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Female Truck Drivers: Negotiating Identity in a Male Dominated Environment



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Introduction

The truck driving industry has long been a male dominated field, with women truck drivers few and far between (Voie 2010:1). According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, of the over three million people who make their living as truck drivers, only six percent are female (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012). This research focuses on gender and the truck driving industry, specifically negotiating identity and rationales for job choice.

Performative theory is employed using a combination of ethnographic methodologies including interviews and content analysis. Truck drivers engage in skilled performative behavior, as well as the ability to make that activity appear effortless and natural (Beeman 1997:8). Truck drivers enter into framed behavior, which is when all rules of behavior, as well as symbols, are bound by a particular activity and their own overall structure (Beeman 1997:8). Although the cargo or the customer may change, the profession of truck driving has a performance quality in which certain activities always happen including loading and unloading of the truck, communication with dispatch, and the hours spent “over the road.” A certain image of the “truck driver” is expected. When it is expected that a man will be driving the truck and a woman emerges, a breach in the social fabric occurs (Beeman 1997:13). How women truck drivers handle their professional identity is explored.

Through a combination of ethnographic approaches including literature review, interviews and content analysis, this research explores truck driving by women within the theoretical framework of both performance theory and optimal distinctiveness. Victor Turner was one of the pioneers of performance studies who introduced the idea that the fabric of human life is structured by a performative and behavioral process (Komitee 2011:17). Optimal distinctiveness is a social psychological concept in which a person has the need to both stand apart

as an individual, while simultaneously belonging to a group (Brewer 1991:480).

In addition, the stereotypes evident in the field of truck driving are explored. The impression of women as underrepresented in the field will be examined by quantitative analysis of frequencies of terms and images through content analysis of the twice-monthly publication, *The Trucker*. These data illustrate how women are represented in a publication that is geared toward truck drivers.

Methodology

Research began with a literature review of numerous scholarly journal articles (Lembright et al. 1982, et al.), autobiographies from truck drivers (Grube 2011, et al.), and online personal stories through the *Women In Trucking Association* website (Long 2012, et al.). Content analysis was performed on 24 issues of *The Trucker* publication, to understand how female truck drivers are represented in a publication geared toward members of the truck driving industry. Finally, interviews were conducted with two women, one retired from truck driving and the other still employed. To round out the interviews, autobiographical stories available online were utilized. In this way, qualitative ethnographic data can be compiled alongside quantitative data from content analysis.

Literature Review

Why Women Become Truck Drivers

Women choose the career of truck driver for many of the same reasons as men. Many point to the feeling of independence and freedom of the open road (Blake 1974:206). Some choose this career path when all other options are lost, such as being laid off from current work (Grube 2011:4). Many women hear about paid truck driving school either from a friend or an advertisement (McCormick 2011:1). When an advertisement is listed seeking truck drivers, the pay is listed and

there are no specifications as to whether the driver must be male or female (Voie 2011:1). In addition to the pay per hour, if a woman and a man are hired at the same time, with the same credentials, then as long as they accumulate the same safety and performance records, they will advance at the same rate throughout the pay grade and company (Long 2012). Besides the pay, some women choose truck driving because of a tradition in the family, such as parents or grandparents who were truck drivers (Cullen 2002:15).

Even with the growth of the industry, women truck drivers are still the minority. One reason why they may not be entering the field faster is because of gender conditioning at a young age (Refermat 2007:62). Women still believe that truck driving is “man’s work” or that they couldn’t possibly do the heavy lifting. However, it is becoming common that instead of the truck driver unloading the cargo, they simply switch trailers (Refrigerated Transporter 2009:19). The women who choose this profession occasionally consider themselves to be somewhat masculine: “I’m a tough girl, I can play ball with the boys” (McCormick 2011:1).

The average age of women truck drivers is between 41 and 45 years old, and 74% have children (Cullen 2002:12). This makes short haul truck driving appealing, as they would be home each night with their children. Truck driving is a fast growing field, with women as the fastest growing group (Refrigerated Transporter 2009:19). However, there is a general shortage of truck drivers in recent years (Olson 2006:19). Since women are still the minority, perhaps if more companies sought women truck drivers, these numbers would rise.

Health Concerns for Women Drivers

The work load of a truck driver is the same for any gender. Oftentimes health concerns arise from the type of work required be it the long hours sitting, the bouncing of the truck, or the heavy lifting required of unloading a trailer (Lembright et al. 1982:463). Women drivers, in comparison to their male counterparts,

have different health concerns including but not limited to: menopause, menstrual issues, pregnancy, and sore breasts (Lembright et al. 1982:463). The health concerns that women face that are no different than those men face include: back pain, headaches, weight gain, migraines, hypertension and more (Reed 2003:120).

A frequent complaint from women truck drivers is the lack of facilities on the road. Often times there are no showers or toilets specifically for women (Lembright et al. 1982:466). There are some facilities throughout the country for urgent care (non-emergency), but they are tailored toward male health concerns and fail to address female health issues (Reed 2003:124).

Environment and Gender Relationships

One outcome of working in a male dominated field is that a woman can inadvertently draw attention to herself just because she is different than the norm. A positive result is that often times a woman truck driver may receive special treatment from dockhands who try to “outdo themselves” as a means of impressing her or being chivalrous (Lembright et al. 1982:468).

The negative aspects of working predominantly with men include: prejudice, discrimination, and sexual harassment in the forms of quid pro quo and hostile work environments (Lembright et al. 1982:469). Women truck drivers can feel threatened either from outside male presences (Big Rig 2007) or even from their co-drivers (Grube 2011:24). Frequently when a woman truck driver arrives at the destination to unload the cargo, the dockhand is expecting a man (Grube 2011:47). The assumed stereotype of a truck driver is that he will be male, mainly because of the hard work involved: “the model of the traditional man corresponds closely to the hard physical labor of the sort performed by blue collar workers” (Ouellet 1994:102). Some negative ideas of a typical male truck driver being sloppy and rude are perpetuated by the women truck drivers: “Most truckers took a shower every two or three days - although some every four or five days,” (Barnard 2009:38).

There are gender stereotypes in all careers. When it comes to stereotypical gender roles, women are thought to be communal, whereas men are considered agentic (Eagly 2009:650). With the gender stereotype of women being friendly and helpful, they are more apt to be assigned careers with the same roles, such as customer service. Men being seen as assertive often leads to careers working alone (Eagly 2009). Oftentimes, customers are expecting a male driver and when they are instead met by a female truck driver the customer is taken aback, often assuming there is another male driver. The female driver is frequently met with exclamations of “tell your husband to put it in door five” (Long 2012). The first wave of women drivers held their ground, and paved the way for future women entering the field “By our actions, forcing companies and our male counterparts to consider women drivers as valuable professionals, we broke the ground for women coming into the industry, making trucking an easier career to follow now,” (Long 2012).

Victor Turner dreamt of a liberated anthropology, one free from pre-modern, modern, and postmodern labels. However he recognized that these terms can lead to the definition of performance (Turner 1987:1). Through Turner’s research one begins to understand how performance works. According to George Spindler, many anthropologists still follow Galileo’s canon “to measure everything measurable and to make what is not measurable capable of being measured”(Turner 1987:2). The idea is that anything that happens can be counted and measured. In this way it is possible to look at the behavior of a truck driver and to see how often they perform certain acts (Turner 1987:2). In this way, even a person’s behavior through their career can be measured and weighed against the norms. When there is a person or group that goes against the norms, there is a breach in the social drama (Turner 1987:5). By infiltrating a male dominated environment, women set themselves apart while simultaneously trying to fit in.

One way that women are making themselves known, without drawing negative attention, is through the camaraderie of other women truck drivers. Some women truck drivers take

to the internet through blogs and social networking (Trucker Desiree and One Girl Trucking). The most challenging aspect of a career in truck driving, regardless of gender, is negotiating the schedules and time (Belmant et al. 2005:125). This leaves little time to sit down with fellow truck drivers and discuss life on the road. It is through the growing online community that women truck drivers can find each other and discuss issues that arise (One Girl Trucking).

Content Analysis

Content Analysis was performed using 24 issues of *The Trucker*, a twice-monthly publication geared toward truck drivers and available at truck stops, grocery stores, and online. I looked at the 2010 and 2011 publications. In order to ensure that the issues were similar in dates, holidays and events, I looked at the first publication from each month for both years.

The goal was to understand how female truck drivers are represented in this publication. How women are represented in images, stories and advertisements offers the opportunity to explore gender stereotypes and the frequency with which women are represented compared to the numbers of women truck drivers in the workforce which provides clues to how women assert or perform their identity. Occurrences of pronouns, including he/she, her/his/him as well as gender specific nouns, including man/woman or even slang terms like lady/fella were tracked and counted. As well as these specifics, certain words that would identify individuals in a supporting role were tracked, e.g., girlfriend/boyfriend and husband/wife.

In addition to the written cues, images were tracked. It was logged how often either men or women were represented specifically as a truck driver, an office worker, dispatch worker, or "other." The category of "other" was deemed anyone from an unidentified person in a crowd, a politician or a significant other.

Men and women are not only represented in differing quantities of images but are represented in different roles. In 2010, for the three image categories of men versus women, 56% of

the images of men were depicted as truck drivers (Figure 1). On the other hand, only 31% of women were represented as truck drivers. However, this is a much higher representation than the actual percentage of women truck drivers, which in 2010 was 6% of the occupation. The images of male truck drivers (n=439) also outnumber those of women (n=258), 85 percent to 15 percent. The total number of images of men (780) exceeds that of women (258). Seventy five percent of the images are of men and 25 percent are of women, perhaps suggesting that women occupy positions in the industry 'behind the scenes' and not on the road.

In 2011, 59% of the images of men were depicted as truck drivers, while only 29% of the images of women were shown as truck drivers (Figure 2). The difference in 2011 for the overall count of images of men was 796, as compared to 216 of women. When it comes to representing truck drivers, not only are the number of images of men greater than those of women, but men drastically outweigh women. On the other hand, in both years, the number of women represented as truck drivers exceeds the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures, which raises the question: Why are women over represented in this publication?

In comparison to the percentage given by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics of 6% of truck drivers being women (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2012), the representations in *The Trucker* seem to be higher. Although women are underrepresented in comparison to men, in this publication women are overrepresented in comparison to the actual numbers of employed female truck drivers. The presence of female truck drivers appears to be over represented when compared to the actual numbers of women represented in *The Trucker*. Possible reasons for the increase in representation of women in this publication include that the editor of *The Trucker* was a woman for both 2010 and 2011. In addition, *The Trucker* covers the annual Salute to Women Behind the Wheel gathering held every March by Women In Trucking. The Salute to Women Behind the Wheel is an event held annually, since 2010 at the Mid-America Trucking Show in Louisville, Kentucky. At this event, female truck

drivers from around the country gather to meet with fellow female drivers, share stories, and acknowledge those who have driven over a million safe miles over the road. In the first March publication of 2011, there was a special pull-out section devoted to this event, with many female truck drivers represented both in photographs and stories.

Additional information gained from analyzing the images of truck drivers further illuminates gender and performance in truck driving. When a person was represented as a truck driver, it is important to note whether they are depicted as a "solo" driver, or as part of a team. In this way, it can be understood why customers might expect a female truck driver to be driving with another driver, as opposed to on her own. For 2010, 69% of the images of women were represented as solo drivers, while 93% of the images of men were depicted as solo drivers. In 2011, the images of women representing solo drivers decreased to 52%, and the images of men solo drivers stayed close to the same at 94%. It is clear that fewer women drive as solo drivers than men. It is far more common to see women working with men, usually their husbands, driving as a team. In addition, women are much more likely to drive as a member of a team than are men.

Although there is the opportunity to have teams consisting of friends of both different sexes and the same sex, there was no instance of these arrangements recorded in *The Trucker*. All images of team drivers, either in articles or advertisements, were of opposite-sex couples driving as a team. Representations of opposite sex couples, and relatively few images of women driving solo encourages the idea that when a woman is driving a truck, she is not doing it by herself and might only be riding with the real driver who is a man.

There is a great difference in the number of articles written by men compared to women as well. For 2010, 78% of the articles published were written by men, and in 2011 that number jumped to 88%. As for who the articles were written about, this too was biased. In 2010, 84% of people mentioned within the published articles were male, and in 2011 this decreased slightly to 82%.

Figure 3 presents data regarding gender specific names and pronouns. Among gender specific pronouns, it can be determined that more articles are centered around a male subject, with women mentioned more often in the supporting role of girlfriend or wife as opposed to men mentioned as husbands or boyfriends.

Interviews

In an effort to bring richer ethnographic information to more fully understand the challenges of being a female truck driver in a male dominated industry, interviews were conducted with two different female truck drivers living in Western Michigan. Surveys were not conducted as these would yield shorter answers, as opposed to interviews which allow the possibility for anecdotes, tone of voice and facial expressions. Interviewees were contacted and selected through word-of-mouth contacts. Four other interviewees were contacted, but through the scheduling difficulties of interviewing people whose job it is to drive, it was not possible to arrange interviews during the duration of this study. For the safety and anonymity of interviewees, names have been changed.

Interviews were conducted one time, in a sit down meeting. The questions asked followed the protocol set forth by the IRB (IRBNET ID number 340553-1). Each interviewee was asked the list of questions in the style of a conversation, and the interviewees were allowed to add any stories or information that they deemed appropriate. Interviews were recorded using a Sony digital flash voice recorder (ICD-PX312). The recordings were then transferred to a password protected iCloud account, as well as the transcription of the interview.

The first interviewee was Molly, a 58 year old woman with a humorous personality who worked in the trucking industry for 15 years (Personal Interview, 2012). She got into truck driving because there weren't a lot of women doing it. She drove solo, by herself, because of a need she expressed - to prove herself. She began working as a truck driver in 1979 and had a difficult time getting a job. At her first workplace, she was turned away numerous

times by the owner. Molly trained herself instead of going to a truck driving school and visited the same company every Friday at the same time asking if they were hiring. The owner always told her no, and one time even said to her, "Honey, women have a place, and it's not behind the wheel." This only made Molly more determined. One day she called the owner and simply told him that if he didn't give her a chance, for thirty days, that she'd keep coming in every week until he did. That was all it took, and Molly was hired. She worked for him for eight years and still considers him a friend.

On one occasion after she first began driving, she asked a customer which bay he wanted the truck in. His response was, "Well honey, go tell your husband or boyfriend to put it in Bay 4." The assumption made by the male customer was that the driver was a man and that she was merely helping out. After she explained that she was the driver and backed the truck into the bay unassisted, she never had any issues with that customer again.

At work, Molly took on the role of "one of the guys" by joking around with them. This eased the tension of having a woman working among them and instead she showed how she blended in. Her attempt to blend in was a performance of sorts. Because she wanted to be accepted as an equal, she employed humor to ease potential tension that might exist given her female gender in a workplace dominated by men.

As an example of a story of her humorous coping strategy, Molly described how she purchased a battery operated toy which includes a ball, with a furry tail attached, that flops around. She placed it in her trailer one day, and told four of the men she worked with that an animal had gotten back there and she needed help getting it out. Molly stated:

I got this broom, and I'm kinda pokin' it and that stuff. And they're all standing around back there: you chase it back this way, we'll chase it, we'll chase it out of the terminal. Ok fine. So I'm like "It's under here somewhere. I can't see it now!" And I reach down and I grab just the tail part, and I yanked it out of there and went "Ohhh my god!!!!" And I

threw it to the back. I tell you, these guys, one went underneath the back of the truck, and two went out to the side. And the one guy ran in a circle [screaming]. And I'm like "What the heck?" I was laughing my [pauses] butt off. It was so funny. And I'm like, "Where's all the big strong guys?" and they're like "oh, that wasn't funny."

Oftentimes drivers use a "handle" or nickname when speaking over the CB radio. Molly's handle was Cargo Mistress. The trailer she had was the brand Cargo Master. One day, a male customer of hers stated that her trailer shouldn't say "master" but should say "Cargo Mistress." Molly liked the sound of that and used it as her handle for the rest of her career. What is unique about this handle is that it is neither solely a truck driving term nor is it only feminine. This handle utilizes a term that identifies her as a trucker, Cargo, while simultaneously identifying her as a woman, Mistress.

Another story about how Molly worked with mostly men is about her truck cab. The company Molly worked for had various cabs that the drivers would use on different days. In order to ensure that she had the same cab daily, and that it would be just as clean and comfortable as she left it, Molly began decorating the interior of the cab. Molly stated:

The guys wouldn't drive my truck, because it looked like a girly truck. I had fake plants in the overhead compartment, so they hung down. All the nice ivies and stuff ya know, and they said it looked feminine. So they didn't want to drive it so I said good, then my truck will stay clean, I know it'll stay gassed, it'll stay in one piece. I know my tires are gonna be up. It will be in working order.

By utilizing decorations that were deemed feminine by her male coworkers, Molly was able to secure the use of the same cab regularly and maintain her identity as a woman.

The second interviewee, Alexandria, is a 52 year old woman who has been driving trucks for 13 years (Personal Interview, 2012). She started out in 1999 and was originally turned away from driving semi-trucks because she couldn't

pass the lift test, which is a test given to truck drivers to assess their ability to lift cargo. She began driving a straight truck, which didn't require a lift test. Alexandria gradually worked her way up, after 4 years, to delivering trailers to fairs and festivals. After another 7 years, she earned her Commercial Driver's License category A (CDL-A) which enabled her to drive semi-trucks. She drives solo and always has. Her husband has his CDL-A license, but as Alexandria explained, she wouldn't survive driving team with him in a confined place for that long.

Alexandria worked at her first job for 11 years but then the company no longer required short-truck drivers. However, she had earned her CDL-A and could drive the big rigs. She now drives semi-trucks for a different company and works with only other male drivers. She continues to drive solo. Mutual respect is the goal she strives for with the idea that if you respect your fellow driver and help them out, they will return the favor and the respect. As Alexandria stated, "I don't hide the fact that I'm a lady, and I expect to be treated as such." Her job is very important to her, but Alexandria also understands the other parts of her life that are important; "I am a woman first. My job is second, after I'm a mom, I got that in there too." Alexandria balances her two identities, woman and truck driver, with optimal diversification. Although she first identifies as a woman, she also identifies as a truck driver, and understands the importance of both identities. In this way she can blend in with the other truck drivers, and do her job, while simultaneously standing out as a woman who works with mostly men.

Alexandria has experienced some gender prejudice during her career. There are the occasional workers who assume that a woman working with mostly men is there to find a date. However, by treating her fellow truck drivers and other workers with respect, Alexandria understands that she earns their respect, and that they will return it: "...you have to prove yourself, that you are not there to flirt with everybody. You are there to do a job and go home. Like everybody else. And you demand the respect as you respect them."

Another source of data regarding gender, identity and reasons for selecting

trucking as a career choice can be found in personal stories available online through the Women in Trucking Association. These stories contain rich and interesting information. Lisa Godino has been driving trucks for over 23 years. Lisa may not have ever planned on becoming a truck driver; however, after riding with a friend, who was a truck driver, she saved up her money and began schooling. It wasn't always easy, and Lisa faced her own fears as well as a bit of uncertainty from her family. Her father told her, "You don't look like a truck driver. Who's going to hire you?" Lisa didn't let the perception of what the identity of a truck driver is, or should be, stand in her way.

Yet Lisa was hired, and began work as a farm pickup driver. She has had a few different jobs over the past 23 years and is now working for the first trucking company that gave her a job. Lisa had good experiences working in a male dominated field: "I treat everyone how I want to be treated and I believe that comes back to you." Lisa follows her heart and enjoys the time spent over the road. She follows the rules of mutual respect and understands that no matter who you are, everyone has struggles (Godino, 2012).

Living in Alaska with her husband, Sharon S. Eddy spent weeks at a time restless and waiting for his return. Her husband was a truck driver and would be gone for up to three weeks at a time. After Sharon complained of this cabin-fever restlessness, her husband suggested that she begin training so that she could drive with him. Sharon has been driving off and on since then for over thirteen years.

Although Sharon and her husband have had at least one bad wreck, she still trusts him and loves her life over the road. Sharon encourages women who want to try their hand at truck driving to not let anything stand in their way. "You can gain the respect you deserve by how you perform out there," Sharon says. "Respect out there isn't something you can demand just by asking for it. It is something you earn." (Eddy, 2012).

Janice Johnson-Bernier is a veteran truck driver who has been driving for over forty-five years. She began driving with her husband back in 1967, but he died in an accident in 1978. Since then, Janice has

been driving mostly solo. She has had a few team partners over the years, however, she has always preferred driving by herself.

Janice has witnessed a lot of change over the past 45 years. "Most men back then would rather have had a hot coal dropped in their pocket than to offer assistance." She continues to explain that if you "act like a lady you will be treated like a lady."

Janice set herself apart from the men with one of her favorite trucks; it was "black and hot pink with pink butterflies on both sides." By decorating her truck with colors and symbols that are considered feminine, Janice makes it clear to whomever she passes over the road, or encounters in business, that there is a woman behind the wheel, challenging the common performance of truck drivers as masculine. However Janice understands that men and women face different as well as the same hardships in their lives as truck drivers. Regardless of gender, they have to leave behind children, spouses and families in order to do their job. Janice's words of advice are "always go out of your way to help the new lady learn what she needs to know to survive out there." According to Janice, driving a truck is a team and family effort (Johnson-Bernier, 2012).

As a frequent contributor to the Women in Trucking website, Sandy Long regularly writes pieces about her time over the road. Growing up in Michigan, Sandy loved big trucks as a child. As Sandy states, "Girls just didn't think of trucking when considering a possible career in the late 60's and early 70's." However, this didn't stop Sandy. She ran away from home at a young age and began working with traveling carnivals. This allowed her the opportunity to gain experience driving concession wagons and the occasional truck.

While dating a truck driver, Sandy decided to try her hand at the job. This was in 1982, and as Sandy explained, there were not a lot of female friendly companies at that time and discrimination was rampant. Sandy has driven team and solo, as well as taking the occasional break from truck driving. However, while driving on and off for over 30 years, Sandy has always loved truck driving and identifies herself a lady as well as a trucker: "Trucking has been good

to me, it hasn't always been easy, but even with all of my accomplishments, mistakes and hard lessons learned, I am just a lady driver" (Long, 2012).

Jakki Fox has been driving trucks for over twenty-three years. She has had her fair share of issues as a female working with predominantly men. She began working for a furniture company, and was frequently met with confusion by the dock workers. Often times she would hear, "By the way, where's the other guy?" Jakki took delight in explaining that it was just her and was always proud when she could manage just fine.

Jakki had moments of doubt when confronted with remarks and the competition from her male coworkers. Throughout it all, she continued with her career and love of trucking. Her own words ring true for all the female truck drivers: "We have done it. We have proved to the guys that there are professional women drivers that can do the job just as well. We have come a long way. Congratulations ladies, my hat's off to all of you that took the high road and stuck with it when times were tough and thank you to our fellow male truckers who encourage us" (Fox, 2012).

Many of the women interviewed, who wrote about their experiences, may not have planned on working in a male dominated environment. However, all have found their way to the field of truck driving and have different ways of negotiating their identity. The common ways of negotiating identity for the women interviewed seem to be by embracing feminine norms, adopting a humorous coping strategy, and mutual respect with fellow drivers. Most of these women share the idea that if you treat others with respect, they will return the respect.

Findings

By performing content analysis on 24 issues of *The Trucker*, from 2010 and 2011, it was discovered that female truck drivers are present in publications geared towards truck driving, and when women are working on the publication there is an effort to elevate women by over-representing them in publications. Far more men drive solo than women.

From the interviews, it appears that women use three different strategies for negotiating their identity. The first is to become "one of the guys." The idea is to blend in with the other truck drivers and to bond through joking around. The female truck driver earns respect as another truck driver who can do the job just like the men.

The second strategy for negotiating identity is to insist upon respect and adherence to feminine norms. By stating outright that she is a lady first and expecting respect, the relationship becomes one of mutual respect. Both women, Molly and Alexandria, take their job seriously and by performing their job as well, or better than the men, the goal is to earn the respect as a truck driver who just happens to be a woman.

Conclusion

From the literature review, it is determined that women choose the field of truck driving for a few reasons, including pay (Voie 2011:1), advancement within the company (Long 2012), and a longing for independence in their career (Blake 1974:212). Although women are frequently stereotyped as being communal, as opposed to men who are agentic (Eagly 2009), female truck drivers go against this expectation, forcing companies to consider them as capable as their male counterparts (Long 2012).

Female truck drivers are a minority within their field of work. They have several ways of negotiating their identity, two of which were discussed in this research. These include blending in through joking around with the men, or not shying away from hard labor, as well as using mutual respect with fellow workers, and adherence to feminine norms.

Women are overrepresented within publications geared towards truck drivers, however, even with this over-saturation of female truck drivers, women are still more often depicted in supporting roles. This encourages the expectation that the performative identity of a truck driver is masculine. With female truck drivers blogging on the internet, writing their autobiographies, and meeting at the annual Salute to Women Behind the Wheel event through the Women in

Trucking Association, the numbers of female truck drivers may rise. As women increase their presence in this male dominated environment, the domination by one gender might shift.

Figures
Figure 1 2010

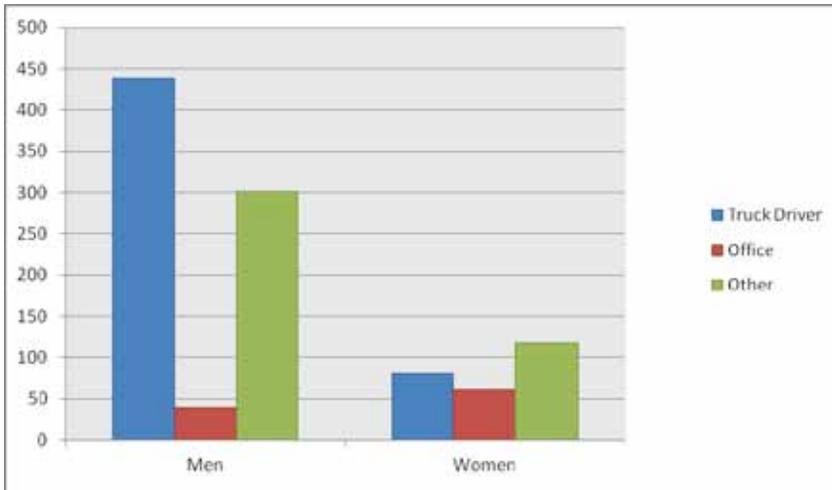


Figure 2 2011

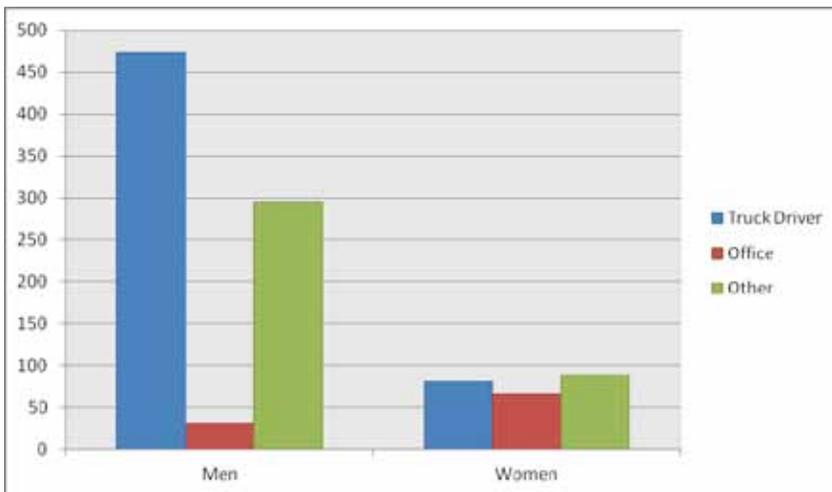
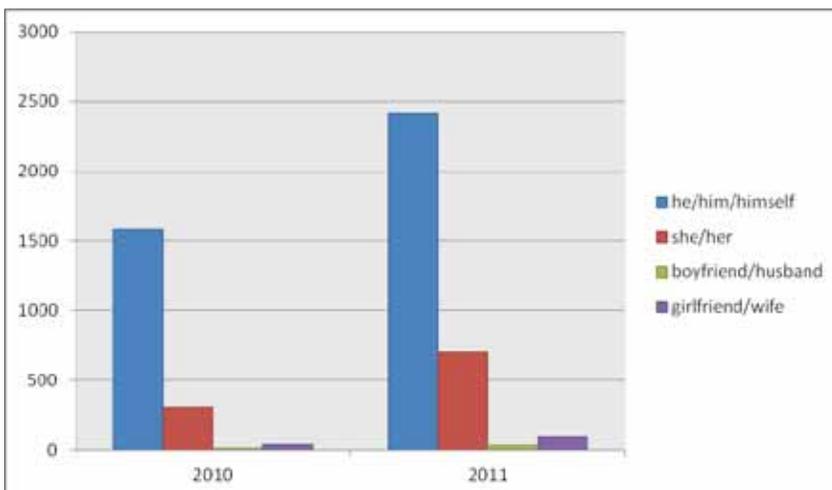


Figure 3 2010 & 2011



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