IMAGES OF GENDER ARRANGEMENTS OF THREE AMERICAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF TOP RANKED GOOGLE IMAGES OF INDIVIDUALS PREFORMING ORGANIZATIONAL ROLES

by

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B.S., Kansas State University, 2000
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AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

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Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work
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Abstract

This study explores existing beliefs and often unspoken social structural arrangements related to male privileges by examining three different, but rather important, American social organizations—the NFL, U.S. military and higher education institutions. With queries from the Google image database, I analyzed images for themes from search terms of organizations thereby tapping into the consciences of society. Since a high volume of images are produced by Google Image search, a maximum of 25 results of each search term are included as potential sources of images for this study. The primary category of non-specific gender search terms of Google images are: NFL Players, U.S. soldiers, and college students. In addition, this study also utilized a subset category of gender and sexuality specific Google search terms that are related to the primary category search terms. The subset category of gender and sexuality specific Google search terms of images are: women of the NFL, NFL gay players, U.S. female soldiers, U.S. gay soldiers, college volleyball players, and fraternity life. Both the U.S. military and the NFL presented images of men preforming competitive or aggressive activities that can be defined as masculine labors. These images are reflections of the ideal masculine male playing a special role in U.S. society—the “warrior” male. Yet most images depicted U.S. soldiers in clean combat uniform with military weapons at a ready to engage in battle. This suggests that either U.S. military have some control over images that can be displayed on popular websites. Even though page ranking software gives the appearance that popular websites are the product of algorithm but there is some evidence that ranking can be manipulated by organizations. Colleges take manipulating popular websites to another level to reach their potential clients. Unlike the U.S. military and the NFL’s search terms results that presented images of men preforming masculine activities, college students’ search term results images are images of students displaying
activities that show individuals in the act of being polite and pleasant to others, as well as being supportive. I suggest that the idea behind presenting images with a feminine slant is to attract the group that is most likely to attend college after high school, which is female. College websites will most likely to have staged images of study groups and professors teaching to a small group of students. The websites featured staged images of students, in which students are almost flawless in appearance, a phenomena that could only be achieved through doctoring, cosmetics, and computer retouching. This type of images is more likely to be attractive to potential students that are searching the internet for potential colleges to attend in the future. Moreover, Photoshop images of students assist colleges and universities in controlling the images they want to introduce to potential students and media. Colleges are prudent on how much to display in images of heterosexual relationships. Most staged images that displayed heteronormativity are male and female students studying within each other personal space. It would seem that images of homosexual relationships are still taboo on college websites because there are no staged images that indicated homosexual relationship between college students. I believe that these reflections are presented as organizational websites’ marketing strategies. The marketing strategies of website designers are to implement a group think mentality of those seeking information of a specific term. This action is caused by search engine page ranking software in order to organize highly interconnected websites toward one idea thus influencing a large number of potential and current customers’ decisions. In today’s technologically connected society, societal perception of what constitutes masculinity, femininity and sexuality starts with a well-designed website. The findings will perhaps have important implications for understanding to how the negative outcomes of male privileges remain entrenched in social institutions and benefit certain segments of society at the cost of others.
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Dedication

I dedicate my dissertation to my wife Naho Nagai, my son Kaisei Nagai-Velasquez, and daughter Kiku Nagai-Velasquez who believed and supported me immensely throughout my educational career. To my parents, Eugene and Jessie Velasquez, I know you are very proud of my achievements. To my brothers and sisters, Kim, Tracy, Bobby, and Curtis, who provided encouragement and support throughout this journey. Continuance of my educational career could not have been possible without everyone’s encouragement, motivation, support and love.
Chapter 1 - Introduction

The image depicts three American soldiers in full combat gear marching up a dirt road in an arid environment. This is the top Google image of the search term *U.S. soldiers*. The cultural meanings assigned to this image can be viewed through many different perspectives. For some individuals, the image is about American power and heroism as American soldiers march off to rescue a smaller and weaker nation from a tyrant. On the other side of the spectrum, the image can be viewed as an example of American neo-colonialism as the soldiers march to impose the will of the United States government on a smaller and weaker nation. The positioning of this picture as the top Google Image response for the search term *U.S. soldiers* shows the unique importance of visual images in the internet age. The picture is a packaged media but retained the top position because it also fits cultural expectations for this search. Of course there are probably many different perspectives that consumers attached to this image and the popularity of this image and other strikingly similar ones for this search term do not represent a monolithic culture expression. However, this is an example of an internet image that is part of contemporary communication on how individuals assess “the value and importance of current events—from the most serious to the most banal” (Hayward, 2010: p 123).

Today, over three-quarters of the U.S. households have access to the internet (File, 2013) and Google is the most used search engine in the United States (Alexa Internet Inc. 2016). The digital world of internet images has permeated our society and it is so pervasive that some individuals have suggested that it has a significant influence on U.S. culture. These images also reflect cultural preferences as the ranking in mostly determined by frequency of views. Most people realize that the images on the internet do not always reflect reality. However, that does not mean that these images are not influential on individuals seeking information and/or a
reflection of existing cultural preferences. Organizations spend a great deal of resources attempting to influence individuals through their advertisements designed to represent a type of ideal image of the way that organizations do business (Hermeking, 2005). Moreover, organizational images are an ongoing construction of gender, sexuality, and racial meanings that get defined, reinforced, and distorted but help to define how male and female should look and perform within specific institutions or organizations. Thus organizational images are the visible part of organizational arrangements.

This study explores existing beliefs and often unspoken social organizational arrangements related to internet images by examining three different, but rather important, American social organizations—the NFL, US military, and U.S higher education institutions. The images created for these organizations on the internet and other types of media are not a one way directional process. It can also be conceptualized as a series of loops (Hayward, 2010). That is, the viewers have an effect on which images are most viewed. If the image of three American soldiers is the most viewed image of a Google search of the term *U.S. soldier*, then it would be wise for other organizational website designers to capture the content of the top image and reproduced similar images to capture the attention of their potential audience. Thus most of the top images of a Google search would have similar content and could be used to gather insight at the point of time of the research on the different but important sociological concepts—gender, race, and sexuality. The research of top Google images of specific terms is kind of like a barometer that takes readings of current cultural perceptions of social institutions. That is, important current social cultural events may challenge or reinforce cultural perceptions and organizational also attempt to control their image by crafting aspects of this media. So, what are distinctive and defining features of Google images as a cultural barometer? How do Google
images reflect our understanding of organizational arrangements? Do Google images reflect and reinforce social cultural gender, sexuality, and race arrangements?

**Establishing a Problem: Organizational Arrangements and Images**

Cultural loops and spirals are the framework of “an ongoing process by which everyday life recreates itself in its own image” (Hayward, 2010: p 130). Starting from this cultural criminology perspective, individuals try to give meaning to organizational images. Most organizational images are similar for most individuals that are connected to the type of roles the individuals perform in the organization. That is, if you are a U.S. soldier than you go to war, if you are a NFL player than you play football, and if you are a college student than you go to class. Even though, U.S. culture expects all groups to adhere to an American essentialism, which is to continue the American Dream by accumulating wealth and power under the assumption of open individual competition but there is a caveat that goes with expectation (Messner and Rosenfeld, 1994). There are different expectations that are based on an individual’s gender, race, class, and sexuality. Hence, organizational arrangements are not same for all individuals in an organization, which often lead to questions about fairness in the arrangements. That is, does U.S. culture expect females that play sports and males fraternity members to adhere to standard gender practices? What are the types of organizations that produce the most popular Google images for the social institutions included in this research? Why types of images do organizations use to depict social cultural arrangements and shape beliefs about these institutions? How do gender, sexual orientation and race influence the image of a solider, a student, or an athlete? What are the unspoken cultural beliefs reflected in Google images by various and slightly modified search terms? Therefore, pictures from the different types of media are used to display organizational images that may reflect organizational arrangements. In
addition, organizational images may reproduce the transgression and social control of the individuals connected to the organization and the smaller embedded organizations.

While Google images may represent the current technology, the importance of visual representations of culture has been the focal point of research for years. In Goffman’s (1979) *Gender Advertisements* article, he analyzed gender images in advertisements. He argued that women and men are often portrayed in stereotypical fashions, which are often based on the cultural construct of the ideals of masculinity and femininity. That is, women are primarily to preform family roles in the private sphere and when in the public sphere women are to occupy lower status positions than men. In addition, women’s sexuality is frequently used in men’s advertisements to suggest a sexual relationship for men who use the advertised product (Baker, 2005). Though women’s occupational statuses have improved significantly since Goffman’s analysis, more recent studies have shown that the images of women in advertisements have not changed significantly (Kilbourne, 2013; Brown, 2012; Milburn, Carney, & Ramirez, 2001). That is, women’s images are still shown mostly in submissive positions and as sex objects in the private and public sectors.

So not only do the meanings of the images loop back on themselves over and over again to intensify, misrepresent, and define the individual’s experience within an organization but some loops develop into cultural spirals (Hayward, 2010). Loops are relatively self-contained events of similar images that depict a particular practice in a short period of time. However, spirals are the background construct of all the loops’ meanings that have staying power in U.S. culture, such as stereotyped roles defined by cultural or organizational arrangements. The spirals have influence over the loops similar to social structures have influence over individuals. In this way, Google images reflect aspects of both loops and spirals. Even though images and meanings
of organizations change, there are some meanings that persist over time. An example of a spiral influencing loops is images of U.S. soldiers in full combat gear, which was a common occurrence over fifty years ago in advertisements and other media (Padilla & Laner, 2002). The culture loops of U.S. soldiers’ images would reflect that era, which would be the U.S. soldiers fighting in Vietnam as oppose to U.S. soldiers fighting in Afghanistan in today’s images. The uniforms, technology, and location would be different between the different eras. Therefore, the cultural loops and their meanings would reflect the differences between the two time periods. The cultural spirals and their meanings would be similar between the two time periods. That is, images of U.S. soldiers in advertisements would likely in both time periods display White heterosexual soldiers and reflect a patriotic nationalistic image linked to American social and power arrangements.

The cultural loops that are generated in contemporary images of U.S. soldiers are still of masculine males, especially in advertisement (Brown, 2012). However, other kinds of loops of U.S. soldiers likewise will have influence on the cultural spirals of individuals in the military. In contemporary media an individual can search the internet and find U.S. female soldiers in full combat gear. In addition, a quick search on the internet an individual can find U.S. gay soldiers that are featured prominently by different media organizations. These types of cultural loops that are present in today’s media have evolved from a different media form or were almost nonexistent in the media doing the Vietnam War era. For example, images of women in the military during the Vietnam era were depicted as mostly as nurses and rarely as combatants (Brown, 2012). In addition, images of gay soldiers during the Vietnam era were almost nonexistent. Although an individual could go on to the internet today and do a search on U.S. gay soldiers during the Vietnam era and find many images of gay soldiers. However, most
images of gay men are from contemporary online news magazines that are doing a historical perspective on gay in the U.S. military. These examples suggest that there have been some changes in cultural beliefs about gender and sexual orientation of the typical soldier. In fact, formal acceptance of gays in the military and the expansion of women’s roles have occurred in the last 5 years, with the repeal of the “Don’t Ask/Don’t Tell” (DADT) policy and the Department of Defense (DoD) opening all jobs to women, including combat roles (Pellerin, 2015). Cultural spirals can be visualized through organizational images from the past to the present, which than can be used to identify the changes in the contemporary loops over time.

Each of the organizations in this study uses core images as a “cathexis,” which is utilized as an investment of emotional energy into an organizational image that shapes passion and acts as a shield against change (Connell, 1987). Each organization has a cathexis that embodies organizational arrangements that are fashioned into an ideal type of individuals. In our culture, cathexis objects “are generally defined by the dichotomy and the opposition of feminine and masculinity; and sexual practices is mainly organized in heterosexual couple relationship” (Connell, 1987: p 112). Thus organizational images are often depicted as a guise of male essentialism, heteronormativity, and meritocracy. For the U.S. military it is about how our country practices projecting power over other nations with U.S. soldiers as the visible centerpiece of this power. For U.S. sports, it is the National Football league (NFL). The popularity of this very lucrative game made it the most popular sport in the United States (Oguntoyinbo, 2014). The NFL is similar to the U.S. military in that NFL is about regional teams projecting power within the United States albeit a different form of power than that used by the military. The core image of the NFL is the hyper masculine players. Both U.S. soldiers and NFL players are working in organizations that present hegemonic masculine and heteronormative
activities as normal arrangements thus men associated with both organizations are seen to embody the essential masculine traits required to perform these activities. For higher education, U.S. colleges and universities are considered the best in the world (Hazelkorn, 2015). The core image that represents higher education is typical coed college students. Although higher education institutions are not as fundamentally associated with hegemonic masculine and heteronormative image as part of their organizational arrangements, higher education institutions do operate as a hegemonic masculine and heteronormative hierarchy structure that conceal privileges that are ingrained in the organizational arrangement (Jacobs, 1996). However, the meanings of images of higher education institutions are ambiguous because it lacks the dichotomy and the opposition of feminine and masculinity like the U.S. military and the NFL.

By utilizing Google Images to explore gender related cultural loops and spirals and by analyzing images of different organizations this research provides insight into existing beliefs and often unspoken social structural arrangements related to three important social cultural organizational in America. Google Images provides important societal expressions because they are, in part, packaged media controlled by organizational decision makers, but they are also prioritized by the frequency of site visitors. Images indicate a reflection of how organizations present themselves to the public and how the public views these organizations.

The findings have important implications for understanding how negative outcomes of organizational arrangements remain entrenched in social institutions and benefit certain segments of society at the cost of others. This research also offers insight into understanding how organizational arrangements perpetrate social inequality. That is, organizational arrangements are templates used by individuals to be become part of the organization culture even if the arrangements discriminatory in nature. For example, gay NFL football players that are currently
playing in the NFL adopt organizational arrangements by remaining silence about being gay. Some players may even adopt a fake heterosexual lifestyle. These gay players adapt their behavior and appearance fearing reprisal from other players and coaches if they were to come out when they are playing football (Anderson, 2010). So it is the player’s best interest to remain silence about the inequity in the system than to be punished for not accepting organizational arrangements and for being different. Before proceeding, a description of the three organizations is provided for understanding specific features that may be unique to each organization including beliefs about heteronormativity, hegemonic masculinity, femininity, and organizational core images.

**Organizations and Their Core Images**

By examining organizations within varying contexts in the media assist researchers in understand the relationship between organizational arrangements and individual traits like masculinity and sexuality, and their influence on the longer lasting cultural meanings, especially images that perpetrate stereotypes from a different era. Online news magazines, search engines, and other types of media from the internet provide images and texts to establish the relation between organizations and their audience. That is, the internet media and the viewers are in a reciprocal system that translates and transforms images into a framework for how society understands organizational (Kitzinger, 2004). From this framework, the online media may unknowingly link organizational images to stereotypes roles.

In order to assess differences between the images of the different types of organizations, this study explores links between organizational images that depict gender, race, and sexuality and Google searches of primary search terms as well as slightly alter search terms. That is, the images on the internet are adopted and passed on to other members of society through internet
ranking algorithms, and consequently this type of media is a reflection of unspoken ideology that support gender arrangements for certain groups to attain as a desire status (Baker, 2005). Thus, the analyses of the images assisted in determining their potential effects on viewers’ understanding of how the organization’s core images assist in the construct of organizational arrangements.

The two hegemonic masculine and heteronormative organizations that are presented in this study are the U.S. military and the National Football League (NFL). These two organizations openly present a hegemonic masculine and heteronormative images. Masculinity is the result of widely accepted ways of thinking that defines male dominance and promotes it as fair, reasonable, and in the best interest of society (Connell, 1987). The heteronormative label indicates that sexual practice is of a traditional form (i.e., man with woman) but also a normal “way of life” with a purpose of marginalization of other sexualities as part of its legitimacy (Jackson, 2006). The addition of heterosexuality with hegemonic masculinity increases the intensity level of individuals to the point where it is more about a conquering sexual lifestyle. Sociologist Catherine MacKinnon (1996) put forth the idea that forced sex has always existed to women’s societal conditions. So instead of sexual partners sharing intimate experiences, the experiences become an act of domination with the weaker members of society submitting to the stronger members. These organizations are monuments to masculine and heterosexual male power, and their domination over all other groups.

In addition, these types of organizations have hegemonic masculine and heteronormative core images that are discernible by the “warrior” males, which is a symbolic image for the NFL but a literal image for the U.S. military. As if one of the functions for this type of organization is to display images that represent heterosexual vitality, physical strength, aggressive behavior,
promote conflict, and to solve problems with violent (Padilla & Laner, 2002; Semino, 2008; Brown, 2012). As well as to depict images that encourages the preservation of heterosexual male dominance while discouraging participation by women and gays at these organizations.

Higher education institutions present images of being a neutral gendered organization. The neutral aspect of gendered organizations is based on an idea that all organizations are organized around men’s “behavior and perspective to represent the human, organizational structures and processes…as gender neutral” (Acker, 1990: p 142). Yet, these organizations have embedded gender specific compositions (e.g., a college football team or a sorority). Most organizations are institutional acknowledgements that labor performed by women and men are affected differently within an organization (Acker, 1990). The acknowledgement allows institutions to compartmentalize labor by gender thus structuring smaller but gender specific subunits within the larger organization in a hierarchal system. More often than not, the gender specific units that are heavily populated by men are higher in the institutional hierarchy than those that are heavily populated by women. That is, the football team will have more influence in college affairs than the women’s volleyball team.

Organizational arrangements may lead to many social problems not only for females but also for males. Some arrangements at organizations can be perceived by some individuals as sexual aggression, and this aggression is then perceived as “natural” organizational arrangements by males and females (Hlavka, 2014 and Mumford et al., 2011). Since these organizational arrangements are perceived as “natural” gendered behavior, it becomes easy for societies to overlook such highly offensive behavior. For example, fraternities on colleges present visible images of hegemonic masculine and heteronormative behaviors, yet the fraternities are embedded in the college’s “neutral” gendered organizational images. Recently, fraternities have
been in the news for having “parties” with the stated purpose of engaging in non-consensual sex from their female guests—known as “party rape” (Armstrong et al., 2006). Male groups, like fraternities, and individual male students may construct rules for social interaction events like a fraternity party. Through these social events, fraternity members may try to control female guests through low levels of coercion—pressure to consume a lot of alcohol, manage the party so it is challenging for women to not consent to interaction they would not normally do, and sometimes use physical force like using body weight to make it difficult for a woman to leave the party. The masculine and hyper-heterosexual arrangements direct male students to pursue sex and female students to perform “the role of gatekeeper, further disadvantages women, particularly when virtually all men’s methods of extracting sex are defined as legitimate” (p. 495). The universities contribute to sexual assaults through gendered neutral policies by denying or avoiding “traditional” arrangements of hegemonic masculine and heteronormative activities that are instigated on or near their campuses.

These events plus other factors have caused the Department of Education (2014) to probe higher education institutions for possible violations of Title IX over the handling of sexual violence and harassment complaints. Violations ranged from harassment of sexual assault victims, from both institutions and individuals, to covering up assaults on or near campus. The higher education institutions that engaged in these violations did so to protect the university’s reputation but at the same time accommodate smaller embedded organization’s arrangements. That is, colleges and universities valued protocols and traditions over truth and justice and by ignoring what the experiences of its individual members say about the institution as a whole. Higher education institutions have become complicit toward smaller embedded organization’s arrangements, even towards those arrangements can cause harm to others. In addition, most
colleges and universities have been aware of the problem of sexual assault on their campuses for at least 20 years and have not done much to address the problem (Armstrong et al., 2006).

On a more mundane level of organizational arrangements, some organizational hierarchal systems can cause systematic inequalities between groups of employees, which may result in some groups to have more access to power. In addition, some organizations will have more control over goals, resources, and outcomes, including on “how work is organized, opportunities for promotion, security in employment and benefits; pay and other monetary rewards” (Acker, 2006: p 443), which all leads to heterosexual male employees having more access to privileges than female and LGBT employees.

**National Football League’s Organizational Arrangements**

The socializing process of turning males into a hegemonic masculine and heteronormative “warrior” males start at an early age (Messner, 2009). The belief is that boys and girls need proper modeling of femininity and masculinity and that one way to model this is through structural coaching (Thorne, 1993). Starting sports at an earlier age does not mean the male and females players’ preconceptions may evolve to hegemonic masculine and heteronormative types of behavior. However, they do develop images like gays are effeminate thus they are really girls, and we all know girls cannot play sports (Hekma, 1998). Males and females playing sports still have many other agencies that may contribute to players’ behavior. However, by the time men are playing in college and professional football leagues, men are well on their way to be the core image of organization that promotes the hegemonic masculine and heteronormative individual or the “warrior” male. Sports, like the NFL, construct their identities by sculpting men bodies to align with hegemonic perspectives of masculinity to embody, express, and reproduce behavior of domination, violence, and privilege (Anderson, 2011). Men
feel honor to exhibit these traits on the field in front of a national audience on every Sunday during the fall. This is highly paid, visibly gendered, and heteronormative profession that brings affluence to those highly paid warriors who also frequently express their domination, violence, and privilege off the field (Webb, 2011).

The NFL main business product is the male players. There has never been or will there be in the near future a female football player, coach, or CEO in the NFL. There is no policy that denies women from being NFL football players but most of U.S. society believes that women do not have the body or the nature to succeed in the NFL (MacManus, 2011). Thus most men and women are not against NFL hegemonic masculine cultural barrier. Not only are women denied the labor that defines the NFL but also accepts the organizational arrangements as an established way of how individuals should act and think. Therefore, it is hard to observe inequity in organizational arrangements when a group of individuals do not participate in the job that defines the organization. This is especially true for cheerleaders even though it takes extraordinary athletic abilities to perform this role. Nevertheless, cheerleaders’ character are portrayed in the media by emphasize their hyper-femininity and heterosexuality instead of defining them as athletes (Kane et al., 2013). In addition, a lot of the images focused on females’ body parts that have been sexualized in our society, like women wearing body paint of NFL logos on their breasts and bottoms. Likewise, most objects that females are connected to are imbued with feminine attributes. The object most commonly used to express femininity is attire, or lack thereof (Driscoll, 2013). An example of this fact can be seen via, the cheerleading outfits the women of the NFL are wearing.

However, gay football players are in a unique position because they may undermine society’s reflection what it means to be hegemonic masculine and heteronormative male
Gay males are perceived as being feminine, yet gay football players can be just as strong and competitive as heterosexual football players thus threatening the apparent differences between gay men and straight men (Bourdieu, 2001). Thus gay football players fuzzy the ideal dichotomy of what it is to be masculine and feminine. Sports have always been a male domain in which men confirm their masculine privilege through their ability to physically outperform women, thus a symbolic arrangement that give men the right to dominate women and those men that they have defeated on a field of battle (Burton, 1995).

**U.S. Military’s Organizational Arrangements**

The U.S. military do present the archetype “warrior” male, Unlike the NFL, the military has a measurable and visible population of women and LGBTs with the status of “warrior” male, which may be problematic for organizations trying to maintain masculine and heteronormative image. The U.S. military maintain masculine and heteronormative image by narrowly define the roles of “real” soldiers and sailors. The military masculine and heteronormative image favors male warriors over female warriors in certain roles by resorting to proxies in identifying “real” warriors (Reskin and Roos, 1990). The military define the image of a “real” soldier by emphasize competition, physical toughness, lack of emotional, and conformity, but most of all a sense of exclusive membership to a hegemonic masculine and heteronormative male club (Connell, 2002). Female and LGBTs soldiers are not envisioned as part of the organizational arrangements. Of course being a warrior male has its privileges and it extends beyond the military border as it permeates into society. For example, many people in our society believe that images of women, gays and lesbians are tarnishing the traditional image of a soldier or a veteran (Polikoff, 1993). Women, gays and lesbians have always been part of the military throughout U.S. military history, yet U.S. society rarely recognized their achievements in wars.
For example, the simple act of labeling a soldier that he or she is a “hero.” Hero status is reserved for soldier who saw combat. Since women cannot formally serve in combat situations (even though they do) this praise is meant only for the male veterans who are the “real” soldier. However, according to Pew Research (Pattern and Parker, 2011), 15% of the women veterans did see combat action during Iraq and Afghanistan Wars even though women are not allowed to serve in combat roles. For men, who are granted access to all roles in the military, there is an assumption by most people that male soldiers served in combat even during periods when U.S. is not at war. The male soldier is looked upon as a “hero” even though there is only 35% chance he saw combat during his tour of duty.

Another example, in the military it is a common organizational arrangement to present images of male soldiers fighting on a battlefield. The images produce an emotionally charged feeling of heroism and patriotism. It is uncommon for societies to present an image of a female soldier fighting on a battlefield. Furthermore, most people in most societies would react negatively toward a female soldier fighting on a battlefield (Elshtain, 1987). The “warrior” male is an essentially hyper-masculine image where male supremacy is bolstered by the overtone of men with power and violence (Radić-Bojanić, 2010). Even though, the U.S. military is seen as gender-blinded, opportunities to escape gender roles, a chance to achieved equality, or a chance to challenge gendered and heteronormative norms (Fenner 2001; Holm 1992; Elshtain, 1995), it is really a highly organized gendered organization that supports the gendered arrangements in U.S. society.

Higher Education Institutions’ Organizational Arrangements

U.S. patriarchal institutions shape how organizations present the images and texts of masculinity and heteronormativity to society. Organizations like colleges and universities may
present “neutral” gendered image that emphasizes “ordinary” masculinity and heteronormativity while other organizations like the NFL openly present a hegemonic masculine and heteronormative image with the “warrior” males as their core image. Colleges and universities are a collection of labor-related organizations where both type of gender behaviors are expected to be displayed and performed in the labors of individuals. For example, it is a common for a university to present images of male and female professors interacting with their students at a university’s setting. The university wants to display the idea that their school is meant for all individuals wishing to work. Although some people may debate how gender or race may affect teaching styles, for most people these examples are standard roles for male and female professors at U.S. universities. Even though colleges and universities present “neutral” gendered images of job equity along gender and race lines, it is standard practice for universities to pay female professors and professors of color less money for doing the same job (Toutkoushian et al., 2007). One reasons why it is possible to pay people different wages with similar education background is because colleges and universities are able to compartmentalize labor.

The organizations that display “neutral” gendered images will likely have compartmentalized smaller organizations embedded within larger organizational structure. The smaller embedded organizations are divided by a distinct division of labor along gender lines, and sometime race. The division of labor along gender lines is an acceptable arrangement in our society that frequently assigns specific images linked to gender (Kurtz, 2006), such as male students playing football and female students being cheerleaders. The Greek system is an example of a smaller embedded organization that is divided by labor and gender, and sometimes by race (Park, 2008). The compartmentalization allows these smaller embedded organizations to emphasize hegemonic masculine and heteronormative images as situational events thus diffusing
critical information of how power is used within the social setting. Similar to Luke’s first face of power that is tied to an “ocular epistemology” (Denzin, 1997), which defines power as something that is expressed in observable relationships: the visible influences of one individual upon another.

Colleges and universities are organizations with visible but ambiguous images of masculinity and heteronormativity. In Bellas’ (1999) article, “Emotional Labor in Academia: The Case of Professors,” she found that professors' work arrangements are gendered as well as the academic reward structure in their college units. Although smaller embedded organization, like College of Arts and Science, College of Engineers, and College of Education, appear to have an impartial discourse when it comes to division of labor along gender line, employees’ skills and responsibilities defined as feminine, such as nurturance, are typically unappreciated and unrewarded by their college unit. In addition, employers tend to reward employees whose skills and responsibilities are defined as masculine, such as jobs with leadership skills like college presidents, thus contributing to disproportionately low percentage of female college presidents (Brown, 2005). Most men are not questioned about their leadership ability when it comes to making management decisions or running a university. Women are questioned about their leadership ability because male’s dominance in leadership positions have led to society’s interpretation that women are not leaders (Billing, 2011). These organizational arrangements of power appear to benefits all individuals equally within colleges and universities.

Thus hiring a man to be a college president appears to be routine arrangement for U.S. colleges. Yet these organizational arrangements deny women leadership opportunities and allow unqualified men access to leadership positions. For example, administrators tend to appreciate and reward skills and responsibilities defined as masculine, such as college football coaches and
college presidents. Both positions are highest paid positions in higher education and both
positions are overwhelmingly held by men (Forbes.com, 2014). Therefore, in higher education it
is these administrators that fit the hegemonic image of being a powerful and successful man with
talent and skills used in defeating their opponents and to further perpetuate the very definitions
of “warrior” developed in our culture (Kimmel, 2003).

Another example of “ocular epistemology” is football teams at universities. Division I
Football Bowl Subdivision (FBS) organization is supported by millions of fans and billions of
dollars each year (Benedict and Keteyian, 2013). A successful college Division I football
program gives an university an image that depicts students have school pride thus in theory this
leads to greater students enrolling and more alumni giving money to the school. Although most
of the wealth gained from a successful football program stays in the athletic department, just
fielding a Division I football team make it seems that the football program benefits all
individuals at the school (Smith, 2009). Thus, this perspective implies that image often deceives
people into doing the bidding of others, even while presuming to serve their own self-interests
(Lukes, 1974).

The images of a university and their football team can be problematic when images
portrayed in the media display organizational arrangements that are unfair to an individual or a
group. For example Katie Hnida is the first woman Division I football player and in her book,
Still Kicking: My Dramatic Journey as the First Woman to Play Division One College Football
(2010), she is the first woman to score points on a Division I football team as a placekicker at the
University of New Mexico. Before she played at University of New Mexico, she played for the
University of Colorado. By the end of her freshman year at University of Colorado, she alleged
that she was “physically, verbally, and sexually harassed…and raped by a fellow teammate” (p:
4). The University of Colorado football coach responded by denouncing her in a television news conference by pointing out her gender and by saying that she was terrible at playing football (McGinley and Cooper, 2013). Even though the university and the football team have a symbiotic relationship, both organizations promote different kinds of images of their organizational arrangements. Whereas college football is supposed to be under the organizational umbrella of higher education, at some colleges and universities it has become the dominated organization. Thus the football team rarely has to answer for their organizational arrangements, even when the football team actions are detrimental to the university’s image.

The smaller embedded organizations, like most college football teams, are under the guise of the universities but their organizational arrangements are similar to those organizations that promote hegemonic masculine and heteronormative behaviors in males. The reason why college football and men basketball teams, especially those teams in Division I, may act chauvinist toward women because those teams generate large sum of revenue for the universities (Schlereth et al., 2014), which buys a lot of tolerance for this kind of organizational arrangements in our capitalist society. In addition, the symbolic “warrior” male athletes’ images are imbued with a “gifted” status. For only a select group of “gifted” individuals are able to run a 40-yard dash under 5 seconds. Thus these individuals are depicted of being hegemonic masculinity and heteronormative individuals. The image of the “warrior” male has strengthened, distorted, and redefined over the years that today their behaviors are seen as situational events since they are viewed as not ordinary individuals like the rest of us.

Chapter 2 of this dissertation explores prior literature that suggests a link between organizational arrangements that are derived from images that are socially constructed from organizations and the internet. This includes exploring the idea that males may use these
organizational arrangements to their advantage during social interaction because of their social position in a stratified gendered society, which allows them to call upon these behaviors to enforce social control over subordinated groups. This review includes three organizations (i.e., NFL, U.S. military and higher education institutions) that often allow hegemonic masculinity and heteronormative organizational arrangements to exist unhindered behind closed doors. This section will also examine organization gender frameworks from preexisting literature. Chapter 3 details the research methodology of this study. This section examines images and organizational arrangements to assist researchers in understanding the relationship between femininity, heteronormativity, hegemonic masculinity, and the influence of crime or “deviant” behaviors have on organizational arrangements and its relationship to its image. Chapter 4 presents the results of integrated framework for visual social research of Google images and the qualitative content analysis of Google articles. Finally, chapter 5 incorporates an extended discussion and concluding thoughts on this topic.
Chapter 2 - Review of the Literature

Researchers have produced a growing body of literature on organizational arrangements and internet images, as well as a separate set of studies addressing gendered structure and male privileges within organizations. However, researchers have had less success in formulating connections between these different bodies of research. One problem has been that indicators of both patriarchy and organizational arrangements are difficult to measure (Lilly et al., 1995). Thus, quantitative and qualitative explanatory research of organizational arrangements within organizations as an effect on individual social action (and in different social settings) has often failed to show any significant relationships across categories. Another problem is that many researchers have generally failed to make theoretical connections among organizational arrangements, internet images, and male privileges. The primary goal of this chapter is to review existing literature that explores relationship between organizational arrangements, internet images, and male privileges.

First, I examine gendered social structural theories and the gendered organizations that are embedded in patriarchal social structure. I review three lines of inquiry of the type organizations that are prevalent in U.S. society: organizations that present hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements; organizations that present “neutral” gendered arrangements; and smaller embedded compartmentalized sub-organizations. I use higher education institutions as examples of organizations that depicting organizational images as “neutral” gendered arrangements, as well as the embedded sub-organizations that are presenting different images from the parental organization. In addition, I use NFL and the U.S. military as examples of organizations that depicting organizational images as hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements. I review studies on the importance of why some organizations present “neutral”
gendered images and arrangements, while other organizations present gendered images and arrangements as hegemonic masculine and heteronormative core image—a “warrior” male image. Finally, I examine the staying power of cultural meanings and the static reframing of organizational images through the implicitness of arrangements of organizations to safeguard gender inequalities that favor heterosexual males.

**Gendered Structural Theories**

Social structure is the framework of society that is laid out before an individual is born. The patriarchal social structure framework is how institutions present images and arrangements of masculinity and heteronormativity to society. Recent theories on gender inequality (Connell, 1987; Acker, 1990; Risman, 1998; and Britton, 2000) treat gender as socially constructed images and arrangements that are an integral part of a stratified social structure often referred to as patriarchy. According to Gerda Lerner (1986) in *The Creation of Patriarchy*, gender is a "costume, a mask, a straitjacket in which men and women dance their unequal dance" (p 238). It is important to understand the matrix of domination that shapes both patterns of individual experience and social structures (Collins, 1990). It was pointed out earlier that there are varieties of invisible issues and social dynamics that have direct influences upon the visible shape of social reality. The dominant group does not produce and disseminate ideology directly, but it does so through the media, teachers, bureaucrats, and institutions. However, we can examine the structural processes of institutions as a significant explanatory factor in obvious inequality, such gender arrangements. By examining organizational images within varying contexts, researchers may understand the relationship between structural power and individual traits, like hegemonic masculinize and heteronormative behaviors, and their influence on cultural meanings and social change. Therefore, it will be informative to examine cultural meanings and their images in
different types of organizations. By examining organizational meanings within organizational arrangements, there may be a better understanding of gender inequality and how structure reproduces it.

Risman’s (1998) theory on ‘Gender as Structure’ is a good foundation to explain organizational arrangements and how organizational images perpetrate gender inequality. ‘Gender as Structure’ illustrates how individuals embedded in stratified social structures are the basis for gender stratification, gendered opportunities and gendered barriers at the institutional, interactional, and individual levels. The model that Risman described has several feedback mechanisms that allow the structure to stay the same or change slowly over time. However, her model is closed because she only focus on gender, thus she chose not to muck up the system by including race or class or other variables that are important in sociology.

**Theories of Essentialist and Micro-Level Actions**

There are individualistic theories about gender inequality that must be addressed in this paper. Even though these individualistic theories of gender have been found to be lacking in describing the connection to the social structure, they do connect to the idea of why individualists’ theories are the basis for how societies justify inequalities, thus contributing to sex segregation by creating male and female specific orientations (Epstein, 1988). For the most part, biological, psychological, and sex role theories are based on gender distinctions, which focus on the “small differences between the genders rather than on the large similarities found in human behavior and therefore conclude that men and women are essentially different” (Epstein, 1988: p 14). These small differences are often supported by scientists as “natural law,” including researchers from sociology. Therefore, most individuals may unknowingly start their social interaction from a gendered perspective and not question the validity of the “common sense”
notions of gender. From an individualistic point of view, it is easy for males to argue that their higher positions in the organizational hierarchies are appropriate for their natural or god given masculine characteristics. In addition, the higher statuses in organizations give men an incentive and authority to justify the gender inequalities.

In other individualistic theories, like “doing gender” by West and Zimmerman (1987), individuals exaggerate gender by emphasize their physical differences. Social exaggerations are individuals performing for the eyes of others thus ‘doing gender’ or ‘doing class’ or ‘doing race’ are visible performances that an individual presents for others to see—a relational performance. The individual’s images are the unspoken words of the individual’s values. These exaggerations are viewed as “essential nature” that may be noted through the “natural signs given off or expressed by the person…femininity and masculinity are regarded as ‘prototypes of essential expression’ (West and Zimmerman, 1987: p 129). However, “doing gender” and other social reproduction theories, it is hard to make the connection to the institutional level (Risman, 1998). An individual’s presentation of oneself to others is more than presenting an individual’s values but a performance to negotiate an identity that fits their reflection of reality. For example, in Bettie’s (2002) study, the researcher examined gender intersectionality (race, class, and gender) of high school girls as these social forces relate to their educational mobility. She found that high school girls’ performances are visible expressions that girls used at social events to negotiate their social settings, which is much more complicated than either resisting or complying with patriarchal norms such as attractiveness and heterosexual practices. The type of images that girls express to others is based on their access to organizational assets.

Females have almost the same access to organizational assets as males do. Nevertheless due to higher degree of social control, females may deny themselves permission more often than
males do to use organizational assets in their performances, even if the organizational asset is their own bodies. Only through formal structural events may females give themselves permission to explore the boundaries of their confinement. Like most formal structural events, these public and very visible events have to be sanctioned and promoted by patriarchal society. For example, Best (2000) argues that the prom night is a social event that is a highly controlled “sexual” rite of passage to young adulthood for adolescent girls. Other than prom night, adolescent girls are usually not permitted to emphasize their femininity in a sexual manner unless it is a social event that is sanctioned by the patriarch or organizational decision makers. The highly controlled ritual, which is played out each year at most high schools in the U.S., gives adolescent girls permission to use organizational assets. The sanctioned social arrangement is where adolescent girls are given permission to visibly exaggerate their femininity and the adolescent boys’ relation toward this ritual takes the form of “hegemonic masculinity” (Connell, 1987) and heteronormativity, reflecting traditional gendered practices sanctioned by different organizations (e.g., the community, educational system, and the family). Boys, transitioning into adulthood, learn that they are the privileged individuals in this relationship where the adolescent girls do the work, but the boys get the reward. The reward is the understanding that females are to give access to their bodies and control of their sexuality to the highest position male relative to her social position, whether that is her father or future husband. In addition, as the boys go off to college or the military, this type of male privilege may be expected to continue as they have relationships with other females.

**Socialization and Learning Theories of Gender**

A woman’s choices are influenced by cultural meanings that she learns throughout her life thus contributing to gender inequality (Risman, 1998). Within organizations, individuals are
socialized to learn the proper gendered practices to ensure organization function according to how the organizational decision makers laid out their plan. Learning ‘proper’ gendered arrangements are communicated to males and females from parents and organizations, the images provided by the media, and the communication of teachers and friends; these messages are then internalized, with consequences for adult life. Learned organizational gendered arrangements lead to inequalities that are most often subtle and unconscious, making choices to appear “natural.” As with individualists’ theories, socialization is too not a complete deterministic factor when it comes to human behavior. The need for constant reinforcement of social control indicates that socialization has only limited impact on the creation of “natural” behavior for each sex. Thus when social control is relaxed people may express their interests and talents (Epstein, 1988). For example, Reskin and Roos (1990) found that it is almost ‘natural’ to deny woman access to bartending by convincing bar managers, bar owners, and the public that women’s upbringing were ill suited for bartending, thus granting a privilege for men by oppressing a job opportunity for women. Because of gender socialization, it was easy to convince men and women that the image of a bartender is that of a job for a male who served hard liquor, which was considered a corrupting influence for women with their “weak morals”. Furthermore, the Supreme Court in 1948 upheld the exclusionary law citing moral and social problems associated with women upbringing. The law kept women out of bartending until 1970s. Even though women are now becoming bartenders, it could be said that there is gendered structural changes within the social structure to allow women to become bartenders. I, and Reskin and Roos, would argue that women becoming bartenders may not be the equal opportunity job victory for women but a static reframing of the script in the discourse. I will revisit this case study in the reframing section of this study.
**Structural Arrangements of Gender**

Individualist’s theories and socialization theories are good theories to assist in identifying organizational arrangements as people interact at the interaction level. Through people interactions, researchers are able to identify organizational arrangements by the way individuals’ present and react toward background assumptions of their relational settings (Garfinkel, 1967). Arrangements that are embedded in the organizational structure determine which social groups merit organizational resources “defined as access to opportunities or actual material goods” (Risman, 1998: p 28). The lack of fairness of distributing resources among different groups is lost in the method of how organizations organize knowledge, ideas, or experience that is rooted in written language (organization discourse), which are often implicit laws and policies regarding resource access and distribution (Sachs, 1996). Gender structural theories provide insight on individuals’ behaviors at the interactions level that give clues to how gendered individuals organize themselves within relational settings (e.g., usually male boss and female workers) at social events (e.g., boss leads the staff meeting). Since resources are controlled by organizational decision makers who enforce organizational arrangements, gender inequalities are dependent on groups believing in the merits of gendered arrangements even if it denies certain groups access to some organizational resources, thus oppressing certain groups’ opportunity to be privileged with the organization. The gendered arrangements go beyond one organization and enmeshes with other organizational arrangements, which is the overall structure of patriarchal institution.

For example, the arrangements of capitalism assume that financially successful men and women are able to accumulate material goods and wealth under conditions of open individual competition (Messner and Rosenfeld, 1994). Yet, other organizational arrangements, like religion and family, assumes that women’s successes should be measured through the financial success of the men they married and the families they raised. Thus women are left with the
choice of being economically independent like men or seeking a feminine version of success
through domesticity. This often means that resistance to women professional success may be
great, especially if the woman is not also “morally” successful by raising a family. Although the
arrangements of capitalism by itself does not specify which group should accumulate world’s
wealth, with male privileges being one of the mechanisms that perpetrate gender inequality in
societies, this study fits well with current gender structure theories. In addition, due to
bureaucracy of the organizations, most male privileges caused by organizational arrangements
are hidden through division of labor and the model of meritocracy (Britton, 1997). In addition,
the model of meritocracy help justified the inequalities for those individuals with lower statuses
by decreasing the awareness of discrimination (McCoy and Major, 2007). That is, gendered
organizational arrangements sanctioned practices constrain and channel individuals’ behavior by
denying organizational assets to certain individuals while granting organizational assets to
others, but organizations do not have complete control over individuals’ choices, which may led
to redefining cultural meanings and organizational arrangements.

**Theories of Gendered Organization of Institutions**

The organization level is where most of the social interaction takes place in an institution.
Gendered organizations have the power to enact elements of institutional arrangements to
influence social practices within certain social settings. Therefore at the interactional level, men
and women face different expectations even when they fill the identical structural position. In
review of the literature on gendered organization theories starting with how literature
conceptualizes gendered organization. She address three of the most common definitions of
gendered organization: 1) an idealypical bureaucratic organization is inherently gendered; 2)
organizations are gendered to the level that they are male or female dominated; and 3) organizations are gendered through patriarchy and conceived as arrangements that defines and integrates hegemonic masculine and heteronormative practices. She argues that all of these definitions are problematic, predominantly in terms of their consequences for change.

**Ideal-typical Bureaucratic Organization is Inherently Gendered**

First, an ideal-typical bureaucratic organization is inherently gendered. Organizations that are inherently gendered suggest there are relational processes, practices, images and arrangements that are conceptualized in terms of a division between masculinity and femininity (Britton, 2000), and heteronormativity practices are the outcomes when the sexes mix in all situations. Since organizations and institutions are gendered, there is an assumption that gendered differences will be reproduced to the point that gendered practices are differentially valued and assessed, thus resulting in gender inequalities that are expressed as male privileges. Since ranking individuals in bureaucratic organizations are to be based on merits, it creates an arrangement that impels us to ignore the context and circumstance of social setting (Duster, 1976).

Masculinity and heteronormativity are viewed and judged through organizational arrangements that are embedded in social settings that are hierarchical and performed by individuals at organizations’ social events. For example, in Martin’s (2001) article “Mobilizing Masculinities: Women’s Experiences of Men at Work,” she researched the social interaction of masculine practices preformed in the office, including why men routinely produce masculine practices. She argues that professional women have difficulty framing masculine practices as ‘official work.’ Most women in her study sometimes interpreted men performing masculine practices as men ‘behaving like boys’ or mobilizing masculinities. One type of mobilizing
masculinities is labeled as men “peacocking.” Women disliked office meetings with their male colleagues because women considered the meeting a waste of their time. However, men valued office meetings and engaged in masculine behaviors to compete at this type of social events. The men compete with each other for attention, time, and to give credit for their superior status thus from men’s standpoint office meetings were viewed by men as an important part of their workday. “Peacocking” becomes an important practice for men because men's concern with each other is an important survival strategy that allows some men to control some of the organizational resources and opportunities. Women and men performed in the same gendered organization’s arrangements, they invoke gender to understand their co-workers’ behaviors. When men and women invoke gender, their performances are the reflection of the limited choices that a gendered organization and individuals’ gender socialization have to offer. Men and women accepting the limited choices of gender arrangements add to the continuation of the gender inequalities within the organization.

When women do choose to take part in mobilizing masculinities, like “peacocking,” they have to engage in masculine performances because masculine practices are dominant forms of practices in most work settings and social events in a gendered organization. For example, the ideal lawyer is conceived in almost "Rambo"-like terms, as someone who destroys his opponents without fear for the effects his actions will have on the lives of the people involved. The successful lawyers regularly boast about the size and amount of their "wins" and describes good courtroom performance in terms of having "seduced" the jury or, more chillingly, having "raped" a witness (Pierce, 1995: p 68).
Male or Female Dominated Gendered Organizations

Second, organizations are gendered to the level that they are male or female dominated. In addition, race is sometimes a factor in segregating organizations. This study takes historical perspective on the alteration of images at certain organizations and organizations to justify hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements that allow white male domination. Even though white male domination is mostly obvious to all who observe, organizations present images of white male domination as individuals gendered distinctions not as organizations’ arrangements thus faulting women’s physical traits for their limitations and men of color for their lack of drive to succeed.

For example, in Tory Duster’s (1976) article, “The Structure of Privilege and its Universe of Discourse,” he supports the idea that privileges are structural behaviors, and he used the NFL as one of his examples of structural privileges that were based on race and gender. During the early history of NFL, team owners denied Blacks and women from playing in their league. Basically, a league affirmative action policy for white males but disguised as meritocracy system. Furthermore, the rationale behind the policy is to embellish socially constructed differences, naturalize those differences, and to justify and reinforce white male superiority as standard and natural. That is, White men should not have to take orders from Black men or men should not have to take orders from women, and if the natural order is not followed then team’s spirit will be destroyed. The multi-dimensional characteristics of status hierarchies in organizations allow different individuals to perceive arrangements in different manners and often reinforced by organizational policies. Arrangements are social constructs of routine practices that are ambiguous thus making it easier for privileged individuals to deny the oppression that is often associated with their behavior. Even when a problem does arise because of the ambiguity of the practice and the implicitness of arrangements, organizational decision makers may reframe
the problem. That is, reframing problems when resistance becomes apparent, the problems may be constructed as individuals’ poor behaviors thus relieving the organization of any fault.

Even when written policy changed to allow Blacks to play in the NFL, the structure that granted privileges to White male players were still in place and unwritten rules prevented the meritocracy from permitting Blacks “to be quarterbacks, team captains, coaches, or managers” (Duster, 1976: p 76). The NFL chose to reframe the problem of White male privilege by giving Black players some privileges that the White players had thus giving the illusion that the system is fair (Valeri and Borgeson, 2007). However, reframing White male privileges to male privileges did not address the years of discrimination toward Black players or the lack of Black coaches and managers. In addition, policy change did nothing to address the continuing discrimination against women in the NFL or the hostile environment toward gay men. Today in the NFL, hetero-male players’ arrangements may not be apparent to the average citizen but the hegemonic masculine and heteronormative NFL still holds to the same rationale that kept Blacks from playing in the early history of NFL. There are unwritten rules that grant hetero-males players what is seen as “natural” rights thus it makes it easier to discriminate against gays and females.

**Gendered Organizational Arrangements that Defines and Integrates Hegemonic Masculine and Heteronormative Practices**

Third, organizations are gendered through patriarchy and conceived as arrangements that defines and integrates hegemonic masculine and heteronormative practices. Organizational arrangements incorporate structural power and gender practices. The values demanded by patriarchal arrangements also constrain women and become a precondition for ways in which women make meaningful decisions (Smith, 1990). Gender arrangements are those that rely upon
gender traits which men and women internalize through socialization and then practice as a behavior (Connell, 1987). Femininity is constructed around adaptation to male power, featuring traits such as attractiveness to men, which includes physical appearance and suppression of "power" emotions, such as competitive and aggressive behavior (Martin and Hummer, 1998). Physical strength, economic independence, authority, and intense interest in hetero-sexual “conquest” define the ideals of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity. While most men do not embody all of these qualities, society supports these ideas, known as an all-empowering or hegemonic masculinity, within all its organizations (Connell, 1987). That is, masculinity is the result of widely accepted ways of thinking that defines male dominance and promotes it as fair, reasonable, and in the best interest of society.

The organizational structures in education that enable masculine and heteronormative practices have been well researched by sociologists. Whether it be a gendered K-12 grades structure where educators and parents emphasize femininity and masculinity practices for both sexes, and as a consequence encourage boys’ competitive and aggressive behavior and the attempt to channel their behavioral practices toward a more traditional gender role (Messerschmidt, 1997), like playing competitive sports; or educators and parents pushing widely shared cultural beliefs about gender and task competence in their students’ perceptions of themselves in determining a career choice (Correll, 2001). Boys pursue mathematical activities at a higher rate than girls do, not because they are better at math than girls, rather because boys think they are better in math. Although male professors are seen as the authority of knowledge, their behavioral practices have been documented that male professors typically use illustrations of women and men in traditional gender roles, sexist humor, and masculine terms like "he" and "man" to paint an image that “real” professors are men and to demean women's abilities in
academics (Hall and Sandler 1982). These organizational arrangements invoke images of professors as men only jobs and only men should have the privileges that are entitled with this status. Not only do these practices give men professors the ability to exploit organizational images but the male privileges are too intertwined with organizational arrangements. That is, these gender arrangements in the classroom send oppressive cognitive images that devalue women professors and express the idea that women are not vital associates to higher education (Fox, 1989).

The gendered organizations paradigm is very helpful because it is an attempt to correct gendered perspectives by scientists on women and LGBT individuals and their nature, including the notion that they are a breed apart from men. Even today a lot of research is done from the idea that the differences between men and women are significant, which is a driving force for maintaining the gender inequalities. The research from gendered organizations paradigm help researchers understands men and women’s different hierarchal position of power or oppression.

**Organizational Arrangements and the Media**

Organizational gendered arrangements are a formal and orderly way of performing social practices within an organization. It is an extended expression of knowledge, ideas, or experience on social practices connected with visual and written communication (Fairclough, 2003). The gendered arrangements of men playing in the NFL, men soldiering in the U.S military or men going to a college are deeply embedded in most organizations (Risman, 2004, Connell, 2002). The requirements of maintaining of hegemonic masculine and heteronormative organizations generate organizational arrangements that give hetero-males advantages over women and LGBT individuals. Organizational practices structured by bureaucracy must adhere to the hegemonic masculine and heteronormative organizational arrangements. It is within this gendered
arrangements that most social interaction takes place, including male privileges that assist in shaping the social framework for everyone in the organizations (Smith, 1990).

Male privileges are part of the organizational gendered arrangements. Male privileges are social practices that may be seen as a performance of exploitive and oppressive practices that are linked with a specific area of social life of gender and sexuality. It is exploitative and oppressive practices of male privileges that serve to reinforce and reproduce gender inequalities within the organization (Pleasants, 2011). Furthermore, male privileges are patriarchal mechanisms for gender and sexuality stratifications, and organizational decision makers of organizations will use formal and informal social control measures to strengthen or maintain current organizational stratification and male privileges. An example of organizational arrangements being maintain through stratification comes from Britton’s (2003) book, *At Work in the Iron Cage: The Prison as Gendered Organization*. When women do pick a job, society does not notice the laws, policies, and regulations that segregate women from doing specific jobs. She found that women correctional officers can only work with female inmates. This restriction reduces women’s job and shift assignments, and reinforces their male co-workers’ belief that they are unable to do the job. This gendered organizational arrangements plays on the idea of ‘what if’ there is a prison riot or some kind of prison violence and ‘can women handle it.’ The cultural image of a female guard is that she is smaller and has less physical strength than her male counterpart thus she will be unable to handle violent incidents, like a prison riot. Therefore, it is easy for most people to conceptualize an image of a woman prison guard being taken prisoner by male inmates during a prison riot.
Conceptual Images Analysis of Organizational Gendered Arrangements

In defining the conceptual images of hegemonic masculine and heteronormative, I draw from Jessop (2004) and Fairclough (2003). Jessop borrows concepts from Fairclough’s works and discusses a semiotic order that details arrangements of genres, arrangements, and styles. Semiotic order establishes a general sociological theory of signs and symbols that are social elements of social practices in organizational structures and/or social structures. Genres (ways of acting) are techniques of social interactions viewed in their specific sign or symbol characteristic to function as a normalized interaction. Hence, organizational images may be read as a distinctive semiotic order that articulate various cultural meanings, arrangements, and styles around the hegemonic masculine and heteronormative ideas that reflect the socially constructed meanings of organizations embedded within a social structure (Jessop, 2004).

Image analysis allows researchers to record and observe arrangements even when the implicitness of organization’s arrangements is obstructed. For all other individuals, the organization’s core images are viewed as the “cathexis” image. Hence, most people still view higher educational organizations as a place where learning and research is happening and not as organizations that feed into the larger social structure of global capitalism. The other side of the coin is that the implicitness of organization’s arrangements obstructs no change in the organization genre and style, yet the organization’s “cathexis” image appeared to have changed. Therefore, most privileges that are exploitive or oppressive practices are hidden by the implicitness of organization’s arrangements. The implicitness of the arrangements is reframed by the organizational decision makers to fit the idealist popular values that most people covet in a specific time period. For a simple example, most people view higher education in the U.S. as an organization that is open to all individuals who put forth the effort to achieve this goal. It is the
idea that everyone should have equal access to a higher education. Therefore, class privileges should not be part of the equation for getting into college, and an individual’s socioeconomic status should not be a factor either. However, researchers have proven that a family’s socioeconomic factors are the best determination of an individual going to college, thus the richer the individual’s family the more likely that individual will be able to enroll into college, as it is reported in the classic study by Bowles and Gintis (1976). This determination is proven by sociologists researching colleges and universities’ arrangements. That is, researchers analyzed who are the individuals (genre) that are enrolled in college and their socioeconomic background (style) despite the organization’s cathexis image and arrangements.

**Types of Organizations and Their Reflected Image**

Within the organizations are organizational arrangements of gender practices of hegemonic masculine, emphasized femininity, and heteronormative behaviors (Connell, 1987). Organizations that openly display hegemonic masculine and heteronormative images reflect organizational arrangements that emphasize masculine and heteronormative essentialism (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Some organizations are present a “neutral” gendered arrangements that emphasizes “standard” masculine and heteronormative practices. Higher education institutions do “standard” masculine and heteronormative practices that favored males in all aspects of organizational bureaucracy, but women are a big part of these organizations both in numbers and practices.

Other organizations may present a hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements through a “warrior” male image. The military and NFL, present a “warrior” male image that is symbolic of hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements (Jackson, 2006). Some organizations have organizational arrangements that transform “standard” males in
to “hegemonic” males, and “standard” heteronormativity into hyper-heteronormativity. When individuals engage in organizational arrangements within these types of organizations, it displaces the multiple “normal” distribution of masculinity and heteronormativity, thus organizational arrangements in the hegemonic domain remains unrestricted and women and men of “lesser” statuses must assort themselves accordingly to the gendered practices (Smith and Kimmel, 2005).

While most men do not embody all of these qualities, society supports these ideas, known as an all-empowering or hegemonic masculinity, within all its institutions (Connell, 1987). The practice of hegemonic masculinity in organizations is the result of widely accepted ways of thinking that defines male dominance and promotes it as fair, reasonable, and in the best interest of society. In addition, heteronormativity is defined as a collection of cultural, sanctioned, and institutional practices that preserve normative expectations that heterosexual relationship is the only acceptable sexual practice thus playing a vital part in maintaining gender stratification (Schilt and Westbrook, 2009). The “warrior” male status is a male that represents the ideal image of hegemonic masculine and heteronormative male domination “achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion” (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: p 832). Furthermore, the “warrior” male status requires individuals to stratify men’s power relation based on how much they embody the ideal image of hegemonic masculine and heteronormative male.

Most women accept organizational arrangements that are gendered not because men and women have innate abilities but because they hold meritocratic views and would be reluctant to perceive themselves as disadvantaged (Barreto and Ellemers, 2005). That is, some women may accept that some men have earned the right to use privileges. Women do not see the organizational arrangements used by men as gendered thus are blinded to the gender oppression
that the privileges generate and often aid in the upholding of male privileges (Hayes, 1994). In addition, women who accept meritocratic views on organizational arrangements may also deny the historical and structural oppressive nature of male privileges and be limited in changing gender inequality in a meaningful way. That is, women that are being oppressed are taught to discipline themselves when they deviate from society traditional arrangements (Foucault, 1977).

What is produced and reproduced are not merely the activities and artifacts of a “warrior” life, but the allocation of power and privileges to dominate individuals through organizational arrangements. Doing “warrior” is the basis of maintaining men’s hegemony by furnishing the interactional scaffolding of social structure, along with a built-in mechanism of social control (Fenstermaker and West, 2002). The privileged practices allow privileged individuals to feel visible and important to the organization (Ellison, 1993). Since the organization is embedded in the social structure, the feeling of being visible and important permeate out into society, especially organizations like male professional sports and the military where their “warrior” male images are always on display. Yet being visible and important may be a double edged sword. The exploitative and oppression practices generated through organizational arrangements are easier to recognize when an organization is displaying images of their product.

**NFL and Its Reflected Image**

Organizations that present images of hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements, like the NFL and military, are social environment and organizational structures that are arranged so that their core images are openly defined as hegemonic masculine and heteronormative “warrior” males. This type of organizations is the result of highly stratified organizational arrangements that cultivate the “warrior” male’s cultural meanings and images, and are gate kept by rich, powerful organizational decision makers. Since, hyper-masculine and
hyper-heterosexual males are the “best type” of individual to represent this type of organization, since the “warrior” males are viewed to have a relentless drive to succeed, an endlessly preoccupation of sex and always have the potential to be out of control (Wilkins, 2014). Of course, the organizational decision makers who are in charge of the social arrangements of maintaining gender and sexuality stratification will motivate the “warrior” males to justify and practice their privileged positions (Jost and Banaji, 1994).

NFL has a long history of organizational arrangements that deny woman and LGBT individuals’ access to privileges and money that come to those individuals that play in high competitive sports. In addition, NFL has a history of exploitive practices that allow NFL players to indulge in a life style of no responsibility off the field of play because their coaches and agents often dismissed their deviant behavior as long as the player continue to produce on the field (Benedict, 1997). Moreover, the sudden wealth and notoriety NFL players acquire further isolates them from society’s established and traditional norms.

Society’s sanctioned organizational arrangements in sports that transform “ordinary” males to a “warriors” males that has a unique and exclusive status to be accessed by certain type of males thus society may tolerate sexually violent and/or abusive behavior from “warrior” males because of their prestige status of being a NFL football player (Benedict, 1997). This is especially true for college and professional football where only a certain body type of males—the biggest and quickest—are able to attain this status thus justifying gender ideology (Connell, 2005). The substitution of neutral gendered behavior learned as a player in elementary and high school football leagues leads to hegemonic masculine and heterosexual behaviors for those males that compete in college football and the NFL. The organizational decision makers of college football and the NFL reinforce the ideas of masculinity and heteronormativity but embed the idea
of being hegemonic thus some players may have a feeling of entitlement to punish and control “weaker” males and females. In addition, players are regularly held unaccountable for their off the field activities. Even though 20% of the NFL players have been charged with a serious crime, most NFL players are praised and highly paid (Benedict and Yaeger 1998) thus further isolating NFL players from society’s traditional gendered norms and rejecting the idea that alternative forms of masculinity can play the game.

The NFL emphasizes and relate to the ideas of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity are more likely to stay longer in college or professional football leagues with greater likelihood of being placed in lower leadership roles like scouts and assistant coaches (Fast and Jensen, 2006), thus help the organizational decision makers to maintain hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements. Although former players may become coaches and on rare occasion a general manager of a football team, it is the college educated man (e.g., an athletic director, general manager, or team owner) that may have played sports but took an educational and business pathway to become hegemonic masculine and heteronormative leader of these organizations. Currently, there are 18 NFL owners out of 32 that are billionaires, and almost none of the 32 owners played college or professional football (Forbes.com, 2012). It is these organizational decision makers that enable a gendered social structure to permeate into their organizations thus allowing players to believe that are special and privileged individuals. However, the special privileges are earmark for players that follow organizational arrangements and being gay will deny a player access to the special privileges.

Recently, there have been a few notable gays and lesbians, like politician Sen. Jim Ferlo of Pennsylvania (Richinick, 2014) and CNN media star Anderson Cooper (Maguire, 2012), that came out to the media that they are gay. People of this level of prominence have been coming
out for the past two decades and the media frenzy on reporting who is gay and who is not has
become a second tier news report as heteronormative male has taking a cultural beating (Cawley,
2014). However, that is not the case in the National Football League (NFL) or college football.
Earlier in 2014, before the NFL draft, a University of Missouri football player came out to the
public that he is gay. Since the popularity of the NFL is at an all-time high and the NFL is seen
as the hegemonic masculinity of sports, the frenzy was on again in the media. The image of a big
and ‘nasty’ gay football player does not fit the hegemonic masculine and heteronormative male
stereotype that dominates the National Football League.

U.S. Military and Its Reflected Image

The U.S. military is a hegemonic masculine and heteronormative organizations with
organizational arrangements that produce images of the “warrior” males. The organizational
arrangements produced images of soldiers that embody hyper-masculine and hyper-
heteronormative ideal type of male. The cathexis image of the arch-type warrior male is
important in maintaining organizational arrangements to ensure the continuation of gender
inequalities as well as race and class inequalities within the military institution. The “warrior”
male’s uses of harassment, violence, and other techniques of oppression have a reciprocal
relationship with gender because using oppression fortifies masculinity and heteronormativity
concepts (Rudman et al., 2013). The “warrior” male images reinforce the hegemonic ideal of
being a male in our modern society.

An example of an oppressive practice that fortifies masculine and heteronormative
arrangements is the 1994 National Defense Authorization Act or better known as “Don’t Ask,
Don’t Tell” (Nagel and Kleykamp, 2007). The U.S. military defined organizational rules by
defining that homosexuality were a mental illness, a security risk, and a disruption to unit
cohesion thus a threat to military readiness (Knapp, 2008). The “Don’t Ask/Don’t Tell” policy was going against public opinion and the organizational decision makers tried to reframe the problem as if it was not about their sexual orientation but more about military readiness. The sexual discrimination policy is a good example of the controlling organizational decision makers reframing an issue but failed to achieve their desired goal. Hence, through organization’s policy only heterosexual males and females were allowed to serve their country and the military formally endorsed heteronormativity as the reigning social norm.

Although heterosexual females were not forced out of the military because of their sexuality, there has been an organizational effort to deny women the right to serve their country in the military too. For example, Samuels and Samuels’ (2003) article, “Reconstructing Culture: Privilege and Change at the United States Air Force,” researched the 2003 scandal at the United States Air Force Academy. They found that male cadets were following organizational arrangements based on a traditional hierarchical system that rewarded sexual harassment and aggressive behaviors toward individuals that did not fit in the system. Even though the rules on how cadets were to achieve privileges were not formally written policy, the Academy’s organizational arrangements clearly conferred privileges on male cadets at the expense of female cadets. This lead to an organization arrangements that covertly, but sometimes openly, allowed sexual assaults as an acceptable practice towards undesirables that have become part of the organization. The conferring of male privilege to certain males derived from society’s devotion for what presumably has always existed, thus making male privileges a legitimized type of domination that influences men and women’s practices through idealized forms of masculinity and femininity (Kimmel, 2000). Legitimizing domination through male privilege do not lead to
more harmful practices but do cause organizations to dismiss harmful behaviors as individual cases and deflect any responsibility from organizational arrangements.

An example of how organizational arrangements that can deflect harmful practices are the low rate of conviction of soldiers accused of sexual assaults. In 2012, a Pentagon study estimated that only 11 percent of sexual assaults were reported that year. Furthermore, there is a strong indication that sexual assaults are linked to the organizational arrangements in the military. Turchik and Wilson (2010) linked military women’s risk for violence to their access to organizational arrangements in the military. That is, military women with low ranks and limited years of active service were at higher risk for sexual assault with almost 73% of military victims. In addition, many military women that were victims of sexual assault are cautious of reporting the crime to their commander officers. This was highlighted in a Defense Manpower Data Center survey (2012), in which 70% of female victims did not want anyone to know, 66% of the female victims felt uncomfortable making a report, and 51% of the female victims did not think their report would be kept confidential thus fearing retaliation from their fellow soldiers and their superior offices. These studies focused exclusively on sexual assaults on military women yet other illegal sexual behaviors, like sexual harassment, are more common in the military (Burns, 2013). An analysis of sexual assaults in the U.S. Military, 2004-2009, concluded that men are more likely to commit sexual assaults during war time was due to their need for power and the beliefs that there will be no penalties (Lankford, 2012). The using of power without any consequences is the contributing factor to a culture of entitlements to which military men are granted privileges that are facilitated by the U.S. military to punish and control females and “weaker” males (e.g., gay men).
Even though most gays, lesbians and women serve with honor and courage even in the face of their own death, they just do not fit the ideal image of being a soldier. In order to protect the hegemonic masculine and heteronormative male image, it becomes imperative to some patriarchs to define the warrior male image and to oversee others to enforce the ideal image through assaults and violence toward those who are trying to tarnish their ideal image of a being a soldier (Pershing, 2006). The military is closer to being a total organization than are competitive sports organizations (Goffman, 1961), thus elite football players’ pathway in becoming “warrior” males is slightly different from soldiers’ pathway. The process of becoming hegemonic masculine and heteronormative male starts when a person is young and is reinforced as the individual advances in levels. Nevertheless, both organizations pull from the social structure of masculine and heteronormative practices to justify social inequalities as legitimate and natural (Acker, 1990).

**Higher Education Institutions and Their Reflected Images**

The organizational arrangements within organizations that practices “neutral” gendered practices may present images of organizational functions that operate within a standard gendered arrangements. In Kimmel’s (2006) book, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, he argues that when men and women are considered under the rule of the law then organization may discriminate. Organization domination is derived from the devotion for what presumably has always existed thus making male privileges a legimitized type of domination, which influences men and women through idealized forms of masculinity and femininity. Thus society’s conceptualization of “neutral” gendered organizations is that men and women are equal but there is a need to treat them different. Treating individuals equally regardless of perceived differences
is how law is codified for most organizations (Minow, 1990), which reproduces the social arrangements that give rise to male privileges.

Some of the gender “neutral” and legitimized functions of the organizations include: penalizing working mothers at their jobs (Correll et al., 2007); keeping wages low for women thus making women dependent on men (Hartmann, 1976); even if she working full-time, the home is still considered to be her responsibility (Hochschild, 1989; Christopher, 2012); most people believe, but it is not true, that women exert less effort than men in the work place (Bielby and Bielby, 1988); women more often than men are to balance family needs with work demands (Jacobs and Gerson, 2004); and women are more likely to be managers in predominantly female service-sector occupations and organizations that offer relatively low salaries (Cohen at el., 1998). These are just a sample of how an organizational arrangements of equal but different affects men and women practices at organizations, like colleges and universities.

Organizations that present gender “neutral” images of being equal to both men and women will often present images of organizational arrangements of being fair to individuals’ sexuality, too. It is only because of recent events, like legalization of gay marriages or famous people coming out, that there has been a discussion on heteronormativity and the images of sexuality that organizations want to present to the public. Publicly, heterosexuality is the stated and celebrated life style in the U.S. as the ideal sexual relationship (MacGillivray, 2000). The images of LGBT individuals at organizations are still pretty much excluded and invisible to the general public (Robinson, 2002). The act of exclusion of LGBT individuals in the organizational arrangements leads to practices that are often ignored by all individuals that work within organizations. For example, the U.S. education system, both secondary and higher education, allows homophobic epithets to be spoken in the hallways, on campus, and in the classrooms
(Owens, 1998). Although there are persistent heterosexual privileges in organizations, a recent trend shows that organizations are becoming more the gay-friendly workplace (Williams and Giuffre, 2011).

Embedded sub-organizations within larger an organization present images of being part of the organizational arrangements that are considered non-discriminatory practices toward women and LGBT members (e.g., a lesbian who is the Department Head of Sociology). However, some embedded sub-organizations present images of hegemonic masculine and heteronormative, or the “warrior” male, and their organizational arrangements reflect the images the smaller organization present (e.g., college football player). All organizational arrangements are formal structures that embody gender bias, such as job ladders and evaluation systems.

Women acknowledge their equal status with men as professional workers in the organizations. In addition, women acknowledge their status as female thus there is an assumption that men and women’s behaviors are different (Bettie, 2002). In this case, different is viewed not as inequality but as essential behavior that an individual must perform in order for the correct solution to appear. Since organizations are gendered, the organizational arrangements will be gendered too and individuals are expected to perform masculine and feminine behaviors for the correct solution to appear (Ridgeway, 1997). Thus, organizational arrangements contribute to the sex labeling of jobs, to the devaluation of women's jobs, to forms of sex discrimination, to the construction of men as effectively gender-interested actors, to the control of women's interests, to differences between men's and women's reward expectations, and to the processes by which women's entrance into male occupations sometimes leads to feminization or re-segregation by specialty (Reskin and Roos, 1990).
The embedded sub-organizations are segregated by specialty through the use of “warrior” images and hegemonic masculine and heteronormative organizational arrangements. These organizations are highly segregated where almost all employees and students are males that may benefit from the higher incomes, more scholarship opportunities, prestige, and power that comes with hegemonic masculine and heteronormative images, like college men basketball. Even though Title IX does benefit women in college sports, men participating in varsity sports benefit much more than women (Pickettet al., 2012). These types of organizations contribute and support the idea that organizational arrangements that are gendered are part of male essentialism. Furthermore, policy like Title IX allows organizations to display patterns of exploitive power that falsely appear as if it benefits the whole organization.

The organizational arrangements that grants certain individuals access to social and material advantages creates the stratified system. Although colleges and universities do not display hegemonic masculine and heteronormative image as part of their academics, higher education institutions operates as a hegemonic masculine and heteronormative hierarchy structure that conceal exploitative and oppressive practices (Jacobs, 1996). For example, a national sample of 2,000 college women shows that only a small percentage (11.5%) of campus rapes is reported to campus officials (Wolitzky-Taylor et al., 2011). Some of reason why campus rapes go underreported is that women are less likely to report it if alcohol is involved (2.7%) or if they knew the offender. In addition, schools usually had unreliable incentives for victims to report the crime and did not proactively address sexual violence on campus (Cantalupo, 2014). Even though, the Clery Act (1990) requires colleges and universities to report crimes on campuses including sex offenses that are forcible and non-forcible, sex offenses at schools are
consistently underreported compared to sex offenses reported to area crisis-services programs and clinics (Guffey, 2013).

Organizations are divided by a distinct division of labor along gender lines with men visibly doing hegemonic masculine and heteronormative behaviors that are accomplished through patterns of social action—organizational arrangements. Men may openly have acts of male privileges because there is a perception that masculine privileges are essentially biological and psychological behaviors that women cannot or will not do (Risman, 1998). In addition, male privileges are hegemonic because not all male may access this type of organizational privilege, thus it is viewed as a meritocracy system. Finally, male privileges are perceived as hyper-heteronormativity for men who repudiate men that exhibit feminine traits, thus the male privilege manifest the male into the quintessential homophobic man (Kimmel, 2001).

**Research Questions**

*Exploratory Questions:*

I. What types of images do websites use to depict organizational arrangements?

II. What types of websites share communal internet images with organizations?

III. What websites generate the most popular images for each organization?

IV. Do internet images reflect gender arrangements at organizations? How gender arrangements are different by the type of organization?

V. How do the popular cultural images of organizations ambiguously promote male privilege?

VI. How do slightly altered search terms change the images of organizations?

*Explanatory Questions:*

VII. What are the implications for understanding how the negative outcomes of male privilege remain entrenched in social organizations and benefit certain segments of society at the cost of others?
Chapter 3 - Methodology

 Organizations packaged internet media to control how the public view and feel about unspoken organizational arrangements. In a reciprocal process, the viewers influence how organizations’ packaged internet media by the number of times it is viewed on the internet. This study analyzed the top twenty-five Google images for each category that are ranked by Google’s PageRank algorithm. The algorithm provides a way of determining the importance of website pages to viewers that searching for a specific category (google.com, 2016). To analyze the Google images, this study used an integrated framework for visual social research that is constructed around three categories: sources and themes of visuals, “research focus and design, and format and purpose” (Pauwels, 2010: p 548). The integrated framework assists in explaining variability within each of the differentiated types of categories with a focus on what themes connects them. In addition, the analysis is facilitated by QSR International’s (2013) NVivo10 qualitative research software. NVivo software assisted in organizing images, comparing sources, and identifying themes. Since no one model or consensus exist in discussing how best to conceptualize gender arrangements embedded in internet images from different types of institutions, this study analysis is well suited for the purpose of this research.

 By examining images from simple Google image searches, this study attempted to understand the different meanings of images to examine the existence of stereotypes of gender and sexuality at the organizational level and determine their effects on viewers’ understanding of organizational arrangements and male privileges (Heuer et al., 2011), which often are multiple and layered to a point that direct causation is difficult to achieve (Esterberg, 2002). With queries from the Google image database, I analyzed images for themes from search terms of organizations thereby tapping into the consciences of society. Since a high volume of images are
produced by Google Image search, a maximum of 25 results of each search term are included as potential sources of images for this study. A pre-scan of the top 100 images was performed for each of the primary search terms. From the pre-scan, I determined that sources, themes, formats and purpose of top 100 images changed only slightly between images. Therefore, the images near the 100th image preserve the majority of the traits that appear in this study when comparing to the images ranked in the top 25. In addition, the uses of Google’s PageRank assisted to determine relevancy for a webpage search, by counting citations or backlinks to a given page (Brin and Page, 1998). In other words, the top 25 images are most relevant to people seeking information about a specific term than images ranked higher than the 25th image. In order to do the research in a timely manner, I concluded that researching only the top 25 images of a Google search would preserve the integrity of the research.

Google searches account for 65.2% share of searches worldwide, with 114.7 billion searches per month (Sullivan, 2013). In a study done by Pan and colleagues (2007), it was found that college students were “heavily influenced by the order in which the results are presented” (p. 816). Furthermore, they found a majority of people trusted Google search engine to find information in a fast and economical way to assist them in their searches of a specific topic. With a large group of people trusting Google to find relevant information, this suggests that Google search engine plays a major role in shaping people’s visual view of organizations.

The primary category of non-specific gender search terms of Google images are: NFL Players, U.S. soldiers, and college students. This study looked for sources and visual themes that are designed to give purpose to the non-specific gender search. In addition, this study did a subset category of gender and sexuality specific Google search terms that are related to the primary category search terms. The subset category of gender specific Google search terms of
images are: women of the NFL, NFL gay players, U.S. female soldiers, U.S. gay soldiers, college volleyball players, and fraternity life.


The integrated framework for visual social research of Google image search terms is built around three categories. The first category examined the sources and themes of images. The web sources are the producers that post the images to webpages usually connected to a website with an informational, governmental, organizational, or entertainment theme. The webpage designers produce themed images to provoke specific responses from its target viewers. The sources provide background knowledge of the intended theme of the images. Additional knowledge is observed through the artifacts, staged concepts, and individuals’ performance that are observed on the webpages. Individuals’ performances provide insight to organizational arrangements in the images, including behavior that is elicits to specific status, a prescribed ritual behavior, or behavior that is staged (Pauwels, 2010). Hence, by examining the website’s domains and the webpages with themed images, insight is provided for the purpose of promoting their organizations in a specific manner.

The second category of the integrated framework for visual social research examined the research focus and design of the images. The category provided detailed analysis of codes on the webpage images. This category assisted in interpreting the processes of producing images through the use of visual codes that webpage designers designed into the image. This study developed several codes to analyze the themes that are not easily observable to determine if there are distinctive themes reflected in the Google images. In addition, the codes used for the Google images have additional categories to assist in explaining the reliability and relevancy of the themes.
Sociological codes are used to determine images’ themes included the following: *Gender* code describes any images of distinct individuals that can be divided into categories based on their physical characteristics. Gender code’s categories describe whether the individual is identified as *male* or *female*. The purpose of this code is to measure the most common sex that populates the top 25 Google images. By doing so, the gender of the individuals can be connected to the type of roles the individuals perform in an organization. This, then, characterizes preferred gender type that reflects organizational arrangements.

*Race* code describes any distinct individual in the Google images that can be divided into categories according to their shared physical or genetic characteristics. *Race* code’s categories describe whether the individual is identified as *White, Black, or Other* (*any other race that cannot be identified as White or Black*). The purpose of this code is to measure the most common race that populates the top 25 Google images. By doing so, the race of the individuals can be connected to the type of roles the individuals perform in an organization. This, then, characterizes preferred race type that reflects organizational arrangements.

*Role* code describes any distinct individual in the Google images that can be divided into categories according to the organizational role he or she is performing. *Role* code’s categories reflect the position or purpose that an individual has in an organization. Each organization has their own assigned roles that reflect common organizational arrangements. The categories for higher education institutions’ roles describe whether the individual is identified as *student, professor, coach, fan, and other*. The categories for NFL’ roles describe whether the individual is identified as *player, employee (e.g., cheerleader), coach, fan, model, or other*. The categories for U.S. military’ roles describe whether the individual is identified as *soldier or non-soldier*. The purpose of this code is to measure the most common roles in each organization that

53
populates the top 25 Google images. By doing so, the role of the individuals can be connected to the type of activity the individuals are performing in an organization. This, then, characterizes the preferred gender and race that are linked with organizational roles and reflect organizational arrangements.

*Attire* code describes any distinct individual in the Google images that can be divided into categories based on the particular type of clothes worn by the individual. Attire code’s categories designates whether the individual’s clothes are identified as *mundane, sexualized, or armored*. Individuals wearing mundane clothes are considered ordinary attire and proper for normal activities. Individuals wearing sexualized clothes are wearing attire that emphasized the individual’s sexuality. U.S. society has a tendency to hyper-feminized woman’s clothing in certain situations, which intensify female stereotypes by emphasizing women dependency, obedience, and sexuality (Dill and Thill, 2007). Individuals wearing armored clothes are wearing masculine attire that is covered with a special material that protects against injury. Images of men wearing body armor clothing not only is it an indication of their masculinity but of their heterosexuality, too (Frith & Gleeson, 2004). The purpose of this code is to indirectly measure how individuals in the top 25 Google images use clothing to construct a particular image of gender to fit a cultural ideal. By doing so, the gender role of the individuals can be connected to the type of activity the individuals are performing in an organization. This, then, characterizes the preferred gender and race that are linked with organizational roles and reflect organizational arrangements.

*Gender Performance* code describes any distinct individual in the Google images that can be divided into categories according to their individuals’ role performance that is expressing individual’s masculinity or femininity and reflects organizational arrangements of gender.
Gender Performance code’s categories describe whether the individual is identified as leadership (m), supportive (f), aggressive (m), competitive (m), graceful (f), and affectionate (f). Each category is assigned with a feminine (f) or a masculine (m) marker based on the Auster and Ohm’s (2000) research that labeled performance traits with a masculine or a feminine desirability rating. The researchers found that in U.S. society, individuals prefer men and women to have the traditional feminine and masculine traits. The leadership category (m) is used to identify behavior in which the individual is making decisions easily while performing his/her status (e.g., face and body are looking ahead straight and not smiling or half of a smile). The supportive category (f), the individual’s performance is the act of being ‘sensitive to the need of others’ or actively giving support to someone or a team (e.g., cheering on a team or cheering because they graduated). The aggressive category (m) views the individual’s performance as using strong and forceful actions (e.g. using a weapon, riding in an armor vehicle…etc.). The competitive category (m) perceives the individual’s performance as being eager to do better than others in an activity (e.g. trying to win in a sports activity like playing football or chess). The graceful category (f) perceives the individual’s performance as act of being polite and pleasant to others (e.g., smiling). The affectionate category (f) is used to describe the act of being purposely attractive in a physical way (e.g., makeup on face, earrings, wearing revealing clothes which women or men emphasizing body parts or wearing little clothing or wearing tight clothing, underwear or bikini). The purpose of this code is to indirectly measure how individuals in the top 25 Google images preform a role that is a construct of a particular gender image to fit a cultural ideal. By doing so, the gender role of the individuals can be connected to the type of activity the individuals are performing in an organization. This, then, characterizes the preferred gender behaviors that are linked with organizational roles and reflect organizational arrangements.
Interaction Dynamics code any Google image that can be divided into categories of individuals or group for the purpose to highlight situated subtleties of collaboration (e.g., group photo). Interaction Dynamics code’s categories describe whether the image is identified as individuals in actions or group photos. The purpose of the code is to understand the interaction dynamics of individuals in images. Thus this enables the researcher to make assumptions of people engaging in a certain interaction. For example, only group interactions may be interpreted as homosexual intimacy or heterosexual intimacy. Since images with a group of individuals can have people interacting with someone of the other or same sex, (e.g., kissing or hugging) it is much easier to classify their sexuality then an image of a single individual.

Image Framework code describes any image of individuals that can be divided into a preset performance or live performance. Image Framework code’s categories describe whether the image is identified as unstaged photo or staged photo. The purpose of the code is to understand the website designers’ purpose of presenting image in a certain framework. Unstaged photos are images that do not appear to be Photoshopped and the photo was taken with the intention of viewing roles in real situations. Staged photos are images that are Photoshopped and staged with the intention of viewing ideal conditions.

Internet Sources describes any website that causes or produces images for a specific purpose. Internet Sources code’s categories describe whether the image is identified as informational website, entertainment website, government website, and organizational website. Informational website category is websites that are created to provide information on customized and branded resources for consumers. Most informational websites are content and design driven. Entertainment website category is websites that are created to provide information on entertainment and celebrity news for consumers. Government website category is websites that
are created to provide information on government resources, including type of services the
government has to offer and government forms. Organizational website category is websites that
are created to provide information on organizational resources and services for consumers for
specific products, including how to buy their products.

Codes are based on the integrated framework for visual social research with categories
that are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. The framing codes enhanced reliability when
employing a content analysis methodological approach (Stemler, 2001). The purpose of the
codes is to define the research objectives of themes by quantity (amount and frequency) and
valence (tone and themes) of images (Finfgeld-Connett, 2014). Hence, the third category of the
integrated framework for visual social research examined the format and purpose of the themed
images. Starting with the primary non-specific gender search terms of Google images (i.e., NFL
players, U.S. soldier and college students), this study developed narratives for each image that
emphasized organizational meanings from the codes and their categories. From the narratives,
themes developed from the different images that corresponded with organizational webpages.
Since all organizations are gendered more or less to a degree based on how society categorize
organizational arrangements, gendered expression from individuals and objects express a varying
degree of femininity, masculinity and sexuality within different types of organizations. From the
25 short narratives of the top twenty-five images from each search term (75 narratives total), I
choose images from each search term that best represented the non-specific gender search terms
and developed a second narrative that detailed gender and sexuality aspects of the images. These
are the images I chose to represent the concepts of organizational meanings.

To control for the attributes of the individuals across all search terms as much as possible,
the search terms are used in the analysis were comparable in content. Therefore, the target
audience of each of the search terms should be similar, except for gender and sexuality. The Google top 25 ranked images focus on themes related to the organizations and organizational arrangements, and they regularly featured cultural meanings pertaining to the following subset search terms. I wrote additional narratives to identify the themes for the subset gender and sexuality specific Google search terms of images; women of the NFL, gay NFL players, U.S. female soldiers, U.S. gay soldiers, college volleyball players, and fraternity life. The themes for the gender specific Google search terms are formatted by mostly individuals’ performing a certain role in a specific environment that is related to their gender and sexuality. In order to assess the differences between the portrayals of organizational arrangements by different organizations, I focused on gendered and sexualized subset terms for which the images on the organizational website were intended. Each term and subset terms has descriptions of its target viewers. Women of the NFL, U.S. female soldiers, and college volleyball players’ subset search terms assess the differences between images that reflect organizational arrangements through gender meanings with a focus on femininity. College volleyball players’ subset term fulfill a Title IX requirement in higher education, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in any federally funded education program. That is, colleges and universities offer women’s volleyball as a major and popular sport on campus to offset the privileges that is granted to the men’s football team. Fraternity life’s subset search term assesses the differences between images that reflect organizational arrangements through gender meanings with a focus on masculinity. The rationale for choosing this term is that fraternities are embedded hegemonic masculine and heteronormative sub-organizations that exist within higher education institutions. Gay NFL players and U.S. gay soldiers’ subset search terms assess the differences between images that reflect organizational arrangements through sexuality meanings with a focus on homosexuality.
This study understands that websites’ designers designed images with a relational maintenance perceptive to develop a connection between the image and the viewer (Dainton and Stafford, 1993). The images at a webpage are meant to be viewed by many people so webpage designers need to develop images that provide the viewers desirable relational definitions through actions and activities performed by individuals. The purpose is to explain the relationship between the individuals’ statuses and the different types of organizational arrangements.

Research Limitations

There are research limitations in qualitative studies of organizations and the media. One limitation is that in relating organizations arrangements to qualitative studies are often done in a nominal fashion thus obscuring historical and social context. It is difficult to use this type of research approach to produce meaningful social and organizational change (Britton, 2000). Another limitation is the vital concepts that highlights my method that define the words and images with meanings, yet another researcher may not comprehend my methods or meanings that I attached to the words and images (Blowers, 2006).

In Griffiths and Brophy’s (2005) article, Student searching behavior and the web: Use of academic resources and Google, they found that Google is the search engine of choice, but search engine usage is difficult to measure. It is not a controlled environment and it is difficult for individuals, and researchers, to apply the traditional model of research when evaluating this information. In addition, for individuals without a firm understanding of the hierarchy of search engine structures of a search engine, it is difficult to navigate horizontally and to identify the correct concepts.
Using collected images for research there is often a lack of sufficient contextual information about the exact origin, rationale behind the production, and rationale of why the image is themed a certain way (Pauwels, 2010). I feel that by examining the sources of the website pages, I am able to overcome the lack of sufficient contextual information of images, especially since all of my images and articles are not “anonymous” visual artifacts. The time-framed and cited websites and their webpages are knowledgeable vehicles to contextualize the images and articles. Even with the websites being knowledgeable to the researcher, there is the need to be aware of the certain differences between how the image is being portrayed and the actual portrayal. The differences may seriously affect the researcher’s views of how the image is being depicted.
Chapter 4 - Data Analysis

Male-female relations are an important part of organizations’ practices that are often the starting point of social relations in a multilayered organization. The Google search images of NFL players, U.S. soldiers, and college students bring about an “intersection of a subset of dimensions of multiple categories to examine both an advantage and disadvantage explicitly and simultaneously” (McCall, 2014, p.1787). For the purpose of this study, codes and categories are methodically used to describe organizational arrangements among social groups along a multifaceted continuum. By incorporating the simple categories of race and sexuality with male-female relations for each different type of organization, this study is able to reproduce a holistic process that conveys the many parts of the study together.

Visual Social Research of Google Images

The integrated framework for visual social research of Google image search terms is built around three categories. The first category is sources and themes of images. The web sources are the producers of the images that post the images to webpages usually connected to a website with a political, social, or entertainment theme. The webpage designers produce themed images to provoke specific responses from its target viewers. The second category is research focus and design of the images. This category provided detailed analysis of codes on the webpage images. Additionally, this category assists in interpreting the processes of producing images through the use of visual codes that webpage designers designed into the image. The third category is the format and purpose of the themed images. The study developed narratives for each image and each image reflects the values of masculinity and femininity from the codes and categories.

The categories contribute to themes that all organizations are gendered even if the organization tries to present an organizational image of fairness to all individuals regardless of
their gender or sexuality. In addition, themes assist in theorizing why some organizational arrangement present a more hegemonic masculine and heteronormative image than other organizations, including images that assist in visually identifying core nature of an organizational ideal individuals.

**Websites’ Search Terms Results Frequencies**

Google ranks the website pages most relevant to people seeking information about a specific term. The most popular websites are developed by organizations to not only inform but to persuade viewers in thinking a certain way (Tom and Eves, 2012). Therefore, websites’ designers know that if their websites are to be viewed by many people, they need to develop images that provide the viewer with desirable relational definitions. These definitions, then, are provided through actions and activities performed by individuals that are consciously and intentionally enacted to meet a particular goal—a relational maintenance is developed between the webpage’s images and the viewer (Dainton and Stafford, 1993). The Google images that are analyzed in this study came from a variety of websites. However, there are some websites that are able to get more than one image in the top twenty most viewed images in a Google image search. These website designers have found a better way to connect with website surfers that are seeking specific information. That is, the websites are designed with the intention to develop and maintain a relation with the viewer through profiles of those individuals in images performing certain organizational roles related to their statuses. In addition, the people that are profiled on the internet are often displaying idealized attributes related to their roles (Manago et al., 2008).

Table 1 displays sample size and the percentage of images from the primary and subset search terms for the top 75 Google images of higher education institutions. The interaction dynamics category has 9 images (12 percent) that display individuals acting alone and 66 images
(88 percent) that displayed individuals interacting as a group. The image framework category has 30 percent of the images as unstaged arrangements and 70 percent of the images as staged arrangements. The types of internet sources that produce these images show that 70 percent are produced through organizational websites, 25 percent are produced through entertainment websites, and 5 percent are produced by informational websites.

The interaction dynamics category for top 25 images of college students search term has 4 percent of the images are displaying individuals acting alone and 96 percent of the images are displaying individuals interacting as a group. The image framework category has 0 percent of the images as un-staged arrangements and 100 percent of the images as staged arrangements. The types of internet sources that produce these images show that 100 percent are produced through organizational websites.

The interaction dynamics category for top 25 images of college volleyball players search term has 32 percent of the images are displaying individuals acting alone and 68 percent of the images are displaying individuals interacting as a group. The image framework category has 56 percent of the images as un-staged arrangements and 44 percent of the images as staged arrangements. The types of internet sources that produce these images show that 60 percent are produced through organizational websites, 28 percent are produced through entertainment websites, and 12 percent are produced by informational websites.

The interaction dynamics category for top 25 images of fraternity life search term have 100 percent of the images is displaying individuals interacting as a group. The image framework category has 36 percent of the images as un-staged arrangements and 64 percent of the images as staged arrangements. The types of internet sources that produce these images show that 52
percent are produced through organizational websites and 48 percent are produced through entertainment websites.

Most of the search term results in higher education institutions are images of group and staged images, especially the search terms’ college students and fraternity life. In addition, most of the images are from organizational websites (i.e., college websites) except there are a few images from entertainment websites for the search terms’ volleyball players and fraternity life.

**Table 4.1 Higher Education Institutions—Top 25 Google Images—Search Terms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Higher Education-Top 25 Google Images-Attributes</th>
<th>All Terms</th>
<th>College Students</th>
<th>Volleyball Players</th>
<th>Fraternity Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction Dynamics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals in action</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group photos</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image Framework</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstaged photo</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staged photos</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet Source</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information website</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment website</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government website</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational website</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 displays sample size and the percentage of images from the primary and subset search terms for the top 75 Google images of NFL. The interaction dynamics category has 56 images (75 percent) are displaying individuals acting alone and 19 images (25 percent) are displaying individuals interacting as a group. The image framework category has 73 percent of
the images as un-staged arrangements and 27 percent of the images as staged arrangements. The types of internet sources that produce these images show that 29 percent are produced through organizational websites, 71 percent are produced through entertainment websites, and 5 percent are produced by informational websites.

The interaction dynamics category for top 25 images of NFL players search term has 72 percent of the images are displaying individuals acting alone and 28 percent of the images are displaying individuals interacting as a group. The image framework category has 100 percent of the images as un-staged arrangements. The types of internet sources that produce these images show that 16 percent are produced through organizational websites and 84 percent are produced through entertainment websites.

The interaction dynamics category for top 25 images of women of the NFL search term has 60 percent of the images are displaying individuals acting alone and 40 percent of the images are displaying individuals interacting as a group. The image framework category has 56 percent of the images as un-staged arrangements and 44 percent of the images as staged arrangements. The types of internet sources that produce these images show that 24 percent are produced through organizational websites and 76 percent are produced through entertainment websites.

The interaction dynamics category for top 25 images of NFL gay players search term has 92 percent of the images are displaying individuals acting alone and 8 percent of the images are displaying individuals interacting as a group. The image framework category has 64 percent of the images as un-staged arrangements and 36 percent of the images as staged arrangements. The types of internet sources that produce these images show that 48 percent are produced through organizational websites and 52 percent are produced through entertainment websites.
Most of the search term results in NFL are images of individuals in actions and unstaged images, especially the search terms’ NFL football players and NFL gay players. Most of these images are football players playing football. Even though the football players are playing on a stage, the photos are unstaged since the images do not appear to be Photoshopped and the photos were taken with the intention of viewing individuals preforming roles in real situations. In addition, most of the images are from entertainment websites except there are a few images from organizational websites (i.e., teams’ websites).

Table 4.2 NFL-Top 25 Google Images-Search Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>NFL-Top 25 Google Images-Attributes</th>
<th>All Terms</th>
<th>NFL Football Players</th>
<th>Women of the NFL</th>
<th>NFL Gay Players</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction Dynamics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals in action</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group photos</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image Framework</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstaged photo</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Staged photos</td>
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<td>0%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>36%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>75</td>
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<tr>
<td>Internet Source</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information website</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment website</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government website</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational website</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 displays sample size and the percentage of images from the primary and subset search terms for the top 75 Google images of U.S. military. The interaction dynamics category has 12 images (16 percent) are displaying individuals acting alone and 63 images (84 percent) are displaying individuals interacting as a group. The image framework category has 67 percent
of the images as un-staged arrangements and 33 percent of the images as staged arrangements. The types of internet sources that produce these images show that 61 percent are produced through organizational websites, 17 percent are produced through entertainment websites, 11 percent are produced by government websites, and 11 percent are produced by informational websites.

The interaction dynamics category for top 25 images of U.S. soldiers search term has 8 percent of the images are displaying individuals acting alone and 92 percent of the images are displaying individuals interacting as a group. The image framework category has 100 percent of the images as un-staged arrangements and 0 percent of the images as staged arrangements. The types of internet sources that produce these images show that 68 percent are produced through an organizational website, 0 percent is produced through an entertainment website, 8 percent are produced by government websites, and 24 percent are produced by informational website.

The interaction dynamics category for top 25 images of U.S female soldiers search term has 24 percent of the images are displaying individuals acting alone and 76 percent of the images are displaying individuals interacting as a group. The image framework category has 32 percent of the images as un-staged arrangements and 68 percent of the images as staged arrangements. The types of internet sources that produce these images show that 64 percent are produced through organizational websites, 8 percent are produced through entertainment websites, 24 percent are produced by government websites, and 8 percent are produced by informational websites.

The interaction dynamics category for top 25 images of U.S. gay soldiers search term has 16 percent of the images are displaying individuals acting alone and 84 percent of the images are displaying individuals interacting as a group. The image framework category has 68 percent of
the images as un-staged arrangements and 32 percent of the images as staged arrangements. The
types of internet sources that produce these images show that 52 percent are produced through
organizational websites and 48 percent are produced through entertainment websites.

Most of the search term results in U.S. military are images of group photos and unstaged
images, especially the search terms’ U.S. soldiers and U.S. gay soldiers. Most of these images
are displaying U.S. male soldiers in full combat battle gear and in the field. U.S. female soldiers
are in group photos but most photos are staged. That is, female soldiers are in their dress
uniforms on military bases thus the female soldiers are not photographed with the intention of
being viewed in real combat situations. In addition, most of the images of U.S. soldiers are from
organizational websites. U.S. gay soldiers’ images are split between organizational and
entertainment websites. The images from U.S. females are mostly from governmental websites.

Table 4.3 U.S. Military-Top Google Images-Search Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>All Terms</th>
<th>U.S. Soldiers</th>
<th>U.S. Female Soldiers</th>
<th>U.S. Gay Soldiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interaction Dynamics</td>
<td>% (n)</td>
<td>% (n)</td>
<td>% (n)</td>
<td>% (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuals in action</td>
<td>16% (12)</td>
<td>8% (2)</td>
<td>24% (6)</td>
<td>16% (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group photos</td>
<td>84% (63)</td>
<td>92% (23)</td>
<td>76% (19)</td>
<td>84% (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100% (75)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image Framework</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstaged photo</td>
<td>67% (50)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>32% (8)</td>
<td>68% (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staged photos</td>
<td>33% (25)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>68% (17)</td>
<td>32% (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100% (75)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet Source</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information website</td>
<td>11% (8)</td>
<td>24% (6)</td>
<td>8% (2)</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment website</td>
<td>17% (13)</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>4% (1)</td>
<td>48% (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government website</td>
<td>11% (8)</td>
<td>8% (2)</td>
<td>24% (6)</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational website</td>
<td>61% (46)</td>
<td>68% (17)</td>
<td>64% (16)</td>
<td>52% (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100% (75)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
<td>100% (25)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Common Domain Names used by Organizations**

The images of the search term NFL players has one common domain name that represented more images in the top twenty than other domain name in this study. Images from Maxpreps domain name are the most common images of NFL players that are analyzed in this study. Maxpreps is one of many websites owned by CBS Interactive which is part of the CBS Corporation. Maxpreps’ websites are presented to viewers as being the “American Source for High School Sports” (MaxPreps High School Sports, 2015). The main website page of MaxPreps is about giving rankings on who are the best high school leaders, the best high schools, and the top recruits in America high school sports as the organization attempts to develop a relational maintenance with their target audience. Maxpreps website has information relational maintenance in that it wants the viewers to buy into the informational opinions that this organization is offering to viewers. The information on Maxpreps’ website advises viewers on what they should do or how they should act in a particular high school sport if they want to be the best. It uses NFL players’ images as an endgame to what is best when playing football. Therefore, the images by Maxpreps and other similar websites are intentionally playing on high school football players’ desires of being the best, and the best football players play in the NFL.

The images of the search term U.S. soldiers has one common domain name that represented more images in the top twenty than other domain names in this study. Images from Wikimedia.org websites are the most common source of images of U.S. soldiers that are analyzed in this study. The Wikimedia.org is part of the Wikimedia Foundation that describes itself as a nonprofit organization that operates collaborative and free knowledge websites (Wikimedia Foundation, 2015), thus Wikimedia.org is an informational type of website. This organization runs under the idea that all content of Wikipedia is licensed under the GNU Free
Documentation License that suggests when content is published on its websites the articles that are referenced are transparent copies and are available to the general public. Thus every Wikipedia webpage covers a single concept that is linked to a network of articles (Voss, 2005). Although the validity of the knowledge that is provided by Wikipedia may be debated, it does provide sharing tasks and open relational maintenances. That is, it seeks to provide its viewers an experience in which information is shared openly and truthfully by others who too are seeking information about specific search terms.

When individuals seek out visual information on the internet about U.S. soldiers, it is often connected to certain types of soldiers that emphasize the unsoiled side of masculinity. The unsoiled side of masculinity is usually an image of strong healthy males with clean warrior uniforms and weapons that are about to be engaged in battle/training. At the same time, the images deemphasize the battle environment, which would be labeled as the soiled side of masculinity. The soiled side of masculinity not only displayed men in tattered uniform soiled in their own or others’ blood, but whom are in a battle environment that depicts burned out homes and dead civilians. Therefore, the images and connecting articles from Wikipedia and other images of U.S. soldiers provide a narrow view of war and would thus indicate that Wikipedia and other websites are not free from “soft” censorship from the U.S. government (Bambauer, 2012). In addition, the unsoiled images of U.S. soldiers at popular websites contribute to a main war storyline that reflected a U.S. government patriotic standpoint (Aday, 2005). That is, the only people that get hurt in a war lead by U.S. soldiers are the men that the U.S. government labeled as the bad guys.

The images of the search term college students did not have common domain name like that of NFL players and U.S. soldiers. However, I searched images from only the top level
domain name of .edu, resulting in a search of only qualified websites of educational organizations. The most common aspect of the different websites is that most belonged to higher education organizations from highly populated states like California and Texas. This makes sense considering these states are the most populated in the nation and there are more people in these areas seeking information on higher education. The other difference between images of college students and the other image searches in this study is that more of the college student images were Photoshop enhanced. The college student’s Photoshop images provide the viewers the ideal image of college environment—a snapshot of the higher organization’s reputation to potential customers (Nguyen and Leblanc, 2001). The Photoshop images from higher educational organizations are a response to marketing concepts as colleges and universities compete for students in a competitive climate (Hemsley-Brown and Oplatka, 2006). The students that are presented in the Photoshop images were almost flawless in appearance, which could only be achieved through doctoring, cosmetics, and computer retouching.

College students’ images have an information and network relational maintenances with viewers. The website designers for higher education organizations want the viewers with similar interest to buy into the informational opinions that focus on an organization’s reputation. The images from websites of higher education offer the ideal students and the ideal educational environment to build that relational link to viewers that intend to assume a future role as a college student. However, with college being an expensive investment, prospective students are more selective when choosing a college and are more likely to skip a college website if it does not provide a good first impression in a short time period. Most website designers know that a website has about 50 milliseconds to make a good first impression (Lindgaard et al., 2006),
which plays an integral part on how search engine marketing companies manipulated what individuals view on-line.

The importance of search engines has led to an upsurge in search engine marketing companies that focus on their customer’s websites by focusing on how to improve search engine optimization (Shih et al., 2013). The market force organizations to build websites to compete for search engine’s first result page. A large majority of people click on those websites as their final destiny when doing a website search (Malaga, 2008). Although it is clear that the search terms used in this study are influenced by marketing strategies, it is also true that marketing strategies are influenced by individuals’ perception of the search term. That is, when an individual wants to search for an image of an NFL football player, that viewer will click on a website on the first page of the search results that has an image of a popular NFL player in game action. If the individual wants to search for an image of a U.S. soldier, that viewer will click on websites on the first page of the search results that have a pristine U.S. soldier ready for battle. If the individual wants to search for an image of a college student, then that viewer will click on websites on the first page of search results that has image of the ideal student ready to be your study buddy.

**Organizational Images’ Frequencies**

Table 4 displays sample size and the percentage of individuals from the primary and subset search terms for the top 75 Google images of higher education institutions. The sample includes a total of 395 individuals in 75 images with 212 of the individuals (54 percent) are identified as female and 183 (46 percent) of the individuals are identified as male. The race category has 88 percent of the individuals are identified as White, 5 percent Black, and 7 percent are declared as an ‘other’ race. The roles that the individuals are performing in the images from
the different higher education search terms show that 96 percent are identified as students with only a few individuals identified as professor or coach. The attire category has 67 percent of the individuals are wearing mundane clothes and 33 percent are wearing sexualized clothes. Out of the 129 individuals wearing sexualized clothes, females account for 85 percent of the sample. The feminine attributes (graceful and supportive) in gender performances category have 63 percent and 18 percent respectively of individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. The masculine attributes (competitive and leadership), have 12 percent and 2 percent of the individuals that are identified as doing this type of gender arrangements.

The college student search term includes a total of 105 individuals in 25 images with 68 of the individuals (65 percent) are identified as female and 37 (35 percent) of the individuals are identified as male. The race category has 80 percent of the individuals are identified as White, 13 percent Black, and 7 percent are declared as an ‘other’ race. The roles that the individuals are preforming are images from the college student search term that show that 99 percent are identified as students with one individual identified as a professor. The attire category has 100 percent of the individuals are wearing mundane clothes. The feminine attributes (graceful and supportive) in gender performances category have 82 percent and 17 percent respectively of individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. Only one masculine attribute (leadership) is observed, which only account for 1 percent of the individuals that are identified as doing this type of gender arrangement. This image is a female professor leading a group of students on campus.

The college volleyball players search term includes a total of 107 individuals in 25 images with 105 of the individuals (95 percent) are identified as female and 5 (5 percent) of the individuals are identified as male. The race category has 94 percent of the individuals are
identified as White, 4 percent Black, and 2 percent are declared as an ‘other’ race. The roles that the individuals are performing in the images from the college volleyball players search term shows that 94 percent are identified as students with only a few individuals identified as other or as coach. The attire category has 5 percent of the individuals are wearing mundane clothes and 95 percent are wearing sexualized clothes. Out of the 107 individuals wearing sexualized clothes, females account for 99 percent of the sample. The feminine attributes (graceful and supportive) have in gender performances category have 59 percent and 4 percent respectively of individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. The masculine attributes (competitive and leadership) have 31 percent and 6 percent respectively of the individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. All the individuals performing the competitive attribute are identified as female volleyball player competing in a game.

The fraternity life search term contains a total of 183 individuals in 25 images with 42 of the individuals (23 percent) are identified as female and 141 (77 percent) of the individuals are identified as male. The race category has 89 percent of the individuals are identified as White, 1 percent Black, and 10 percent are declared as an ‘other’ race. The roles that the individuals are performing are images from the fraternity life search term that shows 100 percent are identified as students. The attire category has 85 percent of the individuals are wearing mundane clothes and 15 percent are wearing sexualized clothes. Out of the 28 individuals wearing sexualized clothes, males account for 71 percent of the sample. The feminine attributes (graceful, supportive, and affectionate) in gender performances category have 54 percent, 26 percent, and 12 percent respectively of individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. The masculine attribute (competitive) has 8 percent of the individuals that are
identified as doing this type of gender arrangements. All individuals preforming competitive attribute are identified as fraternity members that are competing in games.

Table 4.4 Higher Education-Top Google Images-Individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Higher Education-Top 25 Google Images</th>
<th>Volleyball Players</th>
<th>Fraternity Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All Terms</td>
<td>College Student</td>
<td>Fraternity Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female (n)</td>
<td>Male (n)</td>
<td>Female (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coach</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fan</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attire</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandate</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexualized</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Performance</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership (m)</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supportive (f)</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive (m)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competitive (m)</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graceful (f)</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affectionate (f)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 displays sample size and the percentage of individuals from the primary and subset search terms for the top 75 Google images of the National Football League. The sample comprises a total of 134 individuals in 75 images with 56 of the individuals (42 percent) are identified as female and 78 (58 percent) of the individuals are identified as male. The race category has 59 percent of the individuals are identified as White, 39 percent Black, and 2
percent are declared as an ‘other’ race. The roles that the individuals are performing in the images from the different NFL search terms show that 45 percent are identified as football players, 20 percent as models, 17 percent as employees, 14 percent as others, and 4 percent as fans. The attire category has 25 percent of the individuals are wearing mundane clothes, 40 percent are wearing sexualized clothes, and 35 percent are wearing armored type of clothing. Out of the 53 individuals wearing sexualized clothes, females account for 98 percent of the sample. In addition, out of the 47 individuals wearing armored type of clothes, males account for 100 percent of the sample. The feminine attributes (graceful, supportive, and affectionate) in gender performances category have 39 percent, 30 percent, and 3 percent respectively of individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. The masculine attributes (competitive and leadership), have 27 percent and 2 percent of the individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. In addition, out of the 38 individuals displaying these masculine attributes, males account for 92 percent of the sample.

The NFL player search term includes a total of 52 individuals in 25 images with all 52 of the individuals (100 percent) are identified as male. The race category has 52 percent of the individuals are identified as White, 46 percent Black, and 6 percent are declared as an ‘other’ race. The roles that the individuals are performing in the images from the NFL players search term shows that 67 percent are identified as football players and 33 percent of individuals identified as others. The attire category has 33 percent of the individuals are wearing mundane clothes and 67 percent are wearing armored type clothes. The feminine attributes (supportive) in gender performances category has 46 percent of individuals that are identified as doing this type of gender arrangements. The masculine attributes (competitive and leadership) have 49 percent
and 5 percent respectively of the individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements.

The women of the NFL search term includes a total of 56 individuals in 25 images with 56 of the individuals (100 percent) are identified as female. The race category has 88 percent of the individuals are identified as White, 12 percent Black, and 0 percent are declared as an ‘other’ race. The roles that the individuals are performing in the images from the women of the NFL search term shows that 48 percent are identified as models, 41 percent as employees (team cheerleaders), and 11 percent as fans. The attire category has 73 percent of the individuals are wearing mundane clothes and 93 percent are wearing sexualized clothes. The feminine attributes (graceful and supportive) in gender performances category have 75 percent and 18 percent respectively of individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. The masculine attribute (competitive) has 7 percent of the individuals that are identified as doing this type of gender arrangement.

The NFL gay players search terms includes a total of 26 individuals in 25 images with 26 of the individuals (100 percent) are identified as male. The race category has 12 percent of the individuals are identified as White, 88 percent Black, and 0 percent are declared as an ‘other’ race. The roles that the individuals are performing in the images from the NFL gay players search term shows that 100 percent are identified as football players. The attire category has 50 percent of the individuals are wearing mundane clothes, 4 percent are wearing sexualized clothes and 46 percent are wearing armored type clothes. The feminine attributes (graceful, supportive, and affectionate) in gender performances category have 42 percent, 50 percent and 8 percent respectively of individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. There are no masculine attributes identified in the images.
Table 4.5 NFL-Top Google Images-Individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>All Terms</th>
<th>NFL Players</th>
<th>Women of the NFL</th>
<th>NFL Gay Players</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female (%)</td>
<td>Male (%)</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Female (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>126%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Player</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coach</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fan</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mundane</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexualized</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armored</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Performance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership (m)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supportive (f)</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive (m)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competitive (m)</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graceful (f)</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affectionate (f)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 displays sample size and the percentage of individuals from the primary and subset search terms for the top 75 Google images of U.S. military. The sample comprises of a total of 322 individuals in 75 images with 94 of the individuals (29 percent) are identified as female and 228 (71 percent) of the individuals are identified as male. The race category has 83 percent of the individuals are identified as White, 9 percent Black, and 8 percent are declared as
an ‘other’ race. The roles that the individuals are preforming in the images from the different U.S. military search terms show that 96 percent are identified as soldiers and 4 percent as non-soldiers. The attire category has 38 percent of the individuals are wearing mundane clothes, 8 percent are wearing sexualized clothes, and 54 percent are wearing armored type of clothing. Out of the 27 individuals wearing sexualized clothes, gay male soldiers account for 100 percent of the sample. The feminine attributes (graceful, supportive, and affectionate) in gender performances category have 4 percent, 39 percent and 9 percent respectively of individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. The masculine attributes (aggressive, competitive and leadership), have 44 percent, 3 percent, and 1 percent of the individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. In addition, out of the 153 individuals displaying these masculine attributes, female soldiers account for only 22 percent of the sample.

The U.S. soldiers search term sample includes a total of 109 individuals in 25 images with all 109 of the individuals (100 percent) are identified as male. The race category has 85 percent of the individuals are identified as White, 10 percent Black, and 5 percent are declared as an ‘other’ race. The roles that the individuals are preforming in the images from the U.S. soldiers search term shows that 98 percent are identified as U.S soldiers and 2 percent of individuals identified as non-soldiers. The attire category has 1 percent of the individuals are wearing mundane clothes and 99 percent are wearing armored type clothes. The feminine attributes (graceful and supportive) in gender performances category have 1 percent and 1 percent of individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. The masculine attributes (aggressive and leadership) have 97 percent and 1 percent respectively of the individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements.
The U.S. female soldiers search term contains a total of 92 individuals in 25 images with 88 of the individuals (96 percent) are identified as female and 4 of the individuals (4 percent) are identified as male. The race category has 94 percent of the individuals are identified as White, 4 percent Black, and 2 percent are declared as an ‘other’ race. The roles that the individuals are preforming in the images from the U.S. female soldiers search term shows that 99 percent are identified as U.S. soldiers and 1 percent as non-soldiers. The attire category has 47 percent of the individuals are wearing mundane clothes and 53 percent are wearing armored type clothes. The feminine attributes (graceful and supportive) in gender performances category have 12 percent and 51 percent respectively of individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. The masculine attributes (aggressive and leadership) has 36 percent and 1 percent respectively of the individuals that are identified as doing these type of gender arrangements.

The U.S. gay soldiers search term includes a total of 121 individuals in 25 images with 6 of the individuals (5 percent) are identified as female and 115 of the individuals (95 percent) are identified as female. The race category has 89 percent of the individuals are identified as White, 1 percent Black, and 10 percent are declared as an ‘other’ race. The roles that the individuals are preforming in the images from the U.S. gay soldiers search term shows that 92 percent are identified as U.S. soldiers and 8 percent identified as non-soldiers. The attire category has 85 percent of the individuals are wearing mundane clothes, 15 percent are wearing sexualized clothes and 0 percent are wearing armored type clothes. The feminine attributes (graceful, supportive, and affectionate) in gender performances category have 1 percent, 65 percent and 24 percent respectively of individuals that are identified as doing these types of gender arrangements. The masculine attributes (competitive, aggressive, and leadership) have 8 percent,
1 percent, and 1 percent respectively of the individuals that are identified as doing these types of
 gender arrangements.

Table 4.6 U.S. Military-Top Google Images-Individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>All Terms</th>
<th>U.S. Soldiers</th>
<th>U.S. Female Soldiers</th>
<th>U.S. Gay Soldiers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female (%</td>
<td>Male (%</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Female (%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>12% 8% 9%</td>
<td>0% 10% 10%</td>
<td>12% 0% 4%</td>
<td>0% 8% 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>82% 84% 83%</td>
<td>0% 85% 85%</td>
<td>81% 75% 94%</td>
<td>100% 82% 89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6% 8% 8%</td>
<td>0% 5% 5%</td>
<td>7% 25% 2%</td>
<td>0% 10% 10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29% 71% 100%</td>
<td>0% 100% 100%</td>
<td>96% 4% 100%</td>
<td>5% 95% 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldier</td>
<td>98% 95% 96%</td>
<td>0% 98% 98%</td>
<td>100% 75% 99%</td>
<td>67% 93% 92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Soldier</td>
<td>2% 5% 4%</td>
<td>0% 2% 2%</td>
<td>0% 25% 1%</td>
<td>33% 6% 8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29% 71% 100%</td>
<td>0% 100% 100%</td>
<td>96% 4% 100%</td>
<td>5% 95% 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mundane</td>
<td>50% 33% 38%</td>
<td>0% 1% 1%</td>
<td>47% 50% 47%</td>
<td>100% 63% 85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexualized</td>
<td>0% 12% 8%</td>
<td>0% 0% 0%</td>
<td>0% 0% 0%</td>
<td>0% 23% 15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armored</td>
<td>50% 55% 54%</td>
<td>0% 99% 99%</td>
<td>53% 50% 53%</td>
<td>0% 14% 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29% 71% 100%</td>
<td>0% 100% 100%</td>
<td>96% 4% 100%</td>
<td>5% 95% 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Performance</td>
<td>Leadership (m)</td>
<td>1% 1% 1%</td>
<td>0% 1% 1%</td>
<td>0% 25% 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supportive (f)</td>
<td>51% 34% 39%</td>
<td>0% 1% 1%</td>
<td>52% 50% 51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aggressive (m)</td>
<td>35% 47% 44%</td>
<td>0% 97% 97%</td>
<td>37% 0% 36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Competitive (m)</td>
<td>0% 4% 3%</td>
<td>0% 0% 0%</td>
<td>0% 0% 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Graceful (f)</td>
<td>14% 1% 4%</td>
<td>0% 1% 1%</td>
<td>11% 25% 12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Affectionate (f)</td>
<td>0% 13% 9%</td>
<td>0% 0% 0%</td>
<td>0% 0% 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29% 71% 100%</td>
<td>0% 100% 100%</td>
<td>96% 4% 100%</td>
<td>5% 95% 100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Core Nature for Being the Ideal Individual

What does it mean to have images of all males or images of individuals populated by one
race or one sex only? An image from a search engine is meant to influence our decisions by
defining ideal attributes that are an important part of its nature and associated with specific
organizational arrangements as defined through a society’s culture. The ideal perception of what
it takes to be an NFL player, a U.S. soldier or a college student is linked to the fundamental
nature of being a man or a woman (West and Fenstermaker, 1993), as well the fundamental nature of race and heteronormativity. Therefore, popular images of people performing specific roles may represent snapshots of how our society defines the “core” nature of specific individuals that are needed to perform these specific labors. That is, it takes a certain type of ideal man to perform in organizations, like the NFL and the U.S. military. However, the masculine attributes of organizations that present common gendered arrangements are highlighted only in the embedded sub-organizations, like higher education institutions. Since the image of masculinity does not hold a hegemonic position in higher education, race and heteronormative attributes may be more pronounced in their images.

The hierarchal order of organizational arrangements are often measured against the hegemonic masculine and the ideal attributes of heteronormativity which often are the most respected, desired, and dominant statues U.S. society has to offer to individuals (Connell, 1995). Hence, the frequencies of certain cultural attributes are telling statements of how the preconceived notions of U.S. society on gender, race and heteronormativity influence each role that is being performed by individuals in an organization. Hence, gender distinctions are a basic element in the creation of these status (Epstein, 1988), as well as distinctions of race and heteronormativity. Therefore, images specifically presented in this study are reflection of hegemonic masculine and heteronormative organizational arrangements that are valued differently for different groups.

The Core Image of Being the Ideal NFL Player

The analysis of images that are similar to Figure 4.1 start with the player in action and clothed with their team colored uniform. The NFL player’s uniform almost covers the player from head to toes. The player’s jersey is numbered and short sleeved. Some NFL players in the
images choose to cover their arms by wearing a long sleeve tee shirt underneath the jersey, whereas others expose their arms, especially if they have well-developed muscles to emphasize their strength. Beneath the player’s jersey are shoulders pads that give the player upper body protection and expand his girth. The pant legs are skin tight with thigh and knee pads visible beneath the uniform. The player wears athletic shoes and long socks that cover his legs to his knees. The player’s head is covered with a helmet that has a chin strap, a face guard and the team logo printed on the side. Overall, the NFL players search results show that NFL organizational arrangements have players showing very little skin in these images. The only visible skin is the arms (sometimes) and the faces, which are usually hidden behind face guard bars.

**Figure 4.1 NFL Football Player in Action**

![NFL Football Player in Action](Emmons, 2015)-Photo @ How Stuff Works: Entertainment

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.2 reflect the reasons why NFL players wear this type of protective uniform. The NFL uniform is defined as a hegemonic masculine model. That is, individuals wear protective gear, like the armor the militaries have worn for centuries, to shield them from other powerful individuals who might do them harm on a field of competition. The rest of the body is covered in foam and plastic protection pads to reduce the impact shocks that are inflicted by other players. In addition, there is always a football (the prize) that is being passed, carried, or caught in the images. Instead of protection from swords’ cuts and bullets, NFL gear protection is meant to reduce impact blows to the body and allow the body to deliver
impact blows to other players. Regardless of how much protection players have, they do get hurt playing a game that is aggressive and competitive. Organizational arrangements and athletic socialization have conveyed messages to players that they should accept the risks of injuries and those players that play with a sport injury usually have their character overvalued by U.S. society (Nixon, 1993). Each week during the football season, teams release injury reports on their players. Those players that continue to play while injured are often praised for being “brave” for playing through the pain as rich guys tackle each other on expensive stages.

**Figure 4.2 NFL Players Tackle Each Other**

![NFL Players Tackle Each Other](Smith, 2013)- Photo @ CNN.com

The organizational arrangements of football are based on competition between teams. Coaches analyze their opponents, and then use strong, athletic players to assert their will over the other teams. In the players’ quest to win, players will beat each other up in front of fans on stages (stadiums) specially designed for this sport. Even with protection, players often get hurt and play hurt during games and practices. It is required by the rules of the game for players to inflict impact blows (tackling) to each other when they are performing this role. Until recently, hurt players were seen as an inconsequential part of the game but recent reports that link playing football to brain damage have increased the awareness that playing football is a violent activity. Yet, the popularity of football remains at a feverish high (Oguntoyinbo, 2014), while the sport itself remains a very lucrative game.
The images depict the stages that the NFL players play on each week during the fall. In recent years, the stage or the state-of-art stadium cost over a billion dollars to build and often funded by public taxes (Knauf, 2009). In addition, each of the 32 team’s average value is $1.43 billion, which makes the NFL the most lucrative sports league in the world funded through television contracts, sponsorships, merchandise sales and ticket sales (Ejiochi, 2013). The economic value of the NFL to U.S. society is undeniable as fans, governments, and sponsorships invest billions of dollars and time into this sport organization. The cultural capital of the NFL expressed in monetary terms is significant. Yet, the measure of an organization’s monetary value to a society may be incapable of representing the full range and complexity of the cultural worth of the organization (Throsby, 1999). The NFL and its players have symbolic influence over what is the distinctiveness of masculine behavior and heteronormativity and how organizational arrangements are properly performed in U.S. society.

Playing football does not prevent women from participating as players and there are a few examples of females playing on high school and college football teams. However, all the current NFL players are males and there has never been a female NFL player since its league formation in 1920. The images of NFL players examined in this study likewise reflect that the NFL is a male only sport. It is not the gear that prevents women from being on a NFL team, but the unspoken culture that chastises females if they try to develop muscle mass and speed to compete in the NFL. Football at all levels has been traditionally labeled as a hegemonic masculine sport that is an aggressive activity that limits female participants (McDowell and Schaffner, 2011). This action of preclusion is linked to the science of biological and anatomical knowledge that is used, often incorrectly, to form the foundation of ideas about the natural
distinctions between men and women (Connell, 2005). The NFL becomes a rare biological platform that is used to draw a blanketed belief about the differences between men and women.

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.3 display NFL players’ reflect their masculinity through “peacocking” as they prepare to confront each other on the field of competition (Martin, 2001). The NFL players’ bodies are the ideal symbol of hegemonic masculinity that uses physical power to violently enforce their will over other players. Similar to the boxers in Matthews’ (2014) article, “Biology ideology and pastiche hegemony,” football players perform roles of hegemonic masculinity through their bodies, emotions, language, and actions of groups and individuals to shape a hegemonic masculinity arrangements, which is supported through patriarchal resources. There are times when NFL players might be able to negotiate, engage in, or be forgiven for certain deviant behaviors and restricted norms because of their NFL status. Hence, organizational arrangements of the NFL provide protection to players that engage certain deviant behaviors and restricted norms by making the players a privilege group.

**Figure 4.3 NFL Player Expressing Masculinity**

![NFL Player Expressing Masculinity](Cameron, 2013)-Photo by Tyler Barrick/Getty Images

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.4 depict NFL’s organizational arrangements of White NFL players playing quarterback. All players in the images are popular players of the NFL, thus they are the ideal football players that viewers seek when searching for NFL players.
on the internet. It would seem that hegemonic masculinity is the main appeal of these images but hidden racial biases are present in these images too. Stereotypically speaking, leadership is linked with intelligence thus from White males’ commonsense perspective is that most leadership roles in the U.S. should be filled by White males, including individuals playing quarterback. As Morning (2009) found in his study on race, stereotypes of races are prevalent scripts in our society. Morning also found that most people believe that Whites are the more intelligent race and Black people are the more physically strong race. The NFL has historically utilized this same stereotypical reasoning when assuming the quarterback as the leader of the team. Throughout most of NFL history, the quarterback of a team was usually a White player, whereas the Black NFL players are seen as unintelligent brutes whom are the ‘man in the trenches’ (Brown, 2014).

This is still true in the NFL today, as most teams have more White quarterbacks than Black quarterbacks on their rosters. Almost 70% of NFL players are Black but only 19% of all quarterbacks are Black players. Furthermore, there are a low number of Black general managers and Black ownerships in the NFL. As mentioned in the review of the literature, as you go up in the hierarchy of the NFL, the number of minorities in leadership roles become even less, for only very few minorities and women are employed in upper management positions (Lapchick and Robinson, 2015). However, it must be mentioned that the NFL in recent years has made great strides in hiring more minorities and women to middle management positions. Yet, our society has an organization where real combat is performed and both men and women have this role of being a U.S. solider.
The Core Image of Being the Ideal U.S. Soldier

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.5 starts with the soldier’s greyish camouflage uniform. The uniform almost covers the soldier from head to toes. The top part of the uniform is an oversized outer jacket with long sleeves. Beneath the outer jacket is a flak jacket for body protection from bullets and shrapnel. In addition, soldiers usually wear a vest with many pockets on the outer jacket. Not only does the soldier have an appearance of greater girth, but also reflects the role that the soldier has the ability to carry heavy weight. The hands are usually covered by gloves. The pants are loose fitting with pockets to carry more objects, such as extra ammunition. The soldier wears boots and a helmet made of hardened steel with a chin strap and, at times, a scope attached to the helmet.

Figure 4.5 U.S. Soldiers in Full Combat Gear
The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.6 depict pristine images of the U.S. males soldiers performing behaviors consistent with the role of “warrior” males. Similar to the search results of NFL players, the search results for U.S. soldiers provide images of soldiers with very little skin exposed. The only visible skin is usually the face if it is not hidden behind an infrared headset or a rifle scope. The top part of the soldier is more protected than the legs. The iconic object that each soldier displayed in each image is a military rifle. These pristine images of U.S. soldiers are part of the pervasiveness of celebratory war events in our society (Powell, 2014; Allsep et al., 2011). That is, U.S. soldiers are to defend those who cannot defend themselves due to their subordinate position of submission and dependence. From a position of dominance, the soldier is expected to wage war abroad and expects obedience and loyalty at home” (Young, 2014, p. 2). Thus women and children are to submit to the “warrior” male protective and patriarchal status.

Most military media sites, constructed, reproduced, and deployed some of the most straightforward concepts of masculinity (Morgan, 1994). That is, U.S. society believes that the essential nature of being a U.S. soldier starts with being a male with a military rifle. By separating men and women from the imagery of being U.S. soldiers, we reaffirm the influences between masculinity and warrior and expand definitions of femininity (Brown, 2012). One method of this separation includes placing gay soldiers in the feminine category.

**Figure 4.6 “Warrior” Males Train for War Abroad**

(wikimedia.org, 2009)-Photo @ United States Army
The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.6 display pristine images of the U.S. males soldiers and the lack of racial diversity in these type of photos. Most images of U.S. soldiers displayed soldiers that are male and White. The remaining images have soldiers of different races mixed in with White soldiers. This study support the idea that organizations that are seeking to have their information associated with the U.S. military through internet media, like a Google image search, prefer their soldiers to be White males. Even though minorities represent 31% of active service personnel (Department of Defense, 2013) and 21% of the veterans in a 2013 report (NCVAS, 2015), there is a preconceived notion that U.S. soldiers are supposed to be mostly White males. Examples of this preconception that border on being prejudice were written in blogs, online magazines and Twitter accounts. The blogs were written by conservative writers that criticized Google’s logo for Veterans Day 2015 for showing only one White veteran out of the seven veterans displayed (Taylor, 2015). Although the U.S. military has been praised for being a positive model for race equality there are racial disparities within the military, especially a lack of minorities in the special operations forces (Burk and Espinoza, 2012).

**Figure 4.7 A Preconceived Notion of Lack of Diversity among U.S. Soldiers**

![Image of soldiers](5Pillars, 2014)-Photo @ 5Pillars

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.8 reflect the special “warrior” males embedded in U.S. military. U.S. society idolizes soldiers that are in the Special Forces, as this is the peak of achievement for a man in a hegemonic masculine organization (langman, 2003). American Sniper, released in the winter of 2014, became a ‘bona fide’ cultural phenomenon
according to Matt Taibbi of Rolling Stone magazine (2015). As with the Act of Valor movie released two years earlier, these movies of the Special Forces in the U.S. military emphasized the combat expertise and the excitement of military operations. Hence, the men in Special Forces elevated the prestige of U.S. military by highlighting soldiers like Navy Seal’s Chris Kyle to a hegemonic status of “special” war hero because his skill was to kill a large number of “bad” guys from a long distant. Hollywood war movies help connect the viewers to ideas that U.S. wars are sanitize thus denying the social, ethical and political costs of war (Andersen, 2014). Currently, America’s Special Forces reflects what is playing in the movies with a low numbers of minorities and no women serving in this part of the military service. In the future, the low numbers of minorities and women may be problematic if U.S. Special Forces want to sustain readiness in the future (Copenhaver, 2014).

Figure 4.8 A U.S. Sniper and an Afghan Interpreter

Similar to the images of NFL players, the identification of the heteronormative roles through the images of U.S. soldiers are lacking since these images also lacked the required reference groups. None of the searched images displayed sexuality and consequently rendered it difficult to infer heteronormativity. Therefore, another set of images from this organization is necessary to deduce U.S. soldiers’ connections to sexuality and heteronormativity.
The Core Image of Being the Ideal College Student

The images of college students reflect organizational arrangements that seem to be more gender neutral than organizations that are embracing hegemonic masculinity roles, as mentioned in the introduction of this study. The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.9 display college students that are wearing clothes that may be labeled as a uniform. The image shows a male with two females wearing the traditional black graduation garment with cap. Each female is holding a diploma. The male is wearing a suit and tie beneath his robe and is centered between the women with his arms hugging the back of the women's shoulders. This portrait’s gesture reflects that they may have a close relationship that was developed while they attended college together. All the college students’ images show male-female relationships, which is a very important feature to college students who are drawn toward each other, often facilitated through college functions (Ashmore and Del Boca, 2013). The smiling faces and graduation garments that each student is wearing signifies that each individual has reached the goal of graduating from college. Unlike the uniforms of the NFL players and U.S. soldiers, the college students’ uniforms are worn only to display the prestige that is awarded to an individual for achieving a degree in higher education. In the past, it was uncommon for women to wear this uniform but today it is a common and acceptable practice that is awarded to both male and female students receiving college diplomas.

Figure 4.9 U.S. College Students Graduating Uniform

(Educational Blog, 2012). Photo @ Educational Blog
The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.10 depict college students’ with gender appropriate attire and items that are commonly associated with being a college student (i.e., books, computers, and backpacks). Unlike the images of NFL players and U.S. soldiers, female students are more common in the college students’ images than male students. Feminine and masculine attire are displayed in each image. The organizational practices prioritize individuals’ gender attire to fit the role at the time the image is created to influence results and choices of the viewers (Kwantes et al., 2011). Within the search results, most male as well as female students are wearing solid colored shirt with blue jeans. This tends to represent the more casual environment of the organization or the casual nature of the millennial. In contrast, most male students are pictured holding no items in their hands, whereas the majority of female students are holding an education related item, such as a book or backpack. Almost all the college students’ images looked to be Photoshop images with attractive male and female models. Additionally, not only are the students wearing pristine clothes, but they also have professionally done hair and perfect teeth. The Photoshop images of college students are to give the viewers a positive and sociable reflection of the college (Dainton and Stafford, 1993). The images attempt to let the viewers know, especially female viewers, that they too may have joyful and pleasurable relationships with other students while attending this organization. In the images provided of NFL players and U.S. soldiers, femininity traits were almost non-existent and, when they were, they were found only in the peripheral of the photo being performed by fans and cheerleaders. However, the images of college students embrace femininity traits to attract the ideal type individual attention to its organization.
The analysis of images similar to Figure 4.11 display attractive and mostly female college students. This gives viewers an impression that these types of organizations cultivate platonic same sex arrangements with individuals with similar physical attributes and mostly likely be reciprocal to friendships (Dainton and Stafford, 1993). There are no images that depict a male-male or a female-female homosexual relationship. That is, there are no images of same sex couples hugging, holding hands, kissing or participating in any other form of intimate contact. However, the images do display to potential students that heterosexual relationships are available and encouraged at colleges and universities. For example, there are male and female only images that show the students studying alone within each other’s personal space. Other images show male and female students embracing one another, with one arm wrapped around the other person. With the popularity of intimate relationship through online social media (i.e., Tinder, Date my School, Campus Hookup, and many more), websites’ designers are designing websites with the idea that traditional students are emerging adults and ‘finding love’ is an important feature of their college career (Yang, 2012). It has become a way in which website designers of higher education organizations may frame and promote sexuality without the fear of repercussion by certain groups that oppose any type of sexuality in the public sphere. In addition, higher
education organizations and other organizations promote heteronormative roles because it is less likely that a group would oppose those practices in this type of organization.

**Figure 4.11 U.S. College Students Developing Platonic and Heterosexual Relationships**

![Image](Madison%20College%2C%202015)%20Photo%20%40%20Madison%20College)

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.12 depict college campuses lacking racial diversity. Similar to NFL players and U.S. soldiers’ images, students of color are underrepresented in college students’ images. Most of these images are dominated by White female students. According to the National Center of Education Statistics (2013), 64% of all college students are White, but yet the college students’ images give the viewers the impression that a vast majority of students that go to college are White. Therefore, these college websites are seeking to give the viewer a reflection of a familiar relational experience. Since the largest group of high school students that are planning to go to college is White female with a rate of 90% planning to attain some college (NCESN, 2005). Thus colleges’ websites are focusing on attracting this group to their colleges.

**Figure 4.12 U.S. College Students Developing Relationship**

![Image](Miller%2C%202015)%20Photo%20%40%20Buckley%20Program)
Data Analysis of the Subset Google Search Terms

The Google search terms used to find images of NFL players, U.S. soldiers, and college students are generic cases for the purpose to be all inclusive in identifying individual profiles that represent their organizations. Even though the terms are generic, the images bought about an overall reflection of each organization’s arrangements and the explicitly privileged advantages to those groups that are considered to be the ideal individuals to perform organizational roles. The images of the ideal football player or the ideal soldier or the ideal student represent the reflection on how organizational arrangements are viewed by people seeking information, as well as how organizations respond to the popularity of certain images. Thus, the first set of Google search terms are focus points for intersecting cultural meanings of organizational arrangements. It is the most observable point of the organization that reflects the organizational arrangements of ideal individuals which can be used to compare those individuals that are not considered “ideal” individuals.

Organizational images reflect individuals preforming roles of the organization (e.g., student) as well as the roles from the different statues the individual may possess (e.g., student football player). So there is a need to examine different layers of organizational arrangements in organizations. The second set of Google search terms are subsets of the generic cases that focus on how U.S. society reflects on images of female roles comparative to the organizational core images. Finally, the third set of Google search terms are subsets of the generic cases that focus on how U.S. society reflects on images of heteronormative roles comparative to the organizational core images.

For the NFL, this organization is viewed in a hegemonic masculine core image that is a heterosexual “warrior” male but he can be White or a person of color. The subset terms of the NFL are observations of images of individuals that do not the fit the cultural image of being a
NFL player but play a significant role in this organization. Thus the subsets Google search terms for NFL players are: women of the NFL and NFL gay players. The roles that the women may have in the NFL are administrator, cheerleader, fans, and wife. Although there is no rule that prohibit women from being football players but there are currently no woman NFL football player. Organizational arrangements at this type of organization are problematic in defining privileges because women are not part of the labor that defines the NFL—the football players.

For U.S. military, this organization is depicted in a hegemonic masculine image that is a White heterosexual “warrior” male. The subset terms of the U.S. military are observations of images of individuals that do not fit the cultural image of being a U.S. soldier but play a significant role in this organization. Henceforth, the subsets Google search terms are U.S. female soldiers and U.S. gay soldiers. The recent policies changes in the military on how women and homosexual soldiers serve in the military happen because of resistance toward organizational arrangements that are rooted in the traditional arrangements of the military (Pellerin, 2015).

For college students, this organization is viewed in an image of white and heterosexual females and males. Unlike the U.S. soldiers and NFL players’ terms, the college student’s cultural image does not define the type of labors that are performed at higher education organizations. The organization of higher education is more than female students receiving college degrees for there are number of occupations that are labeled with a masculine or feminine status. For the gendered organization is divided in smaller embedded sub-organizations, similar to Reskin and Roos’ (1990) gender classification of job, which are categorized by the type of labor. Thus the organization identifies potential members through gender distinction proxies and label with a certain level of skill then channeled toward a particular status. The subset terms of the higher education institutions are observations of images of individuals that do
the fit the cultural image of being white female/male students but also play a significant role in contributing to gender arrangements in the embedded sub-organizations. Hence the subsets Google search terms are college volleyball players and fraternity life.

**Subset Search Terms of the NFL Players**

For the results of the subset Google search term of women of the NFL, there are two common domain names that have more than one image in this study. Images from an entertainment website named NFL Weekly Update (nflweeklyupdate.com) are the most common images of the Google search term of women of the NFL. In addition, nflweeklyupdate.com has the top three most viewed images in the Google search term results. The top three images from nflweeklyupdate.com featured women in string bikinis or nude women that are body painted with NFL team logos. The nflweeklyupdate.com is online sport blog and it is about “those men and women out there who love football and need it on a weekly basis” and it was created on Blog at WordPress.com.—The Triton Lite Theme (nflweeklyupdate.com, 2013).

WordPress.com is own by Automattic and its purpose is to assist businesses, professionals, and bloggers to create their own websites (Wordpress.com, 2015). Automattic Inc. is a Web-services company that serves non-profit and open source projects by provides blogging services by operating various websites, including automattic.com and wordpress.com (Bloomberg L.P, 2015). I could not find current webpages of nflweeklyupdate.com so the images and articles associated with this website are two years old—dated 2013. Yet, their images of scantily clad women are still ranked high in a late December 2015 Google term search results.

Most of the other webpages related to women of the NFL are from an online men magazine titled Maguzz.com (2015), which is a social/news/sport online men’s magazine. The women of the NFL images are from the online Maguzz magazine’s webpage labeled “NFL
Network Women”. The “NFL Network Women” feature women broadcasters that work the sidelines at NFL games for one of the sport television networks. This webpage show attractive young sportscasters on the sideline of football field delivering injury reports and players gossip. Before the year of 2000, sideline reporting was an all-male occupation but TV producers thought that by adding feminine sex appeal would increase TV ratings, and it worked. Many of the women sideline sportscasters cashed in their popularity and sex appeal through their exposure in men’s magazines (Skerski, 2006), like Maguzz and Maxim.

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.13 depict women of the NFL from organizational webpages of NFL team websites, like the milehighreport.com (Denver Broncos) and kcchiefs.com (Kansas City Chiefs). These team webpages feature images of women as cheerleaders or fans. Both types of images are of women of ideal beauty that are usually Photoshopped and draws heavily on gender stereotypes to sell the teams products. Kilbourne (2013) believes that the ideal female beauty presented in these types of images are meant to sell game tickets and team apparel, but also to advertise to the viewers that ideal female beauty is linked to being supportive and loyal to their teams thus attributes that embody femininity. All of these websites support the idea that women’s bodies should be sexually objectified whether it is as a sideline sports reporter or a cheerleader or a fan that is supportive and loyal to a team.

**Figure 4.13 Women of the NFL are Loyal to Their Team**
For the results of the subsets Google search term of NFL gay players, there are two common domain names that have the most images in the top twenty-five Google search term results. Both entertainment websites (outsport.com and glaad.com) are online magazines that feature the homosexual lifestyle. The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.14 depict NFL players that are former gay NFL football players, an openly gay NFL football player (Michael Sam), and heterosexual players that support the right for gay players to play football in the NFL. The other images come from news websites (nydailynews.com, abcnews.go.com, businessinsider.com, cbssport.com…etc.) and all of them were reporting on the first openly gay NFL football player Michael Sam and the reactions from fans and former gay NFL players.

**Figure 4.14 Gay Individuals in the NFL**

(Franklin, 2014) - Photo by Pro Player Insiders

**Subset Search Terms of the U.S. Soldiers**

For the results of the subsets Google of U.S. female soldiers, there is only one common domain name that have more than one image in the U.S. female soldiers search term results. The official government website for the U.S. Army (army.mil) have four images of U.S. women soldiers in the top twenty-five most viewed images of U.S. female soldiers. The U.S. Army’s website provides information that is intended for the internal army audience and managed by U.S. Army and Department of Defense (army.mil, 2015). The U.S. Army’s website has many subjects with many links to different articles about the U.S. Army. Examining the “News Front Page” webpage on the U.S. Army website, it is formatted like any other type of government
website featuring links to articles that are associated with the U.S. Army, like the Navy-Army football game that was played over a November weekend. Similar to the search results of U.S. soldiers, images on the “News Front Page” are of pristine looking soldiers doing something other than fighting a bloody war.

The remaining websites are connected to two types of themes. The first theme is online news websites or informational websites. The images that are connected to the webpages on these news websites (usatoday.com, latino.foxnews.com, telegraph.co.uk…etc.) are connected to recent articles about Department of Defense allowing women soldiers to serve in all military roles, including combat. The second theme is represented by images similar to Figure 4.15 that display U.S. female soldiers connected to webpages that belong to entertainment website blogs. The blogs (wonderslist.com, moddb.com, bigredhair.com…etc.) are sometime regularly updated websites or webpages that provide news and entertainment by an individual or a small group. The blogs vary in subjects from “The Life of a Female Military Police in Iraq” to “10 Most Attractive Female Armed Forces”.

**Figure 4.15 “10 Most Attractive Female Armed Forces”**

(Khan, 2014)-Photo by Wonderlist

For the results of the subsets Google search term of U.S. gay soldiers, there are two common domain names that have the most images in the top twenty-five Google search term results of U.S. gay soldiers. Both entertainment websites (pinknews.co.uk and theguardian.com)
are online news and entertainment magazines that feature webpages of individuals that are living a homosexual lifestyle. Most of the articles that are associated with the images are older articles about the repeal of the DADT policy.

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.16 depict U.S. gay soldiers that are connected to webpages that belong to website blogs. The blogs (babble.com, qualiafolk.com, americablog.com…etc.) provide news of LGBT’s concerns. Most of the blogs websites’ information are outdated news on the repeal of “Don’t Ask/Don’t Tell” policy. However, one image does stand out among the U.S. gay soldiers’ images, which is referred in the blogs as the iconic kiss of two U.S. gay soldiers. The iconic kiss of two U.S. soldier appeared four times in the top ten images of the gay U.S. soldiers search term results. The images are of a photograph of a gay U.S. marine jumping into his boyfriend’s arms and kissing in front of large U.S. flag after the marine returned from a tour of duty in Afghanistan. The image went viral on the internet in 2012 (Aravosis, 2012). The article by John Aravosis on this “iconic” gay soldier kiss also noted at the end of his blog that how people think that two men kissing is inappropriate behavior at the homecoming but were okay with “straight women” dressed inappropriately skimpy.

Figure 4.16 “Iconic” Gay Soldier Kiss

Subset Search Terms of the College Students

For the results of the subsets Google search term of college volleyball players, there is one domain name that has more than one image in the results. The Daily News of Los Angeles,
California website (dailynews.mycapture.com) covers Pierce College women’s volleyball team and has two images in the top twenty-five images of college volleyball players search term results. Most of the college volleyball players’ images that are from other organizational websites are similar to the dailynews.mycapture.com. In that they are online local or school newspapers covering the local volleyball teams (i.e., jacksonville.com, dailytitan.com, qns.com) or the college websites covering their own volleyball team (i.e., alumni.wesley.edu, davidsonccc.edu, shoreline.edu) or the college athletic department (i.e., montreatcavaliers.com, secsportsfan.com, larochesports.com) that covers all sports at their college. It is important to note that the college athletic departments operate as separate businesses with very little connection to the academic side of higher education (Sperber et al., 2001). Athletic departments are a commercial entertainment business thus is the reason why most athletic departments top level domain name are .com instead .edu, which is a top level domain name usually used by higher education organizations.

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.17 display college volleyball players from two entertainment websites that openly sexualized female volleyball players. Tigerfunk website (tigerfunk.com), an online entertainment magazine that has a webpage that ranks the “15 Of The Hottest College Volleyball Players”. Most of the fifteen female volleyball players on this webpage had three photos taken of them and placed separately on one image. One photo had the women dressed in their college volleyball uniforms and the other two photos had the players dressed in bikinis. The other website, examiner (examiner.com), is also an online entertainment magazine. Their webpage filed under “sports” had the heading “Best volleyball spandex photos in college sports”. Most of the other images of college volleyball players are of players in their college volleyball uniforms on a volleyball court, and usually the players are standing with their
backs toward the viewers. The photos emphasized a close-up view of the players’ bottom spandex that are form-fitting tightly around the players’ buttocks.

**Figure 4.17  “Best Volleyball Spandex Photos in College Sports”**

For the results of the subsets Google search term of fraternity life, there are no single domain name that has more than one image in the results. What is most common is top level domain name .edu or organizational websites. Most of the webpages of the .edu top level domain name are linked to the colleges’ Greek websites. The websites present images of fraternities and sororities as separate entities at the organizational level. However at the individual level, the images of fraternity men and sorority women are in social interlocking memberships. According to Stombler and Padavic (1997), the connecting memberships of sororities with fraternities are arranged through traditional Greek programs, like the “little sister” for White sororities or “sweethearts” for Black sororities. Greek practices often lack organizational oversight, which may leads to exploitation of sororities by fraternities for their labor and their sexuality.

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.18 reflect fraternity life that depicts the stereotypical fraternity hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements (totalfratmove.com, thewire.com). That is, an “animal house” that features fraternity men that like to party with alcohol and to sexually pursuit college women. An example of this type of
website is the Total Frat Move’s website (totalfratmove.com), which is a news and entertainment online magazine and top-rated mobile apps for iOS and Android devices (Lee, 2015).

**Figure 4.18 Fraternity Life’s “Animal House”**

![Image of a group of people celebrating](popmatters.com, 2013)-Photo @ Popmatter online magazine

**The Core Image for Not Being the Ideal Individual**

The core image of being or not being the ideal individual is a complicated scheme and it is dependent on individuals’ social locations within the type of organization. Since all organizations are embedded in a patriarchal structural, regardless if the type of organization, most males and most heterosexual individuals will have more access to privileges. Furthermore, since all individuals are immersed in patriarchy, most gender arrangements are reflection of masculine and heteronormative roles. For individuals who are not the ideal individuals of patriarchy than their relative position to the ideal individuals heavily influence the organizational decisions on fairness of organizational arrangements.

**The Core Image of Not Being the Ideal NFL Player**

The images of women of the NFL reflect roles that are linked to the difference statuses of being a woman in the NFL. The females’ roles are reflected in the top twenty-five images of women of the NFL starts with what they are wearing in the support of this organization. The NFL players were covered from head to toes with very little skin showing in their images. The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.19 depict women of the NFL in a hyper-femininity role by
wearing very little clothes or no clothes. Hyper-femininity is the intensification of female stereotypes that emphasized women dependency, obedience, and sexuality (Dill and Thill, 2007). For some women, they are wearing only body paints of NFL team logos that are covering the breasts and bottom areas of the women. For most of the twenty-five top images, the women are wearing bikinis or cheerleader outfits with NFL logos. Like the body painted women, the women’s bikinis and cheerleading outfits are covering the breast and bottom areas only.

**Figure 4.19 Women of the NFL are Displaying Hyper-femininity Characters**

![Image](nflweeklyupdate.com, 2013)-Photo credit to Rachel Worth / WENN.com

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.20 depict women of the NFL that are the women’ sideline TV broadcasters featured in the online Maguzz magazine’s webpage with the titled, “NFL Network Women”. The images of the women broadcasters displayed their attire that emphasized their femininity but not to the extent that the other women of the NFL’s images do. The images of the women broadcasters are upper body photos with the broadcasters wearing low cut and tight fitting blouses that emphasized their cleavages and breasts. Like the body painted model, the images of “NFL Network Women” reflect hyper-femininity that are common in images of women and organizations. In this case, the women are reduced to gender and heteronormative stereotype roles instead of the status of being a journalist.
The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.21 display women in the NFL as young adults with the ideal female body. The ideal female body has specific shape that emphasized large breasts, thin waist, curvaceously bottom, and long hair (Harrison, 2003). Sexual fetishes of the ideal female body in cheerleading outfit or body paints are about objectification and fetishizing an entire group of individuals associated with the NFL. This is especially true for cheerleaders even though it takes extraordinary athletic abilities to perform this role. Nevertheless, cheerleaders’ character are portrayed in the media by emphasize their hyper-femininity and heterosexuality instead of defining them as athletes (Kane et al., 2013).

**Figure 4.21 The Athleticism of Cheerleaders**

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.22 reflect that the women of the NFL’s mostly White women. There are over sixty women in these images but only four women are of women
of color. This theme is similar to what Messner et al., (2000) found in their study of sport programming. They found that the dominant themes include white males as the voices of authority of sports and women are sexy props with Whites males and White females being prominent in the broadcasts and commercials. The bombardment of images of White females displaying femininity “in the service of successful men suggest that heterosexuality is a major lynchpin of the Televised Sports Manhood Formula” (Messner et al., 2000. p. 392), as well as images in a Google top twenty-five results of NFL players and women of the NFL.

**Figure 4.22 Lack of Racial Diversity for the Women of the NFL**

![Photo](https://nfweeklyupdate.com, 2013)-Photo @NFL Weekly Update

Although there are visual distinctions between White women cheerleaders and Black football players but the sexuality distinctions between NFL gay football players and heterosexual football players is a more difficult visualization to describe in images. The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.23 display NFL gay players wearing their team jersey in a face profile photos. Unlike the NFL players’ images, the NFL gay players are not wearing helmets and most are not wearing shoulder pads. In addition, NFL players’ images had most of their players in full uniform wearing helmets in action photos. Since there is only one current NFL player (at the time of this study) that is openly out as a gay football player, the NFL gay players’ images reflect different types of roles other than the role that define the NFL—players playing football. The roles that are being performed in the NFL gay players’ images are of current and past football players that are giving interviews on gays playing in the NFL. The online articles linked with the
images of the NFL gay players confirm these roles, which the articles are online magazines that are interviewing current and past football players on their opinions on gays playing in the NFL.

**Figure 4.23 Gay NFL Player in Profile Images not Action Images**

![Image](glaad.org, 2013)-Photo @ Glaad

The analyses of Figure 4.24 reflect the only image in the top twenty-five images of gay NFL players that give any indication of NFL players acting in a homosexual manner. The image is two men kissing each other with Superbowl XLVI logo in the forefront of the image. This image belongs to a YouTube channel called ACRONYM.TV that gives commentary on social issues. According to Crawley (2014), the fanfare that accompany with Michael Sam’s announcement to enter the 2015 NFL draft is not about Michael Sam and his sexuality but a challenge to the organizational arrangements. That is, Michael Sam kissing another man would somehow lessen his ability to tackle another man on the football field (Hekma, 1998). However, if he succeeds in the NFL, the stereotypes that defined gay men will be problematic for organizational decision makers for there would be a need to explain why the traditional arrangements are still valid.

**Figure 4.24 NFL Players Acting in a Homosexual Manner**

![Image](Trainor, 2013) Photo@ ACRONYM.TV (YouTube)
Images of gay individuals in the NFL are an attempt for this group to become visible and to resist inequalities in this organization. Disclosing one’s homosexuality to fellow professionals but concealing it from others is a player’s right. The difficulty is, as many participants sense, that remaining private and refusing to discuss one’s own homosexuality is an easy option. As Judith Lorber (1998) points out, “Men who refuse to participate in heterosexuality do not . . . subvert the gender order” (p.470). Keeping one’s sexual orientation secret is no challenge to the status quo. In fact, it contributes to a heteronormative discourse in which gay players are “stigmatized or somehow apart from mainstream others” (Kates and Belk, 2001: p 398). However, if individuals choose to ‘come out’ and resist the status quo, it means a lifetime of oppressive practices aimed toward them.

**The Core Image of Not Being Ideal U.S. Soldier**

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.25 and Figure 4.26 show U.S. female soldiers’ images that are similar to images of U.S. soldiers but with subtle material differences. The female soldiers are wearing full greyish camouflage uniforms that almost cover the female soldiers from head to toes. Similar to the male pristine uniform, the female pristine uniforms have flak jackets, outer vest with many pockets, hardened steel helmet with a chin strap, boots and military rifle. The full uniform does give the women soldiers a greater girth that do reflect the role that the female soldiers have the ability to carry a heavy weight, too. However, there are two items that the male soldiers in full uniform are wearing but the females soldiers are not wearing—gloves and shaded goggles. The images are reflections of women soldiers exposing femininity through their face and hands. To have items such as goggles and gloves covering the feminine face and hands will mean a bodily deficiency and in the minds of most women they would have unsuccessful measured up to feminine standards (Bartky, 1997).
Figure 4.25 U.S. Female Soldiers in Full Combat Uniform

![Image of a female soldier in full combat uniform](vagabomb.com, 2015)-Photo@Vagabond

Figure 4.26 U.S. Females Soldiers are not Wearing Their Gloves and Shaded Goggles

![Image of a female soldier without gloves and shaded goggles](mtholyoke.edu, 2006)-Photo by Cpl. Clifton D. Sams

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.28 display U.S. female soldiers in standard camouflage uniforms without the military rifles and the hardened steel helmets. Some of these images do have women with flak jackets on but most are women soldiers modeling in group pictures. The main objective of this type of photos is similar to what Hossfeld (1990) found in her Silicon Valley study that men are the “real” workers but there are women in the organization, too. Hence, images of women in standard camouflage uniforms without the military rifles and hardened steel helmets modeling in group pictures is to show that there are women in the military but the real soldiering are done by the men. Female soldiers account for 15% (over 200,000 female soldiers) of the total active duty force and are employed in the 95% of all military jobs (Department of Defense, 2013). Yet, the military is still as viewed as a mostly White male occupation with female soldiers and soldiers of color are almost invisible to U.S. society when they are on active duty and even more invisible they become veterans. As a society, U.S. organizations promote gender arrangements such as that being gay or a lesbian or a female
in the military is to be viewed as emasculated soldiers. That is, those individuals who do not have the required essential attributes of being a “real” warrior are viewed as “invisible” within the institution. Thus women may serve as a U.S. soldier but only in a supportive capacity to the “real” men soldiers (Harrison and Laliberté. 1997). History has showed us that being an invisible minority group means that the group will continue to face unfair actions and practices while giving advantages to privileged White males (Sue, 2004).

Figure 4.27 Female Flag Detail Honors Women's Equality Day

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.29 display the racial make-up U.S. female soldiers’ images. Almost all women in the top twenty-five images of U.S. female soldiers’ results are White women. 47% of the women soldiers on active duty are women of color in the U.S military (Daodec, 2011). Yet, the top twenty-five images of U.S. female soldiers would give the viewers the idea that women of color in the U.S. military are rare occurrences. The one possible reason why the top twenty five images of U.S. female soldiers are of mostly White female soldiers is recruiters use these images to attract White females graduating from high school. White females have a higher military qualifying rate than women of color (Asch, 2009). Thus White females enable recruiters to meet their recruitment quotes more easily than other groups that have lower qualifying scores. The reality is that there is almost the same number of U.S. female soldiers of color in the U.S. military as White female soldiers. Even though women
of color have a lower rate of qualifying for the military but the military is an opportunity for any high school graduates who are looking for job training, good benefits and help with college tuition.

**Figure 4.28 The Racial Make-up of U.S. Women Soldiers**

![Image of women soldiers](army.mil, 2014)-Photo @ US Army

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.30 depict U.S. gay soldiers wearing their uniforms but usually not in full combat uniform like the images from U.S. soldiers. For about a quarter of the images, the soldiers are in standard camouflage uniforms with no visible identifiers of their sexual orientation. Similar to the U.S. female soldiers’ images, the gay soldiers are modeling in group pictures, usually without helmets or military rifles. The images are to give the impression that gay soldiers are part of the today’s military and gays have always being part of military for most of these images are from gay online magazines. The U.S. military has always able to maintain military readiness with gays among their ranks, yet the organizational decision makers often cite that military readiness would suffer if gays were part of the military (Spitko, 2012). If the Google images did not have titles to indicate a person sexual orientation it would be very hard to determine an individual sexual orientation by photo alone.
The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.31 and Figure 4.32 depict images of U.S. gay soldiers with status identifiers. That is, U.S. soldiers are in standard camouflage uniforms but with visible symbols that identified that the soldiers are gay. Some of the visible homosexual symbols include: a rainbow flag in the background, men holding hands (intimately), man holding another man’s buttock (intimately), and men kissing each other. The next most numerous images of U.S. gay soldiers are a group of men in an activity together that are nude or near nude but have visible military symbols that link them to being a soldier. Some of the visible military symbols include: military helmets, military rifles and military vehicles.

**Figure 4.29 Andrew Wilfahrt—U.S. Gay Soldier**

(DailyMail.com, 2011)-Photo @ DailyMail

**Figure 4.30 Visible Identifiers that Identify Soldiers as Homosexual Men**

(Becker, 2014)-Photo @ Bilerico Project
Figure 4.31 Visible Identifiers that Identify Homosexual Men as Soldiers

![Image](woodpress.com, 2010)-Photo @ Some Country for Old Men online magazine

The analyses of the remaining images similar to Figure 4.33 display U.S. gay soldiers with in dress military uniforms getting married to each other, including a lesbian couple. In addition, almost all soldiers in the top twenty-five images of U.S. gay soldiers are White and male. Regardless if the viewers are heterosexual or homosexual, U.S. society prefers to have their soldiers to be White males when seeking information about U.S. soldiers on a Google image search. As mentioned before, the U.S. military has been praised for been a positive model for race equality but there are racial disparities within the military.

Figure 4.32 The Gay Soldier Wedding

![Image](Goldstein, 2012)-Photo @ Slate

The Core Image of Not Being Ideal College Student

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.34 depict college volleyball players wearing tight fitted team jerseys, spandex shorts, knee pads, socks, and tennis shoes, except for one image of a beach volleyball player and she wore a bikini only. The most popular images are of a single volleyball player competing in a game. Even though, I used a non-gendered search term, and
there are collegiate men volleyball teams, all the volleyball players in the images are female. The very few males in the images are identified as coaches.

**Figure 4.33 College Volleyball Player**

![Image of a female volleyball player](Welsey.edu, 2011)-Photo @ Welsey University

The second most popular images are volleyball team pictures. The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.35 display female volleyball players wearing their game uniform while posing for a team picture. All volleyball teams are wearing their full game uniform except for one team picture that display volleyball players wearing no shoes. This image is unusual especially for a college sport team picture. The assumption is that the players wanted to highlight their feminine attractiveness as well as their athleticism by exposing their feet in the team photo. There are number of articles on sexualization of the female feet, which the female feet is an erotica sensations that is part of many cultural practices (Voracek, 2007). This image is also the only team picture with coaches. The head coach is surrounded by the volleyball players and is a male coach. The coaches in the image do standout by wearing different color uniforms.

**Figure 4.34 College Volleyball Players Team Pictures**

![Image of a volleyball team](palomar.edu, 2007)-Photo by Hugh Cox
There are many articles on gender and sports and Michael Messner has covered the feminist’s perspectives on this topic rather well over the last two decades. Messner (2010) postulated in his book “Out of Play” that even with a greater number of women athletes challenging the inequality in the stratified gender structure the path to equality is uncertain. With the likelihood that woman’s sports will continue to be “ghettoized” and men’s sport will “continue to reproduce hegemonic masculinity, replete with its tradition of violence, sexism, homophobia and militarism” (p.4). Other studies focus on how female athletes are proud of their accomplishments and of their strong, developed bodies even though society marginalized their athleticism (Krane et al., 2004).

However, there are very few articles on women collegiate volleyball players and their role of gender identity within higher education and sports. One rare study by Pattison (2013) does look at appearance of female collegiate volleyball players and their athletes’ role of gender identity. From her dissertation, she found that organizational practices set by the NCAA (sport organization connected to colleges and universities) assisted in defining the sport’s gender identity by overseeing expected dress codes. The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.37 reflect female volleyball players’ dress codes. The dress codes set by the NCAA leave very little flexibility for volleyball players to abandon uniform canons that were set in place since the start of women’s collegiate volleyball in 1974. In addition, the dress appearance of female volleyball players on and off the court is an important part of the female collegiate volleyball culture. The female collegiate volleyball players’ appearance practices, on and off the volleyball court, is important in labeling the “sport of female collegiate volleyball as a feminine sport” (Pattison, 2013; p 166).
The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.38 reflect female volleyball players that practice collegiate volleyball as a feminine sport through their appearance and conduct. However, some volleyball players will engage in behaviors that contradict school’s policies that deal with dress codes and conduct in order to resist the obligations that are placed on them because they are females and play on the collegiate team. The volleyball players are expected to present themselves to the public in a display of femininity as they compete to beat the other team. The feminine role that is expected from volleyball players on the volleyball court may give way to resistance behavior off the court. Individuals may resist with behaviors they have access to (e.g., binge drinking) but does not destroy the “good girl” persona. Hence, some volleyball players that want to resist yet maintain the “good girl” persona may wear clothes off the court that are unfeminine like baggy basketball shorts or baggy sweats (Pattison, 2013). However, most of the time like most people, including college females playing volleyball, will follow the expected norms and display expected roles on and off the volleyball court.
One area where Pattison lacked in her dissertation is race. Females of color playing collegiate volleyball are lacking in the Google images of college volleyball players’ results. The analyses of Figure 4.39 display the one and only image of a female of color volleyball player in the top twenty-five Google search results of college volleyball players. Again there is little research on racial bias in collegiate women volleyball. An article by Eitzen and Furst, (1989) reported that women of color were underrepresented (6%) in collegiate women volleyball. More recent studies focus on all White female athletes and how they have higher exposure to magazines than women of color athletes (Bowers et al., 2013). Other studies focus on positional segregation research that looks at the impact of racial and sex bias for not only for women of color but also for the men of color in athletics (Robinson, 2013). The images of college female volleyball players reflect the racial status that women of color are underrepresented in collegiate women volleyball.

**Figure 4.37 Black College Volleyball Player**

The fraternity life’s images are meant to be compared with the ideal college students. The fraternities around the U.S. have a long history of supporting a hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements, which “the American fraternity system consistently shows that these men revere hegemonic masculinity… outright expression of homophobia” (Anderson, 2007). Thus, fraternity life’s images examine sub-organizational gender arrangements within
higher education institution. Although fraternities are all-male organizations but about a quarter of the images from this study has college females participating in fraternities’ activities. The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.0 display fraternities and sororities taking group pictures together on their campus. These group pictures of fraternity and sorority members displayed images similar to the college students’ images. That is, the female and male Greek students are wearing solid colored t-shirt with blue jeans except their t-shirt are labeled with their Greek letters to identify and reaffirm their subjugation of self to the organization. These images, as well as other images of fraternity life, show male-female relationships. This is a very important feature to Greeks and all other college students who are drawn toward each other. Fraternities and sororities relationships are often facilitate through college functions, like Greek formal rituals and fraternity parties. In addition, just like the images from college students, the images of fraternity life are of mostly White college students.

**Figure 4.38 Fraternity and Sorority Life Communities**

![Fraternity and Sorority Life Communities](smu.edu, 2015)-Photo by Southern Methodist University

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.41 depict memes of fraternities include images of fraternity members engaging in hazing and partying. The fraternity life’s memes reflect stereotypical images of what society believes the activities that are going on at college fraternities. That is, these type of organizations promote a party environment where fraternity men will have a “boys will be boys’ attitude with sexual conquests a part of the environment.
Some fraternities’ members try to live up to this trademark for researchers regularly report an increase rates of sexual victimization on campus with higher proportion of campus rapes “perpetrated by fraternity members, in fraternity houses” (Boyle, 2015: p. 386).

To join the brotherhood of fraternities, some members have to undergo hazing rituals in order to prove their manhood. Although in recent years hazing activities have been made illegal on college campuses. Hazing activities may have been reduced on college campuses but some forms of hazing still exist at fraternities by demanding pledges to drink alcohol until they vomit, yielding to paddling, and engaging in sex acts (Ragsdale et al., 2012). Most of the hazing activities reflect an individual achieving masculinity as defined by traditional fraternity practices.

**Figure 4.39 Frat Life Defined by Memes**

![College Fraternity Memes](pinterest.com, 2015)-Photo @ Pinterest

The analyses of images similar to Figure 4.42 depict fraternity and sorority members engaging in minor deviant behaviors. The image is of college age females that are partying with a group of college age males on a beach. Both the males and the females are wearing shorts and t-shirts attires with one of female wearing Mardi Gra beads around her neck. In addition, the two females that are featured in the image are holding beer bottles. This image is from the websites call Total Fraternity Move. This is the same website that published email messages sent over fraternities’ LISTSERVs that highlighted misogynist information on how to bait college women to come to their fraternity house for a “rape party,” which is the same misogynist information in
fraternities and dorm rooms before the internet social media (Jacob, 2014). Therefore, fraternities and sororities may promote this hegemonic masculine and heteronormative behaviors with the pretense of advancing “men and women’s lives through policies of dress codes, male-centered activities, ideas of proper comportment, and a subjugation of self to the group” (Robbins, 2004. p 321).

**Figure 4.40 Fraternity and Sorority Members Engaging in Minor Deviant Behavior**

![Image](totalfratmove.com, 2015)-Photo @ Total Frat Move Online Magazine

The images of fraternity life reflect that fraternities and sororities are intertwine organizations. The interlocking organizations function as between unit to promote organizational arrangements based on traditional practices. Although fraternities are sometimes seen as men who sole purpose is to party and to sexual conquest woman, they are integral part of student life on college campuses. Although the cultural image of the colleges and universities are of white female students, the White male students are the driving force behind student life, especially in fraternities. Fraternities and sororities members exhibit higher levels of involvement or engagement on college campuses (Hayek et al., 2002). In addition, fraternities provide a significant role in improving their members’ life skills by offer leadership skills, scholarships, services, and college integration by becoming “involved in student government, campus programming boards, community service organizations, and intramural sports” (Martin et al., 2012: p 268). In addition, Pike (2003) showed that college graduates that belonged to a fraternity
scored significantly higher on measures of academic and personal development than unaffiliated college graduates. Yet, fraternities have become an image of what is wrong with colleges’ campuses (i.e., binge drinking, sexual assaults, hazing, racism…etc.).

The images from Data Analysis give visual reflections of roles performed by individuals that assist in defining organizational arrangements from a gender, race and sexuality observations. From the internet images one may observe some of the organizational arrangements that visually define the organizations’ gender roles—playing football in the NFL, soldiering in the military, and obtaining a higher education in the college. It takes studies such as this one to look beyond the organizational arrangements to examine the embedded male privileges. Like any routine arrangements within an organization, there is a constant need to defend and reinforce privileges, especially those privileges that are embedded within organizational arrangements and are discriminatory toward individual gender and sexuality.
Chapter 5 - Discussion and Conclusions

This study focuses on gendered arrangements in three important American cultural institutions through an analysis of popular search images. The study warrants three major discussion points: 1) the types of images generated by each organization and posted on websites are reflections of organizational commitments as well as organizational arrangements; 2) the slightly altered search terms’ images from different websites reveal hidden organizational gender arrangements including the advancement of heteronormativity; and 3) the popular cultural images that display gender arrangements also promote ambiguously male privilege at the different types of organizations.

The qualitative content analysis presented is creditable for advancing conclusions of this study in two major ways. First, using the qualitative integrated framework to do content analysis of images from the internet benefited this study with a theoretical and methodological foundation. Second, the findings of this study are important in understanding the working mechanisms of organizational arrangements, male and heterosexual privileges by identifying interactional level relations at different organizations heretofore unavailable through conventional data sets.

What Does the Data mean?

Search engines like Google tailor organizations’ websites information through search engine optimization and page ranking software. The notion is that more relevant websites are more likely to collect more links from other websites. Thus, the internet software structure has enabled social researchers a window into societal perceptions of which images are associated with important social arrangements. The types of images control by organizations are of “ideal”
individuals that display organizational arrangements and thereby creating another level to which individuals has a reference point to their own roles. Not only do website designers work with the intent of informing potential consumers, but also to persuade viewers in thinking about the product in a certain way. Therefore, the types of images generated by each organization and posted on websites are reflections of organizational commitments as well as organizational arrangements.

The three primary search terms’ images focused on the core labors that are performed at the organizations and are framed for a specific purpose. The websites that are linked to the NFL preferred to display webpage images of organizational arrangements that define the organization’s purpose, usually in an entertainment framework. That is, popular entertainment websites linked to the NFL display images of NFL players playing football on a Sunday afternoon in a stadium full of fans. The organizations’ websites that are linked to U.S. military preferred to depict webpage images of U.S. soldiers that define the U.S. military’s operations, usually in an opinion framework. Hence, popular news organizations’ websites report on U.S. military activities around the world that usually depicts images of U.S. soldiers preparing to engage the enemy on a field of battle, which often accompany by various opinions from different “experts”. Both the U.S. military and the NFL presented images of men preforming competitive or aggressive activities that can be defined as masculine labors.

It should be noted that the popular images of U.S. soldiers are displayed in a pristine framework. That is, society knows that war is a bloody mess where soldiers and civilians alike are often wounded and killed. Yet most images depicted U.S. soldiers in clean combat uniform with military weapons at a ready to engage in battle. In addition, there are no dead bodies or bloody soldiers or destroyed buildings in the images’ backgrounds. In other words, it is a pretty
illusion for an awful thing. This suggest that either U.S. military have some control over images that can be displayed on these popular websites or U.S. society prefer to live in a false conscience of war righteous that it has built for itself over the years.

As always it is probably a little bit of both statements. The U.S. military over the years and especially from the Vietnam War era know that war images can change people’s opinions about wars conducted by the U.S. military. Images of U.S. soldiers with bloody stumps, soldiers in body bags after a battle, and a burning child running down the street will have a negative effect on people’s opinions about war. People’s opinions about the U.S. conflict can go against the U.S. government quickly as these types of images find their way into the mainstream media. There is a real need for the U.S. government to control what type of images that are shown on TV and are posted on internet, especially on popular websites. So now the U.S. government only allows embedded journalists to go to war with soldiers, prefer to show images of destruction from a camera mounted on a F-16 jet, and will censure images from the battlefield.

I believe that this is the reason why popular Google images are mostly of pristine looking U.S. soldiers preparing to engage the enemy on a field of battle. Since these are the types of images that the U.S. military release to the websites that are linked to the U.S. military. In addition, websites linked to U.S. soldiers search term, like Wikipedia, seek to give the viewers images that reflected individual’s needs to experience information that is shared openly and truthfully by others. Yet most of the pristine images of U.S. soldiers on this website are linked to the U.S. military. Other websites are less about sharing information openly and truthfulness but more about “soft” censorship. These websites are usually U.S. government websites. The government “soft” censorship emphasizes the unsoiled side of war with U.S. male soldiers wearing pristine uniforms while they are going after the bad guys.
Even though engine optimization and page ranking software give the appearance that popular websites are the product of algorithm but there is some evidence that ranking can be manipulated by organizations. Original publishes and unpublished images produced by organizations are under the protection of U.S. copyrights laws. For example, Maxpreps website wants to use NFL players on their webpages, but copyrights laws require Maxpreps to ask permission to published images of NFL players. The NFL is more likely to be selected of the type of images that are to be released to other organizations in order to protect their product from bad publicity. Therefore, the popular images released to the media by the NFL are meant to give viewers positive feelings toward the products the organization is selling to potential clients. That is, the NFL wants images of armored and over-muscled men bashing each other on the field of competition. In addition, the NFL wants to avoid images of violent and over-muscled NFL players committing crimes, like Ray Rice did when he assaulted his wife in an elevator.

Ray Rice was a popular NFL player before the domestic violence case in 2015. However, when I did the search in fall of 2015, he was not pictured in the top 25 Google images of the search term NFL players. Even though when I conducted the Google search of NFL players, Ray Rice’s domestic violence case was still in the news. After the assault became news the NFL released the player’s profile picture to the media. The image released was a non-threatening headshot picture of the accursed NFL player. Of course, the NFL did not have control over the mugshots of Ray Rice that was released by the law enforcement nor did it have control over the video released on YouTube. The video of Ray Rice assaulting his wife in a hotel elevator was witnessed on YouTube by millions of people. The video caused the NFL to have crime image problem and the NFL needed to reestablish their core image. This lead the NFL to quickly expelled Ray Rice from the NFL, so the NFL audience would not be reminded each Sunday of
an event that tarnished the NFL image. The case was quickly forgotten by the public and NFL
restored its core image.

The individuals that search online also contribute to the Google image rankings. That is, the images produced by organizations need to mirror expected cultural arrangements. Most individuals in U.S. society are socialized to believe that a certain type of individual should perform a certain role. The individuals that are doing Google searches expect to view masculine men playing in the NFL and U.S. male soldiers preparing to engage the enemy. These are the type of images that U.S. society has viewed over the past century, which is one of the reasons why only men are pictured in the top 25 Google search of images of NFL players and U.S. soldiers. Both hegemonic masculine organizations prefer to display images of men in preforming masculine action.

The race of the soldier plays a more significant role in the U.S. military than in the NFL. There are many more images of White U.S. soldiers than Black or other race soldiers. The reason is similar to how U.S. society expects to see images of male soldiers because of tradition arrangements, as well as the historical exclusion of women’ contributions to the U.S military. Therefore, U.S. society generally expects to view White men as U.S. soldiers. Thus the icon image of U.S. soldier needs to be performed by a White male, even though there has always been a significant numbers of women and minorities in the U.S. military.

The NFL has an equal mixture of White and Black men in their images of NFL players and it would be hard press to find any type of racial stratification in these types of images. Nevertheless, White players are more likely to be displayed in a leadership role than Black NFL players, like quarterback. Of course racial stratification is observable throughout the NFL’s organizational arrangements for there is a lack of minorities, as well as women, in coaching,
management, and ownership. The images of NFL players reflect the idea that the NFL is hegemonic masculine organization. These images are reflections of the ideal masculine male playing a special role in U.S. society—the “warrior” male. Since NFL players hold a special labor status, society believes that these men should be given special privileges. They are deemed “special” due to the fact they are the ideal type of image of masculine men that compete on TV and in front of a large crowd every weekend during the fall. NFL players are the ideal representation of patriarchy. That is, a men’s only activity that display visual power by using force to make other to submit to their will.

Colleges and universities take manipulating popular websites to another level to reach their potential clients. The websites that are linked to the higher education preferred to have total control over what is displayed on webpages and often the popular websites are owned by the colleges and universities. The higher education’s images are mostly of group’s arrangements that are related to the organization’s purposes. That is, colleges and universities’ websites display images of students interacting with other students or professor in a social but learning environment on campus. In addition, the higher education’s group arrangements are staged to replicate the prefect scenarios to entice potential students to attend their college. Unlike the U.S. military and the NFL’s search terms results that presented images of men preforming masculine activities, college students’ search term results images are images of students displaying feminine activities, as well as activities that show individuals in the act of being polite and pleasant to others, as well as being supportive. I suggest that the idea behind presenting images with a feminine slant is to attract the group that is most likely to attend college after high school, which is female.
Since high school females are the largest potential student group for higher education institutions, they contribute the most to Google rankings of colleges and universities’ websites. As it was noted in the review of the literature, most females are socialized to integrate into social groups that are supportive of their needs. College websites will most likely to have staged images of study groups and professors teaching to a small group of students. The websites featured Photoshop images of students, in which students are almost flawless in appearance, a phenomena that could only be achieved through doctoring, cosmetics, and computer retouching. This type of images is more likely to be attractive to potential students that are searching the internet for potential colleges to attend in the future. In addition, Photoshop images of students assist colleges and universities in controlling the images they want to introduce to potential students and the media.

Yet many of these staged images have male students interacting with the female students. I suggest that these are images of group arrangements that pander to the heteronormativity, which is prevalent in our society and would be mostly likely be attractive to both male and female students. Intimate relationships, whether it is a heterosexual or a homosexual relation, take on a new dynamic in college do to the loss of some family structure as young adults relocate themselves to new living locations and greater diversity in choosing sexual partners. Colleges are prudent on how much to display in images of heterosexual relationships. Most staged images that displayed heteronormativity are male and female students studying within each other personal space or the male student has his arm around the female student. It would seem that images of homosexual relationships are still taboo on college websites because there are no staged images that indicated homosexual relationship between college students.
The images of the subset search terms assisted in defining gender and sexuality arrangements in three different organizations. In addition, the websites provided images that reflected how website designers designed their sites to meet consumer needs. Therefore, the slightly altered search terms’ images from different websites reveal hidden organizational gender arrangements including the advancement of heteronormativity. The content analysis of images lend support that organizational websites generates gendered and heteronormativity images of popular culture to attract specific viewers of their products. The sources of the websites provided additional understanding of what society’s reflections are of different organizations. I believe that these reflections are presented as organizational websites’ marketing strategies. The marketing strategies of website designers are to implement a group think mentality of those seeking information of a specific word term or a group of words. This action is caused by search engine page ranking software in order to organize highly interconnected websites toward one idea thus influencing a large number of potential and current customers’ decisions. In today’s technologically connected society, societal perception of what constitutes masculinity, femininity, and sexuality starts with a well-designed website.

The gender subset search term of NFL players is women of the NFL. The most common webpage images are from websites like nflweeklyupdate.com and maguzz.com. These entertainment websites featured women in string bikinis or nude women whose naked bodies are painted with NFL team logos. These websites are aimed at heterosexual male consumers who love the NFL and like looking at women as sexualized objects. These types of websites linked to the NFL reveal organizational gender arrangements for women that are linked to the NFL. I suggest that websites’ images reflect gender arrangement for women in the NFL and reinforce the idea that this is hegemonic masculine and heteronormative organization. In order for women
to participate in the labor of this organization they should emphasize their femininity by
sexualizing their attire, as well as being graceful and supportive of all “real” men. That is, men
that love women and football. In addition, these images are on popular websites linked to the
NFL. Therefore, I suggest that the NFL encourage these websites to use this type of images of
women of the NFL in this particular sexualized manner to promote their products. Other
websites featuring women of the NFL are the organizational or teams’ websites. These websites
used women specifically to sale their teams’ products. Although there are no nude bodies
displayed on these websites, women do emphasize their femininity and sexuality in these images
as a marketing strategy to sell team products.

The sexuality subset search term of NFL players is NFL gay players. The most common
websites are from online gay magazines, like outsport.com and glaad.com. These websites have
an agenda to promote LGBT equality in the NFL and in U.S. society, as well as to entertain
subscribers. Since there are no players that have come out as gay in the NFL, other than Michael
Sam, most images are picture profiles of individuals giving interviews on the issue of gays
playing in the NFL. I believe that the picture profiles and interviews are meant to present the idea
that gays are already playing in the NFL and they, too, are just like “regular” football players.
Nevertheless, former and current NFL gay players are hard to find in this organization and the
obvious reason is that gay players are scare to come out in homophobia organization. The other
websites are online news corporations that are reporting on the news of Michael Sam becoming
the first openly gay NFL football player. As mentioned before, news websites are more about
giving opinions on current events thus most of the news are reporters speculating on whether
Michael Sam will make it in the NFL as player and how he will be received by other players.
The gender subset Google search term for U.S. soldiers is U.S. female soldiers. The most common websites are the military websites, like army.mil. These websites feature military life other than soldiers at wars. If an internet searcher wants to know what the army is doing about the Zika virus then the Google search engine will take you to one of these military websites. The military websites are mostly about informing individuals about how the military is making U.S. soldiers and their dependences’ life better while they are serving in the military. Military websites provided the most of the images of U.S. female soldiers. Similar to the U.S. soldiers’ images, the images are of female soldiers wearing pristine uniform in a mundane environment, usually on military bases. Most images are of female soldiers in staged group photos on a military base and they are part of a celebratory event. Often the female soldiers are not wearing full combat uniform, which is common attire in U.S. soldiers’ images. This type of images displays the U.S. female soldiers in a supporting role of the “real” warrior, the U.S. male soldiers. There was only one organizational website that attempted to sexualize female soldiers. The website basically compared female soldiers from different countries and ranked them according to how the bloggers defined beauty.

The sexuality subset search term of U.S. soldiers is U.S. gay soldiers. The most common websites are from progressive websites such as pinknews.co.uk and theguardian.com. These websites are online news and entertainment magazines that feature webpages of individuals that are living a homosexual lifestyle. Most of the articles that are associated with the images are older articles about the repeal of the DADT policy. The most common type of images of U.S. gay soldiers is of U.S. male soldiers embracing or kissing another man. I believe that the online LGBT magazines’ goal is to make U.S. gay soldier more visible in the military. The images of LGBT individuals and LGBT issues in the military are still pretty much excluded or invisible on
government operated military websites. The act of exclusion of LGBT individuals and their events in the military had leads to oppressive practices, like the DADT policy. Thus by including images of U.S. soldiers that are openly gay increased the visibility of LGBT in the military, which hopefully will lead to change in organizational arrangements.

For the college student search term, websites are mostly controlled by the colleges and universities. In recent years, college students’ websites reflect that higher education institutions have become a consumer driven business. The higher educational websites’ images offer the ideal students in the ideal environment to build that relational link to potential consumers. The gender subset search term of college students is college volleyball players. There are no common websites for the search term college volleyball players. The number of websites is split evenly between local newspapers, college newspapers, and college athletic webpages. These types of websites are more about informing viewers about their local team. The images and articles about the college volleyball teams are just a small part of all the information that is provided in a website. The remaining websites are all about sexualizing female college volleyball players. The websites tigerfunk.com and examiner.com are online entertainment magazines and their photos emphasized the body parts of volleyball players. Most of the photos contain close-up views of the players’ buttocks garbed in form-fitting spandex shorts. These online entertainment magazines are meant to get a large number of viewers so they can sell webpage space to advertisers. Furthermore, these websites believe in the adage that sex sells.

The sexuality subset search term of college students is fraternity life. The most common websites are from colleges’ websites. I suggest that the images on these websites are about providing anticipatory socialization for potential Greek students that intend to assume a future role as a fraternity or sorority members. Other websites, like totalfratmove.com, depicts the
stereotypical fraternity behaviors such as fraternity members that like to party with alcohol and to sexually pursue college women. This type of website is about featuring politically incorrect entertainment to gain enough viewers for their website to become financially solvent. These websites also believe in the adage that sex sells.

The popular cultural images that display gender arrangements also promote ambiguously male privilege at the different types of organizations. The male body imagery pervades organizational websites’ images and language, which reinforces U.S. society’s belief system that most labor activities in the public sector are more suited for a male body. Whereas society’s perception of the female body is that women are not the “ideal worker” in labor organizations. Furthermore, women’s bodies are sexualized and objectified within the NFL, U.S. military and higher education. A good number of webpages have females regulated to sexualized type of entertainment (e.g., women covered in body paint with team logos) or they are sexualized as heterosexual beings in supportive roles (e.g., a wife greeting the returning male soldier), even if the woman’s status is a U.S. soldier.

The gender arrangements in organizations give males more access to resources and opportunities to achieve wealth, power, and prestige than women and LGBT members. In addition, gender arrangements grant males’ privileges that allow men to negotiate, engage in, or are forgiven for certain deviant behaviors. The Google images reflect that the NFL and U.S. military openly support a hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements. Both organizations openly have the approval from U.S. society to authorize access to privileges for individuals that embody the core image of hegemonic masculine and heteronormative manners. Both organizations are highly segregated where most of the employees are males. Both organizations present a stereotypical core image of ideal “warrior” males. The individuals that
are labeled as “warrior” males are highly celebrated when a victory has been achieved. For example, the City of Denver had a parade for the Denver Broncos after they have won the 2016 Super Bowl.

The highly celebrate U.S. soldier is infused into culture and the act of being critical of U.S. wars is almost taboo in our society today. I suggest that the rituals and celebrations of society are part of the hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements embedded in our organizations that glorifies war to a ceremonial status. A status to be practiced by all individuals that live in the U.S. For example, each year U.S. society observes or celebrates past war events and those individuals that carried a weapon into battle by giving them national holidays, like Memorial Day and Veterans Day. Memorial Day is set aside to pay tribute to those who died serving in the military and Veterans Day is designated as a day to honor all who have served in the military. Nevertheless, these two national holidays are just the tip of pervasiveness with regard to how our U.S. organizations participate in activities that support patriarchy in our society.

There are differences between the privileges in the NFL and U.S. military, too. In the U.S. military, females and LGBT individuals have made inroad by being granted access to privileges only meant for male soldiers a few decades ago. The most observable factor is that there are images of female soldiers but are no images of NFL female players. As for LGBT individuals, a significant number of soldiers have come out being gay since the end of the DADT policy. The NFL had one openly gay player that made the practice squad of several NFL teams before his total release from the NFL in 2015. The notion of a gay NFL player is still taboo because NFL teams are fraught with the idea of having openly gay players acting as the core image of football. As an example of this continued struggle was during the 2016 NFL Winter
Combine, the Atlanta Falcons asked an Ohio State player if “he likes men” even though NFL policy prevents scouts and coaches from asking players about their sexuality (Florio, 2016).

The individuals’ labors from a neutral gendered organization are viewed in a neutral work environment. That is, as if the gender of an individual plays no part in determining who has access to privileges that the organization has to offer to an individual. Colleges and universities are perceived as neutral gendered organizations but males have more access to privileges than females and LGBT members but are not as openly about it as NFL and U.S. military. The Google images of college students are mostly of white female students mixed in with male students. All of the students’ images have them performing in feminine manners (e.g., being gentle and supportive). Thus the core image of higher education is that of white female students.

Although attaining higher education is perceived as a privilege in today’s U.S. society, groups trying to deny women access to higher education are branded as prejudiced and would usually meet strong resistance from most groups in U.S. society. However, it should be pointed out that for most of human’s recorded history, women were often denied access to any type of formal education, which is one of the key mechanisms that support the male privileges.

Finally, college sports are embedded with gender contradictions that are brought about because of gender expectations surrounding the social construction of sports. Athleticism is viewed as a masculine attribute that bestows special privileges to those individuals that are viewed to have it. Keeping the idea that athleticism equals masculinity forces higher education institutions with Title IX to try to resolve the issue of athleticism and the inequity of privileges between males and females. The athleticism of women is reframed by having their femininity emphasized through expected behaviors and visual displays, like their sport uniforms. By doing so, it is as if the men’s athleticism is the true athleticism and women’s athleticism is a faux
version since visually it lacks masculinity. Since women’s teams lack “true” athleticism, even though most men could not perform the same athletic feats that women athletes are performing, societal perception is that women’s teams do not deserve the same privileges that men’s teams do. In addition, non-sport organizations are embedded with gender arrangement contradictions that are brought about because of gender expectations surrounding the social construction of a organizational arrangements.

**Theoretical Contributions**

This study offers important theoretical concepts to assist researchers in understanding the pathways that are formed between online images and organizational arrangements. The organizational arrangements create particular contexts for social relations as they signal, manage, and negotiate information about power and statuses between men and women. The patriarchal social structure is the mechanism that perpetuates the gender arrangements through the use of defining arrangements as masculine and feminine labor, which often leads to male privileges. Knowing the implications for understanding how the negative outcomes of male privilege remain entrenched in organizational arrangements and how male privileges benefit certain segments of society at the cost of others. Through series of feedback loops, including the privilege advantage that men have over women and LGBT individuals.

From a theoretical standpoint, privileges are individuals using accessed power in one form or another, whether it is a NFL football player buying an expensive car because of his high salary or a U.S. soldier harassing a gay soldier without the fear of being punished. This perspective builds on Foucault’s concept of power and Bourdieu’s concept of fields. That is, ‘power is everywhere’ and it ‘comes from everywhere’ so in this sense power is neither an agency nor a structure (Foucault 1998: p 63), but it may be thought of as a field of power.
The field permeates society and energized individuals’ actions through networks of social practices that are structured by social positions with the intent for individuals to access resources (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), including privileges. An individual access to the field of power is the combination of institutional discourse, individual’s socialization, and individual’s social location. Furthermore, as Foucault (1998) pointed out that the term ‘power/knowledge’ signifies that power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge. Therefore, knowledge is a way of thinking than a body of facts, thus patriarchy is a way of thinking. Organizations that promote hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements have greater access to the field of power because institutions are more aligned with the “way of thinking” and may focus more resources to privileged individuals. Thus the accepted social structural form of knowledge is patriarchy that skews the field of power toward males and heterosexuality, especially institutions and organizations that are defined by hegemonic masculine and heteronormative discourses (e.g., NFL football and fraternities).

Since all individuals have access to various forms of power, including resistance than it is organizations that promote hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements are embedded in a patriarchal structure that act like a lens that funnel power to specific individuals, especially toward individuals that support discourses of hegemonic masculinity and heteronormativity. For example, money is more often funneled into men’s sports than into women sports and it is an observable act. In 2015, the U.S. National Soccer team was awarded by Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) $2 million for winning the 2015 Women’s World Cup, which was $7 million less than the U.S. Men’s National Soccer team for losing in the quarter finals of the 2014 Men’s World Cup (espnW.com, 2015). Not only is this unfair practice observable, but it is also a standard practice that happens in sports with men’s
sport teams are paid more than women’s sport teams. In addition, this practice of paying male athletes more than female athletes in sports gives direction and magnitude of the resources that are flowing into each gendered organization. Thus, patriarchal structure empowers organizations that promote hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements and focus a greater quantity of resources, including privileges, to flow into men’s sporting teams. In addition, organizations may invoke the “warrior” male images to produce an emotionally charged shield to protect unfair practices as a guise of male essentialism, heteronormativity, and meritocracy.

Not only is the flow of money an observable practice, but the practice of presenting sporting images to the public is an observable and quantifiable practice, too. For example, Turner (2014) did a longitudinal content analysis of ESPN’s Sports Center’s program productions of their audiences from 1999 to 2009. He found in 2009 that ESPN prime show Sport Center continued to have an absence of women as program anchors and the lack of coverage of women’s sports from the show in 1999. Thus, concluding with the idea that the continuation of these unfair practices is the results of organizations promoting hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements in the media.

Finally, organizations that promote hegemonic masculine and heteronormative arrangements make sure traditional gendered practices are religiously followed by U.S. society. As it was envision by Foucault (1977) in his book, *Discipline and Punish*, organizational arrangements legitimizes males to use exploitive and oppressive practices toward females and other males as a form of social control to maintain an outdated patriarchal social structure. Even though the patriarchal system is outdated and harmful to the advancement of a society, this belief system that was constructed over time through coercive regulations and reinforced by
unscientific scheme has social momentum that continues to supports and enhances gender inequalities.

**Conclusion**

This research utilizes content analysis of Google Images to explore media and organizations response to specific events that challenge or reflect the unspoken gender arrangements within these organizations. The Google images of the search terms of three different organizations reflect organizational arrangements and assist to visually identifying the “core” nature of ideal individuals. Those individuals that embody the “core” nature to perform a certain labor at organization are usually granted access to special privileges. Most people believe that it is fair to grant privileges to individuals that have achieved a certain level of success. The problem is that the level of achievement is measured differently for males and females, especially in the public sector. It is believed that individuals’ “achieved” statuses are the result of endowed individuals having the essential nature of being masculine. It is a set of attributes that all individuals in society can perform and often do during their lifetime. However, masculinity is something that society stereotypically believes that females or gays cannot perform on their own. In addition, masculinity is often believed to be synonymous with heterosexuality. Society’s rationale of these special organizational statuses to males is that organizations are not being unfair to females or gays because these individuals lack biological and mental advantages that prevent them from competing for these special statuses.

The core images of ideal individuals of organizations are nexuses that are the most observable point embedded in the organizational arrangements. Internet images provide important and observable pathways of individuals accessing privileges. The Google images of NFL players and U.S. soldiers are photos of male individuals performing their roles as “warrior”
males, a special status that can only be giving hegemonic masculine and heteronormative males. The special privileges for NFL players and U.S. male soldiers are granted by society and most individuals believe it is reasonable to reward males for achieving these statuses. Yet there are visual contradictions that male privileges are giving to individuals to support and maintain a belief system—patriarchy. That is, NFL and U.S. military are where “real” men may validate their masculine privileges through their ability to physically outdo women, thus symbolically dominating women and gay men. The challenge is that gay men are perceived as effeminate as women. Thus it is theorized that gay men may be able to undermine organizational arrangements since they have already gained access to male privileges before coming out as gay. However, if more openly gay men are able to get on the field and perform, the male privileges might come to an end.

**Implications**

- Search engines’ PageRank software can be indirectly manipulated by organizations to change the relevance of a website through controlling the images that are produced and released to other websites.

- Communities may change the definition of masculinity by not glorifying violence. For example, most communities have old war machines in their parks that glorify past wars. War is a nation’s most violent political act. By glorifying war, children, especially males, become desensitized to the violence of war by playing “soldier,” a traditional and institutional rite of passage that is specifically masculine in nature.

- U.S. society needs to support all female’s interests by providing economic resources and also by offering approval and a sense of value to female’s activities. For example, cheerleading in most communities tends to be a female’s activity. For the most part,
cheerleaders are used to support the more valued males’ sports. Male’s sports are typically better supported by U.S. society through better equipment and a higher rate of attendance. However, female’s sporting events, which are often free, usually play to very small crowds.

- As a society, we must redefine masculinity to exclude extreme aggression as an ideal attribute for males, especially the visible form of masculinity (i.e., like carrying military weapons to your local restaurant. This idealized attribute may blur boundaries of deviance for males, which may result in them or another person getting hurt.
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