectionality is, and how to use it (Hearn & Louvrier, 2016; Mercer et al., 2016). In the next section, I will address these debates as they have endured thus far in the 21st century.

Intersectionality in the 21st Century: Critique & Clarity

Following the establishment of the term intersectionality to describe the multitude of work being done on overlapping systems of identity-based oppression, the term began to feature more heavily in academic work across the social sciences and humanities. Research claiming to be intersectional readily appeared in academic journals, books, and at conferences. The growing popularity of intersectionality is reflected in its growth on google scholar, a quick search of which indicates work using the term intersectionality grew more than 30-fold in the past 20 years, compared with 1980-1999.³ As intersectionality emerged as a potentially useful and appealing approach for understanding and situating oppression, the issue of what exactly the term meant, and how it could be used, continued to be problematic for the diverse range of scholars and fields who attempted to utilize intersectionality in their work. Scholars grappling with these issues contributed in various, contested ways to emerging understandings of the term and its application (Ferree, 2009; McCall, 2005; Walby et al., 2012). In this section, I will discuss some of the key works that encouraged lively debate amongst intersectional researchers, in order to reveal some of the ongoing disagreements about, and critiques of,

³ Articles on google scholar using the term “intersectionality”, 1980-1999 = 1,400. Articles on google scholar using the term “intersectionality”, 2000-2021 = 79,300.

intersectionality, as well as to provide some clarity as to the state of intersectional work at present.

Debates and Definitions

There are several significant debates that show just how contested the intersectionality space is across the social sciences and the humanities (Alexander-Floyd, 2012; Bilge, 2013; McCall, 2005; Nash, 2008). For example, Alexander-Floyd (2012) takes issue with the use of intersectionality by the mainstream, suggesting that work claiming intersectionality needs to specifically feature Black women in order to qualify as intersectional. Bilge (2013) echoes these concerns, suggesting that intersectionality has been co-opted and depoliticized by neoliberal white feminists, which lessens its impact as a tool for critique and social change. Bilge also suggests that the ongoing search for what intersectionality ‘is’ is distracting and unnecessary, when intersectionality ‘is’ emerging. She, and others (Alexander-Floyd, 2012) also critique McCall’s (2005) oft-cited contribution to intersectionality, which attempts to categorize types of intersectional work so as to justify its use across normative paradigms (Hancock, 2007a). I will discuss these issues more broadly; however, I begin by stating that the majority of the disagreements center on key philosophical differences relating to fundamental beliefs about ontology and epistemology. While perhaps the focus has thus far in intersectional scholarship been on delineating clear definitions, the clear philosophical variation across scholars suggests to me that intersectionality ought to be accepted as a plural and heterodox domain.

Intersectionality in Boxes.

McCall (2005) is regularly and extensively cited by authors seeking clarity on intersectionality. She attempts to cut through confusion in the field by suggesting that

scholars use intersectionality in three distinct ways. McCall calls these the anticategorical approach, the intracategorical approach and the intercategory approach. Although she does not present them this way, taken together these approaches can be seen on a sort of ontological continuum, moving from a subjective view of intersectionality in the ‘anticategorical’ approach to a more objective or essentialist view in the intercategory approach, while intracategorical lies somewhere in the middle ground. Those who take an intercategory view, McCall suggests, see intersectionality as essentially an ordering of identity categories, a useful and strategic way to ‘document’ inequality (McCall, 2005, p.1773). This approach does not seek to problematize existing categories of identity, or question the reification of them in social process, but instead essentializes categories as natural and given. This has been highly problematic for some scholars (Alexander-Floyd, 2012; Bilge, 2010, 2013). Alexander-Floyd (2012) argues that McCall’s ‘boxing’ of intersectional approaches and her endorsement of the intercategory approach encourages the whitening of intersectionality and provides justification for quantitative scholars to develop analytical tools that claim to be intersectional (Cole, 2009). The debate about whether or not intersectionality can be applied in quantitative and qualitative research that serves mainstream, neoliberal aims, has been much discussed in connection with McCall’s work. The fact that she appears to legitimize intersectionality as a research tool to be picked up when it suits, then put down again, suggests a willful rewriting, or at the very least, a mistaken understanding of intersectionality’s roots in the subjective, lived experiences of Black women and its connection to radical social justice aims (CRC, 1977). By attempting to cut through the noisiness of intersectional work, and to make

sense of what intersectionality 'is,' McCall (2005) presents a neat and tidy way to consider intersectionality, and therefore actually undermines and depoliticizes the term.

Intersectionality in [White] Boxes.

This depoliticization of intersectionality is referred to as the whitening of intersectionality (Bilge, 2013), and/or the mainstreaming of intersectionality (Dhamoon, 2011; Geerts & Van der Tuin, 2013). Concerns about intersectionality becoming a tool for mainstream feminists and other mainstream scholars include that the usefulness of intersectionality will become diluted and misunderstood as an analytical heuristic or metatheoretical concern (Bilge, 2013), rather than seen as a powerful form of theorizing and studying identity and oppression on social and structural levels. If intersectionality becomes a tool of the oppressor (mainstream research), we risk being told by those in a position of canonical privilege that intersectionality must abide by certain conventions, admit certain bounds, fit in normative epistemological conventions (Hancock, 2007a; 2007b), and otherwise be lost in the vernacular of evidence, as opposed to experience. If we accept that intersectionality can be ordered and categorized - put in boxes - it means that intersectionality can be made to mean certain things as it is mainstreamed into academic work (Dhamoon, 2011), and therefore what 'is' intersectionality becomes narrow and particular, instead of open and unbounded. This lessens its focus on social justice, critique, and power relations, all of which serve those who maintain systems of oppression such as racism, capitalism, and patriarchy. It also communicates that intersectionality, as an outcome of Black women's experience is not valuable as such, and requires revision and reconsideration by 'real [white] academics' if it wishes to be a

theory, rather than seen as legitimate in its roots in Black feminism (Bilge, 2013). As I will discuss further in Chapter 4, my use of intersectionality in IH is intended as a form of critical and destabilizing inquiry, a feature of intersectionality that is under ongoing resistance and revision by mainstream feminist scholars⁴.

Intersectionality Unboxed

The fallout from McCall-ian intersectionality, and the accompanying concern about intersectionality's co-optation by mainstream, neoliberal feminists and academics, continues to produce debate (Hancock, 2016). However, there has also been a significant amount of work that advances the understanding of intersectionality as a complex, more subjective approach that must be contextual, concerned with power and social justice, and informed by a critical stance to the mainstream (Bilge, 2010; 2013; Yuval-Davis, 2006). For example, Brah and Phoenix (2004) emphasize the structural aspect of intersectionality, elucidating how notions of identity become fixed in society over time, through context and powerful discourse. The idea that categories of identity as they appear in intersectional research must be seen as socially-constructed and mutually-constituted is antithetical to McCall's (2005) categorical views. However, those who suggest that intersectionality must be analyzed from an understanding of power relations and discourse are also confronted with disagreement from other feminist scholars. For example, there are suggestions that intersectionality has come to mean whatever one wants it to mean, and that if it does not become defined in some way, it permits anyone to

⁴ I have received several reviews in the past five years from management and public relations journals which have challenged the open, subjective approach to intersectionality. One in 2019 simply stated "this is not intersectionality". This definitive dismissal of the term as theorized for critique suggests that the project of mainstreaming intersectionality has been, unfortunately, somewhat successful.

call anything intersectionality (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Hancock, 2016). There are also challenges from scholars suggesting that intersectionality is inadequate to deal with subjectivities and subject positions (Calás et al., 2013), as well as concerns that intersectionality necessarily devolves into identity politics, regardless of how one approaches it (Anthias, 2008).

Despite these criticisms, there are a number of scholars who subscribe to the belief that intersectionality is a valuable theory for addressing the complex, identity-based systems of oppression and that the challenge of defining the term indicates the usefulness of the theory (Davis, 2008). As an ambiguous approach, intersectionality is full of possibilities, which should be empirically explored to destabilize hegemonic academic research (Bilge, 2013). Despite the ambiguity and possibilities of intersectionality, however, Collins and Bilge (2016) suggest that there are six core ideas, or constructs (Collins, 2019) that may be seen to characterize intersectionality. As I stated earlier, these are: 1) social inequity; 2) power [relations]; 3) relationality; 4) social context; 5) complexity; and 6) social justice. Their suggestion strikes a balance between complete openness, which would justify some of the co-optation of intersectionality by the mainstream and bounding the possibilities of the theory with expectations. Ultimately, they advocate for the use of intersectionality not as a *tool* but rather as a way of seeing the world that is fundamentally aligned with one's values and philosophical beliefs about the nature of knowledge and research. When seen this way, intersectionality can be 'unboxed' from the confines of category, and serve as a radical approach, rather than a depoliticized tool for ordering and documenting – but not deconstructing – inequality. My use of intersectionality in IH attempts to embrace this unboxing.

Doing Intersectionality.

The key debates related to intersectional work center on how it should be defined, who should use it, and for what purposes, and the lack of clarity on how to ‘do’ intersectionality. This lack of clarity has perhaps been part of the reason why traditionally, there have been relatively few studies that employ intersectionality to ‘do’ research (Landry, 2007). How one ‘does’ intersectionality depends on where one lies philosophically within the debates above, and there are no clear-cut directions or procedures for academics to follow. That said, there is a growing body of research that has attempted to ‘do’ intersectionality as a means of getting away from the theoretical challenges of the term, and instead engage with it via praxis. This research generally falls into two broad areas: research that is informed by critique, and research that settles within mainstream frameworks.

Doing Mainstream Intersectionality.

Academic fields outside of gender/race/class studies have increasingly been adopting intersectionality into their work (Bowleg, 2012). Much of this work could be characterized roughly as McCall-ian; in other words, as a categorical form of intersectionality. For example, in fields such as medicine and public health, there have been studies that include a consideration of intersectionality into the design and analyses of surveys and other large data sets (Sen & Iyer, 2012; Seng, et al., 2012). In these types of uses of intersectional ideas, categories of identity are not necessarily seen as an outcome of social processes, or as socially-constructed, but rather are taken as fixed categories upon which analysis can be completed (Warner & Brown, 2011; Wemrell et al., 2017a, 2017b). The focus in these studies tends to be interaction effects between

multiple categories of identity, which is subsequently pronounced to be intersectionality (Else-Quest et al., 2016; Rouhani, 2014). This type of approach is also common in psychology (Bowleg et al., 2016; Else-Quest et al., 2013; Seaton et al., 2010) and intersectionality of this type has become a sort of best practice in policy fields as well (Dubrow, 2008). While this additive type of intersectionality is perhaps better than quantitative work that ignores the complexity of identity completely, by siloing categories, it is still philosophically at odds to many of the key features of intersectionality that critical feminist scholars in fields such as critical race studies would suggest are inherent in the theory.

Interestingly, quantitative work has also begun to appear in fields that tend to eschew positivism and its accompanying epistemological consequences for knowledge production (Covarrubias, 2011; Rodriguez et al., 2013). For example, Covarrubias (2011) uses intersectionality to explore educational attainment of Mexican-Americans (Chicana/o). While Covarrubias demonstrates an understanding of power relations, and socially-constructed identity-based oppressions, they also disaggregate census data in order to examine the rate at which Mexican-Americans achieve different levels of education. Their justification for this quantitative approach that references intersectionality is that, "...quantitative intersectionality helps tell a broader story and captures patterns that cut across space and time" (Covarrubias, 2011, p. 91). While the results of Covarrubias' work are interesting, it is rare to see an attempt to combine positivist methods and justifications for knowledge production with a critical theory, such as intersectionality. The notion that this type of analysis can tell a broader story is appealing in some ways, but perhaps antithetical to some of the key features of

intersectionality that others have argued (Bilge, 2010, 2013; Collins & Bilge, 2016). Along the fault lines of this tension, Collins and Bilge (2016) suggest that “Intersectionality has been invited to settle down within, instead of unsettling, the established frames of knowledge production and dissemination” (p. 87). As scholars across multiple fields continue to engage with intersectionality, by exploring its usefulness in quantitative research, intersectionality as a theoretical approach and as historically lived experience, becomes toned down into a tool for analysis. This is at odds with a key feature of intersectionality, which is that it is intended to destabilize these hegemonic types of knowledge production and provide alternatives that do not serve neoliberal aims. These are continued tensions that emerge as scholars attempt to ‘do’ intersectionality in mainstream, positivist ways.

Doing Critical Intersectionality.

While there is a body of research, purporting to be intersectional, that fails to problematize identity and oppression as socially-constructed, there are a number of works that do attempt to destabilize essentialism of identities and engage with intersectionality as an approach for critiquing dominant discourses. While these articles, by necessity, still engage with some of the key debates on intersectionality, they also ‘do’ intersectionality and contribute to empirical work utilizing it. For example, Windsong (2018) highlights that there has been little work discussing how intersectionality can be incorporated into qualitative data collection, and through a discussion of her intersectional research, she explores how she developed and experimented with intersectional interview questions to help guide participants in her study to think intersectionally about their experiences. Cuadraz and Uttal (1999) used in-depth interviews to grapple with incorporating

intersectionality into the methodological ‘doing’ of their research, in order to surface intersectional issues as constructed by participants themselves. In these critical, qualitative works, ‘doing’ intersectionality involves a focus on situated experience, destabilizing categories of identity by exploring how they are socially-constructed and impacted by power relations, and less focus on issues of theoretical saturation, replicability, and other positivist concerns (Ackerly & True, 2008; Few, 2007; Kannabiran, 2006).

While there are many qualitative studies that claim to be intersectional, it is problematic to assume that all qualitative studies contribute to the aims described above. For example, there have been a number of qualitative studies in the fields of medicine and public health (Logie et al., 2011; Sun et al., 2018), psychology (Hallett, 2015; Mustafa et al., 2018), and broadly throughout other social sciences and the humanities (Blackburn & Smith, 2010; Smith & Marmo, 2011). While many of these qualitative studies are concerned with participant experience, scholars tend to focus on results insofar as they can be understood in conjunction with quantitative analyses or as a piece of a larger research study. There is less focus on intersectionality as a philosophical approach and critical theory in and of itself.

Even within more critical intersectionality research, there are debates and uncertainties about what intersectionality should look like and what it should do. Cuadraz and Uttal (1999) highlight that there are methodological choices and complexities that must be accounted for; however, this sometimes seems to be interpreted to mean that there can be correct and incorrect choices in doing intersectionality. Depending on one’s philosophical position, this may be the case, however I will simply attempt to claim here

that there are many ways of ‘doing’ intersectionality, that years of research across many fields have attempted to legitimize. The sheer diversity of intersectional-claiming work leads back into one of the most prevalent critiques of intersectionality: that invoking the term is a license to say ‘anything goes.’ While there are many different approaches to intersectionality, each field is continuing to develop their own expectations and boundaries for what employing intersectionality might look like, and these conventions vary greatly across positivist fields, such as medicine and psychology (Rouhani, 2014), and postpositivist fields, such as critical feminism and race studies. While I shy away from defining what intersectionality is, I suggest that it is broadly applied with various understandings, which may contribute to hegemonic forms of knowledge production, or seek to destabilize and provide alternatives to dominant discourses. It is important to accept its empirical breadth, even though in this dissertation, I want to be clear that I advocate against intersectionality as it has been mainstreamed by positivist academic fields. Instead, I view intersectionality as a way to “unsettle” (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 87) what has been previously seen as taken-for-granted, or settled.

Like the fields mentioned above, MOS has slowly begun to utilize intersectionality, and grapple with its applicability and usefulness for understanding individuals in organizations. In the next section I will discuss how intersectionality has thus far been deployed in MOS, and then explore the need for further work in this area, before concluding with a further discussion of how I understand intersectionality in this dissertation and in IH.

Intersectionality & Management Thought

There is a small but growing body of work in MOS that has studied concepts such as gender, race, and discrimination. These topics have been of significant concern to organizations over the latter half of the 20th century and early 21st century, as individuals historically excluded from management-level work entered the workforce and laws dictated their equal treatment (Konrad, 2003). However, organizations often seek to manage these issues in ways that ultimately benefit the organization, not necessarily in ways that acknowledge the complexity of overlapping identities, discrimination and oppression at work. MOS and its sub-field, critical management studies (CMS), have taken up difficult topics relating to the treatment of individuals at work, including highlighting failures of diversity management programs, and critiquing organizations for ongoing inequities and systemic discrimination (Knights & Omanović, 2016). Exceptional research connecting gender, race, and discrimination with organizational practices, such as organizational culture and organizational structure, has served to highlight the ongoing issues that minority individuals and groups face in their workplaces (Acker, 1990, 2006; Mills, 1995, 1998). As MOS and CMS scholars continue to be concerned with the connection of discrimination, oppression, and organizational practices, intersectionality has been tentatively employed as a means to discuss and advance the ideas of overlapping oppression based on multiple, socially-constructed categories of identity (Allison & Banerjee, 2014). I suggest that intersectionality has been tentatively employed, because just as in other social sciences and humanities, there have been debates in MOS/CMS about what intersectionality is, what useful applications of intersectionality might look like, and what its contribution might be to the management

field (Hearn & Louvrier, 2015; Holvino, 2010; Mooney, 2016). These debates have become relevant as intersectionality work in the management field as a whole has increased.

Mainstream Management & Intersectionality

The uptake of intersectionality in mainstream management has been quite slow. Allison and Banerjee (2014) conducted a content analysis of three mainstream management journals, showing that between 1990 and 2009, only one percent of articles adopt any type of intersectional approach. However, they also found that only 12 percent of articles dealt with *any* issue of identity. While these results may have improved if the study were to be done in 2022, this emphasizes just how emergent research on gender, race and other identity factors is in mainstream management studies. It is still a very timely topic. The lack of interest in identity work perhaps helps to explain why intersectionality has not been used as much in traditional management fields to date. However, the complexity of intersectionality and its relevant debates have likely impacted the emergence of the theory in mainstream management studies as well.

When intersectionality is invoked in mainstream management research, it tends to appear in more of a categorical manner (McCall, 2005). There are a number of articles that can be described as positivist in nature, which apply intersectionality with the aim of developing quantitative models and tests to explain interactions between and amongst fixed categories of identity (Fuller & Vosko, 2008; Hall et al., 2019). For example, Hall et al., (2019) use intersectional concepts to develop a model they term MOSAIC (Model of Stereotyping through Associated and Intersectional Categories). Hall and colleagues present their model as a way to explain and evaluate stereotyping in employee evaluations

by introducing the concept of an associated demographic category, a concept they extend from intersectionality. While it is important to be concerned with issues of bias and stereotyping in evaluation, this model relies on the notion of relatively fixed categories of identity and a very particular notion of intersectionality. This sort of intersectionality is seen as an acceptable extension by some; however, as I reviewed earlier in the chapter, others feel that studies using intersectionality in a categorical way represent a co-optation of Black feminist knowledge that is at odds with intersectionality's social justice and destabilizing aims (Bilge, 2013). Intersectionality in mainstream management is not usually concerned with problematizing taken-for-granted assumptions of capitalism and the profit imperative that drives a large body of research in the academic discipline (Knights & Omanović, 2016). This is problematic, considering that intersectionality has a crucial and long-standing connection to critique that may help surface alternatives to dominant organizational assumptions and activities (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

Similarly, there is some mainstream work emerging that takes an interpretivist perspective to try and explain positions of privilege and marginalization in work-related spaces (Dy et al., 2017; Smith et al., 2019). Dy and colleagues (2017) acknowledge that categories of identity are discursively constructed and outcomes of social processes, however the focus of the article is less on lived experience and radical change of organizational processes, and more on showing that issues of privilege and marginalization exist within the sample. While this is an important aim, there are limits to this type of research that is pushed to focus on replication and proof, rather than lived experience of participants. For those who seek to publish intersectionality work in mainstream management articles, it seems that there are particular ontological

expectations which remain, despite perhaps being at odds with the overall philosophical position of intersectionality. This emphasizes the concern held by Collins and Bilge (2016) that intersectionality is being coopted into settling within, and abiding by, the conventions of existing forms of knowledge production, rather than succeeding in promoting and normalizing alternatives (p.87). In particular for management studies, the continued promotion of capitalist discourses within intersectional work is problematic, given the legacy of social inequity that the capitalist project has had on minority individuals.

Critical Management & Intersectionality.

One issue that exists with intersectionality as it has been applied in mainstream management research is that by accepting categories of identity as ontologically fixed, there is a focus on ordering and sorting individuals into categories, which may lead to further sedimentation of dominant notions (Dhamoon, 2011). This is an issue that has been taken up by critical management scholars within MOS (Alvesson et al., 2008). The emphasis on critique in CMS has resulted in space for deconstructing this assumption and producing intersectional work that seeks to produce alternatives and change. For example, there is a growing body of work that attempts to undermine the assumption that identity categories are given and fixed, instead focusing on lived experience and identity categories as they relate to intersectionality as discursive outcomes of power relations and structural processes (Hearn, 2014; Rodriguez et al., 2016; Wasserman & Frenkel, 2015).

It is important to acknowledge that an overlap of intersectionality and work occurs because individuals retain their bodily autonomy within organizations. While individuals at work are called employees or workers, they remain the individual they are outside of

work. This results in issues of identity-based discrimination and oppression being an issue for individuals in organizations, the same way that these oppressions are of concern in society and day-to-day life⁵. Scholars who have begun to adopt intersectional approaches in their work in order to study these processes of oppression seek to reveal how notions of difference become reproduced in organizational settings and result in ongoing discrimination (Broadbridge & Simpson, 2011; Fleischmann & Ozbilgin, 2011; Mills, 2017). For example, Fleischmann and Ozbilgin (2011) examine Taylor's *Principles of Scientific Management* (Taylor, 1911/1967) from a queer and intersectional space in order to demonstrate how discrimination is a discursive part of dominant management practices. In doing so, they advocate for disrupting management theories and practices that result in ongoing exclusion of 'others' (Fleishmann & Ozbilgin, 2011, p. 167). This piece is one demonstration of how CMS research from an intersectional perspective may support social justice aims and radical change. Other ways that scholars seek to achieve this includes being concerned with power relations, language and discourse, and context (McKinzie & Richards, 2019), all of which reveal hidden norms and processes that serve to reproduce heteronormative and discriminatory practices in organizations, and the project of capitalism. There have also been several studies that use archival work and other historical materials in an attempt to position intersectionality in the study of the past (Hendricks et al., 2020; Lugar et al., 2019; Shaffner et al., 2019; Weigand et al., 2016). However, work that features an overlap of intersectionality and history in the domain of

⁵ I emphasize this point because it is often easy to make a distinction between work and life, when in fact, work often *is* life.

organizational research is very limited. This emphasizes the need for research that studies both intersectionality and organizations over time.

Why Intersectionality in Organizations?

The importance of studying intersectionality in MOS/CMS is ultimately linked to understandings of labour and capital processes which underpin the capitalist regime. For example, Eisenstein (2014) emphasizes: “Capital is intersectional. It always intersects with the bodies that produce labor. Therefore, the accumulation of wealth is embedded in the racialized and engendered structures that enhance it” (para. 2). If there needs to be a justification as to why using intersectionality to study organizations and organizational practices is important, then the above quote provides plenty of reason. When we consider that capitalism functions through labour, and that labour is seen as more valuable when it is more controlled and less rewarded, the importance of overlapping systems of oppression based on race, gender, class, age, nationality, etc. can be seen as critical to the survival and endurance of capitalism. These systems of oppression create powerful ways of doing and knowing in organizations that are deeply embedded to reproduce discrimination, inequality, and economic disadvantage, while simultaneously privileging those at the top of the capitalist, profiteering hierarchy. By combining intersectionality with the study of organizations, it is possible to reveal these practices, which have in many cases become normalized, hidden, and mundane *through time*. I argue that it is this ‘through time’ piece that intersectional work has been largely missing thus far in MOS. Intersectionality, and IH more broadly, as a lens through which the aims of capitalism are challenged and alternatives presented is an important way to incite radical change, as well as to redress ongoing discrimination that has been reproduced over time. The remainder

of this chapter now moves to outlining my theorization of intersectionality as I use it in this thesis to develop the theoretical framework of IH.

Intersectionality is...?

As outlined at that start of this chapter, my approach to intersectionality is most closely aligned with Collins and Bilge (2016). I do not suggest that intersectionality *is* a single thing that can be clearly delineated and understood, but nor do I go so far as to agree that intersectionality can be anything (Collins, 2019). Instead, following Collins (2019) and Collins and Bilge (2016), I agree that there are at least six core ideas, as previously listed, that make up my understanding of intersectionality. Like Collins (2019), I do not argue that every single thing I call intersectional must contain all of these core ideas, but I do suggest that intersectionality engages with some or all of these ideas to consider how norms, structures and social processes, such as discrimination are produced. This consideration is achieved largely by examining the ways in which multiple, overlapping, socially-constructed identities combine in systems of oppression, and how these notions of identity are reproduced through discourse and in discursive contexts. I will discuss these six core ideas in much more detail in Chapter 4.

That said, keeping these six core ideas as central helps to surface the theorization of intersectionality that I use in connection with the study of the past to develop IH as a framework. For me, **intersectionality is relational**, and this relationality is critical for moving away from essentializing categories of identity, toward an understanding of the relationships which constitute meaning. **Intersectionality is centrally concerned with power relations**, in order to reveal how socially-constructed categories of identity

overlap and how these “systems of power coproduce one another in ways that reproduce both unequal material outcomes and distinctive social experiences” (Collins, 2019, p. 46).

Intersectionality is focused on social inequalities, based on categories such as gender, race and class, and recognizes these inequalities as interrelated outcomes and systems of power relations, not as natural, independent and inevitable categorizations of society.

Intersectionality is concerned with social context, and this focus allows for an understanding of the contribution of social location to the production of intersecting systems of power relations. **Intersectionality is about embracing complexity** and recognizing that intersectional work is not straightforward or neutral, but rather “iterative and interactional” (Collins, 2019, p. 47). There is no prescription for intersectionality.

Finally, **intersectionality is tied to social justice**, and involves an aim of creating change in our social worlds. Additionally, these core ideas do not exist as essential and/or in isolation: instead, they are interdependent and draw from one another. Intersectionality, for me, is the cake made with the six core ingredients described.

This theorization of intersectionality draws heavily upon the work of Collins (2019) and Collins and Bilge (2016). Moving forward, I argue that this theorization is commensurate with my theorization of a postmodern approach to the study of the past. I suggest that the key features of studying the past, such as narrative and ideology and power relations (Jenkins, 1991) are philosophically aligned with the understandings of the six core ideas and present an opportunity for the alignment of two as yet disparate bodies of thought.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the concept of intersectionality. I have provided a version of the term's past, connecting its development to important civil rights and Black feminist movements in the 19th and 20th centuries. In describing how intersectionality has come to be understood, I attempt to provide alternatives to the germane understandings of the term, showing how intersectional concepts exist in transnational feminism and the global south. I have discussed some of the key debates relating to how intersectionality should be understood and explained how those debates have surfaced empirically in intersectional research across multiple fields. I have examined intersectionality in the field of MOS and explored how its extant debates have been taken up in this area. I provide empirical examples of the ways in which intersectionality has been used by mainstream management scholars, as well how it has been taken up by more critically-informed individuals in CMS. I then use the background provided in the chapter to help legitimize my theorization of intersectionality, which relies on Collins and Bilge's (2016) six core ideas. I explain how each of these core ideas relates to my understanding of intersectionality and conclude by claiming that this understanding is philosophically appropriate to pair with a postmodern approach to studying the past.

In the next chapter, I step away from intersectionality in order to theoretically position my understanding of history and the past. Taken together, Chapter Two and Chapter Three will provide the necessary background required to present a detailed account of IH in Chapter Four.

Chapter 3: The Past

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to theorize my understanding of history, or, the study of the past, in order to demonstrate the appropriateness and need for combining a particular understanding of history/the past with my stance on intersectionality. I do this by aligning myself with a postmodern approach to historiography (Jenkins, 1991; Munslow, 1997) and theorizing what this entails in relation to my focus in MOS. I argue that my engagement with postmodernist historiography is unique from the way history (and postmodern theorizations of history) has been employed in MOS, as there has been little work focusing on the intersectional pasts of non-white, non-males from a postmodern (or indeed, even mainstream) approach (Mills & Novićević, 2020). This further demonstrates the lack of a theoretically informed approach to studying intersectionality and history *together*, in a way that is philosophically complementary. I argue that the lack of theoretical work combining postmodern approaches to the past *and* the notion of socially-constructed intersectional identities and oppression over time in MOS/MOH demonstrates the need for IH in these fields.

Chapter Outline.

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of how I theorize the past for intersectional history. Then, I begin a review of the literature by examining some of the differences in approach between postmodern historiography and more traditional historiographic work. I then further outline my theoretical position on the study of the past by discussing the key influences of Jenkins (1991), Munslow (1997) and White (1973, 1978, 1987). I discuss the use of postmodern historiography in MOS by reviewing

some of the common ways history has been employed and the debates and fragmentations that have characterized the field (Durepos, 2017; Durepos, et al., 2020). Then, I point to the relative lack of work incorporating issues of marginalization and oppression in MOS/MOH, and the almost total absence of intersectional-informed history research (Hendricks, et al., 2020; Shaffner, et al., 2019). Throughout, I demonstrate the need for IH in MOS/MOH and argue for its usefulness as a model for destabilizing dominant histories and surfacing new insights about marginalized peoples in organizations. Ultimately, I conclude that my postmodern approach to the past, combined with my critical understanding of intersectionality, is theoretically aligned and appropriate for revealing and centering those marginalized by overlapping, socially-constructed, identity-based systems of oppression over time.

Theorizing the Past for Intersectional History

My theorization of postmodern historiography is primarily based on the work of Keith Jenkins (1991). I am also influenced by Munslow (1997, 2006a, 2006b) and White (1973; 1978). My focus as influenced by these authors is primarily on how authoritative accounts of the past are socially-constructed, reproduced, and maintained through relations of power and privilege (Jenkins, 1991). I engage with postmodern historiography through an incredulity (Lyotard, 1984 [1979]) or skepticism towards history and its claims to representation. This results in questions such as how is a story about the past produced? What sources are used? How are they employed and emplotted into a narrative (White, 1987)? Why are these accounts the discursive constructions that become accepted as facts instead of others (Jenkins, 1991)? Authoritative histories that

dictate ‘what happened’ are simply versions of the past – and there can be many other versions. This description briefly reflects my epistemological position that knowledge about the past is socially constructed through language. I will cover this position in further detail throughout this chapter.

Historiography to Postmodern Historiography

In this section, I outline my theorization of a postmodern approach to the study of the past – i.e., postmodern historiography. First, I provide a very brief overview of history as a discipline and explore the differences between a more traditional approach to historiography and a postmodern approach to historiography. I then expand on my theoretical stance to the past and historiography described in the previous section, positioning it as I employ it in this thesis.

Traditional Historiography.

History is generally understood as an empirical, scientific approach to writing about the past. Early historians, such as Ranke, felt that to write good historical accounts, it was imperative to find the truth, and report what happened (Evans, 2012; Iggers, 2010). In order to present a faithful account of what happened, historians approached their research systematically, with an aim of being objective. They largely relied on sources that could be deemed reliable and could be clarified through cross reference with additional supporting records and sources (Marwick, 1970). The argument for this approach was primarily that history benefitted from a rational, objective, and scientific view, as this was the best way to get at what *really* happened.

Throughout the 20th century, the focus on scientific method in historiography has been tempered by debates and a general acknowledgement that history is not a discipline of certainty (Carr, 1961; Elton, 1967). However, established methodological approaches remain a point of reference for many historians (Green & Troup, 1999). Instead of advocating for a completely unbiased, [social] scientific method in historiography, many historians now claim that they aim to approximate the truth of what happened while knowing they will not get it exactly 'right'. An ontological approach termed the standpoint of action (Macmurray, 1957) suggests that "Discovering truth and knowledge about the past is possible because the historical practice of historians is commensurate with the human practice that makes effective action and interaction possible." (Roberts, 1997, p. 251). This standpoint argument shows that a realist approach to historiography remains a strong undercurrent in the field.

Historians do acknowledge this realism (Garnett, et al., 2015), however it is unusual to find forthright philosophical discussions in history work. Instead, a *generally realist* ontology and *generally empirical* epistemology are the discipline's default (Green & Troup, 1999). This type of historiography is often referred to as empirical history, which emphasizes the concern with evidence and documentation in this approach. As I commented above, most historians claim awareness of this objectivist or realist focus in the empirical approach; however, as it is largely considered the best practice for historiography, they argue it is not necessary to discuss ontology or epistemology in every historical work (Garnett et al., 2015; Marwick, 2001). This frequently unproblematized acceptance of ontological assumptions and the underlying realism is one reason why I suggest that an empirical approach to historiography is not an ideal approach for

exploring intersectionality over time. By modeling research into the past through a scientific-like approach, the argument is that history can be used to study and understand people and events, in the same way that science can be used to study and understand natural phenomenon, such as biology (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). While an empirical approach to history is not purely positivist, the influence of this epistemology is clear in described historiographic methods. I suggest that, like ontological assumptions, the epistemological underpinnings of knowledge production inherent in the empirical approach – via documents, sources, and verification – is neither useful, nor appropriate for those seeking to study intersectionality over time, because it does not acknowledge the multiplicity of experiences and the way that knowledge is produced through ideology, power relations, and discourse.

Despite the normalization of historiography as a realist-based, positivist-influenced activity, there are critiques within the field (Davidson, 1981) that challenge the feasibility of engaging with the past this way. Critiques concerning the ontological and epistemological contours of historiography have given rise to a postmodern approach to historiography and the past. The postmodern critiques and approach to historiography are discussed in the next section.

Postmodern Critiques of Historiography.

The discipline of history and its historians are not homogenous. Although there is a mainstreamed, normalized approach to historiography, there are also many critiques and challenges to the approach as well. Many of these critiques emerge from a postmodern turn that took hold in academia in the 1960s. In this section, I will cover the key

ontological and epistemological critiques that have been the subject of much debate between modern and postmodern historiographers.

An Ontological Critique.

A primary critique of traditional historiography by postmodernists is an ontological critique. Postmodern thinkers (Jenkins, 1991; White, 1966, 1978) challenge the ontological nature of the past, arguing that it is not accessible. The past does not exist. This is not to say that nothing happened ‘before-now’ (Munslow, 1997); rather, that it is impossible to accurately uncover and represent a reality of that past, because it is ontologically unavailable. It is only available through discourse *about* the past. Jenkins (1991) says, “there actually is this distinction between history – as that which has been written/recorded about the past – and the past itself.” (p. 6). The past happened, and it is over, but through language (or discourse), meaning is given to the past in the historiographic operation. That meaning is derived from other texts (or sources), containing other discourses (or accounts) about the past. Jenkins (1991) suggests that from a common body of existing traces of the past, those engaged with their study can make choices about how to assess, interpret and emplot them. While individuals may have different access to these common traces, and place varying levels of importance on them, there are only limited numbers of particular traces that survive to the present. Those traces are without meaning, except for the meaning that is conferred to them by those engaged with the study of the past. Many, equally legitimate accounts of the past, assembled from a common body of remnant traces can be produced through the instability of meaning and interpretation as described above. As a result, history is not representative of the past, but rather it is about the *meaning* interpreted from traces of the past.

Additionally, while the past is the common interest of historiographers, *how* they engage with the past is discursive. This positions history, or more precisely, historiography as “an inter-textual, linguistic construct” (Jenkins, 1991, p.7). Historiography is an interpretive practice – but the sites of meaning from which interpretations appear must be seen as discursive and ever-changing. The past is not fixed – “the past comes to us always already as stories and ...we cannot get out of these stories to check if they correspond to the real world/past” (Jenkins, 1991, p. 9). The inability to access a real past is a key ontological issue that postmodern historians raise.

An Epistemological Critique.

Another critique that postmodernist historiographers raise centers on epistemology. How can we know the past? What can we know about it? This is closely connected with the notion of discourse discussed above. Lowenthal (1985) highlights the issue of knowability of the past by emphasizing that the perspective of the historian impacts what is discursively constructed as knowledge *about* the past. What we know about the past is never direct; but filtered through interpretations. These interpretations, it is important to note, are reliant on other socially-constructed discourses and interpretations, which render any knowledge of the past claimed by historiographers as discursive and dependent on other, deeply embedded constructs.

Marwick (1970, 2001), as a more conventional historian, addresses this epistemological challenge about the nature of knowledge production by acknowledging that subjectivity and social construction is inevitable in the writing of history. In fact, as Marwick and others argue, history has been readily acknowledged as a relativist practice (Ermarth, 2010). However, it is because of this relativist nature that the discipline has

bounded itself by strict methodological conventions, which order the ways in which interpretations are surfaced and considered as legitimate. Knowledge about the past, Marwick (1970) seems to suggest, is produced with an acknowledgement of epistemology, but is not based on epistemological choice. Postmodernists eschew this defense, arguing that “the epistemological choice is always prior to ‘doing history’” (Jenkins, et al., 2007, p. 2). The epistemological choice made by more mainstream historiographers is steeped in positivist assumptions, regardless of their acknowledgement of these assumptions. This suggests that the issue is bigger than epistemological, ontological, or even methodological; rather, the way knowledge is produced as a function of all these areas, is ideological.

An Ideological Critique.

Ideology is the focus of another postmodern critique of history. An ideology is that deep-seated system of beliefs that serve to order societies – for example, capitalism is an ideology. Jenkins (1991) suggests that ideologies are revealed once we acknowledge our inability to know the past: because the past is ontologically unavailable, it is not knowable but via interpretation, and those interpretations do not correspond to the past or what happened – instead, they are based upon ideologies. “History is never for itself; it is always for someone” (Jenkins, 1991, p. 17) and that someone is influenced by a strong ideology, or ideologies, which order their world. White (1978) writes similarly on this issue, pointing out that all history contains some framework of meaning which is based on a way of seeing the world – an ideology. He suggests that “every historical discourse contains within it a full-blown, if only implicit philosophy of history” (White, 1978, p.

127). The accusation of postmodernists like White and Jenkins is that traditional historians often resist seeing that their constructions of history are ideological (and that ideology impacts epistemological and ontological assumptions), while postmodernists are transparent about “the conceptual apparatus by which the facts are ordered...” (*ibid.*). Recognizing the importance of ideological beliefs is critical for IH, as the systems that inform ideologies, such as racism, colonialism, or capitalism result in the production and reproduction of stories about the past that are racist, colonialist, and capitalist-serving.

A Classification Critique.

Related to the above critiques is White’s (1973) assertion that history does not produce knowledge. It is fiction. White argues that language about the past, as a result of its inability to represent or correspond to what happened, cannot convey true knowledge. Instead, it conveys narratives about the past which are, as Jenkins (1991) points out, simply interpretations which rely on powerful discourses. White suggests that these narrative interpretations are a form of fiction which resemble literary works most closely, because the historian, just like the author of fiction, invents a story (White, 1973). This story may be based on things that one has interpreted as factual, but there is no way to verify its factuality outside of language and meaning.

A Power Relations Critique.

The role of power relations in the construction of historical accounts about the past is another important critique, closely related to issues of truth, and debates about opaque and transparent ideologies. “Truth is dependent on somebody having the power to

make it true” (Jenkins, 1991, p. 31). This quote emphasizes the important role of power relations in the production of historical accounts, and how particular versions of the past are legitimated over others. More conventional historians often gloss over the role of power relations in the production of knowledge about the past, just as they gloss over philosophical issues of ideology, ontology, and epistemology, using the defense that they are employing tested methods which generate the stories of importance. For example, Roberts ignores power and ideology when he argues that:

When historians approach the past...they do so because they know this method works, and because there are a variety of good reasons for believing the narratives they produce are true. The knowledge they seek is a specific, practical knowledge of other human beings. (Roberts, 1997, p. 259)

The outcome of this stance is that one method or several specific methods are deemed legitimate. These legitimate methods allow historians to justify their narratives, and the legitimacy of what is produced is measured by its specificity and practicality. While there are many issues with this particular assertion, a glaring omission is that Roberts fails to acknowledge that what is deemed “practical knowledge” usually corresponds to what is considered useful (Ahmed, 2019); namely, what is logical, rational, and verifiable for those aligned with post-enlightenment, positivist views. The declaration that practical knowledge is somehow fixed or identifiable to historians as judge and jury, is harmful, for it demonstrates just how the dominance of various accounts works to silence other, equally legitimate accounts. This dominance of empirical, legitimized methods and accounts can be an outcome of many different things, such as ethnocentrism, wealth, and privilege (we are told the stories of white European males); political manipulation (we are

told the stories they want us to hear); and individual preference (we are told the stories people like to tell); however, the dominant accounts become so dominant via the ideologies listed above that imbue them with power.

A Problematization Critique.

From a postmodern perspective, all historiographies are problematic, as they are all for someone and reflect some ideological frame. Therefore, all versions of the past, all historiographical products, must be approached through the lens of problematization. Each of these historiographies are equally legitimate – they are all relative, just as all history is relative to those who engage with it (Ermarth, 2011)⁶ – but some do become dominant despite their logical equivalency to any other version. We can problematize this dominance by asking, why do some accounts act as authoritative producers of knowledge or truth? As Jenkins, argues, they become authoritative “because knowledge is related to power and...within social formations, those with the most power distribute and legitimate ‘knowledge’” (Jenkins, 1991, p. 25). Power relations are crucial in the construction of knowledge about the past and leaving this unacknowledged helps account for the ways that history serves to order and legitimate social systems.⁷ “How many other groups, people(s), classes, have been/are omitted from histories and why; and what might be the

⁶ Note that while the production of a history is happily accepted as a relativist undertaking by the discipline, that relativism does not, as it does in postmodernism, correspond to the equal legitimacy that the term relativism in postmodernism implies (Ermarth, 2011).

⁷ When I began writing this thesis, George Floyd had not been murdered. The subsequent resurgence of BLM and the vicious debates it engenders is an example of the role of power relations in the construction of history. Histories reflect dominant ideologies – in the US and Canada, the dominant ideology is of whiteness as rightness. Says Jenkins: “People literally feel the need to root themselves today and tomorrow in their yesterdays.” (1991, p.18) Those advocating all lives matter are rooting their todays and tomorrows in the racist and violent framework of ‘yesterday’, which through power relations, is reinforced and explained in order to legitimate and justify inequality. ‘History’ (a powerful interpretation of the past produced by white people) is being used to abuse Blacks and to maintain an oppressive system by providing a legitimizing discourse for racism. We should not be surprised. Again, I quote Jenkins to ask “what might be the consequences if such omitted ‘groups’ were central to historical accounts and the now central groups were marginalized?” (p. 7-8).

consequences if such omitted ‘groups’ were central to historical accounts and the now central groups were marginalized?” (Jenkins, 1991, p.7-8). This is the crux of the postmodern critiques: that history can be other to what is accepted as truth, because what is accepted as truth is a political and ideological project. This argument is the crux of why I suggest that postmodernist historiography combined with intersectionality is needed for MOS, and for other disciplines. An understanding of those oppressed by overlapping, socially-constructed categories of identities in organizations, and their role and contributions to organizations over time can be *other to what is accepted as truth*. The conditions of possibility for the production of alternative knowledge about the past (Durepos & Mills, 2012a, 2012b) has the potential to generate new and novel insights, which can be considered as equally legitimate as other versions⁸. In the next section, I pick up these critiques to theorize my understanding of postmodernist historiography as aligned with my theorization of intersectionality provided in Chapter Two.

Theorizing Postmodernist Historiography for IH

As I reviewed above, my understanding of history and the study of the past is heavily influenced by postmodernist, historiographic thinkers, including Keith Jenkins (1991), Hayden White (1973, 1978, 1987), and Alun Munslow (1997). In particular, I am drawn to Jenkins’ characterization of history as he provides it in *Rethinking History* (1991):

⁸ Although these interpretations are equally legitimate, they are unlikely to be equally plausible in all cases. For example, the claims of holocaust deniers are equally legitimate to those claims of holocaust recorders, but the claims of deniers are *far* less plausible than those who claim the holocaust happened.

History is a shifting, problematic discourse, ostensibly about an aspect of the world, the past, that is produced by a group of present-minded workers (overwhelmingly in our culture salaried historians), who go about their work in mutually recognizable ways that are epistemologically, methodologically, ideologically, and practically positioned and whose products, once in circulation, are subject to a series of uses and abuses that are logically infinite, but which in actuality generally correspond to a range of power bases that exist at any given moment and which structure and distribute the meanings of histories along a dominant-marginal spectrum (p. 26, emphasis my own).

The above definition emphasizes the instability of history as a way to know the past, highlights the normative conventions that order how knowledge about the past is produced and reproduced and for whom, and acknowledges the role of power relations in determining the legitimacy or dominance of particular historical accounts.

Discourse & Power.

Jenkins' focus on discourse, power and ideology in historiography is important for developing IH, because it is those same things that must be revealed and destabilized in intersectional work. Jenkins suggests that "History is the way people (s) create, in part, their identities" (p.19). If socially-constructed, overlapping systems of identity-based oppression are mediated through history, it is important to recognize that this mediation is dependent on dominant discourses, power relations, and ideologies which ultimately serve to craft not only notions of those identities, but also interpretations of identities by others. Dominant historical accounts or understandings of the past inform present experiences for those living with the pressure of overlapping systems of oppression. The

dominant historical accounts do this by reinforcing particular systems of oppression that are ideologically-based – for example, racism - and they also tell us how to understand those same peoples. Racism against Black people, for example, is rooted in the past, and the meaning that is made of that past via dominant historiographic accounts of it often reinforces racist ideology by privileging certain notions of Black people over others in stories of the past. Racism is then reproduced in the present. All of this is to say that if the role of discourse, power, and ideolog(ies) is not recognized as central to historiography, it is challenging to unpack the ongoing strength of domineering discourses, such as racism, sexism, and other powerful discursive constructs which must be addressed via an intersectional analysis.

Language & Credibility.

Jenkins' position on the role of discourse and power in writing about the past is echoed in Munslow's (1997) work. Munslow suggests that "The content of history, like that of literature, is defined as much by the nature of the language used to describe and interpret that content as it is by research into the documentary sources" (p. 21). While Munslow does not dispute the importance of documentary sources, he is highly conscious, like Jenkins (1991), of the role of language in representing and constituting a version of the past – and that this language is chosen as a result of the fact that "written history exists within culturally determined power structures" (Munslow, 1997, p. 27). Like Jenkins, Munslow argues that the knowledge that is produced about the past is not representative, but rather relative to positions and perspectives that are ordered through structures and systems of power in the perpetual present. Munslow focuses on language used and meaning ascribed to sources, emphasizing that knowledge is constituted *only*

through language, and the meaning derived from it is not fixed and cannot be essentialized as truth. Munslow suggests that postmodern history is “a recognition of the relativism of meaning, determined by where one stands and the dissolution of source-derived certainty in historical representation” (p.28). In light of this approach, Munslow is also concerned with how evidence is used by historiographers to reinforce the most credible interpretations, while simultaneously, that credibility is derived from something that in and of itself cannot be considered credible. Munslow (1997) argues that many historians continue to rely on the notion of source credibility to constitute the past, whereas a postmodern approach takes the view that: “Evidence only signposts *possible* realities and *possible* interpretations” (p. 28, emphasis mine). This is yet another key reason for my postmodern approach: through the focus on language and the connection to meaning in historiography, we can recognize that interpretations of the past can be outcomes of agendas based in the present, and that there can be other signs to follow which can signpost us to interpret alternative understandings from evidence. This is crucial to IH, as traditional ‘credible’ sources of evidence are unlikely to readily produce knowledge about those intersectionally-oppressed and hidden over time. Munslow provides the frame for considering evidence in other ways, by reading signposts that may say different things in different metaphorical languages. This gives rise to other possible realities and interpretations that center those at the overlapping, oppressive margins of organizations over time.

Narrative & Ideology

My approach is also influenced by Hayden White. White (1973) suggests that history is not so much a production of knowledge and fact, as it is a production of

literature in which language conveys narrative, not truth (White, 1973, 1978). For White, that narrative is an outcome of the story that the historian is telling, and the choices they consciously and unconsciously (via ideology) make about what that story should look like. As mentioned in the previous section, White (1973) views historians as authors. He argues that both authors and historians engage in crafting fiction via choices that support an overarching narrative. In history work, that narrative is traditionally unacknowledged as such, and the ideological influence from which that narrative emerges is kept hidden. White argues that “history proper (as it is called) buries [ideology] in the interior of the narratives, where it serves as a hidden or implicit shaping device” (White, 1978, p. 127). As historiography can never represent the truth due to the instability of language and meaning, dominant narratives of the past and their accompanying ideologies can be challenged via other possible – and equally legitimate – versions of the past. The focus on recognizing narratives, and that stories can be told in many different ways as a result of authorial choice and the meta-narratives or meta-discourses (White, 1973) that order our worlds is crucial for IH, as it liberates one from the confines of a traditional story. If we can begin the story we tell in a different way, we are liberated from the confines of the story we know and can produce powerful alternatives that look nothing like the stories we’ve been reading.

In this section, I have only have briefly addressed the importance of a postmodern historiography for IH. The alignment of my theoretical positioning of intersectionality and my positioning of postmodernist historiography is discussed in-depth in Chapter Four. In the next section, I move to discussing the challenges associated with sources and material when attempting to combine traditional historiography and intersectionality.

The Problem of Intersectionality & Empirical History

As Chapter Two demonstrates, my approach to intersectionality is to see it as a critical, complex and subjective theory (Collins, 2019). I see intersectionality as socially-constructed and exploring intersectional issues as requiring attunement to the social construction of language, discourse, ideology, and power (Collins & Bilge, 2016). This is a challenging theorization to combine with mainstream approaches to historiography, which, as discussed, rely more centrally on realist, positivist-informed philosophies. Intersectionality is relatively subjective or nominalist and socially-constructed; history is relatively realist and empirical. These theorizations are largely in tension with one another. Despite this, intersectional scholars often seem to approach historical intersectional work through this normative approach (Evans-Herring, 2003; Woods, 2012). This means that they are hemmed in by the normative conventions of history, thereby limiting the ability to analyze the impact of the past in their intersectional work. I argue that a postmodernist historiography helps resolve this issue. This resolution is fully discussed in Chapter Four, however in the next section I consider sources in order to review one of the key challenges of intersectional work when attempted in conjunction with an empirical approach to history.

Considering Sources

One of the most significant challenges of attempting to explore intersectional issues over time using a more mainstream approach to history is the availability of verifiable sources. Because empirical, or mainstream history is concerned with approximating the truth as much as possible, the methods employed are often engaged

with verifying information across multiple source documents. However, as intersectionality is largely concerned with relations of marginalization and privilege and oppressive, systemic regimes of power, source documents often keep ‘evidence’ of intersectional issues and experiences hidden from the view of this source-based history. The records kept and considered reliable are those records that have usually been produced by those who benefit from regimes that oppress others based on social constructions of race, gender, class, and others. Historically, the discriminatory attitudes against individuals who were not white, male and successful were so strong that the experiences of ‘others’ were not important for preserving. Just as history and language are not innocent, nor is the role of preservation or posterity. As a result, intersectionality needs to be investigated through less used ‘signposts’ (Munslow, 1997) of the past which are likely seen as less reliable by traditional historians.

Ahmed’s ‘Use’ as Metaphor.

I find Sarah Ahmed’s thinking on use to be useful for thinking about the issue of sources. Ahmed (2019) writes, “The more a path is used, the more a path is used” (p. 40). When we as researchers uncover a signpost (Munslow, 1997), signifying a path – a trace - that has rarely been used or considered, and we follow that signpost, untangling what obscures it and making it easier to travel, that path becomes more accessible to others. Taking inspiration from Ahmed, *the more we follow the forgotten signposts of intersectional-based oppression, the more we follow the forgotten signposts of intersectional-based oppression.* However, it works the other way as well. Dominant, familiar signposts – brightly painted with bold lettering – they signal paths that are well-used. To attempt to uncover intersectionality through traditional historiographic methods

would, I suggest, result in nothing, because although you are on a well-trodden path, it is well-trodden precisely because it is not the right path for your work. It is the common, popular path which reinforces a particular destination, or interpretation. Very often, attempts to use different paths deliver one to the same place – to clarify the metaphor, *reliance on more obvious signposts often results in similar constitutions of knowledge about the past*. This leads to an ongoing absence of material that is employed for intersectional analysis in historical records. And that absence implies unimportance. This absence has been the status quo for years, and we must begin to trim back what has been hidden beneath the tangled overgrowth. We must look for hidden paths. I suggest that traces which may generate intersectional insights are not absent; rather, “these traces are there whether the historian goes to them and finds them or not” (Jenkins, 1991, p. 49).

This metaphor demonstrates a need for historiographic approaches that can disrupt the status quo. The absence of ‘evidence’ is not representative of the importance of intersectional experiences and issues through history. Instead, I suggest it means that those signposts have not been frequently sought out. They have not been the popular paths. The lack of philosophical alignment between a more critical and subjective theorization of intersectionality and a normative approach to history limits the ability for historiographers to challenge dominant, well-trodden accounts of the past in ways that can be considered legitimate by traditional conventions.

Intersectional ‘History’

The above sections reflect my overall approach to the term ‘history’ in the name ‘intersectional history’ (IH). I am taking a postmodernist approach to historiography and

acknowledging the role of language in how stories (narratives) about the past are constituted. I recognize the role of power and discourse in privileging dominant accounts of the past and marginalizing alternatives, and I suggest that there are many possible interpretations of the past. These interpretations are often assembled by historians as powerful, linear narratives of how things were, however postmodernist historiography recognizes that historical accounts are never neutral or innocent, but always for someone or something (Jenkins, 1991; Munslow, 1997). This leads to the possibility that accounts could be written in other ways, for someone else or for other uses, opening up a relativism which sees infinite possible interpretations of the past. Using Ahmed, a researcher can take other paths. However, as Munslow (1997) points out, “This does not, of course, mean that any interpretation is as good as the other, it simply means that there are no definitive interpretations” (p. 31). This helps temper the challenges of relativism – not every interpretation is good or plausible, but neither is there any interpretation that can be considered objectively true and factual. I see these key ideas of postmodernist thinking – the use of language, discourse, power, relativism, ideology, and narrative – in producing knowledge about the past as the theoretical base for ‘history’ to which ‘intersectionality’ can be joined, in ways that liberate and empower people to produce and champion alternatives to those accounts of the past that have long been accepted, in organizations and societies, as unassailable truth.

In the next section, I turn from the theorization of my postmodern approach to historiography, to the use of history in MOS and MOH. I consider how different philosophies of history have been employed in these fields and point to the need for IH specifically in the management context.

History in MOS/MOH

I now move to reviewing the state of historiography in MOS. As IH has been conceived of specifically for use in MOS (although I suggest it has many other possible applications), it is important to consider how history has been employed in MOS to date. This will further demonstrate the lack of research with an intersectional focus, and the need for IH in historical studies of organizations.

A History of History.

I begin with a brief discussion of the ‘history’ of history in MOS/MOH. This is a common starting line for those who engage in historical management research, as the ‘start’ of historicizing in the field is often associated with the ‘historic turn’ (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004). Literature reviews commonly refer to the historic turn as justification for history work, and reference Mayer Zald (1993) and Alfred Kieser (1994) as key figures in stimulating an interest in a historic turn, which crystallized with Clark and Rowlinson’s (2004) publication. However, historical work (according to one alternative version of the past) has been practiced in MOS and adjacent organizational studies fields for much longer. Durepos and Mills (2017) point out the “neglected role of Lyndall Urwick (1938), Claude George (1968), Charles Wrege (1986), Daniel Wren (1972, 1979), Art Bedeian (1996) and others, who have contributed histories of the field from the 1930s to today” (p. 2). Durepos and Mills also point out that the Management History Division of the Academy of Management was founded in 1971, which allows us to interpret that there were division members, doing historical work, at that time.

The Beginning.

The dominant account of history in MOS is that which ‘begins’ with Zald (1993) and Kieser (1994). Zald advocated for history as a way to examine the culturally-constructed societal processes and context that are involved in organizational issues. He argued that this contextual focus, gained through historical investigation, can help ensure that when studying concepts, scholars do not: “attribute a ‘naturalness’ to them, when in fact they are dealing with a social construct” (Zald, 1993, p. 516). Zald thus encouraged scholars to contextualize their work using the humanities, such as history, and suggested that to understand the nature of work and people in organizations, MOS needed to move away from an obsession with scientific method. Similarly, Kieser (1994) suggests that historical analysis of organizational problems allows for hidden ideologies and agendas in the field to be revealed. Kieser gives the example of the human relations movement as clearly ideological when reconsidered from the present and suggests that historical consideration of organizational concepts and developments can give a broader view of present-day ideological traps. He also alludes to the role of social constructionism, and that historical analyses can destabilize the taken-for-granted nature of how organizations are or should be. While the ideas of Zald (1993) and Kieser (1994) were met with enthusiasm by some, there was also derision from the MOS field. For example, Goldman (1994), responding directly to Kieser (1994), suggests that the reason organizational scholars have become ‘ahistoric’ (Goldman, 1994, p. 621) is at least partly because issues from the past are simply not relevant to the issues facing organizations now. Regardless of this perspective, there was an uptick across the field of individuals engaged with or

advocating for studying organizations across historical contexts (Burrell, 1997; Cooke 1999, 2003; Jacques, 2006)

The Turn.

While the above description of history in MOS, prior to the 2004 historic turn article, (Clark & Rowlinson) is nowhere near comprehensive, it does demonstrate that the field of MOS had been engaging with the past in advance of Clark and Rowlinson's (2004) article. Despite the ways that history and calls for historical analysis began to feature in MOS during the nineties, it does remain their article which is most often referred to as the start of an interest in history in MOS. Their engagement with the question of whether MOS was moving "toward an historic turn" (Clark & Rowlinson, 2004, p. 331) has become a question people often point to when referencing the relative explosion of historically-informed work that subsequently emerged from MOS. A new journal, *Management and Organizational History*, founded by Booth and Rowlinson in 2006 also contributed to this increase.

The Tension.

Because MOS, like history, is not a homogenous discipline, the 'historic turn' space has featured many different theoretical and philosophical approaches. These approaches have varied from very traditional work in the spirit of empirical-style history to postmodernist and amodernist approaches challenging how history is produced (Deal et al., 2020; Durepos & Mills, 2017; Mills et al., 2016). The broad range of approaches has led to tensions, contentions, debates, and disagreements as management scholars seek to legitimize varied philosophical approaches to history and philosophical approaches to management (Mills & Novićević, 2020). For example, Bowden (2018) has rejected the

“postmodernist influence within business academia” (Bowden, p. 201). Bowden and other scholars who are engaged in more traditional historiographic work often dismiss postmodernist contributions on the basis of method, arguing that postmodernists do not understand the *discipline* of history well enough to critique it (Mills & Novićević, 2020). For example, Batiz-Lazo (2019) takes issue with the whole notion of a historic turn, suggesting that “the contributors to the ‘Historic Turn’ still need schooling on the methods to deal with the past” (p. 115). This attitude to accepting heterogeneous approaches has led to ongoing debates about legitimacy which have perhaps limited the number of historiographic articles, in favour of those engaging with the philosophy of history and its suitability for MOS (Mills, et al., 2016). Although histories of organizations, histories of management, and histories of key management figures have been produced from a variety of different perspectives, there is still a distinct lack of attention to women, minorities, and issues of intersectionality in MOS/MOH. I address this in the next section.

A History of Absence.

Some of the issues that have not been seriously addressed throughout the myriad debates is the almost complete lack of feminist, antiracist and decolonial perspectives in MOS/MOH. As noted by Mills and Novićević (2020), history work in MOS is severely lacking in these diverse perspectives. They reveal that out of 1,600 articles from three major MOS/MOH journals between 2006 and 2018, only 22 articles (29 including book reviews) dealt with gender or feminist issues (Mills & Novićević, 2020). They also add that almost none of the 22 articles employed feminist approaches to history work. The numbers were even lower when the authors looked specifically for articles addressing

issues of racism and colonialism. Only a single article (Jammulamadaka, 2016) dealt with both gender and race, using a postcolonial perspective to examine the nature of work at Bombay Textile Mills.

Sex, Gender & History.

These numbers reflect a number of significant issues in MOS. First, MOS remains overwhelmingly dominated by a masculine focus. Much of the research is about men, their history and their masculinity, and it is disproportionately written by men (Mills & Novičević, 2020). Histories that include women or claim a feminist lens may not include critiques of the over-masculine focus, but instead simply add women into an equation that has already been shown to reproduce masculine understandings of organizations and their pasts. There are some excellent exceptions; however, overall, the stories of women and feminist approaches have not been ‘written in’ to the study of the past in MOS, despite repeated calls (Phillips & Rippin, 2010a; Mills, 2006).

Race & History.

Second, there is a lack of antiracist work employing historical perspectives in MOS. In the climate of BlackLivesMatter, there is increasing recognition of the role of history in the systemic discrimination against Black people and Indigenous peoples in the US and Canada, for example. Why is this not a larger focus of MOS? As the COVID-19 pandemic has made even more abundantly clear, Black, Indigenous and immigrant workers, such as those from Latin America, make up a significant number of essential workers. The ongoing systemic inequalities of the groups have ensured that they are disproportionately impacted by COVID-19, both economically and socially (Kantamneni, 2020). These impacts are complex, as the severity depends on complex intersectional

aspects of identity. For example, a Black, female, single mother with three school-aged children, who works two jobs due to economic status, must deal with severe impacts, such as the strain of single-parenting, the lack of childcare when children are out of school, and the lack of financial stability or potentially job security.

I run through this example to emphasize that systemic inequality has significant impacts on intersectionally-marginalized peoples today, and that the important contributions of these marginalized groups to organizations remain unacknowledged, often due to the precarious and labour-intensive nature of the work that marginalized groups do for organizations (Segarra & Prasad, 2020). Their important contributions to organizations are not well-recognized, nor well-understood over time, and a moment like the present COVID-19 pandemic shows just how long impacts of racist structures and societies can be reproduced in the present. Their experiences, both now and historically, are important for MOS to explore and surface.

Intersectionality & History.

One of the overarching problems caused by a lack of feminist and antiracist research in management history is that intersectional analysis is (with a few recent exceptions) completely absent. There is little to no consideration of the *overlapping* impacts of systems of oppression, despite intersectional approaches being used for a significant amount of non-historical (present) research on discrimination in organizations and society. As discussed previously in this chapter, positivist approaches to studying the past in management simply act to reinforce existing dominant interpretations of ‘what happened’, while more complex, hidden, and violent histories of intersectional oppression in organizations are deemed illegitimate due to lack of evidence. IH is a feminist-

informed, postmodern approach to the study of the past which resists normative research conventions that act to reinforce this oppression in scholarly activities.

Toward Intersectional History

In this chapter, I have outlined my theorization of history as I employ it in IH. I have argued that the postmodernist approach to the study of the past is philosophically complementary to my positioning of intersectionality in Chapter Two. I have briefly reviewed some of the reasons why this particular approach to history is so useful, using support from the key theorists I draw from; namely, Jenkins, Munslow, and White. I have also addressed the use of historical approaches in MOS. My main concern in reviewing this area has been to point out the ongoing lack of attention to many normative systems of oppression that act to powerfully stratify our societal and organizational worlds, both in the past and the present. There is very little work on marginalized people, let alone intersectionally-marginalized people in historical work on organizations. The management field, like the field of empirical history, struggles to see alternative approaches to studying the past as legitimate, leading to a limited amount of work in the field as a whole. IH helps fill this hole in the management field, by modeling a critique-informed approach, and providing the defensible and justifiable philosophical legitimacy for approaching historical work in a different way, from different assumptions and ideologies.

In the next chapter, I lay out the theoretical framework of IH in full. I discuss how intersectionality and postmodern historiography can be brought together. I review in detail six core ideas from intersectionality (Collins, 2019) and four key ideas from

postmodernist historiography, and show how these two literatures can be brought together to provide possibilities for studying the past.

Chapter 4: Intersectional History

Introduction

I have provided my theorizations of intersectionality and history (the study of the past) in Chapters 2 and 3. In this chapter, I lay out the theoretical frame of intersectional history (IH) by combining the two concepts. I combine key ideas or components of each literature to generate four philosophical contours of IH. I suggest that by understanding IH through these contours, it is possible to approach historical research in MOS in a way that centers both the consideration of overlapping systems of oppression *and* an understanding of the study of the past as an outcome of power relations. In Chapter 6, I will show how this combination allows for novel alternatives to dominant accounts of the past.

I suggest that bringing a postmodern approach to the study of the past together with key constructs of intersectionality strengthens the ability to investigate overlapping systems of oppression over time. Likewise, without an intersectional lens that focuses specifically on surfacing alternative accounts that are situated not just in one form of oppression, but in multiple, overlapping accounts, the complexity of discrimination and oppression over time, across categorizations of people, is lost. While a postmodern approach to the past focuses partially on issues of oppression through interrogation of power relations and ideology, it does not feature a specific focus on the overlapping, socially-constructed categories of identity. Combining these two literatures in the theoretical framework of IH allows for both considerations to be a focus.

Chapter Outline.

I begin this chapter by providing the contours of IH. I focus on six key ideas from intersectionality (social inequality, relationality, complexity, social justice, power relations and social context) and four key ideas from postmodern historiography (narratives and ideologies, power relations, relativism, and meaning and interpretation). I frame IH by showing how these ideas overlap to engender each philosophical contour. I then discuss the possibilities of IH to inform issues in MOS.

Throughout the chapter, I continue to address the importance of IH as a way to help rectify the lack of intersectional work that explores the complex, overlapping systems of oppression and how they manifest over time in organizations and MOS.

The Philosophical Contours of Intersectional History

IH is a theoretical framework that combines the core ideas of intersectional thinking (Collins, 2019) with several of the main themes in postmodern historiography. In this section, I discuss how I bring the six core ideas together with the four themes to emerge with four key tenets, or contours. For each contour, I show how core ideas from both intersectionality and postmodern historiography (as theorized in prior chapters) inform it, thereby clearly delineating the philosophical alignment between a more critical theorization of intersectionality and postmodern historiography. Note that these four philosophical contours are not intended to encompass IH; instead, they are intended to show how the philosophical shape of this frame has come together. In chapter five, I do discuss moving from the theoretical framework and the four contours to the actual *doing*, or method, which is aligned with IH and its philosophical aims.

Contour One: Critique.

The first contour I suggest is critique. Critique refers to the disruption, denaturalization and destabilization of hegemonic assumptions about the nature of work, organizations, and management knowledge (Adler, 2008; Grey & Willmott, 2002). History, according to Durepos et al. (2019), is a vehicle for critique, in that historiographic choices can be made by the researcher in order to surface alternatives to authoritative accounts. Critique means demonstrating the possibility of alternatives to ‘the way things are’, and acknowledging the politics embedded in research and in knowledge production.

Critique as a contour of IH emerges from the addition of two core ideas of intersectionality (social inequality and social justice) and a core notion of postmodern historiography (narrative and ideology). Social inequality, as posited by Collins and Bilge (2019), is a crucial focus of intersectionality. However, the focus of critical intersectionality is not to simply explain the reasons for inequality, but rather to recognize that inequality is not natural or inevitable. However, social inequality has been naturalized in our society: we are told regularly that some people are better, stronger, smarter, than others. This naturalization of inequality is then used to defend a capitalist system – a system which thrives on reproducing that same inequality. Addressing social inequality as a core piece of intersectionality means destabilizing this naturalization and making apparent how relations of power are part of discursively producing particular configurations of social inequality. Similarly, social justice, as the second core idea contributing to the contour of critique, is what moves critical inquiry into the realm of critical praxis, by emphasizing the need for social action and change. Social action and

change from the lens of social justice involves critiquing and challenging the status quo, and emphasizing the possibility that through this critique, systems of oppression can be made more transparent, and eventually dismantled.

I suggest that narrative and ideology as a primary concern of postmodern historiography can also contribute to the contour of critique. Dominant narratives of the past are stories written by historians, whose authorial choices are influenced by ideologies. These dominant narratives serve to normalize and reinforce powerful ideologies, or meta-narratives/meta-discourses. By surfacing the role of narrative and ideology in postmodern historiography, it is possible to recognize the powerful, ideological reasons for the dominance of particular narratives, and thereby destabilize the truth-claims of dominant accounts of the past. Making plain narrative and ideology can be aligned with critique, as it again focuses on denaturalization and destabilization of taken-for-granted assumptions in order to produce possible alternative understandings.

These three ideas (inequality, social justice and narrative and ideology) when described by the term critique, are connected by their shared constitution as ways of destabilizing and denaturalizing through a skeptical approach to what is considered normal or natural. As a philosophical contour of IH, critique and its mandate for challenging hegemonic status quos, is an important constituent part.

Contour Two: Power Relations.

The second contour I suggest is power relations. Power relations refers to an understanding of power as exercised and maintained through sets of relations. Power relations also implies a recognition that these sets of relations are produced through

language, or discourse (Foucault, 1980; 1995/1975). These discourses are reproduced over time, systematically privileging some while marginalizing others; in other words, creating and maintaining a social order through systems of oppression (Clegg, 1989). Power relations help explain why changing ‘the way things are’ or ‘the way things have always been done’ is often so challenging. Systems of oppression that are erected over time and maintained through processes of power relations become part of the constitution of work and society (Foucault, 1995/1975). Power relations as a contour in IH underscores a focus on the language, discourse, and ideologies that help legitimize ‘the way things are’.

Power relations is an important concept for both intersectional thinking (Collins, 2019) and the study of the past (Jenkins, 1991). Power relations is described by Collins (2019) as a core idea of intersectionality. She suggests that, “Intersecting power relations produce social divisions of race, gender, class, sexuality, ability, age, country of origin and citizenship status that are unlikely to be adequately understood in isolation from one another” (p. 46). Without considering how intersecting power relations serve to produce and reproduce multiple, similar systems of oppression *through* these types of social divisions, it is difficult to consider how their *overlap* impacts and organizes social hierarchies.

Power relations is also an important concept in postmodern historiography. Engaging with the past is never a neutral exercise (Jenkins, 1991), meaning power relations need to be carefully considered. Relations of power will have impacted what materials from the past were even created and preserved, and relations of power in the present impact how knowledge about the past is produced. Power relations as a contour of

IH underscores the importance of discursive influences on how traces of the past were produced, preserved, and how they come to be understood over time. How the past is preserved and portrayed, through discourse and language, but also in formal settings like museums and archives (Barros, et al., 2018; Decker, 2013) is an outcome of relations of power. Consequently, it is important to consider and question any apparent neutrality of material from the past and reveal relations of power which are not always apparent, particularly when we attempt to access these relations through material of the past (Jenkins, 1991). Interrogating the impact of power relations on producing knowledge about the past is an epistemological choice, but one that is critical to the philosophical foundations of IH.

Contour Three: Reflexivity.

The third contour is reflexivity. Reflexivity refers to the understanding that research involves knowledge production that is from within the researcher themselves, and therefore requires questioning and curiosity of oneself and others about this process (Cunliffe, 2003, 2004). Reflexivity involves the researcher embracing: “an insecurity regarding the basic assumptions, discourses and practices used in describing reality” (Pollner, 1991, p. 370). It signals a precarious and insecure interaction with research materials, such as traces of the past, in order to question what assumptions and discourses they contain, and what truth claims they make. Reflexivity implies space for possibility: the possibility of ambiguity, of multiple versions of the past and of alternative understandings. This space for possibility emerges through a curiosity to one’s own role in producing knowledge about the past, one’s approach and decisions about how to incorporate or use materials that are contradictory, for example.

Reflexivity as a contour of IH reflects the overlap of relationality as a core idea of intersectionality, and relativism as a feature of postmodern historiography. Relationality reflects the need, in a critical theorizing of intersectionality, to move away from essentializing categories of difference and the systems of power they constitute (Collins, 2019). Relationality is a rejection of either/or thinking in favour of both/and thinking. By acknowledging that some document from the past, for example, can be *both* plausible *and* contradict other sources, relationality ultimately holds space for multiple possibilities that are acknowledged as socially-constructed. This helps center both/and questions in the researcher's insecurity towards traces, and feeds reflexivity.

Relativism is a term associated with postmodern thinking and historiography. Scholars often argue that relativism leaves people (and researchers) free to simply make things up (Jenkins, 1995). However, postmodern historiographers and other postmodern theorists argue that relativism simply means that nothing is absolutely *certain*, not that anything goes (Jenkins, 1991). Reality emerges through language and discourse, knowledge is produced via this reality, and because of the instability of language, all reality and knowledge must also be seen as unstable. Relativism acknowledges the instability of reality and knowledge production, while also acknowledging that some knowledge claims will be much more plausible and powerful than others. There is no absolute truth; rather, there is an acknowledgement of the instability of language and the need for skepticism toward all knowledge. While *in theory* relativism seems to suggest that 'anything goes', *in practice*, some knowledge claims are more plausible than others.

The value of reflexivity as a philosophical contour constituted from relationality and relativism is the possibility of both/and. There can be *both* a dominant version of an

organization's past *and* other plausible versions. This highlights the importance of being curious and insecure about material from the past and one's own role in interpretation and knowledge production. This is an important foundation of IH.

Contour Four: Complication.

The fourth contour I suggest is complication. Complication is intended to encompass the core ideas of social context and complexity from intersectionality and the idea of meaning or interpretation in postmodern historiography.

Social context and complexity are core ideas of intersectional thinking (Collins & Bilge, 2019). Social context is concerned with understanding, "the distinctive social locations of individuals and groups" (Collins, 2019, p. 47). Intersectional experiences and expressions must be contextualized to reflect specific social contexts (Collins & Bilge 2019, p. 33). This provides context for investigation into the social construction of identities and their overlap in multiple systems of oppression (McKinzie & Richards, 2019). That said, context is by no means a straightforward concept. The relationship of context to the past, for example, has been questioned for what it can mean and represent (McLaren & Durepos, 2019). Considering social context and what can be contextually known about the past is a complex concern for IH, and this complexity should be embraced and acknowledged.

Complexity in intersectionality refers to holding expectations of fluidity, multiplicity, ambiguity, and subjectivity in intersectional work. Complexity reiterates that research involving intersectionality will not have a recipe; there is no tidy, specific, correct way to understand or do intersectional work. Complexity is, "something that

deepens intersectional analysis” (Collins & Bilge, 2019, p. 34) by embracing the possibility and likelihood of mess.

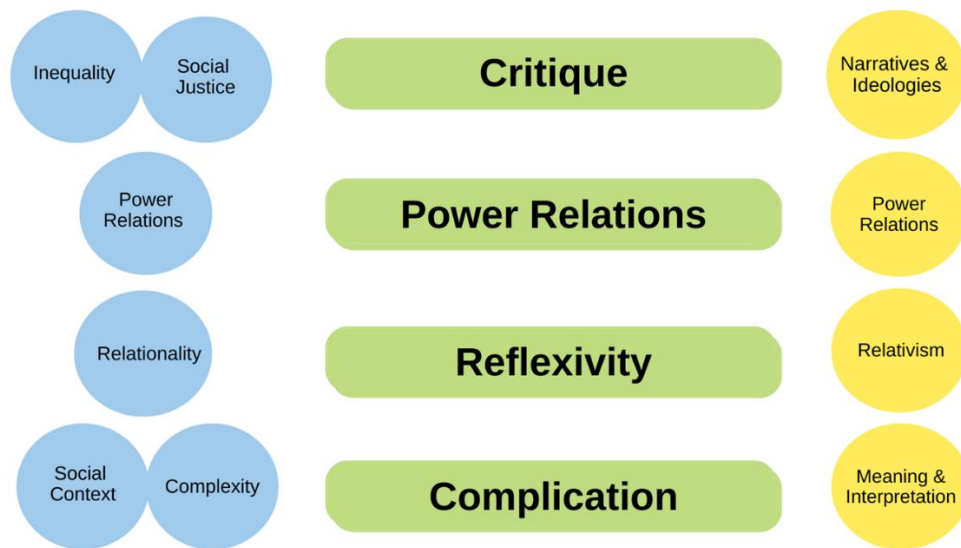
The notion of meaning in postmodern historiography refers to the complication of fact and interpretation. There are discrete facts, pieces of knowledge which we can point to and say we know, such as dates of significant events. However, “historians have ambitions, wishing to discover not only what happened but how and why and what these things meant and mean” (Jenkins, 1991, pp. 32-33). Interpretation is the process of meaning-making, and there can be many meanings made, because there is no single interpretation of facts that we can point to as definitive truth. Jenkins (1991) argues that “historians transform the events of the past into patterns of meaning that any literal representation of them as facts could never produce” (p. 33). Historians do this to tell a story, emplot a narrative, and from a postmodern perspective, the interpretations made to construct a story are diverse, complex, competing and contradictory. Interpretation of/from traces of the past masquerading as ‘facts’ requires embracing the mess and complication of possibility and plausibility in the process of producing knowledge about the past.

Together, social context, complexity and meaning or interpretation constitute the contour of complication. This contour helps emphasize that the epistemological positions of both my critical theorizing of intersectionality and a postmodern approach to studying the past are antipositivist. This contour encourages an embracing of the complications and messiness associated with rejecting objectivity-driven approaches.

These contours provide the general shape of IH from a philosophical and theoretical position. They are not meant to be a definition of IH or be representative of

what IH is, but rather they are intended to show how core ideas from each literature align with each other. This shows the commensurate theorizing of IH. As I stated earlier in the chapter, Chapter 5 will discuss moving from these contours to IH in practice.

Figure 4.1 The Contours of Intersectional History



Note. The figure above shows how the core ideas of intersectionality (blue) and key themes from postmodern historiography (yellow) contribute to the four contours of IH (green).

Intersectional History for Management & Organization Studies

I now move to discussing how IH meets an important need in MOS. I point to the need for more research on less-privileged accounts of the past in MOS and I reflect on the potential contribution of IH to destabilize dominant historical accounts of organizations that present a privileged perspective. Ultimately, I suggest that IH can help to center those at the margins of history, and that this centering is made legitimate through the theoretical underpinnings of IH.

IH and The Focus on [White] Men.

MOS has been criticized for over-focusing on [white] men (Phillips & Rippin, 2010a). Management in particular has long been associated with the privileged white man as founder, entrepreneur, and business leader. As a result of management and business being ongoingly constructed as a man's domain, much of the work in MOS focuses on the exploits of men and relies on traces of the past which have been preserved through the power relations of men (Mills, 2002; Phillips & Rippin, 2010b). These men often hold key roles in an organization, such as founder, and their histories are preserved because of the importance their roles afford them. As a result, the stories of men continue to dominate MOS. Much of the work concerned with identity, oppression and discrimination in the field of MOS continues to reproduce problematic understandings of women and minorities in organizations. Even in those articles that focus on inequity and historical injustices, that inequity is often brought to the present in an oversimplified way, addressed through strategies for 'fitting in', as opposed to dismantling an oppressive system (Hearn, 2014). IH helps with this issue because it provides a theoretical framework to help justify an alternative approach to producing knowledge about the past. An intersectional alternative approach in particular could help challenge the dominant focus on men in historical MOS work to date.

IH and The Silence of the Others.

Another reason why IH is necessary is the ongoing lack of research on issues and experiences of identity-based discrimination. The point of view of the marginalized

'other' is rarely heard in management research, despite ongoing evidence of the exploitative nature of profit-driven neoliberalism and its disproportionate effects on those in vulnerable and marginalized positions (Alamgir & Banerjee, 2019; Banerjee, 2020; Crane, 2013). There are exceptions; for example, Mills and Helms Mills have written extensively about gender, race, discrimination, and the identity-blind approach to the production of management knowledge, as well about the experiences of those marginalized as 'other' (Hendricks, et al., 2019; Mills, 1988, 1995, 1998, 2002; Mills & Helms Mills, 2006; Paludi & Helms Mills, 2013; Williams & Mills, 2017). There has also been some focus on organizations as gendered, racialized and discriminatory (Acker, 1990, 1992; Britton & Logan, 2008; Zanoni et al., 2010). Despite these enclaves of research, there is a disproportionate lack of work on intersectional, identity-based discrimination when considering the broader canon of management research. This lack of research serves to silence alternative perspectives and experiences and helps make the case for IH.

IH and The Claim to Neutrality.

Historical research on management thought in MOS that focuses on theories and phenomena of management practice, is often written as though it is genderless and/or raceless (Mills, 2002; Mills & Helms Mills, 2006). The use of positivist approaches in management has conferred an assumption of neutrality within management theorizing. This has led to the exclusion of complex issues such as gendering in organizations (Acker, 2006). While management theories, such as Frederick W. Taylor's scientific management (Taylor, 1911/1967) are presented under the guise of neutrality, the

embedded assumptions of managers as men are reproduced over time. An outcome of the avowed neutrality that has, in fact, concealed a bias towards white men, is that the management knowledge and theories relied upon today have been produced from a very singular point of view. Management knowledge through MOS has been largely predicated on assumptions from the male perspective. This is another aspect of the field where the white male is afforded a privileged position. IH can chip away at claims to neutrality that emerge through historiography on management thought by pointing out the power relations inherent in the production, preservation, and reproduction of management as a male domain.

IH and The Women in MAN-agement.

I suggest that another reason why IH is necessary in the MOS field is that it can be used to destabilize the historical discourses that have led to the women-in-management subfield. This subfield is focused on research that explores how women can succeed in organizations (Calás & Smircich, 1996a; Davidson & Burke, 2016). This type of research is concerned with dictating how women in management should act, speak, stand, sit and even lean – in, that is (Sandberg, 2013), or out (Brands & Fernandez-Mateo, 2017)! It is also concerned with issues like what women should wear, what type of leader they should be, and how they can leverage their emotional intelligence, based on the perceptions of others (men and ‘queen bees’), who may dismiss their potential (Johnson & Mathur-Helm, 2011; Mavin, 2006, 2008; Sabharwal, 2015; Vinkenburg et al., 2011). The women-in-management field also features cameos from industrial organizational psychology,

which has long focused on identifying sex differences in various contexts (Anderson et al., 2006; Eagly et al., 2003; Gardiner & Tiggemann, 1999).

While the women-in-management research focuses on women, it is critiqued for the way it focuses primarily on white women, and the ways they can work *within* a gendered system. The lack of problematization of this system (which is also racialized), actually acts as reinforcement for its ongoing legacy. Women-in-management are encouraged to fit in, not change, the system. IH can be employed as a way to challenge the ongoing reproduction of this system by destabilizing the foundations upon which it is based.

IH and The Production of Knowledge.

Another way that management research maintains its masculine assumptions is through the actual epistemological choices normalized in the field. Positivism has been thoroughly institutionalized in MOS, not simply as an approach to producing knowledge, but as an ideology that demands rationality, objectivity, and conformity to strict disciplinary norms for one's work to be considered valuable and high-quality. This obsession with rationality and objectivity is a masculine view; it is a masculine epistemology for producing knowledge about *men* at work.

The pervasiveness of detached, objective, positivist approaches in MOS has made it challenging to produce management knowledge from alternative perspectives, such as feminist or antipositivist-informed positions. Research that deviates from the norm is often considered to be illegitimate, low-quality, and not suitable for top journals in the field. Suffice to say that intersectional thinking is not the norm in management thought.

Instead, the few articles focusing on women and minorities often treat their complex identities as demographic variables, or use stereotyped, reified notions of identity in their explorations (Clarke & Arnold, 2017). These types of approaches to research when studying women and minorities often fail to account for socially-constructed notions of identity and result in a simplification of the complex ways that these identities overlap. This reinforces oversimplified understandings of women and minorities in organizations (for example, the enduring mythology of the queen bee syndrome) and can reproduce problematic stereotypes (Derks et al., 2016).

MOS maintains its male dominance through the reproduction of these positivist-derived expectations for producing knowledge, which is why alternative models and approaches, such as IH, are important for challenging the status quo. In order to dismantle the hegemony of the male view in MOS, novel, creative, critical and theoretically-defensible approaches to producing alternative understandings of organizations over time are necessary. I suggest that the theoretical framework of IH can contribute to the important task of producing alternative knowledge.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the four philosophical contours of IH, which I derive from core ideas in intersectional thinking and key concepts of postmodern historiography. These four philosophical contours help refine the purpose and aim of IH research; namely, that IH research should be motivated by a commitment to critique and revealing power relations, concern with reflexivity and comfort with complication. These contours are not what IH is, but rather what ideological aims IH is for.

Embracing a postmodern approach to the study of the past *and* centering intersectional thinking about the overlapping oppressions that emerge for those at intersections of multiple, socially-constructed categories of identities, encourages and legitimizes surfacing alternative versions of the past in organizations. This can help produce plausible narratives of those made invisible by privileged, hegemonic accounts of organizations over time. This is an important contribution of IH in a field where ontological, epistemological and methodological approaches continue to be deeply influenced by the specter of source-driven, positivist, rational and objective historiography and management thought.

In the next chapter, I will turn from theorizing IH to applying IH in practice. I discuss the nature and conditions of archives as hosts of traces of the past and the challenges of IH in these settings. I then discuss Qantas and the material I rely upon in more detail and provide an overview of the dominant accounts of the organization's past. I also discuss a process of 'doing' IH that entails moving through three stages of analysis to consider individual experiences, socially-constructed categories of identity, and overlapping systems of oppression.

Chapter 5: Doing Intersectional History

Introduction

The previous chapter posits that IH combines a critical approach to intersectionality with postmodernist historiography. I suggest that this combination results in a useful model for studying organizations over time, and that this approach, IH, is particularly important for surfacing non-dominant understandings of the past. By combining intersectionality and postmodern historiography, alternative understandings of the past can be surfaced, and I suggest that these alternative understandings which specifically focus on the plausible experiences of those intersectionally-marginalized are not adequately accessible or investigated through traditional historiographic methods in MOS. The reason why the stories of intersectionalized people in organizations over time often go untold via traditional historiographic approaches is at least partially the result of the need for evidence that underpins traditional approaches (Cook, 2001). However, power relations ultimately impact what traces of the past are preserved, and what stories of the past are reproduced. For this reason, in order to examine the way socially-constructed categories of identity overlap to create and maintain systems of oppression, an alternative approach to the study of the past which is skeptical toward the truth claims of evidence is necessary. IH introduces the possibility of surfacing new stories of the past by accounting for, and searching through and beyond, the evidence of authoritative accounts in order to denaturalize systems of oppression.

Chapter Outline.

In this chapter, I explore the challenges and opportunities for moving IH from a theoretical framework to an approach that can inform praxis. I discuss the nature of the

archive, then move to my own archival experience collecting material on Qantas. I explain the path-clearing approach (Ahmed, 2019) that I take to analyze the material I use and provide a dominant version of Qantas history that outlines the general trajectory of the organization through the 20th century. This helps provide context for my analysis in Chapter 6.

The Nature of the Archive/*Archive*

Studying the past requires work on archival traces, often in archival spaces (Barros, 2016). However, the conceptualization of the term *archive*⁹ is varied. Much like the terms ‘intersectionality’ and ‘history’, *archive* can be understood from a more realist or objectivist position. When approached this way, an archive is simply a static place containing passive, impartial documents (Cook, 2001). The nature of the *archive*, from this realist perspective, is an outcome of rigorous practices of collection and preservation which serve the state or the public interest. While the configuration of spaces where sets of documents are held may change – for example, as digitizing becomes more prolific – the theory and method of archival science is based on producing a neutral record of what happened, or what mattered (Ribeiro, 2001). Organizing an archive requires a rational and systematic – i.e., scientific – approach to the nature of *archive*. There are debates within archival science about conceptualizing the nature of the *archive* this way (Cook, 2001), but much of the discipline has developed a lean “toward the scientific construction of archival knowledge” (Ribeiro, 2001, p. 310) as the true nature of the *archive*.

⁹ I follow Mills and Helms Mills (2011) in using *archive* to denote the term as a concept, and archive to refer to the archive as a physical space.

What this approach to *archive* lacks is a recognition of power relations. While traditional archivists will admit that issues of power impact what is considered important for archives to preserve and maintain, there is less ready acceptance of the discursive role of the *archive* in creating rules about how knowledge about the past is produced. This is in contrast to postmodern understandings of *archive*, which urge us to denaturalize documents and other materials as given. For example, Cook (2001) writes:

Fact in texts cannot be separated from their on-going and past interpretation, nor author from subject or audience, nor author from authoring, nor authoring from context. Nothing is neutral. Nothing is impartial. Nothing is objective. Everything is shaped, presented, represented, re-presented, symbolized, signified, signed, constructed by the speaker, photographer, writer, for a set purpose. (Cook, 2001, p. 7)

As Cook (2001) writes, postmodern theorizations of *archive* point to concerns about interpretation and the insufficiency of truth claims that are made from understanding the *archive* as focused on preserving static texts.

I will now further explore the nature of the *archive* from postmodernist understandings. By reviewing what an *archive* is, what it might be, what it contains, and what it confers, I will lay out my own conceptualization of *archive* to help facilitate an understanding of the term that is aligned with the philosophical contours of IH.

What is an *archive*?

Stoler (2002) answers this question (what is an *archive*?) by suggesting that “scholars should view archives not as sites of knowledge retrieval, but of knowledge production” (p. 87). For those who claim a postmodern position, such as I do, this quote

aptly demonstrates the alternate view of the *archive*. While more traditional users of archives may view them as places where things can be found, put together, and ordered into a cohesive narrative, the postmodern approach acknowledges the role of the user in the production of knowledge about the past, in the present (Steedman, 2008). By engaging with archival spaces, users of archives become part of the *archive*, as their position and approach to archiving ultimately influences what is produced about that which is contained within a site of archival activity. However, a user of archival space is also impacted by the discursive power of the *archive*. Foucault (1969[1972]), suggests that the *archive* acts as a set of rules that act to constrain what knowledge is produced and how, from what remains from the past. The discursive power of the *archive*, then, influences what a user of an archival space may produce about the material contained within the structure.

This epistemological instability and the discursive condition of *archive* means that the question of what an *archive* is becomes challenging to answer because it is always in flux. As de Certeau (1975/1988) writes, an *archive* involves, “the combination of a *group* (the “scholars”), of *places* (“libraries”), and *practices* (of copying, printing, communication, classification, etc.)” (pp. 81-82). The mutual constitution of knowledge, usually about the past, that is impacted by those constituting it, the places they search, and the practices in which they engage, all contribute to the *archive* as something that is not clear and definable. Instead, it is always changing, mediated by these groups, places, and practices. For me, the *archive* is unstable, untrustworthy, and non-neutral, impacted by myself and others in subtle and not-so-subtle ways as we attempt to understand the rules it conveys and the knowledge that can be produced from it. What becomes difficult about

recognizing the *archive* as mutually constituted and a discursive force is that the archival spaces in which *archive* can be located become complex. This brings me to my next question, what are archives?

What is an archive?

Archives, as I use the term in this thesis, are the spaces within which an *archive* is discursively located. Archives may be cohesive or chaotic spaces. They may be formal, or informal. They may feature carefully curated collections or disparate threads of documents. They may be digital or material. They may be open or closed. There are many possible configurations for what archives, as particular physical or non-physical locations may be or not be. Just like *archive*, archives do not have one understanding, they are not one type of place, and they are not neutral ground. Instead, archival spaces are many and varied (Moore, et al., 2016). Archives are boxes in an office, haphazardly gathered in a sudden move; they are forgotten drawers in a filing cabinet in our basements. They are Instagram profiles and cached webpages (Geiger, et al., 2010). They are warehouses and libraries and storage lockers. They are buildings and districts in cities and cities themselves¹⁰. Archival spaces, as ontologically present, host the *archive*, as epistemologically discursive and socially-constructed, in infinite ways. This broad variation of archives, as spaces through which the nature of the *archive* is accessed, adds to the complexity of archival research.

¹⁰ The boxes in an office and drawers in filing cabinets are familiar. Warehouses, and libraries and storage lockers too. Less familiar as archives are Instagram pages – documenting our pasts in an ever-extending present; web caches that retrieve version after version of the past; and the way that the design of buildings, roads and cities communicate traces of the past and its contours in the shape of their possibility and constraint.

So, the nature of an *archive* is conceptualized as a discursive set of rules, according to which knowledge about the past is produced, in the present. Comparatively, archives are the spaces and configurations of space – physical and non-physical – through which these sets of rules are discursively constructed and reproduced. Knowledge production, according to these rules, within these spaces, results from engaging with traces of the past; in other words, doing archival research.

What is archival research?

The claim that I am doing archival research can cover a multitude of practices. Archival research usually involves the unboxing – both literal and figurative – of traces of the past. This process can be steeped in concerns of rigour, evidence, and source veracity, but it can also be guided by postmodernist approaches. Postmodern approaches to archival research are focused less on rigour and neutrality, and instead tend to focus on interrogating traces of the past for what they contain beneath the surface. From a postmodern perspective, archival research does not involve retrieving and accepting the claims of the archives at face-value. Instead, the alleged facts that emerge out of the material from the past are considered for how they contain hidden, disciplinary discourses that impact how knowledge is produced in the present, and how it was preserved as part of an untrustworthy past (Stoler, 2002).

What is archival research in organizations?

Archival research in MOS often takes place in organizational (also called institutional) archives. Institutional archives maintained by private or non-profit organizations to preserve their own pasts increased significantly in the 20th century, as the

proliferation of documentation via various advancing technologies meant that organizations required structures (physical and processual) for holding and managing important records (Ribeiro, 2001). Institutional archives are somewhat unique in that the collection and preservation of material is impacted by “recognizing that the first duty is to the institution” (Yakel, 1989, p. 204). This means that organizational members can intentionally or unintentionally choose to curate what is kept in institutional archives, by designing processes which determine the worth or value of material according to their own needs and narratives (Popp & Fellman, 2020). As a result, institutional *archives* are often treated with suspicion. However, it is important to recognize that the power relations involved in constituting an institutional *archive* are simply more apparent here than the power relations involved in constituting a public or state *archive*. When engaged in archival work, regardless of the site of the archive, it is important to remember that archives are “organized by human beings with an interest in making certain things visible, while others might be taken out of sight” (Schwarzkopf, 2012, p. 3). This helps situate how I approached archival research while collecting material on Qantas, a collection that took place in both Qantas’s institutional archive and a more traditional archival space, the State Library of New South Wales.

In the next section, I continue to unbox the *archive* by recounting the archives that I consulted for the material used in this thesis. Through this discussion, I further situate how I understand an *archive*, how archives impact the process of archival research, and what that archival research may look like when approached through IH.

The Qantas Materials

The materials that I rely upon in this thesis come from a variety of different archival spaces. When I began to study Qantas, it was under the umbrella of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC)-funded, long-term project by Mills and Helms Mills. They have conducted thorough research over at least twenty years on three airlines – Air Canada, British Airways, and Pan Am. Qantas was the fourth airline that they identified for analysis. Since 2015, I have been learning about Qantas via a wide variety of materials, such as histories of the airline, their online website and digital presence, and via newspaper records available online. As part of Mills and Helms Mills' airline project, I was able to travel with them to Sydney, Australia, in February 2018, to gather Qantas archival material. In the following subsections, I will discuss the initial materials that I relied upon to learn about Qantas, and then move to a more in-depth discussion of gathering archival material in Sydney.

The Qantas Histories.

When I began to study Qantas, I began with books about the organization. Specifically, I read histories of the airline. This echoes the process that Mills and Helms Mills (2011) have employed in their larger project when they have studied Air Canada, British Airways, and Pan Am. Starting with written histories of the airline has a number of benefits. Primarily, it provides a general background of the airline. While recognizing that a history of the airline is just one version of the organization's past, reading multiple histories means that common threads and general context emerges from these multiple accounts.

The Fysh Series.

The first time I searched for histories written about Qantas, I realized that one of the cofounders of Qantas, Hudson Fysh, had written a trilogy of histories about the airline. Fysh is part of the so-called origin story of Qantas, acknowledged as instrumental in starting the airline. He was involved in Qantas for 46 years, holding the role of managing director of Qantas for approximately 35 years, and chairman of the board for nineteen. When Fysh retired in 1966, he devoted his energy to writing a history of the airline. This history eventually took the form of three books: *Qantas Rising* (Fysh, 1966), *Qantas at War* (1968) and *Qantas: Wings to the world* (1970). Together, these three books spanned Fysh's entire career at Qantas. *Qantas Rising* also acts as a sort of memoir for Fysh, as the first few chapters cover his ancestry, his upbringing, his personality quirks, and his experience fighting in Gallipoli with Australia in the First World War. Fysh then connects the rise of Australia as a respectable nation on the world stage, to the need for an airline connecting the vast lands of Queensland and the Northern Territory to more "civilized" areas of Australia. *Qantas Rising* covers the founding and growth of the airline, according to Fysh's own notes and recollections, as well as accounts and interviews with other former employees and associates of the airline. *Qantas at War* then covers the approximate period of 1935-1950. During these years, Qantas underwent a number of significant changes and challenges, including a partnership with Imperial Airways in the UK, moving the organization's headquarters to Sydney, and working with the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) to support the war efforts in the Pacific. It is somewhat less focused on Fysh's own life. *Qantas: Wings to the World* covers the last years of Fysh's career and details Qantas's growth in the airline industry, as well as the

organization's support of the International Air Transport Authority (IATA). Again, this book is less autobiographical than the two before it.

Fysh's histories of Qantas are just one version of the organization's story. Fysh writes at some length about his attempts to ensure that the version he shares is correct, expounding on his focus to remove his own bias from the books. That said, as with all histories, Fysh's version of the past is not neutral. He brings his perspective and privilege as Qantas's cofounder into the narrative that he writes. (This perspective is made more complex by Fysh's view that he had been pushed into retirement, leaving him resentful towards the Qantas Board at the time. He writes somewhat openly about this in *Qantas: Wings to the World*.) Regardless of his position and point of view, Fysh's histories do provide a thorough, chronological version of the Qantas story, as he sees it, and his books were, according to Fysh's own assessment, positively received when published (Fysh, 1968, 1969).

The Gunn Series.

Not long after Fysh's trilogy was published and disseminated, Qantas commissioned Australian historian John Gunn to write a company history. Gunn, like Fysh, wrote a trilogy: *The Defeat of Distance* in 1985, *Challenging Horizons* in 1987, and *High Corridors* in 1988. Gunn describes Qantas's involvement, writing that, "Although the publication of the history has been strongly supported by Qantas, and I have been given full access to the records of the company, there have been no constraints of any kind on what I have chosen to include" (Gunn, 1985, p. xvi). Gunn's version of Qantas's history was not markedly different from Fysh's, except in its discussion of management – where Fysh is less favourably portrayed than in his own texts. Qantas, perhaps nervous

about Fysh's books representing the organization, supported and endorsed Gunn's trilogy, in an apparent attempt to have an official history of record.

Assessing the Trilogies.

I pause here to focus more closely on these two trilogies. Together, they provide a very detailed and comprehensive version of Qantas's history as an organization. Both writers attest to their focus on getting the truth out via facts and verifiable sources, and both trilogies focus on the growth of Qantas from a tiny, foolhardy business to an international airline flying millions of miles around the world each year. As I stated above, there are not many marked differences between the two sets; Gunn's books are more detailed and drier than Fysh's, but both trilogies contend to be the authoritative account of Qantas's history. Gunn and Fysh tell two versions of the past in their respective trilogies but they both focus on the founders and other crucial men who assisted with the airline's growth. Much of the material that is currently touted as important to the organization's history appears to flow from the narrative laid out in the trilogies. Through my case example in the proceeding chapter, I will provide alternative versions and stories to the dominant Fysh-Gunn narratives.

The State Library of New South Wales.

Having read the two trilogies, I turned to investigating what archival materials may exist on Qantas. The State Library of New South Wales (SLNSW) in Sydney, Australia has a number of archival records related to Qantas. The majority of the material that I use in my analysis was gathered from this site. Not only does the SLNSW hold a number of Qantas staff newspapers, Qantas magazines, and annual reports, but it is also the home of the Fysh collection. Fysh bequeathed the majority of his private papers

relating to Qantas to the SLNSW. Fysh felt that it was important that the history of Qantas and its role in Australian life and history be preserved, though he did not see himself as a historian. While the library did have some of its own holdings, the Fysh papers contain extensive materials, including documentation related to the airlines founding, meeting minutes, personal and professional correspondence, staff records, newspaper articles, staff newsletters, and advertisements. For someone researching Qantas, the Fysh papers are a trove of chronologically-ordered document sources.

Accessing the Material

The amount of material contained within the Fysh papers was a bit overwhelming. After flying 24 hours from Nova Scotia, Canada, I had ten working days in Sydney to collect as much as possible from the SLNSW. While I had been in touch with the librarians, ordered off-site boxes, and completed the administrative necessities for accessing the library's materials – namely, a library card! – being confronted with ‘the boxes’ on the first day was a nerve-wracking experience. The anticipation of what I might find, or the possibility of finding very little, weighed on me heavily.

So how did I collect the materials? The SLNSW dictated a large part of the collection process through their rules and regulations for access. Each morning, I would place all my belongings excepting a pencil, a notebook and my camera in a coatroom locker. Then I would go to the circulation desk of the Mitchell Library, one of the library spaces in the SLNSW, and ask for my cart of boxes to be wheeled out from a mysterious adjacent room. This cart would hold material that I had requested to keep for another day, as well as material requested from storage, or offsite, which was filled during off-hours. Once I had my cart, I was able to sign out one box at a time from the cart. Each time I

took a box, it was recorded and weighed. When I returned the box, it was again recorded and weighed. This process was at times tedious due to the number of other researchers lining up for their box weigh-ins, and it was at times frustrating to not be able to cross-reference documents from different boxes. However, this is fairly standard archival practice in my (albeit limited) experience.

Thankfully, beyond the sign-out and weigh-in procedures and the fact that we were permitted limited belongings, the rules of the Mitchell Library at the SLNSW were relatively lenient. For example, we did not have to wear gloves to access the documents, we were allowed pencils, and we were allowed to take non-flash photos of any material. This is broadly how I collected. I would photograph as much as I could, taking notes of particular interesting documents or features from time to time. Mainly, the time constraint for this collection period meant that I photographed steadily. Each evening, I would download all my pictures, organize them as much as possible, and back them up. In the ten days I spent at the SLNSW, I collected at least 500 GB of photographs. The material that I collected, along with my supervisors, consisted of documents from almost every year of Qantas, from 1919/20 to approximately 2013. Between my focus on the Fysh papers, and Albert (Mills) and Jean's (Helms Mills) focus on the SLNSW staff newspaper collections, we were able to get a huge amount of material to take home to Canada for compilation and analysis.

The Qantas Collection.

In addition to the SLNSW, we also visited the Qantas Heritage Museum to collect documents. The museum is located in the Qantas domestic terminal of the Sydney airport.

The museum is open to the public and features a number of exhibits showcasing Qantas over the years, as well as some information relating to air transport in Australia more generally. Tucked away behind the exhibits in a small room is the organizational archive – the Qantas Collection. The Collection was initiated by Qantas employees, who were concerned about the number of records that could be lost when Qantas privatized in the 1990s. Over time, the collection has become a more formalized part of the company, especially with the development of the museum, which serves as an attraction for the public.

Accessing the Qantas Collection.

The archive at Sydney Airport is managed by an archivist and several volunteers. The archivist was happy to provide us access to the collection; however, he was only on site at the museum one or two days a week, which limited our access to a one-day visit. This was the main reason for us focusing on the Fysh papers and the SLNSW records. Some of the material that I analyze in the next chapter comes from this site. Much of what we were able to access had some overlap with the holdings at the SLNSW. While it was useful to see the archive, its general holdings, and the Heritage Museum, we were confident that the SLNSW was a more fruitful site for gathering material.

Managing the Materials.

Much of what I draw on for analysis in Chapter Six comes from the Fysh papers. This is significant because these are materials that he, as a co-founder of the organization, retained. Therefore, while the material tells a story about the organization, it is a story steeped to some degree in Fysh's perspective. That said, Fysh did include such things as

staff newsletters, memos to staff, and annual reports. There was some overlap between the SLNSW-procured holdings and the bequeathed Fysh papers. For example, both collections contained staff newsletters and annual reports. The expansiveness of the Fysh papers means that, in a sense, I use the Fysh papers *as the* organizational archive for Qantas.

This expansiveness also meant that when I returned from Australia, I had a huge amount of material to sort through and organize. In the archive, my process was to photograph each page of each document. Afraid of missing key articles or information, I would attempt to recreate each record by photographing it in full. This meant that I had many single photographs of multi-page documents that needed to be compiled, so I created PDF files, which combined the multiple JPEGs of a single record into one file. To do this, I used Adobe Acrobat to create PDFs which combined the JPEGs of a record into one file. The single file PDF would also be much smaller, thereby freeing up storage space. I used the notes that I took daily while collecting material to ensure I stayed cognizant of what record came from where, and as a check and balance to make sure that what I had organized matched with my notes of what I collected.

Once I had created the PDFs, I needed to organize the material in a way that made sense, not just for me, but for all of the researchers connected to the broader airline project, who might engage with the material collected. I created folders for each broad type of material collected. For example, 'Annual Reports' is a folder title. Each annual report I collected is saved as a PDF using an abbreviated folder title and the year; for example, AR 1937. For other documents, such as staff newsletters, I followed a similar process but saved these records according to week (where applicable), month and year. I

saved these in folders sorted by decade and then year. While there are other ways I could have chosen to organize the material, this groups together the various types of records collected and clearly indicates what time period they are associated with. In organizing the material, these chronological sub-sections are useful because of the familiarity of time as an organizing principle. This sort of system allows for both chronological analyses, and comprehensive analyses of various *types* of materials over time and provides an overarching narrative of the organization through the past 100 years.

Overall, the sorting, compiling, saving and backing up of material took several weeks. By the end of the process, all of the material that had been collected on the trip was compiled into a new archive – our own. Over time, we’ve added more materials that were not collected directly from the SLNSW or the Qantas Collection. These include things such as books about the organization, website material posted by Qantas, newspaper records from the Australian Trove database, company videos and advertisements with transcriptions, and images posted on social media by the Qantas Founder’s Museum in Longreach¹¹. Because of the breadth of content available, I have not used all of the material, but I have made efforts to be familiar with and review it all, in order to facilitate the generating of alternative, intersectional versions of the organization’s past.

¹¹ The Qantas Founders Museum in Longreach is a non-profit museum that is not affiliated with Qantas, the company. About themselves, they share “We are an independent not-for-profit community organization and registered charity, operating since 1996, to commemorate the ethos and preserve the material heritage of Qantas Airways Ltd... We enjoy an excellent and close working relationship with Qantas” (About Qantas Founders Museum, 2021). Unfortunately, it was not feasible to visit them during our trip.

A Note on Ambiguity.

My analysis of the material for this dissertation did not begin after collecting the material. Rather, the analytical process has been ongoing, since I first began to focus on Qantas. This is one point about IH that is important to note: it does not unfold in a step-by-step fashion, as it may seem at times in this chapter. Instead, it is an ongoing, iterative, and emergent process. As such, my analysis occurred not just in the interaction with the collected material, but also during the collection and cataloguing process and throughout my ongoing learning and reading about the organization.

In keeping with this iterative and interactional (Collins, 2019) process, I suggest that engaging in an analysis of material using an IH-informed approach may take many forms. How IH manifests (if others ever use it) will vary based on research foci and questions, the type of material used for the research, the accessibility of archives, and other related factors. Sitting with this ambiguity is uncomfortable. For a long time, I struggled to force IH into a methodological form. I wanted to develop a ‘how-to’ guide, however-so-much such a guide disregards the philosophical assumptions underpinning IH. Instead, I’ve come around to the need for ambiguity. I embrace the loose shape of IH’s philosophical contours and do not provide a distinct method. That said, in the next section, I discuss the notion of clearing paths (Ahmed, 2019) as a way to approach the analysis. I also explain the specific form this path-clearing took in my own analysis.

The Analysis

When I considered how to bring IH into the analytical process, I struggled to identify a non-prescriptive way of analyzing the material. The philosophical contours of

IH provide the theoretical foundation from which I begin, but translating these contours through practice is not particular to a single method, and IH is not intended as a methodological approach. But how could I move the philosophical contours forward to inform praxis and generate intersectional insights? Ultimately, I landed on a metaphor of clearing paths as a way to envision the analytical process.

Clearing Paths.

This metaphor is drawn from Sarah Ahmed's (2019) book on the concept of use. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, Ahmed writes, "The more a path is used, the more a path is used" (p. 40). This epigram concisely shows the impact of reproducing something, like a discourse, over time. The more it is reproduced, the more fixed, permanent and legitimate it becomes, because it grows familiar and easy. Dominant, familiar signposts pointing the way— brightly painted with bold lettering — signal paths that are well-used. In the *archive* these paths are the discursive rules governing how knowledge about the past is produced. To uncover intersectional history from this dominant path would be fruitless, because although the paths are well-trodden, they take you to a common, popular destination — or, interpretation. Often, even attempts to use different paths deliver one to the same place. *Reliance on more obvious signposts often results in similar constitutions of knowledge about the past.* I suggest that exploring intersectionality over time through a traditional, empirical-type method of doing history would not be fruitful, because these methods are the same paths which have failed to surface alternative accounts of the past thus far. Instead, by approaching the material with the philosophical contours of IH as the guiding frame, and interrogating traces of the past with a recognition that the preservation

of those traces is an outcome of power relations, it is possible to uncover forgotten paths or forge new ones. And when we, as researchers, problematize the material, and explore where that hidden signpost for an overgrown path takes us, we play a role in untangling what obscures it, making it easier to travel and more accessible for others. Taking inspiration from Ahmed, I might summarize this as: *the more we follow the forgotten signposts of intersectional-based oppression, the more we follow the forgotten signposts of intersectional-based oppression.*

I spend a lot of time in the woods with my dog. We walk, and I think, and in the summer of 2020, I began to think through how this idea of use could be useful in my thesis. The metaphor of path-clearing emerged from this context.

The metaphor.

The material is a forest. Parts of the forest are easily accessed; a clear road or track runs through it. You walk through this forest regularly, and you know your way along this track. You know the terrain. However, as you repeatedly journey through this forest, you begin to notice other possibilities for paths. With curiosity, you begin to recognize the subtle remnants of disused, overgrown, forgotten paths, where once something, going somewhere, could have been. These imperceptible hints of paths could be false flags; they may peter out as soon as you try to traverse them. But suppose you take a path, and it leads you somewhere. If you clear the path; if you try to use it; if you explore what has been forgotten along it and what has been allowed to grow over, perhaps it is possible to emerge into a space or place or interpretation that contains the remnants of something different. You've always been able to get there, but the paths to it were overgrown, and it was always easier to take the path already cleared. And once you

start to clear the paths, you realize how much of the forest you had missed before, when you thought you knew it so well.

The process.

So, how could I take the philosophical contours of IH, use them to inform my analysis and combine them with this metaphor? What I suggest is a three part-process: familiarize, interrogate, and generate. Familiarizing involves becoming broadly knowledgeable about the material, reviewing at least once to develop a general understanding of the dominant accounts that characterize it. This is surveying the forest, assessing its existing paths, and becoming comfortable in the environment. Interrogating involves taking a closer, more detailed look at the material, asking why some things are included in some places and excluded in others; considering themes that appear and discourses that emerge; and, looking specifically for individuals or accounts in the material that reflect overlapping categories of identity, or more broadly, marginalization and/or privilege of some sort. This is the searching of the forest and its now familiar terrain, exploring and looking specifically for places where possible paths could have once been. Finally, generating involves producing alternative accounts of the past, alternative understandings of how things are or have been, and crafting insights specific to intersectionality and the impacts of overlapping oppression. This is the splitting off from the main path(s), following the subtle signs and clearing the forgotten paths.

My process.

To begin my analysis, I followed the three-step process above. I familiarized myself with as much material related to Qantas as I could. I then went through the material more carefully, interrogating by paying attention to subtleties and changes,

language and identities, and exploring power relations through processes of privilege and marginalization. I paid attention to what and who was within the material, but also what and who was not included. Then I moved to generating.

In the generating stage, I focused on three main things: **the individuals, the categories and the systems**. I identified individuals – women and people of colour, primarily – who appeared in the material in seemingly marginalized ways. I problematized the notion of ‘appeared’, searching for small clues in language and seeking out information about specific individuals I saw mentioned or photographed. I then considered whether this marginalization could be an outcome of categories of identity and sought to associate individuals with various categories, such as gender, race, age, class, sexuality, ethnicity, and others.

It was difficult to assign some individuals to categories due to the challenges of interpreting text and/or images for aspects of difference that are often invisible, and this is a process I try to be reflexive about in the next chapter. However, the main purpose of this categorization was to surface what shared, identity-based characteristics seemed to result in individuals and groups being marginalized or hidden in the material. I asked, in what way are these individuals being segregated into these categories through language and discourse? And how are these categories themselves being produced and reproduced in the material, reifying particular constructions of these categories to denote who deserves privileging and marginalizing? I then began to consider how these categories intersected to produce multiple, overlapping systems of oppression. I evaluated how these systems of oppression change over time, and connected these systems of oppression, such as sexism, racism, and colonialism with the construction and endurance of Qantas’s dominant

historical accounts. Throughout, I surfaced alternative versions of the past, highlighting individuals who have been largely ignored in the histories of the organization.

With the metaphor of clearing paths, a description of a general process for engaging with material from the past, and my own specific process focusing on individuals, categories, and systems, I have strived to explain a potential way to bring IH and its philosophical contours to praxis. The contours played an important role in guiding the choices I made in my analysis, ensuring the direction of my approach remained focused on critique, power relations, reflexivity and complication. I will add that while this is described as if it unfolded in clear and linear fashion, it was really much messier. Distilling this process from the entanglements in my brain by relating it above removes some sense of the chaos and confusion and frustration that, realistically, characterized this stage.

The Qantas Story

The Qantas story is not fixed, real, truthful or factual, for there is no single Qantas story. However, to provide some context for my analysis in the next chapter, it is helpful to outline a dominant version of the past. That said, I acknowledge and emphasize that this is just *one* version of *many* plausible and possible versions that could be produced. The version that I provide is primarily based on the history that Qantas features on its website (Qantas, 2020). I also draw on other versions of the organization's past, as written by Fysh (1966, 1968, 1970), Gunn (1985, 1987, 1988) and Stackhouse (1995). Although I am reproducing a dominant account of the organization's history, I am choosing to do this because it is the dominant account that is most familiar to people, or that most individuals

interested in Qantas may know. I start here, on the well-trodden path, in order to later move to clearing hidden paths anew.

The Early Years.

Qantas was founded by Hudson Fysh, Paul McGinness and Fergus McMaster in 1920. Fysh and McGinness were Australian veterans of the First World War, where they both served in the flying corps in Palestine after campaigning at Gallipoli. Fysh served as an observer and gunner and was assigned to McGinness in this capacity. McGinness was an excellent, daring pilot and Fysh as gunner shot down a number of enemy planes on their missions. Fysh also trained as a pilot before leaving the Middle East. The connection between Fysh and McGinness forged through war remained when they returned home to Australia in 1919, with each receiving the Distinguished Flying Cross medal.

Together, Fysh and McGinness were excited to join the 'Great Air Race' which was announced by the Australian government in 1919. This race was intended to encourage daring pilots to fly from England to Australia as quickly as possible, and show the possibility of air travel around the world. Unfortunately, the pair could not secure sponsorship for the flight, and were forced to abandon their plans to compete. Instead, Fysh and McGinness were employed by the Australian government to conduct a land survey of Queensland and the Northern Territory, in order to find suitable landing sites for the competitors as they arrived in Australia.

During this land survey, McGinness and Fysh were convinced that a commercial air service of some sort would be successful in the rural areas of Queensland and the Northern Territory. McGinness is primarily credited with the 'spark' of the idea, and he

found support from Fergus McMaster, a grazier in Queensland whom he met through a chance encounter when McMaster had car trouble. Together, Fysh, McGinness and McMaster started Q.A.N.T.A.S. in November 1920. The acronym was inspired by ANZAC (Australia and New Zealand Army Corp) and stands for Queensland and Northern Territory Aerial Services.

Qantas began operations in Winton, but soon moved to Longreach, another small town in Queensland. The original Qantas hangar still exists in Longreach today, as part of a museum dedicated to Qantas history. In its first years, Qantas relied on charters and joyrides for income, while lobbying for a mail contract from the Australian government. This would mean a subsidy which would make it feasible to begin passenger service. In November 1922, two years after incorporation, Qantas flew its first passenger flight (Fysh was the pilot), carrying mail and one passenger – 84-year-old ardent supporter of the venture, Alexander Kennedy. It was also in 1922 that Paul McGinness left Qantas, after ongoing disagreements with Fysh about how to run the company. Fergus McMaster remained chairman, and Fysh continued with the company as General Manager and Managing Director.

Once Qantas was able to establish regular passenger routes, its business began to grow. Despite some setbacks related to equipment (which resulted in Qantas circumventing the traditional supply chain and becoming one of just a few airlines to build its own aircraft when they were licensed to build De Havilland ‘DH50’ aircrafts at Longreach), Qantas expanded routes, aircrafts and employees across Queensland and into the Northern Territory. By 1930, Qantas had grown large enough that it moved headquarters from rural Longreach to the more urban Brisbane.

The War Years.

With international expansion in mind, Qantas negotiated with Imperial Airways (which later became what is now known as British Airways) to service a route between Sydney and the UK. In 1934, this agreement resulted in a 'new' Qantas, a joint venture with Imperial Airways called Qantas Empire Airways (QEA). On this international route, QEA flew the Australia 'leg' and connected with Imperial Airways in Singapore. However, the start of World War Two disrupted international routes and put a wrench in QEA's plans for continued route expansion. A number of their aircraft were lost to Japanese bombing, and their remaining fleet was requisitioned by the military. However, Qantas did source a number of Catalina flying boats and serviced a secret route across the Indian Ocean, between Perth and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), where passengers transferred to a BOAC (British Overseas Airways Corporation; formerly, Imperial Airways) plane to travel the remainder of the way to London. The route across the Indian Ocean was approximately 28 hours long, non-stop. One of these flights took 32 hours and nine minutes, and to date, remains the longest passenger flight by airborne time ever flown. The service could only carry three passengers at a time, and was forced to fly in radio silence through the hostile Indian Ocean. Remarkably, Qantas completed 271 flights without loss of life. The success of these flights ensured that Australia and the UK were connected throughout the war after the Japanese entered, and that government documents, dispatches, and officials were able to move between the two countries.

The Post-War Boom.

Following World War Two, Qantas faced a somewhat uncertain future, as Australia had elected a labour government which was seeking big changes in the industry.

Ultimately, the government purchased and nationalized Qantas in 1947, but the company continued to be run by Fysh and a board of directors. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Qantas began to use jet-engine-powered airplanes, purchasing and flying the American Lockheed Constellations and Super Constellations to service routes between Australia and the UK. They were an early adopter of the Boeing 707, and placed orders for the Boeing 747 in 1967. The long range of these jets enabled longer routes from Australia to Europe and North America, and Qantas continued to grow throughout the latter half of the century, flying around the world. They had (and continue to have) an impressive safety record flying jet engine aircraft, and they also were the first airline to introduce the business class ticket on their flights. Throughout the sixties, seventies and eighties, Qantas weathered the oil crisis and other fiscal challenges better than some of its international competitors. As a nationalized airline with significant brand recognition, Qantas was perhaps better positioned as the country's international servicer, whereas other international regions allowed much more competition on the routes.

Privatization.

The company was once again privatized in 1995. One of Qantas's largest domestic competitors, and a similarly historic company, Ansett Australia, failed in 2001, and Qantas gained significant domestic market share as a result. Since the start of the 21st century, Qantas has focused on diversifying its business with its lower cost brands, such as JetStar and QantasLink, and has continued to focus on improving time and economy on its long-haul flights. Throughout the years, Qantas has consistently been a profitable company, and it remains recognized as one of the safest commercial airlines.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the nature of the *archive* and the multiple understandings of *archive/archive*. I have explained my own conceptualization of the term based on this discussion, in order to locate my own approach to archival research within a postmodern tradition. I discuss in detail the variety of materials that I rely upon in this thesis, including the trilogies by Fysh and Gunn. I describe the process of collecting material from two archival spaces in Australia, and review how I organized and managed the large amount of material. I provide an overview of my approach to analyzing the material, emphasizing my path-clearing metaphor and how the notion of path-clearing culminates in the three steps of familiarizing, interrogating, and generating. I also outline the specifics of *my* path-clearing for this thesis, describing my analysis of the materials in relation to individuals, categories, and systems. I argue that the philosophical contours of IH are critical for providing a frame to focus particularly on the foundations of critique, power relations, reflexivity and complication in my analysis stage. In Chapter 6, I discuss that which emerged as a result of this analytical process.

Chapter 6: Revealing Intersectional History

Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an example of intersectional history as it may be used in practice. To do this, I reviewed archival material from Qantas, primarily staff newsletters across two different time periods. I explored this material using the process described in Chapter 5 of familiarizing, interrogating and generating to clear new paths through the archival material. In the generating stage, I considered how individual and group identities were constructed in the material. I then assessed how these identity constructions contributed to reifying particular configurations of categories of identity, such as gender, race and class, as preferable in the organization. I then explored how these categories of identity overlap in systems of oppression, before outlining how those dominant systems of oppression shifted over time within the organization. I suggest that this helps understand and explain why particular stories and versions of the organization's past endured, and why others were forgotten or ignored.

Throughout, I strive to share stories of those who have remained hidden in the material of the past. I feature people and stories that help produce an alternative understanding of organizational life and action at Qantas over the past 100 years. I aim to do this reflexively, recognizing that the dominance of marginalizing power relations often means that there is little information available, and I have to rely largely on interpretation. While I consider these interpretations plausible, they are but one of many possible interpretations of small traces of the past. These interpretations would and will vary, based on a researcher's ideologies, context, and background, and I am cognizant of this by trying to acknowledge the assumptions I make in my interpretations. However, the

philosophical contours of IH serve as a reminder that we cannot know the past. It is ontologically absent; we are only ever producing a story about the past, from our own present (Jenkins, 1991). The stories that I produce about this past in this chapter reflect my own past and present and power and privilege and they emerge through my discursive reading of the Qantas material throughout this thesis journey.

Chapter Outline.

I organize my discussion around two general times periods: The Early Years and The Post-War Years. I chose these approximate time periods because each era features a sizeable amount of material for analysis. I provide a brief context of the Australian landscape for each time period, before discussing individuals, categories and systems. I surface and discuss the dominant systems of oppression that overlap at Qantas to impact its employees through the 20th century. I conclude by discussing the reasons why understanding Qantas through the approach of IH is useful.

The Early Years

I define ‘The Early Years’ as ranging from approximately 1919 to 1939. I suggest that, at Qantas during this time, the dominant systems of oppression embedded in the organization’s practices were primarily colonialism, racism, and classism. These systems of oppression produced within the organization echo the societal context of north-eastern Australia during this time period. I begin with a discussion of this context.

Context.

By 1919, the First World War had ended, and [white] Australians were coming to terms with their position in the world as a British commonwealth. The First World War

was the first time that Australia sent significant numbers of troops into combat, and many of their military personnel were injured and killed (Rickard, 2017). Australians had fought for the British Empire and suffered. This was perhaps part of the impetus of nation-building that characterized Australia at this time, as its settlers realized that their lives and culture were more different than those of its mother country than previously realized (Fysh, 1966). Solidifying Australia's legitimacy as a distinct and thriving country on its own terms became an important cause for political leaders (Rickard, 2017). However, it was unclear just how much the country was actually thriving. There was discontent toward immigration, with settlers taking a protectionist stance, particularly toward immigrants from Asia. Having prided themselves on embracing a lack of deference to social standing, Australians found that class structures were increasingly apparent within its country's systems, with clear distinctions between elite, middle and lower classes (Rickard, 2017). Aboriginal Australians were not considered as part of any class, and instead were seen as either a dangerous enemy to be thwarted, or with clinical disinterest stemming from the assumption that they would soon die off entirely (Grant, 2016; Rickard, 2017).

The pioneers, the wave of British immigrants that came to Australia in the latter half of the 19th century, struggled to manage and make profitable the great swaths of land they had claimed for stations. They had high tax burdens and dealt with significant risk as a result of isolation (Fysh, 1966). Outside of urban areas, death due to accidents, sickness, and childbirth were high. Even in urban areas, industry experienced growing pains. Upon returning from the war, many servicemen struggled to find employment and eking out a livelihood was a challenge (Fysh, 1966). While Australia held a sense of possibility and

pride for its settlers, the country was still settling into a contested sense of nation-hood that highlighted the complications of the colonial project and the oppression of those it had conquered (Clark, 2022). How could settlers maintain their hold on the land, develop their economy and uphold systems of governments that provided law and order? This was the landscape out of which Qantas was founded.

By the late 1920s, many of the nascent struggles of the country had been managed, but concerns about immigration, nationhood and growth remained complex topics. As the Great Depression scuttled the United States, Australia experienced an economic contraction of its own. This followed a general period of growth post-war, and the servicemen who had eventually found work, started businesses, or emigrated to other parts of Australia found themselves struggling again (Rickard, 2017). Family sizes shrunk, city populations grew, and class divides continued to become more apparent (Johnson et al., 2021). Racist attitudes toward immigrants continued, and Aboriginal Australians were still seen as a problem for the government to manage (Grant, 2016). Although Australia was growing in population, economy and influence, establishing a unified Australia with its own culture and identity was a challenging social problem for government leaders (Johnson et al., 2021). This was the general picture of the country as Qantas developed as an organization and World War Two approached.

Providing context for twenty years of a country is difficult, and the above description of Australia during The Early Years represents only a very generalized account of what was, in reality, nuanced, complex, and contested. It is not meant to be an authoritative account of the Australian context during this time period; rather, it is intended to provide a general sense of Australian society and concerns. This provides a

useful backdrop for discussing Qantas and its changes over the time period. In 1919, Fysh and McGuinness were unemployed servicemen who were commissioned by the government for a land survey – a journey that sparked the idea of an airline. By 1923, the company was flying routes throughout Queensland and the isolated Northern Territory. By 1928, the company had shifted its headquarters to Brisbane, and by 1935 had partnered with Britain’s Imperial Airways for overseas flights. By 1939, Qantas was flying portions of an international route between Sydney and London. Much like for Australia, this twenty-year time period was characterized by rapid change and growth for Qantas. The small, regional operator had become a much larger, international airline.

Individuals.

I begin with a discussion of who appears and who does not appear in the archival material from this time. Perhaps not surprisingly, given the time, the majority of individuals featured are men, so I begin with them.

Men.

The monthly ‘Summary of Operations’ that was produced for distribution to staff and other stakeholders during this time seem to be written with the assumption of a male audience. For example, the July 1925 issue features a tale of a Qantas Board member, Dr. Michod, who needed to be in one town in the morning, and another in the afternoon. He was able to easily travel the 200 miles by air, “a most striking instance of what aerial travel means to every business man and man of affairs. Impossibilities of travel are turned into every day incidents by the aeroplane.” (p. 3). This suggests an audience of men who may be able to get utility from Qantas services and thereby be more efficient in their

business dealings. This type of message, describing men traveling for business of some kind and having an advantage because of it, appears almost every month. The April 1927 issue contains a list of “users of the Service in pursuance of their various businesses,” which includes parliamentary, ministry, legal, medical, mining, and pastoral, with additional headings for “Business Men.” and “Commercial Travellers” in general (p. 2). This listing includes individual names and titles next to their associated profession, and features a total of 44 men. While there is one woman, Lady Stonehaven, who accompanies her husband, Lord Stonehaven on his vice-regal business, there are no other women users pursuing business interests in this list. The focus, I suggest, is on showing respectable men in respectable professions to underscore the sensibility of air travel.

Men do not only appear in the material endorsing air travel as a sensible choice for professional businessmen wanting to reduce their travel time. They are also presented as occasionally mischievous and fun-loving. For example, an anecdote from September 1925 describes a charter trip flying a station owner and two associates north to inspect some cattle. When the business was complete and the group was flying home, one of them pulled out a bag, from which, “he extracted a bottle and a glass and a great number of oranges. The party proceeded to while away an idle hour throwing orange peel into the roofs of stations and drinking the stuff in the bottle” (p. 2). This perhaps helps portray both the usefulness and the enjoyment that a man may be able to get out of air travel, which was still very much a novelty for most.

Men are also included in the material as adventurers or explorers. Especially in the first decade of operations, Qantas was often hired to do charters, such as the one described above. Brief mention of these taxi trips is made in each monthly summary;

however, they are occasionally related in more detail. For example, in 1926, a mining engineer from the US hired Qantas for an eight-day charter so that he could survey a large swath of land in the interior Northern Territory to assess its suitability for mining operations. The description of the trip and its follow-up charters are provided over two months of the Summary of Operations. Although the men on this trip are not described personally, their exploration is lauded as a remarkable, adventurous achievement: “As a commercial flight of a pioneering and explorative nature...this trip must rank as one of the most valuable yet undertaken in Australia...aircraft can safely and reliably penetrate into districts which are as yet but little known” (June, 1926, p. 3). Soon after this trip, “Another similar trip of even greater importance” was made (July, 1926, p. 2). This charter “covered an area which is practically unknown and which it is perfectly safe to say has never been properly explored” (July, 1926, p. 3). The importance of air travel to activities of the male domain – business, mining, exploring, hunting, for example – is a primary focus of these trip descriptions.

The emphasis on exploring and pioneering is punctuated by descriptions of the Aboriginal Australians encountered, which serves to underscore the risk and danger of these trips to the explorers. For example:

A sharp look out was kept for blacks which¹² are not to be trusted in this district, none were encountered, however, though several times their smoke signals were seen but a few miles away. (July, 1926, p. 3)

This sort of description, to me, positions the white settlers as intrepid colonizers, ready to vanquish the enemy if they must. This also infers a sense of masculinity. These men are

¹² The language here dehumanizes the Aboriginal Australians by referring to them as a ‘what’ not a ‘who’.

implied to have the strength, knowledge, technology and courage to handle an adventure like this journey to parts largely unknown. This is made even more apparent in the last line of the trip description, which reads that the trip came to an end, “with photographs of the machine and party with trophies namely native spears and boomerangs” (July, 1926, p. 3) What is not shared in the account of the trips is how they came by these trophies. I think it is likely that they found them on their travels, but it is also possible that the men took or traded for what they wanted from more docile Aboriginal Australians encountered. The word ‘trophy’ calls hunting to mind, once again hinting, in my opinion, at the masculine prowess of the white settlers.

Male employees also appear in the newsletter materials from this time, however significantly more so in the 1930s than in the 1920s material. In the ‘20s, the names of pilots making first flights, or breaking flying time records are regularly reported, but there are few editorialized comments. Instead, the information is reported impartially, as if the monthly summaries are an objective record-keeping instrument as opposed to a circular for staff and stakeholders.¹³ For example, in January 1925, the summary features details of the first flight dedicated to business endeavours to fly to a new destination in the Northern Territory. The ‘first’ is relayed with the information that, “Pilot L.J. Brain was the pilot to make the trip from Cloncurry” (January, 1925, p. 2). Other than matter-of-fact reports like this, there is little description of the pilots, or any other staff. Fysh’s papers contain plenty of information on the staff, the pilots and their exploits, but this information does not seem to make it to the public summaries. The 1930s material, by comparison, is much more focused on the company and its people than the records of

¹³ My assumption is that Fysh wrote the monthly summaries from 1925-1930. The writing style and some of the grammatical tics are very similar to other documents produced by him.

operations. The format seems to shift from a general record of operations to primarily sharing interesting information, tidbits and anecdotes. There are photographs of new planes and explanations of their advanced technology; stories of unique passengers, such as the dog that turned out to be a dingo (October, 1938); and tales of pilot exploits, such as aiming to drop a mailbag precisely on the Post Office steps when unable to land at a town due to weather (April, 1939).

In summary, white, settler men are the primary characters featured in the material from this time. The company was almost exclusively male with limited female staff, so this makes sense. While male employees are not always the focus, male passengers, businessmen, dignitaries, and officials of note are regularly mentioned as supportive of the airline, authoritatively endorsing the convenience and safety of air travel and its role in connecting the outback with civilization.

Aboriginal Australians.

Perhaps unexpectedly, Aboriginal Australians feature regularly in the material from this time period as well. Given the cultural attitudes of the time (Rickard, 2017), this was initially a surprise for me. Fysh's (1966) history mentions Aboriginal Australians with some regularity as well, describing encounters where the Aboriginal Australians assisted Fysh or other Qantas members, as well as stories about the dangers they pose to settlers (Shaffner et al., 2019). In the newsletter materials from this time, they are mentioned as background characters; they are present, yet invisible, but for the stories the white settlers tell about them.

The way Aboriginal Australians are written about in the description of the charter flights discussed in the previous section seems typical to how they usually appear. They are mentioned as foil for the white settlers, constructed as either a dangerous risk that must be conquered or as successfully subdued lesser beings. For example, another excerpt from the charter flight description in June 1926, tells how the airplane landing near remote stations caused a stir among the Australian Aboriginals. “The machine caused rather a panic amongst the blacks at both these places being variously regarded as ‘debil debil’ or ‘big hawk’” (June, 1926, p. 2). In this case, the Aboriginal Australians are not threatening, but instead, to my interpretation, presented as foolishly ignorant of modern life. The report quotes their patois, highlighting their pronunciation instead of simply stating that the Aboriginal Australians thought the airplane was an evil spirit or omen. Further down the same page, the inferiority of the Aboriginal Australians is again conveyed by the description of a man who was, “pressed into the service of clearing away uneven patches on the landing ground, his implements consisted of a spoon and a battered tin dish” (June, 1926, p. 2). It is unclear what, if anything, was provided to this man for his labour.

References to Aboriginal Australians as inferior or dangerous continue throughout this time. For example, a short essay on the ‘Value of Aircraft to the Outback’ describes the isolation of the land and the uneasy relationship between settlers and Australian Aboriginals:

About half a mile away from the neatly-kept homestead is the blacks’ camp, occupied by about twenty skinny looking aborigines and at least a similar number

of dogs. The blacks' camp had just been shifted because 'Devil-devil come at night and pick hair out of gin's head. (January, 1931, p. 1)

In this example, they are described in opposition to the neatly-kept homestead of a settler, and their beliefs about an evil spirit is, in my interpretation, relayed to imply a lack of rationality compared with settlers. It is unclear if the excerpt mentions stealing hair for its seeming absurdity, but a fear of a malignant spirit using hair to enchant or curse a person is not an unusual belief (Clark, 2007). The term 'gin' is a derogatory term for a female, further othering the uncivilized Aboriginal from the enlightened colonizer.

This focus on Aboriginal Australians as dangerous or somehow unsafe for white people continues throughout the time period. For example, it is mentioned several times, particularly in the 1920s material, that the isolated Queensland and Northern Territory must be connected to civilization in order to make the region more appealing to settlers. A charter to an isolated station underscores this point, as the area roads had flooded and were expected to be impassable for several weeks. This combined with the fact that the station's nearest phone was 130 miles away, "conveys some idea of the isolated spots which are at times visited by Qantas and of the service which is being rendered in linking the outback with civilization" (March, 1925, p. 4). The sheer scope of isolation, the lack of services and the perceived risk of violence from Aboriginal Australians allowed Qantas to justify its operations as critical to the colonizing project of settling rural Australia. This is made very clear by the statement after a charter trip that, "It was a most noticeable fact that no white women were met with at the central outposts visited. Without making the country safe for women, the interior cannot be settled" (June, 1926, p. 3).

Even when Aboriginal Australians are not directly mentioned in the text, Qantas, I suggest, draws on the specter of tension between them and the colonizers to justify why the government needs to support the continued operations and expansion of the organization. Qantas's use of language related to safety and civilizing allows them to claim that it is assisting settlement (i.e. the colonization) through access to mail, goods and services that, "cannot fail to be of assistance to settlers" (June, 1925, p. 3). By invoking the need to maintain control over the outback, I suggest, Qantas uses the idea of Aboriginal Australians to ensure its own success.

Another way that Aboriginal Australians appear in the material from this era is as uneducated and helpless, and requiring a white savior. This becomes apparent in material relating to the Flying Doctor Service. The Flying Doctor Service was an important initiative of the Australian Inland Mission, as it allowed for rapid medical treatment in isolated areas. For example, in August, 1931 an article in the monthly publication shared that mission workers on Mornington Island contacted the service to report that, "Recently, a number of the natives became stricken with a disease which could not be diagnosed and as the numbers spread alarmingly an SOS was sent out to [the Flying Doctor]" (August, 1931, p.1). The next issue provides an update:

During the month the "Flying Doctor" again visited Mornington Island to assist in stemming the epidemic amongst the natives. Two deaths have occurred amongst the bush natives, but the mission natives are progressing satisfactorily under treatment, and as no new cases were reported the disease appears to be dying out. (September, 1931, p. 2)

The update highlights, inadvertently or otherwise, that those who have moved to live among the Christian mission on the island had been successfully protected by their white saviours. Those who remained in their traditional lifestyle have suffered, it seems to suggest, from ignoring the wisdom of the educated and enlightened white man. Many children were living in mission dormitories at this time, isolated from their families in order to facilitate education and religious conversion (Mornington Island, 2015). Some of these children appear in a photograph in the October issue, posed in uniforms in front of a plane. The picture is startlingly captioned “One Hundred Little N**** Boys” (October, 1931, p. 2). The accompanying text continues, “Some of whom were saved by the visit of the Flying Doctor to Mornington Island.” Again, this powerfully communicates the notion that Aboriginal Australians required saving from a smarter, more enlightened colonizer.

Women.

Women do appear to some extent in materials from this time period. As I mentioned, the organization is, like most in that time, exceptionally male-dominated. There is only a single mention of a female employee that I can find in the monthly newsletters, for example. She is “the young lady in charge” and when assisting a man with his ticket purchase, she is reported to have “genially observed ‘they call that signing your death warrant’” (November, 1926, p. 1) when he signed his indemnity agreement. There is no additional information about her, and there is no reference to any other female employees in the newsletter materials from this time.

Instead, the women who are given space are female passengers. Most months, there is a list of passengers in the newsletter. They are predominantly male (denoted by

their honorific), but there are women who travel on the service. For example, a “Mrs. Baker and her daughter,” (February, 1925, p. 4) were unable to leave their station due to flooding and were able to get picked up by a Qantas charter. When women are mentioned, it is often in this vein; they require assistance due to health, weather, or some sort of challenging circumstance, and Qantas is able to come to their aid and make their situation easier or more palatable. This is clear in the following example:

During the month two passengers were conveyed between Charleville and Longreach who were advised by their doctor to travel only by aeroplane. Both these ladies, one of whom had her five weeks old child with her, travelled immediately after coming out of hospital and faced with pleasure a 4 hours aerial trip as an alternative to a 5 days rail journey. The coolness and despatch of aerial travel in Summer conditions proves a decided attraction. (January, 1926, p. 1)

The usefulness of the service for female passengers recovering from childbirth or other health ailments is highlighted, I suggest, as evidence that the outback can be a safe place for women, particularly if air travel is embraced as a norm.

Women who are somehow exceptional are also mentioned in the materials. For example, a report on holiday bookings stated that, “Other noteworthy passengers were a woman over 70 years of age and a young mother with her six weeks’ old infant” (December, 1926). The novelty of infants and the elderly on planes is perhaps one reason for mentioning this, but it is also plausible that Qantas was intentionally trying to demonstrate how safe air travel was. For, if an elderly woman or a newborn baby were safe on a plane, it may convince others that they too would be safe.

It is a continuing theme that women seem to need reassurance that flying is safe. The material seems to reflect a notion of women as resistant to flying, and there are occasionally articles targeting these women. These snippets, to my interpretation seem to suggest that women at this time may be too foolish to rationally calculate risk. For example, a tidbit from July 1932 suggests that stairs and brooms are perhaps more dangerous than flying:

The danger of flying is undoubtedly greatly magnified by the public... Unrealized danger is all around us, as the following newspaper cutting appears to indicate:

“Miss Margaret Bondfield¹⁴, who was Minister for Labour in the Labour Government told the national safety congress today that 800 women were killed each year in England and Wales by falling down stairs in their homes. One thousand were killed by falling over buckets and broom handles.” (p. 2)¹⁵

This snippet is reproduced in the Qantas monthly newsletter, perhaps to reach a target audience of women and encourage them to rethink any negative assessments of air travel.

The focus on convincing women to fly seems to partially explain the final grouping of women who appear semi-regularly in the material: female pilots. These ‘lady pilots,’ as they are referred to in the material, range from solo fliers chasing flying records to “lady members” of local flying clubs. For example, the June 1930 monthly newsletter includes an article on Amy Johnson, who was the first woman to fly solo from England to Australia. This was a remarkable feat for anyone at the time, as the first solo flight

¹⁴ Margaret Bondfield is quite an interesting character herself. She co-founded the National Federation of Women Workers, the first trade union for women, chaired the Adult Suffrage Society and was elected as an MP in 1923. She was re-elected in 1926 and made the Minister of Labour in 1929 – the first female cabinet minister in British Parliament.

¹⁵ This may be the case, however falling down the stairs is often code for detracting from violent domestic assaults, so I suspect these numbers are more nuanced than presented in the clipping above.

between the two countries had only been achieved in 1928 by [the man] Bert Hinkler (March, 1928). While I would expect Qantas to include information on such a feat regardless, the article may have had the secondary impact of influencing women to be more open to flying.

Another example of this is the mention of ‘lady pilots’ at the Longreach Flying Club, which was a Qantas initiative. Out of five individuals learning to fly in 1926-27, two were women. The acknowledgement of these women reads, “Two lady members of the club are progressing very favourably with their training and no accidents whatever have occurred to pupils during instruction or after going solo” (January, 1927, p. 1). This comment is in a separate paragraph from the other Flying Club updates. For me, it is unclear if the assurance that no accidents have happened is meant to reference the female pilots only, or if it is intended as a general comment. Regardless, my interpretation is that, as written, it undermines the favourable progress of the ‘lady members.’

Women are otherwise largely absent from the newsletter materials of this time. There are almost no female employees featured, and there is limited information regarding female passengers and their experiences flying. Female pilots are occasionally featured, but do not significantly appear in the material overall either. Women are within the pages of these newsletters, but they are glossed over and constructed as relatively unimportant.

Categories.

Having discussed the individuals that appear in the material in a general sense, I now move to discussing how the general representation of men, women and Aboriginal

Australians contributes to the discursive production and idealization of particular categories of identity. I do this by discussing who is privileged and who is marginalized in the material, and through what categories this privileging and marginalizing occurs. I provide a general view of the ideal for each group, but it is important to note this is based solely on my own reading of the material and the paths I noticed and set off to clear. Another person could have a different, plausible interpretation of the material.

It seems clear that the individuals who enjoy the most privilege during this time period are white men. This is not surprising, given the Australian context of the era. The men who are represented in the Qantas material appear to be constructed through traditional understandings of masculinity, again, unsurprisingly for the time. They are adventurers, explorers, pioneers and civilizers, conquering a new land, through advanced technology and entrepreneurial ambition. The passengers who appear, for example, are largely businessmen of some status, contributing to the industrialization and economic development of Australia. The employees featured are pilots and engineers who possess specialized skills crucial to the development of the organization, and Australia itself.

The men of this time period, insofar as I can understand them through the staff newsletters, are privileged primarily because of their sex, their race, and their ethnicity or background. Being male in a male-dominated society allows one to benefit from systems set up specifically for one's benefit, but what becomes clear in the newsletter material is that a certain notion of 'man' may be more acceptable than others. The notion of an ideal 'Qantas man,' I suggest, is constituted through the notion of an ideal Australian man. This man is stereotypically masculine: strong, courageous, tough, intelligent and pioneering. He is white, he is Christian, he is of British descent, and he is committed to the colonial

project of settling a subjugated territory and demanding obedience and assimilation from those colonized. The men who are right for Qantas and its aims are drawn from their alignment with these categories of identity.

White women, by comparison, enjoy less privilege in *The Early Years*. There is no real sense of a ‘Qantas woman’, simply because there are next to no female employees to analyze. That said, the other constructions of women in the newsletter texts delineate who seems to matter, and who doesn’t, to Qantas. Women valued by Qantas, the material discursively communicates, are white, and of British descent. They are colonizers, willing to play their part in civilizing the land and securing dominance over Indigenous populations by marrying a white man of British descent, living in the outback, and having children. They are morally upstanding (according to the Bible’s measure of moral), educated, but not overly, they are hardy, tough and no-nonsense, and they act rationally by being enthusiastic about air travel. Their labour is primarily devoted to the domestic domain. They work hard to manage their homestead, doing traditional household labour, but also assisting their husband with animal husbandry as needed.¹⁶

Unlike the Qantas man, the idealized Qantas woman, I suggest, is not entirely representative of traditional notions of her gender from this time. She is less feminine, hardened by an isolated life in the outback. She embraces the Australian attitude of classlessness and is somewhat distant from the wealthiest tiers of society. However, being a white, British-descended colonizer, she is decidedly privileged compared to those without those identity characteristics. The women who represent the Qantas notion of

¹⁶ I suggest this because of the occasional mention of women being hurt in farming accidents while moving cattle. These scattered mentions appear in the monthly descriptions of flying doctor trips.

‘woman’ I suggest, are those who inhabit the same categories of identity as the men described above, baring their sex.

Aboriginal Australians have very little privilege – both in Australia at that time, but also through the Qantas lens. Their presence in the organization’s material is constructed, I suggest, to emphasize their otherness, with a focus on how different they are to the white settler. They are presented as potentially dangerous, a threat to the success of civilizing (colonizing) the outback, but also inferior to whites. This is not surprising given the time period and the relatively juvenile and tenuous colonization project throughout the interior of Australia. For example, the Aboriginal Australians on Mornington Island had almost no contact with settlers until 1914 (Mornington Island, 2015). So, while Aboriginal Australians are present in the material, it is, I suggest, to emphasize their *lack* of privilege. They are marginalized through their categories of identity. Their race as non-white, their ethnicity as non-British, their beliefs as non-Christian, and their education as none all serve to emphasize the inferiority of Aboriginal Australians to white settlers. Additionally, their position as ‘conquered other’ limits their ability to participate, unwillingly or otherwise, in the economic systems put in place by the colonizers as a facsimile of those in Britain. Accordingly, their lack of wealth, as wealth is defined by the colonizer, firmly constructs the Aboriginal Australians outside of class structures. They are classless, I suggest, not because of the espoused classlessness of the colonizers, but because they are not counted as people. They do not participate in society sufficiently to be humanized, so the material seems to suggest.

The construction of Aboriginal Australians in the Qantas material emphasizes their race and their perceived lack of intelligence. Unlike the modern, civilized settler,

Aboriginal Australians were primitive, undisciplined and lacked refined Christian beliefs and morals. They are constructed as an opposing force to Qantas, but also as a force that can be constructed and used for their labour when convenient. The othering that occurs through the identity characteristics constructed and reproduced in the newsletter materials minimizes the contribution of this labour. These identity characteristics are also employed to highlight the threat to civilizing that Aboriginal Australians represent, in order to justify the crucial importance of Qantas to settlers and the colonizing aims of the Australian and British governments.

Systems.

I now discuss how these categories of identity overlap to produce and sustain dominant, interlocking systems of oppression. The systems of oppression most clearly evident at this time, to me, are colonialism, racism, and classism. Sexism is also a serious system of oppression, however the way that Qantas positions white settlers *together* against Aboriginal Australians is, I suggest, more of a focus during this time, hence the focus on colonialism and racism in particular.

Aboriginal Australians, in the frame of the three dominant systems, are: 1) colonized and non-British; 2) non-white; and 3) outside of class structures. The extent of the marginalization reflects the colonial attitudes of the time, but the combination of colonialism, racism, and classism constitutes a complex set of power relations, ultimately leading to a particular form of oppression by Qantas. Qantas uses discourses of civilization and pioneering to assert its dominance as a colonizing force against Aboriginal Australians in the particular location of north-east Australia, during this

particular time period. The organization's motto, which appears as a heading to every monthly newsletter from January 1930 to December 1934, for example, is "Transportation *is* Civilization". I suggest that by invoking a notion of civilized as tantamount to the advancing modes of transportation, the organization underscores its position, as a transportation company, in oppressing the uncivilized Aboriginal Australians. As an institution, Qantas reproduces the power relations of white, British-descended colonizer and serves the needs of those of higher classes, who can afford the company's prices. The class-based oppression, while perhaps not as overt as colonialism and racism, is an overlapping form of domination that emerges through the discussion of *who* gets to fly. For example, the majority of Qantas passengers at the time were white males, businessmen and station-owners who were pursuing the accumulation of wealth through traditional capitalist exploitation; for example, by constructing mines to extract valuable and sacred resources of the land. A smaller minority were white women and their children. I suggest that we can know these passengers are almost all certainly white, because an Aboriginal Australian flying on the service seems to warrant comment any time it occurs. For example, in December 1939, the following snippet, titled "Jackie's First Flight" appeared in the newsletter, "After a short flight in a small landplane "Jackie," an aboriginal was explaining to his boss that he had two rides. "And how do you account for that, 'Jackie'?" "My first and my last," he replied" (p. 1). In addition to this sort of commentary, the continual listing of passengers who, I assume, are predominantly if not entirely white men and women highlights the class differences between whites and

Aboriginal Australians. If Aboriginal Australians fly, it is because they work¹⁷ for a station owner or manager who appears to finance the trip.

The overlap of these systems of oppression produces sets of power relations which serve to disproportionately disadvantage and marginalize Aboriginal Australians during this time period. Their blackness, their status from the white settler perspective as conquered or colonized, and their lack of wealth within the capitalist system which reinforced their classlessness, all combine to produce a notion of the Aboriginal Australian as unimportant and disposable to Qantas. Additionally, while I do not discuss it expressly, sex differences layer in an additional form of oppression for Aboriginal Australian women, who, when mentioned in the Qantas newsletters, are often referred to by the derogatory term, 'gin'. While these overlapping forms of oppression may seem commensurate to the time and context under consideration, I suggest that subsequent sections of this analysis will show how challenging it was *within the organizational context* to overcome these discursive productions of who Aboriginal Australians were and what they represented to Qantas.

Clearing a different path.

In keeping with one of my stated aims in developing, IH, I pause here to provide a brief alternative account of the relationship of Aboriginal Australians to the organization.

I return to the June 1926 description of the charter flight. As Qantas reports it:

¹⁷ The nature of work for Aboriginal Australians at this time more closely resembled indentured servitude. They had no protections from industrial relations laws, were paid approximately 1/3 of white labourers, despite usually being more skilled (in the pastoral industry) and received only a portion of their wages as 'pocket money' while the remainder was 'managed' by the government. These funds were, in the majority of cases, never paid, and this theft remains unresolved today (Thornton & Luker, 2009; Walden, 1995).

A tall Australian Native...was secured at Powell's Creek who had been pressed into the service of clearing away uneven patches on the landing ground, his implements consisted of a spoon and a battered tin dish. A similar incident occurred in the original clearing of the Newcastle Waters landing ground when the total tribe of the district numbering 40 was pressed into service men, women, and children. The contract price agreed on being 2 bags of flour, 20 sticks of "nicky nicky" (tobacco), and 5 yards of Turkey red cloth. (p. 2).

The description of clearing the Newcastle Waters landing ground also appears in Fysh's first book. He reports a somewhat different story of the Newcastle Waters clearing, which occurred in late 1919, under the supervision of Qantas co-founder Paul McGinness (Ginty) during his and Fysh's land survey for the Australian government. Fysh writes:

At Newcastle Waters Ginty made history by getting work started on North Australia's first cleared aerodrome, the work being done by black gins while the lazy work-shy bucks looked on. The payment was 2 bags of flour, 20 yards of Turkey red material, and 24 sticks of tobacco. (Fysh, 1966, p. 86)

The account of 'what happened' has shifted in Fysh's version. The terms of the contract are different, and while the 1926 version relates that the clearing was the work of men, women, and children, Fysh's version suggests that the work was primarily done by women, while the male Aboriginal Australians observed. Regardless of which version closer approximates a 'truth', both emphasize the exploitation of Aboriginal Australians' labour, and highlight this exploitation through the favourable terms of the contract for the white men. Fysh's version also uses the derogatory terms of the early-colonial era, despite

the fact that he reproduces the story in the mid-1960s, at a time when these terms had been recognized as derogatory and were beginning to fall out of use.

As I've argued in previous work (Shaffner et al., 2017), both these versions obscure an alternative understanding of what occurred at Newcastle Waters. I suggest that, here, we see Aboriginal Australians playing a vital role in helping produce the conditions that made air travel throughout Queensland and the Northern Territory possible. They cleared a landing strip in a remote area, doing back-breaking work for little reward. It even seems possible that the work for the 'first cleared aerodrome' in Northern Australia was largely completed by Aboriginal Australian women, who are marginalized almost to the point of invisibility in the Qantas newsletter material. And yet, Aboriginal Australians – men, women, and children – were present and contributing from Australia's earliest endeavours toward air travel. While Paul McGinness is termed the history-maker by Fysh in the excerpt above, I argue that an alternative way to understand this history is as a story of Aboriginal Australians, and the overlapping systems of oppression they faced both in Australia, and from the primary characters in the story of Qantas. I believe it is important to provide this alternative version of understanding the material, in order to surface and try to acknowledge the way that the work of Aboriginal Australians has been minimized and subsumed by relations of power which held, and continue to hold, the white man superior.

The Post-War Years

The Post-War Years that I analyze range from 1946-1954. There is, like in The Early Years, a consistent monthly newsletter of some kind throughout this time, and the

audience for this newsletter is Qantas staff and stakeholders. These factors are similar across the two time periods, which helps facilitate comparison. In The Post-War Years, the dominant systems of oppression that emerge, I suggest, are sexism, imperialism, ageism, and racism. As in the previous section, I start by contextualizing this time period in Australia, before discussing individuals, categories and systems.

Context.

By 1946, the Second World War had ended, but its effects were still being felt globally and in Australia. Australia had sent troops to North Africa and Europe in 1939, but the war became much more local after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour and subsequent raids on Australian ports (Rickard, 2017). Much like in other parts of the world, women were called upon to fill necessary roles that men who had been called up to service left vacant. This led to the first real influx of female employees to the organization, and was the beginning of much more female employment in Australia as a whole (Rickard, 2017). Qantas, for example, had been contracted to service military aircraft, and women were primarily employed to do the work (Gunn, 1987). The complexities and demands of war also saw increased need for personnel to manage communications between Qantas's various stations, which resulted in an influx of women to the organization as typists, secretaries, and telephone operators (Fysh, 1968).

Post-war, the Australian government redesigned the regulations for commercial aircraft operations. This led to the government purchase of Qantas, which retained its operational autonomy, but with accountability to the government and the public as its shareholders (Fysh, 1968). Since Qantas had experience flying internationally during the war, the Australian government designated the organization the international operator of

Australia. This signalled the start of an expansionist era as commonwealth and American economies boomed post-war. Qantas was determined to extend its reach as far as possible, meaning it established a number of overseas outposts, and grew proportionately to staff both these and its growing company headquarters in Sydney.

Societally, Australia was focused on growth of its own, and used immigration to increase its population. The economic growth of the country required a supply of labour that immigrants from countries more severely impacted by war, could provide. However, Australians were resistant to these immigration policies, and were concerned with retaining the national identity of ‘native Australians’ – i.e., those who had emigrated to Australia prior to the 1920s. While Australia benefitted from its government’s immigration policy, there was a resentment of immigrants who were not British. This included a strong hostility toward both Asian and Jewish immigrants (Rickard, 2017). It is against this backdrop that I begin my discussion on who appears in the newsletter material from this era.

Individuals.

There are three primary groups I focus on during this time period: female employees, native staff at international outposts, and Aboriginal Australians. White men appear to remain the most commonly featured individuals in the newsletters; however, I suggest that the way that these other groups are featured is more important to examine in this era. The white, British-descended males, particularly those with wealth that placed them in the upper or upper-middle class, retained their place of privilege within Australian society, and within Qantas. The executive roles and management positions

were filled exclusively by men who fit these categories of identity. However, as my discussion will show, the power these men cultivated was beginning to be challenged by other groups.

Women.

Unlike in the Early Years, when women were largely absent from the monthly newsletters, The Post-War Years mention women regularly. The primary group of women who featured are female employees. As the numbers of female staff grow, so too does their appearance in the newsletters, as the newsletters regularly report new staff, or staff transfers. During this time, many of the new staff are female, and based on their honorifics of ‘Miss’, unmarried¹⁸. This proportional sort of increase is not unexpected, but it does represent a marked change from material just seven years earlier (1939), and underscores how much the organization has changed during the Second World War.

One of the main ways that women are discussed is in relation to their romantic prospects. Sly references to suspected office romances abound, as well as reports of engagements and marriages. While the engagements and marriages of male staff are also announced, the frequency with which women are featured in this context means it is one of the main ways we gain insight into women in the organization. Often, these announcements contain a comment on appearance, or a joke about the trials of newlyweds, as in this example: “Helen Burgess has returned to work after her honeymoon. All goes well at the little house at Hunter’s Hill, except for a gas copper that occasionally blows up!” (July, 1946, p.2). The comment gently ribs Helen about the

¹⁸ Note that while Australia did have a marriage bar in the public service (Sawer, 1996), meaning that women could not continue working after marriage, Qantas does allow married women to work for them. It is unclear if this is through necessity due to labour needs, but it is somewhat unusual for the time.

potential struggles she may be facing as she adapts to her new, taken-for-granted domestic role of cooking for her husband – a role she may or may not be challenged by. The assumption that the woman will be cooking is not surprising, given the endurance of gender roles in domestic life, but it does provide a good example of how women are often included in the newsletter material. An example referring to romance in a more elusive way from an anonymous ‘roving reporter’ reads:

A certain member of the Distribution Dept. (recently returned from Nowra) has told somebody who told somebody who told me that she, like the Canadian Mounties, has got her man. His Christian name is Bill – his other name remains undisclosed. (July, 1946, p. 4)

This light-hearted sort of commentary abounds in the newsletters of this time, and the newsletters exhort the Qantas staff to “Send your local gossip to staff news” (October, 1946, p. 2). Although blithe, these simple reports of social life are, I suggest, revealing. For example, the September 1946 newsletter contains a note announcing the marriage between a Qantas switchboard operator from the Archerfield base in Brisbane, and a Qantas flight steward. The next line reads, “Changes...Miss A.M. Ryder is now on the Archerfield switch.” (September, 1946, p. 3). This is a simple report, but in my interpretation, it lets staff know that the new wife is, unlike Helen, not returning to work. Another romance-focused example from June 1947 is provided below:

Cupid recently visited this Branch. Consequently our congratulations to Marie Leech recently engaged...Congratulations also go to Miss Kerr. There are quite a few more eligibles in this office, and we can expect more of this sort of thing in the near future. (p. 2)

These sorts of updates provide visibility to women, but less so in the context of their organizational contributions. They are present, but they aren't constructed as essential to Qantas.

Moving forward through the material, marriage announcements remain a common feature of the newsletters. For example, a typical announcement in the September-November 1952 newsletter features a wedding photograph, with the caption: "An all Qantas wedding took place on Saturday, 28th June, between Mr. Robert Barry, Senior Traffic Officer, and Miss Vyvyan Griffin, former Ground Hostess" (p. 2). However, as the organization grows and the newsletters become a more formalized product, as opposed to their original stapled and type-written pages, some of the gossipy humour disappears. In the previous example, it seems as though the relationship between Barry and Griffin was a workplace romance, but there is no tongue-in-cheek comment like there often was in the late 1940s. I suggest that this may be related primarily to the growing size of the company, but also to the increasing, though slow, normalization of female staff in the Qantas workplace.

The physical appearance of female staff is also a common theme throughout the material of this time. For example, this excerpt from October 1946, reads "We are indeed sorry to say farewell to our pretty blonde receptionist, Joan Howes, who left the Company on 26th Sept., but feel we have acquired an equally popular girl in the form of Jill Costa (p. 4). While the comment is again, not unusual for the time, the male employees are rarely discussed in terms of appearance or handsomeness. Other similar examples include: "Penny provides the brunette relief for our two other blonde filing clerks" (October 1947, p. 2); or the description of, "Lovely blonde Shirley Luscombe who

supplements most efficiently the typists' pool" (February 1948, p. 3). While in no way egregious or even inappropriate for the time, it still places a focus on the appearance of female staff.

Comments on appearance are not always explicit. For example, the June-August 1952 newsletter announces a staff suggestion scheme, which will reward staff suggestions for improving company efficiency with a monetary prize. A cartoon accompanies the detailed article outlining the scheme, showing four men sitting in a row. In the first panel, they are all distracted by the figure of a woman carrying papers. The cartoon rendering of the woman presents her as young and slim, with a small waist and prominent breasts. One of the men notices that the distraction has stopped them all from working, and in the second panel, the same man is smiling and counting money, while his three colleagues focus on the work in front of them. This time, the woman carrying the papers is drawn as older, with short hair, glasses, and a larger, much less shapely body. The cartoon is titled "Improving Efficiency?" (June-August, 1952, p. 2). Once again, while this sort of humour was likely quite normalized in its time, it still communicates powerful messaging about the women in the workplace. They are valued, cartoons like this one seem to suggest, not for their work, but as objects of desire – if they fit the correct parameters of desirable.

This focus on appearance is underscored again by the addition of flight hostesses to the Qantas staff. Qantas was late in adopting female flight attendants on their planes, and until 1948, exclusively used men for on-board service (Fysh, 1970). Qantas advertised for flight hostesses in late 1947 and was inundated with "over 1,500 applications" (December, 1947, p.1). This signals the perceived excitement of a flying

role for women – who had been flight hostesses for airlines in the US, for example, for over a decade (Barry, 2008). The initial cohort hired by Qantas was small – just nine women, and all had experience with other Australian airlines (Fysh, 1970). They had to meet particular physical characteristics to qualify, including an acceptable range of height, weight, and age (Fysh, 1970). While height and weight can be justified by the constraints or safety needs of the aircraft, the acceptable age range was from 22-27. This is a fairly limited window, and perhaps speaks to the expected tenure of most flight hostesses. In addition to physical characteristics, the flight hostesses had to be educated and hold certification in first aid and/or nursing (Fysh, 1970).

While female flight attendants became glamourized and sexualized over the following two decades, at Qantas, at least initially, they are generally presented as professional, idealized representatives of Qantas. A comment that on the luck of their trainer, “Most envied Instructor on Qantas Staff is Mike Furniss” (January, 1948, p.1), acknowledges the pleasing appearance of the women, but there are no other comments in the same vein. The focus on the women’s skill and education; however, seems quickly usurped by their rapid co-optation as the apparent faces of Qantas. From 1948 on, flight hostesses are regularly featured on the covers of staff news and stories and photographs about their experiences appear throughout almost, if not all, the issues through 1954. They appear with a variety of minor celebrities; for example, flight hostess Lillian Heal is present as, “Film star, Joseph Cotton, presents a bat, autographed by members of the Australian cricket team to Captain Hodson Howse at Airways Terminal (October 1948, p. 2). Heal appears to be present as a representative of Qantas for the press photograph. Other hostesses are shown serving Australian prime ministers, and the Queen on her

Royal visit in 1953. While the use of flight hostesses for publicity is likely a reflection of the novelty and interest in female flight hostesses, they do seem to quickly become the de-facto female faces of Qantas.

Compared with The Early Years, female staff appear in the newsletter material of The Post-War Years with regularity. Their ongoing normalization into the Qantas workforce is very apparent and reflected in the sheer number of female names that appear in the newsletters. They enjoy a level of privilege through their inclusion which positions them as more significant within the organization, at least, if not exactly holding positions of power.

Native Staff.

Another group of people who appear regularly in the material from this time period are native staff members at international outstations. After the war, Qantas rapidly established a presence at a number of outstations that served their international routes. These included bases in Papua New Guinea, Singapore, Indonesia, Hawaii, Japan, Fiji, Manila, South Africa, the Cocos Islands and even California and Vancouver by 1954 (Annual Report, 1953). Some of these outstations were staffed by just a few men and women to have a presence for passengers, but the bases throughout the Pacific that served flights between Australia and Europe were much larger. Each base had a group of European staff, who were Australians, or at least of British or European descent, and 'local' or 'native' staff. These local staff were numbered approximately 700 in 1954 (Annual Report, 1954).

The local staff were just that: natives, or locals, to the countries in which Qantas operated. Both men and women were employed in most places, and they were engaged in the physical work required at the outstations. For women, this included things like cleaning the passenger rest houses and cooking for passengers on stops, while men were drivers and manual labourers. However, by approximately 1952, Qantas appeared to employ native staff in some administrative and managerial positions as well.

The way that local staff, regardless of status are usually featured in the newsletters is with several photographs and an explanation of their outstation's role for Qantas. For example, in the December-February 1951 issue of the staff newsletter, there is a feature on the transport department in Singapore. It features a photograph of native Singaporean drivers who, the article explains, play a critical role due to the challenging nature of driving in the area. The article explains that, "In order to encourage the drivers to keep their vehicles clean and tidy and to drive safely...[a shield] is awarded to the driver with the cleanest vehicle and the best accident-free record month to month" (December-February, 1951, p. 13). The photograph accompanying the article features the drivers who have won the shield, dressed identically in white uniforms. The article, written by a European manager, is quite positive toward the local staff.

This generally positive tone toward local staff is common. Although descriptions of local staff do usually perpetuate a superiority toward them and there are clear impacts of colonialism and racism, there seems to be much less derision for these staff members, compared with, for example, the Australian Aboriginals in *The Early Years*. Senior local staff often visit Australia for training, such as Mr. Teurupun, a security officer for Qantas

in Indonesia who was the “Latest outstation officer to visit Sydney for experience” (May, 1954, p.7). He is described as cheerful.

It seems, however, that those natives who are not local Qantas staff are considered less positively. For example, in the same May 1954 issue, the following snippet appears:

At Madang recently a native approached the Booking Officer for a reservation to Goroka. On being advised that the fare was £6/1/- he looked most dejected.

Quickly recovering, his face lit up and he smilingly advised that he would dispose of his Missus for cash and be back pronto to complete the transaction. (p. 1)

The snippet goes on to suggest that he did not return, implying that the native could, unsurprisingly, not afford the fare and was a time-waster.

The June-August 1952 issue provides an example of the complex native staff relationship that it seems exists. The cover shows a photograph of a grinning, shirtless young New Guinean native. He is very dark-skinned and appears, in my opinion, to be a teenager. A long caption on the inside front page explains the photo:

Jovial laundry boy, Beri, of the Lae staff, put on a special grin for Marge McGrath as she caught him playing “football”. Beri, one of the 221 native “boys” employed by Qantas at Port Moresby, Lae and Madang, like all the other “boys” loves football and photographers. Qantas New Guinea “boys” are clothed, fed and housed by the Company. The work at various jobs including laundry work, driving, engineer’s help, house-work, loaders, gardeners, cooks, clerical staff and general mess duties. Most of the “boys” like working on the big “Balus” (aeroplanes) and are always keen to make a flight. On duty they wear special laplaps printed with the Qantas insignia and take great pride in this uniform. (p. 2)

This excerpt, in its time and context, may have read in a positive manner. The “boys” appear happy, they are fed, housed and clothed, and they get to work on aeroplanes. However, interrogating this trace of the past in today’s present, the issues of exploitation and cultural alienation, I suggest, jump out. The fact that “boys” is always in quotation marks suggests, to me, that it is a term used to indicate their lower status as native staff, and their lack of autonomy. Like children (which, based on a number of additional photographs in this issue, I think some of them actually were), they seem to have little control over their lives. They work for Qantas, but it is unclear if they are paid, or if payment for work is provided only in the form of the food, board, and clothes that Qantas offers. Their jobs appear to be very labour-intensive, and all of the other New Guinea men shown in the additional pictures are young – I would guess no older than 25 – and very muscular, likely due to this heavy work. To me, it seems that the conditions of this employment may be quite exploitative. Additionally, since those employed live on the Qantas base, they are likely separated from their families and culture. The controlled environment divorced from their traditions seems not dissimilar to the missions and schools with a legacy of abuse and trauma.

It is difficult to interpret the experience of these young men and boys in this employment arrangement. Perhaps it was a positive environment and they thrived. Perhaps they did have bodily autonomy, were paid fairly for their labour and were able to embrace their own cultural traditions while on the base. However, based on the normalized use of Aboriginal Australians as indentured servants (Walden, 1995) well into the 1950s, the normality of corporal punishment for misbehaviour, and the general societal acceptance of white people to exploiting and under-compensating those of

different races and cultures, it seems, in my opinion, likely that Qantas was not exactly a benevolent provider.

Qantas did have a benevolent *fund*, however. The wife of a long-time Singaporean native staff driver, Adam bin Haji Anwar, gave birth to quadruplets in January 1954, and the mother and all four children died within an hour. A note in the February newsletter on the tragic loss informs readers that “The father is now faced with the problem of bringing up his five other children,” and that, “Members of the Motor Transport Section in Singapore are taking up a subscription to assist in the payment of funeral expenses” (February, 1954, p. 3). In May 1954, there is a photograph showing Adam bin Haji Anwar receiving a cheque from Qantas. The manager in Singapore, the caption reads, is “presenting a cheque for 136 dollars...the Chairman and managing Director, Sir Hudson Fysh, made this payment available from the Benevolent Fund” (p. 7). This gesture, showing Qantas as a caring employer of native staff, is very kind, but drives home, in contrast to the example above, I suggest, the complexity of the relationships between Qantas and its native staff.

Overall, while the Qantas material shows a positive tone toward native staff at its Pacific outstations, the relationship of the organization to native non-staff is less friendly. The appearance of the native staff in the newsletters from this era seems to emphasize the positive impact that Qantas is having; and seems to harken to its civilizing aims of the previous time period. While Qantas portrays the relationship with native staff as positive and benevolent, a closer look from today’s lens suggests that there was likely a lot more complexity to this connection.

Aboriginal Australians.

In the post-war time period, the Aboriginal Australians who were present in The Early Years are almost entirely absent. In my review of all the material available from 1946-1954, I found just one instance where an Aboriginal Australian appears. The November 1947 staff newsletter reproduces a comic from the “Sun News-Pictorial. This comic depicts a male Aboriginal Australian (drawn to emphasize the evolutionary characteristics of human ancestors) preparing to catch a Qantas flight to Cloncurry. He places his luggage on the scale to be weighed, and the clerk informs him he could bring another twenty pounds. After confirming his flight doesn’t leave for an hour, the Aboriginal Australian strides away from the Qantas office. The clerk asks, “Hey! Where are you going?” to which the Aboriginal Australian replies “Out to catch myself a couple of big goannas¹⁹...I might get a bit peckish on the trip! (November, 1947, p. 2) There is no accompanying comment from Qantas about the comic. Without more context, it is difficult to understand the message this comic is meant to convey. However, it seems to me, it implies that although Aboriginal Australians have become more assimilated to white settler culture, they remain primitive in fundamental ways. They are still being construed as ‘other’ to white Australians in society, and Qantas reproduces this othering by including the comic in its newsletter.

Categories.

Having generally reviewed the individuals that appear in the newsletter material from this time, I now move again to discussing how the general representations of

¹⁹ A large lizard and a staple meat in the diet of Aboriginal Australians.

women, native staff, and Aboriginal Australians contribute to the discursive production and idealization of particular categories of identity.

As in *The Early Years*, white men certainly hold the most privilege and power, based on how they are constructed in the newsletters of this time. Although I did not explicitly discuss them, whiteness and maleness remain reified as those primary categories of identity which enables them to benefit from systems in both Australia and Qantas. Although there is nuance here, the notion of masculinity is predicated, I suggest, largely on the same characteristics as the *Early Years*. The Qantas Man is strong, hardworking, ambitious, courageous and committed to the colonizing project of Australia.

Women, by comparison, are constructed in a much different way. As there are actually female employees working for the organization at this time, an idealized notion of the Qantas Woman, I suggest, begins to emerge from the material. She is white. While women appear frequently in the material, they are still very few non-white women, which signals the importance of race as a category of identity to draw privilege from. She is also young. While it is not possible to know ages from text, the photographic portrayals of women appear to support that the women who receive space within the materials are relatively young in age. She appears feminine and slim with well-kept hair and make-up, is unmarried, and she is helpful and nurturing to the Qantas passengers she serves. The September – November 1951 newsletter typifies the women who are reflected throughout the time period. This issue features a young, well-groomed white woman on the cover, seated at a desk and working in an alert and professional manner. She wears a uniform, a dark skirt, jacket and hat that are reminiscent of military-style dress. She is introduced as, “Miss Barbara Burgess, Ground Hostess, at the reception desk of the new terminal”

(September-November, 1951, p. 2). She and several other ground hostesses of similar characteristics appear in several photos depicting the grand opening event of a new Qantas terminal in Sydney. The terminal is state of the art and modernly designed, reflecting the modern and advanced ethos of Qantas that, I suggest, was a key aim of their messaging to its audiences at the time. Barbara and her colleagues seem deployed in this issue to reflect this messaging, representing through their idealized identity characteristics, the modern, state of the art Qantas. Barbara Burgess, I suggest the newsletter discursively communicates, represents the notion of woman that Qantas privileges through this time period. Barbara Burgess is the Qantas woman.

Those female employees who do not fit the notion of the idealized Qantas women are largely invisible in the material. There are few non-white women, there are few women who appear middle-aged or older, and almost all of the women appear put together and engaged in appropriate women's work, supporting and caring for passengers as ground hostesses or their male bosses as secretaries. The women who embody the idealized notion of woman that Qantas constructs are privileged, while those whose identities diverge from the ideal remain less visible throughout this time period.

There is no comparison time for the native staff. They are not present in material from The Early Years, but they emerge strongly in the post-war context. I suggest that the frequency of their representation in the newsletters is to help demonstrate Qantas's international growth. By including pictures of people who appear 'other' to the majority of Qantas staff, as well as the descriptions of foreign outstations and their roles there, the newsletters reflect the expanding international reach and influence of Qantas. The native staff serve to show just how far Qantas has flown. That said, I suggest that only the native

staff who reflect this international scope through race, in particular, are featured. The dominant category of identity that structures their representation within the Qantas materials is the colour of their skin. For example, while native staff of different races are regularly featured, they are also predominantly male. Much like in Australia, female native staff appear secondary to men. This may be largely because there were less women working as native staff, which isn't surprising; however, we get little sense through the material of the racialized, native female employees working at the outstations. They begin to be featured more toward the end of the time period, but their presence in the material is decidedly less than that of their male counterparts.

Another interesting point of note is affect. While it may be debated whether something like affect can be a part of someone's identity in a meaningful way, it is remarkable that many of the native staff featured are described as 'cheerful'. Those who demonstrate a positive affect, by being cheerful, or in photographs, smiling broadly, are the staff who are featured. Looking at the material alone, one may be forgiven for thinking that all native staff are thrilled by their positions. While it is likely that some of them were genuinely cheerful and loved their work, there were likely others who did not feel this way. As punctuated by the New Guinea example, native staff at some of the outstations deemed, I suggest, more primitive, were likely undercompensated for very intense physical labour. However, I suggest that if they aren't cheerful, they do not embody the idealized notion of 'native staff'.

This idealized notion, of native staff I suggest, is male, constructed through their race as non-white; their background as non-British; their gender performance highly masculine with a focus on physical labour, and a happy deference to their white superiors.

There are few other ‘types’ of native staff apparent in the material, suggesting a discursive reification of who could be understood as idealized native staff at Qantas.

Aboriginal Australians are the other group of people I focus on in this time period. Compared with *The Early Years*, Aboriginal Australians disappear from the newsletter material. As Qantas moved to an international operator, I suggest that the focus of the organization moved from domestic concerns to international. Aboriginal Australians, in *The Early Years*, were almost a feature of the landscape: non-human, threatening, but able to be subjugated by white men. As the Qantas landscape changed, these notions of Aboriginal Australians were no longer necessary, as they had been, to justify the necessity of the organization’s existence. As a result, they simply vanish from the material. However, Qantas was still flying a number of routes through Queensland and the Northern Territory, and Aboriginal Australians still existed in this context. They are just not included. Once again, their race as non-white, their ethnicity as non-British, and their position as colonized serve to marginalize them entirely. While they were outside of society in the *Early Years*, in this time period, it seems they are extinct. Settlers had anticipated that Aboriginal Australians would be ‘eradicated’ by the 1930s (Rickard, 2017). Though they were not, Qantas, it seems, conducts their own extermination, eradicating them from any organizational existence.

Systems.

I turn now to discussing how the categories of identity I identify overlap to produce and sustain dominant, interlocking systems of oppression. The systems of oppression which have emerged in this time period, I suggest, are racism, sexism, ageism

and imperialism. Women are particularly impacted by the overlap of sexism, racism and ageism in Australia, and female native staff outside of Australia are impacted by the overlap of sexism, racism and imperialism.

Racism remains a dominant system of oppression throughout this second time period. While racism against non-whites, such as Aboriginal Australians, was not unexpected for the time period, its overlap with sexism, for example, helps enforce a powerful interlocking of oppression which eliminates female (and male) Aboriginal Australians completely from view. They are not present in the newsletter material, and therefore, it seems like they were not working for the company at this time. However, I suggest that it was likely that there were at least *some* Aboriginal Australian women working for the organization in some capacity during this time. This is an assumption; however, given the use of Aboriginal Australians of both sexes for labour in the past, it seems possible that they existed within the organization in similar roles during this time period. Their race as non-white and their position as colonized means that we simply have no information about these women during this time.

For white women, racism is a system of oppression which acts to privilege them above others on the basis of their race. It does not impact white women, except to benefit them. However, I suggest that sexism and ageism do overlap for white women to create an enduring, interlocking system of oppression. I suggest that the organization draws on larger, societal systems of oppression related to patriarchal notions of women in Australian society, privileging those who are young, feminine, and participating in traditional familial systems – i.e., by leaving the organization to get married.

Age limits for female employees are an example of how this overlap of sexism and ageism as a system of oppression existed in the organization. Female flight attendants, for example, faced age limits forcing them to give up flying at the age of 35 from this time period through to the 1970s and early 1980s (Black, 2014). Even though white women enjoyed privilege on account of their race, this overlap of ageism and sexism meant that women also faced marginalization within their jobs, through policies developed and enacted by Qantas. These policies were grounded in societal systems of oppression based on patriarchal and sexist notions of women as secondary to men but were reproduced and maintained by Qantas for over twenty years. Female flight attendants were not the only group to be impacted. Qantas policies on pay and pension, for example, were designed for men, and women were not provided the same rates of pay or offered pension opportunities when they began to join the organization in force (Black, 2014). Women as secretaries, typists, telephone operators, and passenger service representatives were, I suggest, seen as less critical to the organization than its predominately male domains of management, engineering and safety operations, and piloting. By constructing female staff as young, feminine women who were frequently leaving the organization to get married, for example, Qantas was able to continue pay inequities based on sex, and not offering pensions to women – as older women, its materials suggest, did not work for Qantas. If women weren't long term employees, and instead were settling down within traditional familial arrangements with a male breadwinner, why would they need decent pay or pensions? Older women *did* work for Qantas during this time, but the overlap of ageism and sexism renders them less valuable, and therefore, less visible.

Native staff at international outstations were also impacted by overlapping systems of oppression during this era. Their identities as non-white and non-British, and in the case of female native staff, non-male, overlapped to produce power relations that discursively othered these international staff. I suggest that this othering occurs through a paternalistic imperialism. Imperialism, as distinct from colonialism as I intend it here, refers to the export of dominant practices. For example, I suggest that Qantas exported its management practices to the international outstations, normalizing going into a country and setting up shop according to Australian customs. They distinguish between “European” and “Native” staff, emphasizing the difference with, to my interpretation, the implication that European staff were better, smarter, and more modern, compared with the unenlightened, foolish natives. The enforcement of Australian ways of operating was positioned as a good thing, a way to teach native staff how to live and work correctly, according to the superior European ways. The newsletter material constructs the native staff as cheerful and benefiting from Qantas’s presence, and as stated, the tone is quite positive, particularly if the native staff appear to be embracing Australian ways.

It is likely that there was some monetary and perhaps infrastructural benefit of Qantas outstations in a country like New Guinea, for example. However, the export of Qantas’s operations to these countries also, I suggest, reinforces the ‘rightness’ of European ways compared with the customs of the countries with their international outstations. Qantas also regularly features the best and the brightest of the native staff attending training in Sydney. This, I suggest, is to underscore how helpful and generous Qantas is in helping countries become more independent and operate independently without as many European staff. While native staff in higher and better positions is a

positive, it is also likely that they remained underpaid compared with their European counterparts, which would have served as a cost-savings for the organization. Female native staff were unable to partake in these opportunities, adding a layer of sexism to their particular configuration of oppression. Additionally, the managerial imperializing of these countries through the adoption of Qantas-type practices acquired through Qantas training once again emphasizes the rightness of whiteness and the inferiority of others. While I do think that this imperialist aspect is very nuanced, the configuration of racism and imperialism in this time period seems to produce a system of oppression that keeps other ways of organizing and knowing from being considered due to racist beliefs about white superiority.

The overlap of these systems of oppression are, I argue, somewhat more complex than in the previous time period. In *The Post-War Years*, white women are privileged based on some categories of identity and marginalized based on others. They are present in the organization but constructed as less serious or critical than male employees overall. The overlap of sexism and ageism as interlocking systems of oppression in particular, I suggest, contributes to ongoing challenges for equity within the organization in subsequent decades. However, white women, being white, benefit from their racial identity. This is in comparison with non-white women, both Aboriginal Australian women and female native staff, who are largely non-existent in this era. Female Aboriginal Australians do not appear at all, while female native staff appear sparingly. In both cases, their race, sex and colonized or imperialized position all serve to keep these women largely hidden. Male native staff embracing the imperial exports from Qantas are constructed as more privileged overall, but their feature in the newsletter material seems

intended to promote Qantas as a benevolent dictator, kindly creating order for everyone through its superior systems and generously teaching others how to be like Qantas. These systems of oppression contribute to the ongoing superiority of Qantas, whiteness, and maleness, engraining and maintaining discursive constructions of non-white others as 'less than' for decades.

Clearing a different path.

I now turn to clearing a different path through this time period. In this section, I feature Constance Jordan, who, I suggest was largely omitted from Qantas's materials because she did not fit with the idealized notion of the Qantas woman. It is important for me to surface some of her story, in order to recover her legacy and demonstrate that those other than white men were doing interesting and important work for Qantas during this era, despite discursive constructions portraying otherwise.

Connie Jordan features in the staff news three times in this era. First, in September 1947, when the staff news shares that, "Connie Jordan spends all her leisure hours turning her MG Special for the reliability test" (p. 2). The second mention comes in January 1954, when her marriage was announced. The announcement read:

One of the most interesting personalities on the staff of Qantas, Miss Constance Jordan, was married on December 31 [1953], to Mr. Paavo Karhula, a Sydney surveyor. Miss Jordan is the only woman Aircraft Engineer employed by any airline in Australia. Mr. Arthur Baird, former Engineering Manager... is shown above congratulating the couple. (p. 7)

The third mention comes later in 1954, when it is announced that Constance Jordan Karhula has resigned from the organization.

The description of Constance (Connie) Jordan as one of the organization's most interesting personalities is apt. Connie Jordan was about as far from a flight hostess or secretary as a woman could get in the 1940s and 1950s. She had several university degrees, she was a qualified pilot, she was the first female race car driver in all of Australia, and she was the first and only female aircraft engineer employed in Australia (Joystick Jottings, 2020).

Connie joined Qantas in 1942 and became the lone ground engineer licensing aircraft for flight-worthiness for the Brisbane-Darwin route, and other inland services through Queensland and the Northern Territory (Eames, 2017). In 1944, she was assigned to Archerfield Airport in Brisbane, where she was the only female engineer, *and* the only individual licensed on a new Lockheed plane that Qantas had recently put into service. This meant that, according to the regulations, Connie outranked all the other engineers at Archerfield, and she was made the boss of all the other (male) aircraft engineers as a result. They were not happy about it, and promptly went on strike in protest (Eames, 2017). When their union representative came to speak to them, he explained that Connie was in charge because none of the other men had bothered to work toward this particular licensing and told them to end the strike as it was pointless (Joystick Jottings, 2020). Until a man was licensed on the aircraft, the union rep said, Connie would be in charge (Joystick Jottings, 2020).

Not only was Connie a woman doing a man's job, but she was also working on the greasy and complicated engines of aircraft, and she was in charge, having, for the time,

exceptionally rare positional power in an otherwise exclusively male workplace (Eames, 2017). Although it isn't clear how long she was in charge of the men at Archerfield, Connie continued to work as an aircraft engineer until 1954, when she resigned after marrying, at the age of 45, a man twenty years her junior (Joystick Jottings, 2020).

It is easy to see why she is described as one of the most interesting personalities at Qantas, and her aircraft engineering skills seems to have earned her the respect of Arthur Baird, the engineer who had been with Qantas since its start. I assume that he had some respect for her, as he attended her wedding, but that could be an incorrect interpretation. Regardless, despite her unique background and role, Connie barely appears in the staff news, or in any material of this era that I have found. I suggest that this is at least partly because Connie did not conform to notions of the idealized Qantas woman. She was highly educated in an otherwise exclusively male field, she was unmarried, child-free, and older than many other female employees at Qantas at the time (Joystick Jottings, 2020). These circumstances, so oppositional to the 'Qantas Woman' of the era, seemed to keep her out of the staff newsletters. She is barely mentioned, and her achievements never celebrated. As a distinct, pioneering force for women in male-dominated worlds, she is completely omitted from any version of Qantas's past. She remains, as far as I can find, completely unacknowledged by Qantas today.

I argue that women like Connie Jordan, who challenged conventions of this era, were excluded from the organization's stories of itself and its staff. It is telling, I believe, that Connie only really appears in the staff news when she begins to conform to a more typical notion of a female Qantas employee: when she marries, and when she subsequently resigns her role to move with her husband. While other women, such as a

group of female fabric workers, transgressed the norms of the time, they did so in much more acceptable ways than Connie: they were supervised by men, and many of them were married or got married during their time in the shop (July, 1985). However, until Connie folds herself into an acceptable shape for a woman at the time, Qantas essentially ignores her. This ignorance is reproduced today. Since the discursive construction of women based on their categories of identity at the time seemed to focus on their secondary importance, subjugating their contributions beneath those of men, focusing on Connie's unusual achievements today could challenge this narrative. Instead, Connie's incredible life and her accomplishments within the organization have faded and been almost completely forgotten. The path she forged was rapidly overgrown and has continued to remain hidden. I suggest that we need to work to clear paths similar to Connie's, in order to recover contributions of women and other marginalized people and to understand the intersectional aspects of their marginalization over time.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated one way that IH can be used to surface new understandings of the past. By reviewing two important time periods during the organization's history, I have been able to identify the individuals who are most visible in the material from each era and discuss how their representations within the material contribute to reifying categories of identity. I then consider the overlap of those categories of identity as they interlock as systems of oppression and discuss the ways those systems of oppression maintain powerful discourses within the organization. In *The Early Years*, I argue that racism, colonialism and classism are the dominant systems of oppression that

emerge and overlap. In the Post-War Years, I suggest that sexism, racism, ageism and imperialism are the dominant systems of oppression that emerge, and I discuss the different, overlapping configurations of these systems for white women and native staff. I also address the lack of Aboriginal Australians in The Post-War Years. In the process of my analysis, I show how moving through the process from individuals, to categories of identity, to systems of oppression, allows for both a thorough intersectional analysis and a reconsideration of dominant accounts of the past that are contained within the material of the era. Additionally, I have cleared paths, providing an alternative account of Aboriginal Australians and their contribution to Qantas in The Early Years, and surfacing the forgotten story of Connie Jordan in The Post-War Years. Throughout this process, I have kept the philosophical contours of IH front of mind. My application of IH, I suggest, is driven by the four philosophical contours of IH: critique, reflexivity, power relations and complication. Although these are not expressly discussed in this chapter, I have steered an analysis that focuses on critiquing the status quo through a reflexive process in which I recognize my own impact on the interpretations of the material from the past. I have focused on power relations and embraced the complications of the material and the process.

In the next chapter, I conclude the thesis by discussing the contributions of IH, its limitations and the potential for future research.

Chapter 7: Toward Intersectional History

Introduction

Intersectional history began for me from my realization that women and people of colour are often absent from organizational stories of the past, not because they were not there, but because they were not considered particularly important (Mills & Novićević, 2020; Phillips & Rippin, 2010a, 2010b). Until about 2014, I had never considered the way that women and people of colour were included or excluded in stories about an organization's past. I had simply never thought about it. As I began to think and read within this area of scholarship; however, I was always left dissatisfied by the lack of approaches that focused on more than just women, or race. This thesis is the product of my continued thinking, learning, and experimenting with how to combine intersectionality with history, in an organizational context. What I've tried to develop throughout this thesis is that: *Intersectional history is a theoretical framework combining a critical theorization of intersectionality with a postmodern theorization of historiography and the study of the past.* My primary motivation for trying to develop something like IH was the need I saw to bring intersectionality into history, and history into intersectionality.

In this final chapter, I will focus on why it is necessary to bring these two domains together, in the way that I do. I outline the contributions of IH to the study of the past, intersectionality, and feminist history. I also focus on the value of IH in organizational contexts, and why I feel that it is an important approach specifically for the field of MOS. I end by discussing the challenges and limitations of IH and the need for future research deploying IH in order to resolve some of these tensions.

The Need for Intersectional History

As I worked on trying to create a way to bring intersectionality and history together, it wasn't clear what the benefit of bringing intersectionality to the study of past might be. Was it even possible to bring a concept like intersectionality to the past? This thinking drew me to postmodern theorizations of history; to scholars like Jenkins (1991) and White (1973) whose works offered a way to destabilize traditional understandings of producing historical accounts of the past. However, these postmodern approaches to studying the past didn't seem to feature much consideration of issues, such as gender, race, and other complex categories of identity, as these are written into, or out of, the past. Similarly, intersectionality seemed to me to be primarily a concept built for the present; something to help explain the complex power relations involved in maintaining identity-based inequality in so many of our societal systems and institutions.

I got stuck on one specific point: although intersectionality sought to analyze systemic inequities based on categories of identity, I could not see those writing in the field challenging the underlying assumptions embedded within history. So, while authors would suggest that identity-based oppression emerged over time, they did not seem to question the historiographic operation that produced knowledge *about* the previous time, or the past. To me, discussing history without critiquing it in an intersectional paper seemed antithetical to what more critical intersectional theorists posited: that categories of identity are not fixed (Collins & Bilge, 2016). If we have to be concerning about reifying categories of identity in intersectional approaches, should we not also be concerned about reifying history in the same way? I could not find intersectional researchers challenging

the taken-for-granted nature of history or approaching history in a way that was theoretically aligned with my critical-informed philosophy and understanding of intersectionality. For me, it made sense that postmodern historiography could philosophically ‘fit’ with a critical theorization of intersectionality. While there were researchers working in a poststructural realm who were also concerned with feminist history (Morgan, 2009; Scott, 1988), a postmodern approach that considered intersectionality seemed to be missing.

In addition to the philosophical misalignment that I felt appeared between intersectionality and history, management history also seemed to lack a focus on issues of gender, race, class, and other categories of identity (Phillips & Rippin, 2010b). While historical management research featuring a concern with gender issues and impacts has been increasing, it still remains a slim body of work, today, in 2022 (Mills & Williams, 2021). Barring a few exceptions (Hendricks et al., 2020; Ruel et al., 2018; Shaffner et al., 2017, 2019), there has also been limited work considering intersectionality or intersectional issues as part of management history (Mills & Novičević, 2020). I also felt that intersectionality had not been fully theorized in MOS in light of recent intersectional literature (Collins, 2019; Collins & Bilge, 2016), perhaps due to the seemingly unending multiple understandings and underpinnings of intersectionality that confuse its application and purpose (Mercer et al., 2016). Taken all together, the issues described in this section were what initially motivated me to pursue a philosophically-aligned theoretical approach that combined a critical theorization of intersectionality, with a postmodern approach to the past, in the context of MOS, with the aim of contributing to a small, but important body of work investigating intersectionality in a way that made sense to me.

The Contributions of Intersectional History

I suggest that IH has the potential to contribute to three broad areas: the field of history, the field of intersectionality, and the field of management history.

The Intersectional Contribution.

It is possible that IH could bring a new focus to the importance of history in intersectionality. Currently, the overlap of history and intersectionality in intersectional scholarship primarily occurs through debates about the history of intersectionality as a concept itself (Hancock, 2016). While tracing the history of the concept is valuable, moving beyond history solely as an element to consider as part of an understanding or definition of intersectionality may be an interesting avenue to explore. Particularly, IH provides the theorization of postmodern history (Jenkins, 1991), that I consider to be useful for interrogating how knowledge about the past is produced. I feel strongly that without a critical, antirealist approach to the past such as that which postmodernist historiography offers, it is difficult to talk about oppression in both the past and the present. A postmodern theorization of the past, compared with a more traditional understanding of history, I suggest, is necessary to avoid reproducing taken-for-granted, dominant historical accounts of the institutions which have contributed to, and largely maintain, powerful, overlapping systems of oppression. In order to destabilize these systems, their very foundations as they emerge through historical repetition (Dhamoon, 2011), I suggest, must be interrogated and critiqued for alternative understandings.

The Historical Contribution.

In addition to bringing a problematized approach to history to the field of intersectionality, I suggest that another potential contribution of IH is bringing a useful theorization of intersectionality to the field of history. History as a discipline has not broadly adopted intersectionality as an analytic; however, I suggest that there is an appetite for something like IH in the field of feminist history (Morgan, 2009; Smith & Marmo, 2011). Bringing an approach like IH to the field of feminist history would help respond to Morgan's (2009) call for more heterogeneity within the field, in order to generate more nuanced insights of women in the past. IH may have the potential to be one such approach, if mobilized empirically to examine women and minorities in a variety of historical contexts. It perhaps also offers a useful way out of the paralyzing unease of intersectionality that sometimes plagues researchers trying to engage with the concept (Nash, 2017). By placing a particular theorization of intersectionality together with a relatively familiar theorization of history, scholars in history, and feminist history in particular, could pick up IH where I am putting it down to extend and apply empirically, without the paralytic of theorizing intersectionality for a particular approach to the past. This may make it easier, I suggest, to bring intersectionality into historical analyses, and help promote a body of work in history that considers overlapping systems of oppression that emerge from particular configurations of categories of identity.

The Management Contribution.

I suggest that the primary contribution of IH is to studying intersectionality in MOS, and its related fields of historical organization studies and critical organizational

history. As discussed, the body of intersectional work in the broad field of MOS is very slim; however, as I've tried to show, the potential for intersectionality to provide new insights into the production and endurance of discrimination within organizations over time, is great. There is a lot of space in the field to bring an intersectional approach, such as IH, into historical organizational analyses. While the philosophical foundations and theorization of IH are more appropriate, I suggest, for critically-informed historical analysis, the empirical possibilities of deploying IH are vast within this area. For example, I suggest that IH can help reveal how systems of oppression are produced and maintained *within* organizations, *through* an organization's past, and in the stories it produces about its past. This can perhaps assist in revealing distinct patterns of discrimination as a result of identity-based oppression over an organization's past, and the impact of these patterns on current discrimination in the present.

While I do not go this far in my own demonstration of IH in Chapter 6, I feel there is the possibility to use IH to travel from the past toward the present in order to better understand discrimination in a current organizational time and context. For example, preliminary research that I have completed looking at Aboriginal Australian women at Qantas subsequent to the Post-War Years, suggests that the overlap of systems of oppression relevant to this group perpetuates powerful notions of who belongs and who doesn't for years to come. For example, although Aboriginal Australians were working within the organization, I argue, for most of its existence, they remain almost completely invisible within the organizational material until the very late 1980s. Perhaps, decades of being portrayed as unimportant and less than human within the organization's material contributes to Aboriginal Australians in the 1980s, for example, trying to shed their

identity as Aboriginal Australian. For example, an article that I found in a staff news issue from December 1988, quoted their newly-hired Aboriginal Employment Co-Ordinator, Diat Callope, as saying, “There are fewer than ten Aborigines in the company. But there may be quite a few more who have failed to identify themselves as Aborigines, she says. ‘I don’t blame them’” (p. 12). The societal racism toward Aboriginal Australians, combined with the enduring power of the organizational portrayal that derogated Aboriginal Australian men and women may have contributed, over the 20th century, to increased discrimination within the organizational context. Although I cannot explore this path further in this thesis, I suggest that it is important to consider the way that past portrayals contribute to notions of people or groups of people and the unique configurations of oppression upon them, through time, to today’s present.

Challenges and Limitations of Intersectional History

IH is not without significant challenges and limitations. Intersectionality and history, within or without a management focus, are two areas where there can be a great deal of dispute and disagreement about definition and appropriate use (Bilge, 2013; Durepos et al., 2020). One of the primary challenges for IH that I see as a result of this complex space is that there may be disagreement related to how I have theorized both intersectionality and history within each respective domain.

Debates.

Intersectional scholars who consider my arguments may disagree entirely with how I have theorized intersectionality, because it can be such a mercurial space between advocates for different definitions, theorizations, and uses of the term (Nash, 2017).

Intersectional scholarship occurs in such a vast space that it is difficult to consider all arguments for and iterations of the term, even in a text of this length. If intersectional scholars disagree with how I have employed the term, then it is unlikely they will find any use for IH. Similarly, scholars engaged with historiography in particular may disagree with how I have characterized postmodern historiography around ideas from various theorists, such as Keith Jenkins and Hayden White. Postmodernism and the consequences of its positioning on producing knowledge about the past is contentious (Evans, 1999). The postmodernism within IH may, therefore, result in a reluctance for those in historiography to consider IH as a potential approach for their work. In MOS, for example, the postmodernist element of IH may repel some who feel strongly about appropriate historical method (Bowden, 2018), and thereby result in the rejection of what intersectionality could bring to the field as well. Because of the complexity and contentiousness of both intersectionality and a postmodern theorization of the past, there may be a lack of agreement on theory, which would undermine my intent for IH to actually be deployed empirically.

Subjectivity.

Another challenge of IH is the subjectivity involved. While I have tried to account for the subjectivity in my delineation of the philosophical contours of IH, the way insights are generated from the material is directly related to an individual's subjective interpretation and experience of the material. The lack of objective rules to follow, the ambiguity and the mess that results may lead to hesitation to consider IH as a framework for studying the past in organizations. Additionally, since there remains a majority contingent in the field of MOS who retain a more positivist approach to research, the

philosophical position of IH may be challenged on the basis of legitimacy. IH, I suggest, cannot be judged on positivist standards of research and knowledge production; however, the field of MOS, and historical organization studies both tend to impose those standards. It is difficult to defend one's own choices and interpretations against these standards.

Applications.

How to apply IH – how to do it, and in what instances is it appropriate—is another challenge. While I have shown how I use IH in the case of Qantas to generate new insights about people, categories, and systems over time, it is possible that others will remain unclear on how to apply IH. This lack of clarity may arise from my reluctance to place too many boundaries around the term and its potential applications. In my view, applying, or doing IH means bringing the philosophical contours to one's research, first and foremost. Those philosophical contours, I suggest, emphasize possibility—the possibility for IH to be useful across a wide variety of historical investigations in a number of fields. However, in the MOS context, I suggest that an approach such as I have done is useful. Focusing on individuals, categories of identity, and systems of oppression while remaining informed by the philosophical contours allows for new insights and stories about those marginalized in the past to emerge, while also providing a structure to move through material and time. The way that IH, as I have applied it, builds from the individual, to the categorical, to the level of systems, allows for a comprehensive consideration of how something like discrimination in organizations is affected by broad and enduring issues of identity.

So how do you apply IH? I suggest that you ask a question aligned with its philosophical contours. This question will likely center in some way on the role of marginalized peoples in a certain context, over a certain time, such as Aboriginal Australians at Qantas over the twentieth century. Second, you use all sources available, such as archival documents and written histories, to understand what is considered dominant and known within that particular context or institution. For example, at Qantas, the dominant historical narratives focused on white men. This step encompasses the familiarizing and interrogating stages I mention in Chapter 5. Once familiar with as much material as possible, and once interrogated for what it reveals and appears to conceal, I suggest that you move to a generating stage. In this stage, you generate alternative understandings of your particular context and time periods by moving from the individual, to the categorical, and to overlapping systems of oppression. The way knowledge about each of these three levels is produced is a function of your own interpretation of the material, your own background, and your own ideologies or biases.

As I have stated, this is just the way that *I* have developed the application of IH. As a theoretical framework, I see IH having applications for a variety of fields, but the particular constitution of that application may vary. I suggest that as long as the philosophical contours are kept central, and in some way the relationships of individuals, categories, and systems are explored, then IH can be applied in a multitude of ways, to a multitude of historical questions and investigations.

Related to the application of IH is another, more pragmatic challenge. Doing IH depends on the scope and availability of material. Whereas I was lucky to have a huge amount of material related to Qantas, not all organizations or institutions have records, or

permit access to them. It will be a difficult challenge for someone attempting to use IH to guide a study of the past, if there is little archival material to work with. Because IH is not concerned with specific evidentiary sources, but rather finding possible paths within the material to explore, I suggest that IH is an approach best suited to use when material is plentiful. That way, there is something to explore.

Distinctions.

Another difficulty of IH is what makes it distinct from other, similar approaches. For example, one potential challenge to IH is regarding its distinction from feminist historical thought (FHT).

FHT.

FHT focuses on centering women within historical contexts, with a feminist approach (Morgan, 2006). This important field not only focuses on telling the stories of women, but also on challenging powerful, gender-based narratives (Bennett, 2006). These narratives often focus on the success or the prowess of men, while ignoring the roles and contributions of women. FHT brings women into the frame by recovering their stories, but also focuses on challenging gendered versions of history overall (Bennett, 2006). For example, by pointing out the way that patriarchy has obscured the role of domestic life for centuries, scholars engaged in FHT make clear the gendered nature of history (Rowbotham, 1997). This serves to destabilize dominant narratives and make space for alternatives including women. For example, Ferguson (1984) demonstrates the way that bureaucracy is tied to patriarchy and challenges the assumptions underpinning both these

ideas through inserting women and a feminist perspective into understandings of industrialization and work.

While the ethos of FHT certainly overlaps with key aspects of IH, FHT is focused primarily on destabilization through a gender lens. There has been some incorporation of race and other aspects of identity and difference into FH analysis; however, the primary focus is usually on women and gender (Smith, 1988). Those working in traditions of the post, such as poststructuralism, highlight that the category of “woman” is constructed through language over time (Riley, 1988; Scott, 1988), and that these constructions endure through repetition. This is similar to how I understand categories of identity in IH. However, what IH brings that is distinct from FHT is a focus first and foremost on multiple aspects of identity. IH is informed by some of the same key ideas as FHT but can reasonably be used to explore multiple categories of difference, and, critically, the way they overlap as systems of oppression. I suggest that FHT is focused on destabilizing reified notions of identity, but it has been less focused on how multiple notions overlap (Morgan, 2009).

While FHT could be employed to look at multiple categories of identity and their overlap in systems of oppression, the field did not develop in this direction, and continues to lack a focus on categories of identity other than gender (Morgan, 2009). FHT scholars recognize the importance of including other categories, such as race, class, and sexual orientation into their analyses; however, often this has led to the development of subfields, such as lesbian history (Vicinus, 1994), instead of a broader FHT field. Lesbian history focuses on identity and sexual orientation, but again largely lacks a focus on multiple, overlapping categories of identity beyond the factors of gender and orientation

(Smith, 1998). IH allows for not just one or two categories to be considered, but for multiple categories, their overlapping impacts, and systems of oppression to be the *primary* focus and concern.

The centrality of multiple categories of identity and their overlap, as well as the focus on multiple systems of oppression that connect to – but are not secondary to – patriarchy makes IH distinct from FHT. However, I do see IH as a branch of FHT, just as other feminist-informed histories stem from this larger area of scholarship. IH undoubtedly owes a debt to FHT.

Postmodern Historiography.

Another potential challenge to IH is related to its distinction from postmodern historiography. Postmodern historiography, as I have theorized it, features a strong focus on language, social construction, power, and systems of oppression (Jenkins, 1991, 2003). If these aspects are already a critical component of postmodern historiography *without* an intersectional lens, then what can IH add?

I suggest that one of the major things IH adds is, again, the *primary* focus on multiple categories of identity and overlapping systems of oppression. While postmodern historiography features a strong concern with power relations and the way those power relations impact the endurance of systems of oppression, there is less focus on the overlap of those systems, and the outcome of those overlaps. Much like I discussed above in my section on FHT, postmodern historiography *could* focus on this overlap. There is nothing that precludes a focus on how overlapping systems of oppression that are based in discursive, social constructions of categories of identity from being central in a postmodern historiography. However, this has not been the focus. Instead, systems of

oppression and ideologies are considered in relation to language and identity, but not necessarily the overlap of those systems and ideologies. IH permits this focus on these overlaps, and the way that its impacts can be traced over time, such as I have done with Qantas. This, I suggest, helps explain how social relations contribute to and reinforce discriminatory practices within contexts such as organizations. The overlap of certain categories of identity and the privileging of some over others can help reveal discrimination, or discriminatory practices emerge *through and over* time. They do not emerge from nothing. For example, as I emphasize in my case on Qantas, the silencing of Aboriginal Australians in the organization can be understood in relation to their derogatory, identity-based construction in *The Early Years* by Qantas. This construction, I suggest, was so powerful, that it served to ‘eradicate’ Aboriginal Australians from organizational material for decades. While perhaps not surprising, the way that the discrimination and silencing of Aboriginal Australians can be traced back to their initial portrayal by the organization, and the benefit this portrayal had for the organization at the time, is useful to trace. It allows for new understandings, I suggest, of discriminatory practices. In this section I have focused on Aboriginal Australians, but IH can offer new understandings of the discriminatory practices employed by organizations such as Qantas against other marginalized groups as well.

The enduring challenge of achieving equity within societies and its institutions, such as businesses, remains problematic today. This points to the need for approaches such as IH that combine multiple, commensurate but distant literatures in new and novel ways. Postmodernist historiography combined with the distant, but I suggest,

commensurate, theorizing of critical intersectionality allows for insights distinct from what postmodern historiography alone may offer.

Conclusion

Despite the challenges of IH, I maintain that it has the potential to be a useful addition within the field of MOS, and potentially in other fields as well. The need for more research on difference, discrimination, and categories of identity beyond gender (Mills & Novićević, 2020) alone points to the potential value of this theoretical framework. The ability to generate new insights into oppression and discrimination over time within organizations, together with the possibility for producing alternative accounts of the past that re-interpret the valuable roles and contributions of minorities who are often lost to posterity, for me, makes IH a useful addition to the tools and approaches currently in our disciplinary toolbox. I am hopeful that others will consider its potential for intersectionality, for history, and most critically, for MOS.

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