Negotiating Gender and Police Culture

Exploring the Barriers to Retention and Progression of
Female Police Officers in New Zealand

By

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Abstract

Women officers represent a minority within the New Zealand Police (Police) particularly within the senior ranks. In recent years, Police have made concerted efforts to increase women's representation as well as improve the working environment. However, recent reviews of the 2007 Commission of Inquiry into Police Conduct have reported that women continue to face barriers to full integration and furthermore, that the changes to the police culture have reached a plateau. New Zealand and international research have established that police culture continues to pose a barrier to women's full acceptance within policing. This culture is characterised by predominantly white, heterosexual males, who form what has been described as a "cult of masculinity". Therefore, women find they must adopt the culture in order to "fit in" and be accepted as "one of the boys".

Adopting a qualitative framework, this research involved semi-structured face-to-face interviews with sworn female police officers. Exploring female police officers' experiences identified five pertinent barriers to women's retention and progression. These were the emphasis on physical skills and excitement, the police camaraderie and the cult of masculinity, sexual harassment within the workplace, women's minority status, and balancing motherhood with policing. It was found that the persistence of these barriers came back to core features of police culture. Due to the strong allegiance to the positive aspects of the police culture, such as the camaraderie, negative features such as sexual banter and harassment were subsumed within the wider culture. Negative features were tolerated and accepted as part and parcel of working in the Police. Women's narratives demonstrated that they adhered to core police culture features and thus contributed to the sustenance of the culture. Furthermore, how women articulated their experiences and perceptions of barriers was complex and nuanced. Many held the belief that there were no longer any barriers for women in the Police, yet such positive views were in contradiction with their own experiences. The tension between "perceptions" and "reality" creates a situation where the Police currently sit at a crossroads between the "old" culture and the new rhetoric of "change".

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Abbreviations and Terms

AOS	Armed Offenders Squad
CIB	Criminal Investigation Branch
CGT	Constructivist Grounded Theory
COI	Commission of Inquiry into Police Conduct (refers to the original 2007 report unless otherwise stated)
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunities
FEO	Flexible Employment Options
GDB	General Duties Branch
GTM	Grounded Theory Method
HR	Human Resources
Police	New Zealand Police
PCT	Physical Competency Test
PNHQ	Police National Headquarters
RESC	Research and Evaluation Steering Committee
STG	Special Tactics Group
Workgroup/ Group/ Section	Frontline officers' immediate work group. Generally those working in the General Duties Branch

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1

Introduction: Setting the Scene

During their first two decades, the achievements of New Zealand's policewomen were limited by male expectations, not by female capabilities. They were half-used, sidelined into clerical work and over-protected by being forbidden to make arrests unless a male constable was present.
—Butterworth, 2005, p. 67

The New Zealand Police (Police) have made concerted efforts over the past few decades to increase the representation of women in the workforce; this is evident in the policies implemented to encourage women into the Police and create better working conditions. These efforts are reflected in the steady increase in the representation of women over the last three decades. However, women continue to represent a minority within the sworn ranks of the Police, particularly in the upper echelons. This research emerges during an interesting and challenging time for the Police. The report of the Commission of Inquiry into Police Conduct (COI) was released in 2007 and has increased the momentum for change in terms of the internal culture as well as gender and diversity representation within the sworn ranks. This chapter begins by describing the initial thought processes behind this project. This provides the groundwork to outline the research aims and provide the New Zealand context.

A Focus on Female Police Officers

Initial research revealed a wealth of international research focussing on female police officers' experiences, but there was little up-to-date information on this topic in New Zealand. Indeed, research focussing *specifically* on women police officers in New Zealand is limited. Previous research has focused on such issues as:

the history of women in policing (Redshaw, 2006); reasons for women's disengagement from the Police (Waugh, 1994); barriers to recruitment, retention and progression of women and women in the Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB) (Hyman, 2000; Scott, 2001); or provided an overview to both international and New Zealand literature on barriers to recruitment (Mossman, Mayhew, Rowe, & Jordan, 2008).

Preliminary reading suggested two overarching issues within the broad framework of women in policing that warranted further investigation. Firstly, despite the incremental increases in women's representation, and efforts Police have made to create better working conditions and encourage more women to join—they continue to be underrepresented, both numerically and at senior levels (Butler, Winfree, & Newbold, 2003; Mossman et al., 2008). Secondly, New Zealand research focussing on female police officers suggests that police culture has been a dominant barrier to progression and retention of female police officers (Bazley, 2007; Butler et al., 2003; Frame, 2003; Hyman, 2000; Scott, 2001; Waugh, 1994, 1996). Moreover, the 2010 review of the COI revealed “...*both female employees and constabular staff felt that Police internal culture demands personal resilience and assertiveness from female staff*” (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010, p. 22). This suggests that female officers may need to adopt specific characteristics in order to “fit in” within the police culture. The review went on to conclude that while there has been some progress to shift police culture in light of the COI recommendations, progress to change the culture has reached a plateau (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010).

In the aftermath of the COI, this research explored women's experiences in the Police from their subjective perspectives to understand the extent police culture remains a barrier. A key objective was unearthing the link between progression and retention of women police officers and their perceptions and experiences of police culture. With this in mind, the overarching questions this research explored were:

1. How do women police officers perceive and experience police culture?
2. In what ways does their experiences of police culture impact on the retention and progression of women police officers?

In order to get to the core of these questions, a number of sub questions were explored:

- a. How do women officers negotiate the balance between gender roles and the occupational role?
- b. To what extent do women officers feel they have to adapt to “fit in” and be accepted in the police culture?
- c. How do women perceive their roles within the Police?
- d. How have their experiences impacted on their perception of career opportunities, progression and longevity within the Police?

These questions were framed in a way that sought to unearth meaning from female police officers’ subjective experiences to understand how they experienced their everyday lives (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998).

Women’s Introduction into the New Zealand Police

Women’s involvement in policing began long before their official introduction in 1941 (Hill, M., 1986; McMorran, 1983). The resistance women have faced since the outset was reflected in the incremental acceptance of women as legitimate members of the Police. The first female employees emerged in the Police in 1961 as “female attendants” and worked part-time hours. They were charged with searching females and cooking for prisoners and men in the barracks (Redshaw, 2006). However, any attempts to extend women’s responsibilities were met with resistance, and women were still seen as an undesirable necessity (R. S. Hill, 1995; Redshaw, 2006). The first full-time police matron was appointed in 1895 (Butler et al., 2003; Redshaw, 2006).¹ As matrons and searchers, women were often wives of male officers primarily tasked with assisting lost children and escorting women prisoners between courts and prisons (Hill, R. S., 1995; McMorran, 1983). The 20th century saw a shift in attitudes toward the role of

¹ This date is also listed as 1898 by some authors (see for example: Hill, M., 1986; McMorran, 1983).

women in society. While women in New Zealand won the right to vote in 1893, they were still prohibited from participating fully in the public sphere (Redshaw, 2006). Leading up to the First World War, the campaign for women to have a less marginalised role in the Police became prominent. In 1916, Police Inspectors were asked for their opinions on whether women should be allowed to become police constables. Statements from Police Inspectors who opposed the idea provided reasons such as: women could not “control their tongues”, they lacked the necessary tact and discretion, their appointment would be a waste of money, and small districts rendered their presence unnecessary (McMorran, 1983).

By the mid-1920s attitudes began to change towards the role of women in policing (McMorran, 1983), and the debate reignited in the mid-1930s (Hill, M., 1986; Hill, R. S., 1995). In 1938 authority was granted to appoint women into the Police, but it was not until 1941 that the first 10 female police officers were appointed (Redshaw, 2006). These women underwent three months of training and were not assigned uniforms (Hill, M. 1986; Redshaw, 2006). In contrast, the United States and England had already granted women sworn status in 1910 and 1915 respectively (Hale & Bennett, 1995; Heidensohn, 1992; Martin & Jurik, 2007). When “policewomen” were appointed it was during the Second World War and their presence was necessary given that large numbers of men were on leave from the main cities. Initially women officers were primarily attached to the detective branch and served as temporary constables, as Hill, M. (1986) notes *“...the women investigated offences involving women and children, giving special attention to the problem of young girls out late at night, apparently without parental supervision”* (p. 66). Despite making the transition from matrons to police officers, their role was limited to largely the same responsibilities they held previously as matrons and searchers—taking care of women and children (Hill, M., 1986). This was seen as their appropriate domain and thus reinforced the traditional position of women in society in general—as nurturers, mothers and wives. Women were not eligible for permanent appointment until 1947 (Redshaw, 2006).

It was not until 1952 that the first Police uniforms for women were introduced (Butler et al., 2003). In 1945 women’s wages were only around 87 percent of their male counterparts (Butler et al., 2003), and in 1966 women achieved equal pay (Butterworth, 2005; McMorran, 1983). Although all formal

barriers to women's employment in the Police have now been removed, women's landmarks in Police continue to occur incrementally. For example, the first female Superintendent was not appointed until 1999, while the first woman Inspector was appointed in 1966, and the first Chief Inspector was appointed in 1985 (Mossman et al., 2008).

Momentum for Change: The Commission of Inquiry

The history of women in policing in New Zealand illustrates the progression women have made in breaking down barriers to achieve equal employment, and reflects the steps Police have taken to progress the status of women in policing. This chronology of achievements largely reflects the same patterns in overseas jurisdictions, such as England, the United States and Australia (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000). However, in New Zealand the COI is of particular importance as it increased the momentum for change in the Police, especially with regards to changing the culture, and increasing the gender and diversity of sworn officers.

In January 2004, allegations of historical rape cases that occurred in the 1980s were published in the media. Rape and sexual assault allegations were made against a group of male police officers in Rotorua, namely former Assistant Commissioner Clint Rickards, and former officers Brad Shipton and Bob Schollum. These allegations were based principally on claims brought by Louise Nicholas who claimed Police failed to act when she reported these incidents, and instead persuaded her to withdraw her complaint (Rowe, 2009). Subsequently the COI was established in February 2004 (Bazley, 2007) with Dame Margaret Bazley becoming the sole Commissioner in 2005 (Rowe, 2009). The inquiry set out to investigate the procedures used to investigate sexual offences and the treatment of victims. The COI report was not published until 2007 due to ongoing police investigations and the duration of criminal proceedings (Rowe, 2009).

The COI exposed many examples of police officers' misconduct and inappropriate behaviour including abuses of power, a culture of drinking, as well as the inappropriate handling of sexual assault complaints. Notably, Rickards who was Assistant Commissioner at the time the allegations were made, was being groomed to be the next Police Commissioner (Rowe, 2009). This reflected how

entrenched and far reaching the culture seemed to be. The COI concluded that the internal culture had developed in ways that fostered this misconduct. As Bazley (2007) outlines:

I saw evidence of some disgraceful conduct by police officers and associates over the period from 1979, involving the exploitation of vulnerable people. There were also incidents of officers attempting to protect alleged perpetrators. These incidents, which occurred mainly in the 1980s, include evidence of officers condoning or turning a blind eye to sexual activity of an inappropriate nature; a wall of silence from colleagues protecting those officers complained about; negative, stereotyped views of complainants; and a culture of scepticism in dealing with complaints of sexual assault. (p. 1)

The Police's momentum for change both in the prevailing culture and in the diversity of its staff has increased due to the recommendations arising out of the COI. The significance the COI has played in New Zealand's policing history mirrors investigations in other countries. For example, in Britain the Macpherson Report was released in 1999 and exposed institutional racism in the Metropolitan Police Service (Loftus, 2009; Rowe, 2009) and the Wood Royal Commission into the New South Wales exposed police corruption and malpractice (Chan, 1997). While the incidents igniting these inquiries have differed, common to these scandals are acts of misconduct that have catalysed change, particularly in regards to a culture that was seen as fostering this misconduct.

The Status of Female Police Officers in New Zealand

The Police is a State Sector organisation working within a national framework but with a community focus (section 8(c), 'Policing Act 2008', 2008). To progress through the ranks, officers are required to pass qualifying exams before applying for vacancies. The Police rank structure is displayed using the Police insignia in *Figure 1*.

Figure 1. New Zealand Police Rank Structure

Source: New Zealand Police website (New Zealand Police, n.d.)

Women as Sworn Officers

Figure 2 illustrates how women continue to represent a minority in the sworn ranks in comparison to their male counterparts. Looking specifically at women's representation, in 1970 women represented a mere 2.37 percent of sworn officers (Hyman, 2000). The most dramatic increase in female representation in the sworn ranks occurred during 1980 to 1995, where representation increased from 4.23 percent in 1980 to 12.8 percent in 1995 (Hyman, 2000). After a period of fluctuation during the late 1990s until the early 2000s, there has been a steady and incremental increase in female representation during the years 2004 until 2012 (see figure 3).

Figure 2. Sworn staff by gender (1999-2012)

Source: New Zealand Police Annual Reports (2000, 2001, 2010, 2011a, 2012a, 2002, 2003a, 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2007, 2008a, 2009)

Figure 3. Percentage of sworn female officers (1999-2012)

Source: New Zealand Police Annual Reports. (2000, 2001, 2010, 2011a, 2012a, 2002, 2003a, 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2007, 2008a, 2009) Full-time equivalency may differ over the years.

Women currently comprise 17.7 percent of sworn officers. While there has been an increase in the representation of sworn female officers in New Zealand, this progress is less favourable than in comparable jurisdictions. For example, female representation in Australia sits at 26.6 percent in 2007/08 (Prenzler, Fleming, & King, 2010) and as at 31 March 2012 females comprised 28.8 percent of officers in England and Wales (Home Office, 2012).

Women Officers by Rank

Women's representation decreases up the ranks, for example as at 30 June 2012, women only comprised 9.3 percent of senior sergeant rank and above. However, as *figure 4* shows, there has been a steady increase in the number of women holding ranks of sergeant or above. This increase has been greater than those in the constabulary ranks during the same period. The increase in women holding the rank of constable has increased by 2.7 percent during the years 2000-2012, while the increase in those holding ranks sergeant or senior sergeant and above has been 6.8 percent and 6.6 percent respectively.

Figure 4. Percentage of female sworn officers by rank (2000-2012)

Source: New Zealand Police Annual Reports (2000, 2001, 2010, 2011a, 2012a, 2002, 2003a, 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2007, 2008a, 2009)

In comparable jurisdictions, women's representation in senior ranks is more favourable. In Australia, 8 percent of senior (commissioned) officers were female in 2006 (Irving, 2009). In England and Wales women in senior ranks of Chief Inspector and above is currently 16.3 percent (Home Office, 2012).

Recruitment

Figure 5 shows that the percentage of female recruits has fluctuated over the years with an obvious dip in numbers during the early 2000s. Following this, the number of female recruits peaked at 28 percent in 2003. Between the period 2003 and 2012 there was on average around 25 percent female recruits.

Figure 5. Percentage of recruits that are female 2000-2012

Source: New Zealand Police. 2012 figure is year to date (as at July 2012)

Length of Service

Figure 6 illustrates the dramatic difference between male and female officers' length of service. It is evident that male officers generally have much longer careers within Police, with males reaching the 45-50 year mark, while female's length of service ceases at the 30-35 year mark.

Figure 6. Constabulary staff by years of service and gender (as at 30 June 2011)

Source: New Zealand Police

Furthermore, *figure 7* shows women's composition within Police peaks at 23 percent in the 0-5 years length of service bracket, and peaks again at 21.2 percent in the 15-20 years length of service bracket. Following this there is a steady decrease in women as the length of service increases, with women's presence finishing at 3.5 percent in the 30-25 year length of service bracket.

Figure 7. Percentage of females by length of service (as at 30 June 2011)

Source: New Zealand Police

Overall Rates of Attrition

Figure 8 shows the attrition rate by gender. This is calculated based on the number of people who left Police during the preceding year divided by the number of people employed at that date.

Figure 8. Attrition rate by gender (June 2000-May 2012)

Source: New Zealand Police

The attrition rate for women was much higher compared to males during the early 2000s, and peaked in the period 2002-2003 with the highest attrition rate for women reaching 7.9 percent in January 2003—compared with a 4.6 percent attrition rate for men during the same period. This spike in women’s attrition corresponds to low recruitment of women falling below 20 percent in 2001 and 2002 (see *figure 5*). Together, this might help to explain the dip in women’s overall representation to below 15 percent in 2002 and 2003 (see *Figure 3*).

The gap between women and men’s attrition rates began to close in late 2003 with women’s attrition rate falling below men’s during 2004. From around 2007 the attrition rate between males and females has almost equalised, where for the most part there has been an average of less than 1 percent difference. As at

May 2012 the attrition rate sits at 3.3 percent for females (n=52) and 3.2 percent for males (n=239), thus the attrition rate for females is a fraction lower than that for men. Therefore, it is evident that the Police have improved the retention of female police officers. However, while there has been a steady increase in female representation over the past decade, this increase has predominantly taken place amongst frontline staff, with a poorer representation of women in higher ranks (Office of the Auditor-General, 2012).

Police Response

Police have adopted a number of approaches to address the internal culture and overcome barriers to women's full integration. The goal of the Police to improve the health of its internal culture is evident in a number of strategic goals and policies. For example, the Police Competency Framework (New Zealand Police, 2003) sets out four core values which include: respect, integrity, professionalism, and commitment to Maori and the Treaty of Waitangi. Additionally, a Code of Conduct was introduced in 2007 following the recommendations arising out of the COI. This establishes the standards of behaviour expected of all Police employees (New Zealand Police, 2008b). Various policies introduced target areas such as improving the culture, increasing equity and diversity of Police personnel, creating strong leadership, and enhancing accountability of staff. For example: the "Policing Excellence" reform initiated in 2009 (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010), the Strategic Plan 2010 (New Zealand Police, 2006b); and the "Prevention First" strategy outlined in the Strategic Plan 2011-2015 (New Zealand Police, 2011b). In 2012 recruitment campaigns with a community focus were released with the slogan *"you too can do something extraordinary"*. These campaigns aim to attract more young people, particularly women and those from various ethnic and cultural backgrounds to better reflect New Zealand communities (New Zealand Police, 2012b).²

² This campaign diverged from the previous "get better work stories" campaign released in 2006 (New Zealand Police, 2006c) which targeted the 18 to 35 year old demographic and focussed more on the action and excitement elements of policing.

Police strategic policies inherently address improving the working environment for women. However, there have been policies and initiatives that specifically target women³ such as Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) policies. Since the late 1980s, the Police have complied with the requirements of the State Sector Act 1988 which mandates Chief Executives of Government Departments to comply with the principle of being a “good employer” (Hyman, 2000; Mossman et al., 2008). The Police initiated its own EEO policy which addresses discrimination and promotes equal opportunities and diversity to meet the needs of all staff in the organisation (Mossman et al., 2008; New Zealand Police, 2006a, 2008a). The Flexible Employment Options (FEO) policy is an example of an EEO policy. The FEO policy allows employees to work part-time (Hyman, 2000). Although not just open to women, FEO has particular relevance to women as it attempts to address the difficulty women often face when balancing work and family commitments (Mossman et al., 2008).

The 2011/2012 Police annual report outlines a number of recent equity and diversity initiatives targeting women, these included leadership development programmes, and anti-harassment initiatives. “Lets Talk” is an initiative *“aimed at increasing organisational knowledge of issues, barriers and the positive aspects of life for women in Police”* (New Zealand Police, 2012a, p. 26) which involved one-on-one meetings with women officers to discuss their career and personal development issues. Moreover, the Office of the Auditor-General (2012) observed a number of Police initiatives aimed at women including: development and leadership programmes, an alumnae network for work for graduates of women’s development programmes, mentoring programmes and a women’s development day.

³ The New Zealand Police annual reports contain summaries of gender and diversity policy initiatives accomplished, or underway, for the Police calendar year. In particular, see annual reports for 2006 (“Organisational Information”); 2007 (“Organisational Development”); 2008 (“Organisational Information”); and reports for 2008-2012 (“Organisational Health and Capability”). Also see, Mossman et al. (2008) for a succinct summary of Police responses to addressing barriers to recruiting women.

Progress Towards Change

The progress of the COI recommendations is reviewed by the State Services Commission through the *Change Management Programme Progress Report*, and as at April 2012 it released its fourth review (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2012). The Police response to the COI is also monitored by the Officer of the Auditor-General (2012) and as at October 2012 released its third monitoring report. These reports suggest that, while there are elements of good progress in changing the culture and some progress to improve police behaviour, the overall progress in the Police response to the COI recommendations has been mixed (Office of the Auditor-General, 2012). While there has also been progress in the number of women entering the Police, this is yet to be reflected in the senior ranks. Coupled with the similar attrition rate between female and male officers (as outlined in the previous section), the report states *“the reasons why women do not tend to progress into senior positions at the same rate as men are only partially understood”* (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2012, p. 31). This research aims to provide a fuller understanding of women’s position in the Police.

Thesis Overview

Having outlined the research aims and the New Zealand context for this research, chapter 2 will outline the gender and policing literature to provide a framework within which to interpret the research findings. Chapter 3 will discuss the methodological approach chosen for this research and will then outline the research methods and procedures that were adopted. Chapter 4 provides an introductory overview to the research findings before moving into the five chapters, each of which address specific barriers identified in the interviews conducted with female police officers. This thesis concludes by drawing together the themes arising out of the barriers examined to discuss how women negotiate gender and the occupational role. Moreover, the implications of these findings for the Police will be discussed.

2

Literature Review

This chapter provides a review of the literature to create a framework within which women's policing experiences will be examined. The chapter begins by establishing the gendered nature of policing as an organisation and defining police culture. Following this, the barriers identified in the literature will be discussed. Lastly, how women "do gender" will be examined.

Policing as a Gendered Site

It is well established that policing is a male-dominated career and remains gendered in the 21st century (Butler et al., 2003; Heidensohn, 2008; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Rabe-Hemp, 2009). How women construct their identities within policing has traditionally been divided by sex and gender (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Constructionist perspectives on gender have challenged the division of gender into two opposing categories, and have disputed reducing gender to men and women's essential or biological nature (Connell, 2002, 2005; Martin & Jurik, 2007; West & Fenstermaker, 1995; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Instead gender is not a fixed concept, it is reproduced through interaction, as West and Zimmerman (1987) assert:

*To 'do' gender is not always to live up to normative conceptions of femininity or masculinity; it is to engage in behaviour **at the risk of gender assessment**. Although it is individuals who do gender, the enterprise is fundamentally interactional and institutional in character, because accountability is a feature of social relationships and its idiom is drawn from the institutional arena in which those relationships are enacted. (p. 136) [emphasis in original]*

Therefore, social interactions work to reproduce and challenge popular conceptions of what is socially accepted as essential and natural differences between men and women (Morash & Haarr, 2012; West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Analysing culture as socially constructed provides a way to understand how culturally accepted norms of masculinity and femininity impact on values in organisations (Dick & Jankowicz, 2001). The accepted cultural norms that are said to shape police behaviour have been described as an almost pure form of “hegemonic masculinity” (Fielding, 1994). Connell (2005) defines hegemonic masculinity as the:

[C]onfiguration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. (p. 77)

Hegemonic masculinity has been used to explain stereotypical features of police culture (Fielding, 1994; Silvestri, 2003) as well as traits of the archetypal police officer who is constructed as strong, aggressive and assertive (Fielding & Fielding, 1992; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Miller, 1999; Morash & Haarr, 2012). Complementary to hegemonic masculinity, women are said to display “emphasised femininity” by adhering to traditionally feminine traits such as passivity, fragility, and dependence (Morash & Haarr, 2012). Hegemonic masculinity is not a fixed and omnipresent concept and it recognises the existence of multiple masculinities (Connell, 2005). Therefore, this concept sits well with understanding police culture which is argued to be “*neither monolithic, universal nor unchanging*” (Reiner, 2000, p. 51, see also: Chan, Devery, & Doran, 2003; Chan, 1997; Fielding, 1994).

Social institutions in which gender operates also warrants examination from a social constructionist perspective. Acker (1998) argues that organisations should be viewed as a process rather than static, rational, bounded entities. Within this structure gendered inequalities, gendered interactions, and gendered images occur as part of the ongoing activities that comprise an organisation (Acker, 1998). The workplace continues to be a predominant arena for men to construct their identity (Dick & Jankowicz, 2001). Indeed, as Martin and Jurik (2007) note, the dualistic perspective which perpetuates the masculine/feminine stereotypical

divide also helps to explain dualities in policing, such as the crime fighter/social service, public/domestic, and street/station house distinctions. In each of these stereotyped dualities, the “feminine” side is undervalued. Thus men “do gender” by creating and adhering to the image which is associated with the “masculine” aspect of these dualities.

Defining Police Culture

Police culture is generally used as a catchall term capturing all aspects of police behaviour and action. As Chan (1997) observes, the concept of “police culture” is used loosely in the literature with no agreed upon definition. For the purpose of providing a clear framework for this research, “police culture” is used as the umbrella term to capture two different “subcultures”—cop culture⁴ and canteen culture.⁵

Reiner (2000) asserts that *“Cop culture has developed as a patterned set of understandings that help officers cope with and adjust to the pressures and tensions confronting the police”* (p. 87). While studies on police culture have reached different conclusions there still remains a set of prevailing characteristics that have remained largely consistent in police culture research (Loftus, 2009; Rowe, 2008). Indeed, to outline Reiner’s (2000) core characteristics in any discussion of cop culture has become somewhat of a “sociological orthodoxy” (Loftus, 2010). Reiner (2000) identifies the following as the core characteristics of cop culture: mission—action—cynicism—pessimism, suspicion, isolation/solidarity, police conservatism, machismo, racial prejudice, and pragmatism.

In contrast, canteen culture should be seen as an element of police culture which encapsulates talk or expressed attitudes of police officers when they are off-duty (Hoyle, 1998). Hoyle (1998) defines canteen culture as:

[T]he ways in which officers communicate with each other, interactions which are characterized by expressions of solidarity and cohesiveness. It is directed internally to

⁴ “Cop culture” is also referred to in the literature as the “police occupational culture” (Hoyle, 1998; Reiner, 2000) or “street cop culture” (Chan, Devery, & Doran, 2003).

⁵ “Canteen culture” is also referred to in the literature as the “police sub-culture” or the “informal police culture” (Rowe, 2008; Waddington, 1999).

meet the demands of operational policing and thus reflects divisions between the police and the public, in particular, suspects, and divisions between the various ranks within the service. (p. 74)

It is generally agreed upon that the canteen culture has the function of enabling officers to express their fears, relieve tension and vent frustrations and anger—which all flow from the nature of the occupation. This in turn serves to strengthen group solidarity and establish a shared identity and worldview—thus reinforcing officers' loyalty to the group and to the occupation (Dick & Jankowicz, 2001; Fielding, 1994; Hoyle, 1998; Reiner, 2000; Smith & Gray, 1985; Waddington, 1999). While the cult of masculinity also forms part of the cop culture, it is arguably more concentrated within the canteen culture (Dick & Jankowicz, 2001).⁶ Indeed, Fielding (1994) argues that the canteen culture is an almost “*pure form of hegemonic masculinity*” (p. 47). As outlined by Fielding (1994), the features of canteen culture include:

- an emphasis on aggression and action
- competitiveness and a fixation on conflict
- exaggerated heterosexual orientations which are often reflected in patriarchal and misogynistic attitudes toward women, and
- rigid in-group/out-group distinctions which reinforces the solidarity of in-groups and the exclusion of out-groups.

Thus, while canteen culture and cop culture are separate, they share many common elements.

Barriers to Retention and Progression of Female Police Officers

While the classic studies on police culture have focussed primarily on male police officers (Banton, 1964; Bittner, 1970; Manning, 1979; McBarnet, 1981; Shearing & Ericson, 1991; Skolnick, 1966; Wilson, 1968), the emergence of police studies focussing on women have shed light on the experiences of female police

⁶ Police research has resulted in a polarised view regarding how police officers' off-duty talk translates in police behaviour on the street—this has become an important discussion when assessing police treatment of members of the public and offenders, particularly those from minority groups (see for example: Chan, 1997; Hoyle, 1998; Rowe, 2004; Smith & Gray, 1985; Waddington, 1999).

officers as they attempt to break into the culture (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Fielding & Fielding, 1992; Heidensohn, 1992; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Martin, 1980; Young, 1991). The role of women in policing expanded over the course of the 20th century, however they continue to face obstacles in policing (Heidensohn, 2008). There is now a wealth of research into gender and policing, and a number of barriers can be discerned from the literature. Adapted from Mossman et al.'s (2008) analysis, there are five intertwining barriers to recruiting women into the police, many of which are also barriers to retention. This includes: the emphasis on physical skills and the "crime fighting" image, the police culture, discrimination and harassment, women's minority status, and family-work-life balance.

The emphasis on physical skills sits at the core of the archetypal police officer. This image emphasises physical strength as well as action, danger, and excitement which all combine to produce the "crime fighting" image of policing (Bittner, 1979; Loftus, 2009; Reiner, 2000; Westmarland, 2001). This image is often at odds with the realities of policing where "real police work" such as attending violent, dangerous and volatile incidents are exaggerated while more common incidents such as attending domestic and neighbour disputes are downplayed (Bittner, 1970; Felson, 1994; Loftus, 2010; Smith & Gray, 1985; Waddington, 1999). This creates a divide between the image of the "crime fighter" pursuing "real police work" on the one hand, and the "social worker" on the other—with women "naturally" being subsumed in the latter image of policing (Fielding, 1988, 1994; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Martin, 1980; Miller, 1999; Smith & Gray, 1985; Young, 1991).

The construction of policing based around physical capabilities leads many male officers to adopt the "code of chivalry", where they believe that working with a female officer puts them in a position of danger due to their perceived obligation to protect the female (Fielding & Fielding, 1992; Fielding, 1988; Martin, 1980). Indeed, male officers' most commonly cited reason for objecting to the presence of women officers is women's perceived lack of physical capabilities (Fielding, 1988; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Heidensohn, 1992; Martin, 1980; Smith & Gray, 1985; Waugh, 1994; Young, 1991). Thus the emphasis on physical skills and the "crime fighter" image perpetuates the perceived inferiority of women (Brown &

Heidensohn, 2000; Garcia, 2003; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Miller, 1999; Mossman et al., 2008; Rabe-Hemp, 2009).

Research has illustrated that the masculinist police culture has negatively impacted on the experiences of female police officers, and is considered one of the greatest barriers to women's full integration in policing (Fielding, 1994; Garcia, 2003; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Heidensohn, 1992, 2008; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Martin, 1980; Rowe, 2008; Silvestri, 2003; Westmarland, 2001). This has also been found to be the case in New Zealand (Bazley, 2007; Hyman, 2000; Mossman et al., 2008; Scott, 2001; Waugh, 1994). This culture is said to be shaped by predominantly white, heterosexual males forming a "cult of masculinity" (Silvestri, 2003). As Smith and Gray (1985) observe:

Stories of fighting and violence tend to come up in conversation alongside and mixed in with talk of sexual conquests and feats of drinking: all three combine together into a kind of cult of masculinity. (p. 369)

The existence of routine sexualised language as well as explicit storytelling of sexual encounters is often tolerated and forms part of the taken for granted heterosexual masculine culture (Loftus, 2009). Moreover, women will often accommodate the attitudes of male officers, rationalising sexist behaviour or talk as "boys being boys" (Loftus, 2009).

Women's entry into this "boys club" has had two effects. Firstly it threatened the traditional division of labour and secondly, it has threatened the established police culture values that officers embrace—thus undermining notions of group solidarity and the conceptualisation of police work as "men's work" (Martin & Jurik, 2007; Martin, 1980). Young (1991) asserts, women's presence challenges the established gender norms, in particular the domestic/public dichotomy:

Women who do breach the boundary to penetrate this masculine world can only ever be partially successful and will often have to subsume "male characteristics" to achieve even a limited social acceptability. Ideally they are best returned to a place outside the system, married to policemen and reconstituted into the domestic sphere. (p. 193)

There are a number of reasons males disliked the presence of women in policing. For example, women cannot work as part of a team (Smith & Gray, 1985); women are too 'giggly' and indecisive; women only join the police to find a husband; and women distract male officers causing motivations to shift from doing a good job to impressing the female (Fielding, 1988).

However, research has established that women often adopt aspects of police culture in order to fit in and become "one of the boys" (Chan et al., 2003; Heidensohn, 1992; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Martin, 1980; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Rowe, 2008; Silvestri, 2003; Westmarland, 2001). Holdaway and Parker (1998) found that women sustained the culture by adhering to the "crime fighting" image of policing while simultaneously reinforcing the "social service" image by placing more interest in dealing with juveniles and domestic disputes. A challenge faced by women is trying to find the balance between over-identification with the masculinist culture and being ostracised from it (Mossman et al., 2008; Rowe, 2008).

Women's threat to the masculine order helps to explain the presence of sexual harassment. Martin and Jurik (2007) argue that the maintenance of a "sexualised workplace" reaffirms the masculine culture and effectively reinforces women's status as "outsiders". Indeed, sexual harassment is said to emanate from the male-dominated police culture (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Chaiyavej & Morash, 2008, 2009; Gratch, 1995; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Heidensohn, 1992; Hyman, 2000; Maher, 2010; Martin, 1980; Scott, 2001; Waugh, 1994; Westmarland, 2001; Young, 1991). Women who speak out against sexual harassment risk ostracism and being labelled a "troublemaker" (Hyman, 2000). Moreover, the strong camaraderie acts as a barrier to whistleblowers and complainants due to the wolf-pack mentality the culture fosters. Consequently, infractions by its members are protected from exposure—thus creating a "wall of silence" (Bazley, 2007; Maher, 2010; Reiner, 2000).

Women continue to represent a minority within policing both in New Zealand and internationally, thus women are said to suffer the consequences of "tokenism", and as such face added pressures in their work environment due to their relative visibility (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Kanter, 1977; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Scott, 2001; Waugh, 1994). Isolation as a

“token” means women are excluded from informal networks which are crucial for women’s upward mobility in the organisation (Scott, 2001). Indeed, Brown and Heidensohn (2000) found that women faced discrimination in terms of deployment and training opportunities. Women are often seen by their male colleagues as “weak” or “token hires”, thus women feel that they must continually prove their competency in the job to overcome the stereotype and be accepted as “one of the boys” (Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Martin, 1980). Furthermore, women’s minority status and visibility means that women feel they must work twice as hard to get half the recognition (Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Mossman et al., 2008; Scott, 2001).

Holdaway and Parker (1998) found that male officers believed women lacked the strength and commitment required for the role and that they would leave the job after having children. This helps to explain the perceived incompatibility of motherhood with policing (Charlesworth & Whittenbury, 2007). Indeed, balancing motherhood and the occupational demands is a significant barrier women face in the Police (Charlesworth & Whittenbury, 2007; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Hyman, 2000; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Mossman et al., 2008; PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010; Scott, 2001; Silvestri, 2003; Waugh, 1994, 1996).

Negotiating Gender and Police Culture

It is evident that women face a multitude of barriers that impede their full acceptance as police officers. As the discussion thus far indicates, these barriers are often rooted in the core aspects of police culture. As Martin and Jurik (2007) observe:

Resistance to women's integration is related to the nature of the work, the occupational culture, and the manner in which these are used as resources for doing gender, and continues today, although in a less overt manner. (p. 68)

Martin’s (1980) groundbreaking observational study of female police officers in Washington, DC, is one of the most widely cited texts when looking at how women cope and learn to adapt to the male dominated occupational culture (Heidensohn, 1992). Martin (1980) found that women’s experiences in trying to negotiate the

balance between sex roles and their occupational role resulted in two different identities that sit at opposite ends of a continuum—*POLICE*women and police*WOMEN*. Women will fall somewhere along this continuum, rather than each being an absolute category (Heidensohn, 1992).

Beginning with *POLICE*women, women at this end of the spectrum are characterised by assertiveness, “professionalism”, desire for occupational achievement, and loyalty to the occupation. They adopt the group norms and values in order to be accepted, and compete as “one of the boys”. They shun the stereotypical treatment of women officers, such as being “protected” by male co-workers and they view sexual harassment as an impediment to their ability to do their job rather than as damaging to their sexual reputations. *POLICE*women accept their “token” status and the pressure to prove themselves to be the exception. Furthermore, they thrive on patrol work, are comfortable on the street, and show a willingness to be involved in physical action. Additionally, *POLICE*women display strong loyalty to the informal system. This is seen as necessary to be accepted and to avoid isolation, and crucial if they want to advance within the organisation. Hence, *POLICE*women are more likely to socialise with male colleagues off-duty and accept sexual banter and jokes as part of the job.

Moving to the opposite end, police*WOMEN* maintain traditional feminine norms while on the job, seeing it predominantly as a source of income, and assume a more service-oriented perspective. Unlike *POLICE*women, they do not strive to become “one of the boys”—rather they resist the pressure to perform and emerge as “exceptions” and are content on remaining “ladies”. They resent the pressure they feel to be constantly proving themselves and they reject discriminatory treatment. As well as rejecting the dominant male culture on-duty, they avoid socialising with male co-workers off-duty. Consequently, police*WOMEN* lack motivation and they often sit outside police informal networks, thus further isolating them and eroding promotional aspirations.

What can be deduced from Martin’s (1980) analysis is the need for female police officers to be constantly re-evaluating the balance between their sex role and the norms of the occupational role. The concept of “doing gender” is often utilised to gain a greater understanding of how the gendered nature of policing is maintained and how women cope with the demands of the male-dominated

culture (Chan et al., 2003; Chan, Doran, & Marel, 2010; Garcia, 2003; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Miller, 1999; Morash & Haarr, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2009). When women are “doing gender” they reinforce the traditional distinctions between male and female officers and therefore accept differential treatment (Chan et al., 2010).

Rabe-Hemp (2009) found that women police officers were “doing gender” and “doing police work” collaboratively. At one end, women actively resisted characteristics such as aggression and violence but at the same time, reinforced expectations of the female role such as caretaking, empathy and greater communication skills. Additionally, they resisted the stereotypes of women police officers being “dyke or lesbian” by emphasising their physical attractiveness to men and through grooming techniques which reaffirmed their femininity. At the other end, they also rejected the idea that they are the “pansy police” by stressing their willingness to engage in masculine facets of policing, such as “getting dirty” and “scuffing up the knees”. Indeed, Garcia (2003) argues *“If a woman acts too feminine, she is criticized for not being suitable for the job. However, if she acts too masculine, she is criticized for not acting like a woman”* (p. 341). To address the conflict between gender and the occupational role women feel they must perform these roles simultaneously—Thus women are “doing gender” and “doing police work” in order to overcome the male dominated culture (Rabe-Hemp, 2009).

However, Morash and Haarr (2012) argue that women officers were not so much “doing gender” and “doing policing” collaboratively as Rabe-Hemp (2009) identified, but rather maintained their identity as “women” and were instead “redoing gender” and “undoing gender”. Consistent with this, Chan et al.’s (2010) research, found women officers were not only “doing gender” and “undoing gender” but they were also “doing and undoing gender”.

Women were “undoing gender” by denying that sex or gender affected their job performance and how they constructed their identity within policing, and therefore resisted differential treatment based on gender (Chan et al., 2010; Morash & Haarr, 2012). By “redoing gender” or “doing and undoing gender”, women rejected the traditional distinction between the valued “masculine” and devalued “feminine”. In other words, women recognised gender differences but believed women officers should be treated equally (Chan et al., 2010; Morash & Haarr, 2012).

Moreover, how women negotiate gender varies throughout their careers. For example, newer officers/recruits are more concerned with “doing police” or “doing gender equality” rather than “doing gender”. “Doing gender” became more pertinent when women had been in the job longer and had established their identities (Chan et al., 2003, 2010). This illustrates the complexity in how women manage their identity and gender during their careers. Therefore gender should not be seen static, rather it is constantly being negotiated and re-negotiated through social interaction (Chan et al., 2010).

Coming Full Circle

The introduction of women to policing reflected the traditional roles women held within wider society. This was not only evident in the specific roles women were hired for, but also that women were recruited for the traits it was thought women “naturally” possess and would thus bring to the job (Garcia, 2003). Connell (2002) argues that the division of labour between the “work” and “home” in modern Western societies creates a cultural understanding that the economic arena is a “man’s world”, while domestic life is a “woman’s world”. Thus, patriarchal beliefs support the assumed nature of police work which envisions “real” police work as being reserved for men, and “softer” social service roles being relegated to women (Garcia, 2003; Miller, 1999; Rabe-Hemp, 2009). This reinforces the entrenched belief that physical abilities underlie the conception of police work (Fielding, 1988; Young, 1991).

In summary, research has highlighted police culture as a barrier to both recruitment and retention of female police officers. The existence of the masculine culture consequently leaves women feeling as though they need to prove themselves to become “one of the boys” (Heidensohn, 1992; Martin, 1980; Young, 1991). Thus, women often find they must negotiate the balance between their gender role and the demands of the occupational role in order to be accepted and “fit in”. By adopting the prevailing cultural values, women prove that their primary working personality is that of a “police officer” and not a “female” police officer. However, a consequence is that some women may over-subscribe to the culture in a bid to show their allegiance to the group.

3

Methodology and Methods

All research is interpretive; it is guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied.
—Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 31

As outlined in chapter 1, the research questions of this research were constructed in *what*, *how*, and *why* questions, which are the type of questions one seeks using a qualitative framework (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). This research was seeking rich data that would reveal women's subjective experiences; it flows from this that using a qualitative research design was the most suitable. With this in mind, this chapter will outline the theoretical and philosophical approaches underlying the methodology, before outlining the research procedures. The chapter will end by outlining the limitations of the research. As the opening quote to this chapter indicates, research is guided by the researcher's beliefs and how it should be understood and studied. For that reason, I will write this chapter in the first person.

Theoretical Approach

I approached this research using a feminist theoretical framework. The feminist critique is rooted in the argument that women have historically been less documented than their male counterparts (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2007; Brooks, 2007; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). There exists a contention in the literature about what constitutes a "feminist" research project, and within that, what constitutes a feminist methodology or epistemology (Hesse-

Biber, Leavy, & Yaiser, 2004; Letherby, 2003). It is difficult to pinpoint when a feminist underpinning has influenced the research process. My belief is it approaching research with a feminist lens is not for example, merely an epistemological consideration; it was present throughout the research process. For this reason I find Hesse-Biber and Leckenby's (2004) statement most compelling, whereby they argue that under a feminist perspective:

Epistemology, methodology and methods are not de-linked from each other but interact in dynamic ways to produce new knowledge and this openness itself is also characteristic of how feminist researchers approach their work. The methodological and epistemological assumptions are made manifest throughout the research process. . . The theoretical perspectives, methodological commitments, and method processes all engage cyclically with one another during feminist research. (p. 210)

It is through women's lived experiences that feminist researchers seek to build new knowledge (Brooks, 2007; Hesse-Biber et al., 2004). Feminist researchers recognise that gender is historically and socially constructed and thus acknowledge women's subjective experiences and aim to discover women's subjugated knowledges (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Feminist approaches question the way in which mainstream research has created a binary between the researcher and the research subjects, and instead recognises that the choice of methods and research questions are political acts; they further acknowledge that the researcher is located within the research itself (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Letherby, 2003). Feminist perspectives allow us to examine the position of women within the patriarchal system, where the production of life experiences differs across individuals and groups (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). This approach is consistent with my research goals, which were to explore female police officers' subjective experiences within the male-dominated police culture. Enabling women's experiences to emerge in what has historically been a patriarchal institution will hopefully be useful as a map for social change (Brooks, 2007).

Research Paradigms

Paradigms can be understood as a set of basic beliefs which correspond to the researcher's worldview and how the individual fits and acts within it (Denzin

& Lincoln, 2008; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This can be broken down by considering the ontological, epistemological, and methodological perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Together these form the philosophical foundation of the research project, and therefore inform all facets of the research process, such as the topic, research questions, method, sampling and the research design (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011).

Ontology questions the nature of social reality and what can be known about it and how (Blaikie, 2010; Bryman, 2008; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). This research adopted a constructivist assumption, thus rejecting the view that social reality exists as an objective entity external to social actors where objective facts or “truths” can be discovered. Instead it adopted the view that social reality is an ongoing accomplishment amongst social actors where meaning is produced through social interaction, which is in a constant state of revision (Bryman, 2008; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011).

Epistemology is concerned with the theory of knowledge (Bryman, 2008; Henn, Weinstein, & Foard, 2009). It questions the nature of the relationship between the knower and the known, and what can be known (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This research fell into the interpretivist camp rather than the positivist camp, the former being traditionally associated with qualitative approaches and the latter with quantitative approaches (Bryman, 2008; Henn et al., 2009). Accordingly, this research assumed that social reality does not exist independent of the researcher, rather the researcher and the researched are interactively connected (Bailey, 2007; Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Methodological Approach

At this stage of the inquiry the central question was how the researcher should set about discovering social reality (Bailey, 2007). This research project approached the relationship between research and theory as inductive as opposed to deductive. This is consistent with qualitative methods where theories are developed based on themes which have emerged out of the data rather than testing hypotheses or theories against the findings—as under a deductive approach, which is generally associated with positivism (Bryman, 2008; Hesse-

Biber & Leavy, 2011; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). The inductive approach involves an iterative process where the researcher moves back and forth between data and theory (Bryman, 2008). For this reason, I chose to adopt a constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approach. CGT encapsulates the same methodological strategies promoted by grounded theory method (GTM) but as Charmaz and Bryant (2011) argue, earlier versions of GTM were developed on positivist assumptions,⁷ therefore:

[C]onstructivist grounded theory adopts 21st-century epistemological assumptions and methodological advances and treats earlier grounded theory strategies as flexible guidelines rather than rigid rules. . . [a] constructivist approach emphasizes multiple realities, the researcher and the research participants respective positions and subjectivities, situated knowledge, and sees data as inherently partial and problematic. (Charmaz, 2011, p. 168).

This is consistent with the interpretative epistemological paradigm I adopted for this research.

Research Methods

Qualitative interviews were chosen as the proposed research method is exploratory rather than confirmatory (Silverman, 2000). Within the qualitative framework, semi-structured face-to-face interviews were used to explore female police officer's experiences from their subjective perspectives (Kvale, 2007). This approach allows the interviewer flexibility to gain a more in-depth understanding of the participant's views and experiences (Guthrie, 2010). Interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview schedule.

⁷ Since around the 1990s, there has been a divide in opinions between the two co-creators where two variations of GTM have emerged: Glaser's positivist version and Strauss and Corbin's post-positivist version (Charmaz & Bryant, 2011).

Research Procedures

RESC Application

Due to this research project involving interviews with female police officers, it was necessary to submit a research proposal to the New Zealand Police Research and Evaluation Steering Committee (RESC) at Police National Headquarters (PNHQ). The research was approved and formal response from the RESC was received on 12 July 2011. My supervisors and I were required to sign security clearance forms and confidentiality agreements, and a research agreement was signed between the Police and myself. I was assigned a Police Liaison Officer in Wellington who facilitated access to Police staff for the key informant and female police officer interviews, as well as access to Police statistics.

Ethics

As this research involved interviewing human participants, both Victoria University of Wellington and the RESC required ethical approval. Approval was granted by Victoria University's Social and Cultural Studies Human Ethics Committee on 9 August 2011. Silverman (2010) outlines several ethical principles that this research adopted. In particular, the research ensured that: informed consent had been obtained, that participants were fully informed of the purpose of the research, that participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and of their right to withdraw, and what their involvement entailed, and that their confidentiality would be respected. These points were reiterated on the information sheets and consent forms to avoid any ambiguity and to ensure participants felt comfortable and were able to speak freely. Immediately prior to the interview taking place, I went through the key points of the consent form with the participant, who was then asked if they had any questions before signing the consent form.

Participants and Data Involved

This research involved two sets of participants, key informants (n=4) and female police officers (n=15). The four key informants were Police staff who were based at PNHQ. They all worked within the area of human resources (HR) and thus had knowledge of issues relating to female police officers. These interviews were conducted in order to provide background information for the interviews with female police officers.

The primary participants were sworn female police officers who worked in the Wellington area. Altogether 19 potential participants were invited to take part in the research, with an end total sample size of 15. The sample was broken into two groups. *Group 1* consisted of 6 participants who had served under 10 years. *Group 2* was comprised of 9 participants who had served 10 years or more. Within these groups, the participants held various ranks and had worked in a variety of areas over the duration of their policing careers. The two groups were selected in order to capture a range of experiences and lengths of service, and therefore shed light on what changes, if any, have occurred in experiences of female police officers.

To elaborate on the characteristics of the participants, commonly cited areas of work included frontline/General Duties and investigation, but also included other areas such as administrative roles, operational support and training. Of the female police officers interviewed, constables comprised just over half the sample and the remaining officers were sergeant or above. Twenty percent of the participants identified as Maori or Pacific Island, however it should be noted that participants were able to select multiple ethnicities. Just under one-quarter were aged under 30 years, with just under half falling in the 30-40 year age bracket and the remainder were over 40 years.

Looking more closely at family arrangements, 67 percent of the participants did not have children, 20 percent had dependent children under 18 years living at home, and 13 percent had adult children. Just under three-quarters of the participants identified as married or living as married and the remainder identified as single, or divorced/separated. Forty percent of participants selected that they had family members in the Police however, there may have been an

assumption that this only included immediate family members currently serving in the Police. In other words, it may not account for partners that may work in the Police or family members who formally worked in the Police. Turning to education, 11 percent had attained tertiary level education and 4 percent had attained secondary level education.

The research project also required accessing data that was not publicly available, for example, statistics on attrition, recruitment and Wellington District data were obtained through my Police Liaison Officer.

Data Collection Procedures

There were two stages to the data collection process, the first was interviewing key informants, and the second was interviewing female police officers. Data collection for the four key informant interviews took place during October 2011. My Police Liaison Officer identified appropriate participants based on my research questions and subsequently made contact with prospective participants to inform them that I would be contacting them. I then emailed the potential participants with an attached "Information Sheet and Invitation to Participate" (see Appendix A) which outlined the purpose of the study and further contact was made to arrange times to meet. Interviews were scheduled at times convenient for the participants and took place at PNHQ. Key informants were briefed on the research before signing a consent form (see Appendix B) and participants were asked questions using a semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix C). However, questions were flexible and dependant on the key informant's area of expertise. Interviews were on average 82 minutes long.

The process of selecting and recruiting female police officers was facilitated by an "insider" (King & Horrocks, 2010) located at Wellington Central Station who was assigned by my Police Liaison Officer. The insider also gained approval from the Wellington Area Commander who was serving at the time. It has been found that having an insider provide active assistance generally leads to a greater response rate with recruitment as opposed to the researcher making initial contact (King & Horrocks, 2010).

The preliminary process involved accessing the district roster system and pulling out names of sworn female officers who were rostered-on over the weeks that I intended to be interviewing. It was decided that potential participants would receive an initial email from the insider. The initial email was sent with an attached “Information Sheet and Invitation to Participate” (see Appendix D) which outlined the purpose of the study. Additionally the email advised them that the research was approved by PNHQ, that their confidentiality would be maintained, and that I would be making contact with them. All further communication was between potential participants and myself. Therefore, the insider no longer had a communicative link and was not aware of how many of the potential participants came forward to take part in the research—thus ensuring the confidentiality of their participation (King & Horrocks, 2010). I then made contact with the participants to reiterate the invitation and to arrange a time to meet.

The interviews took place between March and May 2012, and were on average 79 minutes long. The time and place for the interviews was largely decided upon by the participants. Setting the “interview stage” is important to allow participants to talk freely about their views and experiences (Kvale, 2007). In qualitative interviewing, where the questions and topics are largely, but not solely, led by the researcher, this places the researcher in a position of power (Kvale, 2007). Therefore, in the planning stages, it was decided that to create a comfortable “interview stage” and counter the power imbalance, as well as minimise disruption to their work schedules—the interviews would take place at the police station. While the majority of the interviews took place at the police station, some participants chose to have the interviews take place at other locations such as cafes and the university. While this was outside of their own turf it was still at a location they felt comfortable in. Interviews primarily took place during Police time, in other words while the officer was on shift. However, some chose to meet either before or after their shift, or on their day off.

At the beginning of each interview, I reiterated the purpose of the research and what their role entailed. I then sought permission to record the interviews using a voice recorder, and following this, participants were given the opportunity to ask questions before signing the consent form (see Appendix E). Participants were also asked to complete a demographics form (see Appendix F). I found most

of the women spoke freely about their experiences in the Police, and the semi-structured interview schedule worked well to frame the interview using the four broad headings of: attractions toward policing as a career; gender; police culture; and retention/progression/career aspirations (see Appendix G). The schedule was not a rigid protocol, rather it acted as a guide to remind me of the four overarching headings that needed be covered, while still allowing flexibility to respond to themes that emerged during the interview (King & Horrocks, 2010; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998).

The approach I took during the interviews was that of “qualified naiveté”, where *“the interviewer exhibits openness to new and unexpected phenomena rather than having ready-made categories and schemes of interpretation”* (Kvale, 2007, p. 12). As an outsider to the Police, it was fairly easy for me to play this role, and I found that the women were open to explaining terms to me and elaborating on experiences when probed for further information. Taking this role meant that as the researcher, I endeavoured to set aside my own taken-for-granted perspective of the social world whilst maintaining a critical awareness of my own presuppositions (Kvale, 2007; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). My approach needed to be both curious and sensitive (Kvale, 2007), while empathising with them in order to understand how they interpreted their world (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Although I had no preconceptions of what information I would discover from the interviews and was genuinely curious, I was also conscious that as both an outsider and as a university student, I did not give the impression that I had already preconceived what life as a female police officer was like. At the end of the interview participants were asked if they had any further comments that were relevant to my research, which is an important debriefing aspect of an interview (Kvale, 2007).

Data analysis

As mentioned earlier, this research adopts a CGT methodological approach, which encapsulates the same methodological strategies as GTM but adopts a constructivist epistemology. These strategies include engaging in an iterative process between data collection and analysis, utilising comparative methods; memo writing as part of the iterative process between coding and writing;

constantly comparing between data, codes, memos and categories; coding data for actions using gerunds to move the analysis forward; and theoretical sampling which flows from the iterative approach thus allowing us to gather new data to check hunches or tentative categories (Charmaz & Bryant, 2011; Charmaz, 2011).

Memos were maintained during and after the interview period to record themes, comparisons, and reflections arising out of the interviews—this was useful both during the interview process and at the data analysis stage (Gibbs, 2007; Kvale, 2007). This is an important process as the live interview where tone, facial and body expressions are not always translatable once in transcribed form (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Kvale, 2007). Post-interview reflections allowed me to rethink areas that were not eliciting discussions. For example, my initial questions around police culture tended to be structured ambiguously as I thought this might be—as prefaced in chapter 1—an area of contention given the negativity felt between the Police and the public on this issue. I found being more frank with this topic resulted in better discussions. Moreover, a number of unanticipated issues arose as the interviews progressed. This included issues relating to supervisors, role models, and having children, thus these topics were added to my interview schedule.⁸

I undertook the task of transcribing the interviews, and while being a time consuming task it proved to be a reflective process allowing me to become familiar with the data and essentially begin data analysis by generating themes (Gibbs, 2007). Interviews were transcribed verbatim, however where quotes included spontaneous or repetitive habits of verbal speech such as “ums”, “yeahs”, and where interviewees have stumbled over their words, these have been rendered into a written style. Such verbal habits presented written form can distract the reader from the intentions and viewpoints of the interviewees (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

NVivo qualitative data analysis computer software was used to code the data to assess the nature and frequency of emerging themes. The findings were then discussed in relation to both New Zealand and international literature with a focus on women police officers' experiences of police culture. This revealed the

⁸ Appendix G is the original interview schedule and does not contain areas of inquiry that were added as the interviews progressed.

types of barriers women faced in the workplace, and whether the barriers identified were consistent with both international and New Zealand research.

Limitations

The limitations include the small sample size ($n=15$) and that interviews were limited to female police officers in the Wellington region. This inevitably limited the ability to create generalisable data (Harrell & Bradley, 2009). However, this research adopted a qualitative research design and was focussed on exploring women's subjective experiences. It was not intended to be a representative cross-section of female police officers nor was it aimed at discovering generalisable data. (King & Horrocks, 2010; Kvale, 2007; Silverman, 2010).

Additionally, Wellington contains a higher percentage of female police officers compared to the national percentage. For example, for 2012 the national statistic for female officers was 17.7 percent compared with 23.7 percent in Wellington (see Appendix H). Therefore, there is a higher probability that the women interviewed have worked with, or currently work with, more women than those in other districts. Hence, experiences of women in metropolitan areas such as Wellington may differ somewhat from those stationed in rural areas.⁹

A consequence of the two limitations outlined above is that issues around intersectionality—particularly race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation—could not be explored. While research has concluded that these factors do have an added influence on women's experiences (see for example: Hassell & Brandl, 2009; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Morash & Haarr, 2012) and recruiting different ethnicities is a goal of the Police (Key Informant 1 and 3)—the small sample size has not allowed these factors to be considered without risk of identifying participants.

Participant Codes for Quotations

To ensure the confidentiality of both female police officers and key informants interviewed, participants were assigned codes when quoted in the

⁹ For example, Belknap and Shelley (1992) found women's experiences and perception of their capabilities in comparison to men was different in smaller stations than larger ones.

thesis. Codes for female police officers use the following formula “No.[assigned number]/Group.[group number 1 or 2], for example (No.1/Group.2).¹⁰ Codes for key informant used the following format “Key Informant [assigned number]”, for example (Key Informant 1).

¹⁰ It was decided to exclude specific rank groups in participant codes for quotations due to the small sample size and to comply with PNHQ requirements.

4

Barriers, Contradiction, and Change: An Introduction to the Research Findings

The amount of data obtained from the interviews with female police officers was far greater and richer than anticipated. At the data analysis stage it was realised that attempting to cover all the themes and issues that emerged from the data would be near impossible. It has been with great regret that many issues were left at the drawing board in order to ensure that the issues discussed remained closely tied with the research aims. With this in mind, this chapter examines three key themes that stood out from all the interviews with female police officers to provide an overarching framework to preface the subsequent chapters. Firstly, women viewed their jobs positively and were overwhelmingly optimistic about career opportunities. Secondly, a contradiction emerged in women's worldviews of their job; evidenced in the vast majority believing there were no longer any barriers to women's retention and progression within Police, despite outlining many issues that could be deemed "barriers". Thirdly, the rhetoric of "change" in terms of both the organisation itself and the culture ran through both the interviews with female police officers as well as the key informant interviews.

Women's Views on Being a Police Officer

Job Satisfaction and Helping the Community

I love this job, I think it's the best job in the world, I can't imagine doing anything else.
(No.8/Group.1)

You do it for a reason, you don't do it for the salary, you actually do it for the job satisfaction you get. (No.10/Group.2)

It's definitely a career that I can say that I look back on with fondness. I mean it's taken up well over half my life. (No.2/Group.2)

To provide a foundation in which to analyse women's experiences, it is important to outline that participants' attitudes toward their job was overwhelmingly positive. All the women interviewed expressed how much they enjoyed working for the Police and voiced their job satisfaction unprompted at various points during the interviews, particularly when asked to identify the good aspects of working for the Police, and when questioned about how long they saw themselves remaining in the Police. This is consistent with Police annual workforce surveys for 2010-2012 which found that women are more engaged and more satisfied with their jobs than men (Office of the Auditor-General, 2012). Earlier research also found that female officers' job satisfaction does not differ significantly from their male counterparts (Carlan & McMullan, 2009; Hyman, 2000).

Commonly cited reasons women joined the police included wanting to help people, the idea of giving back to the community, making a difference, the camaraderie, the various opportunities open to them within the same organisation, the variety of work expressed through the rhetoric that "every day is different", the salary and benefits, job security, and the potential for excitement. These reasons echoed those identified in previous research (Belknap, 2007; Schulz, 2004; Van Wormer & Bartollas, 2007).

Women's job satisfaction was primarily tied to the sense of reward they obtained through providing a service to the public and helping the community. This sat at the heart of how they constructed their identities as police officers.

Indeed this was why the majority of them joined the Police, and a factor all participants listed as a positive aspect of the role. This was described in a variety of ways such as: helping the community, being community minded, helping people, “giving back”, and “making a difference”:

You want excitement in a job absolutely, but the reason I want to do it is I like interacting with people, I like getting out there and hopefully making a difference. . . that's rewarding to me. (No.14/Group.2)

You feel like you're giving a service. You do your best to try and help people. You can get quite emotionally involved sometimes, whether you're dealing with a sudden death and you're dealing with family, or whether you're dealing with a rape victim, obviously you've gotta do your best for them to try and help them. . . I think that's quite satisfying, that we can sort of try and make a difference. (No.3/Group.2)

You join to serve the community, you join to provide a service. . . that's what the community expects from you, so you've always got to remember in the back of your head, actually why am I here?, I'm actually here for people out there. (No.5/Group.2)

Furthermore, job satisfaction was expressed through emphasising the “excitement” factor and the variety in day-to-day work:

[W]hat I love about it, is that you can't really get bored doing the same job. . . which is really cool, I mean, not that I've ever had a bad job, but it's just such an exciting job, being a cop, it's cool. (No.14/Group.1)

One particular participant expressed her job satisfaction through how her experiences being a police officer made her reflect on her own life:

Every day is different, and the 'better work stories',¹¹ it's so true. . . being exposed to things that most people would never be exposed to, I think it helps you in your private life a little bit because you deal with some really nasty stuff at work during the day, then you go home and you realise, “don't sweat the small stuff, life is good, you're lucky”. Because you get to see the bad side of life, it makes you appreciate your own life so much more and love your family so much more, and seeing your friends means so much more. (No.12/Group.1)

The above extracts illustrate women's enjoyment and appreciation of the job.

¹¹ “Better Work Stories” was a slogan used in a Police recruitment campaign (New Zealand Police, 2006c).

Interestingly, expressions of job satisfaction arose when discussing negative aspects of policing. For example:

*I'm sure I have had negative experiences but I don't really dwell on them, and the positive experiences that I've had within Police, have **far** outweighed the negative side of it. I've been quite fortunate in that I've landed a dream job. (No.9/Group.2) [emphasis in original]*

Thus, women's overall positive experience masks any negative experiences. However, what became clear in the interviews was that—despite pointing out aspects they saw as negatives of the job—the majority explicitly expressed their “love” for the job. The feeling of reward from being a police officer was fundamental to their dedication and passion for being a police officer.

Dedication to the Job and Career Ambitions

Participants were both dedicated to their job and ambitious about the types of positions they wanted to attain within the Police. The majority had aspired to be a police officer from a young age, with 11 of the 15 participants outlining how they wanted to join the Police since they were either primary or high school age. Many confessed that even then they had an image of the type of police officer they wanted to be, for instance a detective, or a member in a specialist squad. The majority of the women had been engaged in employment in other fields prior to joining the Police, with some having children prior to joining. The fact that the majority of the women wanted to join the Police from a young age contributed to their dedication to a long career in the Police:

I can't see myself working anywhere else. I've always wanted to join the Police, I've done my time in other jobs, and other career paths and they were primarily to get myself ready for the Police, because. . . they told me to bugger off and get some life experience, and I came back and felt I was ready when I joined the Police, that was my time. I will be in the Police for as long as I can be. (No.13/Group.1)

Many entered the Police with ideas of what they wanted to achieve—whether that be specialist groups, further education, or a promotion to a particular rank, with a few revealing aspirations to reach the rank of Inspector. Breaking this down,

Group 1 participants who ranged from under 1 years' service to 10 years' service all had goals of varying degrees about where they saw themselves in the Police. For example, some had specific goals laid out:

I'm hoping to have my Sergeant's exam sat by the end of this year. I'm also wanting to have another baby as well, so that will be something I look at next year. But my ultimate goal, I'm wanting to reach either Senior Sergeant or Inspector. (No.13/Group.1)

In contrast, others set more general goals, *"I guess just to seek promotion at the right time, but nothing too out of the norm, I don't intend to be Commissioner"* (No.8/Group.1). The two youngest serving officers who both had under two years' service had ambitions of joining specialist squads which they knew were traditionally male dominated. Only one participant in *Group 1* said she did not have any career goals, and that was due to her attaining a position she felt satisfied in.

On the other hand, participants in *Group 2* were women with 10 years or more length of service who had all worked in various areas within the Police and some had extensive work histories. While many of the participants in *Group 2* were content with the positions they had worked in and reached, the remainder had clear career goals. In contrast to the types of ambitions held by *Group 1* participants, *Group 2* participants who had career goals indicated an interest in supervisory roles:

I would like to have a go at being a Sergeant on Group, which is the uniform Group. I think it'd be quite a positive job to go into because you're dealing with kids who have just come out of [Police] College and you can turn it into a really positive thing for them, so I'd like to give that a go and I think I would be quite good at it. (No.1/Group.2)

Additionally, they expressed interest in policy-based roles where they would have an input into the organisation itself. For example, *"I want to become an Inspector, a General Duties Inspector. . . so that's where I'm aiming to get up towards that, because I want to be involved in a lot more policy"* (No.10/Group.2).

Moreover, when asked how long they saw themselves remaining in the Police, it was evident that the majority of the participants saw policing as a lifelong career and would happily retire in the Police. Only two out of the 14 women who discussed their thoughts on retirement had a defined number of years which fell

into the range of seven years or less. The remainder said they would do it until they retire from the workforce, or had defined years that were 20 years or more. Their dedication to the job reflects their ambitions they believe they can achieve within the Police, for example: *"... as long as I can still do it, contribute to the job, then I'll stay on, I'm certainly not planning on early retirement because I really enjoy it"* (No.3/Group.2). Another participant expressed, *"It's great, I love it, and I'll do it for the rest of my life easy"* (No.12/Group.1). When asked how long she saw herself staying in the Police, one participant who had served under two years stated *"For the rest of my life, there's no other job that I would go to, so other than having a family and maybe taking a break, I wouldn't leave the organisation"* (No.14/Group.1). The expression of such ambitions reflect women's job satisfaction and dedication to the job.

Perception of Opportunities and Promotion

Closely connected to participants' ambitions are the perceived opportunities for progression and promotion. How women perceive career and promotional opportunities is a key area when looking at the issue of retention and progression. It is important that women feel they have attainable opportunities within the Police in order to retain them within the organisation. There was an overwhelming perception amongst the participants that there were a great deal of career opportunities within the Police. The variety of work and opportunities was consistently identified as a positive aspect of working for the Police. For example, when asked what has encouraged her to remain in the Police, one officer commented:

Everything that made me join in the first place, variety, outside work, and variety in the type of work on a day-to-day basis, and variety in opportunities to promote, transfer. I also like the fact, you could climb the ladder really high and if you didn't like what you saw at the top, you could go back down to where you started. (No.2/Group.2)

Moreover, the participants spoke about the abundance of opportunities in the Police with enthusiasm:

*There's so many opportunities within the Police I think that is one of the biggest things. . . and it's such a stable job as well. . . What you can do in the Police is huge. If you're interested in law you go down prosecution, if you're interested in dogs you can down dog handling, like it's **so** big. That's just what I love about it, is that you can't really get bored doing the same job. (No.14/Group.1) [emphasis in original]*

[E]ven with all the negative stuff I have told you about, it's still a really good job. There's so many different things that you can do. . . if you don't want to be on the frontline, once you've done your time there's 90 different careers, or something crazy like that in Police. (No.4/Group.1)

It's such a diverse job. If you're getting a bit fed up or sick of something, you can try and do something else, because there's a lot of other options to try, it's not like you're just stuck in one field. (No.3/Group.2)

The above extracts create an image of the Police as one where career opportunities are in abundance, and promotion and progression are easily attained. However, while this may be a commonly held view amongst women, this perception is yet to be reflected in female representation in the higher ranks.

Contradiction: Perception of Barriers

In contrast to the positive viewpoints of their job and their career ambitions, the majority of women alluded to barriers to both progression and promotion within the Police. For instance, issues relating to family, specialist groups, police culture, and the organisation itself were often spoken about in a manner which indicated that they saw these factors as inhibiting their ability to achieve their goals, whether that be personal or within the job. It is these types of invisible barriers that are said to create the "glass ceiling" which inhibits women's career progression into senior or leadership roles (Wirth, 2001). Therefore, the informal barriers identified by participants all combine to strengthen the glass ceiling preventing women from achieving their full potential within the Police. What is more interesting is how these limitations were not articulated as "barriers". To elaborate on this, when they were directly asked if they believed there were any barriers left in terms of women's progression, promotion or retention in the last portion of the interview, the majority of the women said "no"

outright, despite having unknowingly identified numerous barriers before and after making this assertion.

Many women spoke about the “old boys club”, or the fact that women who have children will find it difficult to return to work full-time, and some pondered why more women were not in the higher ranks—these are all issues that would be deemed “barriers”, yet were not articulated as such. To provide a more detailed example, police culture was a barrier that was both affirmed and refuted by all participants. For instance, when questioned if there are any bad aspects about policing that she wanted to voice, one participant commented:

Before I joined I thought yeah nah, I reckon I could make an impact, I think I can be quite successful, I'd like to be able to do this squad, and this squad, and this squad. But the general feeling that I get, is that it is still very much a man's world, and that, as much as there are so many women in the Police, I still feel like there's certain squads where if you join, even if you can physically do it, mentally do it, you're still not going to be respected. . I haven't been around long enough, and I haven't attempted to join any squads, but see I would love to be in the [specialist squad name], but I'm put off by the culture. (No.12/Group.1)

However, later when asked if she believed there were any barriers preventing women from progressing in the Police the same officer replied, “*I hope not, not that I can see*” (No.12/Group.1).

Interestingly, one participant spoke about how she had an impression that a specialist squad she was interested in was “macho” and that she felt “funny” trying to get into a role that was male dominated. She also felt that having a family might not work with the job and she was curious to hear from other women how they balanced the two. Later in the interview, when asked if she thought there were any barriers left for women in terms of promotion, progression and retention, she responded:

*No not at all, like seriously, no I **truly** don't think so. I mean I don't know if they'd look any different if you're going for a management role, if you're male or female, I don't think there is. In terms of retention, I think it's just your choice if you want to stay. I think, like I said there's just **so** many avenues in the Police, like so many to pick that I don't think they'd ever worry about losing females particularly, unless you got bored, I guess or going in motherhood. (No14/Group.1) [emphasis in original]*

This illustrates the contradiction and ambiguity in women's responses. The

examples above both illuminate the masculinist culture, perceived or otherwise, as a barrier to women's aspirations of gaining positions on specialist squads within the Police. Yet when asked directly if they thought any barriers still existed they believed there were none. Hence, the entrenched perception of policing as inherently male dominated, with an emphasis on physical strength, serves to inhibit women's ambitions. It instils the idea that women may not be suitable for the job, and therefore will not fit in. Indeed Hyman's (2000) report into women in the CIB found that women's views were often inconsistent and contradictory. Hyman (2000) also found that some women believed there were no barriers to women's recruitment or advancement, thus echoing the current research but with the interesting factor that Hyman's report is now more than 12 years old.

Therefore, the contradiction and ambiguity in the interviewees' responses cannot be dismissed as communication confusion, but rather as shedding light on the contradictions and inconsistencies about their work environment as they try to make sense of it. Indeed, contradictions in recounting experiences and viewpoints are a reflection of their subjective worldview (Kvale, 2007). Furthermore, this poses an interesting dilemma for the Police—if they want to see women progress to the upper echelons of the Police and essentially break through the glass ceiling, identifying factors that are inhibiting this progression will be hard to detect if women are merely asked if they believe barriers exist. It was evident from the previous section that looked at job satisfaction that this was in and of itself, a factor that women used to balance out negative aspects of the job.

Policing at a Crossroads: The Rhetoric of "Change" versus Reality

The Police is currently at a crossroads. As the Police are attempting to address speedily the recommendations arising out of the 2007 COI report (Bazley, 2007) and its subsequent reviews to amend the public image of the organisation, this leads to an interesting dilemma. The Police has been driving home a new message through such new mechanisms as the Code of Conduct (New Zealand Police, 2008b) and various equity and diversity policies, and the rhetoric of such changes has evidently become entrenched within the women officers that were

interviewed. However, it appears that there is a disjunction between the rhetoric of “change” and changes in practice.

The idea that the Police has changed or was in a process of change appeared to be the overarching theme in all the key informant interviews, and the majority of the female police officer interviews. Changes within the Police were predominantly attributed to perceived changes in the police culture. The perception of “change” helps to explain the contradictory and inconsistent worldviews of women police officers. For instance, the participants rarely spoke negatively about the Police as an organisation and indeed, the majority spoke positively about the organisation as a whole and how much it had changed since they first started—this was despite contradictory talk that revealed crucial barriers to improving the status of women in policing.

Turning to the viewpoints of the key informants, a central theme arising from the informant interviews was the argument of “perceptions” versus “reality”. For example, when asked what could be done to lower attrition rates, one key informant offered:

[I]nstead of promoting the fact that there are a lot of career opportunities we actually need to get females into those positions, and what I mean by “get” I’m not meaning by giving them favourable treatment or anything like that, but removing those barriers that are there, whether it’s perceptions, whether or not it’s reality, and those are the things we’re going to aim to find out. (Key informant 1)

In some cases, the level of optimism reached a point of masking barriers by referring to them as merely “perceptions” and not the “reality”. For example, both the present research and previous New Zealand research and reports (Hyman, 2000; Office of the Auditor-General, 2012; Scott, 2001; Waugh, 1994) found that women hold the belief that the “old boys club” mentality is still present and this has a negative effect on women’s working environment. When discussing why women have the perspective that promotion is an “old boys club”, one key informant responded:

Sometimes it isn’t the reality, and things move on and people don’t realise it’s moved on, so it’s almost the perception, that’s how it was (pause) and honestly I still think, when

you've only got 17.8 percent women, the majority of talk at the tearoom is still the rugby, and the fishing. But that is changing. (Key Informant 3)

Additionally, when discussing why women are not progressing to the higher ranks, another key informant replied:

The fact that there are not those types of women at those levels, there could still be those perceptions that it's still a boys club and that either might put them off. A lot of this stuff is around perception; it doesn't necessary mean it's reality. (Key Informant 4)

This exemplifies just how powerful the rhetoric of change is at all levels within the Police. Perceptions of change appeared stronger as you move from those at PNHQ to the coalface of policing. Those working at PNHQ had a more emphasised attitude of positive change, with this becoming more clouded with contradiction when moving toward the views of female police officers. Thus, the difference between actual changes and the perception of changes of female police officers does not accurately reflect the sentiments as expressed by key informants.

The Police currently face a tension between the perceived “old” culture and the belief in a new “changed” culture. How “change” has manifested in the work environment is an issue that can only be determined by experiences of police officers who are amongst the culture. Indeed, the current research found that women’s concrete experiences did identify a number of barriers. Irrespective of whether some may deem these barriers as “perceived” and not the “reality”, they do negatively affect women’s experiences within the Police. This is consistent with Waugh’s (1994) argument that barriers within the Police are structural and behavioural, rather than psychological or merely a perception. Thus an interesting question arises, is the rhetoric of “change” merely paying lip service to such changes? How much of an impact are these changes having on actually changing the viewpoints of police officers? The Police have taken positive steps since the release of the COI to change the behaviour and culture of the organisation. However, recent reviews of the COI ultimately concluded that changes and progress in relation to the recommendations arising out of COI have reached a plateau (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010) and results have been mixed (Office of the Auditor-General, 2012).

While it is evident that both frontline and PNHQ staff have adopted the belief that such changes have, for the most part, taken place—whether these have resulted in real changes is in doubt. As the chapters of this research progress, it will become evident that while all the women interviewed adopted the rhetoric of change themselves, their experiences indicated that there are still barriers preventing women from succeeding and reaching their full potential in the Police.

A Preface to the Following Chapters

The overarching themes of women's job satisfaction and positive career outlook, the often-contradictory worldview women have of policing, and the rhetoric of "change"—create an important framework in which to interpret the barriers that will now be discussed in the subsequent chapters. It is acknowledged that many of the barriers women experience within the police are intertwined and have causal effects on each other. However, for the sake of making pertinent issues salient, arbitrary lines have been drawn to carve out five primary barriers which have been identified from the literature and which emerged from the interviews with women police officers themselves. Thus, the following chapters separate the barriers into the following categories: the tension between the emphasis on physical skills and women's essential nature (chapter 5), police camaraderie and the masculinist culture (chapter 6), women's experiences and responses to sexual harassment (chapter 7), women's minority status (chapter 8), and the tension between motherhood and policing (chapter 9). As will become evident, these barriers not only overlap but are intrinsically connected to the prevailing features of police culture. Thus, this research will clarify the affect police culture has on women police officers' experiences within the organisation.

5

Balancing the Inner Cowboy: The Tension between Physical Skills and Women's Essential Nature

You do have to have that cowboy in you to join the Police, cos you just couldn't cope otherwise. Because it's the kind of job, you know you're out late, you're working hard, it's wet and it's raining, people are spitting at you, or trying to kick you or bite you. So you have to have that cowboy so you can cope with that. But on the other hand, women have got a bit more of that empathy to others that tends to glue the cowboys together.
—No.7/Group.1

This chapter addresses the tension between the stereotype of the “crime fighting” police officer which emphasises physical skills and strength, and the construction of women police officers which emphasises communication skills. Women have historically been relegated to the roles of carer and nurturer and thus to the realm of “social service”. This was evident when they served as matrons and searchers and these perceptions continued when women formally became police officers (Belknap, 2007; Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Heidensohn, 1992; Hill, M., 1986; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Martin, 1980; McMorran, 1983; Miller, 1999; Schulz, 2004). The popular profile of the female police officer tends to depict a set of traits that have persisted since the earliest research on women police officers; these traits emphasise the humanistic and empathetic role women play in policing (Garcia, 2003; Miller, 1999; Rabe-Hemp, 2009). This image is in stark contrast to the popular construction of the police officer as physically capable and in pursuit of “real police work” which inevitably involves danger and excitement (Bittner, 1979;

Fielding & Fielding, 1992; Fielding, 1988; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Loftus, 2009; Smith & Gray, 1985; Waddington, 1999; Westmarland, 2001).

Research has identified the complexities and nuances in how female police officers construct their identities—in particular, how they negotiate gender and the occupational role (Chan et al., 2010; Garcia, 2003; Morash & Haarr, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2009). How women perceive the necessity of physical capabilities and how they see themselves fitting in within this dominant image helps to explain how women construct their identity within the Police. This chapter will explore how women police officers construct their identity by examining how women describe themselves; their beliefs about what women bring to the job; and the perceived differences in skill sets between males and females. This will demonstrate how women actively and simultaneously resist and conform to gender role expectations, and how they negotiate gender within the dominant masculine culture.

The Cowboy Image: Emphasis on Physical Skills and Excitement

The image of policing as primarily dependent on the physical prowess of police officers has long been a feature of the cop culture (Fielding & Fielding, 1992; Reiner, 2000). Police officers are indoctrinated with this image not only through exaggerated representations of policing in the media, but also from the outset at the recruitment and training stages (Felson, 1994; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Martin, 1980). While it can be accepted that police officers should maintain a level of physical fitness due to the types of incidents that may arise, it is also this stereotype that continues to misrepresent the function of the police officer as the “crime fighter” in pursuit of “real crime” (Bittner, 1979; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Loftus, 2009; Martin, 1980; Waddington, 1999). Although the importance of communication skills has become salient with the increased prominence of community policing, it is still associated with the “social work” image (Miller, 1999). Thus, communication skills are subordinated and “feminised”. The emphasis on physical strength was indeed reinforced by the women police officers interviewed who spoke about their ability and willingness to fight, as well as drawing on the exciting aspects of policing.

Ability and Willingness to Fight

Around half the participants emphasised willingness and ability to fight as an aspect of being in the Police. Ability to fight came up when discussing necessary traits needed to be a good officer and when comparing male and female skills sets. Examples given tended to reiterate the action side of policing. For instance, one participant recalled the days before equipment such as Tasers:

[Y]ou got involved in punch-ups and you rolled around on the ground and punched people, as they punched you back. I've been punched in the face and knocked out a number of times, so physicality makes a difference in the respect of that, and I'm not saying people need to be big man mountains but they certainly don't need to be any smaller than what we're getting, because it is a tough job out there. If everything fails, if your weapon, your Taser doesn't work and your spray doesn't work, you're gonna have to fight that person, and you need to be big enough and strong enough and able to do that, and you know, I've been flung on bonnets and everything. (No.2/Group.2)

Thus, while recognising the differences in physicality compared to men, she also stressed the fact that she can and has fought with offenders. This supports research which has established that “war stories” and battle scars are ways an officer can prove their capabilities and legitimacy as a police officer (Loftus, 2009; Smith & Gray, 1985; Waddington, 1999). Research has found that the ability to fight is important in proving an officer's ability to back their partner in potentially hostile and violent situations (Fielding & Fielding, 1992; Smith & Gray, 1985). Therefore, women's willingness to fight is a way women can compensate for their perceived lack of physical size, and ensure their partner feels safe working alongside them.

Snap! Baddie You're Gone!: Emphasis on Excitement and Action

The majority of women emphasised excitement and action, this predominantly arose when discussing good aspects of working for Police or as a reason that has encouraged them to stay in Police. Descriptions were primarily

based on the types of incidents they had attended and the “no two days are the same” nature of the job:

I like a bit of excitement. Driving the cars and the dealing with the conflict and all that sort of stuff, I like. I prefer to run towards risk than run away from it. (No.12/Group.1)

[L]ots of variety in respect of a day-to-day job you're going to do, so you never know what you're going to turn up to. You could have a quiet day all day or a really frantic busy day. . . so it's never mainstream. (No.2/Group.2)

[Y]ou know racing around in a police car that's going really fast to jobs is cool fun, and most cops love adrenaline, my job is adrenaline filled. (No.6/Group.2)

Additionally, there was an emphasis on making arrests and locking up offenders. These stories were told in order to express not only the exciting aspects of policing but also how they found the job rewarding. For example:

[Y]ou're working night shift or something and you catch someone breaking into cars or, dealing drugs or something, it's just fun, it's just, "snap! Baddie you're gone!" You know I remember one job we saw these—I don't know what it was about them now—well they just looked obviously dodgy. We pulled them over and they had balaclavas, knives taped to their forearms, stab proof vests, all sorts of things. They were getting geared up to do something, we couldn't figure out what it was (both laugh) but it was just like, "we know you're doing something". It was just like "you're caught! We caught ya!" before it happened, and that was awesome. It was good you know, preventing something from going down is really good. (No.1/Group.2)

“Catching baddies” was often an aspect that many women expected prior to entering the Police. Earlier research has established that this belief forms part of the accepted image of policing (Bittner, 1979; Loftus, 2009; Smith & Gray, 1985). It was very much a part of the identity of many females, *“I'm still a frontline cop going to bloody jobs and, locking up bad guys”* (No.6/Group.2). Additionally, one officer in describing her initial expectations of the job commented, *“. . . excitement, long hours, shift work, and helping people and whether that was catching burglars, cos that was what I really wanted to do was catch burglars”* (No.2/Group.2). These extracts demonstrate how women adopt the traditional excitement and action oriented aspects of policing.

The Realities of Police Work

The construction of the “crime fighter” image often distracts from the realities of police work and excludes the more commonly attended incidents such as domestic violence and neighbour disputes which are seen as more “social work” rather than “real police work” (Felson, 1994; Loftus, 2009, 2010; Smith & Gray, 1985; Waddington, 1999). While participants did reinforce the physical and action oriented aspects of policing, some did discuss the realities of police work. For example, one officer speaking about her initial expectations working on the street explained:

I thought it was going to be probably quite physically compromising, I used to lose quite a lot of sleep before I went to [Police] College, worried about being in back allies as a reasonably small female and what I was going to do. . . but it didn't end up being like that at all, in fact completely the opposite. . . I guess my impression of, frontline policing was more physical than intellectual. . . which was incredibly arrogant really in retrospect. It was completely the opposite in every regard, it wasn't scary, I didn't get myself into physical situations in which I was scared. (No.8/Group.1)

Furthermore, when one participant was questioned whether the exciting aspect was something she experienced every day, she responded:

No (laughs), not at all, sometimes you're at a scene or at a job for half of the day and it won't be exciting at all, and then you've got to go back to the station and do paper work for the next half of the day. (No.12/Group.1)

The realities of policing—such as paperwork and attending similar incidents—is in stark contrast to previous comments emphasising excitement and variety:

I'm not too sure if they really are clear enough on what a police officer does. It's advertised, or it used to be advertised where you know, “this job is really exciting we're always on the street, fast cars”. All those cool ads that you see but we spend more time doing paperwork sometimes than being out there on the street, and they don't advertise that. . . For every job that gets called in, is a piece of paperwork or a file. (No.4/Group.1)

Thus, the image of the excitement and crime fighting work 24 hours a day begins to break down. The more mundane side of policing is at odds with the image of the “crime fighter” and fast-paced nature of policing.

Balancing the Cowboy Image: (Re)Constructing the Female Police Officer

The following section will illustrate how women reinforce their alignment with the dominant culture while resisting traditionally feminine traits. Simultaneously women “do gender” by acknowledging their physical shortcomings and by locating themselves within a new framework which places importance on the ability to communicate to balance the “cowboy gruffness” that men are seen to inherently bring to the job.

Describing the Self: What to Be and What Not to Be

Women offered descriptions of themselves unprompted at various points throughout the interviews. It became clear that descriptions of the self arose out of their personal experiences of the job and these descriptions identified traits deemed important to survive and be successful in the Police. Participants described themselves as having a strong personality, being opinionated, outgoing, strong minded, and being fitness oriented. The attributes seen as important for a police officer to possess were consistent across the women, and mirroring previous New Zealand research (Hyman, 2000; PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010; Scott, 2001), these traits emphasised being assertive and having a “thick skin” both on the job and within the work environment. In contrast to the traits that women identified as necessary to succeed in the job, and consequently were traits they attributed to themselves, women were also quick to point out female characteristics incompatible with policing. Undesirable traits included being “sensitive”, “precious”, hesitant, taking comments and jokes personally, being “fragile” and weak both physically and emotionally. For example:

You can't be hesitant or fragile, physically or emotionally. You've got to be reasonably robust, you can't be sensitive, so I guess that would rule out a number of females (pause) and males, but mainly females you know because we are more, sensitive generally.
(No.8/Group.1)

The idea of being sensitive conflicted with the dominant culture. More specifically, it was seen as contrary to being a “good sport” and being able to “give it back”:

If you're going to take everything to heart in this job you'll be a wreck. . . I mean cops have a real sick sense of humour. That's the way they deal with things, and they do take the piss out of each other a fair bit, but you've got to take it in the sense that it's meant. But that probably goes back to my point about, you give it back. (No.3/Group.2)

These extracts illustrate the assertive armour women wear to cope with the job.¹² Furthermore, by identifying feminine traits they deemed undesirable women are able to effectively attribute desirable traits to themselves and “fit in” within the dominant culture.

Acknowledging Women's Physical Shortcomings

Despite participants identifying physical skills as a necessary part of the job, they were acutely aware of their own physical limitations. Discussions around physical skills were generally connected to women's perceived lack of physical size and strength, or distinguishing between roles more suited to men. This was particularly evident in exaggerated examples of how women were physically inferior. For example, when talking about how there are some extremely strong offenders that police officers must deal with, one participant explained:

*There's some really strong males, especially if they're fuelled on P,¹³ and if it takes five **male** constables to hold him down, they're just going to brush a female off like a fly, you know what I mean? And you know as sexist as that sounds, that's the reality. I'm not going to sugar coat it. (No.13/Group.1) [emphasis in original]*

The provided example illustrates how women's perceived physical inferiority is often expressed through a flawed argument. If it takes five men to hold down one male offender, then that offender is likely to easily overcome any individual officer, whether male or female. Yet spoken in a matter of fact manner “that's the reality” and “I'm not going to sugar coat it”—these perceptions make salient both

¹² How women deal with the “black humour” in the Police will be addressed in chapter 6.

¹³ “P” is a common slang term for Methamphetamine in New Zealand.

essentialist beliefs in women's capabilities as being inferior to men and the emphasis on exciting and physical aspects of policing.

The physical skills aspect is often tied to the image of police officers attending violent and volatile incidents (Bittner, 1979; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Martin, 1980; Smith & Gray, 1985). Moreover, research examining women's perspectives on working with other women have illustrated the importance placed on physical strength which in turn perpetuates the stereotype that women are less physically capable and thus pose a safety threat to other officers when attending incidents (Chan et al., 2010; Fielding, 1988; Martin, 1980; Rabe-Hemp, 2009). This viewpoint was adopted by many women interviewed, for example:

When I go to a fight I'd much rather have a male colleague with me than a female colleague, absolutely, it's a no brainer. Cos the big thing, you might be going to a fight or an assault, someone with a weapon and your closest back-up is five minutes away, so you've got to rely 100 percent with the person that you're with so they need to feel safe with you, that's a big thing as a police officer. You need to go to a job being safe, feeling safe with your colleagues. (No.6/Group.2)

However, one participant stated that she did not think it should be a problem pairing two females together to attend jobs. When probed further about how she would feel attending a gang situation if she was paired with another female, she replied:

If I was going into a gang thing I would want as many cops there as I could. I mean, I guess it's always nice to have a guy there whose six foot five, that's built like a brick shithouse, but I'm quite tall and reasonably solid for a girl myself so a lot of the guys I work with are shorter than me, and half of them probably aren't as fit as me, so what difference would it make, you know? They might be able to throw their weight around a bit more, but I think if they're six foot five and built like Arnold Schwarzenegger then yes, sweet as, I'd stand behind him. (No.11/Group.2)

The same participant further explained:

[Y]ou might have more than one female on your Group, but they'll never put the females to work together. I mean they talk about the safety issues but sometimes it's quite nice to work with another girl occasionally. It wasn't a rule that you couldn't do that, but just some bosses didn't like to put two girls together, probably for physical reasons and that sort of stuff. But then it never really washed with me because I think that if you're going to a job, whether you're male or female, it mostly has to do with your. . . ability to

communicate rather than your physical ability, and if it is something that is going to rely on physical ability then you're going to need more than two cops there anyway.
(No.11/Group.2)

This reflects how the entrenched view of police work as predominantly physical downplays the importance of communication skills, which is inherently subsumed within the less favoured “social work” image of policing.

Participants who had been partnered with a female generally reflected positively on the experience. A few participants who had not been paired with a female before said they would like to be paired with another female. These tended to be participants who expressed a desire for more female interaction. Only two officers explicitly stated they preferred to work with men and did not want be partnered with a woman. However, the examples provided by those participants did not indicate their safety had been at risk but rather that the women they had been partnered with possessed stereotypical feminine traits. Nevertheless, women generally spoke positively about other women in the Police, and it became evident that participants’ interactions with other females were limited due to the low representation of women.

Women’s Essential Nature: Emphasis on Communication Skills

The perspective tended to be that women contributed skills to the job, but their natural state of carer and nurturer was not entirely suitable for policing. They needed a bit of “the gruff cowboy” in them to cope with the job. Despite rejecting certain female traits, all females identified communication skills as crucial to being a successful police officer, and many identified this as something women specifically brought to the job. This is consistent with previous research which found women “do gender” by acknowledging the differences between male and female officers—particularly physical strength and size—therefore justifying differential treatment (Chan et al., 2003, 2010; Martin, 1980; Morash & Haarr, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Discussions around women’s communications skills were generally connected to women’s lack of physical strength:

I think that we talk more, we have to talk people down more because we're at a disadvantage because of our size and our strength. So to me I can generally calm someone down by using my mouth as opposed to, one of the guys mightn't need to placate the person as much to get them to turn around and put the handcuffs on, they might just be able to just physically do it themselves. Whereas I have limitations because I'm not as strong as a man. (No.6/Group.2)

I know the theory is they should be able to do the same job. Women work differently, they speak a bit more and use the gift of the gab rather than use strength when they fight. They might try and negotiate a bit more, guys tend to go in a bit more rip shit and bust. (No.3/Group.2)

Accordingly, it was accepted by all participants that communication skills was a positive characteristic women brought to policing. Conversely, men were seen to contribute positively by fulfilling the physical expectations of the role:

I think at the end of the day having both sexes do all the roles is really important, certainly frontline policing, women just have better communication skills, but you still need the guys for some of the brute strength that we just don't have as women. A lot of time we can calm situations down a lot more, but the times when a big scrap does happen, while most of the women I know, we all get stuck in, it's nice to know that there's somebody there with a little bit extra. (No.10/Group.2)

As the above quote indicates, exaggerated examples such as the “big scrap” were drawn on to explain how they would utilise their communication skills in situations where their male colleagues would rely on their physical strength:

[W]hen someone is under arrest, you have to touch them, and maybe put the cuffs on them—you're under arrest and put them in the car sort of thing—say it's a great big Samoan guy or something with wrists this big (hand gesture). Whereas me, I could try doing that, but if he's going to throw a fist or something you're going to lose. So it's just using the communication skills, you can resolve it that way. (No.1/Group.2)

Women not only spoke about their lack of physical strength but also their physical size in comparison to male officers. This shortcoming was again, counterbalanced with women's communication abilities. For example, one officer spoke about a male relative who had jokingly told her “you could break in a second” in reference to her small stature prior to her joining the Police. She went on to say:

I was like “oh maybe I’m too little to do it”, but then I looked around and there were littler females than me, there’s little frail ones that I think are going to break any minute. It’s not about that, cos the biggest tool we have is just your mouth, and that’s the thing with a female, we can talk our way out of situations a lot better than males. So don’t ever think your stature or anything’s going to stop you. (No.14/Group.1)

While traits perceived as “feminine” were resisted such as being “sensitive” or “precious”, other traditionally female characteristics were emphasised. In particular, women were seen as contributing a nurturing and caring side to policing. However, these “feminine” traits needed to be mediated by more masculine features:

For females all you need is to be confident and have the passion to do it, and have that little bit of cockiness just to make sure you stand up for yourself. But naturally I reckon females just have that caring side, we already have that, you don’t need to have that to be a female officer, but you need to have your strong side. You need to be tough when you need to be. (No.14/Group.1)

[W]omen are pretty good at communicating, and they do have that more of a sense of a type of emotional side, which can help calm down a situation. . . We’re not better, we’re just different. (No.12/Group.1)

The above extracts illustrate how, in describing perceived “differences” between female and male officers, women attempted to strike a balance between women’s perceived “natural” abilities and the “gruff cowboy” prowess needed on the job. Thus, consistent with previous research, women actively “do gender” in order to reconcile their gender role with their occupational role (Chan et al., 2010; Garcia, 2003; Martin, 1980; Morash & Haarr, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2009).

Summary

This chapter examined how the emphasis on physical skills works to maintain an image of policing as one predicated on physical strength and consequently perpetuates an image, which is inherently masculine. Physical strength is considered the most important attribute of being a police officer, this serves to perpetuate the traditional “crime fighter” image of the police officer who is male, strong, and in pursuit of “real” crime (Bittner, 1979; Reiner, 2000;

Waddington, 1999). Previous research has identified women's perceived lack of physical capabilities as the core reason for men's reluctance to accept women as police officers (Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Heidensohn, 1992; Loftus, 2009; Miller, 1999; Smith & Gray, 1985; Young, 1991). Societal expectations regarding biological differences of women and men has imposed a model of appropriate "feminine" behaviour which conflicts with the expectations of police officers (Martin, 1980). This view tends to be exacerbated when associated with the potential to confront violent and dangerous situations (Fielding & Fielding, 1992). Thus the expectations of the occupational role are in direct opposition to the "natural" feminine norms which have been rejected by the traditional masculine structure of policing in order to preserve the "crime fighter" image (Miller, 1999). Women resolve this conflict by accepting their subordinate position in relation to men and by engaging in work which emphasises providing services and nurturance to others (Garcia, 2003; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Martin, 1980).

All the women interviewed stressed a belief in the necessity of physical strength while resisting feminine stereotypes, thus aligning themselves with the dominant masculine image in order to be seen as legitimate police officers. By doing so they effectively distance themselves from characteristics that are seen as inherently feminine, this is achieved through stressing factors such as their ability and willingness to fight, and their attitude towards catching "baddies". However, women were quick to acknowledge their perceived physical shortcomings in comparison to their male counterparts, and therefore qualified their physical skills with their communication skills, which they believed women brought specifically to the job.

Therefore women "do gender" by emphasising essentialist ideas regarding gender—with men contributing the physical prowess and aggressiveness needed in dangerous and violent situations, while women contribute their verbal abilities which are seen as calming and nurturing—thus balancing their "inner cowboy" and their "cowboy" counterparts. Through this process women were also "redoing gender" when they actively constructed a new image of the female police officer that is compatible with modern day policing. The construction of this identity allows women to be accepted as police officers as they fulfil a perceived necessary role as "social worker", while sitting outside of the dominant accepted image of the

police officer, which is inherently masculine and male. The reconstruction of the modern day “policewomen” as assertive, strong minded, hard working, and possessing advanced communication skills is a companion image to the accepted masculine, male, “cowboy” image. This idea is rooted in women’s construction of the ideal police officer, who is individual and personality based rather than being distinctly “male” or “female”.

6

One of the Boys: Police Camaraderie and the Cult of Masculinity

This might sound a little bit contradictory to what I've been saying, but I think that whole thing where you did feel that you had to be a little bit tougher, and I'm sure most of that is just a self thing that we did. . . it was definitely across the board with females because we're all sort of the same. I think that because you did that it wasn't just a front, I think you absorbed some of that and I think that it did actually change your personality and made you a bit of a harder person. . . I don't think that's a good thing. I'm not happy with that change. But it's not something that I noticed until it was too late.

—No.8/Group.1

It is well established that police culture is one of the main barriers women face in the police, yet research has also found that women sustain the culture by adopting its values (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Chan et al., 2003; Heidensohn, 1992; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Martin, 1980; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Rowe, 2008; Silvestri, 2003; Westmarland, 2001). Thus they essentially become “one of the boys” (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Heidensohn, 1992; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Martin, 1980; Silvestri, 2003). How women experience the culture provides an insight into how they see and understand their world (Skolnick, 1966). Participants' views are examined in light of how they experience police culture and how this works to sustain both the camaraderie and the masculinist culture. Following this, how the camaraderie is maintained will be explored by examining the canteen culture. The final section will discuss how police officers defend the police culture and in turn reinforce it.

Police Camaraderie

I like the strong family environment of the Police. It's very much a second family and very supportive. I think it's a very positive culture in respect of how Police work together, and I think that's what's kept me here so long. (No.10/Group.2)

The police culture on our Section is that you look after your mates, that none of us finish work until everyone is finished. . . So if one of the guy's got a late arrest and stuff like that, we all stay to help out. A big part of the culture in the Police is team work, it's looking after your mates, it's working hard. There's so many positive things about the police culture. (No.6/Group.2)

All the female police officers cited the police camaraderie as a positive aspect of working for the Police, and this was a primary reason motivating women to remain in the job. As the above quotes indicate, the camaraderie generally refers to the family and team environment felt amongst colleagues, as well as the life-long friends gained as a result. This bond was primarily amongst those within the same Group or Section. Research has long established that the nature of the job has particular importance in strengthening the camaraderie amongst frontline officers, due to its affinity to working as part of a team (Reiner, 2000; Skolnick, 1966, 1975; Smith & Gray, 1985). This is consistent with the current study where the majority of discussions were in relation to women's experiences working on the frontline. Working as part of a team inherently implies characteristics such as loyalty, hard work, trust and feelings of safety amongst its members. Priority was placed on an officer's ability to back up their partner and ensure their partner felt safe working alongside them:

That bond that you have with your colleagues is very strong, which you need. If things turn ugly, then these are the officers that are going to be there to have your back, so that bond between everyone in your Group, it's just like another family. (No.13/Group.1)

[Y]ou rely on the people that you work with for your safety. I think that there's a lot of working together and an appreciation of the people that you work with for that reason. Because if the shit hits the fan, they're the people who are going to get you out of it, and I think that's a really nice aspect, and I know that a lot of people who leave the job miss that side of things. (No.8/Group.1)

[Y]ou'll actually do and see things with them that you wouldn't in any other job so you do become quite close with people. It is very much a team cos you know, two o'clock in the morning you're facing off with some gang members, and they're the only ones that are

there to assist you. So that's where that loyalty comes into it and that camaraderie.
(No.5/Group.2)

The camaraderie is also characterised by an underlying dedication to the job, this was emphasised in participants' descriptions of their perseverance and achievements in Police—and was thus considered necessary to be successful. Hard work and dedication includes not giving up on the job, not letting the job get to you physically or mentally, working overtime, and not finishing work until everyone in your Group finishes. For example, one participant described her colleagues who had to stay and work close to 24 hours on a case:

[T]hese people don't go "oh well I've done my eight hours so I'm going home now" or "my 10 hours" or whatever. People could just say "well no that's what I'm paid for, I'm out the door". But it's that pride in your own work. (No.10/Group.2)

Being a dedicated and hard worker helps officers gain respect amongst members of their Group and in turn reinforces the team solidarity. Indeed, the camaraderie was seen as the foundation for team work—team work in turn serves the purpose of enhancing trust and feelings of safety when officers are on the job—this is important due to the construction of policing as predominantly dealing with violent and volatile situations. These factors all combine together to create a culture that has been resistant, or at least, slow to change. The tight interweaving of these important factors not only reinforces Reiner's (2000) core cop features but also illustrates how women subscribe to the culture.

The Cult of Masculinity

Policing has historically been a male dominated institution which has been resistant to change (Fielding, 1994). The combination of a set of male dominated attitudes and values upheld within the policing amounts to a "cult of masculinity" which is said to be one of the major barriers female police officers face (Silvestri, 2003; Smith & Gray, 1985). Smith and Gray (1985) outline that the cult of masculinity is sustained through several factors. This includes the emphasis on physical prowess; the construction of policing as dangerous; the strong masculine solidarity; the priority on backing up other male group members particularly

when there have been allegations of wrongdoing; and drinking as a means of proving masculinity and enhancing solidarity.

Off-Duty Socialising: The Drinking Culture and Jug Sessions

To gain a greater understanding of how police culture operates, it is important to examine how the camaraderie is established and reinforced—this can be attributed not only to the nature of the job but also to the off-duty socialisation (Smith & Gray, 1985; Waddington, 1999). Off-duty socialising of frontline officers primarily occurred between members of the same Group due to the shift work nature of frontline policing. Officers in the same Group work the same days and hours, and consequently have the same days off. Previous research has established that off-duty socialising is seen as an important way of reinforcing the team bond and testing members' masculinity and loyalty. This in turn translates onto the streets when officers are working alongside their colleagues (Reiner, 2000; Smith & Gray, 1985; Waddington, 1999).

Team bonding via socialising was often spoken about by participants in terms of the drinking culture. For instance:

Out having a few drinks you can talk to people freely. . . get to know each other a lot better and then you're back at work, that bond is a lot closer. So you know you're always going to have your brother's back, or your sister's back. (No.13/Group.1)

The Police has long been associated with a strong drinking culture, and this association has garnered a largely negative perception from the public (Bazley, 2007; Rowe, 2009). The majority of women spoke about how this has changed since they first joined. However, as participants pointed out, the drinking culture is primarily concentrated within frontline officers. Thus, longer serving participants (*Group 2*) or those no longer working frontline were only able to speak from their perception of the culture, rather than current concrete experiences. Participants with shorter lengths of service (*Group 1*) generally spoke positively about the drinking culture—but again those that did describe past negative experiences also spoke about how the culture has changed. Additionally, as the socialising is

generally amongst police officers' immediate work Group, the culture can vary across different Groups and districts.

"Jug sessions" (also described as "court sessions" and "bloopers") were a feature of the drinking culture that consistently arose. These primarily occurred amongst constables within their Group and were used as initiation rituals and for general team bonding. The majority of participants described it as fun, a way to laugh at yourself, a way to debrief, and as a way to bond with your team. Jug sessions involve putting all the amusing or stupid mistakes officers in a Group have done into a "jug box", these are then pulled out and read aloud much like a "court session", and the person whose story is being read aloud then has to drink:

They have what we call jug sessions, so we have a jug box and you put in funny things that people have done and then you read them out, maybe once every six months and then everyone has a laugh, and if you get jugged, for something silly, then you have to scull your drink. (No.14/Group.1)

Many officers saw the benefits of being able to drink with your colleagues. In particular, drinking was seen as a way for fellow officers to talk, cope and deal with the nature of their job. This supports previous research which found that officers hold the belief that people outside policing will not understand what police officers deal with, and in turn officers rely on each other to vent and "debrief" what they see and do on the job (Smith & Gray, 1985; Waddington, 1999). Indeed, a few participants spoke of how experiences on the job were seen as something you keep within the Group and not take home to your family. Thus these findings mirror Reiner's (2000) analysis which asserts that off-duty socialising strengthens the internal solidarity while at the same time increasing isolation between police officers and the outside world, including their family as well as the general public—in turn enhancing the "us" and "them" mentality.

The majority of participants spoke about the expectation to drink and participate in jug sessions, but were quick to adopt the "change" rhetoric. The expectation to drink is seen as an integral part of team bonding and working cohesively as a team. For example, one officer described the perceived "old culture":

[I]t's the old, we all drink together and get pissed together. . . So there was the peer pressure then, you didn't come along and decide you didn't want to get drunk tonight. . . you came and drank. . . that was part of the culture, is the jug session, everyone went, you couldn't not. You couldn't say "oh no I'm going out to dinner with a partner", "no no no no no, you're going to jug session". Because that was always seen as being an important part of the team building. (No.6/Group.2)

Thus, women felt that they would be letting the team down if they did not partake. Moreover, the pressure to drink was also seen as a way to be "one of the boys":

[W]hen I joined they were reasonably intense sort of functions, and I think probably then you would also feel the pressure to have that kind of tough facade, you had to be able to hold your liquor and drink a lot. . . but I think for females. . . you are putting up that front, and I think you probably do put it up in social situations, well certainly jug sessions. (No.8/Group.1)

However, others said there was no pressure to drink and that you could take part with non-alcoholic drinks. It should be noted that longer serving officers or those in higher ranks appeared to be more comfortable asserting their decision not to drink.

Jug sessions are not only used to maintain group solidarity, they are also used as an initiation ritual for new graduates and those new to a station. Therefore, the expectation to drink is present from the outset of a police officer's career:

I heard when you're a newbie and you have your initiation. . . they were real raw, like you could get broken bones, you get beaten up, this is what I heard, you know back in the day. . . I got nervous on my first jug session that I was going to get beaten up and made to drink crap. . . I don't know if it was my Section, but we just all got together and had a laugh about me being new and had quiet drinks. (No.14/Group.1)

While it was evident that this participant's jug session was a positive experience where she felt no pressure to drink, another participant openly spoke about her negative experience:

When you're either a new graduate or new to the station, you have a jug session. . . they don't force you to drink you can choose, but it's pretty much guaranteed that you will drink and you'll end up probably puking in the gutter, and I made it very clear that I didn't drink much, that I would attend because obviously I wanted to meet people and

get to know the team. . . I ended up being sworn at and told “shut the fuck up and drink, or go home”. (No.4/Group.1)

When further probed about the aftermath of her jug session, she recounted how she was accused of not being a “team player”, she then revealed:

I pretty much just got out-casted by a certain group of guys on my Group and it was just shit. There were a lot of times that I would just go home at night I’d just be in tears going “Why am I doing this? Is it really worth the battle?” But I had worked so hard at Police College and done so well that I was just like “no, I’m not going to give in”. (No.4/Group.1)

This police officer’s experience illustrates the isolation and workplace bullying that can result when one of its members disrupts the dominant culture by not being a “team player”. The participant’s sense of assertiveness and dedication to the job was then invoked in order to maintain the mentality needed to remain in the job. Therefore, while it appeared that the majority of women interviewed enjoyed engaging in the drinking culture, it should not be assumed that all female officers feel the same way. The fact that there is still pressure or expectations placed on police officers at all, particularly women, to conform to a predominantly male drinking culture reflects the pervasiveness of the perceived “old” culture of the Police. Indeed the emphasis on camaraderie and the archetypal image of policing all serve to recreate old conventions which have come to be accepted as part and parcel of being a police officer.

Being the Junior Bitch

Jug sessions as an initiation ritual for new graduates is just one of many ordeals a new graduate goes through when beginning work at the station. Termed the “junior bitch” or the “JB”, new constables are required to fulfil certain tasks. These are predominantly mundane tasks, such as getting the radios for all the other members on your Group and making cups of tea and coffee. You are required to fulfil this role until a new graduate joins your Section. As one officer explained:

You knew when you’re new that you’re called the JB, you’re called the Junior Bitch. . . that’s a part of the culture, that you’ve got to do stuff, like you’ll do the stink jobs, like

making coffees or if everyone's ready to leave and someone, I don't know, had to go clean a car, that's never happened but you know, you'll be the one to do it, and you'll just do it. (No.14/Group.1)

While the above officer had no problems being the JB and said that the jobs were shared amongst all the JB's on her Section—another participant actively spoke about her dislike for this archaic social convention:

They have to make everyone's cup of tea and... get the radios at the start of the shift and sign them all out, which they have to start earlier than everyone else to get that achieved... I accept that there's some things that you have to do... but they shouldn't have to start earlier and finish later simply because they're junior staff. So that still happens, and that's because we've always done that... but when they're all constables and they're all doing constables' work, it doesn't kind of fit with the ethics of equality and fairness. (No.7/Group.1)

Through descriptions such as “you'll just do it” (No.14), “because we've always done that” (No.7), the above extracts illustrate how there was an acceptance that being the JB was an essential and unquestioned convention of being a “newbie”.

Around one third of the participants spoke about roles being assigned to them as new recruits at a police station; therefore, it is unclear how prevalent this is. However, what can be deduced is that it is accepted, and almost expected, that new constables to a station will be assigned the mundane tasks. This convention is reinforced through the strong solidarity within a work Group, consequently making it difficult for newcomers to “fit in”. Therefore, newcomers must prove their worth through initiation rituals such as being the JB and participating in jug sessions, before being accepted by their colleagues.

The Canteen Culture

I mean you can't be sensitive, you can't, and there are people in the job that are. And I think, to me they'll just stress themselves out of the job, because you're dealing with a lot more guys, you might get the odd sexist joke, but it's not really personal, it's just how people speak and laugh. (No.3/Group.2)

Closely connected to the cop culture, is the canteen culture. While the cop culture encapsulates the values police officers adopt, the canteen culture refers to the way police officers speak and articulate their experiences (Hoyle, 1998;

Waddington, 1999). The canteen culture is heavily tied to the masculinist culture, and is concerned with the sexist banter and talk that is usually associated with the camaraderie (Smith & Gray, 1985). Given this, the canteen culture also functions as way to enhance group solidarity through the shared understanding of their identity and experiences of being a police officer (Hoyle, 1998; Smith & Gray, 1985; Waddington, 1999). This in turn reinforces important features of the cop culture such as loyalty, being able to relieve tension, vent anger or fears, and enhance in-group/out-group distinctions (Fielding, 1994; Hoyle, 1998; Smith & Gray, 1985; Waddington, 1999). The ways in which police officers talk and interact arose when discussing the black humour within the Police and women's acceptance of sexual banter.

Black Humour and Being a Good Sport

Having a sense of humour was seen as an integral part of being part of a team and black humour was seen as a way for police officers to articulate their experiences and deal with what they confront on the job. For example:

[T]here is a lot of black humour in the Police and you just have to go along with it because it's how we deal, and I think if people start getting very sensitive and reacting to comments then it's almost like a bully scenario I suppose. But you can't be too PC¹⁴ in this job, and if you're trying to be, you'll find it hard (laughs). (No.3/Group.2)

Women often necessitated the ability to laugh and make fun of yourself as well as needing the mentality of "being a good sport". This involved not only handling jokes and comments but also rebuffing them, or "giving it back", particularly when confronted with sexual banter. When asked to elaborate on what "giving it back" means, one participant replied:

[I]f the guy's said something about, nice buns or something, you'd come up with something smart back. . . there was still some of that culture but it was you know, give as good as you got. (No.10/Group.2)

¹⁴ Politically correct.

Moreover, officers who were deemed “sensitive” or too politically correct, were not seen as meeting the requirements of being a “good sport”, their objections were seen as a disruption to the accepted culture. This supports Dick and Jankowicz’s (2001) finding that being able to handle the black humour and rebuff jokes and comments, was seen as crucial for fitting in and being part of the group.

Boys will be Boys: Acceptance of the Canteen Culture

Women tended to accept sexual banter, jokes and comments as part of the culture. Indeed the function of “being a good sport” and “giving it back” are accepted ways to respond and blend in with the culture and essentially become “one of the boys”. For instance, participants provided examples of the type of talk one may hear from their male counterparts:

Sometimes guys get carried away, just talking about breasts and radi radi rah, how hot someone is, and you know, they’re men, that’s what men do, I don’t take it personally, I don’t take offense to it. I’m probably just as bad as some of them, but it doesn’t offend me at all because it’s natural and they do it all the time, and the only difference is they’re doing it in front of me. (No.13/Group.1)

If they’re driving along and they’re like “oh she’s hot” or something like that, some girls might be like “ugh, that’s so disgusting, don’t!” but I’m just kind of like, well that’s funny. . . Boys are going to be boys, girls are going to be girls, we talk about stuff as well. . . you’ve got to learn to just laugh off a lot of the male conversation. (No.14/Group.1)

The above extracts illustrate how women have applied an essentialist justification for men’s sexual banter, particularly men’s sexual nature. The use of language such as “I’m probably just as bad as some of them” and “girls are going to be girls, we talk about stuff as well” ensures their acceptance and alignment with the dominant in-group ethos by attributing the same behaviour to themselves. Accordingly, female police officers did not only need to prove themselves to be “one of the boys”, they also needed to accept or tolerate the canteen culture—particularly the sexist banter.

It is important to note that accepting or tolerating the culture does not mean women did not object to it. When questioned about her experiences being one of the only women in her Group, one officer responded:

Some of the aspects of the male culture, particularly the social side of it, I found were a little bit much. . . I think that's probably men across society, not just in the Police but some of the things they said probably about women and just language that they used and things they found funny. . . I was kind of accepted into the boys club and it actually got to the point where I had to say "can you just like, tone down the language". . . I found it a little bit offensive. (No.11/Group.2)

This illustrates that while many accommodated the attitudes of male officers, some women were confident enough to speak out when they thought sexist banter went too far. Interestingly, those that did speak about their frustration of the sexual banter often reported that the men seemed unaware their comments were inappropriate, thus reflecting how embedded sexual banter is within the canteen culture. Indeed, Loftus (2009) observes that justification of such behaviour is based on both essentialist idea of masculinity as well as an acceptance of the taken for granted heterosexual masculine police culture. Consequently, participants' acceptance of sexualised or inappropriate banter as "natural" and an accepted part of the job serves to preserve the canteen culture and inhibits change.

Defending the Police Culture

The "Change" Rhetoric: Perception of Change

As outlined in chapter 5, there was a strong sense that the police culture had changed. Despite most of the participants speaking positively about the drinking culture, they also spoke about how it had changed for the better. Some even went as far to say there was no police culture, for example *"I don't see the culture anymore, and I think it's just faded away"* (No.14/Group.1). Furthermore, a number of participants spoke about the perceived "old culture" to illustrate how much it had changed:

[W]hen I first joined there was still kind of an expectation that you would get really pissed and get a bit blotto and that was kind of funny to do that. Whereas [now] the Groups' really changed their attitudes. People didn't want to get drunk and I guess they felt that they could say that they didn't want to. So they thought of other ways to maybe penalise people, like they'd make them eat a raw onion or really hot sauce or something like that rather than just getting blotto on alcohol. (No.11/Group.2)

[I]t was just terrible (laughs) and I remember when I joined we got warned about police officers drinking. . . it was just terrible, you'd just finish a late shift at eleven o'clock at night—on a Wednesday night—and sit there and get pissed until seven o'clock in the morning. That sort of culture has been, and rightly so, it just doesn't really happen anymore. (No.1/Group.2)

The most common factor participants attributed to the change in the drinking culture was the fact that many people on their Group were non-drinkers, due to their sport hobbies or the fact that they might be an on-call police officer (such as being part of a specialist Group):

[P]eople now will go along and not drink, a lot of people don't drink nowadays. A lot of the guys are into their fitness and don't drink, and if you've got someone on the AOS and or Dive Squad, they might be on call so they'll come along to a jug session and not drink. (No.6/Group.1)

Indeed, the majority of participants believed that the profile of police officers coming out of the Police College has changed. For example, police officers now have interests and families that they are willing to prioritise, and for this reason they prefer to go home at the end of their shift. In other words, the Police is no longer the most important factor in an officer's life:

[E]ven in the 10 years that I've been working there's been a massive shift in general attitudes. . . the Police say that they want to change how they do things, but I think a lot of that has also come from the people that are now coming through. Instead of guys just being about the job, and the drinking culture and that sort of thing, I guess my contemporaries are very much about families first and they won't go out drinking, they've put the kibosh on that drinking culture more than probably the organisation itself has. (No.11/Group.2)

Furthermore, many mentioned the closure of most of the Police bars and the ban on jug sessions at Police stations as a reason to explain the decline in frequency of jug sessions. When speaking about how she did not agree with the closure of Police bars, as this was a contained and safe environment for police officers to socialise, she commented:

[T]hat's as a result of the media talking about, back in the 80s when there was a lot of binge drinking and all the rest of it, but that said, we've moved on to the point that these days, if a police officer gets caught drink driving, that's basically their job gone. (No.10/Group.2)

Therefore, while women all spoke about experiences within the drinking culture, they all maintained the view that the police culture had changed, for the better, since they joined.

“Us” and “Them” and the “Rotten Apples” Perspective

Group solidarity can also extend beyond immediate work Groups to encompass all police officers. The “us” and “them” divide was reinforced when police officers felt that Police management was not supporting their, or a fellow colleague’s actions, in the media. This created a feeling of isolation between police officers due to their distrust of Police management and the public. For instance, one officer spoke about her feelings when cases involving police officers have attracted negative media attention. She described feeling unsupported by Police management:

Another negative of the Police is, I mean along the same lines, if something like that does happen then you're kind of left in the dark. That support that you had initially suddenly disappears and you're on your own, and the only friend you have as such, are your colleagues that you've been working with. (No.13/Group.1)

This echoes Reiner’s (2010) assertion that internal solidarity is enhanced not only through social isolation but also the protective armour officers maintain against public awareness of their colleagues wrongdoings.

Taking into account that women subscribed to the culture and saw it as largely positive, while simultaneously defending it by stating it had changed—it is no surprise that the majority of women were defensive of the current police culture. This sentiment was particularly strong when it came to public and media perceptions of the police drinking culture:

I think the Police has worked really hard to get rid of the negative culture but it's (sigh) I find it hard because the public, like the media, talks about the negatives of police culture

but some of it's taken out of context. Yes it was bad, I mean for an example, the days when we had jug sessions. . . they said that was a negative of police culture. But that said, when we did it, it was always done within a Police building it wasn't anywhere out public and it was a way of the staff getting rid of a lot of tension and it was all contained, it was never outside, and the Groups worked well as a result because any issues that arose got dealt with. (No.10/Group.2)

The cynicism and pessimism towards the media was not only limited to the drinking culture but also to media representations of police conduct on the job. This was attributed to how Police management appeared to be pandering to anticipated negative public reactions, rather than defending police staff in the first instance. For example, when asked what factors would lead her to consider leaving the Police, one officer responded:

*[T]he politics in policing really gets me down, the lack of support from management. We get blamed for **everything** that goes wrong, you know? Very very rarely are we seen in the media in a good light, 95 percent of the time whatever's recorded in the media is negative, and that really annoys me. I very very rarely watch the news now, because it does, it really really annoys me. (No.13/Group.1) [emphasis in original]*

Negative media coverage of Police created a general feeling amongst participants that police officers were underappreciated by the public.

Undesirable behaviour or misconduct by police officers is often explained by adopting the idea of the “rotten apple” or “bad egg” to rationalise “isolated cases” or “individual” officer’s misbehaviour (Hyman, 2000; Rowe, 2008, 2009), thus likening it to an individual rotten apple amidst a barrel of good apples (Maher, 2010). In the current research the “rotten apples” defence was adopted to explain: officers that misbehaved within the drinking culture, officers who were seen as being part of the dying “old school” policing, and sexual harassment within the workplace.¹⁵ Both the “rotten apples” and “old school” explanations included male officers who held patriarchal beliefs in regards to women’s position in the Police and society in general. These “rotten apples” are individuals who stand at odds with the public trust in the Police; the image that the Police have abolished

¹⁵ Sexual harassment will be examined in chapter 7.

the old drinking culture; and the perception that the Police have become more progressive in terms of its demographic diversity:

[T]here's always comments from dickhead cops who used to be ex-army, who are real alpha males that will always say something about "females shouldn't be in the police". . . But again it depends on who you've got in your Group. There's always going to be bad eggs and the ones that were on my Group, all the bad eggs have been weeded out, they've gone. (No.4/Group.1)

I'd like to think the public, have respect for you, and trust you. . . But you're always going to get silly old idiots amongst the job, that's just inevitable, you're going to get some people who cock up somewhere, and gets us a bad name. (No.3/Group.2)

Additionally, the presence of "rotten apples" was seen to undermine the group camaraderie, "It's really good for the fact that you're a tight knit group that work toward a common goal, that you're very loyal. But then it can be bad, where there are those bad eggs" (No.5/Group.2). The "rotten apples" rhetoric allows officers to label these "bad eggs" as the exception to the rule, thus distancing themselves from those officers seen as tarnishing the public image of policing and realigning themselves with the positive side of the culture.

The "rotten apples" perspective was manifest in the way police officers perceived the COI. Moreover, this served to strengthen the feeling of isolation between police officers and the public. The majority of participants were aware of the effects of the COI, and its negative consequences on the Police as a whole:

[E]veryone and the media always talks about the police culture as being a bad thing, and it's not. I mean there are aspects I guess that are bad, but in my opinion, there are more positives with the police culture, than there are negatives. And as I said it's the media with the Clint Rickards,¹⁶ and the rape things, and everyone went on about the poor police culture, fuck off that was a handful of cops in Rotorua, and Rotorua was bad. . . as a police officer you learn, you never trust the media, the media always gets it wrong. That sort of shit is so damaging for every police officer, because it's just not true, absolutely not true. (No.6/Group.2)

¹⁶ It will be recalled from chapter 1, that Clint Rickards was one of three former police officers accused of rape in the historical rape cases in the 1980s that prompted the establishment of the COI.

[T]he issue over Clint Rickards,¹⁷ there are a number of things that have hit us, and have hit us really hard, but they are isolated things. And people say that is what the police culture was, well it's not, I can tell you it's not, because people I worked with never acted that way. People I worked with, if they got a child abuse file,¹⁸ they would action it and they would work on it. I think we've recognised our deficiencies, and we've moved on. . . I think that's probably where we have progressed is that we're actually looking forward now, rather than reacting. (No.5/Group.2)

These extracts reflect the adverse impact the COI has had on police officers' confidence in the public trust towards them. These officers feel that they are taking the brunt of the negative media attention for behaviour that they had no part in. The negative association police officers have of the COI may help to explain why policies arising out of the COI recommendations and its subsequent reviews are seen as separate "COI projects" (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2012) rather than being seen as principles embedded in the psyche of the Police organisation. Police officers want to distance themselves from a side of the police culture that they see themselves as not being a part of—yet they continue to bear the consequences. This in turn reinforces the in-group/out-group distinction through the strong camaraderie between officers. This then serves to enhance the isolation and cynicism police officers feel toward the public, the media, and Police management.

Summary

While the police culture can be said to encapsulate features which contribute positively to the job, this creates a culture which is resistant to change and one where its members have come to accept negative features as a small sacrifice in the pursuit of a greater good. The majority of women said that they did not have to alter their personalities to fit in within the dominant culture. Yet throughout the interviews it was evident that all the women, to different degrees, did need to adopt or at least tolerate certain aspects of the culture, particularly the drinking culture, the black humour, the sexual banter, as well as adopting the

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ The *Inquiry into Police Conduct, Practices, Policies and Procedures Relating to the Investigation of Child Abuse*, by the Independent Police Conduct Authority (2010) found service failures in relation to the handling of child abuse investigation files, predominantly in the Wairarapa, and on a lesser scale elsewhere in New Zealand.

popular images of what police work involves. These factors were seen as being conducive to team cohesiveness, which was seen as crucial when it came to safety and teamwork.

Women conformed to, and adopted, the core principles of the cop and canteen culture, while resisting the idea that there was a culture at all. When culture was acknowledged, they consistently spoke about how it had changed. Their allegiance to the culture was expressed through both their defensiveness about the culture and their belief that misconduct was merely due to a few “rotten apples”. However, it became apparent that while the culture was tolerated and accepted, some did not agree with all aspects of the culture. Thus, it became evident that participants had adopted the “change” rhetoric while simultaneously identifying factors that indicated that the culture continues to pose a barrier to women’s full acceptance in policing. By subscribing to the dominant culture, women can effectively align themselves with the in-group, and this is reinforced by being able to identify and resist traits that fall into the undesirable out-group. Isolation and solidarity of officers is reinforced through their defensiveness under public and media scrutiny. Their dedication to the team and camaraderie helps officers feel a sense of a shared identity and worldview—membership of which can only be obtained by virtue of what they see and do due to the nature of the job.

Features of the cop culture and the canteen culture all combine to maintain the overarching police culture. While some did object to certain aspects, these cannot compete with the strength of the entrenched culture that has come to be understood as “just the way things are”. This was evident in the discussions of being the junior bitch, the drinking culture, and particularly men’s behaviour, which was reduced to essentialist ideas about male sexuality, and thus women’s marginalisation was accepted as part and parcel of the culture.

7

Maintaining the Wall of Silence: Experiencing and Confronting Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

[W]ith all the people that you're going to talk to, I can guarantee you, nearly every one of them will have some sort of story, whether they tell you it or not. There'll be some sort of history of them being harassed or bullied or treated poorly because they're a woman, or touched in a funny way because some asshole cop decides that he's got the power that he can. . . but I don't know if everyone will be as open as I am. I don't really care who finds out, people need to know the amount of crap we deal with. So for me, with that in mind, I don't know why they don't have more female support.

—No.4/Group.1

This chapter looks at female police officers' experiences of sexual harassment and barriers to reporting it. It will become evident that sexual harassment is intertwined with the overarching male-dominated culture reviewed in the previous chapter. Indeed, previous research has found that sexual harassment is embedded in the prevailing police culture (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Chaiyavej & Morash, 2008, 2009; Gratch, 1995; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Heidensohn, 1992; Hyman, 2000; Maher, 2010; Martin, 1980; Scott, 2001; Waugh, 1994; Westmarland, 2001; Young, 1991). Sexual harassment "*is based on the fundamental need of one person to control another*" (Harrington & Lonsway, 2004, p. 505) and is usually characterised by two common features; that incidents are "unwanted" and the idea of "unequal power" (Gratch, 1995). Therefore, in a historically male-dominated organisation where the presence of women serves to undermine the status quo, it is easy to see why the police can be a site where sexual harassment takes place (Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Martin & Jurik, 2007). Moreover, Martin

and Jurik (2007) assert that maintaining a “sexualised” workplace reinforces the masculine culture and retains women’s status as “outsiders”. With this in mind, this chapter will begin by outlining the forms of sexual harassment that participants shared in the interviews. Discussion will then turn to the barriers women face in speaking out about sexual harassment.

Experiences of Sexual Harassment

Under section 62 of the *Human Rights Act 1993*, two forms of sexual harassment are defined. Section 62(1) refers to sexual harassment *quid pro quo*.¹⁹ Section 62(2) covers unwelcome or offensive use of language, visual material, or physical behaviour of a sexual nature that is repeated or is of a significant nature that is having a detrimental effect on another person. Under section 62(3) sexual harassment encompasses behaviours such as sexually offensive comments, sexual jokes, physical contact including patting, pinching, or touching, continual comments regarding a person’s alleged sexual activities, provocative posters with a sexual connotation, sexual assault, and rape (Ministry of Justice, 2002).

Indeed the opening quote to this chapter, referring to the extent of sexual harassment did turn out to be more or less correct. Sexual harassment was discussed with 11 of the 15 participants. This included both personal experiences and incidents they were aware of involving other women. This echoes the recent Office of the Auditor-General (2012) report which found a level of sexual harassment continues to exist within Police. The interviews revealed two overarching forms of sexual harassment. The first were interpersonal incidents where sexual harassment occurred between them and another male officer. The second was being present in a work environment where sexual banter, jokes and comments were being made amongst male colleagues.²⁰

In relation to the first form, the type of interpersonal sexual harassment that frequently arose was inappropriate and unwanted sexual comments,

¹⁹ This covers requests for sexual intercourse, sexual contact, or any other form of sexual activity with an implied or overt promise of either preferential treatment, or detrimental treatment.

²⁰ It should be noted that both of the forms of sexual harassment that arose in the interviews would fall under section 62(2) of the *Human Rights Act 1993*, and no participant revealed an incident that would fall under section 62(1).

touching, and attention. Incidents participants shared were remarkably similar. They involved male police officers holding senior positions—either higher-ranking officers and/or supervisors—who targeted multiple women. Whether or not the male officers responsible for all these women’s grievances, comprised a large or select group was unclear and such inferences cannot be made. However, consistent with previous New Zealand findings (Hyman, 2000), these male officers were also well known around the station for their inappropriate behaviour toward women. For example, when questioned on the type of behaviour a particular male officer exhibited, one participant responded:

Oh sexual. . . just disgusting, not overt, well it was certainly inappropriate, but just things like the standing too close and telling you how gorgeous you look today. . . or a little swipe of the arm or something like that, and he was just obviously really desperate (sighs), a desperate lonely old man. . . and the whole station would be aware of him.
(No.1/Group.1)

Extending on this line of inquiry, participants speaking of high-ranking officers who were notorious for their behaviour became a recurring theme:

I would consider that I’ve been sexually harassed by one senior male police officer, who would routinely do that to multiple females and it wasn’t anything particularly disturbing but it was, irritating (laughs). . . I had been in for a little while, I guess two three years kind of thing. . . it was just kind of you know, inappropriate comments and, come-ons and that kind of thing—and touching, not illegal touching (laughs) but you know touching your arms. So I just avoid that person. . . I would refuse to work for him.
(No.8/Group.1)

We’ve got this guy, (talks in quieter voice) who thinks that he’s pretty special, and he’s not, but he just thinks that his manner is appropriate whereas it’s not. . . he’s at Senior Sergeant level and, he will make comments to the females that really you think “really? would you?”, but he thinks it’s been received okay by them. He’s not reading the signals very well. . . and he’s like “oh yeah sorry”. It’s the space, and the hand—not inappropriate touch, but just on the shoulder. (No.5/Group.2)

As the above extracts indicate, male officers mentioned were widely known within the station for inappropriate behaviour that appeared to be similar across participants.

In trying to understand why these particular male officers acted inappropriately, one participant commented that these men were “*putting their*

feelers out to see how far they can go” (No.1/Group.1). Another participant explained:

There are a lot of them. But they know the limits, and they know who they can and can't touch. . . They've been in the job a wee while, it's like they fish you out first. They suss you out first, to see what your personality is, and then they you know, drop the hints here and there. But I mean, you've just got to stamp it out at the start. (No.13/Group.1)

Another common theme was the occurrence of sexual harassment relatively early on in women's careers, or when they were new to a station. For example, one participant revealed an incident that happened to her when she was a new police officer:

The senior officer stopped the car on the way and told me that I was a real little cutie and beautiful and all this, and I just sort of sat there and went (does nervous giggle) (both laugh). . . I felt really fuckin' uncomfortable, and if someone had dared do that to me now they'd probably be pretty close to not being in the job. But I didn't have the guts at the time to speak up and I didn't talk about it. (No.1/Group.1)

Another participant recalls her early experiences and how the culture was what she expected:

I guess when I first started there was some older kind of leachy, kind of sleazy people but, it's a little bit how you handle yourself too, and probably no matter what job you're in there going to be sort of older leachy guys. (No.11/Group.2)

The above extract also reflects the normalisation of sexual harassment. The behaviour is acknowledged as “sleazy” but is trivialised as behaviour inevitable in any workplace. That is not to deny the existence of sexual harassment in other occupations, but that the normalisation of such behaviours contributes to the silencing of sexual harassment. Moreover, it appeared that new female officers to a station, in particular new graduates, are at risk of falling prey to sexual harassment. The overwhelming reality of coming out of Police College and working frontline, combined with the pressure of being new to a station with established allegiances, and the uncertainty of a new work environment—leaves new female officers in a vulnerable position to particular male officers who appear to prey on the new and vulnerable.

Closely connected to forms of interpersonal sexual harassment is sexual harassment in the work environment. This encompasses sexual joking and banter which may be overheard within the workplace. This was discussed in detail in the previous chapter, which looked at the issues relating to the “cult of masculinity” and particularly the canteen culture. Many participants spoke about the presence of sexual banter in the workplace. It will be recalled that this was mostly tolerated, trivialised and often accepted as part of the culture. Moreover, this type of behaviour was counteracted with the need to “give it back” as well as being attributed to the “black humour” and “boys being boys” mentality. Essentialist ideas regarding men’s behaviour were often used to explain why males spoke inappropriately about women’s bodies in the presence of female officers. However, some participants did speak out about the banter going too far. For example:

You’ll come to work in the morning or walk into the muster room and the guys are going on about some hot chick and her breasts or whatever, and it’s just every day it’s that sort of shit. And one day I just had enough and I just pulled [name of senior officer] over and he does it too, he’s a bloke and I said “look no offence but us chicks we don’t come to work and go on about you know that hot guy over there and his penis size and all that sort of thing” and I said “it’s just getting really tiring” and he was kind of like “ohh” I think he was a bit shocked, because I don’t think he realised that we cared. (No.4/Group.1)

Hoyle (1998) asserts that the canteen banter creates and redefines “acceptable” limits on officers’ behaviour outside of the station. Equally then, it can be argued that women’s tolerance or acceptance of sexual banter impacts on what men believe is an “acceptable” level. This is of concern as previous research has argued the accumulation of continuous jokes and banter of a sexual nature on a daily or weekly basis can not only be irritating, but can have detrimental effects on women’s mental wellbeing and can indeed amount to workplace bullying as well as sexual harassment (Gratch, 1995; Hyman, 2000; Scott, 2001).

Confronting Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

Chaiyavej and Morash (2009) observe that women may use assertive or passive reactions to sexual harassment. Assertive reactions include objecting to perpetrators and vocalising dissatisfaction, while passive responses include

ignoring behaviour or adopting an approach of avoidance. In the present study, participants often thought the behaviour they had experienced was not enough to pass their threshold to lay a complaint. Many did talk about being on the verge of laying a complaint. However, this in itself does not suggest that the behaviour was therefore acceptable.

Women's responses to incidents of sexual harassment emerged in three forms. Firstly, consistent with previous research, participants opted for handling situations on their own (Hyman, 2000). Under this, passive approaches included adopting an approach of "avoidance" or refusing to work with the perpetrator. In contrast, assertive approaches included "stamping it out" by confronting the perpetrator before it progressed to a stage deemed inappropriate. For example, *"I've had a senior officer make inappropriate comments to me, and you know I told him, I told him straight out that I didn't like it"* (No.13/Group.1). Comments were often made that if the same incident were to take place now that the male in question would not get away with it. It will be recalled from chapter 5, that women cited assertiveness as a necessary factor to survive in the Police, and indeed it appeared that the women's increased length of service often increased their level of assertiveness, confidence and willingness to speak out about such issues.

The second response that emerged was that many women spoke of being on the verge of laying a complaint but did not. The third response was that the few participants who did speak about laying a complaint felt that the situation was not resolved. Interestingly those who did lay complaints tended to do so as part of a group. It became clear from the few participants who had laid complaints that the outcome was less than satisfactory. For example, one participant spoke of her experience of laying a complaint:

We talked about it as a group of females, which is what led to a complaint being made, because we realised how sort of wide spread it was, and how offensive it was and that, maybe he wasn't aware that he was being that offensive and that his behaviour was uninvited and unwanted. . . but I'm not sure that it particularly resolved the situation. I believe he was spoken to but, after that he was still displaying the same behaviour, so at that point I just took an approach of avoidance. (No.8/Group.1)

The above extract indicates that the perpetrator had conducted himself inappropriately with a number of females. Despite a complaint being made it was

evident that the situation was never resolved, nor was the participant advised on the result of the complaint, instead she opted for an “approach of avoidance”.

As an aside, it will be noticed that the participants who spoke about examples of sexual harassment were recalling experiences in the past and they were often able to laugh about it in retrospect as they retold their stories. This is more indicative of their strength and ability to cope with inappropriate situations they have confronted in their work environment than it is an indication that these incidents were not serious.

Barriers to Speaking out about Sexual Harassment

A number of barriers arose from women’s experiences of sexual harassment that prevent women from speaking out. First, is the perceived seriousness of complaints; second is how women sustain the wall of silence; and lastly is the persistence of the “old boys club” mentality.

Seriousness of the Complaint

Chaiyavej and Morash (2009) argue that female officers’ minority status in a male dominated occupation reduces women’s inclination to view sexual harassment as serious. There was a sense that putting a complaint forward meant that the type of sexual harassment needed to be serious. It was not particularly clear where the line was between tolerance of sexual harassment and when women were willing to seek guidance. How women address sexual harassment is a contentious issue. As Hyman (2000) notes, outside of the overt and clearly illegal forms of sexual harassment, other forms lack agreement around what is and is not acceptable. For instance, when discussing a particular male who was well known for his inappropriate behaviour, a high-ranking female officer commented:

Cos he doesn’t step over the mark, but he just doesn’t read things very well (both laugh) and you say to him, “tell us about it, what’s appropriate about this?” and he just doesn’t read it, he thinks he’s being friendly, but he’s just not. I think he would be like that anywhere, to be honest. (No.5/Group.2)

Despite the fact that this male is known for harassing women, his behaviour is downplayed as merely “misreading the signs” and that he would display such behaviour in any workplace.

The need to be able to handle situations on your own is often seen as the only avenue, particularly if there is a belief that behaviour needs to surpass a certain threshold of seriousness, which has not been defined:

They've done all they can to put a Code of Conduct out and say we don't accept it, but it still happens. . . if you go and say "this person swore at me, said this to me inappropriately" they all still go "(breathes in) ooohh, jeepers well perhaps we could deal with this in a different way rather than actually physically go through with a complaint". They're still, at a very high level, doing that, very much so. (No 7/Group.1)

The previous two quotes suggest there appears to be mixed messages within the Police regarding acceptable limits of behaviour. Moreover, the above quote reflects a concern that if you do report an incident of sexual harassment or bullying it will be seen as something that needs to be “handled” rather than going through the formal channels.

As men occupy the majority of supervisor and management positions, women may not feel comfortable going to them to voice their grievances, especially if the complaint is against someone holding a senior position. Hyman (2000) notes that trusting senior male officers can become an issue if women have had previous bad experiences, as one participant comments:

I think that police are really good they're like every other business, they have the signs up, they say "if you've been bullied or if you've been harassed you need to go and see this person", but generally it's a male, and if I had the choice I'd go and talk to a female about it, cos she'd probably be more likely to understand and take me seriously than what I would believe—whether it's true or not, than what I believe a male would. Because that happened you know, I went to my Senior Sergeant and I did cry, and I did complain, and he just blew it off. I went to an Inspector and said oh you know, "drinking games, being bullied" and he just said "well you've just to learn to get along with people". Now I've talked to another female about it who's a Senior Sergeant, she said "why didn't you come to me", and I said "well I didn't know you, I was new to the area, now that I know you well and I really like you then, sure I would choose you". (No.4/Group.1)

However, not all participants were cynical about the avenues open to them. One participant with under two years' service commented:

I have found the Police are very strict on sexual harassment. They do have people that you can go to that are members of the Police Association, if you have issues like that, and everyone is really supportive, like the supervisors are very supportive if something like that happens that's within the police culture. . . I don't know anyone who has had any issues where they've been made to feel uncomfortable. (No.13/Group.1)

While this particular participant has not needed to seek help in relation to sexual harassment, having supportive supervisors made her feel comfortable that if a situation did arise she would have people she voice her concerns to. Thus, it is imperative that women officers have supportive and approachable supervisors to address any concerns they may have about sexual harassment. Lack of this form of support leaves women feeling that their complaints will not be taken seriously and in turn, they feel they must informally deal with the situation on their own.

The Wall of Silence: Reluctance to Speak Out

Consistent with previous research (Gratch, 1995; Hyman, 2000; Maher, 2010), speaking out against sexual harassment or bullying was seen as conflicting with the team camaraderie. Indeed the COI found that police officers often protected colleagues from investigations for misconduct which created a “wall of silence” thus sustaining a culture which fostered misconduct (Bazley, 2007). In the current research there was a strong feeling that a complaint would be “swept under the carpet” by supervisors, and there was a reluctance to “dob your mates in”. As Reiner (2000) observes, the police culture which emphasises teamwork and the ability to back up your partner in a tight spot, works to sustain the wall of silence. Additionally, women’s conformity to features of the police culture (Heidensohn, 1992; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Martin, 1980; Rowe, 2008; Young, 1991) creates an environment where women are reluctant to speak out for fear of being stigmatised as a “trouble maker” and being ostracised, which can impact negatively upon a woman’s career (Gratch, 1995; Hyman, 2000; Maher, 2010). At least two participants made the connection between the camaraderie and the reluctance to speak out:

I'm sure the girls feel confident enough to come forward, but there still is that reluctance. But it's not only the females, but it's a reluctance to do your mates in, because you work with them and you rely on them. (No.5/Group.2)

I think as a new person in an organisation particularly this organisation, you're probably more susceptible to that kind of thing, in that you're maybe not as willing to speak up as you would otherwise be because particularly in the Police. It's a discouraged thing to complain about fellow staff, it's not conducive to the team work kind of atmosphere, which is obviously a necessary part of the job. You need to rely on your teammates and I think you have to be very careful about, making complaints than perhaps you would in other workplaces. (No.8/Group.1)

Interestingly, within the supportive “teamwork environment”, it was frowned upon to make a complaint of sexual harassment by a fellow colleague. Yet one would think that within a supportive team environment, officers would feel supported to speak out, but this is not how it works in practice. Instead, the fear of stigmatisation and disrupting the team balance not only upholds the traditional features of police culture but it works to sustain the wall of silence.

Furthermore, one participant with 20+ years experience reflected on her experiences with supervisors:

I've had a supervisor that you look back now and you think, his behaviour was straight harassment, but because of his position and his rank, there was nobody really to complain to, and you look back now and you think, it's behaviour that nobody would tolerate. But then I wasn't the object of his harassment, he didn't seem to like anybody so it wasn't just directed to me but his behaviour was extraordinarily inappropriate and was harassment. And I've had other supervisors who condoned things that were said by staff members, or behaviours of staff members that was just extraordinarily inappropriate and didn't meet what I feel was a required level from a supervisor. Because they were so busy trying to be one of the team that they forgot that, you've actually got a responsibility to stop this behaviour or to say “no those comments aren't appropriate”. (No.15/Group.2)

The above extract from a long serving police officer was similar to experiences of women who have served 10 years or less. Thus, there appeared to be reluctance within the occupational culture to clamp down on inappropriate behaviour, especially when this was seen as undermining the team camaraderie.

Women's belief that sexual harassment should be handled on their own contributes to the wall of silence. For instance, one officer spoke about an incident where she received unwanted sexual comments from a senior officer but had

resolved the issue on her own. She then spoke about how management had tried to get her to lay a complaint, and there seemed to be indications that there may have been other complaints against him. She went on to say:

I'm still good friends with him, and I just said to him that "I didn't like those comments you made" and that was the end of it. . . he found out that these complaints had been made against him and. . . I said "look, they didn't come from me so I don't know where it came from, but I'm not saying anything because we've already dealt with it". But I did get a little bit annoyed that management had come to me wanting me to make a complaint, because as far as I was concerned it had already been dealt with and there was no need for anyone else to become involved, so that kind of made me feel that they were trying to get complaints against him. (No.13/Group.2)

The above quote reflects a level of defensiveness on part of this participant. Despite receiving unwanted sexual comments, she felt the need to reassure the male officer in question that she was not responsible for the complaints laid against him. She placed a great amount of pride in having handled the situation on her own, without needing to lay a complaint, despite acknowledging that this male may have acted inappropriately toward other females.

The recurrence of inappropriate sexual behaviour was seen by some participants, as dependent on how a woman "handles herself". For example:

They're the people that you know will be, running forward, to say they're getting you know harassed, which is fine, harassment is, when it really does happen, but you've got to have a level where it's beyond what is a little bit expected in the workforce. I mean, I'm probably a little bit blasé about it because I just don't let things get to me. I just think I know the context of things being said. (No.3/Group.2)

Participants appeared to have a shared understanding that there was a "level" of harassment to be expected in the workplace, and that there is a correct way to "handle" yourself in order to prevent such behaviour from recurring. Thus, women not only sustained the wall of silence through the desire not to undermine the group solidarity, but also through distinguishing themselves from "certain types" of women that they saw as stereotypical complainants of sexual harassment. Previous research has observed that "othering" allows women to align themselves with the dominant male in-group and distance themselves from

the female minority out-group (Fielding, 1994; Rabe-Hemp, 2009).²¹ For instance, one participant was asked about other female officers who had experienced sexual harassment or bullying, she responded:

I can immediately think of two women, one of them has since left the Police, one's still in the Police, they are whinging women, they are high maintenance. They're the sort of women that a male colleague wouldn't feel comfortable with, so they're the sort of people that I would be asking "why did you join the police?", so they're not suited to the job. (No.6/Group.2)

By "othering" "whinging women" as those attracting unwanted attention, women can identify themselves as suited for the job and "others" as unsuitable. For example, in response to other women's experiences of sexual harassment, one participant commented:

I always think well, "why didn't he give me a crack?" cos I would've smacked him, you know? ... they know what they're going to get from me, they know I'm no nonsense, and I won't tolerate this sort of rubbish and I will say something, so maybe that's why they targeted those others. (No.2/Group.2)

The perception that women who experienced sexual harassment were behaving in a way that attracted sexual harassment was common across the majority of women, even those who had previously experienced sexual harassment and now had the benefit of hindsight. Complaining about sexual harassment was seen as something undesirable and went against the need to be thick skinned and "one of the boys". This suggests that there is a level of assertiveness and thick skin required to be a police officer. The upholding of traditional police values and the need to "fit in", creates an environment where women feel that they should be able to handle workplace incidents on their own and this serves to sustain the wall of silence.

²¹ Chapter 9 will discuss the issue of "certain types" and "othering" in more detail.

The “Old Boys Club” Mentality

Police is still very much a boys club, very much a militant—“we’ve always done it this way”. As much as we’ve got a Code of Conduct and you can’t be bullied, there’s certainly a lot of bullying going on and a lot of boys club within the Police. So there’s still very much a rank and seniority structure, as opposed to a knowledge and experience and expert structure. (No.7/Group.1)

It became evident that many participants attributed inappropriate workplace behaviour to men who maintained the “old boys club” mentality. These were usually long serving and/or high-ranking officers. This is problematic as supervisors are vital for setting the tone of the environment within a work Group and furthermore, should be a police officer’s first port of call if problems with sexual harassment or inappropriate workplace behaviour arise. However, there was a general feeling that the Police was still very much an “old boys club” and therefore reporting grievances to supervisors would in most cases, be a fruitless task. For example, when asked if there were any factors that would lead her to consider leaving, one participant responded:

Probably some of the old school thinking where you can’t challenge what bosses are saying for fear of kind of retaliation and the fact that you will be picked on. . . But I guess there’s the same kind of thing in every job. (No.11/Group.2)

Thus, witnessing this type of behaviour from supervisors, where questioning the status quo is frowned upon, creates an environment where people are not comfortable coming forward to voice their concerns. One participant who spoke about the “old boys club” recalled past experiences of seeing women ostracised for standing up and voicing their opinions:

When you get a big organisation with structure and rank and seniority, I think you find that people . . . form their little clubs of who is important and who isn’t. . . You very rarely find a man who stands up for himself and gets isolated, but I can think of a few women in this job who have stood up for themselves and for what’s actually fair and right, and because they’re a woman they struggle being listened to and then they’ll get ostracised out of that group because they’re vocalising something. (No.7/Group.1)

She then explained why she believed this mentality exists:

I hate to say it but I really want to say the nagging wife, men tend to still view women that way. It's like "well you're just whinging, and I just shut off when it's my mother" or "I shut off when it's my wife" and "I shut off when it's my daughter" so it's no different. I think that carries through to adult structured roles, it carries on exactly the same. (No.7/Group.1)

The above extract illustrates how women see men's adherence to essentialist ideas of femininity as intruding on their work environment. The "old school" mentality that serves to maintain traditional views of women undermines the seriousness of complaints. This helps to explain why women believe their complaints will not be taken seriously. Furthermore, women who speak out risk being ostracised in the workplace, particularly if they are seen to be undermining the fundamental features of police culture. Participants' tendency to reduce incidents of sexual harassment to essentialist ideas about gender, and generalise experiences to all work environments, effectively downplays incidents to merely "men being men" and reinforces the perceived static nature of police culture. Consistent with Hyman's (2000) findings, participants saw the "old boys club" as a species of men that were slowly "dying out" of the Police, consequently incidents of sexual harassment can merely be attributed to a few "rotten apples".

Summary

Examining workplace sexual harassment is an example of how police culture continues to inhibit change. Women's objections to the status quo are silenced and subsumed within the culture, thus women come to normalise a level of sexual harassment. Accordingly, the presence of sexual harassment constructs a barrier to women's full integration within Police, and maintains them as outsiders to a prevailing male dominated culture (Gratch, 1995; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Westmarland, 2001). The culture coupled with women's tendency to downplay or handle incidents on their own helps to explain why policies to address sexual harassment can often be ineffective (Chaiyavej & Morash, 2008; Maher, 2010). Therefore, in support of previous research (Gratch, 1995; Maher, 2010; Waugh, 1994), the findings of this study suggest that there needs to be a drastic change in the prevailing culture and construction of "police work" in order to address sexual

harassment. Women's stories were consistent in the forms of harassment and it appeared that the males involved are well known for their behaviour but nothing effective has been done about it. The fact that there appears to be persistent inappropriate behaviour suggests that what is appropriate workplace behaviour needs to be made clear and embedded within the senior staff members who arguably set the limits on acceptable behaviour in the workplace.

Three key barriers emerged from the interviews which help to explain women's reluctance to speak out against sexual harassment. Firstly, there was an ambiguity over the seriousness of incidents. Secondly, women helped maintain the "wall of silence" through adherence to the sub-cultural values, in which speaking out is seen to undermine the camaraderie. Consistent with this, women tended to distance themselves from a "certain type" of female officer who they saw as attracting unwanted attention. This effectively realigns them with the dominant male culture. Moreover, women's tendency to handle situations on their own obscures the true extent of sexual harassment occurring. Thirdly, was the perceived "old boys club" who are seen to be immune to scrutiny and discipline. Thus consistent with previous research (Bazley, 2007; Maher, 2010) the "old boys club" mentality, has created a work environment that essentially fosters misconduct, including sexual harassment.

Drawing on Fielding's (1994) argument that the features of the canteen culture culminates into a form of "hegemonic masculinity", and acknowledging Connell's (2005) assertion that "hegemonic masculinity" recognises the existence of multiple masculinities, it is argued that officers comprising the "old boys club" represents a form of hegemonic masculinity that is concentrated amongst long serving, high-ranking officers. As Silvestri (2003) notes, a proven record of length of service proves an officer's legitimacy and dedication to the job. Therefore, their behaviours are tolerated and minimised due to their relative status and power. This group benefits from the reluctance officers have about speaking out for fear of being ostracised and disrupting the status quo. Thus, high-ranking, long serving officers' relative immunity to scrutiny, their power attained through their long-service dedication, as well as essentialist ideas regarding women and their presence as a threat to the traditional male order—all combine to create a form of hegemonic masculinity which is downplayed as just the "old boys club".

Accordingly, women's experience of sexual harassment are subsumed and downplayed within a culture that is too afraid to "rock the boat".

The fact that women want to deal with situations on their own, that they often trivialise behaviours to "men being men", the "old boys club", and women's adherence to the values of the male-dominated sub-culture—all result in women helping to sustain the "wall of silence" surrounding sexual harassment. This does not put the blame on the women themselves, but rather the fostering of an occupational environment which is conducive to a strong male camaraderie which inevitably discriminates against women who are not seen as equals.

8

Resisting Gender: Women's Minority Status

Women continue to represent a minority within police forces both in New Zealand and internationally (Butler et al., 2003; Mossman et al., 2008, 2008; Scott, 2001; Waugh, 1994). Previous research maintains that women's progression within policing is hampered due to their minority status and lack of female role models in the upper echelons of the police (Bazley, 2007; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Scott, 2001; Waugh, 1994). In New Zealand, women currently comprise 17.7 percent of sworn officers, and 9.3 percent of senior sergeant rank and above (New Zealand Police, 2012a).²² Due to women's continued low representation within the sworn ranks, it is often argued that they bear the consequences of "tokenism" (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Waugh, 1994).

Following Kanter's (1977) approach, *skewed groups* are those with a ratio of around 85:15, within this group the "dominants" who are represent a numerical majority control the group and the culture, while the few left in the group can be labelled "tokens". Thus, "tokens" are treated as symbols of their category, rather than individuals. In the current research, women officers fall under this definition of "tokens", and this is particularly the case for women holding positions of senior sergeant or higher. Women's token status inherently means that they attract more attention due to their relative visibility, consequently tokens are more scrutinised which creates performance pressures (Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Kanter,

²² See chapter 1 "The Status of Female Police Officers in New Zealand" for more data on women's representation.

1977). Consequently, women feel they need to work harder to be accepted, and must avoid mistakes in order to avoid being seen as inferior to their male counterparts (Holdaway & Parker, 1998). With this in mind, this chapter will analyse the implications of women's minority status. Following this, how women's minority status contributes toward women actively resisting gender will be explored.

Implications of Women's Minority Status

Isolation and Lack of Support

Due to the low representation of women in Police, many women did not interact with other females, aside from those who had women in their Group, or ones who had established female friends within Police. Being the only female on Group was more common for longer serving participants who had become police officers when there were lower numbers of women in Police. It was noted that women working in investigative roles appeared to be more supportive of other female colleagues. This may be due to the larger representation of women in the CIB compared to the General Duties Branch (GDB). The lack of other women was not seen as a particular concern to the majority of participants as they all spoke positively about the camaraderie and saw themselves as not dissimilar to their male peers. However, many did reveal that the presence of more women may create a more supportive working environment. Such comments arose when discussing the general work environment, planning for families, and having approachable supervisors, particularly in regards to situations involving bullying or harassment.

While some females resisted the idea of more women in Police, others supported the idea. For instance, when asked about a desired level of female representation, one participant responded:

I think it's a bit low, I think it would be nice to have more females. . . I feel it should be more like 35 or 40, because I accept that we have to have a reasonable mix on the frontline, or half you know, what's wrong with half? (No.7/Group.1)

Participants who expressed a desire for more females often spoke about this in terms of “creating a good mix” or due to the lack of support they felt in their work environment. There was a general feeling amongst the participants that women should be more supportive of each other:

I wouldn't say that we go out of our way to be extra supportive of each other, because that's just a female thing, we don't generally don't do that. . . I don't know if it's a competitive thing. But I think in the Police, as women, we need to support each other more because we are female, because it is a really hard job to be in, on the frontline, just dealing with crap and as females we get treated like more crap from the male offenders, than what the male police officers would get. I mean, sure they probably get assaulted or get into more fights, but they don't get those comments, those awful comments, and they're always sexual. (No.4/Group.1)

This illustrates the isolation and lack of support women may feel at times during their career due to the lack of female representation, particularly amongst their immediate work groups.

The Lack of Female Role Models

Previous New Zealand research and reports have identified the lack of women in senior management roles as a concern in the minds of female officers, therefore posing a dominant barrier to both retention and progression of women in Police (Bazley, 2007; Hyman, 2000; PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010; Scott, 2001; Waugh, 1994). This creates a catch-22 situation; given that the minority status of women in high ranks means that there is a lack of female role models and mentors in order to increase the number of women in high ranking positions (Scott, 2001).

Participants often identified female role models based on their rank, or females who were able to successfully maintain a work-life balance. Positive role models tended to be women in high-ranking positions or in specialist groups. For instance, women in the Armed Offenders Squad (AOS) and Dog Squad were spoken about in a positive manner because these women had achieved their status by attaining the same criteria as men in roles that continue to be male dominated.

In response to whether she believed there were any barriers to progression or retention, one participant replied, “*there's lots of female sergeants in the station*

and, they've told me about all sorts of things that they've done over the years. . . it seems to be possible" (No.12/Group.1). Furthermore, when one participant was speaking about a female Senior Sergeant, she commented:

[A]bsolutely I look up to her, I mean that's cool, look where she is, 14 years and she's running a Section. . . it's awesome to see her still frontline... She's the only frontline Senior Sergeant in Wellington Central. . . so it's cool to see her, it's cool to see females walking around with the Sergeant's stripes, or the Inspector stripes. I'm like "wow", I don't know why it's different to seeing a male but, it's inspiring totally. (No.14/Group.1)

One participant looked up to a female police officer whom she viewed as able to be both a police officer and feminine:

I think that women naturally look for female mentors in the Police. . . people that they can look to, maybe not actively, but that you look and think that's the kind of officer I want to be. Certainly when I joined there weren't many female officers that were feminine and good at their job. Women were more masculine, and for whatever reason, I didn't aspire to that, so the female that I really admire, is a female who, is very feminine, has a family, is a very good cop, has been in the AOS. . . just a really great cop but managed to be a female as well. So I think you do actively look for those kinds of people. (No.8/Group.1)

Additionally, as there was a perception that being a woman and having a children was not compatible with police work,²³ many participants looked up to women who had combined having a family with being a police officer, particularly those that had climbed the hierarchy:

[S]he's someone that's done amazingly well, she got pregnant when she was a Sergeant, she's had two children, she's now Detective Sergeant. She's someone that I think seems to have made a really, really good go of it and seems to be able to give time to her children as well as to the job. (No.11/Group.2)

Similarly, another participant when asked whether she had any female role models initially said she could not name an individual however, later in the conversation she volunteered this comment:

²³ The perceived incompatibility of motherhood and policing will be discussed in chapter 9.

[W]hen you asked me earlier, if I look up to people in the Police, just thinking about it now, I do look up to those women that have been around for a few years and they have their family, and they come back. That to me is, pretty cool, cos they're proving it's possible. (No.12/Group.1)

Not all women had female police officers as role models; many identified male police officers as role models. Often participants drew on individual traits, policing styles and achievements of other officers that they saw as inspirational and invoked the “not a gender thing” rhetoric:

*I've come across female officers that I would **never** want to be like. I've come across male officers that I would never want to be like. Conversely, I've had female and male sergeants that I would see as role models, so to me it hasn't really been gender specific. (No.1/Group.2) [emphasis in original]*

Therefore, despite many interviewees' belief that they had no female role models, it was evident that many participants were aware of women's representation, particularly in areas or ranks where female representation is low. The visibility of women in specialist roles or higher ranks appears to play an important role in providing inspiration for other women, and provides evidence that their own ambitions are achievable.

Resisting Gender

Thus far it is evident that women's minority status poses a barrier to women's progression and full acceptance within Police. Women's status as “tokens” means that women are more visible and therefore face additional pressures within their work environment. Women often adopt the core features of the culture in order to mask their status as “tokens”—resisting gender is a mechanism women use in order to both align themselves with the dominant male-culture and distinguish themselves from the undesirable “feminine” “other”. How women resisted gender emerged in four different ways. Firstly, women felt the need to prove themselves to be “one of the boys”. Secondly, women underwent a process of “othering” certain women. Thirdly, there was a perception that women and male officers had equal status within Police. Lastly, when it came down to job

recognition, merit and equality were seen as important to avoid the view of success being attributed solely to one's gender.

Proving Yourself as Better than “One of the Boys”

The idea of needing to prove yourself and become “one of the boys” is a popular and often cited phrase to describe female police officers (Heidensohn, 1992; Martin, 1980; Young, 1991). Due to women's minority status in Police women often feel they need to outperform their male counterparts in order to be seen “as good” as them (Gossett & Williams, 1998; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Hyman, 2000; Mossman et al., 2008).

It will be recalled from chapter 6 that women adopted the dominant values of the culture in order to be accepted and to “fit in”. The idea of “fitting in” also ties to the expectations women feel about their role in the job and expectations that are placed on them, whether perceived or otherwise:

I think it's just trying to be better than boys, it's just doing the best possible work you can. It's just having the good lockups, and having the good files and getting the credit. Having the bosses come to you because they know they can rely on you to do the job if they've got something they need done. . . My bosses hunt me out for certain things because they know that's where my strengths are. . . So that's how I know I've proven myself because they come direct to me for special jobs that need to be done. (No.10/Group.2)

[A]s a female constable I had to prove to my male colleagues that I could look after myself, and look after them if I needed to. . . So if you're in the Police, and you're small, I'm not a big person either, it's the old, until we get into a fight, and they see “oh yip, you can look after yourself and him if you need to”, there will be that sort of thing. . . that would be the only way that you'd have to prove yourself as a female. (No.6/Group.2)

Furthermore, one participant spoke of how she “hated” her first years in Police due to negative experiences with peers. When asked how colleagues were acting towards her now, she responded:

*I think they finally realised, “okay this girl is good at her job, she is strong minded.” When I'm pissed off I tell you and then two minutes later I'm over it, and they like that because it's more **male** than female. They don't like it when the females whinge and moan to their supervisors and things like that, which I don't, I just go and confront that person. (No.14/Group.1) [emphasis in original]*

The above statement not only shows that over time she was able to “prove” herself, but that to do this she needed to reject essentialist feminine traits, for example the image that women “whinge and moan”, and acquire essentialist male traits. This reinforces the archetypal police officer as one who is essentially male.

Interestingly, participants who spoke of needing to be “one of the boys” tended to come from *Group 2*, who all had 10 years or more length of service. It is also notable that within that, many believed the pressure to conform had changed since they started.

Queen Bees and Drama Queens: The “Othering” of Certain Females

The process of “othering” and reinforcing the “us” and “them” mentality is a characteristic emanating from police culture, particularly the canteen culture (Fielding, 1994; Reiner, 2000). Thus women’s “othering” of certain women can be seen as a tool used to construct their identity, as well as affirming their alignment with the dominant culture (Martin, 1980; Rabe-Hemp, 2009).

It will be recalled that women often described themselves as ambitious, assertive and sought acceptance to be “one of the boys”. Indeed participants’ descriptions of the self tended to conform to Martin’s (1980) *POLICE*women identity. There appeared to be an archetypal image of a woman seen as not “appropriate” for police work and this woman embodied all the stereotypical characteristics of Martin’s (1980) *policeWOMEN* archetype. Through distinguishing themselves from these certain “types”, women reinforce characteristics seen as important to policing while resisting feminine stereotypes, such as being “precious”, “sensitive”, “high maintenance”, being a “queen bee”, wearing makeup, and not being a team player. Women’s isolation within Police means that they do not interact with females to the same extent as they do with males. Consistent with Rabe-Hemp’s (2009) research, many gave specific examples of these “types” of women, while others spoke more anecdotally about these “types”. Therefore, it is not possible to ascertain whether their descriptions were grounded in actual encounters or whether they were merely a perception based on archaic stereotypes of undesirable women officers.

Women's identification of "other" women tended to fall into two commonly cited types, those who were considered "queen bees" and those considered "drama queens". These were not mutually exclusive types of women as traits often overlapped. However when women spoke about these types of women, their descriptions tended to fall into one or the other. Beginning with "queen bees", these are the types of women seen as joining Police for the purpose of finding a husband or to interact with males, reinforcing stereotypical beliefs male officers have traditionally held regarding the presence of female officers (see for example: Fielding & Fielding, 1992; Fielding, 1988). "Queen bees" were also viewed as shunning the presence of other women, preferring to be the lone woman in a group:

[T]here are other women in the Police who don't like the fact that there are other women in the Police, so they can be a little bit snarky. . . I found them not very nice to other women. . . you kind of question their motives for being in the Police, whether they want to be there to actually police, or whether they're there because they like working with men, and they like interaction with men only. (No.11/Group.2)

*[W]e have had. . . what I call Queen Bees, who like the male dominated work Group and are very isolating to other females. They like being the female within that Group, so they don't support the other females, which I think is really sad, because we still are a minority within the organisation and we still need to be able to support each other because, even though the organisation has progressed **hugely** and **really** really really strongly, I think you still as a minority need to support each other. Because there are the occasional times where you do come up against a little bit of a brick wall. (No.5/Group.2)*
[emphasis in original]

Turning to "drama queens", this "type" of woman encapsulated stereotypical feminine traits. This includes women who like to wear makeup, that are a "bit sensitive", "emotional", "high maintenance", and not as mentally or physically strong. Additionally, "drama queens" are considered not "good sports" when it comes to humour and joking around, lacking the "thick skin" perceived by most as necessary to cope in the dominant-male culture. Thus, "drama queens" are "girly girls" that fall outside of the traits seen as being important to policing. For instance:

I don't like having too many girls in the same Group, I think at one stage we had five, that's a lot, cos girls are always going to be girls, there's always going to be one girl that doesn't like the other girl, or gets jealous for whatever reason and that's when the catty crap comes and we just don't have time for that. There's always going to be girly girls in every job, and in the Police there's girly girls who are high maintenance and they just don't go down well. So sometimes I say the less females per Group the better. . . it's like anywhere else, you'll get some chick that thinks she's the shit and she's not, she's just a drama queen. (No.4/Group.1)

Well I think really girly girls, it might not be the job for them. People who spend a couple of hours getting ready in the morning, I think it probably doesn't lend itself to that kind of person. . . so you shouldn't stand out because of makeup or jewellery or anything like that. You're a cop, you're not a female as such. (No.8/Group.1)

Therefore, women's negative images of certain female officers were based on stereotypical images of femininity that were then attributed to a straw person who they could effectively distance themselves from. By describing her role as “*you're a cop, you're not a female as such*” the above participant illustrates what Rabe-Hemp (2009) observed as the difficulty women have in reconciling societal expectations of being both a woman and a police officer.

Women further resisted gender stereotypes through how they described themselves, and through the traits they identified as being important to being a successful as a police officer—these were traits that generally sat at the opposite end of the spectrum to the “other” type of women. For example:

Most females that join the Police are pretty similar, we're generally sporty or athletic, pretty strong minded, don't have time for bullshit and are not high maintenance (laughs). When you do get one who is, it's just like (sighs), you know it's like being back in high school. (No.4/Group.1)

Through the process of “othering” women are able to attribute perceived desirable traits to themselves which were consistent with the dominant in-group which in turn serves to strengthen the hegemonic masculine culture. However, as Rabe-Hemp observes (2009), “othering” strengthens the stereotypes of women officers they are trying to resist and therefore serves to marginalise their position within the police culture.

“Not a Gender Thing”: Belief in Equal Status

It's not like the old days where the female cops, all they did was to speak to victims and make cups of tea and shit, we do everything. (No.6/Group.2)

The belief in equality came across strongly in all of the interviews. This encapsulates being seen as equal in relation to men, in roles and treatment by colleagues; through the belief that women could do any role in Police; and through the “not a gender thing” rhetoric. Yet contradictorily, they reinforced stereotypes by often bringing up jobs such as the AOS, the Special Tactics Group (STG), Dog Handling, and Team Policing as roles more appropriate for men. However, many were quick to say that women could do these roles but needed to reach the same standard. Women generally did not think there were different job expectations placed on females and males. For example:

I think roles are suited to people rather than a gender, because I think there are men who are very good at empathy and dealing with victims of sexual assault, just as there are women who are very good at dealing with violent aggressive offenders, and it comes down to communication rather than the physical kind of stuff. (No.11/Group.2)

I think there's an appreciation that you bring different things. So you might be better able to speak with females, or children. I guess that's been kind of a long held belief but that's not really a problem anymore. It's pretty much appreciated that some males are going to be better at talking to some people. . . and it's just personality more than gender now. (No.8/Group.1)

[A]s to any particular role within the Police that women would be best suited in... I think that they're suitable in all aspects of policing, same as with males. I don't see why both can't if they're fit and capable and competent and can do it, then they should. (No.2/Group.2)

The above quotes support the idea that personality/individuality (“more of a personality thing”) overrides gender (“not a gender thing”). Mirroring previous research (Chan et al., 2003; Morash & Haarr, 2012), it was evident from the interviews that participants felt strongly that women and men had equal status in Police where differences in policing styles and experiences were often minimised to individual personalities, rather than gender based differences. This creates a belief of an equal or at least gender-blind workplace.

Consistent with Hyman's (2000) finding, participants attributed the differences in the gender gap to changes in the profile of male officers. Many women who confirmed the normative roles of men and women in Police often commented that they knew male officers who showed empathy and were different to the "old-school" archetypal male officer. For instance, when asked if there were roles which she thought were more suited to females, one participant replied:

[N]o I don't actually, because I have met some really good men who have shown empathy and, more of a HR side than some females who have been more practical, logistical or that command and control structure format. . . I think it's the skill set the individual has rather than you're a female or male, I don't tend to look at that. (No.5/Group.2)

This overarching belief in equality obscures the fact that women's description of the self and their experiences were articulated in ways, which both reinforce feminine behaviours as problematic and masculine behaviours as underlying the archetypal police officer. Thus, following Martin and Jurik's (2007) line of thinking, the belief sustained by participants that women's "sameness" to men creates equality obscures the fact that men's behaviour as police officers continues to be used as the standard in which to evaluate women fulfilling the same role.

Not Being a "Tick in a Box": Selection on Merit

Closely tied to the belief that women are, for the most part, equally as capable in fulfilling the occupational role, women also placed importance on gaining job recognition or promotion on individual merit rather than their gender. This finding is consistent with previous research (Archbold, Hassell, & Stichman, 2010; Hyman, 2000; Loftus, 2009). Many of the participants expressed this sentiment, for example:

I feel very strongly that the right people should be employed for the job, although I think it's important to get female, and ethnic representation, I think it's more important to get the right people for the job. (No.1/Group.1)

I don't think you should be, given a position over a male, because you're a woman. I mean if you're the best person for that role then that's fine, but if giving you that position over

someone who should have had it before you, only because you're a woman, I don't agree with that. (No.13/Group.1)

I expect to move forward in the organisation because of my ability and because I can do the job, I don't want to find myself moving forward just because I'm a woman, I want to do it on my own merits, I don't want to do it on my sex. (No.10/Group.2)

Participants wanted to avoid the perception that their success was due to their gender and therefore they were merely a “tick in a box”. The idea of being a “tick in a box” arises out of the goal of the Police to increase representation of women entering police as well as women in higher ranks and usually refers to achieving desired a quota or “magic number”. This viewpoint was similar across many women who were aware Police are actively trying to promote women. For example, *“I have seen perhaps times where I think maybe a woman might've had the front foot against a guy in certain areas, just because they want to keep the numbers”* (No.3/Group.2). Another participant expressed her concern when asked whether there were any barriers to promotion, progression and retention:

[T]he organisation recognises that they need to be reflective, but always my biggest worry is that some people will tick the box, rather than actually, that person's not the best person for the role regardless of whether they're female or a male. Constantly I think, for us especially at my level. . . I don't want to be seen to be a tick in the box. I want to be seen as being the right person for that role and that I've got there on merit. (No.5/Group.2)

Previous research has found that organisational goals, and encouragement by supervisors to promote women, is a barrier to women seeking promotion if such policies or encouragement is seen as being based on their gender (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Gossett & Williams, 1998). Thus, active and intervening methods of promoting women into supervisory ranks can be counterproductive and inhibit women's desire to be involved in the promotional process if they think they are getting special treatment (Archbold et al., 2010). Moreover, such approaches can result in unwanted and negative attention from male colleagues (Gossett & Williams, 1998).

The perspective that women should get the job based on merit rather than their gender was evident in opinions concerning women's representation in Police.

When asked what their opinion was of the current female representation, some were defensive based on grounds of equality and merit, for example:

[I]t's the same argument "you've got 25 percent women in the police, and yet we'd like to see 50", well why do you want to see fifty? Don't you want the best person for the job? Whether they're male or female or what their culture or religion or whatever is? Don't you want the best person for the New Zealand Police? Why do you have to go for a demographic—and that annoys me because I know it's statistics and political, and I go "just get the best person for the job, set your criteria, this is your criteria, people either meet it or they don't". It's really quite simple. (No.2/Group.2)

However it should be noted that a few women did believe that the “tick in the box” mentality of the Police had changed in recent times, *“I think it's really... moving forward in a positive way, and it's not just doing quota, it's actually getting the right people as well”* (No.5/Group.2).

Summary

Due to women's low representation in Police, women are less likely to work or associate with other females. While this was not a concern for the majority of participants, there was also a feeling that more females would create a more balanced mix. Women often denied having female role models within Police. However, as interviews progressed women often identified positive role models and these were generally women who held supervisory positions, or who had attained positions in traditionally male dominated specialist groups. Furthermore, women looked up to women who had successfully balanced their career progression with having a family.

The Police's aim to try to increase female representation can often be interpreted as the Police trying to attain a “magic number” and in the process it may give the impression that women are being hired at the expense of quality of individuals. This perception of an almost “reverse discrimination” can effectively alienate women as well as impede their motivations to seek promotion if they feel that they are going to be selected on gender rather than merit (Archbold et al., 2010; Hyman, 2000). This perception goes against women's belief that they

compete equally with men in the workplace and it undermines the hard work women have invested in proving themselves in the job.

Women's "token" status is also an effective way to analyse how women resist gender in order to both align themselves with the dominant values of the police culture, but also to construct their identity as police officers and not "female" police officers. Thus, women strip gender away as a factor that shapes their experiences in order to see themselves as equal to men and in terms of what they can achieve in Police. This is consistent with the importance women placed on merit for job recognition. Women try to resist gender by proving themselves as "one of the boys" and thus aligning themselves within the accepted masculine values both within the camaraderie and the construction of the police officer as essentially "male". Being seen as receiving special treatment undermines their position as "one of the boys" and instead enhances women's visibility as "tokens" within the male dominated culture. To affirm their allegiance to masculine culture, women often distanced themselves from stereotypical feminine traits by undergoing a process of "othering" of certain women. This not only proves women's alignment with the dominant culture, it also works to sustain the stereotypes of female police officers that continue to oppress and impede women's full and accepted integration within Police.

9

The Unsolvable Dilemma: Being a Mother and Being a Police Officer

[I]t's so much harder being a female in the Police you know, to think about family stuff. . . it would be interesting to see how female police officers that are mums work, how the job works for them, or if it works at all.

—No.14/Group.1

As the chapter heading suggests, there exists a tension or an “unsolvable dilemma” between family life—particularly surrounding motherhood—and fulfilling the expectations of the occupational role. The difficulty in reconciling these two roles has been identified as one of the primary barriers to both women’s retention and progression, particularly prospects for promotion (Charlesworth & Whittenbury, 2007; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Hyman, 2000; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Mossman et al., 2008; PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010; Scott, 2001; Silvestri, 2003; Waugh, 1994, 1996). The Police have been active in implementing EEO policies, for example the FEO policy promotes a better work-life balance by allowing employees to work part-time hours. As at June 2011, 3.7 percent of all constabulary staff worked on a part-time basis. Interestingly, 17.8 percent of the female constabulary were working part-time, whereas only 0.5 percent of the male constabulary had taken up part-time opportunities (New Zealand Police, 2011c). Yet, irrespective of these policies, the issues surrounding family-work-life balance continues to be a pertinent one. Indeed, both New Zealand and international research has found that FEO policies have had mixed results (Charlesworth & Whittenbury, 2007; Hyman, 2000; Mossman et al., 2008; Silvestri, 2003). This

suggests that policies alone cannot solve this problem. This chapter sets out to explore what lies beneath the surface of this complex issue.

This issue of family-work-life balance arose in the vast majority of interviews with female police officers, and all participants discussed the problem women face in the workplace once they have children. Interestingly, the interview schedule (see Appendix G) which served as a guide for the interviews did not have any questions specifically about family-work-life balance, or having children. Instead, this topic arose organically during the interviews and was evidently a significant issue in the minds of female police officers. To demonstrate how the perceived incompatibility of motherhood and policing creates an unsolvable dilemma, this chapter will examine women's narratives of family-work-life balance and having children to illustrate how this poses a barrier to both retention and progression.

Motherhood as a Barrier to Retention and Promotion

Assisting employees to find the correct family-work-life balance has been an ongoing issue for Police (Hyman, 2000; PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010; Scott, 2001; Waugh, 1994). Hyman's (2000) report of women in the CIB found that the difficulty in combining work and home responsibilities was the most significant barrier to progression and retention of women. The current research was conducted 12 years after the release of Hyman's report, yet has come to largely the same conclusion. Furthermore, according to Key Informant 3, this balance is the most cited reason by women leaving the Police in exit surveys.

Aside from one woman who never had intentions to have children, all the participants had considered the implications of having children. A few participants who had served 10 years or more and had no children spoke about how they had thought about it at some stage during their careers. Indeed, the younger serving police officers who had not had children shared their thoughts and concerns about starting a family and how this would impact on their career.

Women's Awareness of Motherhood as a Barrier

The reasons that family and work-life pose a barrier to women stems from two underlying reasons. Firstly, is the belief that motherhood is incompatible with police work which is a consequence of the prevailing features of police culture and the nature of the job, and secondly are the wider societal beliefs which still hold mothers accountable as the primary caregivers of children (Hyman, 2000; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Powell, 1999).

In the current research, the women interviewed felt that starting a family could have detrimental effects on any career goals they had. In particular, it was seen that motherhood inhibited chances of promotion due to women not being able to dedicate to full-time hours on the frontline post-pregnancy:

[T]he biggest issue for women to stay in the Police is maybe the job satisfaction for those female cops who have children and because they don't want to come back frontline, and they haven't got the CIB training, they end up in a poxy boring little job somewhere. So where is the job satisfaction out of doing that sort of thing because you want to have children? . . . so that would be the only issue, the fact that women have children. (No.6/Group.2)

[F]or a lot of the girls that are in the uniform branch for example, the younger girls, if they have babies they get thrown into all the crappy kind of jobs, but the reality is you can't be frontline and you know they'll always find you a job somewhere. But for most of them it's usually something that's not particularly inspiring, and it can be quite hard for them. (No.10/Group.2)

It will be recalled from chapter 4, that job satisfaction and prospects for advancement were both significant reasons that motivated women to enter the job. However, Holdaway and Parker (1998) found that women were often more concerned about career advancement than males. Additionally, Silvestri (2003) draws attention to the importance of "time serving" as a way for police officers to prove their commitment and credibility, thus moving up to the upper echelons requires attaining an identity characterised by a long, uninterrupted, full-time career history. This creates a dilemma for many women aiming to climb the hierarchy. For instance, one participant spoke about the impact having children

had on her career trajectory:

I guess the only thing that holds me back from promotion, is the fact that I do want to have more kids. . . with my last pregnancy I ended up having to go into the Traffic Crash Office and into roles behind the scenes where I was just pushing paper most of the time, because I was pregnant. And then I had time off to have baby, and then when I came back I went straight back on the frontline but it was like I had to start all over again. So you sort of, take two steps forward, and then you have your baby, you're right back to the beginning again and you've got to start again. (No.13/Group.1)

Therefore, consistent with earlier research (Scott, 2001; Silvestri, 2003; Waugh, 1994), women's narratives suggest that when they are considering having children they are often faced with tough questions on whether they want to have children and essentially rebuild their portfolio within Police, or whether they dedicate themselves entirely to the job. Moreover, Hyman (2000) found that childcare commitments were found to have a negative impact on women's prospects of being recruited or appointed to certain squads. This is concerning as many of the younger participants expressed both the intention of having children and joining specialist squads. For example, one participant discussed her dream of joining a specialist squad and went on to talk about how it would conflict with her personal life and her intention of having children. She concluded:

[M]y partner and I have decided that it's probably not the best thing for me right now just cos I'd never get to see him, cos you're always on call and we want to have children soon so yeah, probably not because it'll be maybe five years down the track and then I'll be nearly 40. (No.4/Group.1)

This reflects women's perception that having children is incompatible with certain areas of policing. It also echoes Archbold and Hassell's (2009) finding that women have an awareness that shift work, or the pressures of specialist roles, can negatively impact on their personal relationships. Another younger serving police officer expressed her concern about the possibility of not returning to work after having a child:

That's something I'm not prepared to do... and it scares me, like I was thinking about it in the past I've been like "oh man I'm never going to have a family cos it'll stuff up my career". (No.12/Group.1)

This is perhaps why in the previous chapter, women often saw women who had found the balance between motherhood and being a police officer as positive role models.

Women's awareness of motherhood as a barrier to promotion and progression creates a perception that women ultimately need to sacrifice some or all of their plans for a family, in order to get near the top of the Police hierarchy. This perception contributes to the glass ceiling that prevents women from reaching top positions within the organisation (Powell, 1999; Silvestri, 2003; Waugh, 1994). When this issue arose during interviews, it was evident that women were aware of the few women who had managed to climb the hierarchy:

[I]n the sworn roles we've only ever got to a Superintendent level, and the three that I'm aware of... two have been married with no children, and the other one's not married with no children. So we still haven't got that dynamic right yet... and it'll come, it'll take time you know... but there's always a sacrifice. (No.5/Group.2)

I've been to conferences and stuff where they try and figure out why there aren't more women in the upper echelons of the police management, and it always come back to the fact that women go and have children, and that's their priority, their career isn't necessarily their priority anymore, and a lot of the women who are in the top echelons of the Police, they've either not had children, or their husband's or their partner's been the main caregiver, so I don't know what that will mean for me. (No.11/Group.2)

There almost appears to be an acceptance that women who have children cannot reach a certain level in the Police hierarchy. The idea of women in positions of power sacrificing motherhood was somewhat a normalised understanding of the world beyond Police "... you look at the women politicians and all around the place, there's always a sacrifice if they've got family as well as work" (No.5/Group.2). However, these understandings of what women must do, or not do, to reach certain levels in an organisation serve as informal barriers inhibiting women's ability to progress to higher ranks. In turn, these ideas reflect the prejudices that continue to remain within Police which reinforce essentialist ideas about the role and capabilities of women who have children, as well as what it means to be a successful police officer.

Explaining the Perception of the Unsolvable Dilemma

Dedication to the job, hard-work, willingness to work overtime, commitment and loyalty to your team and your partner on and off the job, all comprise core aspects of police culture (Fielding, 1994; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Reiner, 2000; Smith & Gray, 1985). The introduction of women is already perceived as a threat to many facets of the culture (Heidensohn, 1992; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Martin, 1980; Smith & Gray, 1985). The addition of children further undermines both the traditional image of policing and the legitimacy of women's presence in policing in terms of both their dedication to the job and the belief that women should not be promoted as they will have children and then leave the job (Fielding, 1988; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Martin, 1980). While, there was a general feeling that Police would be supportive of female officers with children, having children was essentially incompatible with police work—in particular, frontline policing, which invariably involves shift work. Hence, the construction of motherhood and policing as incompatible is tied to the idea that women who have children are no longer dedicated to their job, or more importantly their team, thus undermining the team solidarity. Indeed, Holdaway and Parker (1998) found that women felt that if they spoke about the difficulty of working overtime or working particular shifts due to child commitments, their colleagues would deem them unsuitable for police work. Therefore, having a child meant that women's minds are no longer dedicated solely to the job, but rather they are preoccupied with the role of being a mother. For example, when asked whether it is easy for women to progress in the Police, one participant replied:

I think it's as easy for women as it is for men, but it gets to that point when you get to a certain level you're at the age or whatever that you want to go have children, you've just got a few more things to consider than simply your career. I think that's where women, probably choose family over career, not all of them, but I don't think you can do both. . . If you want to be the Commissioner of Police you have to give the 60 hours a week. . . If you want to get promoted through the ranks you can't be part time, you can't be FEO if you want to be moving up the ranks, because you're not giving everything to that job. (No.11/Group.2)

This quote also provides an insight into why FEO policies have previously been found to have mixed results (Charlesworth & Whittenbury, 2007; Hyman, 2000; Mossman et al., 2008; Silvestri, 2003). This sentiment was expressed by another participant who commented, “. . . *because you can't do any fun stuff, you can't be frontline, you know what I mean, because we can't have part-time workers on frontline*” (No.6/Group.2). Thus working part-time is not only seen as incompatible with frontline policing, it is also perceived by fellow officers as what Charlesworth and Whittenbury (2007) call, “part-time and part-committed”.

This reflects an entrenched idea that being a hard worker and motherhood are incompatible with frontline policing, or taking the job “seriously”. It suggests that women that have children are not giving “everything” to the job and therefore are not deserving of progressing to higher ranks. Moreover, discussions around the impact of children on a woman’s career were often justified by the fact that as women, they chose to have children:

[I]t's not the Police's fault, it's just the reality of the job, I don't think, the Police will ever be able to do something to change that fact. It's just a fact as a woman, if you make the choice that you're going to have children, you're just going to have to, for however long you need to, you're going to have to just change what your career aspirations are in the Police and find something that works for that. (No.10/Group.2)

In turn, there was an underlying belief that the decision to have children meant that women accepted that there may be negative consequences on their career progression.

Motherhood and Career Planning

The difficulty in addressing the problem balancing family and work life is a factor contributing to the glass ceiling (Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Martin, 1980; Scott, 2001; Silvestri, 2003; Waugh, 1994). To elaborate, this difficulty is perceived as an unsolvable dilemma thus effectively keeping women in the lower ranks and out of the supervisory or management roles. When discussing this issue with participants, the importance of career planning for those considering having children was emphasised by a few of the longer serving participants. Again, the importance of “time” was something women were acutely aware of when

considering the direction of their careers. Women often need to be strategic in their career planning at all stages of their career, particularly prior to, during and after pregnancy. This supports Silvestri's (2003) finding that women's organised and tactical approaches to career planning reflects their understanding that they need to demonstrate a commitment to the job and not be "left behind". Furthermore, earlier research has argued that policies allowing police officers to work part-time is a step forward as they may capture officers who would have otherwise left the organisation, however, part-time work is still not considered to contribute to an officer's credibility and commitment (Charlesworth & Whittenbury, 2007; Silvestri, 2003). Credibility is still seen as something attained through full-time dedication. For instance, when talking about barriers to retention, one participant observed:

But see the thing is, a lot of women have children. . . to be part-time in the Police looking after a kid at home and stuff—because you get your street cred from working shift work, from doing this [points to uniform] or going in the CIB or stuff like that. So any women in the Police who has children is disadvantaged for promotion. (No.6/Group.2)

Thus, it is evident that particular aspects of policing are favoured and legitimised, and those that cannot perform to the same level are seen as unsuitable for policing.

Furthermore, Silvestri's (2003) findings are consistent with the present research where participants drew on their own experiences of understanding that a child can disrupt your career trajectory and therefore planning ahead to have children was crucial. This could be achieved by factoring in steps needed to obtain promotion or move into a particular area in Police, prior to becoming pregnant to ensure you did not end up in an unfulfilling job. One participant, drawing on her own experiences, spoke in detail about how women could manage motherhood and their career goals with career planning and supportive supervisors. When speaking about whether she thought there could be any changes to the working environment, she replied:

I think the only one is, in general, with the managers developing all staff, I think they need to just make sure, if they want to focus on women. . . they need to make sure they sit down and talk to them about their career aspirations and you know actually say "well

you know, do you want children?" and if you do "hey, let's try and work this in".
(No.10/Group.2)

Furthermore, speaking about the role of supervisors, she went on to say:

Supervisors can help them get jobs that they want before they, you know, go and get pregnant the second time or whatever because supervisors can help them get parts of their career ticked off so that they can slot it in you know into their next stage, but I think there needs to be a lot more of that in so far as retention and, make the job work for them. (No.10/Group.2)

The need to plan for a family as a female in Police is seen as necessary due to the nature of the job, and the perceived incompatibility of frontline policing with motherhood.

Examining the views of women in *Group 2*—who had served more than 10 years in the Police—it became evident that family planning was a way for women to manage the balance between sacrificing opportunities to progress in Police and having a family. The fact that there is often a sacrifice if you want to have both was very real in the minds of the women in *Group 2*, as well as many in *Group 1*. However, what is of concern, are the optimistic views of participants who had served fewer years service and had not yet developed an understanding of the importance of family planning. For instance, when one participant with under one year's service was asked whether she thought planning for a family was necessary, she replied:

I don't think so, I'm very lucky that the organisation really supports females and families and it's really important because of the nature of the job. I know a lot of women that have taken a year off, and they've come back. . . it seems to be really flexible and supportive, and so I'm kind of looking forward to that stage in my life when that does happen because I'm going to have that job security, plus I'll be getting the family that I want, yeah it'll be cool (laughs). (No.12/Group.1)

Indeed, a couple of women spoke about their regret of not having children earlier in their careers, or before joining the Police, or joining the Police earlier so that motherhood did not disrupt the longevity expected in the role.

Therefore, while the Police may have implemented policies such as FEO, which are intended to promote a healthier work-life-balance, there is a danger that

women do not fully appreciate the possible implications motherhood can have to their future careers. The strong feeling of job security that participants identified as a positive of the job created an image that it would be easy to slot back into the same position after having a child. While this is an excellent indicator that the participants feel that they work in a supportive environment, what poses as a barrier for women returning to work after having children is how they will be treated and perceived by supervisors and colleagues. Additionally of concern are the types of roles women will be assigned to and how this may or may not impact on their ability to achieve career aspirations they may have. For that reason, if Police want to effectively retain women who are returning to work after having children it is vital to ensure that women do return to a job that they find satisfying.

Summary

This research identified a perceived unsolvable dilemma. There was an overarching feeling amongst the participants that being a mother is incompatible with police work—particularly frontline policing. This issue largely relates to both essentialist ideas about gender, in particular the role of women and men within the family, but primarily due to the core aspects of police culture and the “nature of the job”. While the camaraderie was seen as a positive aspect of the job, it is this side of the culture that contributes to the perceived incompatibility of motherhood and policing, thus inhibiting change. To elaborate, being a mother was seen as compromising a woman’s ability to be dedicated to the job and to the team ethos of policing, particularly due to the nature of shift work and the potential to work overtime. In turn, these perceptions create a difficult working environment for women where they feel that they must make a choice between being a mother or sacrificing their career aspirations in the Police.

Following Silvestri’s (2003) assertion that “time” served is a crucial consideration for promotion and other career opportunities, the unsolvable dilemma adds to the glass ceiling as women who have children generally find it difficult to return to frontline work full-time. The introduction of FEO policies are a move toward creating a healthier work-life balance, however, as Charlesworth and Whittenbury (2007) observe, part-time work is concentrated amongst lower-

ranking sworn officers, and lower-level non-sworn staff. Within this, women account for the majority of the uptake of part-time work, and these positions tend to be located at the bottom of the hierarchy in non-operational roles. This coupled with the tendency to associate FEO policies with “women who have children” creates a barrier to the full acceptance of part-time work as a legitimate form of work for police staff at all levels of the hierarchy.

The idea that frontline policing and family care is incompatible needs to be addressed and Police need to work on creating an image of policing that is compatible with family commitments, particularly amongst frontline and supervisory staff. Women had views on how this balance could be managed more effectively. In particular, more focus needs to be placed on fostering supervisors who are aware and attuned to women’s career aspirations. Having a family is generally something women plan for, therefore planning their career paths around childrearing should be encouraged, particularly if Police want women to return after having children. Encouraging women who enjoy frontline work to return to the frontline after having children is crucial in the goal of seeing more women progress into higher-ranking positions.

10

Conclusion

This final chapter will bring full circle the key arguments drawn out in the previous five chapters as well as address the implications of the themes of “contradiction” and “change” discussed in chapter 4. Increasing the number of women, particularly within the senior ranks is important to the Police. However, despite concerted efforts and significant progress over the past decade, women continue to represent a minority. Moreover, the level of representation in New Zealand is less favourable than in comparable jurisdictions, such as Australia, and England and Wales. This research emerges in the post-COI climate and is therefore a pertinent time for the Police. The release of the COI in 2007 created greater momentum for change to improve women’s representation, working conditions and transform the culture. With this in mind, this research set out to gain a greater understanding of why women’s representation is lacking, particularly in higher-ranking positions, and to explore the reasons why women stay in the job and why they may consider leaving.

Insights into working in the Police from the viewpoints of women themselves provided the basis of this research and their experiences shed light on a number of barriers to women’s progression and retention in the Police. Five key interweaving barriers emerged. Firstly, was the emphasis on physical skills and the exciting aspects of policing which reinforced the traditional “crime fighting” image of policing. Secondly was the cult of masculinity and the importance placed on the police camaraderie. Thirdly was the persistence of sexual harassment in the workplace. Fourthly, was women’s continued minority or “token” status within all

ranks of the Police. Lastly, was the perceived unsolvable dilemma of balancing motherhood and being a police officer.

Negotiating Gender and Police Culture

Exploration of women's experiences revealed that women adopted the core features of police culture, and it was evident that women were "doing gender" and simultaneously resisting it as they negotiated gender expectations and the occupational role. "Doing gender" provides a framework in which to examine how the "gendered nature of policing is accomplished" (Chan et al., 2003, p. 278). It has been widely posited that women in the Police are confronted with the dilemma of either choosing their femininity or subscribing to the masculinist culture—to subscribe to the culture is essentially to become "one of the boys" (Heidensohn, 1992; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Martin, 1980; Young, 1991). Thus, women find that they are "doing" gender as well as doing police work and thus need to strike a balance between being a "female" and being a "police officer" (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). One way women are said to cope with the barriers they confront in their work environment is to locate themselves along the *POLICE*women/*policeWOMEN* continuum (Martin, 1980). The findings in the present research both reinforce and challenge Martin's (1980) well established dichotomy of the female police officer—the *POLICE*women and the *policeWOMEN*. Women's narratives proved to be more nuanced as they negotiated the balance between their gender role and the occupational role.

Women were "doing gender" when they spoke of women's physical inferiority to men and emphasised men's physical contributions to the job. At the same time, women drew on traits they believed women brought specifically to the job, such as their caring and nurturing nature, but more importantly, their communication skills. Consequently, women find they must negotiate a balance between being a "female" and being a "police officer". Furthermore, women tolerated and often accepted men's sexist banter and some incidents of sexual harassment, as "boys will be boys". Thus, women reinforced essentialist understandings of men, particularly their sexual nature.

While women were found to be “doing gender” in some circumstances, at other times they actively resisted it. This was evident in how women expressed their willingness and ability to fight and their emphasis on the physical aspects of policing, which they saw as a primary aspect of the job. Furthermore, women often resisted essentialist ideas regarding women when they felt there was pressure to prove themselves to be as good as “one of the boys” and adopt the features of the male dominated culture. Moreover, women distinguished themselves from feminine traits that were seen as undesirable by “othering” women seen to possess these traits. These “other” women were spoken about as falling into two categories. Firstly, “queen bees” who liked to interact solely with men, and secondly “drama queens” who embodied traditionally feminine characteristics, such as being “precious”, “sensitive” and “high maintenance”. By identifying this perceived “other”, women were able to align themselves with the dominant male culture and therefore define themselves as “police officers” rather than “female” police officers.

Women further resisted gender through their belief in equal status. Chan et al. (2003) describe the rejection of differential treatment as “doing gender equality”. This was evident when women praised other women who had gained positions in traditionally male dominated specialist squads—as they had attained those positions by reaching the same standards as men. Even though women had identified differences in male and female characteristics, many also spoke of men possessing communication skills and empathy and therefore denied policing skills were inherently male or female. This idea was rooted in the belief that how an officer is treated in the workplace is based on “personality” and “individuality” rather than being a “gender thing”. Furthermore, women placed importance on job recognition and opportunities based on merit, and they vehemently opposed the idea of women gaining opportunities due to their gender, or being seen as a “tick in the box”.

Looking at how women “do gender” and resist gender, it was evident women engaged in a process of “othering” to distinguish themselves from certain groups and strengthen membership with others. “Othering” was not only limited to identifying undesirable feminine traits but also how they “othered” those that did not fit in, and more importantly, accepted and sustained the dominant in-

group culture. Thus, they distinguished themselves from the undesirable out-group. Isolation and in-group solidarity was strengthened amongst members through their perceived disconnect with negative media and public perceptions of policing, and this reinforced the “us” and “them” divide. Moreover, incidents of misconduct or inappropriate behaviour often relied on the “rotten apples” theory, thus women were able to align themselves with the positive aspects of the culture while simultaneously rejecting the negative aspects.

How women negotiate gender and the occupational role reflects the complex and often-contradictory way in which women officers understand their role and the occupation itself. It reflects the gendered nature of their work environment. Within the New Zealand climate, this has been further confused with the layer of perceived equality and the rhetoric of “change”, particularly since the release of the COI. The barriers highlighted in this research overlap and have causal effects on each other, and what becomes clear is the police culture continues to be the underlying feature, thus inhibiting real change. This research found that women were sustaining the core features of police culture. Women’s strong adherence to the ideals of the culture was reflected in their defensiveness of it. In defending the culture, women reinforced the core values of the culture, particularly the positive ones such as the camaraderie, and thus aligned themselves with the male dominated in-group and distinguished themselves from the out-group. In turn, this reinforced the stereotypical archetypal “feminine other” officer not seen as compatible with policing, therefore perpetuating the inherently masculine image of policing and maintaining women’s status as “tokens”.

The Persistence of the Police Culture

The contradiction in women’s articulation of barriers, or rather, the belief that there are no longer any barriers, is a reflection of how the women see and understand their world. As explained in chapter 5, this contradiction is of concern. If Police want to discover which barriers continue to inhibit women’s full integration in Police, it is not enough to merely ask women officers to identify barriers they believe continue to exist. Underlying women’s indirect identifications

of barriers were a number of taken for granted understandings of both gender and policing which can help to explain the persistence of the internal culture.

Firstly, is the gendered nature of organisations which serve as important sites for men to construct and reinforce their identity (Acker, 1998; Dick & Jankowicz, 2001). The dualism of masculine/feminine, public/private, and work/home exists not only in wider society but is transferred to the police organisation (Connell, 2002; Martin & Jurik, 2007). Consequently, “real” police work is seen as a man’s domain, while “soft” police work is seen as appropriate for women. Moreover, the transfer of patriarchy into the police arena explains women’s perceived role as mother and men’s role as worker, hence why female officers who have children are seen as unsuited for policing. The presence of women is seen as a threat to the masculine order (Martin, 1980). Indeed, the reason given by participants for women’s treatment within the internal culture often returned to attitudes toward women in wider society. Women did not see their negative experiences with male colleagues as differing from that which they would expect in any other organisation.

Secondly, is the perpetuation of the traditional “crime fighting” archetypal police officer who is characterised as male, masculine, and physically strong (Bittner, 1979; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Loftus, 2009; Martin, 1980; Waddington, 1999). This officer is one who seeks danger and excitement in the pursuit of dealing with “real” crime. This accepted view means that women do not fit comfortably within this image. Instead, women are characterised by their empathetic, nurturing and caring nature thus reinforcing essentialist ideas of male and females. Consequently, women forged a new image of the female police officer that did not threaten the established “crime fighting” image of policing. Instead, women accommodated this image by creating a companion image that emphasised assertiveness, being strong minded and hardworking, and possessing advanced communication skills—therefore legitimising their position within policing. Women were balancing their “inner cowboy” as well as simultaneously balancing their cowboy counterparts with traits they thought they brought specifically to the job.

Lastly, are core values of police culture which have stood the test of time (Loftus, 2009; Rowe, 2008). In the present research the camaraderie, the emphasis

on action aspects of policing, the mission perspective, the cynicism towards the media and the public, the nature of policing, and the masculinist culture—were evident in women’s narratives. Many features of police culture are embedded in the psyche of the Police, and thus have come to be accepted as part and parcel of being a police officer. The accepted nature of the culture became apparent when women denied having to alter their personality to “fit in”. Yet, women invoked their job satisfaction, hard work and dedication, and particularly their “thick skin” and assertiveness to cope with negative experiences in their work environment—both on the job and amongst colleagues. This supports previous New Zealand findings which also found women needed to adopt a “thick skin” and maintain a level of assertiveness in the work environment (Hyman, 2000; PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010; Scott, 2001).

Indeed, negative aspects of the culture are seen as something needed to be tolerated in order to preserve the positive aspects, all of which form one part of a whole culture. It is acknowledged that participants spoke positively about some aspects of the culture, thus it is important that approaches are not seen to undermine these features. However, how the culture has developed has created environment where the positive and negative features begin to feed off each other, and this is where the danger lies. Therefore, it is trying to weaken the strength of some of the core negative features that needs to be addressed. This will ensure that the positive and healthy aspects of policing are preserved and changes are not met with resistance.

The perseverance of essentialist ideas of gender, the traditional archetypal police officer, and the prevailing features of the police culture as outlined above have become entrenched within Police and have therefore come to be accepted as the status quo. Consequently, women did not see these factors as “barriers” as they were not seen as ideas that are capable of changing—they were just seen as business as usual. In other words, these understandings are seen as static factors and therefore impede attempts to change the culture. Consequently, women have needed to construct their own identity within this framework in order to fit in amongst their male colleagues.

Future Directions

It is paramount that the Police continue to work on changing the internal culture and the prevailing beliefs that underlie it. Indeed, the barriers explored in this research often stemmed from the underlying features of the police culture. This finding is consistent with previous New Zealand research and reports which have called for an overhaul of the prevailing culture (Bazley, 2007; Hyman, 2000; Office of the Auditor-General, 2012; PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010, 2012; Scott, 2001; Waugh, 1994). Features such as the camaraderie, trust, and teamwork are considered crucial in policing; to undermine these aspects of the police culture is seen as undermining the very heart of what it is to be a police officer. Hence, any changes that are seen to disrupt this foundation will be met with resistance. However, the positive and negative features are not mutually exclusive. Negative features are not essential to uphold the overarching culture; indeed, they harm the culture rather than support it. Changes need to be understood as positive movements that will merely evolve the culture into something more inclusive rather than undermine these cherished core aspects.

It is clear that sexual harassment is still occurring in the workplace. This was also found in the recent Office of the Auditor-General (2012) review of the COI. The persistence of what appears to be a small group of senior male officers who continue to display inappropriate behaviour of a sexual nature towards female staff needs to be addressed. Particularly as this research identified that women will tolerate a level of sexual harassment as part of the culture, they also prefer to handle situations on their own, and there is a fear of ostracism if wrongdoings of fellow colleagues are reported. Minimising the seriousness of incidents by referring to “rotten apples” or the “old school” mentality only serves to maintain the wall of silence surrounding sexual harassment. All incidents of sexual harassment should be taken seriously particularly when there appears to be such consistency and persistency in the types of harassment and bullying that is occurring. The Police need to ensure that there is not a perception that due to an officer’s seniority, their behaviour is immune to scrutiny and discipline.

While many women denied having females as role models, it became clear that women were aware of other women who had attained top jobs or positions in specialist squads. Therefore increasing the numbers of women in roles that are currently lacking female representation is key to addressing the catch-22 where females need to progress in order to become role models, but their progression is impeded due to the barriers they continue to face (Scott, 2001). Consequently, more emphasis needs to be placed on creating positive role models for women. The interviews indicate that good role models can be male or female. Indeed some rejected any notion of female role models. However, many looked up to women who had progressed in the Police and had successfully balanced having a family with their career.

Why women continue to be poorly represented in the senior ranks is a dilemma the Police are trying to address (New Zealand Police, 2011b; Office of the Auditor-General, 2012). In the present research, women expressed a high level of job satisfaction and were evidently dedicated to being a police officer. They held ambitious career goals and were optimistic about their ability to progress within the Police. Moreover, women believed they were hard workers and could succeed in the Police based on their capabilities. Therefore, the groundwork is there to develop some excellent female leaders within the Police. The Police need to invest more time in encouraging women to plan for their careers. This involves educating police officers on career opportunities and career paths, and advising them on how they can work towards achieving their goals. There appears to be a taken for granted understanding of what one can achieve in the Police. However, to newcomers, the Police is a large organisation whose internal structures are largely unknown to outsiders. It became clear from participants who had served fewer years in the job that there was a level of uncertainty around how they could progress within the Police.

Additionally, women need to be advised from the outset how motherhood can be managed with the job without compromising any career ambitions they may have. Consistent with previous research the issue with family and work life balance continues to be a pertinent one (Hyman, 2000; Scott, 2001; Silvestri, 2003; Waugh, 1994, 1996). The interviews revealed that having children is a major concern, especially in terms of how it will impact on their careers. There

desperately needs to be a shift away from the internal cultural understanding that once women have children they are no longer taking their job seriously. This belief is tied to the strong camaraderie in the Police where motherhood is seen as compromising a woman's dedication to her team. As Silvestri (2003) asserts, the importance of "time" served is crucial in terms of an officer's dedication and loyalty to the job, and is indeed crucial in terms of progression and prospects for promotion. There is a continued perception that when women have children, and they cannot work frontline full-time, they are not dedicated to their job and are more dedicated to their family and therefore are not worthy of promotion. While women's priorities may now be split due to family commitments, this does not mean they are no longer dedicated to their job nor does it mean their career ambitions have disappeared. A woman's career should not be hampered due to her commitment to her family, or because she wishes to start one. Both PNHQ and supervisors need to be better informed on how this issue is impacting on women's career paths. As mentioned earlier, the foundation is there to create excellent female leaders within the Police, but as it currently stands it appears the Police are missing opportunities to utilise the great women they currently have within their ranks.

Areas Warranting Further Inquiry

As mentioned in chapter 5, the amount of data gained from the interviews with female police officers was far greater and richer than anticipated. However, there are two issues which fell outside of the scope of the five barriers identified but are pertinent to understanding women's experiences in the Police. In particular, female police officers' views of, and interaction with, supervisors is an area that warrants further exploration. Women's opinions on supervisors and management came up in passing. Their experiences were mixed to negative. This supports the finding that while women are slightly more engaged and are more satisfied with their job than their male colleagues, women are less satisfied than men with the management of their team for example—performance management and supervision, and development opportunities (Office of the Auditor-General, 2012). While it is acknowledged that the Police are taking steps to strengthen

leadership of their senior staff, it was evident that there was inconsistency in the type of information women were receiving regarding career paths from supervisors and management. Moreover, women spoke of both great male supervisors and others who fit within the “old school” type of policing which was not seen as conducive to a healthy working environment. These were based on women’s concrete experiences and therefore were not merely “perceptions”. Supervisors play a vital role in setting the culture of a group, setting standards of expected behaviour, and are a key source of information regarding career options. Excellent supervisors can be great role models for both male and female officers.

Closely connected is the issue of promotions. There was a general consensus that there were equal opportunities for promotion and positions on the various squads regardless of gender, and that the hiring processes were based on fairness. However, whether or not these views were based on their perception or actual experiences was not made explicit. There were a few officers who spoke about the “old boys club” networks in regards to gaining career opportunities. Moreover, two officers expressed the view that the competencies in job descriptions for senior positions, particularly management roles, tended to be based on qualities and career paths that are more consistent with male officers rather than females’. In other words, they reflected the job experiences of the position’s predecessor(s) who were generally male. They questioned both the possible bias in hiring procedures, and the correctness of competencies in job descriptions. This raises an interesting issue, particularly as one key informant spoke of the different career paths women in top roles have taken compared to the general path that males in the same positions have taken. Therefore, the hiring process and competencies required in management roles are worth examining.

The Problem with the “Change” Rhetoric

Irrespective of the fact that women do adopt the culture and speak positively about some aspects, such as the camaraderie—the culture continues to be problematic. The resistance women confront in their workplace can often be tied back to the prevailing police culture. This was evident in drivers behind the

persistence of sexual harassment²⁴ and the belief that motherhood is incompatible with policing.

While the Police continue to work towards creating a healthier internal culture, recent reviews of the COI suggest that progress to change the culture has stagnated (Office of the Auditor-General, 2012; PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2010). This is problematic when there is a strongly held belief that the organisation has now “changed”. The belief in change increases as one moves up the hierarchy through the sworn ranks and into PNHQ. The consequence of this rhetoric of “change” is that it serves to mask the perseverance of some of the traditional police culture features that continue to hamper women’s full acceptance and integration in the Police. There is a belief that the existence of the “old” culture is merely a “perception” while the new “changed” culture is now the “reality”. This leaves the Police at a crossroads where there is a clash between loyalty to the “old” culture and the rhetoric of the new “changed” culture—these have yet to be successfully combined. Instead, the positive rhetoric now lies on top of the old belief system masking the outward visibility of the old traditional values as its members live under the guise of being part of a “changed” organisation. While there is no doubt that there are police officers who are not merely adhering to the “change” rhetoric, but actually embrace it, there is also no doubt that there are police officers who are merely paying lip service to such changes while still maintaining the traditional values. To do otherwise would undermine the very foundation of what they believe it means to be a police officer.

²⁴ Sexual harassment occurring in the workplace was also found in 2012 review of the COI (Office of the Auditor-General, 2012).

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Appendices

Appendix A: Key Informant Information Sheet and Invitation to Participate

INFORMATION SHEET AND INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

Retaining women police officers: How women officers negotiate and experience police culture in New Zealand

Researcher: Shannon Chan: School of Social and Cultural Studies, Victoria University of Wellington

I am a Masters student in criminology at Victoria University of Wellington. I am currently undertaking a research project which will explore the experiences of women police officers in New Zealand. Women continue to represent a minority within the New Zealand Police and there has been little research done focussing solely on women police officers in New Zealand. I am interested in learning about women police officer's experiences during their policing career. The goal of my research and of these interviews is to learn about the police culture from their perspective and to identify factors which have both encouraged and discouraged them during their careers—this will help to identify barriers to the retention of women police officers. The University's Human Ethics Committee has approved this research.

Invitation

This project involves interviewing female police officers to learn about their experiences within the New Zealand Police. However, prior to these interviews, it is important to gather information relating to the employment of female police officers more generally.

Therefore, I would like to invite those who have knowledge and expertise in the area of employment of female police officers to participate in this study. The intention is to gain knowledge on issues relating to retention, recruitment and promotion of female police officers. The information obtained would form the backdrop for the qualitative research.

The length of each interview will be approximately one hour. Participation is completely voluntary and you may decline to answer questions or withdraw or terminate the interview at any time. If you wish to withdraw from the research project you may do so without question at any time before 31 December 2011.

Confidentiality

It is important to me that you feel comfortable and that you are able to speak freely—to ensure this, what you say will be kept confidential. With your permission, interviews will

be recorded and transcribed, these will be stored securely and only my supervisors and I will have access to it.

You will not be named (or personally identified) in the final report—although I may want to use quotes to illustrate certain points in the research, what you say will not be attributed to you personally and anything you say will be presented in a way that cannot identify you. However, with your permission, I would like to link the quote to your role/position/section within the New Zealand Police.

Where the results will be published

Two copies of the final thesis will be put on Closed Reserve at the Victoria University library in fulfilment of the Masters requirements and a copy will be deposited at the New Zealand Police Library. Results of the study may also be published in academic journals.

A summary of the research

If you are interested in receiving the final results of this study, I can email you a summary of the research after the examination process is completed (this will be after 29 March 2012). There is a space for you to provide your email address on the consent form, or you can contact me at any time.

Who to contact if you have questions

If you have any questions about the project, please contact me or either of my supervisors via any of the contact details below.

Researcher

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Appendix B: Key Informant Consent Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

Retaining women police officers: How women officers negotiate and experience police culture in New Zealand

- ☐ I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.
- ☐ I understand I may decline to answer any questions, or withdraw or terminate the interview at any time.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this research project at any time before 31 December 2011 without having to give reasons or without penalty of any sort.
- ☐ I understand that any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher, the supervisors and the person who transcribes the tape recordings of our interview. What I say may be included in a research report, but not my name or anything that can identify me. I understand that the tape recording of interviews will be electronically wiped five years after the end of the project.
- ☐ I understand that only the researcher will view this consent form and it will be destroyed at the end of the project.
- ☐ I understand that no named individual will be quoted in the final copy

-
- ☐ I would like to receive a summary of the results of this research when it is completed.
 - If yes, please provide an email address:

.....

I,, agree to be interviewed for this research study.

Signed

Date.....

Appendix C: Key Informant Interview Schedule

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE – KEY INFORMANTS

- ☐ Can you please outline what your role entails?

Recruitment

- ☐ Is it difficult to recruit females into the Police?
- ☐ Looking at the recruitment of females – are there any groups that are particularly difficult to recruit
 - or that the Police are interested in recruiting?
 - e.g. this could include a particular race/ethnicity group, age group, or education etc.
- ☐ What has been done to increase the representation of women?
 - Have these approaches been successful?
- ☐ How do females compare to males at the training stage?
- ☐ In the case of women leaving before becoming a sworn police officer – what reasons have they given?
 - Are they different to ones given by male recruits?

Retention

- ☐ What are your views on the level of representation of women?
- ☐ Do you believe there are any barriers which inhibit the full integration of women into the Police?
- ☐ What are your views on how the police culture impacts on retention?
- ☐ What has been done to ensure retention?
- ☐ Are there areas you believe could be worked on to encourage women to remain/continue in the police?
- ☐ Do you feel that the fellow officers and supervisors accept the position of women within the hierarchy?
- ☐ Does the ethnicity/race of a female police officer have an effect on their experiences within the police?

Advancement

- ☐ Do many women want to advance?
- ☐ Are women encouraged to move up the ranks?
- ☐ Are there any barriers which may inhibit the promotion of female police officers?
- ☐ What areas of the police do women show the most interest in being promoted to?
- ☐ What sections is female representation lacking
 - and are there any reasons for this?

Reasons for disengagement

- ☐ What factors appear to have been influential in women leaving a career in policing?
 - Are these different to reasons male police officers have given upon leaving?
- ☐ Is there anything you would recommend that would lower attrition rates
 - changes to help women feel more accepted within the police?
- ☐ Can you think of anything else (ideas or issues) that you think will be important for this research?

Appendix D: Female Police Officer Information Sheet and Invitation to Participate

INFORMATION SHEET AND INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

Retaining women police officers: How women officers negotiate and experience police culture in New Zealand

Researcher: Shannon Chan: School of Social and Cultural Studies, Victoria University of Wellington

I am a Masters student in criminology at Victoria University of Wellington. I am currently undertaking a research project which will explore the experiences of women police officers in New Zealand. Women continue to represent a minority within the New Zealand Police and there has been little research done focussing solely on women police officers in New Zealand. I am interested in listening to your thoughts and opinions, and learning about your experiences during your policing career. The goal of my research and of these interviews is to learn about the police culture from your perspective and to identify factors which have both encouraged and discouraged you during your career—this will help to identify barriers to the retention of women police officers. The University's Human Ethics Committee has approved this research.

Invitation

I would like to invite currently serving sworn female police officers to participate in this study. To gain a range of perspectives I am inviting those who fall into either of these two categories:

- Those who have served between 2 to 5 years, and
- Those who have served 10 years or more

The length of each interview will be approximately one hour. Participation is completely voluntary and you may decline to answer questions or withdraw or terminate the interview at any time. If you wish to withdraw from the research project you may do so without question at any time before 1 July 2012.

Confidentiality

It is important to me that you feel comfortable and that you are able to speak freely—to ensure this, what you say will be kept confidential. With your permission, interviews will be recorded and transcribed, these will be stored securely and only my supervisors and I will have access to it.

You will not be named (or personally identified) in the final report—although I may want to use quotes to illustrate certain points in the research, what you say will not be

attributed to you personally and anything you say will be presented in a way that cannot identify you. However, with your permission, I would like to link the quote to your rank and/or length of service within the New Zealand Police.

Where the results will be published

Two copies of the final thesis will be put on Closed Reserve at the Victoria University library in fulfilment of the Masters requirements and a copy will be deposited at the New Zealand Police Library. Results of the study may also be published in academic journals.

A summary of the research

If you are interested in receiving the final results of this study, I can email you a summary of the research after the examination process is completed (this will be after 29 September 2012). There is a space for you to provide your email address on the consent form, or you can contact me at any time.

Who to contact if you have questions

If you have any questions about the project, please contact me or either of my supervisors via any of the contact details below.

Researcher

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Associate Professor Jan Jordan
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Appendix E: Female Police Officer Consent Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

Retaining women police officers: How women officers negotiate and experience police culture in New Zealand

- ☐ I have been given, and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.
- ☐ I understand I may decline to answer any questions, or withdraw or terminate the interview at any time.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this research project at any time before 1 July 2012 without having to give reasons or without penalty of any sort.
- ☐ I understand that only the researcher will view this consent form and it will be destroyed at the end of the project. I understand that the tape recording of interviews will be electronically wiped five years after the end of the project.
- ☐ I understand that any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher, the supervisors and the person who transcribes the tape recordings of our interview.
- ☐ I understand that what I say may be included in a research report, but not my name or anything that can identify me.
- ☐ I consent to the use of my rank and/or length of service (either served five years or less, or served more than ten years) being used in the research.

-
- ☐ I would like to receive a summary of the results of this research when it is completed.
 - If yes, please provide an email address:

.....

I,, agree to be interviewed for this research study.

Signed

Date.....

Appendix F: Demographics Form

1. How long have you served as a police officer?

2. Age

3. Marital Status

- a. Single
- b. Married/living as married
- c. Divorced/Separated
- d. Widowed

4. Ethnicity

- a. European/Pakeha
- b. Māori
- c. Pacific Island
- d. Asian
- e. Other, please specify

5. Children

- a. No children
- b. Dependent children under 18 years, living at home
- c. Dependent children under 18, not living at home
- d. Adult children

6. Highest level of education completed

- a. No schooling completed
- b. Primary education
- c. Secondary education
- d. Tertiary education

7. What is your rank?

8. Is your work mostly

a. Frontline/General Duties

b. Investigation

c. Administration

d. Traffic

e. Operational support

f. Training

g. Other, please specify

9. Do you have any family members in law enforcement?

a. No

b. Yes, please describe

☐

Questions adapted from (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Gossett & Williams, 1998)

Appendix G: Female Police Officer Interview Schedule

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE – FEMALE POLICE OFFICERS

- ☐ Can you please tell me about your background in policing?
 - e.g. length of service, and different areas worked within the Police.

Attractions toward policing as a career

- ☐ Why did you choose a career in policing?
- ☐ Does the job meet those initial expectations?
- ☐ What was the process like when you were initially interested in joining the police?
- ☐ What are the good and bad aspects of the job?

Gender

Has gender played a role in any of those experiences?

- ☐ Have there been times where you have felt that you have been treated differently because you are female?
- ☐ Do you feel that there are different expectations placed on female and male officers?
- ☐ Can you tell me about a time where you felt you were advantaged or disadvantaged in your job because you are a female?
- ☐ Have you worked with other female police officers?
 - If so, what were your interactions like?
 - Cf interactions with males
- ☐ Are there roles you believe there are roles more suited to females?
 - Or roles more suited to males?
- ☐ Are there particular traits you believe are necessary to be a good police officer?
- ☐ Do you think there needs to an increase in women in the police force?
 - Are there benefits in increasing female representation?
- ☐ What do you think would be a good male to female ratio within the police force?

Police culture

- ☐ Are there any problems in your work environment?
 - Any specific to women?
- ☐ Have there been times where you have felt uncomfortable (e.g. a job situation) because you are female?
- ☐ Have there been times where you felt you had been treated differently by male officers than how they treat other male officers?
- ☐ Do you feel you need to act differently or alter your personality when working with male officers?
- ☐ Do you know of any female officers who have had negative experiences at work because they are female?
- ☐ Do you socialise with male and/or female officers outside of work?
 - what are those interactions like?

- ☐ Do members of the public treat you differently because you are female?
- ☐ Is there anything you would like to see change which would improve your working environment?

Retention and advancement

- ☐ How long do you see yourself staying with the police?
- ☐ Do you have any career goals?
- ☐ Is it easy for women to advance within the police?
 - Have you been encouraged?
 - Do you think there could be any changes made e.g. policies or practices would provide more support/encouragement for women?
- ☐ Do you think there exists any barriers to promotion, progression, or retention for women in the Police?
- ☐ What factors of the job have encouraged you to remain in the police? Are there any factors that led you to consider leaving?
- ☐ If you knew a female who was considering joining the police, what advice would you give them?
- ☐ Are there any other issues or personal experiences that you think will be important for this research?

Appendix H: Wellington and National Constabulary Females by Rank

Wellington and National Constabulary Females by Rank

	2012		2002	
	Wellington	National	Wellington	National ^a
Constable	165 27.5%	1,335 20.0%	113 19.8%	945.76 17.4%
Sergeant	14 12.2%	162 11.3%	6 5.7%	57.16 5.5%
Senior Sergeant	4 10.3%	47 10.6%	0 0.0%	10.69 3.2%
Commissioned Officer^b	1 5.35%	22 7.28%	0 0.0%	7 3.15%
TOTAL	184 23.7%	1,584 17.7%	119 16.5%	1,050.05 14.9%

Note. Figures for Wellington are as at May 2012 and 2002. National figures are as at June of 2012 and 2002.

^a National figures for 2002 are given in full-time equivalent basis, i.e. staff working on a part-time basis are prorated to an equivalent of a full-time member, ^b Commissioned Officers are officers holding a rank of inspector or higher.

Source: Wellington data supplied by New Zealand Police; National Data from New Zealand Police Annual Report (2012a).