

Policing - A Gendered Experience?

**The influence of socialisation and gender identity on the
choice of a career in policing.**

by

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies

School of Government

University of Tasmania

June 2010

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B.A. Stewart

9th June 2010

Acknowledgements

Thanks to my Supervisor, Associate Professor Roberta Julian, for your direction and encouragement in the development of this thesis. Thanks to all in the Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies and also the School of Sociology at the University of Tasmania who offered support and encouragement. Special thanks to Dr. Warren Sproule, the most intelligent person I know, for your support and encouragement over my years at University and for repeatedly telling me “Of course you can”. Thanks to other special helpers such as Felicity Picken -friends like you are hard to find; my brother Graeme Harvey and sister Dorothy Calvert- for your support and keeping my brain ‘lubricated’; and Phil Patman- for your guidance with SPSS. Thanks also to the Sociology Office ladies Lyn, Della, Andrea and Denise- you have been wonderful.

To the many police officers from TasPol, VicPol and WAPol I met during this research, especially the policewomen who volunteered for interviews and observations – my gratitude and respect. It’s a tough job and you do it well. Thank you.

To my children Aron Harvey, Renee Stewart and Samantha Stewart - I hope you are proud of me.

Abstract

Few occupations have been so fully defined as masculine and as resistant to the integration of women as policing (Martin 1996). Despite nearly 100 years of female involvement women officers continue to contest negative stereotypes that present an image of women as unsuitable for police work. This research examines the contextual influences on constables' choice of policing as a career with an emphasis on female constables. Firstly, the research investigates whether there is a relationship between perceptions of policing as a suitable career option and individual socialisation. The primary factor identified in the literature as influencing career choice is gender socialisation - within the family, from significant others, through educational institutions and within the workplace. This factor is related to the development of personal attributes such as self-esteem and perceptions of gender-appropriate activities. Further, the research examines whether a policewoman's gender identity influences her experience of policing. A conceptual framework was developed integrating Bourdieu's (1990) concepts of 'habitus' 'field' and 'culture', Connell's (2002) concept of 'negotiated gender' and Messerschmidt's (2002) concept of situated gender performance. The research was conducted within Western Australian, Victorian and Tasmanian police services using a mixed methods approach: that is, a survey distributed to both male and female police constables; interviews with female police constables and observations in the police workplace. The findings suggest that there are more similarities than differences between male and female officers. Although different socialisation factors are involved, both male and female officers were found to have low attachment to stereotypical gender expectations and similar levels of self-esteem. Overall, female officers had higher levels of education and provided more evidence of leadership potential than their male counterparts. In interviews and observations it was found that while police culture is influential on policing practice, female officers are negotiating gender and using agency to change the way policing is performed. These findings have implications for the development of recruitment and retention strategies for police services and contribute to a sociological understanding of the relationship between gender socialisation, career choice and performance of gender in a masculine workplace.

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Introduction

"It takes a special kind of woman to fit in, because it really is a big Men's Club"
(Male police officer: 2003)

Several years ago, during an interview, a male police officer remarked that it takes 'a special kind of woman' to be a police officer. Women generally choose employment in female friendly or gender neutral occupations, but according to Martin (1996), few occupations have been so fully defined as masculine and as resistant to the integration of women as policing. An occupation is considered male-dominated if at least 67% of the employees are male (Willets-Bloom & Nock 1994:12). According to the Australian Institute of Criminology (AIC), in 2006, women officers of all ranks constituted less than 20% of sworn state police officers. Although the number of policewomen has been slowly increasing it is still low, and the majority are situated in the lower ranks. It has been argued that in Australia, policing represents 'an almost pure form of hegemonic masculinity' (Brown and Heidensohn 2000:84). Despite an increase in the number of women entering policing, a significant gender imbalance remains. Gender imbalance and an inherently masculinised workplace culture pose specific problems for women entering male-dominated occupations (Bradley 1998).

A brief history of policewomen in Australia illustrates how women have faced sustained resistance to their presence, at both the organisational and cultural level, and across time and jurisdiction. Recent research evidence suggests their present day contemporaries continue to face obstacles in the form of sexual harassment and discrimination in deployment and promotion (cf. Prenzler 2002; Prenzler and Hayes 2000; Eveline and Harwood 2002; Boni and Circelli 2002). Police selection and training procedures, supervisory practices, organizational hierarchies, ideologies, interactions, work groups and activities are all infused with gendered practices, images and consequences. The occupation is still far from gender-neutral and women's opportunities continue to be restricted by the gendered work culture (Adams 2001). Deployment patterns differ to men's advantage and sexual discrimination and gender-related barriers pose career difficulties for women (Lynch 2002; Stewart 2003). Yet women continue to consider policing as a suitable

career choice. Why do some women self-select a career in policing, given its acknowledged status as a male-dominated organisation?

The central focus of the thesis is to address the following key questions.

Does socialisation, especially the construction of gender identity, influence individual perceptions of policing as a suitable career choice?

Further, does a policewoman's gender identity influence her experience of policing i.e. is there a relationship between 'doing gender' and 'doing policing'?

Despite increased research into women in policing over the past two decades, most studies have focused on barriers facing women *after* they become officers. There is a scarcity of research examining what motivates women to enter police services in the first instance. This study examines the motivations and perceptions of Australian policewomen in relation to policing as a career choice. Further, the study investigates whether there is a relationship between individual socialisation and perceptions of policing as a suitable career option. Finally the study observes policewomen at their place of work, to identify how they perform gender in a masculine workplace.

Synopsis of the research

In order to establish the masculinised nature of policing and the difficulties faced by women entering the occupation, a review of the literature relating to the history of women in policing in Australia is presented in Chapter 1. A discussion of police culture is also presented to illustrate its purported influence on the way policewomen have defined their roles and practices.

The main factors identified in the literature as influencing career choice relate to socialisation, particularly gender socialisation - within the family, from significant others, through educational institutions and within the workplace (cf. Crespi n.d ; Connell 1995:30; Richmond 1996:32; Lord & Friday 2003:69; Bernes et al.2005:1; Kniveton 2004:47; Foster 1998). These factors can be related to the development of personal attributes such as self-efficacy, self-esteem and perceptions of gender-appropriate activities (Lord & Findlay 2003:66; Adams 2001:14). Therefore, the first area of inquiry was participants' experiences of gender socialisation, particularly within the family and educational institutions.

A review of the literature identified that gender stereotypes are maintained and transmitted through sources such as parents, peers, teachers, religious leaders and the mass media, but gender expectations can and do vary over time and place (Richmond 1996:26; Baxter & Gray 2003; Dykstra et al. n.d.:20). Parents may teach stereotypes through different behaviours towards and expectations of their children, for example the way they dress the child, the toys they give and parental behaviour and attitudes (Crespi n.d.; Bittman 1991; Dempsey 1988). As Richmond (1996:32) notes, 'Our selves are largely constructed within our families, which in turn are shaped by wider social contexts'.

Research (Baxter, Gibson and Lynch-Blosse 1990; Richmond 1996; Crespi n.d.; Dempsey 1988; Crompton 1997; Gershing 1994) has shown that 'traditional' gender attitudes of parents are reflected in the traditional division of labour arrangements within families, i.e. the woman responsible for domestic work, the man as 'breadwinner'. In such families there is an increased likelihood that the children will also hold these attitudes. However, with age, increased self-esteem and status, females are more likely than males to adopt less stereotypical attitudes towards gender (Crespi n.d.).

With the increasing participation of women in the workplace, and an increased proportion of 'two career' families, the idea of a woman's role as mother and housewife is becoming muted although women continue to perform the majority of family-related tasks (Bittman 1995; Baxter, Gibson and Lynch-Blosse 1990; Crespi n.d.). However, less stereotypical gender attitudes have been found in families where the mother is employed (Sennett 1998; Witt 1997).

Another area identified in the literature as relating to career choice is education. In recent years Australia has experienced a move towards gender equity in schooling (Foster 1998:1; Weiner et al. 1997). However this does not appear to have led to a significant change in girls' lived experiences of schooling, or post-school outcomes. Despite an increase in the number of girls successfully participating in previously male dominated subject areas, such as Maths and Physics, they continue to face problems from discrimination and harassment (Foster 1998:3, Mac an Ghail 1994).

Some factors identified to account for the unequal outcomes of education for girls include their greater domestic and family responsibilities, lack of teacher understanding of gender equity, a belief that sexual harassment does not exist in schools and gender issues not being addressed in classrooms (N.S.W. Dept. of School Education 1994:ii). Studies have found that 'active though not always articulate politics of gender' are present in all schools, with staff and students performing practices which 'construct various kinds of masculinity and femininity' and perpetuate an ideology about sexual behaviour and sexual character (Connell 1995:30). Although the patterns formed vary between schools, it does so 'within limits that reflect the balances of sexual politics in Australian society generally' (Connell 1995:30). Foster notes that the curriculum and practices of schooling maintain a social reality which endorses the injunction that women should be the providers of care, socialisation and regulation of boy's classroom and general school behaviour (1998:10).

Successful completion of school does not appear to be translating to better career outcomes for girls. Foster suggests this may be due to different male and female orientations to the concept of 'career', which has only relatively recently been applied to women. Furthermore, for girls to achieve self-efficacy and equality within the co-educational system, they need to find a place between the masculinised public realm of the school and the private realm of the female, violating public-private norms (Foster 1998:6). An interesting finding of the Australian Education Council (1992) is that girls achieve better outcomes and develop higher self efficacy in single-sex schools in a climate devoid of male sexual harassment and hostility to girls. The influence of these agents of socialisation on gender attribution and identity are reviewed and discussed in Chapter 2.

The next step in the research was to examine various theoretical perspectives on gender and gender socialisation. Functionalist approaches (cf. Parsons 1952; Parsons & Bales 1956) maintain that gender expectations are mainly learned, modified and enlarged through the family, education, peers and the workplace. From this perspective, clearly defined expectations and values concerning appropriate gender attributes are constantly reflected back to individuals, and are accepted, internalized and become part of the individual's self-identity. Through

socialisation we learn what our society and culture considers appropriate and inappropriate behaviour for both genders. It is a relational process between a person (as child, adolescent and adult) and their family, peers and work mates, through which self identity, in this case gender identity, is formed.

However, post-structuralist approaches to gender construction argue that individuals develop subjectivities either in agreement with, or in opposition to, dominant expectations. Masculinity and femininity are learnt in specific social environments, and their meaning can vary from one social context to another. People face input from a variety of different people and social environments and can reject aspects of their gender socialisation, choosing to resist the imposition of male-female dualisms and constructing identities which challenge stereotypes and partially transcend traditional gender roles (Wearing 1996:187; Connell 1987; Richmond 1996:23-25). The relationships of power are neither one way, nor static, and there is always the possibility for individual resistance, negotiation and reconstruction.

Debates in the sociological literature on socialisation and gender identity highlight the dynamic relationship and tensions between structure and agency. A challenge for this research was to develop both a theoretical and methodological approach which addresses the complexities of this structure/agency divide. While it is acknowledged that structures and institutions exert an influence on individuals, individuals also influence and reproduce structures i.e. structure impacts on individual agency and individual agency impacts on structures. I have chosen a relatively flexible theoretical framework for the research, incorporating the perspectives of several approaches in order to address the tension between the structural and agential factors relating to the research questions. These include Connell's (2002) 'negotiated gender' approach and Messerschmidt's (2002) adaptation of West and Zimmerman's (1987) 'doing gender' approach. Bourdieu's (1990) concepts of 'habitus', 'field' and culture are also used to examine the ways in which structure and agency interact in career choice and individual performance of policing duties at the level of the individual.

Such a framework allows for consideration of post-structural approaches, in that it acknowledges the importance of the 'shifting and fragile foundation of language

and discourse' and recognises that particular discursive practices privilege some and maintain certain ways of social life (Seidman 2008 : 158,161). While it is acknowledged that post-structuralist approaches may be seen as incommensurate with more orthodox accounts of socialisation, my approach 'loosens up' some of the structural determinism to which socialisation accounts often fall prey , giving fuller weight to subjectivities and agencies, and clarifying why some individuals resist the dominant paradigm. Agency, gender socialisation and performativity of gender are discussed in Chapter 3. The conceptual framework is also discussed in this chapter.

The low numbers of women in policing influenced both the selection of research methods and the decision to include only constables in the research sample. Women officers above this rank constitute a small minority in policing in all Australian states. The low numbers of female officers in positions of authority in comparison to female constables meant that female constables provided a more suitable basis for the recruitment of research participants.

Methods and methodology are discussed in detail in Chapter 4. I decided to adopt a mixed method approach using both quantitative and qualitative research methods. This included a survey; semi-structured interviews; and observations. Some are best collected and analysed statistically, in order to establish the existence of patterns and define particular areas requiring further, more detailed examination. As an initial method of inquiry a *survey* was developed. The survey forms the foundation for inquiry for the interviews, drawing mainly on those factors identified in the literature as influencing career choice-the family, education and the workplace. It consists of 29 questions in two main sections and was designed to collect data relevant to the first research question, that is, the influence of socialisation on career choice. The first section was formulated to obtain demographic, occupational and biographical data relevant to the participant and their immediate family. Demographic data collected included age, marital status, dependents, length of service and current rank. Agencies of socialisation such as type of school attended, previous employment and whether one or both parents were employed during the participant's adolescence were operationalised in the survey.

The second section of the survey addressed two other influential factors in occupational choice –self esteem, and the extent to which individual's identify with stereotypical gender expectations. Self esteem refers to an individual's belief that they have the ability and skills in relation to the requirements of an occupation (Lord & Findlay 2003:66; Adams 2001:14). Self esteem was measured in the survey using Rosenberg's (1965) Self Esteem Scale, adapted by Adams (2001).

Although societal expectations of gendered behaviours are changing, the extent to which an individual identifies with stereotypical gender expectations remains an important factor in career choice, particularly when a career is non-traditional for one's gender (Kent and Moss 1994:1335). The most commonly-used instrument for measuring traditionally masculine and feminine characteristics, or gender stereotypes is Bem's Sex Role Inventory (BSRI). A scale based on the BSRI, and developed by Heifer, Knoll, Olsen and Salon (cited in Adams 2001:15) was used to measure gendered world views. The measures rate levels of instrumentality and expressivity. Instrumentality suggests a goal orientation and a general insensitivity to the responses of others. Expressivity suggests sensitivity to others' responses and a concern with interpersonal relationships. Androgyny in this instance is identified as the combined presence of socially valued, stereotypical characteristics of masculinity (instrumentality) and femininity (expressivity).

The survey was mailed to 1440 randomly-selected male and female police constables serving in Tasmania, Western Australia and Victoria police services. Data were analysed using univariate, bivariate and multivariate techniques in SPSS, with statistical significance established at the .05 alpha level. Results and a detailed discussion of the survey findings are presented in Chapter 5.

In order to gain an understanding of what influenced participants to apply for a career in policing and whether the influences were related to socialisation, semi-structured, in-depth *interviews* were conducted with volunteer female officers serving in urban and rural stations in Tasmania, Victoria and Western Australia. The interviews provided an opportunity to elicit information relating to individual participant's experiences of gendering within the family, educational institutions, previous workplaces and their motivation in choosing a policing career, in order to

investigate whether an identifiable relationship can be discerned between experiences of gender socialisation and policing as a suitable career choice. Further, information was obtained on participants' experiences within policing, how they saw themselves as 'fitting in' to the masculine workplace and how they performed their duties. While some questions were standard to all interviews, the interview process was guided by individual responses.

The objective of the interviews was to elicit narratives from the participants by inviting them to give their own accounts about specific times and situations in their lives, in order to identify the presence of agency and sources which could have influenced the high levels of self efficacy and confidence detected in the survey sample. An interview schedule was prepared, with questions focusing on the main areas of inquiry and areas of interest identified in the survey. Analysis of interview was conducted using thematic analysis, with a specific focus on the interaction between structure and agency.

The interviews are reported in two chapters. Interview data and discussions presented in Chapter 6 focus on family of origin, educational experiences, social life and activities outside of school hours, previous employment and motivation to apply for a career in policing. Participants' positive and negative experiences within policing, with a focus on how a policewoman's gender identity influences her experience of policing, that is, the relationship between 'doing gender' and 'doing policing', are discussed in Chapter 7.

Observations were conducted using an ethnomethodological approach. This approach was chosen because ethnomethodology is useful for examining the methods through which ordinary people 'understand their world and decide how to manoeuvre through it' (Collin 1997:27). The approach is particularly useful when studying institutions such as police, which appear to be bound by strict rules and work procedures. The public sphere of policing is prone to stereotypical performances and has been well researched. In order to minimise the risk of this interfering with the research focus, observations were conducted in the informal spaces of policing. This is an area where a large amount of policing is undertaken, but is less well researched. Observations were conducted at police stations, both

urban and suburban, in a variety of police work settings in Western Australia and Tasmania. Due to time constraints it was not possible to conduct observations with Victoria Police.

Observational data is incorporated with interview data in Chapter 7, in order to enhance the discussion through complementarity, illustration and elaboration where appropriate. The aim of the analysis in this chapter is to acknowledge the performativity of gender and embodiment of policewomen within Bourdieu's concepts of 'field' and 'habitus', with a focus on policing 'habitus'. These concepts represent the structural conditions of policing and the learned dispositions of police respectively. Specifically, the discussion focuses on the agency of policewomen in relation to their work environment.

The findings of this research suggest that there are more similarities than differences between male and female officers although different socialisation factors are involved. Both male and female officers were found to have low attachment to stereotypical gender expectations and male and female self-esteem was also similar. Overall, female officers had higher levels of education and provided evidence of leadership potential. In interviews and observations it was found that, while police culture is influential on policing practice, female officers are using agency and negotiating gender, changing the way policing is performed. A summary of the major research findings is presented in Chapter 8.

The study fills a gap in the research literature, since there are few studies of women's motivations in seeking employment in traditionally masculine occupations. This research has broad implications for masculinised workplaces and paramilitary organisations, and specific implications for female recruitment and retention strategies in police organisations. For example, findings suggest that continued development and refinement of flexible policies, undertaken in consultation between senior staff and general staff, would ensure that policewomen's needs are actually being met. Further, the development of cross-gender mentoring programmes wherein senior male officers support and encourage females to achieve promotion may assist with the problem of the low numbers of female officers currently in senior positions. The outcomes of this research will also

make an important contribution to aspects of both occupational sociology and the sociology of gender. Relevant implications arising from the study, suggested directions for future research and a conclusion are also provided in Chapter 8.

Chapter 1 presents a review of the literature relating to the history of policewomen in Australia to situate the research and a discussion of police culture to illustrate its purported influence on the way policewomen have defined their roles and practices.

Chapter 1

Setting the Scene

1.1 Introduction

The integration of women into policing in Australia perhaps owes more to the courage of women who undertook litigation and challenged prevailing orthodoxies than to equal opportunity legislations or social justice motives in police organisations. Historically, employment of policewomen was seen as a ‘desperate measure’ in times of labour shortage or some other crisis (cf. Natarajan 2008:13); for example, concerns about women’s morals or as a response to various inquiries into police practice and corruption, such as the Fitzgerald Inquiry. Traditionally, conservative discourses have been routinely deployed to either deprofessionalise or defeminise policewomen. These discourses continue to construct policewomen in particular ways, with a specific focus on the body of the woman officer as frail, weak body; as seductive body, or; as pregnant/mothering body, all of which fulfil societal gender expectations and deprofessionalise policewomen. Alternatively, discourses constructing policewomen who show they are capable of police work as ‘unnatural’ maintain and reinforce the image that policing is an unsuitable job for women (Brown & Heidensohn 2000; Martin 1996; Silvestri 2002).

Police selection and training procedures, supervisory practices, organisational hierarchies, ideologies, interactions, work groups and activities are all infused with gendered practices, images and consequences. Each of these aspects of the organisation, which both influence and are influenced by police culture, affect female officers and the ways they define their roles and practices (Martin 1996). However, I argue that police culture alone does not explain how policewomen ‘do policing’. These dominant discourses will be discussed through a review of the history of women in policing in Australia.

The principal aim in this chapter is to provide an outline of women’s entry into policing in Australia and to examine the particular ways policewomen have been

portrayed, in both historical and contemporary contexts. In order to do so I draw primarily on Brown and Heidensohn's (2000) analysis of cartoons, letters and articles from a variety of sources, including police gazettes from the U.K., U.S.A. and Australia. The authors analysed verbal and visual materials in order to identify discourses which construct the social reality of policewomen and the functions they serve in defeminising or deprofessionalising them. Further, the chapter provides an overview of how police culture has been understood as the primary influence on the way policewomen perform their policing roles.

1.2 A brief history of policewomen in Australia

The notion that policing was and remains an inherently unsuitable job for a woman has pervaded historical and contemporary discussions of women's roles in policing. The marginalization and lack of interest in women police is evidenced by the difficulty encountered in obtaining information on initial recruitment dates for policewomen in most Australian jurisdictions, and the lack of research into their history and experiences prior to the 1980s.

Policing resonates with both broader societal and police occupational notions of masculinity and it is 'the intrusion of femaleness as well as women that seems to threaten and unsettle policemen and the police organization' (Brown 1996:2). However, most researchers into policing agree that the domination of the occupation by males and male values makes it difficult for women to enter policing and limits the potential for feminizing influences (cf. Leane and Durand 2002; Niland 1996; Heidensohn 1996). Brown and Heidensohn (2000:50) conclude that there is a consistency cross-nationally in the motives employed by men to justify opposing women's entry into policing. These are the need to protect 'good' women from an inherently unsuitable job (paternalistic concerns), and the exclusion of women from having a role in social control (patriarchal preservation).

Discourses of exclusion are based on notions that policing is an 'unnatural' gender role for women (defeminisation) and that women are 'unsuitable' as police officers (deprofessionalisation). It has been suggested that as a response to barriers built into the gendered work structure, women may decide to adapt, embracing the masculine police culture and conforming to their male colleagues, thus becoming

‘defeminised’ into *policewomen*. Alternatively they may take on a more traditional, service-oriented role, retaining their femininity at the expense of their police role, and become ‘deprofessionalised’ into *policewomen* (Reiner 1992; Chan 1997; Bradley 1998; Brown, Hazenberg and Ormiston 1999; Brown and Heidensohn 2000). Hochschild (cited in Brown et al. 1999) describes ‘defeminised’ women as distancing themselves from other women, identifying with men and adopting a pseudo-masculinity, while ‘deprofessionalised’ women appear to be satisfied with a subordinate role.

Historically, policing in Australia has been dominated by tall, strong, self-confident, working-class males (Nixon n.d.:1). Women, being generally perceived to be lacking in these features, were excluded from policing until 1915. The first women officers were appointed largely in response to agitation from the Women’s Emancipation Movement, who had lobbied for over thirty-five years for the appointment of women police, and concerns about prostitution and female vagrancy (Nixon 1994:74). The South Australian Women’s Police Branch, which claimed to be the first Women’s Police Service in the then British Empire, came into operation in 1915. New South Wales also recruited its first women police as Special Constables in 1915. Victoria and Tasmania followed in 1917 and Queensland in 1931.

Rhetoric used to justify women’s entry into policing is based on the perception of women as moral guardians and as protectors of men (Brown and Heidensohn 2000:51). Women officers were initially appointed to social work duties, dealing with matters affecting women and children (cf. Natarajan 2008:13). Between 1965 and 1976 there was an increase in recruitment of policewomen. Previously identified as Special Constables or in separate departments, policewomen became integrated with mainstream police services, first performing public relations and school lecturing duties, then general duties, with progressive role expansion. Married women were accepted as recruits for the first time in 1981, following successful legal action based on the newly introduced anti-discrimination legislation, initiated by a woman whose application was refused on the basis of her married status. By the mid-1980s women were serving in most areas of policing.

Australian first-wave feminists fought for the 'introduction of women into the police as a source of moral influence- 'Gods police', but the principal catalyst was the first World War (Brown and Heidensohn 2000:44). Female police officers were originally employed because of a shortage of male officers, and in response to a perceived need to control the sexual behaviour of women left unsupervised by male relatives away at the war. The first Australian policewomen were engaged in 'moral rescue', to control other women, to avoid embarrassment caused by policemen's behaviour towards women suspected of prostitution, and to provide greater protection for women and children within the justice system. Following World War 1, there was a decline in the number of female officers, in order to 'accommodate the re-employment of returning soldiers' (Brown, Hazenberg and Ormiston 1999:207).

After World War 1, the experiment of women police officers was still objected to on the grounds that women were neither temperamentally nor physically suited to police work. While it was accepted that policewomen of 'the right sort' could 'save' young girls, the language used is suggestive of Kanter's (1977) stereotypes of women in business as 'seductress' or 'mother'. The use of women officers as 'decoy' prostitutes was somewhat paradoxical, as policewomen, regarded as moral guardians, began to be perceived as seductresses. Women officers were portrayed as seductive flirts, defenceless women or, as 'spoilers' of male officers' behaviour – a theme consistent with contemporary reports of male officers' opposition to policewomen on the grounds that they have the potential to expose 'men's sexual infidelities and use of raunchy language' (Brown & Heidensohn 2000:56). In the 1930s, women officers faced a dilemma similar to that of contemporary policewomen; that in order to prove themselves effective and to achieve respect and credibility, they had to disown their femininity.

Between the 1930s and the late 1940s policewomen's marginalized, subordinate status and domesticated roles muted male hostility to some extent and their image became transformed from 'seductress' to suitable marriage partner – a discourse conveying images of women as feminine but unprofessional. Women officers continued to be regarded as physically and emotionally incompatible with policing duties and, as 'good' women, it was considered inappropriate for them to deal with

criminals. World War 2 saw little change in the role and status of policewomen; rather there was a return to the earlier divisiveness, with policewomen being portrayed as either dangerous seductresses, or useful in a social protection role, once again controlling wayward women and girls (Brown and Heidensohn 2000:57-59).

Following World War 2 a general softening in attitudes towards female officers occurred, resulting in a gradual expansion of their roles. In 1947 New South Wales police recruited women officers for patrol duty; by the 1960s employed women in crime prevention; and in 1971, women could qualify as detectives (Nixon n.d.:2). During this period discourses constructing the identity of female officers ensured that their presence was more acceptable, primarily as guardians of the nation's morals: but any extension of their roles continued to be hotly contested. Attempts to extend their roles again led to conceptions of the policewoman as seductress or emasculator and the view persisted that policing was an unsuitable job for women. Female officers continued to be depicted as sexually available, but in 'a rather cruder form in the unofficial discourse', now being constructed as knowingly using their sexual wiles expertly and explicitly on criminals and colleagues alike (Brown and Heidensohn 2000:62). Policewomen were represented as conforming to male fantasies of desirable women (feminized) and axiomatically ineffective police officers (deprofessionalised) (Brown & Heidensohn 2000:64). Although achieving some degree of success (professionalized) they were depicted as doing so by using their sexuality (deprofessionalised). Conversely, policewomen were portrayed as unattractive and masculinised (defeminised) (Brown & Heidensohn 2000:64-66).

In response to second-wave feminist agitation changes were sought in policing, by women as police, and women who had dealings with the police. The most significant catalyst for increased recruitment of women in policing was the introduction of equal opportunity and anti-discrimination legislation and affirmative action policies in the late 1970s to mid 1980s. However, most state police services initially ignored anti-discrimination legislation and women continued to be deployed on 'the basis of stereotypical gender demarcations' (Brown et al.1999:212). The use of litigation acted as a powerful stimulus for greater implementation of legislation and policies. In 1980 a woman litigant was successful

in having the quota system declared illegal and removed, and the marriage bar, which denied access to married applicants, was also successfully challenged and subsequently removed in 1981 (Brown et al.1999:212).

Many male officers responded negatively to the introduction of equal opportunity and anti-discrimination legislation and affirmative action policies, fearing women would be fast-tracked for promotion, 'ending up as senior officers in charge of men' (letter from Police Review, cited in Brown and Heidensohn 2000:67). In an article in the Tasmanian Police Journal discussing the introduction of policewomen to street duties in America (Welby 1977:19-23), the author suggests that 'try as they may to avoid it', police organisations are faced with the probability of employing 'more and more women police officers', who will need to be assigned to ordinary street patrol duties. Further, regardless 'of the women's liberation movement, nothing will change the basic chemistry which occurs between male and female'. 'Men cannot possibly expect to alter ingrained behaviour just by the intellectual awareness and acceptance of women as equals. Nor should their behaviour change' (Welby 1977:21). Welby considered the introduction of women to patrol duties as a 'positive' move, as contact between male and female officers in the U.S.A. experiment had shown that policemen 'cleaned up' their language, performed duties with greater effort (in order to impress the female officers) and were learning to communicate with their wives better.

Such attitudes towards female officers maintain discourses of policewomen as 'mother', sex object or suitable marriage partner and support the view that the main value of women in police work 'stems from their difference, or in other words, from the fact they are women' (LeBeuf 1996:7).

Women's physical attractiveness and lack of strength persisted as a major issue in resistance to employment of female officers, and cartoons in various police journals continued to portray the presence of women officers as distracting to male colleagues. The tendency for police gazettes to carry photographs of pregnant policewomen, and policewomen and their children further deprofessionalised women officers (Brown & Heidensohn 2000).

Although there have been some advances for women officers in response to legislation, knowledge of equal opportunity and affirmative action programmes and policies in contemporary police services continues to be poor throughout all levels of policing. Furthermore, policies are not fully implemented in any police jurisdiction in Australia (Quirk 1996; Prenzler and Hayes 2000; Fleming and Lafferty 2001). Policewomen are being employed in more operational areas but there appears to have been a 'resurgence of rhetoric to counter the application of equal opportunities within policing that looks depressingly familiar', with a 1990s cartoon depicting equal opportunity as 'signifying the death of the traditional police service' (Brown and Heidensohn 2000:73).

Moves in policing towards a more community oriented approach, largely in response to the Fitzgerald Inquiry's (1989), a comprehensive investigation of long-term, systemic corruption and abuse of power by high-level police officers and politicians in Queensland, and Wood Royal Commission (1996) which investigated systemic and entrenched corruption within the New South Wales Police, led to increased recruitment of women in the belief that the presence of more women officers within police organisations would have a transforming effect. These inquiries recommended changes from an authoritarian, hierarchically based management style to a more flexible mode and a change of emphasis from reactive to community policing (Brown 1996:5). There has been some suggestion (cf. Brown et al.1999; Brown 1996) that the greater involvement of women officers in policing will somehow legitimate a 'softer', more community-based approach to police work, to combat the 'hard' image generally associated with policing. However, in most police services, community policing is seen as a separate branch of policing, to be conducted in addition to reactive policing. It is seen as 'somewhat a soft option type of policing, suitable only for women', older low-ranking officers, or 'those who wish to avoid the problems and dangers of 'real policing' (Edwards 1999:78). Chan (1996) also concludes that community based policing is interpreted as a 'soft option' and not as 'real' police work, reinforcing the prevailing stereotype of women as unsuited to policing. The low numbers of policewomen, and their uneven distribution throughout the structure of policing organisations, reinforces their token status and reduces the likelihood that their presence will have a feminizing influence on either management style or practices (Brown 1996:8).

Despite continued resistance to their presence and advancement, the presence of women has had some impact on policing. There has been a reduction in violence, the use of force and machismo, and improved performance (LeBeuf 1996:17). However, Moira Gatens (1996:71) asserts that granting women 'equal' access is generally dependent on their ability to 'emulate those powers and capacities that have, in a context of male/masculine privilege, been deemed valuable by that sphere'. Women have to continually prove themselves within a male model of policing which makes few concessions to women who are expected to use accoutrements designed for use by men (Brown et al. 1999:215). Policewomen continue to face sexual harassment and discrimination in deployment opportunities and promotion, with few women achieving positions of power within police organisations (Boni and Circelli 2002:5).

1.3 Police Culture and 'Doing Gender'

The previous section demonstrates that the primary influence on how policewomen are perceived, how they understand their roles and how they perform their duties, is police culture. It is a common assertion that 'the single largest career barrier for women in policing is the attitude and behaviour of their male colleagues, who continue to oppose the presence of women ...and believe that women are not emotionally or physically able to handle the job' (Boni and Circelli 2002:5). The central idea in the literature on the organisational culture of the police is that it promotes 'masculine values' which engender particular views of the nature of policing, of women, and of the roles for which men and women are most suited.

An assumption in most research and discussion about police is that there is a close relationship between the demands of police work and the existence of police culture. If police culture is viewed as shared organised knowledge held by members of a group, police practice can be conceptualised as the product of interactions between this shared knowledge and the structural conditions within which police operate (Chan 1999:105). According to Brogden and Shearing (1993:42) 'police culture is everywhere the primary source that shapes police action'. To understand what police officers do, and the way policewomen in particular, define their roles and practices, it is important to understand police culture.

Police culture refers to integrated masculine, occupational and traditional norms and values that inform perspectives and principles of situational conduct. These are a consensual definition of this culture; its restriction to the lower ranks, that is, non-commissioned officers; its stability over time and place; and its resistance to change. This occupational culture has developed as a patterned set of understandings that help officers to cope with and adjust to the pressures and tensions that confront them: it constitutes the way police officers see the social world and their role in it (Reiner 1992:107; Waddington 1999a). Police culture is generally described as elements universally found among rank and file police, including a sense of mission, the isolation of the police as community-within-a-community, a combination of suspicion and paranoia, conservatism, a gender based chauvinism, stereotypical assumptions about race, and qualities of realism and pragmatism (cf. Brogden and Shearing 1993; Nixon 1994; Martin 1996; Prenzler 2002; Silvestri 2002; Boni and Circelli 2002; Stewart 2003). The culture is reinforced in the intimacy of the police canteen and the work group (Waddington 1999a; Waddington 1999b).

Studies of policing conducted mainly in the United States and the United Kingdom focus on performance issues (cf. Reiner 1992; Martin 1996; Waddington 1999a), while contemporary Australian work centres on specific aspects of police culture such as racism (Chan 1997), sexual harassment and bullying (Lynch 2002) and equal employment opportunity (Prenzler 1995). Studies conducted by the Australasian Centre for Policing Research identified specific issues and organisational problems affecting policewomen, including perceptions of masculine police culture as a career barrier to policewomen (Adams 2001; Boni and Circelli 2002).

References to the influence of this masculine culture on policewomen are similarly consistent. While notions of occupational culture can be problematic (cf. Chan's [1997], work which disaggregates occupational cultures into attitudes, values, beliefs and informal practices) consensually recognised attributes of police culture are regularly reported in the research literature. Although organisational styles and cultures of police officers vary between different places and periods:

...certain commonalities of the police outlook can be discerned in the reports of many studies in different social contexts. This is because they are rooted in constant problems which officers face in carrying out the role they are mandated to perform (Reiner 1992:109).

While it is also acknowledged that masculine characteristics are neither necessarily located in individual men, nor absent in all women, it is assumed that policing cultivates masculinity, and male models of behaviour are the dominant norms (Brown 1996:2).

The specific rules, rituals and standards of police culture are not easily identified: they are unwritten and situated in the 'backstage' of police work. However, ethnographic studies of policing have uncovered some consistent features (Chan 1999:99). Although there are variations within police forces according to individual variables (e.g. personality, generation and career trajectory) and structured variations according to rank, assignment and specialisation, it is argued that police cultures are resistant to change and tend to remain largely intact, unchallenged and stable over time and place, despite reforms and legislation (Reiner 1992; Chan 1997; Chan 1999; Waddington 1999a). The culture is seen by adherents as functional, in that it provides a sense of security among officers working in potentially threatening, unpredictable conditions.

Policing is an anomic occupation: police work is generally conducted in isolation, while culture can only be created through shared experiences (Waddington 1999b:120). According to Waddington the core of police's oral tradition lies in the 'glorification of violence over which they hold the monopoly of legitimacy', generalized to a cult of masculinity, since such work is traditionally associated with males (Waddington 1999a:116). Waddington offers interesting insights into the relationship between male and female officers, questioning whether police norms are as markedly different from wider social norms as is generally supposed. Widespread discrimination against female police is often attributed to a job-specific masculine culture: but such behaviour is not restricted to police; that is, it can be argued that there is nothing distinctive about the experiences of policewomen, but

that a more general discrimination is just expressed differently (Waddington 1999a:104).

Police are not unique in developing a distinctive occupational culture. Workers in many occupations develop ways of coping with structural strains, contradictions and anomalies of their prescribed roles and tasks. However, the fact that the police force is overwhelmingly male contributes to a culture which glorifies 'masculine' qualities of strength and aggression and undervalues or dismisses alternative qualities (Natarajan 2008:6; McCulloch and Schetzer 1993; Silvestri 2003; Niland 2002). It has been argued that in Australia, policing represents 'an almost pure form of hegemonic masculinity' with law enforcement generally perceived as a male domain where 'societal stereotypes of manliness' map directly onto 'the attributions of being a good cop' (Brown and Heidensohn 2000:84).

It is alleged that women and men differ in their conception of the policing role, with men concentrating on law enforcement and women perceiving the role as service and community oriented. Further, there is a belief that men are more at ease than women with the discipline, hierarchies and rules of policing. However these central assumptions are not supported by empirical work (Christie 1996; Rayment and Trusty 2002). While there is little comparative research on male and female police officers' beliefs, values and working practices, anecdotally women appear to share the attitudes of their male counterparts, considering law enforcement to be 'real police work' (Waddington 1999a:111-112; Alley, Waugh and Ede 1996; Stewart 2003). I suggest that the assumptions rely on stereotypical gender expectations rather than empirical research into possible differences in beliefs and attitudes along gender lines. This aspect is further investigated in the research.

1.4 Conclusion

Gender imbalance and inherently masculinised workplace cultures pose specific problems for women entering male -dominated occupations (Bradley 1998).

Workplace practices, ideologies and discourses influence the relationships between men and women, perpetuating and reinforcing gender and gender discrimination. Specific problems for women in policing feature in barriers such as resistance from males who fear women's presence as a threat to their occupational solidarity and

masculine self image; interactional barriers, including performance pressures, gender-related stereotypes and paternalism; and gendered organisational policies and practices, which disadvantage women by rewarding qualities and characteristics associated with masculinity (cf. Martin 1996; Natarajan 2008).

Police selection and training procedures, supervisory practices, organisational hierarchies, ideologies, interactions and activities are all infused with gendered practices and consequences. Each of these aspects of the organisation are acknowledged as both influencing and being influenced by police culture, affecting female officers and the ways they define their roles and practices (Martin 1996). However, I argue that police culture alone does not explain how policewomen 'do policing'. Research evidence, as opposed to presumptions about what policewomen do and the determinants of their actions, remains sketchy. Overall, the way all policewomen define their practice is more probably a product of interactions between police culture, the structural conditions within which they operate and agency. Further, police culture is unlikely to be as intact, unchanging, and resistant to the integration of women as is usually maintained (cf. Reiner 1992; Brogden and Shearing 1993; Stewart 2003). How policewomen accept, reject or negotiate police culture is explored through the ensuing research.

A review of the history of policewomen in Australia illustrates how they have faced sustained resistance to their presence, at both the organizational and cultural level. Despite nearly 100 years of involvement, research evidence suggests their present day contemporaries continue to face obstacles in deployment and promotion. Policewomen face the same difficulties on the job as their male counterparts, but also face problems at the organizational and cultural levels.

Women generally choose employment in female friendly or gender neutral occupations, but few occupations have been so fully defined as masculine and as resistant to the integration of women as policing. Yet women continue to consider policing as a suitable career choice. Considering the history of women in policing in Australia, the resistance to their presence and the acknowledged masculine aspects of the occupation one can ask 'What kind of women chooses a career in policing?' One way of addressing this question is to consider the influence of socialisation on

the development of a gendered identity. A discussion of identity construction and gender socialisation within different family structures, educational institutions and the workplace is presented in Chapter 2.

Chapter 2

Socialisation, Identity and Career Choice

2.1 Introduction

The first question in the research - does socialisation play a role in individual perceptions of policing as a suitable career choice - addresses why some women self-select a career in a masculinised occupation, namely policing, and the relationship between this choice and socialisation. There is a dearth of recent research in the area of motivations of women seeking employment in policing. It has been suggested that women in non traditional jobs gain power and workplace status (Wearing 1996:155) but there is little empirical evidence that this motivates women to seek employment in masculine occupations. Niland (1996) suggests that both male and female officers are motivated by the need to serve others and to make society safer, the prospect of adventure, and to acquire power and status, but offers no evidence to support these assertions. Brown and Heidensohn (2000) concluded that, while there appeared to be a strong sense of mission among British policewomen in a 1992 study, there was little evidence of this in their cross cultural study of policewomen in 1996. In a study of a sample of Tasmania police constables, policewomen expressed motivations suggestive of a sense of mission (Stewart 2003). Recruitment campaigns, such as that conducted by Victoria Police in 2001, have also been suggested as attracting women to policing as a career (Leane and Durand 2002).

As gender identity is a determinant of career choice the question of why women choose policing is best addressed through first gaining an understanding of gender socialisation and its influence on the development of a gendered identity. In order to achieve this I reviewed literature related to the two main levels of analysis in this study; that is, the structural (macro) level and individual (micro) level. In this chapter I examine institutional and structural influences on gender socialisation and the acquisition of a gendered identity. The socialisation process occurs through different agencies of socialisation, predominantly family, educational institutions and the workplace. These agencies and how agency influences the construction of a

gendered identity are discussed in this chapter. Gender identities are created and maintained through embodied practices of resistance and conformity, and agency emerges through resistance to gender socialisation and norms (Connell 2002:78; Carr 1998: 537-538). I suggest that women who do not strongly identify with stereotypical gender expectations are less likely to hold their gender as central to their identity. Gender identification is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Further, the research explores the question of how gender identity influences the way policewomen perform their duties. Although the role of socialisation in the development of gender identity has received much attention in the past several decades, there are virtually no studies into the relationship between women's choice of traditionally masculine occupations, such as policing, and gender socialisation. Women generally choose employment in 'female friendly' or gender neutral occupations, but according to Martin (1996) few occupations have been so fully defined as masculine and as resistant to the integration of women as policing. Because norms and expectations of what constitutes appropriate policing are associated with 'masculine' behaviour (Martin 1996; Natarajan 2008:6), women entering this occupation face a dilemma. As police officers, they are expected to assume 'masculine' characteristics and behaviours when interacting with peers, and as women, to display feminine behaviours that mirror broader societal gender roles and expectations when it is deemed appropriate, e.g., to show deference to men (Brown and Heidensohn 2000:75; Martin 1996). What literature there is relating to women in masculinised workplaces, specifically policing, is discussed in this chapter.

2.2 Self Identity and Social Identity

In the course of socialisation people develop a sense of identity and the ability to think and act independently. As the concept of identity is multifaceted it is not possible to provide a single definition of identity, but it broadly relates to the understandings individuals hold about who they are and their place in the world (Lawler 2008). These understandings arise from specific sources, both separately and interrelated, such as gender, social class, ethnicity and sexual orientation, as well as other systems of social strata such as age and (dis)ability. The two types of identity generally referred to in sociology are social identity and self identity

(Lawler 2008). Social identity refers to how an individual is defined by others, reflecting their similarity to others (Jenkins 2002:5). Self identity refers to the development of a unique sense of self and one's relationship with society, through interaction with others (Lawler 2008:2; Jenkins 2002). Identities are situational, contingent and subject to negotiation. They are strategic social constructions created through interaction with both social and material consequences. Identity has its roots in socialisation, particularly primary socialisation, where core identities such as selfhood, gender and ethnicity are formed. Identities are recognized as fluid, primary identities are thought to be more resistant to change. Although the social and cultural environment influences our sense of identity, agency is also a factor in identity formation.

The self is designated by the use of first person singular e.g. 'I', 'me', and is characterised by the sense of appropriation. The feeling of self undergoes refinement and differentiation into innumerable self-sentiments. The self is 'a system of ideas drawn from communicative life' and manifests itself through appropriation of objects of desire 'corresponding to the individuals need of power over such objects, to secure his (sic) own peculiar development, and to the danger of opposition from others who also need them' (Cooley 1965:823). This refers not only to material objects but also the affections and attentions of others, plans and ambitions. The 'I' is a militant social tendency, part of general life 'working to hold and enlarge itself upon the minds of others' (Cooley 1965: 823). But there can be no sense of 'I' without a sense of 'others'. 'It gets its meaning from what it is not, from the Other...' (Martin 1995:6). Therefore, identity depends on the interrelationship between self-recognition and the recognition of others (Calhoun 1998:20).

In this view, traditional understandings of identity were informed mainly by membership of broad social groups, such as class, nationality, kinship and occupation. More recent conceptions of identity, such as postmodernist and social interactionist approaches, view identity as multidimensional, fluid, personalized social constructions (Howard 2000:367).

The state of self-conscious 'individuality' in which each individual takes on their own identity is not innate or prior to society, but only

comes into existence *through* social relations. It is only in the social relations and objective activities between human beings, and between humans and their environment that we find the birth and sustenance of self (Burkitt 1991:190).

Mead (1934) argued that self was developed through the process of interactions between social beings, particularly symbolic interaction as the foundation of meaning. 'It is only on a social basis organised through symbols and language that a sense of individual self is possible, as humans see the effects of their actions reflected back at them through the responses and attitudes communicated by others' (Burkitt 1991:191). The presentation of self during interaction involves the use of impression management strategies in order to be, and be seen to be, a particular individual (Goffman 1969). Humans are very adept at the 'presentation of self', adjusting the image presented to suit the circumstances, the company and the image they wish to portray (Goffman 1969). 'Social identity is never *unilateral*, it must be asserted and validated (or not) through interaction with others' (Jenkins 1996:21). Interactionist literature 'articulates the construction, negotiation and communication of identity through language, both in interaction, and discursively through various forms of media' (Howard 2000:371-372).

Social actors create, adjust and negotiate in their everyday lives in interaction with others, in order to develop a coherent sense of self. Identity is formed by social processes and maintained or reshaped by social relations determined by the social structure, and in turn interact with the social structure, maintaining and reshaping it. While individual biographies are largely the product of social influences and socialisation, and are enabled or constrained by access to social and material resources, individuals have the subjective capacity for autobiography and to act autonomously. Social structure and human agency interact and are mutually influencing-shaped by social structures but impacting upon them and having the potential to create change (Berger and Luckman 1979:194).

Individual identities, which emphasise the differentiation of embodied uniqueness, are formed through socialisation, institutional practices of labelling, and interaction with others. However, '[i]dentity implies both uniqueness and sameness' (Martin

1995:6). Although individuals are identified by themselves and others as distinct from other individuals, identity is also about similarity. 'Collective identities emphasise how people are similar to each other, what they have in common', such as ethnicity or gender (Jenkins 1996:80). 'People collectively identify themselves and others, and they conduct their everyday lives in terms of those identities, which therefore have practical consequences' (Jenkins 1996:89). In some instances an individual may identify with a particular collectivity, but in others they may be unaware of their membership or of the existence of the collectivity. In the latter instance, although categories may be more significant to those doing the categorizing than to those categorized, they can have real consequences in the way an individual is perceived and treated by others, and for their self identity (Jenkins 1996:80).

Behind the norms and values instilled in early socialisation are 'inclinations and inhibitions which structure activity, feeling and thinking', reflecting the standards of behaviour of ruling groups (Burkitt 1991:198-9). 'We think in ways that are determined by the symbolic and linguistic dialogues of our culture, which reflect the forms of behaviour, lifestyle, ideas and values of different religious, ethnic and class groups' (Burkitt 1991:198). However the power behind the dialogue is often obscured. Language is infused with ideology and power and the relations of power can distort the communications process. Ideology can also obscure the social context in which its meaning is produced, undermining the ability of individuals to orientate themselves to problems and conflicts. It may dominate outside awareness and weaken the ability of individuals to control their own lives. 'Rational, conscious control of action is therefore limited in relations of power' (Burkitt 1991:197).

People cross borders of various categories in defining themselves. Individuals generally occupy a social area where a number of groups overlap, and over their life course, may choose to identify with many different groups (Martin 1995:13). 'The individual can relate to several identity narratives at the same time and even cope with contradictions between them'. 'Multiple identification is the rule' (Martin 1995:14). Social pressure from both 'in' and 'out' groups can heavily influence choice, but individuals have a degree of agency - the capacity to influence events and to behave independently of the defining constraints of society, and are actively

involved in creating their own social roles and identities. Individuals have the choice to relate to any number of symbolic systems, forming a set of identities which 'constructs the singularity of the person at the same time as it allows for a wealth of links with others' (Martin 1995:14) However, inequalities and conflicts resulting from the domination of powerful groups can undermine the control individuals have over their choices. Choices made by individuals are limited by the resources available to them.

Gender identity is a primary identity, emerging during early socialisation within the family and developing through interaction with different agencies, such as school, peer groups, various forms of media and employment. While it is acknowledged that individuals may reject or modify the social expectations surrounding their sex category, gender socialisation is very powerful. The relationship between gender socialisation and gendered identities, and women choosing employment in policing, has received little attention in the literature. Given the diversity of family structures, schooling options and available group memberships and the persistence of gendered expectations of behaviour and attitudes, the importance of these institutions in gender identity construction and career choice warrants further investigation. The next section discusses gender socialisation and career choice within these significant institutions

2.3 Gender Socialisation, Gender Identity and Career Choice

While it may seem useful to study only individuals, it is not enough to simply examine life experiences and individual choices. Despite individual agency, socialisation and gendered social expectations play a significant role in women's career choices. It is acknowledged that humans are not simply products of social structures, with no degree of self determination, however structures and institutions do exert an influence that cannot be ignored. A review of the literature shows that the main factor identified as influencing gender identity and career choice is socialisation, particularly gender socialisation - within the family, from significant others, through educational institutions and within the workplace (cf. Crespi n.d; Connell 1995:30; Richmond 1996:32; Lord & Friday 2003:69; Bernes et al. 2006:1; Kniveton 2004:47; Foster 1998). Gender expectations are mainly learned, modified and enlarged through the family, education, and the workplace. While other

agencies such as peers and the media are complicit in gender socialisation the focus of this research is on the aforementioned agencies because they are the most influential.

2.4 Gender Socialisation within the Family

While numerous studies have been acknowledged that different family structures influence child-rearing and outcomes there is relatively little data on how this influences career choice (Dykstra et al. n.d.:25). The traditional gender division of labour reflects ideas such as 'a woman's place is in the home' and the bulk of domestic labour and child care is generally considered to be 'women's work'. Dempsey (1992:171) examined the strength of attachment to traditional gender roles and the ways in which a woman's status is defined by marriage, motherhood and her husband's social standing. He looked at the structure and culture of a community to delineate patterns of gender inequality in the domestic division of labour, childcare and work and analysed systems and value discourses which maintain gender inequality, the ways in which they are interconnected between different spheres, and how female economic dependency contributes to social dependency and stereotyping of women (Dempsey 1992:177:188). Dempsey concluded that value discourses explicitly and implicitly encouraged men and women to evaluate men and their activities as superior and women and their activities as inferior. The universality of these ideas and the prevalence of value discourses that evaluated the worth of activities and gender, were 'constants in the meaning system' of the community (Dempsey 1992:171). Women were complicit in the process, applying informal negative sanctions to any woman who did not conform to the accepted norms and values of the community, particularly in regard to femininity and motherhood (Dempsey 1992:175).

Research has shown that traditional gender attitudes of parents are reflected in the traditional division of labour arrangements within families, i.e. the woman responsible for domestic work, the man as 'breadwinner' (Bittman 1995; Baxter, Gibson and Lynch-Blosse 1990; Dempsey 1988). In such families there is an increased likelihood that the children will also hold these attitudes. However, with age, increased self esteem and status, females are more likely than males to adopt less stereotypical attitudes towards gender (Crespi n.d.).

Takala (2002) investigated how gender roles and time use are connected among families with children. The study found in families where both parents were employed the total work load of women was significantly heavier than that of their partner (Takala 2002:13). Whereas women were more likely to manage their workforce participation so they could carry out their planning responsibility for family time, men were more likely to see their occupations as primary and to fit into the family schedule when they fulfilled those responsibilities (Takala 2002:3). Similarly, in a study of time negotiation among dual-earner couples, Daly (2002) found that although the trend for carrying out household responsibilities is towards convergence, there remains a significant difference in the amount of domestic labour carried out by men and women. The research confirms previous research findings, that women remain responsible for the bulk of childcare, domestic chores and household management (see also Bittman 1995; Baxter, Gibson and Lynch-Blosse 1990; Dempsey 1988).

Although women continue to perform the majority of family related tasks, with the increasing participation of women in the workplace and increased numbers of 'two career' families, the idea of women's role as mother and housewife is becoming less clear (cf. Baxter & Gray 2003; Crespi n.d.). It seems likely that less stereotypical gender roles will be in evidence in a two career family than those of a family where there is a traditional gender division of labour. There is evidence (cf. Baxter & Gray 2003; Dykstra et al. n.d.:20; Crespi n.d.), for example, that domestic labour is becoming more a matter of negotiation than previously and that increasingly, gender roles are being re-defined in two-career families. Children in such families are generally expected to contribute more equally to household chores. Also, fathers in two-career families are displaying increased involvement with their children than in more traditional families.

In families where both parents are in full time employment, parent-child relationships are becoming characterized by a 'greater degree of equality and respect for each other's autonomy' than previously, with relationships generally being less hierarchical and authoritarian, and based more on negotiation and freedom of choice (Dykstra et al. n.d. :20). Although there are broad patterns of gender socialisation, it seems probable that children raised in different family types

will be gender-socialized differently. In a sole parent family, where the sole provider is usually a female who generally takes responsibility for all areas, 'male' and 'female' roles may become blurred. Popenoe (1999) and Hamburg (1993) state that there is a greater than 50% chance children will spend some time in a single, female parent family.

Family structure, particularly during adolescence, has also been found to have long-term effects on perceptions of gender. Parental attitudes play an important role in shaping the attitudes of children. The increase in alternative family structures means more people are experiencing non-traditional family structures during pre-adult socialisation (Kiecolt & Acock 1998:709). For example, studies have found that single/divorced mothers hold more egalitarian gender views than do married women (Kiecolt & Acock 1998: 710).

Maternal employment has also been associated with more liberal attitudes to gender. For example, it has been found that women who choose traditionally masculine occupations and who tend to reject gender stereotypes are more likely to have been raised in families where the mother was employed full-time (Kent and Moss 1994:1335). Although the relationship is somewhat reciprocal, in that more liberal gender attitudes may lead to the desire to seek employment and employment to liberalized attitudes, mother's employment has been found to lessen the value women place on traditional understandings of gender. Most single-parent families are headed by the mother and evidence suggests that single mothers are more likely to be employed outside the home than are married women and have been found to insist less on conformity to 'traditional' definitions of gender (Kiecolt & Acock 1998 :713). The importance of family type is relevant to this research in that gendered world views are initially associated with familial attitudes around gender and therefore influence perceptions of appropriate career choice.

2.5 Gender Socialisation - from School to Work

A further major socialisation concept explored in the research is the influence of education and type of schooling on career choice. While the family remains the main institutional influence on gender relations, the move in the 1980s towards co-educational schooling in Australia had the effect of reorganising teenagers' social lives.

Schools are still influential in ‘the construction of masculinity and femininity during adolescence, and in ordering the relationships among different kinds of masculinity and femininity’ (Connell et al. 1982:179). Research evidence on whether co-educational schooling depresses female academic performance is ambiguous, but it does have major impacts on gender relations, where, despite the persistence of sexism, male/female interaction is much freer than previously. However, the power structure of schools remains largely in the hands of men, with the majority of high school principals being male. Female principals are most commonly found in single-sex girls schools (Connell et al. 1982:177-178).

Class and race make a difference through teachers’ perceptions, parental preferences and student’s goals and attitudes. Gender is also significant, with few females choosing traditionally masculine subject areas such as physics, mathematics and engineering. ‘Schools create differences among students by offering them different kinds of knowledge’ (Gaskell 1992:36). Despite recent moves to encourage more females into these areas, they are still predominantly located in areas such as nursing, education and the Humanities. So, do students choose their subjects and, if so, on what basis? Academic officers have been found to play a significant role, classifying students by social class, and teachers’ constructions of gender also influence choice. However, the basic assumption is that students choose (Wylie, Hipkins & Hodgen 2009; Gaskell 1992:37).

Schooling has been and continues to be shaped on economic processes and purposes and the priorities of the majority of participants (cf. Gaskell 1992:17). Talcott Parsons (1959 cited in Gaskell 1992:17) argued that schooling was firstly an agent of socialisation which ensured ‘the development in individuals of the commitments and capacities which are essential prerequisites of their future role performances, and secondly ‘from the viewpoint of the society (it is) an agency of “manpower” (sic) allocation’, stating that ‘there is a very high correlation between one’s status level in the society and one’s educational attainment’. Both social status and educational level are related to the occupational status that is obtained (Kniveton 2004; van de Werfhorst et al. 2003; Fullerton & Ainley 2000). However, it has been argued that school ‘fosters legitimate (sic) inequality through the ostensibly meritocratic manner by which they reward and promote students and allocate them to distinct positions in the occupational

hierarchy'. This creates and reinforces patterns of sexual and racial identification and social class among students, allowing them 'to relate "properly" to their eventual standing in the hierarchy of authority and status...' (Bowles & Gintis 1976 cited in Gaskell 1992:21).

However, women are educated alongside men. This poses several questions: why is women's work so different and undervalued in comparison to men's; how is gender learned in institutions such as schools and what is its impact on the allocation of positions in the workplace? That women generally achieve higher results and are more likely to complete higher education standards overall than do men makes women's disadvantage in the labour force more difficult to explain. Some explanations for this have looked at gendering within schools as a possible influence.

Girls are taught to be 'feminine' and 'good girls', characteristics in opposition to masculine characteristics related to self-actualisation and aggression. However pointing to stereotyping in schools to explain male achievement ignores the 'feminine' characteristics of sociability and cooperation, traits valued in both genders in the school environment and at work, and the overlap between males and females in characteristics such as aggression and independence. A more realistic explanation may lie in the way curricula are organised on gendered lines, with boys and girls 'choosing' subjects that are predominantly filled with members of their own sex, leading to different skills and interests and different employment opportunities (Gaskell 1992:28-29). Despite moves towards equal opportunity in subject choice, career advice and subject choice still tend to channel students towards stereotypically gender appropriate choices (Wylie, Hipkins & Hodgen 2009; Arnot 2002; Connell et al. 1982:115).

Influences of early socialisation, schooling and cultural participation throughout adolescence affect individual choices, reproducing and reinforcing a gendered society. 'What is reproduced in schools is a gendered as well as class society (Gaskell 1992:30). Studies of students' subject and occupational choices have found that stereotypical expectations predominated, reproducing a sex-segregated labour force and a traditional family structure (Kniveton 2004; Arnot 2002; Gaskell 1992:30). Young girls were found to be heavily influenced by an ideology that their primary place is as wives and mothers, and male youths as primary 'bread-winners'. Therefore the relationship

between females' experiences within educational institutions and career choice requires further investigation.

It has been argued that the advance of co-educational has not been without problems for girls (Burgess 1990). There is evidence to indicate that girls' achievement, self-esteem and willingness to take an active role are endangered in co-educational schools. Sex-stereotyping affecting subject choice, underachievement in mathematics, science and technology, and constant social pressure from boys combine to depress girls' self-confidence and limit their aspirations (Burgess 1990; Arnot 2002). An interesting finding of the Australian Education Council (1992) is that girls achieve better and develop higher self efficacy in single-sex schools than in co-educational institutions. It has been found that single-sex girls' schools are increasingly producing women who challenge the traditional positions of women and notions of femininity (Connell et al. 1982:112). The organisation of these schools is crucial in this, as they tend to be staffed by well educated, career oriented, independent women who are committed to improving the status of women, stressing academic achievement and social competence. While the number of women teachers in state high schools has increased, providing an influential model, this is undermined by the promotion of men to positions of power, such as principals, deputies and subject heads (Wong 2009; Burgess 1990; Connell et al. 1982:112-115).

There are many forms of masculinity and femininity stemming from family patterns, emotional attachments, different character traits and experiences. The type of education, particularly during adolescence, helps construct not only different kinds of masculinity and femininity, but also relationships between the sexes, intentionally or not reinforcing some masculinities and femininities, while subordinating others. The importance of education and type of schooling in the development of a gender identity became a major focus of this research.

2.6 Women in the Workplace

As socialisation continues across the life-course, the next focus was the workplace. The relationship between school and work has not always been strong in practice, but ideologies linking schooling and workplace skills have developed strongly. The ideology that supports domestic and family responsibilities as 'women's work' is

deeply ingrained and taken-for-granted. Elements of the dominant ideology, the constraints of child-care and the labour market and their experience of males in school, within the family and the workplace combine to produce in women the view that domestic work is primarily the responsibility of females (Gaskell 1992:82). Assumptions become central to actions, reproducing existing inequalities and limiting a sense of what is possible. Raised and educated in a gendered world, women recreate the gender divisions even though they are generally aware of inequalities, finding it difficult to envisage that things could be different. Although some women challenge the normative order, often the view is that the only way to have a career and remain independent is not to marry; to have children later, or not to have children at all.

The disadvantages women face in the workplace are well documented (cf. Strachan & Burgess 1998; Bradley 1989). Women earn less than men, are predominantly employed part-time/casual in low status 'caring' or 'service' areas, and experience little power or autonomy in their work (Lane & Piercy 2003). Connell (1998:36) states:

...the structure of bureaucracy is a tight fusion of the structure of power and the division of labour. Together with selective recruitment and promotion, the structure forms an integrated mechanism of gender relations that result in the exclusion of women from positions of authority and the subordination of areas of work in which most women are concentrated.

There is an assumption from employers that women are primarily located in the family. Women continue to bear the primary responsibility for domestic work, and their paid employment is often viewed as either economic necessity or to be undertaken as secondary to work inside the home. When married women work they have to make alternate arrangements for child-care and carry the double burden of paid and domestic labour. This restricts opportunity, particularly for promotion (Bradley 1989:227; Mann 1998:191; Connell 1998:38). Continuous, full-time employment is generally required for promotion, but many women's work experiences do not conform to this pattern.

Women's jobs are generally treated as less important than their partners. Modern families are more diverse and flexible than at any other time in recent history, but if there is an adult male in the household, economic choices still tend to revolve around

them (Bradley 1989:227). It appears to be taken-for-granted that 'caring' and 'service' occupations – 'women's work' – require little skill. However, what people are paid reflects their power in the workplace, rather than skill. Notions of what 'constitutes skilled work are socially constructed through political processes that have been played out in the workplace as well as in educational institutions' (Gaskell 1992:120).

2.7 Women and Masculinised Workplaces

As the focus of the first question in this research is the influence of socialisation on women's selection of a career in policing, and policing is a masculinised occupation, it is important to review the literature on females' experiences within masculine workplaces generally. Notions of 'suitable' work and workplaces have resulted in gendered work cultures and gendering of jobs. It has become accepted that women generally prefer female friendly or gender neutral workplaces for a variety of reasons (cf. Moss n.d; McElhinny 1994; Bradley 1989). Bradley (1989:229) argues that within the capitalist system, which is based on the idea that hierarchies are essential and that people at different levels of the hierarchy should be rewarded differently, any visible difference such as gender becomes incorporated into the hierarchy, promoting divisions. She states that social meanings of masculinity and femininity are negotiated within the workplace. However men also prefer male exclusivity at work and develop ways to exclude women. Women are considered to be disruptive of the male environment and are subjected to harassment and made to feel unwelcome unless they are prepared to accept the male culture. Few women reject prevailing expectations and those who do must find a way to fit into the male occupational culture. If they embrace the culture they deny their femininity; if they assert their femininity they risk being labelled inferior (Bradley 1989:230; Gatens 1996:71; Hochschild cited in Brown et al. 1999).

Martin (1996) suggests that jobs are not gender neutral; work organisations operate according to certain ideologies and practices that produce and reproduce gender inequality (also Alvesson & Billing 2009). People have a gender, and this gender affects the jobs they perform. Few women choose occupations that are non-traditional for their gender. Padavic & Reskin (2002: 88) suggest this is because women have been socialised to take up different kinds of work to men, or because they prefer working with members of their own gender. Women tend to choose

gender-diverse workplaces, rationalizing that there will be less discrimination and sexual harassment (Moss n.d.). Despite increased female participation in the workplace, occupational segregation by gender persists, with low female participation rates in stereotypically 'masculine' occupations and high participation rates in stereotypically care-giving 'female' occupation (Ely & Myerson 2000; Natarajan 2008). The 'glass ceiling' remains largely intact, with few women achieving high status positions. While to some extent this reflects both women's preference for certain jobs and employers' preference for women in certain positions, it also reflects both social expectations of what is normatively 'women's' work and what is 'men's' work, and women's unwillingness to expose themselves to sexual harassment (cf. Natarajan 2008; Ely & Myerson 2000). The desire to avoid social stigma arising from working in an occupation normatively linked to males, and fear of being labelled 'lesbian' or 'masculine' also prevents many women taking on gender atypical roles (McElhinny 1994:159 -160).

Jobs in turn have a gendered character which affects the people who do them. Even objects become gendered, both materially and ideologically, for example by size or colour. Tools, clothing, equipment, technology and machinery are already gendered before they reach the workplace (Alvesson & Billing 2009). This gendering assists men to successfully appropriate 'masculine' jobs, which tend to be higher paid and of higher status.

Gendered work cultures are well entrenched. Gender imbalance and an inherently masculinised workplace culture pose specific problems for women entering male - dominated occupations (Ely & Myerson 2000; Bradley 1998). Gendering of the workplace affects both preferences and perceptions of reality, and this cultural work 'assists the sideways and upwards movements' of men, maintaining men's separation from women, and giving them the ability to maintain the notion that 'masculinity equals superior, active and powerful; feminine equals subordinate, submissive and directed' (Alvesson & Billing 2009; Walby 1988:39). Further, Bradley (1989:270) states that the fear of 'a threat to femininity through the successful achievement is the result of cultural learning so prevalent as to affect most women'. However, some women are able to succeed in male dominated

occupations. Therefore the influence of previous employment on gender identity and career choice became another key focus of the empirical research.

2.8 Women in Policing

The intention of this research is not only to examine the influence of socialisation in individual perceptions of policing as a suitable career choice, but also how a policewoman's gender identity influences her experience of policing. Despite an increased number of women entering policing, the occupation is still far from gender neutral and women's opportunities remain restricted by the gendered work culture (Adams 2001). According to Bradley (1989:233):

Dominant social groups of whatever kind do not yield their privilege or power voluntarily. They will manipulate their advantage to ensure that whatever changes occur remain compatible with their own continued supremacy.

Male officers often perceive women as threatening to the norms and solidarity of policing, fearing they confuse the male identity that is intrinsic to the law enforcement role and a white, 'working class' male monopoly on policing (Wilkinson & Froyland 1996; Prenzler 1992). Stereotypically 'female' characteristics of physical weakness, emotional vulnerability and compassion are portrayed as handicapping, and a common argument against policewomen has been the need for men to protect them in situations of physical confrontation (Garcia 2003; Prenzler 1992). These fears persist despite current training techniques and technology, and the shift towards a more service-oriented approach requiring people management skills more than physical strength (Natarajan 2008; Wilkinson and Froyland 1996; Prenzler 1992; Stewart 2003).

When the hegemonic masculinity of policing is challenged by the admission of women, management typically attempts to ensure that those few admitted are as much like the incumbents as possible, so that homogeneity of the workplace is disturbed as little as possible (Thornton 1994). Deployment patterns differ to men's advantage, and sexual discrimination and gender-related barriers pose career difficulties for women (Lynch 2002). Negative attitudes towards women have

thwarted the ambitions of those aspiring to senior roles. The small percentage of women in senior ranks makes them 'susceptible to "token" dynamics, whereby they find themselves visible and singled out for special attention in ways that their male colleagues are not' (Brown and Heidensohn 2000:103).

2.9 Summary

Although people have a degree of agency in developing styles of behaviour, speech, life-style, sexuality and occupational choice and to challenge binary gender norms, and women's preferences for work type may change over the life course, socialisation and gendered social expectations play a significant role in women's career choices. I suggest that women who do not strongly identify with traditional gender stereotypes and expectations feel more confident they can succeed in male-typed occupations than do women who strongly identify with traditional gender stereotypes. The importance of gender identity within the institutions of family, education and the workplace provides a conceptual basis for the research design. This is further investigated through empirical research in order to address my first research question- the influence of socialisation on individual perceptions of policing as a suitable career choice. The following chapter extends the research towards a fuller understanding of the influence of socialisation on women's choice of a career in policing and the way they 'do gender'. This makes an important contribution to the development of the conceptual framework for the research that is outlined in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3

Agency, Gender Socialisation and Performativity of Gender

3.1 Introduction

The focus in this chapter is on the second research question, that is, does a policewoman's gender identity influence her experience of policing (i.e. is there a relationship between 'doing gender' and 'doing policing')? I have argued so far that the development of a gender identity through agencies of socialisation and gendered social expectations play a significant role in women's career choices and the way women perform gender. In this chapter I present a review of the literature, building on discussions around gender and how these discourses inform individual perceptions and performances. The discussion is organised around the importance of agency and gender socialisation and further examines identity through the performativity of gender.

The concept of gender is a fairly recent historical product, but all societies have cultural accounts of gender in some form (Connell 1995:67). Gender can be defined as 'socially ascribed meanings given to the categories of man and woman', and refers to widely shared ideas and normative expectations about 'appropriate' or 'typical' feminine and masculine behaviours and abilities (de Bruyn 1995:11-12). These societal norms and values provide a framework within which the status, roles, economic and political power granted to men and women are determined (de Bruyn 1995:11-13). The main factors identified as influencing career choice, that is, gender socialisation within the family, from significant others, through educational institutions and within the workplace (cf. Connell 1995:30; Richmond 1996:32; Lord & Friday 2003:69; Crespi n.d; Bernes et al. 2006:1; Kniveton 2004:47; Foster 1998) can be related to the development of personal attributes such as self-efficacy, self esteem and perceptions of gender appropriate activities (Lord & Findlay 2003:66; Adams 2001:14). However, while people conform to broad behavioural patterns, even children who receive similar types of socialisation, for example brothers and sisters within the same family, may develop quite different perceptions on gender. Different agencies of socialisation may transmit different - and perhaps

contradictory – messages. The individual is not simply a passive receiver but an active participant in his / her socialisation (Livesey n.d.).

3.2 The Importance of Agency in Gender Socialisation

A problem often faced by sociologists is the tension between structure and agency. While the focus so far has been on various structures and institutions which influence the acquisition of a gender identity, such as the family, peers, education and the workplace, a recurrent theme has been the importance of individual agency.

While it may seem useful to study social structures in order to discuss a particular social phenomenon, humans are not simply products of social structures, with no degree of self determination. It is also not enough to simply examine life experiences and individual choices. Structures and institutions do exert an influence so their influence cannot be ignored. However, while social structures influence individual behaviours, individuals also influence and reproduce structures. It needs to be acknowledged that actions are influenced by social situation as well as agency i.e. structure impacts on individual agency, and individual agency impacts on social structures.

Agency can be defined as having the ‘capacity to transpose and extend schemas to new contexts’ (Miller 2002: 440). Agency is formed by ‘a specific range of cultural schemas or resources available in a person’s particular social milieu’ and can ‘vary dramatically from one social world to another depending on the nature of the particular structures that inform those social worlds’ (Sewell 1992 cited in Miller 2002:441). The relationship between an individual and the agencies which carry out the socialisation process is not a simple ‘one-way’ process whereby cultural messages are transmitted by various socialising agents / agencies, received by the individual and incorporated into that individual's self-identity.

One way of examining the relationship between structure and agency is by using Giddens (1979) concept of ‘structuration’. This perspective incorporates both structures and the actions which produce structures, focusing on the rules which govern actions (Craib 1984:68). Giddens argues that in order to connect human action with structural explanations there needs to be a human agent, ‘an account of

the conditions and consequences of actions; and an interpretation of “structure” as somehow embroiled in both these conditions and consequences’ (Giddens 1979:49). Structures both constrain and enable, and are reproduced by social action. Giddens views social structure as a ‘virtual order’ rather than something that exists as a social reality apart from the actor. It exists in the mind of the actor as practical or taken-for-granted knowledge of procedures and rules which govern how to behave in different situations. Society only has structure because people act in fairly regular ways, however agency is only possible because individuals possess socially constructed knowledge (Seidman 2008:137-138).

While Giddens’ approach acknowledges the complexity and interrelated nature of structure and agency, Bourdieu (1979) provides a more useful conceptual framework through which this tension can be examined. Bourdieu’s social theory informs this research by providing a basis for analysis of why police officers, policewomen in particular, choose employment in a masculinised workplace; how female officers understand their choices; and how they experience policing, as these cannot be fully understood by reference to agency alone. They are both constrained and enabled by structural and institutional factors such as social location, educational attainment and employment opportunities. However, structural explanations alone cannot explain why these officers considered policing as a suitable career option. Individuals act with a degree of agency and make choices. While these choices are influenced by structural considerations, they are not wholly determined by them. Bourdieu (1979) understood individuals as active agents using agency within the confines of a particular social structure. That is, while they act with agency, they are not fully in command of their destiny. Therefore, neither agency nor structure independently is sufficient to explain individual action. As agency is informed by structure, so structure is informed by agency. Both concepts are needed to study social life.

According to Bourdieu (1990), it is the ‘habitus’ that provides interpretive and motivational guidelines for action, generally based on class position. The ‘habitus’ can be described as ‘interpretive schemas’ which allow individuals to strategise (Seidman 2008:141). Bourdieu also refers to ‘field’ and ‘capital’. ‘Field’ refers to particular areas made up of individuals in a set of social relations ‘who possess

varying resources (different types of 'capital') and struggle for prestige, wealth and power (Seidman 2008:143). 'Capital' refers to various resources that have social influence, such as wealth, knowledge, prestige and social ties (Seidman 2008:143). The following explanatory diagram illustrates his theory.

$$(\text{habitus} + \text{capital}) + \text{field} = \text{practice} \text{ (Bourdieu cited in Mahar et al. 1990:7)}$$

Chan (1999:75) suggests that Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus' and 'field', when combined with a recognition of the active roles played by police officers, provides a useful framework examining the link between police culture and police practice. The common assumption of a link between police culture and police practice has been inadequately examined in the literature. Further, there is virtually no research on the influence of prior socialisation on policewomen's ability to function successfully within the potent masculinised police occupational culture, nor the influence of prior socialisation on the way they perform their duties. This research addresses this significant gap. Analysing these links entails an understanding of police culture.

If police culture is viewed as shared organised knowledge held by members of a group, police practice can be conceptualised as the product of interactions between this shared knowledge and the structural conditions within which police operate (Chan 1999:105). Chan suggests that this relationship be elaborated using Bourdieu's concepts of 'habitus' and 'field'. The police 'field' is the social space in which cultural practice is produced and includes the political context, government policies, discretionary powers, internal organisation and 'historical relations between certain social groups and the police' (Chan 1997:79). Police 'habitus' refers to the cultural knowledge of agents, including 'axiomatic knowledge' – the basic law and order rationale of policing; 'dictionary knowledge' – routine ways of categorising people and environments e.g. stereotyping; 'directory knowledge' – acceptable and unacceptable situational behaviour; and 'recipe knowledge' – how to perform the job (1997:76-79). Chan's approach to Bourdieu's (1990) conceptual strategy provides a useful way through which to analyse the tensions between structure and agency in a masculinised work environment.

3.3 Perspectives on Gender

An important part of the research project was to review the main theoretical approaches to gender in order to develop a conceptual framework through which the research data could be analysed. Sociological approaches to gender generally deal with different sets of problems, often using the same concepts, organising the same world but focusing on different aspects. Sociological theory is always provisional and partial because the social world is always changing, so no single theory can hope to explain all aspects and most provide only a partial view of reality. For example, functionalists look at the integrative properties of authority, whereas conflict theorists see authority as divisive. A functionalist approach to gender envisages parts of society as maintaining various aspects of the social structure and benefiting society. From this perspective each part maintains the continual existence of a society as a whole.

3.3.1 Functionalism

A functionalist view purports that gender socialisation is the process through which children of different sexes are socialized into their gender roles and learn what is considered appropriate to being male and female. Through socialisation we learn what our society and culture considers appropriate and inappropriate behaviour for both genders. Definite expectations and values concerning appropriate gender attributes are constantly reflected back to individuals, and are generally accepted, internalized and become part of the individual's self-identity.

One of the earliest ways in which a child starts to become socialised into the culture of any society is through the observation and imitation of the people around him/her. Because of their own socialisation, parents develop fairly explicit ideas about the right and wrong ways for their children to behave in relation to their gender. By observing their parents children are lead towards conceptions about what is "normal" behaviour for both men and women and learn that some activities are considered appropriate for boys and others are appropriate for girls (Livesey n.d.). Although both girls and boys are equally exposed to 'normal' male / female relationships and activities, each sex is encouraged to identify with these norms in different ways. Household chores, for example, are frequently allocated to children on the basis of their sex. Although males may be praised when they help their

mother, it tends to be made fairly explicit that this is something exceptional and not necessarily the 'normal' way in which boys are expected to behave. Further, praising a girl for being pretty, nice, or neat not only rewards the girl, it teaches her that if she wants to continue to receive praise then she must continue to reproduce the behaviour that produces such social approval (Oakley 1972a).

The socialisation model acknowledges structural influences but it assumes a 'natural' difference based on biological distinctions and portrays individuals as passive learners, with the structures and institutions imparting norms which are then accepted and internalised. Leading gender theorist R.W. Connell suggests that given its problems the socialisation model should be abandoned, proposing a 'negotiated gender' approach (Connell 2002:77). Connell (2002) is critical of the socialisation model in that it does not recognise active learners, multiple masculinities, greater variations within rather than between genders or multi-directionality of gender acquisition. According to Connell (2002) being a 'man' or a 'woman' is subject to personal experiences in family life, educational institutions and through the influence of peers and the media. While multiple masculinities and femininities can be linked to specific structures and institutions, such as class differences and ethnicity, these cannot wholly explain the multiplicity of gender patterns within gender relations. Nor is it simply a matter of internalising norms. According to Connell (2002), individuals resist and negotiate gender norms from childhood and gender practices can change over the life-course. Children experiment with different gender presentations, even trying cross-gender presentations (e.g. a girl who is sporty, or a boy who learns ballet) accepting some and rejecting others.

While Connell (2002) disagrees with the functionalist idea that socialisation is uni-directional and argues that there is not one way of being masculine or feminine she does not dispute the influence of the agencies of socialisation. However, while acknowledging the importance of socialisation from such institutions as the family, media and education in individual's lives, Connell (2002) suggests that the messages within these institutions are inconsistent and often conflicting.

Institutions do not mechanically determine young people's learning.
But they do shape the consequences of what young people do –

the risks they run, the recognition they get, the networks they gain access to, the penalties they pay (Connell 2002:80).

Gender patterns are constrained and enabled by social institutions and the existing gender order. These patterns of practice are not static, but are subject to change over the life-course. People are active rather than passive recipients of gendering, but they grow up in a society that has a prevailing gender order and gender norms which influence individuals, whether they choose to accept or reject them. Individuals learn how gender relations work and how to navigate them in a way that is most beneficial to them, shaping their lives in 'patterns of practice-the *configurations* of gender practice in everyday life' that we call 'femininity' and 'masculinity' (Connell 2002:81: emphasis in original). Individuals may exhibit different gender patterns at the same stage of the life-course depending on the institutions with which they are interacting. Further, the same experience can be interpreted differently by different individuals. They learn what is successful and what is not and particular, useful strategies lead to particular, often situational gender patterns.

It is acknowledged that socialisation theory alone does not allow for a full understanding of gender as it does not allow for the multiple masculinities and femininities in contemporary society. However, I argue that although the gender order does change, it is difficult to completely reject the gendered patterns and expectations one has grown up with. There is a degree of standardisation and commonalities in discourses at the societal level of what is 'masculinity' and what is 'femininity'. These are acquired through different sources, experiences and circumstances which enable the majority of individuals to recognise what is and what is not socially acceptable. Taken in the narrowest sense (cf. Parsons 1952; Parsons & Bales 1956) the socialisation model can be seen as *prescriptive*- 'how things should be'. It does not recognise individual agency and as such can be seen as having little relevance in contemporary research. However, while the development of feminist perspectives has seen this approach attacked on the basis that it is a view promoted in the interests of men (cf. Lorber 2001; hooks 1984) there remains a strong perception in the 'real' world that women will be the primary care givers and responsible for the majority of domestic labour. Therefore, if seen

as *descriptive* i.e. as applicable to a specific historic period and therefore subject to change, the relevance of the socialisation model cannot be totally ignored. While Connell's negotiated gender approach is appropriate for analysing the research data, the dominant discourses and policewomen's understandings of gender stereotypes (i.e. the way respondents perceive and understand their world) also needs to be acknowledged in the analysis.

3.3.2 Liberal Feminism

Feminists have also criticised the functionalist approach for the assumption that gender divisions are 'natural' and inevitable. Early notions of gender (cf. Freud 1975; Parsons 1952; Mead 1934) tended to be centred on ideas of moral relationships between men and women and based on religious and /or secular arguments which constructed gender and sex as natural attributes of men and women. Domestic virtues and nurturing activities were 'natural' attributes of women, and early feminists perceived the role of upper-class women as charitable works and moral surveillance of the poor (cf. Wollstonecraft 1792; Martineau cited in Hoecker-Drysdale 2003). Gender was, and to a large extent remains, constructed as a women's problem/issue with ways of defining gender patterns focusing mainly in terms of women's roles within the family- woman as wife and mother.

'Second wave' feminists , for example Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, attempted to transform the field of debate from 'sex roles' based on biological differences and centred on the family, to focus on issues of power and inequality. The most influential form of feminism in the 1970s-liberal feminism- attributed women's disadvantages to stereotyped expectations promoted through agents of socialisation and aimed to emancipate women within the existing social framework (Connell 1987:33). It was thought that the breaking down of stereotypes and the introduction of equal opportunity and anti-discrimination legislation would eliminate inequalities.

Radical feminists moved beyond the concept of sex roles to focus on the significance of power in gender relations, looking beyond individuals and the arena of human reproduction to the need for 'social reproduction' and the reproduction of social structures through such institutions as education and the state (Connell

1987:35). Marxist and socialist feminists focus on the interrelationships between inequalities of class and gender, and regard patriarchy and/or capitalist modes of production as the principal sources of women's oppression. Similar to radical feminists, they desire revolutionary change but focus more on economic structures of capitalism as the source of gender inequalities.

However, liberal feminists (cf. Oakley 1972b) tend to rely on role theory perceiving the causes of inequality as lying in culture, attitudes and beliefs rather than in social structures and institutions. They argue that socialisation into gender roles produces stereotypes and expectations which prevent women from achieving equal opportunity. 'Strong gender socialisation practices enable the patriarchal system to be maintained so that men continue to occupy the powerful position in society and women the subordinate position' (Perry & Bussey 1984:90). The main aim of liberal feminists is to create opportunity through legislation and changed attitudes within existing social, economic and political structures. This approach has achieved a degree of social change, particularly in the areas of employment opportunity and social policy (cf. Tong 2009; Lorber 2001).

However, role theory is suggestive of a biological base and malleable superstructure. 'A crucial difficulty is that what is *normative* i.e. expected or approved, is not necessarily *standard* i.e. actually the way things are' (Connell 1987:51: emphasis in original). What is 'normative' may in fact be what holders of social power wish accepted. The theory fails to examine whose interests are embodied in the norms and how far in daily life people resist those interests. It ignores the element of power and resistance to power and social pressure around definitions of gender and sexuality. This also tends to eliminate ideas of reform, or change, other than role expansion, giving little attention to social institutions and social structures (Connell 1987:52-54).

3.3.3 Radical Feminism

Major features of categorical theories, such as radical feminist theory, include identification of opposing sexual politics between specific categories of people, a focus on the category rather than its constitution or constituents, and an understanding of the social order as a whole in terms of two categories (men and

women), related by power and conflict of interest. Radical feminists (cf. Millett 1970; Firestone 1970) perceive women's subordination as primarily sited in social institutions. Society is viewed as patriarchal, and heterosexuality as a social institution as central to the organisation of gender relations, whether overtly sexual or apparently non-sexual. A central belief is that only revolutionary change can liberate women. Millet (1970:25) argues that gender is the primary source of identity in contemporary western society, and further, that the political relationship between male domination and female subordination exists in all relationships structured by power, that is, everyday life. She contends that all relationships between men and women are based on patriarchy, 'the most pervasive ideology of our culture' (Millet 1970:25).

Radical feminist theories differ mainly in their approach to the relationship between men and women, e.g. men's direct domination of women (cf. Firestone 1970; hooks 1984) or men's violence towards women (cf. Daly 2002). However, treating gender as general, absolute, undifferentiated categories can be problematic as it ignores divisions within the field of gender, such as homosexuality, which, if considered, is also treated as an undifferentiated category. Further, not all societies are patriarchal and not all men exploit women. Describing all societies as patriarchal implies a universal biological cause and ignores the many different ways societies have defined gender. Radical feminism ignores the economic structures of capitalism as a determinant of women's disadvantage and lack of economic power.

Categorical theories, similarly to liberal feminist theory, also tend to ignore the social arrangements that create female subordination and male power. Men are seen as 'all men' (the enemy), and 'all women' are offered a metaphysical solidarity within universal structures and categories (Connell 1987:54-60). However, as Pettman (1992:62) states 'While men as a category have power over women as a category, and most men benefit from their access to women's bodies, not all men are equally powerful'. In the final analysis, 'categoricalism can recognise power, but deletes from its analysis the element of practical politics: choice, doubt, strategy, planning, error and transformation' (Connell 1987:61) and therefore does not provide the levels of analysis necessary for this research.

3.3.4 Marxist-Feminism

Marxist-feminists locate women's oppression in capitalism, class relations and the relations of production i.e. that as capitalism is the cause of social inequalities (women get lower wages and maintain the family, which supports capitalism) class struggle against capitalism will liberate women from oppression. The central idea, that the family and gender relations reproduce 'relations of production' through social processes led to the theory of 'the relations of reproduction' as a determinant of women's subordination (Connell 1987:41)

Social reproduction theory is based on two concepts - that women bear children in order to fill places in production and support the family, and that 'reproduction' of patterns of socialisation are required to fit the needs of capitalism (Connell 1987:41-43). '(R)eproduction theory argued a *systemic* connection between the subordination of women and economic exploitation in capitalism' with gender relations deeply embedded in employment systems (Connell 1987:43-44: emphasis in original). This theory is problematic in that it fails to recognise that women's oppression occurs not only in the working class, but in all classes under capitalism, was present before capitalism, occurs in non-capitalist countries, and does not explain the need for a gendered hierarchy.

Walby's (1986) views are representative of the majority of contemporary Marxist-feminist perspectives. Walby argues that patriarchy is 'indispensable to analysis of gender inequality' (1986:1). Patriarchal structures restrict women's access and maintain male dominance. A patriarchal mode of production denies women access to the public sphere, limiting their input into the household economy and thereby limiting their control and power. She states that women are exploited by the intersection of patriarchy in the household with patriarchy in the work arena. Patriarchy in the public, work sphere operates by excluding women from certain jobs, and in barriers to promotion and opportunity beyond certain levels, and is sustained through connections between institutions. Walby (1986) identifies six patriarchal structures which restrict women's choices -paid work, culture, domestic relations, sexuality, violence and the state- providing a way of analysing women's career choices.

Walby (1986:3) argues that patriarchy is not fixed, as radical feminist theorists maintain, but is changeable and varies in strength over time (also Pettman 1992:62). Patriarchy is not the only source of women's inequality as experiences are mediated by class, race, capitalism, language, age and disability (Walby 1986:3; Pettman 1992:75). For Walby, paid employment is the key structure affecting women's lack of equality. Despite social change in the form of legislation and social policy, she argues that 'the state is still patriarchal' as women are still disadvantaged in the public sphere (Walby 1986:171).

Although acknowledging that gender inequalities are sustained through institutions such as employment, this approach does not acknowledge the need to analyse strategies by which gender is reproduced and sustained within institutions. While the feminist perspectives discussed so far aim to integrate various social institutions such as class and ethnicity in understandings of gender, there is a tendency to view the gendered division of labour and the division between the public/private realms as the same problem. According to Yeatman (1986:172) such a perspective tends to see men and women 'as interest groups engaged in some form of competitive, albeit asymmetrical, power relation'.

3.3.5 Feminist Deconstruction Theories

A diversity of feminist theories has evolved with understandings of women's experiences, but it appears that the more we understand women's oppression, the more theoretical and complex the debate. Although understandings have evolved regarding such concepts as gender, identity, class, race and discourse, the complexity of integrating diverse individuals with varying identities within feminist theories has opened debate around interpretation and application. Different feminist interpretations of the world are often derived from different perceptions of the nature of society. Gatens' (1996) deconstructive feminist approach to gender offers a way of understanding the interrelationships between dominant ideologies, cultural values and the way particular discourses and practices produce gendered bodies. This approach provides a useful tool for gaining a better understanding of both historical and contemporary gendered practices and policies.

A 'split' has developed in feminist research and theory between those who focus on particular, empirical and contemporary issues and those who see such issues as 'inseparable from the larger questions about the construction of the identity of women and the nature' of contemporary femininity (Evans 1997:86). There exists a 'distinction between those who are intensely involved with the particular (equal pay, fertility control and so on) and those equally passionately concerned with the very diversity of experience and identity that seems to undermine an understanding of any given empirical situation' (Evans 1997:86-87). According to Gatens (1996:60-61), the diversification of feminist theories has rendered the division into Marxist, liberal and radical feminism virtually useless as they 'no longer capture the salient features of the multiple ways in which current feminist theories interact with dominant socio-political theories' which harbour fundamental biases against women.

Deconstruction offers a way of decentering hierarchical oppositions which underpin gender and as such is useful in developing the analytical framework of this thesis. Post-structuralist approaches see the social world as dependent on the fragile foundation of discourse and language. Language and signs are not fixed and are the site of conflict, as they have social and political significance (Seidman 2008:161). Post-structuralists seek to deconstruct hierarchical oppositions such as man/woman and masculine/feminine, arguing that the order places the first in a position of superiority and that language has no fixed meaning. They seek to challenge institutions and authorities that maintain political, social and linguistic hierarchies (Seidman 2008:161-162). Understanding how policing discourses maintain the police service as a 'masculine' occupation and the degree to which policewomen are complicit in this is an important aspect of this research. Post-structuralism then, provides a useful approach to understanding how particular discursive practices privilege males and maintain hierarchies in policing.

Feminist deconstructionists argue that concepts such as race and gender are not stable categories but fluid and contestable. Meanings are not universal but derived from specific social contexts and the way they are understood, configured and represented is contextually defined. They are socially constructed by the dominant social groups. For feminist deconstructionists, 'there are no differentiations that are

not socially determined and discourse dependent' (Grant 1993:142). Difference and meaning are also constructed in relation to one another and the major source of meaning is language. Words are taken as having a fixed meaning, but meaning is contingent. 'People learn an already existing language, which has been socially constructed in the always already existing society' (Grant 1993:143).

Deconstructionist feminists aim to decipher and denaturalise meanings, particularly of binary oppositions such as male/female, man/women and masculine/feminine. For example, studying 'how the meanings of *man* and *woman* came to be what they are in a given circumstance exposes the definitions as socially contingent, rather than natural' (Grant 1993:143). A feminist deconstruction approach provides a way to understand the ongoing construction and potentially changing meanings of gender in police culture and practice.

Judith Butler has been particularly influential in feminist deconstruction of gender, arguing that 'what we assume to be natural about our gender identity is almost non-existent' (Evans 1997:103). Some theorists (cf. Keller 1985; Phillips 2003) have questioned whether the erosion of gender boundaries will result in social chaos and normlessness, but gender as an organising principle of society has already been eroded by feminist challenges. Other feminist writers (cf. Kristeva 1982; Irigaray 1985) emphasize the deconstruction of binary oppositions in order to rethink the inherent meanings of gender and to explore the 'ambiguities of gender made possible by intellectual and social changes in the West in the late twentieth century' e.g. new reproductive technology, a labour market that values skill over strength, and increased part-time employment (Evans 1997:104). Butler suggests that a weakening of fixed normative categories of 'man' and 'woman' will allow new forms of gender relationships in which sexual differences are not given a 'hierarchical interpretation' (cited in Evans 1997:104-105). This is useful for exploring potential changes in policing resulting from the increased participation of women.

A feature of most dominant socio-political theories is a commitment to dualisms such as nature/culture, body/mind and passion/reason. These dualisms often translate as distinctions between reproduction/production, family/state and

individual/society, with the left side connected to women and the right side relating to men. Only the right side is 'deemed to fall within the realm of history. Only culture, the mind and reason, social production, the state and society are understood as having a dynamic and developmental character', while the left side is seen as timeless aspects of nature (Gatens 1996:61). The inability of theories such as Marxism and liberalism to think difference outside dualisms emphasises the ways in which 'the biologically given human becomes a socially produced masculine or feminine subject' (Gatens 1996:66). This approach to difference, power and domination does not consider 'the ways in which power differentially *constitutes* particular kinds of body and empowers them to perform' particular tasks (Gatens 1996:66, emphasis in original).

Moira Gatens (1996) suggests a 'deconstructive' feminist approach that is relevant to this research in that it allows an analysis of embodiment that focuses on the different powers and capacities of gendered bodies, and acknowledges historical differences in male and female embodiment. Gatens does not use the term 'deconstructive' in the strict Derridean sense, but rather, to identify feminist approaches that avoid viewing theories such as Marxism and liberal feminism as essentially sex-neutral discourses. Deconstructive feminism is centrally concerned with examining supposedly sex-neutral discourses and theories. For example, 'much political theory typically treats the family as a natural rather than social phenomenon' (Gatens 1996:61). A deconstructive approach examines the relationship between the 'natural' family and the public sphere, which is also a social construction.

The terms *power*, *the body* and *difference* are common to both a deconstructive feminist approach and other feminist theories, but they are understood in different ways (Gatens 1996:62). Feminist theorists have tended to conceive of *power* as connected to authority, exploitation or domination, and as something a group or individual possesses or lacks (Gatens 1996:63). Liberal feminists conceptualise power in terms of legitimate power of the state over its subjects and aim to provide equal access within existing structures. However, providing equal access assumes the existence of a sexual neutrality, i.e. women are given the opportunity to become equal to men, with men being taken as the 'norm'. Radical feminists conceptualise

power as located in patriarchy, and focus on women's positive aspects, polarising men and women. Marxist feminists conceive power as the power of one class over another, and the state as in the service of the ruling class. Women's socio-political status is perceived only in relation to the economic structures of society.

Gatens (1996) advocates a Foucauldian approach in order to investigate the 'ways in which power and domination operate in relation to sexual difference', as it emphasises the body and the way 'particular discourses and practices create ideological subjects and ...allows an analysis of the productiveness of power as well as its repressive functions' (Gatens 1996:67). Most dominant accounts of power are based on power as repression. A Foucauldian approach concentrates on the 'body-power relation and on the discourses and practices' involved in the production of insidious, rather than state, forms of power (Gatens 1996:66). The main benefits of using this approach in this research are the emphasis on the body, in identifying the ways discourses and practices 'create ideologically appropriate subjects' and 'how these practices construct certain sorts of body with particular kinds of power and capacity' (Gatens 1996:67). Policewomen are embodied and it is therefore important to understand policewomen's performances when negotiating gender in order to 'fit in' to the masculine police environment.

3.4 'Doing Gender'

As the focus of the second main research question is on the way policewomen 'do gender' while 'doing policing' this section further examines situational gender identities. Individual perceptions of gender and gender relationships are important in understanding how socialisation influences the way policewomen perform gender while performing policing duties. People are actively gendered during childhood, but the gendering process extends into adult life, applying to many areas of social activity, and is a medium of male power (Walby 1988:37). The result of this gendering process is that all behaviour and interpretations of behaviour become gendered, part of our 'cultural tools for thinking, for ordering and understanding the world' (Walby 1988:38). Personal life and collective social arrangements are linked in a 'fundamental and constitutive way' (Connell 1987:17). Gender relations are implicated in the division of labour, the working of institutions, the distribution of power and inequalities of income.

Gender 'is a way in which social practices are ordered'; the conduct of everyday life is organised in relation to the reproductive arena and is defined by the body and reproductive processes. It is a social process that constantly refers to bodies and what bodies do (Connell 1995:71). Simone de Beauvoir asserts that gender is a cultural interpretation of sex; a corporeal process learned within a network of deeply entrenched cultural norms, but with a degree of personal agency. Doing gender is a way of situating oneself in and through cultural norms; an 'active style of living one's body in the world'. However, the choice to 'assume a certain kind of body, to live or wear one's body in a certain way, implies a world of already established corporeal styles' (de Beauvoir cited in Butler 1987:131). We do gender in a culturally specific way, and gender configuring of practices occurs across the individual life course through common-sense notions of masculinity and femininity; through discourse, ideology or culture in symbolic practices; and through institutions such as school, the state and employment.

A deconstructive approach examines the way typical spheres and activities of men and women construct 'particular kinds of body to perform particular kinds of task' in order to understand and challenge these constructions (Gatens 1996:70). It takes into account the way bodies are constituted, analysing biological discourses of difference in terms of historical and discursive associations, in order to identify mechanisms by which bodies are recognised as different, i.e. the way 'they are constructed as possessing or lacking some socially privileged quality or qualities' (Gatens 1996:73).

Connell (2002:80) states that '[e]mbodied learners encounter the gender regimes of the institutions they come in contact with'. Similarly to Connell (2002) Gatens recognises that we are all embodied. The human body is 'always a signified body, and as such cannot be understood as a 'neutral' object' (Gatens 1996:70). If the body is seen as constructed by discourses and practices which construct 'male' and 'female', then gender itself can be seen as not only the 'effect of ideology or cultural values, but as the way in which power takes hold of and constructs bodies in particular ways' (Gatens 1996:70). As the male body is historically associated with the public and political spheres, female 'embodiment as it is currently lived is itself a barrier to women's "equal" participation in socio-political life' (Gatens

1996:71). Granting women 'equal' access to the public sphere is generally dependent on their ability to 'emulate those powers and capacities that have, in a context of male/maleness privilege, been deemed valuable by that sphere' (Gatens 1996:71). This approach assists in gaining an understanding how policewomen 'do gender' while 'doing policing'.

Goffman contends that when people interact they assume the other possesses an 'essential nature' discernible through 'natural signs given off or expressed by them' and that femininity and masculinity are 'prototypes of essential expression' (1976 cited in West & Zimmerman 1987:129). He sees gender display as highly conventionalized behaviours or rituals distinct from, but articulated with, other activities. In Goffman's view 'gender is a socially scripted dramatization of the culture's *idealization* of feminine and masculine natures, played for an audience that is well schooled in the presentational idiom' (1987:130: emphasis in original). Goffman describes a variety of institutional frameworks through which the 'naturalness' of sex categories can be enacted, for example sex-segregated toilets, standardized social situations such as sporting events where masculinity can be displayed, and mating practices, where it is expected that males will be older, stronger and larger than their female partners. While some social situations are not clearly sex categorized, any social encounter can be utilized as a site for doing gender. Individuals have many social identities available to them, but they are always defined by sex category, providing an 'ever-available resource for doing gender under an infinitely diverse set of circumstances' (Goffman 1977 cited in West & Zimmerman: 137-138).

Several researchers (cf. West & Zimmerman 1987; Messerschmidt 2002; Miller 2002) have extended Goffman's dramaturgical approach, examining how gender is performed. West and Zimmerman (1987) present a way of understanding gender as a routine, methodical and recurring accomplishment embedded in everyday interaction, critically assess existing perceptions on gender and sex, and examine the distinctions between gender, sex and sex category. As noted earlier, the accepted cultural view of gender is that men and women are naturally and inarguably distinct and that their behaviour can be predicted from their reproductive functions, that is, that differences in behaviour and attitude are rooted in biology.

West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that gender is neither a role nor a set of traits, but the product of social doings constituted through interaction. Roles are situated identities rather than master identities such as sex category. Many roles are gender marked, so special qualifiers must be added (for example, female police officer, female surgeon) and conceptualizing gender as a role obscures its influence in terms of power and inequality. Unlike roles, 'gender has no specific organisational site or organisational context' (West & Zimmerman 1987:128). West and Zimmerman examine Goffman's concept of 'gender display' in order to ascertain how gender is portrayed through interaction and can 'thus be seen as "natural" while it is being produced as a socially organised achievement' (Goffman 1976 cited in West & Zimmerman 1987:129). However, West and Zimmerman argue that segregating display from interaction obscures the effects of gender on human activities. Gender displays are not optional as people do not have the option of being seen as male or female (1987:130).

According to West and Zimmerman (1987:126) 'Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional and micro political activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine "natures"'. Viewing gender as an accomplished, 'achieved property of situated conduct' shifts attention from internal, individual matters to interactional and institutional arenas.

Individuals 'do' gender but it is situated in the virtual or real presence of others: a feature of social situations that is both an 'outcome of and a rationale for various social arrangements' and a means of 'legitimizing one of the most fundamental divisions of society' (West & Zimmerman 1987:126). They argue that in interaction, participants organise their activities to either express or reflect gender, and see the behaviour of others in a similar light. Gender is activities congruent with normative expectations of attitudes and behaviours emerging from and bolstering claims to membership of a specific sex category (West & Zimmerman 1987:127).

Doing gender involves managing gender display so that one's actions are seen as gender appropriate or even gender inappropriate. Almost any activity can be classified as a masculine or feminine activity; for example 'doing policing' can be classified as a masculine activity. West and Zimmerman state that '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*' (1987:136; emphasis in original). Thus doing gender is 'fundamentally interactional and institutional in character' and, 'as a society is partitioned by "essential" differences between women and men, and placement in a sex category is both relevant and enforced, doing gender is unavoidable' (West & Zimmerman 1987:137). Doing gender means creating differences between the sexes that are 'not natural, essential or biological', but which, once constructed are used to 'reinforce the "essentialness" of gender' (West & Zimmerman 1987:137). This perspective is integral to understanding how policewomen do gender within the constraints of a strongly masculinised police cultural setting.

Most behaviours are conventionally linked to a specific sex category, and if one engages in behaviours usually associated with the 'other' category (e.g. a women behaves in a presumptively masculine manner) the behaviour may be challenged. For example, a female surgeon may be respected for her skill but as the work arena has been traditionally a 'masculine' one, her attitudes and behaviours will still be evaluated according to normative expectations appropriate to her sex category-her 'essential' femininity (West & Zimmerman 1987:139-140). The authors contend that, as sex category is omnirelevant, even role conflict provides an occasion for doing gender, as the person is aware that they are out-of -place and must manage their 'essential' nature and continue to do gender. Individuals are held accountable for doing gender appropriately, particularly if the situation is a formal one, such as in policing.

West and Zimmerman state that a 'person's gender is not simply an aspect of what one is, but, more fundamentally, it is something that one *does*, and does recurrently, in interaction with others' (1987:140; emphasis in original). Doing gender is unavoidable as long as sex category is used as a fundamental criterion for differentiation. 'If we do gender appropriately, we simultaneously sustain, reproduce and render legitimate the institutional arrangements that are based on sex category' (West & Zimmerman 1987:146). Failure to do gender appropriately calls individuals, not institutions, to account.

Miller (2002), using West and Zimmerman's approach in a study of gang girls, looked at the concept of situated action and the ways that attribution of gender differences and emphasis on normative practices limits the use of the 'doing gender' model in theorizing gender and action, challenging dualisms, investigating the importance of social hierarchies and conceptualizing complexities of agency and social practices (Miller 2002:433). This approach bridges the gap between action and structure, avoiding depicting both men and women as passive 'victims' of structural conditions. Women can be, and are able to be effective social agents, challenging social structures within everyday life and practices (Miller 2002:434).

The approach further challenges 'natural' differences as a basis for gendered action. The body is implicated in all social practices, not just the social process of gender. It provides a way of critiquing sex/gender role theory, which assumes gender is static/stable and therefore understands gender as the 'cause' of behaviour. Miller (2002:435) argues that grounding gender in the agency/structure nexus and viewing gender as situated action means recognising that there are multiple masculinities and femininities – each shaped by structural positioning, rather than one static set of gender roles. Different social contexts or situations can be utilized as resources for accomplishing gender (i.e. ways of 'doing gender') that construct certain types of masculinity and femininity (Miller 2002:435). However, according to Miller (2002) this approach still leaves women's participation in masculine activities as scripted by femininities – variations of normative femininity in different structural and situational contexts, that is, in terms of 'difference'.

Miller (2002) argues that there are greater incentives for women to cross gender into culturally defined masculine territory than for men to cross, as notions of masculinity are more heavily policed than femininity for women. 'Doing gender' needs to be examined as situated within particular gendered constraints, exploring how women 'accommodate and adapt to specific forms of gender stratification and inequality...' (Miller 2002:455). This suggests that when examining gender as situated action, the researcher should be aware not only of gender differences and similarities, but also the possibility of gender crossing.

Messerschmidt (2002) utilised a similar approach in his study of gang girls. However, Messerschmidt views non-normative female behaviour as femininity situated within specific social contexts. He argues that people 'engage in a combination of gender-difference practices... and gender-similar practices..., each practice being justified by appropriate circumstances' (Messerschmidt 2002:462). His study of gang girls demonstrated the 'unique fluidity of gender in which gendered practices are emphasized or avoided depending on the social setting' (2002:462). Messerschmidt states that in conflict situations 'gender difference becomes secondary to group difference and the result is a social site for the construction' of an alternative femininity (2002:463: emphasis in original). In a social situation of conflict 'group differences become more salient than gender differences, clearing a path for similarity in gender behaviour' (Messerschmidt 2002:463). In other social situations girls are assessed successfully as girls even when engaging in aggressive behaviour

Messerschmidt (2002) concluded that the girls in his empirical study clearly maintained a sense of themselves as female and embraced a feminine identity. Girls behaved in ways both similar to and different from boys, but did not change their gender identity. In the gang environment such fluidity was normative. Within specific situations violence was 'encouraged, permitted and privileged by both boys and girls' and 'in accord with culturally [that is, gang] approved standards' (West and Zimmerman 1987 cited in Messerschmidt 2002:464). The girls constructed their behaviour in relation to how their actions 'would be interpreted by others in the same social context'... 'doing gender in terms of activities appropriate to their sex category' in a specific social situation (Messerschmidt 2002:464). Although engaging in similar behaviour to the males the females were emphatic about their femininity. They were involved in:

reinterpretation of, resistance to, or subversion of culturally appropriate patterns...negotiating how to fit into the unequal gendered structural arrangements of the gang by making use of norms and other resources at hand (Messerschmidt 2002:464).

Doing gender is not always about living up to broader cultural normative conceptions of gender, but rather it is engaging in behaviour at the risk of gender assessment. This allows for flexibility and innovation in gender construction and the potential for normative transgression, but also highlights the '*possibility* of any activity being assessed by co-present interactants as feminine or masculine' (Messerschmidt 2002:465, emphasis in original). In other words, females can situationally engage in masculine behaviours without discrediting their gendered feminine identities. According to Joe-Landler and Hunt (2001), females act in a masculine manner to protect themselves in a patriarchal environment, as a form of resistance to informal controls and for demonstrating a sense of power in an environment that provides them with little status' (cited in Messerschmidt 2002:469-470). Many women 'seem to experience consonance between toughness and femininity as a part of the same lived reality', so to Messerschmidt (2002:470), while women 'do' masculinity situationally, they do not change their gender identity.

Although Messerschmidt (2002) was studying the behaviour of girls in gangs rather than policewomen, his findings that females situationally behaved in ways that can be considered masculine according to cultural concepts (assertion/aggression) add an interesting facet to the way policewomen perform gender while performing policing. This finding resonates with Martin's (1996) observation that policewomen continually choose between when to act like a 'lady' and when to act like a man. Such an approach can be useful in understanding policewomen's situational use of stereotypical 'masculine' behaviour, such as the use of authority and aggression, when performing policing duties. Messerschmidt's (2002) extension of West and Zimmerman's (1987) concept of 'doing gender' is particularly relevant in gaining an understanding of the ways policewomen 'do gender', the meanings they attach to their actions, and how this relates to agency and specific social structures.

3.5 Building a Conceptual Framework

After reviewing relevant literature, rather than taking a rigid framework and trying to make the data fit I chose a relatively flexible framework for the research in order to examine what is happening in the 'real' world. It is acknowledged that socialisation theory alone does not allow for a full understanding of socialisation

and gender, as it does not allow for the acquisition of a variety of masculinities and femininities in contemporary society (Connell 2002). However, many approaches are in various ways fragments of the Parsonian system, despite the fact that they are often opposed to it (Craib 1984:35). Connell (2002) is critical of the socialisation model in that it does not recognise active learners, multiple masculinities, greater variations within rather than between genders, or multidirectionality of gender acquisition. I argue that although the gender order does change, it is difficult to completely reject the gendered patterns and expectations one has grown up with. There is a degree of standardisation and commonalities in definitions of 'masculinity' and 'femininity'. These are acquired through different sources, experiences and circumstances which enable the majority of individuals to recognise what is and what is not socially acceptable. However, this leads to different choices- therefore a degree of variability leading to a multiplicity of masculinities and femininities (Connell 2002). The relevance of socialisation within specific structures and institutions and the use of agency (cf. Bourdieu 1990; Connell 2002) are central to understanding the first research question: the influence of socialisation on career choice. Although both Butler (1987) and Gatens (1996) acknowledge embodiment and performativity of gender, Connell's 'negotiated gender' approach best informs the study as it integrates and extends these perspectives, clearly acknowledging both structural and agential tensions and the existence of multiple masculinities and femininities.

Choices are influenced by structural considerations but they are not wholly determined by them. Bourdieu (1979) understood individuals as active agents using agency within the confines of a particular social structure. As one of the intentions in this research is to gain an understanding of how policewomen adopt, adapt or negotiate police culture, Bourdieu's approach is particularly relevant. The major factor in my adopting Bourdieu's (1990) conceptual strategy is his claim that *culture* is integral to social organisation. His aim was not only to integrate agent-centred aspects and structure-centred aspects of social life, but also to 'bring culture into the center of sociology for the purpose of analysing the dynamics of social domination' (Seidman 2008:143).

Integrated with Bourdieu's (1990) and Connell's (2002) concepts, Messerschmidt's (2002) elaboration of West and Zimmerman's (1987) 'doing gender' concept is useful for investigating the second main research question; that is, how a policewoman's gender identity influences her experience of policing (i.e. is there a relationship between 'doing gender' and 'doing policing') as it provides a way to examine how policewomen situationally engage in masculine behaviours without discrediting their gendered feminine identities.

Connell's concepts of a multiplicity of genders and 'negotiated gender', Bourdieu's concepts of the relationship between structure and agency within 'habitus', 'field' and 'culture' and Messerschmidt's extension of West and Zimmerman's (1987) 'doing gender' approach provide a useful framework for examining the ways in which structure and agency in socialisation interacts in career choice, and how policewomen's gender identity influences the way they perform their duties. This framework does not discount consideration of post-structural approaches, in that it acknowledges the importance of the 'shifting and fragile foundation of language and discourse' and recognises that particular discursive practices privilege some and maintain certain ways of social life (Seidman 2008:158;161). However, while it is acknowledged that post-structuralist approaches may be seen as incommensurate with more orthodox accounts of socialisation, my approach 'loosens up' some of the structural determinism to which socialisation accounts often fall prey, giving fuller weight to subjectivities and agencies, and clarifying why some individuals resist the dominant paradigm.

This conceptual framework is congruent with an ethnomethodological approach. Ethnomethodology is concerned with 'common sense' understandings of actors within particular situated contexts. As the second question of the research investigates how policewomen perform gender within their workplace, this approach enables me to examine policing practices; record the efforts policewomen put into creating an appearance of rationality; and gain an understanding of policewomen's 'retrospective deliberations of actions undertaken in order to make sense of actions already performed' (Zimmerman & Wieden cited in Collin 1997).¹

¹ See Chapter 4 for a fuller discussion of ethnomethodology

This conceptual framework influenced the selection of the methods of data collection and methodology, which are discussed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

Methodology and Methods

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the research focus and the methodology employed in the empirical phase of the research. Conceptualisation, understandings of the various methodological issues and how the research project was structured are presented. The survey construction is described and statistical techniques discussed. The choice of interviews and observation methods of data collection and the relationship between the choice of methods and methodology are also discussed.

Some qualifications need to be addressed at the outset. First, all empirical evaluation is based on the specification of theory and the organisation of concepts. As this process is not always straight forward, any empirical evaluations-including those used in this research- may be accused of distortion. In order to address potential problems I chose a multi-method approach. Further, it needs to be recognised that the scope of this research is limited. My aim was to evaluate how gender socialisation influences both women's choice of a career in the 'masculine' occupation of policing and how they perform gender within this specific setting. It is not intended that results be generalised beyond the sample but it is expected that they be indicative of actual processes.

This study examines two major research questions, firstly, how does gender socialisation influence women's perspectives of policing as a suitable career choice, and what agencies of socialisation are implicated? Specifically, the first part of this research investigates whether there is a relationship between perceptions of policing as a suitable career option and individual socialisation, particularly among female constables. I argue that although the gender order does change, it is difficult to completely reject the gendered patterns and expectations with which one has grown up. The study therefore involves examining the motivations and contextual influences of male and female constables' choices of policing as a career. Further,

the second part of this research examines how policewomen perform gender while performing their policing duties.

The study was designed to collect both general data on Australian police constables, male and female, and more specific data from female police constables. In order to achieve this, both qualitative and quantitative research methods of analyses were used, that is, a survey distributed to police constables; individual interviews with female police constables and; observations of constables in the workplace (this method specifically relates to the second research question). The main factors identified in the literature as influencing career choice- gender socialisation within the family, from significant others, through educational institutions and within the workplace-were operationalised. As these concepts are related to the development of personal attributes such as self-efficacy, self esteem and perceptions of gender appropriate activities they became the basis of inquiry for the survey and first phase of the interviews. The study also addresses the second question-how does a gendered world view acquired through various agencies of socialisation influence the way policewomen perform gender and use agency while performing policing? These aspects were investigated in this research through the second part of the interviews and the observations.

4.2 Selecting the Sample

The low numbers of women in policing influenced both the selection of methods and the choice of constables as the research sample. In 2006, women officers of all ranks constituted only 20% of sworn state police officers (Australian Institute of Criminology 2007). Women officers above this rank constitute a small minority in policing in all Australian states. The low numbers of female officers in positions of authority in comparison to female constables suggested that constables were likely to provide a base for recruitment of participants. The unequal distribution of female officers is illustrated by the following tables.

Table 1: Police officers holding the rank of Sergeant and above as at 30 June. 2006:
by State and Gender

State	Male	% Male	Female	% Female	Females as % of total sworn officers
Tasmania	245	93.2	18	6.8	1.4
Victoria	2526	92.9	193	7.1	1.7
New South Wales	3009	86.5	469	13.5	3.2
South Australia	1101	90.5	115	9.5	3.1
Queensland	2872	88.9	359	11.1	3.9
Western Australia	1182	93.6	81	6.4	1.5

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Table 2: Females holding the rank of Senior Constable, First Class Constable, Constable or Probationary Constable as at 30 June. 2006 by State

State	Total	As % of total Constables (male and female)	Females as % of total sworn officers
Tasmania	278	29.6	22.3
Victoria	2118	25.1	18.9
New South Wales	3270	29.3	22.3
South Australia	861	29.2	22.9
Queensland	1782	29.4	19.2
Western Australia	807	21.8	15.2
TOTAL	9116	27.4	20.0

Source: Australian Institute of Criminology

4.3 Research Approach

The choice of research method depends largely on what the researcher is trying to achieve. Different types of data inform this research. Both quantitative and qualitative methods can be seen as complementary approaches to addressing the research questions relating to the influence of socialisation on career choice and the way police women 'do gender'. I therefore decided to use a mixed method approach, that is, a survey; semi-structured in-depth interviews; and observations. While it is recognized that there are philosophical differences between qualitative and quantitative methods, research often combines the features of both approaches in a complementary manner (King et al. 1994:5; Neuman 2003:16; Thomas 2003:7). This combination of data types can be highly synergistic and provide stronger substantiation of constructs (Huberman & Miles 2002:14). A combination of good qualitative and quantitative research methods also ensures that the issues of reliability and validity are addressed (de Vaus 1995).

Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality and the way social experience is created and given meaning. On the other hand, quantitative researchers focus on the measuring and quantifying of phenomena, with little focus on subjective understandings. Although each uses specific research techniques, there is often overlap between both the style of research and the type of data. The best research 'often combines the features of both' (King et al. 1994 cited in Neuman 2003:16). Quantitative data techniques 'condense data in order to see the big picture', while qualitative methods are data enhancers, enabling the researcher to see key aspects more clearly (Ragin 1994 cited in Neuman 2003:16). While it is apparent that quantitative and qualitative methods are different procedures, they may be used in a complementary fashion to extend and reinforce data and interpretations across samples (Denzin & Lincoln 2003:15).

The purpose of quantitative research is to provide a systematic approach independent of the researcher. Quantitative research emphasises measurement and analysis of relationships between variables (Denzin & Lincoln 2003:13). In contrast, qualitative research emphasizes the social world as 'created in and through meaning' (Hughes 1980:122). Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world of the participant visible. It is the '...study of

their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them' (Denzin & Lincoln 2003:4-5). As a set of interpretive practices qualitative research is about understanding 'the human complexities of human actions in terms of meanings' (Ezzy 2002:29), and is useful in providing rich information and 'thick' description from a small sample (Denzin & Lincoln 2003:9). A mixed method enhances this research by enabling a comprehensive analysis of the research questions.

4.4 Methods

A survey is a method of collecting data which can be analysed statistically and was a useful approach for collecting information from a large sample of police constables. The aim of the survey was to discern the existence of similarities and differences in patterns relating to gender socialisation within structures and institutions established as being influential in career choice. This helped to identify particular areas of interest which could then be pursued further through interviews.

The qualitative method, semi-structured in-depth interviewing, is useful for acquiring data to help uncover and expand on areas of inquiry (Huberman & Miles 2002:14; Bouma & Ling 2004:4). The aim in the interviews with female police officers was to investigate whether an identifiable relationship could be discerned between experiences of gender socialisation and policing as a suitable career choice. Interviews provided an opportunity to elicit information relating to individual participant's experiences and subjective understandings of gender socialisation within specific institutions, and their motivation in seeking a career in policing. Further, it enabled me to collect information on participants' experiences within policing, how they saw themselves as 'fitting in' to the masculine workplace and how they performed their duties. Specifically, interviews provided an opportunity to note, in participants' recall of events, incidences which were indicative of the use of agency and negotiation of gender regimes.

I also chose to conduct observations of policewomen in informal areas at their place of work. This method enables attention to be paid to mundane details in order to help understand what is going on and to provide clues to other layers of reality (Silverman 1993:31). It provides the opportunity to view events, actions, norms and

values from the perspectives of those studied. Observations provided an opportunity to explore how policewomen negotiated gender within the informal police setting; the use of agency within the structural constraints of policing and police culture and; to identify any relationship between ‘doing gender’ and ‘doing policing’.

4.5 Survey

The survey was developed in order to obtain demographic, occupational and biographical data from police constables, both male and female. The data obtained from the survey was then used to assist in structuring the initial phase of the interview process. I designed the survey to elicit information relevant to the respondent and their immediate family, in order to examine how various factors such as family structure, educational attainment, previous employment, family of origin and current family situation relate to the selection of policing as a career (macro-social aspects). Another important factor in occupational choice is an individual’s belief that they have the ability and skills in relation to the requirements of an occupation. Self esteem is measured using Rosenberg’s (1965) Self Esteem Scale, adapted by Adams (2001). The extent to which an individual identifies with stereotypical gender expectations is also an important factor in career choice, particularly when a career is non-traditional for one’s gender. In order to measure gendered world views I chose to use a scale based on Bem’s Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), developed by Heifer, Knoll, Olsen and Salon (cited in Adams 2001:15). The structure of the survey and the concepts are discussed below.

4.6 Survey Approach

Ethics approval for the research was granted by the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network. Permission to conduct the research was then sought and obtained from Police Services in Victoria, Tasmania and Western Australia.² Tasmania was selected because of access to the sample and the working relationship between the Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies and Tasmania Police; Victoria because of recent moves to increase the recruitment of female officers; and Western Australia because this state’s police service has been

² All applications [HREC (Tas.), WAPol, VicPol, TasPol] contained the assurance that data would not be disaggregated by state. Therefore data relating to individual states is not reported in the research.

identified as the most resistant to implementation of changes to ensure equality of access and opportunity for women³ (cf. Prenzler 1995:1996; Wilkinson and Froyland 1996). Both urban and rural stations were included in the study. Metropolitan stations tend to be basically training stations, with the majority of police constables having less than 2 years experience employed there, while officers at rural stations tend to have more experience.

The survey was administered in 2007 to 1,440 male and female police constables. Due to confidentiality and anonymity issues respondents were randomly selected by the relevant police jurisdictions not by the researcher. An information sheet⁴ and reply-paid envelope accompanied each survey. Return of the completed survey was considered permission from the respondent for their data to be used in the research. de Vaus maintains that mail surveys administered to specific, homogeneous groups generally yield response rates at least equal to other survey techniques and provide good quality answers (2002:107,112). A limitation is that there is no guarantee that the respondent has not been influenced by the opinions of other people, which can distort responses (de Vaus 2002:111). However, this method of administration (i.e. mail), was chosen primarily because mail surveys can be readily conducted by a sole researcher (Babbie 1999:249; de Vaus 2002:111).

4.7 Survey Structure

The survey consisted of 29 questions in two main sections, covering the major areas of enquiry. The measures employed a combination of structured research instruments, using Likert scales and self select (tick) items, with the opportunity for respondents to provide further information. Most answers were forced choice, with respondents requested to tick the most appropriate response. In order to avoid bias a wide range of responses was listed, with the category 'Other-Please specify' allowing for unanticipated responses (de Vaus 1995:87). The survey was pilot tested with a sample of Tasmanian male and female police constables.

The initial section asked respondents to provide basic demographic information, including age, marital status, dependents, length of service and current position.

³ As at 30th April 2008 WAPol still had the lowest percentage of policewomen in Australia (Etter 2009:29)

⁴ Appendix A

Other sections referred to the respondents family of origin; education; whether a partner or immediate family member is, or has been a police officer; previous employment; whether one or both parents were employed during the participant's childhood and adolescence; where they found information about policing as a career; factors influencing their interest in this career; and self perceptions. Key concepts are discussed below.⁵

4.7.1 Family

Respondents were asked to provide details of family structure; parental occupation, number of siblings and their own position in the birth order; whether a family member or close friend was at any time a police officer; and where they derived their information about policing as a career.

Family structure, particularly during adolescence, has been found to have long-term effects on perceptions of gender. Parental attitudes play an important role in shaping the attitudes of children. The increase in alternative family structures means more people are experiencing non-traditional family structures during pre-adult socialisation (Kiecolt & Acock 1988:709). Studies have found that single/divorced mothers hold more egalitarian gender views than do married women (Glass et al. cited in Kiecolt & Acock: 1988:710).

Families have also been found to have a major influence on career choice through providing role models and advice. Studies have found that parental guidance tends to be based on traditional gender stereotyping (Kniveton 2004:5-6). Parents can exert a strong influence by providing an example and offering support for occupations similar to their own (Lord & Friday 2003:69; Bernes et al.2006:1; Kniveton 2004:47).

Maternal employment has been associated with more liberal attitudes to gender. For example, it has been found that women who choose traditionally masculine occupations and who tend to reject gender stereotypes are more likely to have been raised in families where the mother was employed full-time (Kent and Moss 1994:1335). Most single – parent families are headed by the mother and evidence

⁵ For full operationalisation of key concepts see the Survey -Appendix B.

suggests that single mothers are more likely to be employed outside the home than are married women and have been found to insist less on conformity to 'traditional' definitions of gender (Kiecolt & Acock 1988:713; Willets-Bloom & Nock 1994:11).

Family friends, peers, media and career counsellors have also been suggested as influential in individual's career choices (Kniveton 2004:5-6), so measures of social support are important in any study of career choice, particularly when the career is not a traditional occupation for a given gender.

4.7.2 Education

Other questions included in the survey were designed to obtain information about respondents' academic accomplishment and school type during High School - whether public or private, single-sex, co-educational, or other (such as distance or home schooling).

Previous research has found that institutions such as schools affect career aspirations by encouraging specific subject choice and through expectations of 'gender appropriate' behaviours. Different schools and educational formats have been found to create differences among students by offering them different kinds of knowledge. Teachers' constructions of gender also influence choice. (Gaskell 1992:3, 36-37). The type of education offered can influence perceptions of gender and teachers can be influential role models for students. For example, the Australian Education Council (1992) found that girls' achieve better and develop higher self efficacy in single-sex schools than in co-educational institutions.

Questions relating to parental employment and respondents' previous employment were included in the survey to obtain an understanding of the economic status of participants' family of origin prior to selecting a career in policing. Women seeking employment in traditionally male occupations tend to be well educated and have high self esteem and ambition, applying for positions in well paying, technical fields. However policing is, comparatively, not highly paid, officers tend to have average education levels and to come from lower middle-class families (Lord and Findlay 2003:68).

4.7.3 Self Perceptions

An important factor in occupational choice is an individual's belief that they have the ability and skills in relation to the requirements of an occupation. Self esteem relates to an individual's belief that they can successfully undertake the required training and perform a given task (Lord & Findlay 2003:66; Adams 2001:14). A person's self-efficacy is influenced by previous learning experiences and can directly affect career interests, as a person's belief about their ability to perform a task or occupation can significantly influence both their choices and behaviour (cf. Betz & Hackett 1997).

Boni and Circelli (2002) concluded that males in policing and other stereotypically masculine occupations have higher self-efficacy than females. They suggest that gender socialisation plays a part in women's low self-efficacy and self esteem, as women are not encouraged to engage in activities that increase self-efficacy and occupational expectations, restricting them to particular occupational fields

I selected Rosenberg's (1965) Self Esteem Scale, adapted by Adams (2001), as a useful instrument to determine whether female and male constables differ significantly in self esteem. This 10 item scale uses a 4 point Likert-style measure (Agree/Strongly Agree/Disagree/Strongly Disagree) on which respondents indicate their personal beliefs of their own value and self worth. Half the items were positive statements (e.g. 'I take a positive attitude towards my self') and half were negative statements (e.g. 'I feel I don't have much to be proud of'). Negative items were reverse scored in some of the analyses with lower self esteem being indicated by higher scores.

4.7.4 Gender Orientation

It is acknowledged that men and women may possess masculine or feminine characteristics, or both, and that recent societal expectations of gendered behaviours have changed so that individuals now possess more characteristics of the opposite gender than at any time in the past (Kent and Moss 1994:1335). However, as discussed in Chapter 3, the extent to which an individual identifies with stereotypical gender expectations remains an important factor in career choice, particularly when a career is non-traditional for one's gender.

In previous interviews (Stewart 2003) it was found that while policewomen value and emphasise their femininity, they are also influenced by 'in-house' cultural expectations in the way they define their career roles. The shared knowledge of policing underpinning police culture defines behaviours appropriate for women to adopt. They experience both pressure to perform 'like the men', and to display 'feminine' behaviours that mirror broader societal gender roles; to practice in the same way as male peers, but also to enact stereotypical female roles and to provide a sense of 'normalcy' to male officers. To be accepted, women must be able to adapt to police culture.

In order to examine the relevance of prior socialisation in women's ability to adapt to a masculinised environment, I sought an instrument with which to measure the extent to which individuals identify with stereotypical gender expectations. The most commonly used instrument for measuring traditionally masculine and feminine characteristics, or gender stereotypes, is Bem's Sex Role Inventory (BSRI). While stereotypes tend to exaggerate or distort differences between genders, and Bem initially defined masculinity and femininity as separate and independent dimensions rather than part of the same continuum, variations of her initial scale have been developed that are useful for measuring gendered world views. Bem (cited in Hoffman and Borders 2001:41) defines world views as the way individuals organise and perceive information 'in terms of the cultural definitions of maleness and femaleness that constitutes the society's gender schema'. Individuals have a propensity to view the world using gender as a lens.

It is acknowledged that the BSRI draws on a functionalist perspective which does not allow for a full understanding of gender as it does not acknowledge the existence of multiple masculinities and femininities in contemporary society.

However, I argue that there is a degree of standardisation and commonalities in definitions of what is masculinity and what is femininity. A study by Lorber and Farrell (2008) found that women who weakly identified with gender stereotypes felt more confident they could succeed in either female-typed occupations or male-typed occupations than did women who strongly identified with gender stereotypes. It was, therefore, important to understand the extent to which participants' identified with gender stereotypes. I argue that this measure of gendered world

views (BSRI) has the potential to speak to Connell's (2002) argument and demonstrate the presence of a multiplicity of masculinities and femininities in the sample.

To explore the extent to which male and female police constables identify with stereotypical gender expectations I used a scale based on the BSRI developed by Heifer, Knoll, Olsen and Salon (cited in Adams 2001:15) to measure gendered world views. This scale consists of 24 stereotypically masculine (e.g. 'Dominant') and feminine (e.g. 'Sympathetic') characteristics presented in a Likert-style format. Respondents were asked to select how well each item described them, using a seven point rating scale from 'Never or almost never true' to 'Always or almost always true'. Instrumentality (stereotypical masculine characteristics) suggests a goal orientation and a general insensitivity to the responses of others. Expressivity (stereotypical feminine characteristics) suggests a sensitivity to others' responses and a concern with interpersonal relationships. 'Androgyny' in this instance is identified as the combined presence of socially valued, stereotypical characteristics of masculinity (instrumentality) and femininity (expressivity). Low levels of both instrumentality and expressivity are classified as 'undifferentiated'.

4.8 Analysing the Survey

Data from the surveys were coded and analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), and interpreted prior to the interview process. Univariate analysis was conducted to establish means (M) and percentage distributions. Bivariate analysis and multivariate analyses were also performed. Analyses including descriptive frequencies, cross tabulations, independent samples t-tests, ANOVA and multiple regression were conducted in order to examine relationships between gender (independent variable – male and female) and a variety of variables (dependent variables). Reliability of the Self Esteem and BSRI measures was established using Cronbach's alpha coefficient.

4.9 Interviews

In order to gain an understanding of what influenced participants to apply for a career in policing and whether the influences were related to socialisation, semi-

structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with volunteer female officers serving in urban and rural stations in Tasmania, Victoria and Western Australia.

There were two phases to the interviews⁶. Initially, the interviews provided an opportunity to elicit information relating to individual participant's experiences of gendering- within the family, educational institutions, previous workplaces- and motivation in order to investigate whether an identifiable relationship can be discerned between experiences of gender socialisation and policing as a suitable career choice. In the second phase of the interviews, information was obtained on participants' experiences within policing, how they saw themselves as 'fitting in' to the masculine workplace and how they performed their duties. While some questions were standard to all interviews, the interview process was guided by individual responses.

4.10 Aim and rationale of Interviews

The aim of semi-structured, in-depth interviews is to elicit information about participants' interpretations, meanings and experiences of particular events and circumstances (Rice and Ezzy 1999:60). The in-depth interview is a 'directed conversation' that allows deep exploration of a topic (Charmez 2006:25). I acknowledge that as a researcher my role is important to the process, in that both the participant and the interviewer are implicated in the meanings generated. All interviews are conversations shaped by the interviewer in terms of how the participants' recollections and experiences are assembled during the interview (Holstein & Gubrium 1995:50). Therefore participants' recollections are provided from a particular point of view and within a particular context. As Holstein notes:

The interviewer, in a sense, challenges the respondent to produce a coherent life narrative out of a designated, limited stock of mutually relevant resources...Like all interview data, [life narratives] do not simply await discovery and articulation, but are constituted within the interactional context of the interview, drawing on situationally relevant and long standing resources (Holstein & Gubrium 1995:51).

⁶ See Appendix C –Interview Schedule.

The objective of the interviews was to elicit narratives from the participants by inviting them to give their own accounts about specific times and situations in their lives. While the survey focused on the structural (macro) aspects, interviews provided a way to explore how policewomen understood their gender socialisation within family, education and workplace and how they negotiated gender within the structural constraints of policing and police culture.

I chose to use an ethnomethodological approach to both the interviews and the observations. This approach was chosen to explore the micro-social aspects relating to how policewomen manage and negotiate the practicalities of everyday life; how female officers understand their choices; and how they experience policing. The main strength of using this approach is that it provided an opportunity to gather information on the subjective meanings of individual policewomen and their interpretations of particular circumstances and experiences.

Ethnomethodology provides a way of understanding how policewomen make sense of their world. It is a commonsense approach, but also examines the ways in which tacit rules and commonsense theories are used by ordinary people in everyday settings to make sense of the social world (Taylor & Cameron 1987:101; Neuman 2003:367). An ethnomethodological approach is useful for examining the methods through which policewomen 'understand their world and decide how to manoeuvre through it' (Collin1997:27). The focus is on 'practical rationality, the reasoning that sustains decision and action', for the purpose of noting how people 'go about the task of seeing, describing and explaining order in the world in which they live' (Collin1997:27). This enables the researcher to see the social world as the 'accomplishment of the accounting practices through and by which it is explained' (Collin1997:27-29).

While recognising the structural constraints of policing, the focus in the interviews was on how participants used agency and 'negotiated gender' (Connell 2002) throughout childhood, adolescence and within the police service. As it was also my intention in this research to gain an understanding of how policewomen adopt, adapt or negotiate police culture, Bourdieu's approach was particularly relevant. Bourdieu (1990) understood individuals as active agents within the confines of a

particular social structure. His aim was not only to integrate agent-centred aspects and structure-centred aspects of social life, but also to 'bring culture into the center of sociology for the purpose of analysing the dynamics of social domination' (Seidman 2008:143).

It is acknowledged that Bourdieu (1990) was critical of an ethnomethodological approach, believing that it sees individuals as rule governed agents and ignores the way social structures and social factors constrain individuals. However, I argue that ethnomethodology is useful for understanding how individuals make sense of their world. Ethnomethodology provides an opportunity to look at how individuals sustain meaningful interactions and work to ensure their actions make sense to others. It takes for granted that rules exist and this taken-for-granted aspect of common sense knowledge is complicit in maintaining a sense of order. This is particularly useful for an analysis of policing. As the second phase of the interviews focuses on understanding how policewomen perform gender while performing policing, Messerschmidt's (2002) concept of 'doing gender', which suggests that females actively construct their identity within particular social constraints and arrangements reflecting 'both their active choice and the realities of the social situation' (White & Habibis 2005:215), also forms part of the analytical framework for the interviews.

4.11 Recruiting the Sample

Difficulties in recruiting police to participate in research are well documented in the literature (e.g. Brown and Heidensohn 2000). Interview participants were recruited in two ways. An invitation to female constables to participate in interviews was attached to the survey. This invited any policewomen interested in participating to respond to an email address and provide details of how they wished to be contacted. The invitation advised that their participation would be voluntary, anonymous and confidential. Also, an overhead was displayed at the conclusion of my presentation to the Australian Council of Women and Policing Conference, held in Melbourne, August 2007, inviting interested policewomen to respond to the email address provided. Similarly worded flyers were also made available at the conference⁷.

⁷ See Appendix D

4.12 Description of the Sample

Interviews were conducted between October 2007 and March 2008 with 24 female police constables from Western Australia Police, Victoria Police and Tasmania Police. The female constables were aged between 20 years and 49 years, the majority being aged between 28 and 36 years. Participant age at recruitment varied from 17 years to 48 years, with length of service from one month to 23 years. However, age was not related to the time served, with one constable aged 31 years having served 12 years and one aged 49 years having served only one year.

I have chosen to refer to interviewees as participants, as the policewomen fully participated in the guided conversations. Participants spoke openly and confidently about their experiences and perceptions, providing anecdotes where they felt it appropriate. While two participants provided short interviews as they were about to 'go on the road' all other participants were willing to extend interviews and took the time to recount their experiences. The duration of the majority of interviews was 45 to 70 minutes. Most interviews, with both on duty and off duty officers were face-to-face and conducted in available rooms in major city, suburban and rural police stations and in private homes. Telephone interviews were also conducted with two officers from rural stations and five officers in interstate police stations.

Participants were given an Information Sheet⁸ describing the purpose of the research. All signed the consent form⁹ indicating their willingness to be recorded and were assured of anonymity and confidentiality and the ethical storage of recordings and data. Before beginning the interviews I ensured participants understood the interview process, including the aims and intentions of the project and their ability to withdraw at any time. The interviews were tape-recorded, subject to interviewee's permission, and later transcribed. In-depth interviews, as a form of guided conversation, are shaped by the interaction between the researcher and the participant, and non-verbal communications that add meaning, such as shrugs or hand gestures are used to complement perceptions of the interaction (Neuman 2003:390-395). Although interviews were tape-recorded, brief notes were taken and expanded on immediately following the interviews in order to capture all

⁸ See Appendix E (a)

⁹ See Appendix E (b)

details, including the interaction between myself and the participant. Due to some participants' concerns about being identified only basic details are given, in order to preserve anonymity. They were then coded with the number in the order in which they were conducted.

4.13 Interview Process

An interview schedule was prepared. This schedule was a semi-structured interview guide rather than a script, allowing both flexibility within the interview and the space to explore issues as they arose. In the first phase of the interviews the conversation centred on specific areas of inquiry relating to socialisation i.e. family of origin; educational experiences; social life and activities outside of school hours; previous employment; the decision to apply for a career in policing. The second phase of the interviews explored the influence of prior socialisation on policewomen's ability to function successfully within the potent masculinised police occupational culture, and the influence of prior socialisation on the way they perform their duties.

At all stages of the interview, participants were encouraged to provide examples and narratives to expand on or illustrate their initial responses. As no fixed sequence of questions is suitable for all interviews, the process was guided by individual responses. Open-ended questions allowed the participants to raise issues or recount events that they considered important. This method usually known as semi-structured interviews, is 'open ended yet directed, shaped yet emergent and paced yet unrestricted' (Charmez 2006: 28).

Much of the interview data was retrospective, requiring recall of childhood and adolescent events. Such data are often suspect as retrospective accounts can be influenced by many factors, including respondents' desires to present a coherent account (Carr 1998:533). Further, the sample was self-selected suggesting the participants had an interest in the research topic. Despite some concerns over the reliability of interview data (cf. Hammersly & Atkinson 1983; Denzin 1970), interviewee accounts can be viewed as situated narratives –not as either true or false, but as informed statements of people's perspectives (Silverman 1993:114). Close analysis of accounts from even small samples can produce evidence of the

shared understandings of a community such as policing (Elliott 2005:28; Neuman 2003; Williams 1998). Brewin, Andrews and Gotlib (1993) have suggested that semi-structured interviews that elicit specific memories are well suited to researching childhood and adolescent experiences, particularly when questions are presented in a chronological order. Silverman (1993:97) notes that different interviewers using different approaches found similar responses when using semi-structure in interviews, suggesting that the use of semi-structure in interviews increases reliability.

Another limitation of semi-structured interviews is that interviewees may initially be reluctant to recount personal experiences, particularly in institutional settings such as police stations. In order to avoid this, wherever possible, interviews were conducted away from the workplace or in informal areas such as tea rooms at the station. The main strengths of this method are that it provides information on subjective meanings and interpretations, allows new understandings to develop, and participants, being less likely to be influenced by the presence of peers, are more likely to discuss matters openly.

A practical aspect of ensuring the participants' comfort was that of being sensitive to the personal aspects of the interviewing. During the interviews I engaged in 'reciprocity and self-disclosure' (Edwards 1993:181), answering participants' questions openly and providing brief, personal anecdotes when appropriate. I found this quickly established a rapport and greater sense of intimacy with the participant, giving them permission to speak more openly than would have been possible in a one-sided, question and answer format.

Emotional sensitivity was also required. Recall of life experiences is not restricted to happy memories and at times participants spoke of traumatic, tragic and unhappy times in their life. Where this was seen to be causing distress, as a measure of respect I decided to stop recording the session and to continue the conversation privately. The tape was also turned off when participants revealed information that could be identifying and detrimental. This allowed the participants to discuss the issues with a degree of privacy. While very little interview material was lost I felt it was inappropriate to record their distress and that it was important that participants

felt supported and validated in allowing emotions to be expressed. This was particularly relevant to the second phase of the interviews. It seemed that many of the policewomen were coping with difficult events, whether in their past or their present, which they had little opportunity to air with someone who understood policing, but was not directly related to their workplace.

4.14 Analysing Interview Data

Analysis of interview data was conducted using thematic analysis. The aim of thematic analysis is to identify themes within the data (Ezzy 2002:88). Interview transcripts were examined to identify key themes and to develop typologies of responses. This method was chosen because, as in most inductive research, although the specific nature of the themes was not predetermined the general issues of interest were determined prior to interviews being conducted. As some questions were standard to all interviews, while others were guided by individual responses, it was expected that other themes would emerge during analysis.

I began the analysis by transcribing the interviews verbatim. Transcribing interview tapes myself allowed for greater familiarity with the data and early identification of emerging themes. The next step in the analytical process was a re-reading of the transcripts and initial identification and coding of recurrent themes and phrases. Both manifest and latent coding were undertaken, without the constraint of pre-determined categories. Themes were then examined for links and combinations, which allowed for stronger, but fewer themes. Eventually 'theoretical saturation' (Glasser & Strauss 1967:61-62) - the point where repeated coding and analysis of the data does not reveal anything new - was achieved. While it is acknowledged that all research is partial and shaped by personal expectations, it was felt that sufficient data for a rich understanding had been obtained.

4.15 Observations

Martin (1996:4) suggests that gender needs to be understood as fluid, rather than static, and occupations such as policing provide space for the negotiation of gender. She claims policewomen continuously choose between the demands of two opposing roles, deciding when and how to behave like a man, and when to act like a lady. Similarly, Messerschmidt's (2002) concept of 'doing gender' suggests that

females actively construct their identity within particular social constraints and arrangements, reflecting 'both their active choice and the realities of the social situation' (White & Habibis 2005:215). Although Messerschmidt's research focuses on females in youth gangs, his concept of 'bad girl' femininity is useful for assessing the way policewomen 'do' gender. Behaviour that is normally considered inappropriate for women, such as the use of aggression and the exercise of power, is normalized in the police setting. Messerschmidt observes that femininity in such instances 'consists of a combination of conventional gender practices...and atypical gender practices...each justified by appropriate circumstances (cited in White & Habibis 2005:216). In order to examine the relationship between the way policewomen 'do' gender and the way they 'do' police work, limited participant observation was undertaken of police constables at their place of work. I refer to my participation as 'limited' in that it was not my intention to interact with police officers during observations. Difficulties with this approach are discussed later in the chapter.

4.16 Approach and rationale of Observations

Consistent with the interviews, observations were conducted using an ethnomethodological perspective. This approach was chosen in order to explore how policewomen manage and negotiate the practicalities of everyday policing, that is, how policewomen 'do gender' while 'doing policing'. It is a way of studying commonsense knowledge by observing how it is created and used in social interaction in natural settings. It assumes that social meaning is 'fragile and fluid, not fixed, stable or static' (Neuman 2003:367). Meaning is constantly being created and re-created in interactional settings. People acquire 'commonsense' understandings by using tacit social-cultural rules, thus, 'social interaction is a process of reality construction' (Neuman 2003:367).

Participant observation requires that the researcher try to avoid preconceived notions and to look for specific behaviours and extract elements across those behaviours. Using ethnomethodology, the observer's focus is on the shared methods or procedures required to produce orderliness by examining people's knowledge of their everyday actions. This approach is particularly useful when studying institutions such as police, which appear to be bound by strict rules and work

procedures. The work undertaken to reduce the complexity of social life in policing to a number of simple categories is hidden 'to make it appear as if social life is inherently ordered and law enforcement practices merely a reflection of that order' (Collin 1997:30).

Ethnomethodology enables the researcher to examine the practices and record the effort put into creating an appearance of rational, rule governed, objective procedures, and the way the order is constructed or accomplished while the work of creating that order is hidden, not only from outsiders 'but is somehow made invisible to the participants themselves' (Collin 1997:30). The researcher is not primarily interested in the rule negotiations prior to action, but with the 'retrospective deliberations undertaken in order to make sense of an action already performed'. The focus is on rule thinking 'as used to make sense of social reality, not as a motivational basis for action' (Collin 1997:30). According to Collin (1997:31) 'rule thinking creates social order by imposing upon actions already performed a description or classification that makes them out to be regular and rule-governed'. Groups, such as police, construct order and make sense of activities. Gilsinian (1982) used an ethnomethodological perspective in his study of police. He suggested that police learn 'police rules', such as being authoritarian, suspicious and the use of 'common police sense', concluding that these are not norms, but rules, as they are not learned through socialisation, but rather, are constructed by each individual.

Field notes were taken not only of constables' actions and interactions, but also of comments and conversations between officers. Although in-depth analysis of conversation is not a major focus of this research, such observational data can contribute to understanding how institutions such as the police function, by examining 'if and how interactants reveal an orientation to institutional...contexts' (Maynard & Clayman 1991 cited in Silverman 1993:133). 'Talk oriented to institutional settings involves repetitive episodes within a constrained range of variation' which may differ from talk occurring outside the specific environment (Boden & Zimmerman 1991:13). Institutional talk consists of recurrent patterns of normative situated identities and the discourse identities through which the participants perform their duties. This is not to suggest that only 'institutional

identities' are assumed in the institutional setting, nor that they are used continuously. In any workplace there are occasions of informal interactions whether while performing a task, or as part of the work itself. It is therefore important that care is taken when recording and analysing observations that interaction oriented to the 'normative', formal setting is distinguished from informal interaction (Boden & Zimmerman 1991:13).

4.17 Entering the Police Setting

The public sphere of policing is prone to stereotypical performances and has been well researched. In order to minimise the risk of this interfering with the research focus I chose to conduct observations in the informal spaces of policing rather than 'on the beat'. This is an area where a large amount of policing is undertaken, but is less well researched. The choice of informal rather than formal spaces was consistent with the ethnomethodological approach. The day prior to conducting observations officers were given an Information Sheet¹⁰ and Consent Form¹¹. Observations of policewomen conducted in informal areas at their place of work provided the opportunity to view events, actions, norms and values from the perspective of those studied, in order to gain an understanding of the ways policewomen negotiate gender regimes and perform gender while performing their duties. Observations were conducted at police stations, both urban and suburban, in a variety of police work settings in Western Australia and Tasmania. These informal areas of policing included different sections such as Muster Rooms, tea rooms and large areas situated behind the Enquiries Counter in urban police stations, and tea rooms and computer rooms in suburban stations. It was not possible to conduct observations with Victoria Police due to time constraints arising from difficulties experienced with the distribution and return of surveys in this state, resulting in a delay in interviewing and data analyses.

The choice of the degree to which an observer interacts with participants depends largely on what one is trying to do. Approaches therefore vary on how intrusive the researcher needs to be in order to gather data (e.g. whether it is appropriate/necessary or not to interview the participants in order to obtain analysable data), or

¹⁰Appendix F(a) Information Sheet for Observations

¹¹Appendix F(b) Consent Form for Observations

whether sufficient data can be obtained from observation alone (Silverman 1993:22). I chose limited participant observation as I considered that interaction with police officers while they were on duty would be too intrusive and disruptive. This level of involvement is referred to as 'peripheral membership', where the researcher is identified as such, but has limited contact (Neuman 2003:372). I deemed this approach the most appropriate as I wished to limit my interaction with officers in their workplace in order to observe how they performed gender while performing policing and I felt that sufficient data could be obtained from observation alone.

Although it is acknowledged that the presence of an observer at any level of involvement is likely to influence participant behaviour, I envisaged that minimal interaction of the type chosen would be least likely to produce a significant effect. In order that my presence be as non-intrusive as possible, I wore clothing that helped me 'blend in' to the police environment – blue jeans, blue shirt and blue blazer. I selected positions within the police stations where my presence was least likely to disrupt the workplace, such as remaining seated at the rear of rooms with a good field of vision and keeping interaction with officers to a minimum. However, a difficulty I encountered during the observations was that while police officers quickly accepted my presence, many felt the need to converse with me, making limited participation difficult.

Observational data focuses on naturally occurring activities, but should include not only activities and actions and non-verbal and verbal aspects of social interaction. To become data, observations need to be recorded in some way.¹² As it was considered inappropriate to tape-record conversations of on-duty police officers, a method of recording data quickly and accurately was needed. Field notes were taken and all sources of information, as far as practicable, were detailed and noted. These included the physical surroundings, sounds, smells, physical characteristics (but not where such detail could jeopardize anonymity), estimated age and gender. Many factors such as those mentioned can influence the way people interact. Non-verbal communication, such as facial expression, stance, gestures and eye contact

¹² An observation matrix was developed but the performance in the workplace was too complex for this to be useful.

were also noted. Field notes were expanded on and more fully detailed as soon as practical after the conclusion of the observations.

Details and results of the empirical research are reported in the following three chapters. The quantitative analysis of the survey, summary of results and discussion are presented in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5

The Influence of Institutional Structures on Gender Socialisation

5.1 Introduction

As a first step in the empirical phase of the research I chose to develop and distribute a survey. The objective of the survey was to gain an understanding of the background of participants in terms of the factors identified in the literature as influencing career choice; that is, family of origin and current family situation, educational factors and previous work experience. I wanted to explore differences and similarities between male and female respondents in the influence of these agents of socialisation on career choice and to examine whether there is a relationship between individual socialisation and perceptions of policing as a suitable career option. Further, do these agents of socialisation have a discernable influence on individual self esteem and gendered world views?

Surveys were distributed through the offices of the three police jurisdictions involved in the research. Of the 1440 surveys, 540 were distributed through Western Australia Police (WAPol), 560 through Victoria Police (VicPol) and 340 through Tasmania Police (TasPol). Five hundred and seventeen usable surveys were returned, giving a response rate of approximately 36%¹³. Although survey return was inconsistent across states, according to de Vaus (2002:120) this is a typical response rate for mail surveys. Univariate analysis was conducted to establish means (M) and percentage distributions of the demographics of the sample. Bivariate analysis and multivariate analyses were also performed. Analyses including frequencies and cross tabulations, independent samples t-tests, ANOVA and multiple regressions were conducted in order to examine relationships across a variety of variables. The response to the survey was very good as all respondents addressed all questions. As there was no missing data in the data set all tables have a response (n) of 517. The demographic backgrounds of respondents is presented in Table 3 and show the percentage of male and female constables in a number of

¹³ As previously explained, data from individual States is not presented in the research

categories, such as age group, marital status, number of dependent children, current location, rank, and employment status and education level. Age group is divided into 5 categories based on those utilised by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS 2006).

Table 3: Descriptive Frequencies of the Survey Sample as Percentages

	Male	Female
<i>Age Group</i>		
18-24	12.8	18.8
25-34	37.6	45.3
35-44	36.2	30.3
45-54	12.1	5.6
55-64	1.4	-
<i>Marital Status</i>		
Single	18.4	23.9
Partnered –same sex	0.7	5.6
Married	53.0	36.8
Partnered-opposite sex	7.8	13.2
De Facto	15.9	15.8
Divorced	4.2	4.7
<i>Dependents</i>		
None	45.9	65.8
One dependent child	17.3	13.7
Two dependent children	25.8	15.4
Three dependent children	7.8	3.4
Four + dependent children	3.2	1.7
<i>Employment Status</i>		
Full Time	98.9	85.9
Part time	1.1	14.1
<i>Current Location</i>		
General Duties	82.7	76.9
CIB	5.3	6.4
Forensics	0.7	2.6
Traffic	4.9	1.7
Crime Management	0.4	3.4
VSRT	0.4	2.1
<i>Title/Rank</i>		
Constable	62.2	75.6
First Class Constable	11.3	11.1
Senior Constable	26.5	13.2
<i>Education Level</i>		
Less than year 10	3.5	1.7
Year 10	14.8	7.7
Matriculation.- year 11/12	50.2	58.5
Skilled vocational	11.0	7.7
Degree	15.2	20.5
Post graduate degree	5.3	3.8

Note-Current Positions with total counts of less than 2% have not been included.

A summary of demographic details of the sample shows that fifty-five percent of respondents were male (n=283), and 45% were female (n=234). This result is not representative of the current gender balance of constables in these states, but rather, an artefact of the survey distribution (800 to male officers and 640 to female officers). The number of men and women in the shifts was used to calculate the gender composition, which was 72% male and 28% female. These figures are slightly higher than the average for females in all police services in Australia but are consistent overall with those reported by the Australian Institute of Criminology (2004).

The average age of male respondents was 34.5 years and for females the average age was 31.6 years. The majority (75%) were partnered (i.e. married, de facto, living with a partner) with no dependent children (55%). Ninety-three percent of respondents were employed full time (99% of males and 86% of females). The current posting for the majority of the sample was General Duties (83% of male officers and 77% of female officers). The current rank of the majority of the sample was Constable (62% of males and 76% of females), with similar levels of male and female officers holding the rank of First Class Constable (11%) but more than twice as many male officers (27%) as female officer (13%) holding the rank of Senior Constable. The highest educational level attained by the majority of the sample (54%) was year 11/12. While more female officers held a degree, more male officers had post-graduate qualifications.

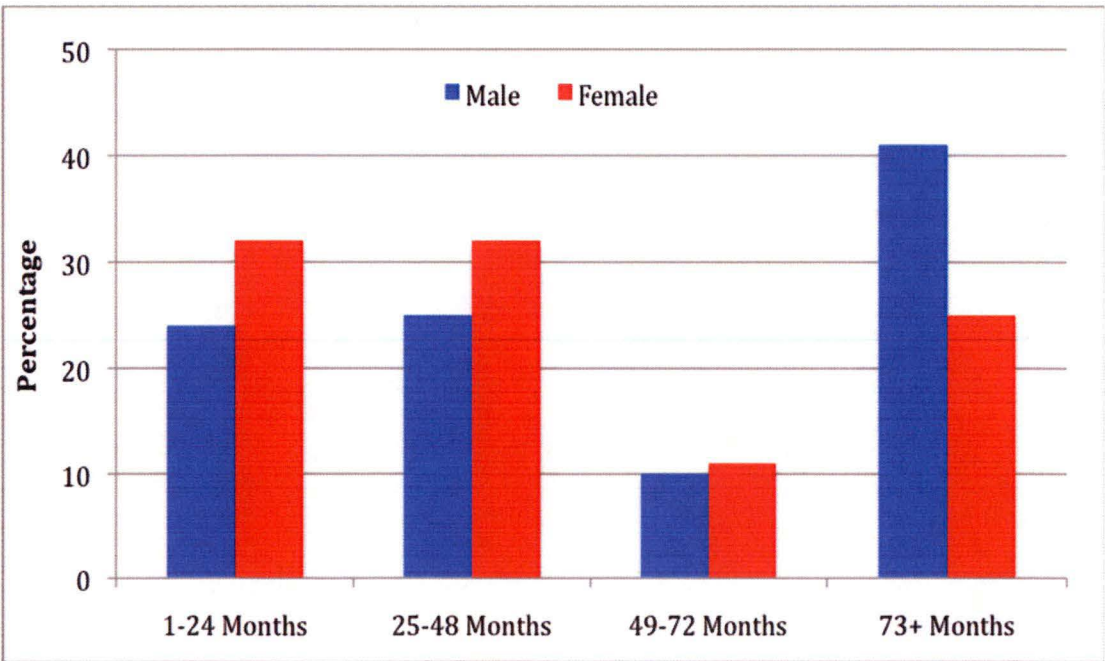
An interesting result is the percentage of constables in relationships. Policewomen in the sample were, overall, of a younger age, 71% were living in a relationship and 66% of female officers had no dependent children. Seventy seven percent of male officers were in a relationship but only 46 % had no dependent children. In a limited sample of officers surveyed in previous research (Stewart 2003), only 31% of females and 39% of males identified as 'married/de facto/partnered'. Although the results are not directly comparable, the discrepancy in percentages between the two time periods suggests an area worth further investigation, to determine if more married/partnered women are joining or being retained in the police service and if so, whether there has been a decrease in perceptions of work-family conflict as a career barrier (identified by Boni & Circelli 2002).

It is also interesting to note that more females than males are employed in stereotypically masculine areas such as CIB and Crime Management. Women in the sample also, overall, have higher levels of tertiary education than males.

More females than males are Constables and, despite a similar percentage of women holding the rank of First Class Constable, approximately 50% more males than females had achieved the rank of Senior Constable. This finding confirms previous research which has found that women tend to be confined to the lower ranks (A.I.C. 2003; Etter 2009; Irving 2009). Previous research has found that interrupted careers and limited availability for shift work due to family commitments, working part-time and having less access to training and development opportunities can limit promotions for women (aph.gov.au 2008; Irving 2009). It is also probable that the results reflect the length of service of females in the sample as this can influence promotional opportunities.

Respondents were asked to indicate their length of service. These figures are reported in months served in Figure 1 shown below.

Figure 1: *Time Served in Months by Gender as Percentages*



As different states vary in the length of police training required, respondents were asked to state the time served- excluding time spent at the Academy. While female officers were more likely than male officers to have served from 1-72 months and in particular 1- 48 months, the proportion of males continuing in employment beyond this time far exceeds that of females. Previous research has acknowledged the ongoing problems associated with the retention of female officers beyond 5 years (aph.gov.au 2008; Wilkinson & Froyland 1996). It is not clear whether the higher percentage of females in this sample serving up to 6 years is a result of recent recruitment drives or whether it reflects a tendency for women to leave the police workforce as they age, marry and have children. Adams (2001) suggests that women who experience significant work/ family conflict may leave the police service despite the recent development of flexible work policies. Female officers with family responsibilities have the option of part-time employment but given the small proportion of officers indicating part-time employment (14% of females) it seems probable that women are choosing to resign rather than utilise this option.

5.2 Family Background

Family structure, particularly during adolescence, has been found to have long-term effects on gender attitudes, and studies have found that parental guidance tends to be based on traditional gender stereotyping (Witt 1997; Kimmel 2004; Bittman 1995; Crespi n.d.).

Between the ages of 0-14 years the family of origin for the majority of respondents (87% of male officers and 86% of female officers) was a two-parent family. The majority of the sample was also raised in a two-parent family between ages 14-18 years (76%), but there is an increase (from 14% to 24%) of those not raised by both biological parents between ages 0-14 years and 14-18 years.

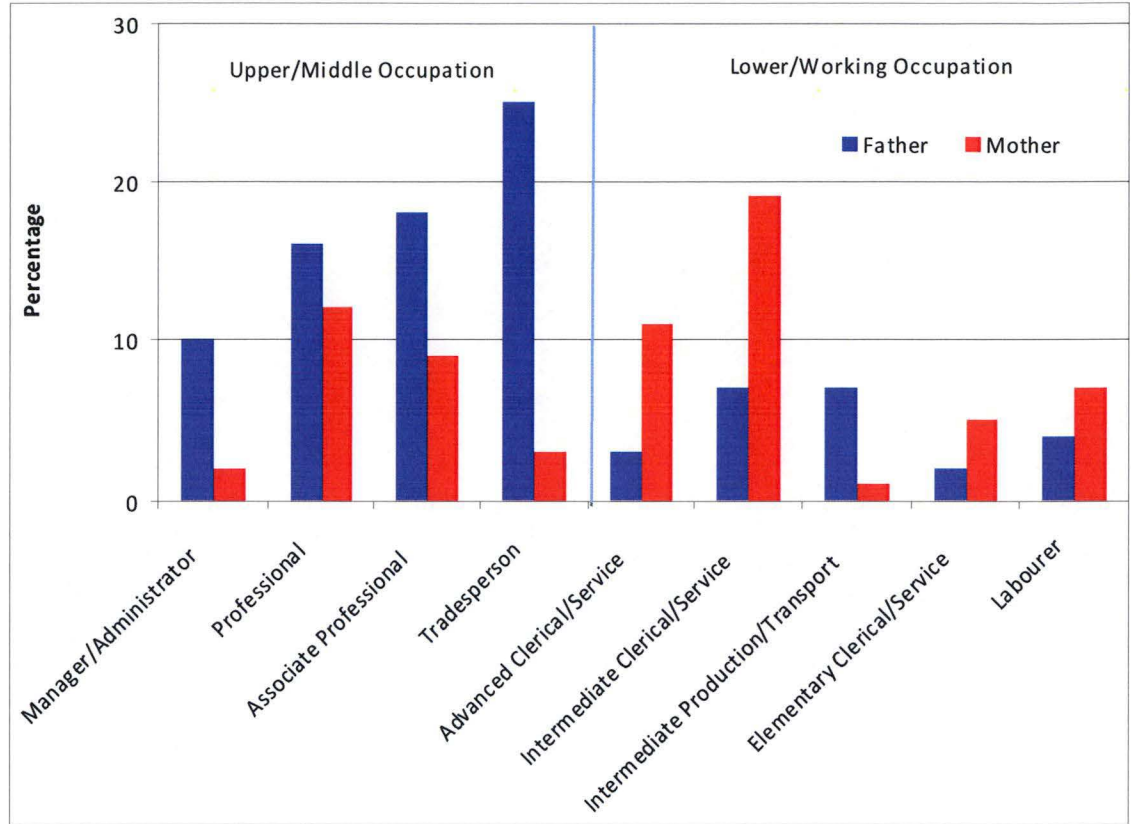
By birth order the majority of male and female officers were either first born (39%) or second born (34%). The eldest child has been found to be most influenced by the father in relation to career choice, while younger siblings are more often influenced by older siblings than by their parents (Kniveton 2004:5-6).

Despite anecdotal evidence that many officers come from families where a parent or sibling is, or has been, a police officer only 7% of male respondents and 4% of female respondents had a father who is/had been a police officer and 0.7% of males and no females had a mother who is/had been a police officer. However, 31% of males and 28% of females had a relative who was/had been a police officer, and 21% of males and 22% of females had a close friend who had been/was a police officer.

When the majority of the respondents were aged 14-18 years, both parents were employed (males 64%, females 65%) with 68% of males and 71% of females having a mother who was employed during this period. Maternal employment has been associated with more liberal attitudes to gender. For example, it has been found that women who choose traditionally masculine occupations and who tend to reject gender stereotypes are more likely to have been raised in families where the mother was employed (Kent and Moss 1994:1335). Although the relationship is somewhat reciprocal, in that more liberal gender attitudes may lead to the desire to seek employment and employment to more liberalized attitudes, mother's employment has been found to lessen the value women place on traditional understandings of gender (cf. Kiecolt & Acock 1988; Greenstien 2000; Cassidy & Warren 1996).

Respondents were asked what their parents main occupations had been when the respondent was aged 14-18 years. The responses were coded using the Australian Standard Classification of Occupations (ABS 1997) as a guide. Initially, Police Officers and Armed Services were coded but as these two categories represented only 3.5% and 1.9% of the results respectively, they were combined into the category *Associate Professionals*. The results and the legend used are shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Occupation of Mother and Father as Percentages

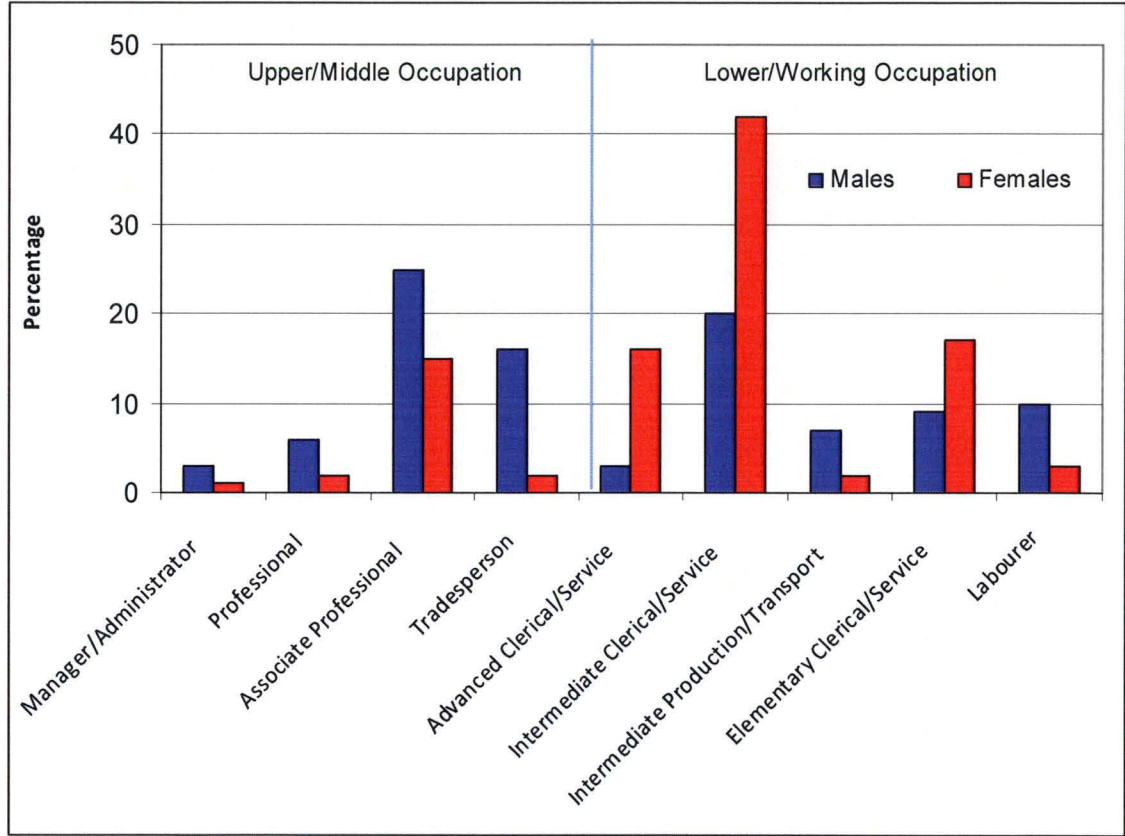


Historically police officers have come from so called ‘working class’ backgrounds (Nixon n.d.:1). Although it was found that the largest group identified for ‘Fathers Occupation’ during the period the respondent was aged 14-18 years was ‘Tradesperson’ (28%), it is arguable if this occupation can still be classified as ‘working class’, given the increased income associated with trades. A further factor that brings the ‘working class’ background into question is that 43% of fathers were classified as being employed in the 3 top categories (*Manager/Administrator*, *Professionals* and *Associate Professional*) resulting in 71% of respondents’ fathers being employed in the top 4 occupational categories. ‘Mothers Occupation’ showed similar results. Not unexpectedly, 19% of mothers were employed in the *Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service Workers* category. However, 26% were employed in *Manager/Administrator*, *Professional*, *Associate Professional* and *Advanced Clerical* categories.

Respondents were asked if they had been employed prior to selecting policing as a career and 93% indicated that they had worked before joining. If respondents had

indicated they had previously worked they were asked to list their last two jobs. These two previous occupations for male respondents were included in the analysis, as were those for female respondents, and results are shown in Figure 3. As with parental occupation, Police Officers and Armed Services were coded but as these two categories represented only small percentages, they were combined into the category *Associate Professionals*.

Figure 3: Combined Responses for Previous Occupations of Respondents as Percentages



As Figure 3 illustrates, female officers were predominantly employed in category 6, *Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service Workers*, which includes carers, hospitality workers, sales workers, receptionists and clerical workers. This was also the main category for male officers, with 20% of male officers employed in the Hospitality Industry.

Respondents were also asked to indicate the degree to which their previous occupations had influenced the choice of policing as a career, using a 10 point

Likert Scale. Fifty-eight percent of the sample responded that it had *little* or *no* influence (Likert 0-1 rating on the 10 point scale) and an *extreme* influence (rating 9-10 on the 10 point scale) was recorded for only 5.6% of females and 4.2% of males.

5.3 A Career in Policing

Respondents were asked to select from a list all avenues they had accessed in order to obtain information about a career in policing, prior to their applying for a position. Respondents were invited to select more than one category if appropriate. The majority sourced information from *Police Recruitment Offices* (n=352). Other major sources of information were *family and/or friends in the Police Service* (n=111 and 176 respectively) and *brochures* (n=119). *Newspaper Advertisements* and *Websites* were sourced at similar levels (n=80 and 65 respectively) with *Career Counsellors* rated as the least used source of information (n=26). Relevant percentages are presented below in Table 4.

Table 4: Sources of Information

Police Recruitment Offices	37.89%
Family in the Police Service	11.95%
Friends in the Police Service	18.95%
Brochures	12.81%
Newspaper Advertisements	8.61%
Websites	7.00%
Career Counsellors	2.80%
	100.00%

Based on police officers' responses in a previous survey (Stewart 2003) and using a 10 point Likert Scale, respondents were also asked to rate the importance of career statements. Responses were condensed into categories of *Low* (0-3), *Some* (4-6), *High* (7-9) and *Extreme* (10). The responses are shown below in Table 5.

Table 5: Importance of Statements in the Decision to Become a Police Officer as Percentages

	Low	Some	High	Extreme
I wanted to make a difference	22.5	25.9	38.3	13.3
A job where I felt respected	31.0	35.6	29.0	3.8
A career where men and women are equal	55.5	27.9	13.7	2.9
Tired of seeing people get away with things	34.9	33.3	25.3	6.5
Make the place safer for my children	45.0	25.5	23.1	6.4
Job where I knew what was expected of me	31.5	37.7	26.1	4.7
I like to be part of a team	13.9	21.7	46.4	18.0
Changes to entry requirements	76.8	8.9	9.1	5.2
It just seemed like a good idea	39.7	23.9	23.8	12.6

When examined by gender the responses in the *Extreme* category of results show some interesting differences. Although the percentages are small, female officers scored *Extreme* more often than male officers in most areas, with the exception of *It seemed like a good idea*, which was based on a comment made by several male officers in a previous survey (Stewart 2003) and *Make the place safe for my children*, where results were similar. Examples of responses where females recorded higher *Extreme* levels were *I wanted to make a difference* (females 17.9%; males 9.5%) and *I like to be part of a team* (females 24.8%; males 12.4%). *Changes to entry requirements* was also rated more highly by females (7.4%) than by males (3.5%). Such changes are more likely to affect female officers than males as police jurisdictions have altered entry requirements in recent years, in line with Equal Employment Opportunity legislation. The most common responses by female respondents to the option of *Other* were that policing offered diversity, and they were paid while training. Both males and females noted that policing offered good career prospects.

Questions (Q24:a-d) concerning the extent to which respondents felt their expectations had been met in areas such as *Equal Opportunity for Promotion*, *Career Development* and *Equal Support from Workmates* and *Commissioned Officers (above the rank of Inspector)* were developed using a Likert Scale with values from 1 to 10 with the following results. On the question of *Equal Opportunity for Promotion*, females rated their satisfaction more highly than did males with 17.1% rating this measure as 9-10, compared 10.1% of males at this level. The majority of males rated this question at 2-5 (54.6%), while the majority

of females rated this question from 5-8 (50.1%). *Equal Opportunity for Career Development* showed similar results with 18.8% of females indicating high levels of satisfaction (9-10) compared to males, only 9.3% of whom rated this at this level. Again, the majority of males indicated satisfaction levels of 2-5 (52%) while 48.7% of females rated satisfaction levels between 5-8 on this measure. Sixty point five percent of male officers and 54.3% of females rated *Equal Support from Workmates* between 5 and 8, with 22.7% of females indicating high levels of satisfaction (9-10) compared to only 15.5% of males. On the question *Equal Support from Commissioned Officers* more females (16.9%) than males (10.3%) indicated high levels of satisfaction at 9-10. Forty-seven point seven percent of males rated the levels to which their expectations had been met as 2-5, while 5.7% of women rated this measure between 5-8.

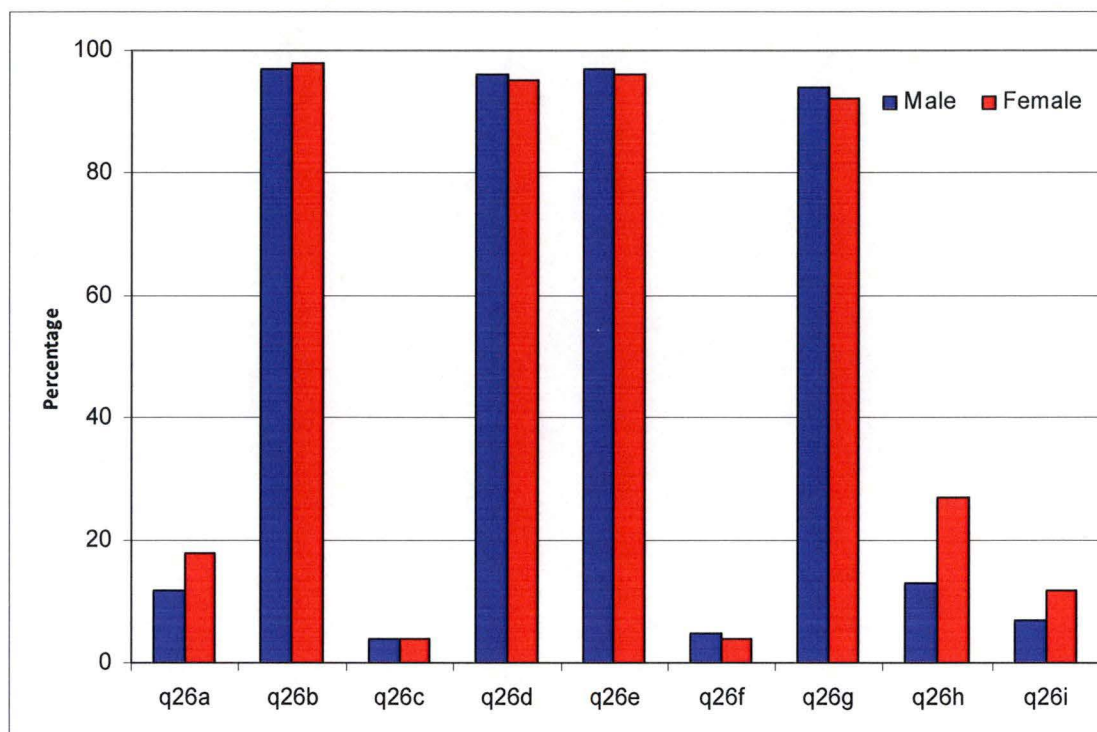
In summary, females indicated that they felt their expectations had been met in all areas to a higher degree than did males. These findings were interesting in all measures. Previous research has found that males usually rate support from senior officers more highly than do women; women have less opportunity for secondments and development training; women are promoted less; and men usually rate workmate support more highly than do women (Boni and Circelli 2002; Stewart 2003; Silvestri 2002; Wilkinson & Froyland 1996; Prenzler 1995). The findings in this research contrast significantly to those of previous research in relation to these variables.

5.4 Self Perceptions

An individual's belief that they have the ability and skills in relation to the requirements of an occupation is an important factor in occupational choice (Boni & Circelli 2002). An individual's confidence and belief in their ability to perform a job may influence the likelihood that they will seek employment within a particular field. Self esteem can be defined as individual's belief that they can successfully undertake the required training and perform a given task. Self esteem was measured in the survey using Rosenberg's (1965) Self Esteem Scale, adapted by Adams (2001). Reliability of the measures was established using Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient. Good internal consistency should return a value above 0.7 (Pallant 2005:90; Coakes, Steed & Dzidic 2006:116). The positive constructs returned a

value of .76 and the negative constructs .82, indicating good reliability. The categories *Agree* and *Strongly Agree* were collapsed to *Agree*, and *Disagree* and *Strongly Disagree* to *Disagree*. The results are presented below in the Figure 4.

Figure 4: Self Perception by Gender as Percentages



Key for Figure 4:

- 1 q.26a I wish I could have more respect for myself
- 2 q.26b I feel that I have a number of good qualities
- 3 q.26c All in all, I am inclined to feel I am a failure
- 4 q.26d I am able to do things as well as other people
- 5 q.26e I feel I am a person of worth- at least on equal basis with others
- 6 q.26f I feel I do not have much to be proud of
- 7 q.26g I take a positive attitude toward myself
- 8 q.26h I certainly feel useless at times
- 9 q.26i At times I think I am no good at all

The only areas of marked dissimilarity between male and female responses to the nine statements were in reference to at times feeling they are no good at all, feeling useless at times and desiring more self respect. These are statements with which more females than males agreed. In all other statements there was a similarity between male and female responses.

The results suggest that female officers in this sample have high self efficacy. This finding contradicts previous findings, (cf. Hackett & Betz 1981; Martin 1996) that males in policing and other stereotypically masculine occupations had higher self-efficacy than females. Boni and Circelli (2002:21) suggested that gender socialisation plays a part in women's low self-efficacy and self esteem, as women are not encouraged to engage in activities that increase self-efficacy and occupational expectations, restricting them to particular occupational fields. A person's self-efficacy is influenced by previous learning experiences and can directly affect career interests, as a person's belief about their ability to perform a task or occupation can significantly influence both their choices and behaviour (Betz and Hackett 1997: 383; Boni & Circelli 2002:7).

The other area of enquiry relating to self perceptions uses self-ratings of Personal Qualities to examine the relevance of prior socialisation in women's capacity to adapt to a masculinised environment, and the extent to which individuals identify with stereotypical gender expectations. These questions are based on Bem's Sex-Role Inventory and measure the degree to which one views the world using gender as a lens [i.e. *instrumentality* (masculinity measures: refer to Figure 5) and *expressivity* (femininity measures: refer to Figure 6)].

These measures were also tested for reliability. The measures had good internal consistency, with Cronbach's alpha coefficients of .87 on *Instrumentality* and .91 on *Expressivity* measures. Again the responses have been collapsed to form two categories *Not True* (never, usually not, infrequently true) and *True* (occasionally, often, usually, always true). Separate figures are provided below for results on *True* responses of *instrumentality* (Figure 5) and *expressivity* (Figure 6).

Figure 5: Ratings on *Instrumentality* by Gender as Percentages

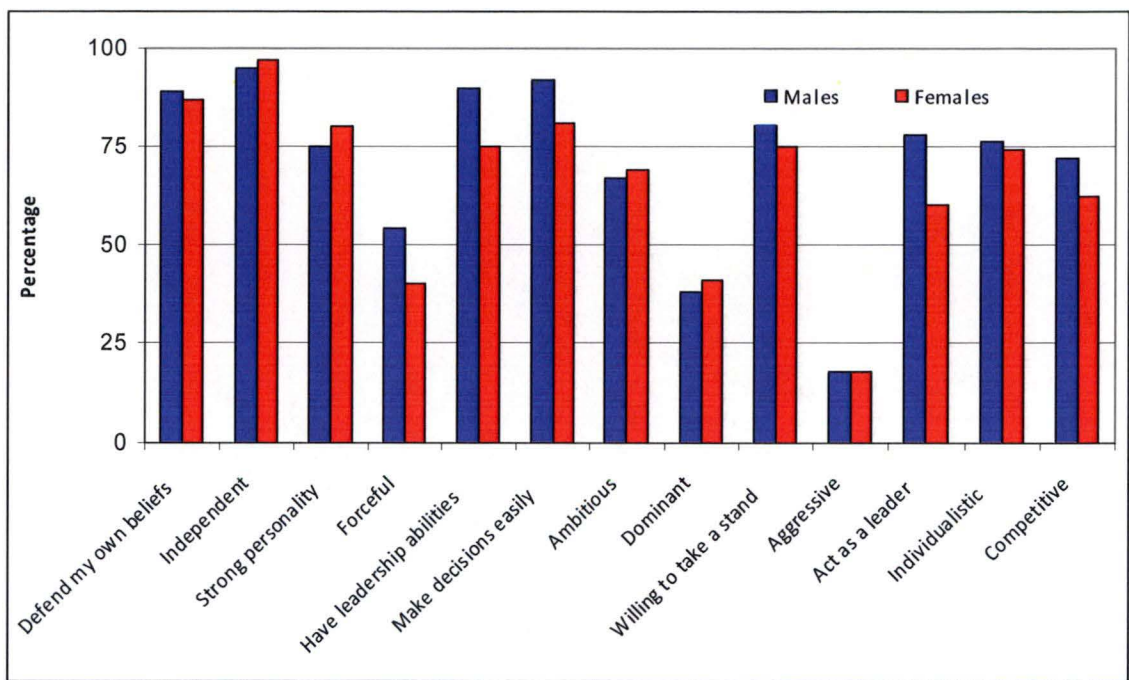
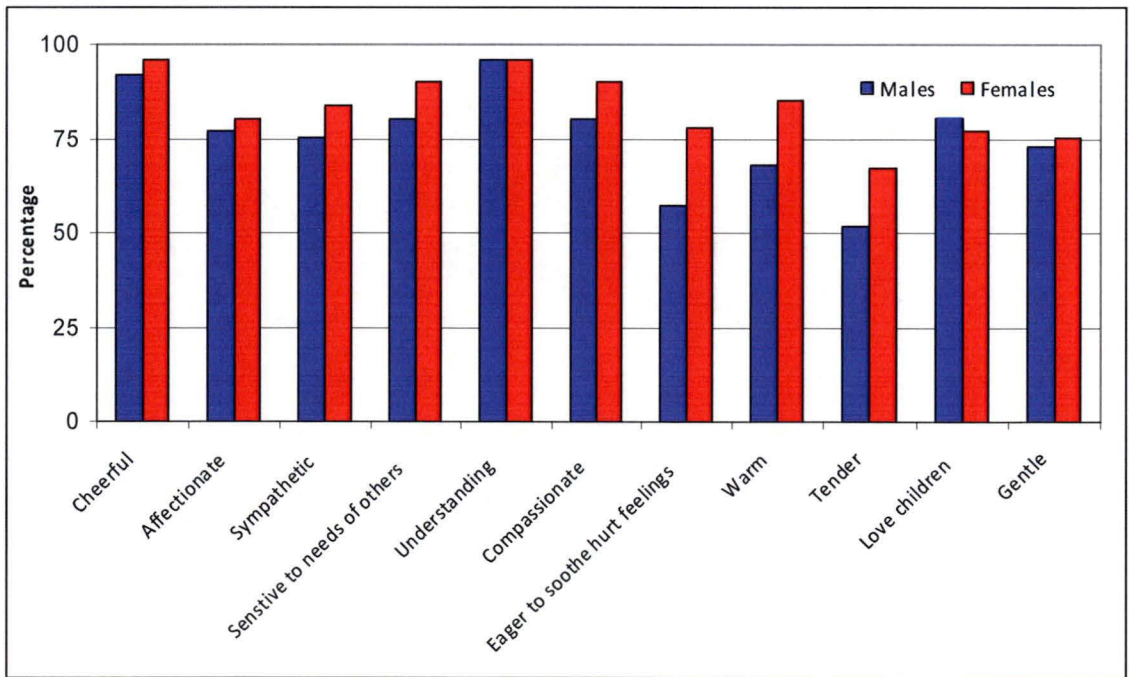


Figure 6: Ratings on *Expressivity* by Gender as Percentages



Females scored highly on *expressivity* (femininity) measures, but they also scored highly on most of the *instrumentality* (masculinity) measures, such as ‘leadership

abilities', 'ambitious', 'strong personality', 'independent' and 'defend my own beliefs' and 'individualistic'. An unexpected finding was that, while men rated themselves highly on *instrumentality* (masculinity) measures, they also rated highly on *expressivity* (femininity) measures such as 'cheerful', 'affectionate', 'gentle', 'love children', 'understanding', 'compassionate', 'tender' and 'gentle'. This suggests that this sample of police constables can be categorized as 'androgynous'¹⁴, in that there is a combination of stereotypical characteristics of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' evident.

In order to confirm that the presence of androgynous characteristics in the sample was not influenced by age and that responses were not affected by workplace socialisation, q.26 *Self Perceptions* and q.27 *Personal Qualities* were tested against age and time served. The only differences detected were that younger officers aged 18-24 years, both male and female, indicated higher levels of ambition and competitiveness than other age groups, therefore confirming that the presence of androgyny was not related to age or socialisation in the current workplace.

Respondents were asked to rate the level of confidence in their ability to perform their duties. The majority of both male (96.5%) and female (95.7%) officers responded that they were confident in their ability to perform their duties, with 95% of male officers and 90.1% of female officers rating their overall confidence levels as between 6-10 on a Likert Scale. More males than females rated their confidence levels as high (9-10), with 25.1% of males and only 14.1% of females expressing this level of confidence. Lack of personal confidence in ability has been cited as a career barrier by women in policing. Policewomen's regular exposure to negative attitudes in the workplace and the tendency towards lower self-evaluations of abilities than that reported by policemen, have been suggested as influential in lower evaluations of confidence in ability by policewomen (see Boni & Circelli 2002; Adams 2001).

¹⁴ Androgyny refers to the presence of high ratings of stereotypical characteristics of masculinity and femininity – see discussion on BSRI Chapter 4.

5.5 One-Way Analysis of Variance

One-way ANOVA between-groups analyses of variance were conducted to explore the impact of various factors such as *Age*, *School Type*, *Education*, *Family Type* *ages 0-14 years*, *Family Type 14-18 years*; and *Marital Status*, on *Self Perceptions* (q.26; positive to negative scaling) or self-esteem measures, and *Personal Qualities* (q.27; negative to positive scaling) which are masculinity and femininity measures. Age was divided into five groups (Group 1: 18 to 24; Group 2: 25 to 34; Group 3: 35 to 44; Group 4: 45 to 54; Group 5: 55 to 64). These age groupings are consistent with categories utilised by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Separate ANOVAs were conducted for male and female respondents. Statistically significant differences at the $p < 0.05$ level are presented below. Six areas of statistically significant differences were reported for females on *Personal Qualities* (*expressivity/instrumentality*) measures and are presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Influence of Age on Personal Qualities for Females

	M	SD	Significant difference between group
<i>Sympathetic</i> $p = .009$			
Group 1	5.50	1.29	3
Group 2	5.36	1.12	3
Group 3	5.94	.95	1, 2
Group 4	5.92	1.12	
<i>Forceful</i> $p = .02$			
Group 1	4.09	1.41	2, 3
Group 2	4.11	1.28	1
Group 3	4.70	1.40	1
<i>Sensitive to needs of others</i> $p = .04$			
Group 1	5.73	1.21	3, 4
Group 2	5.59	1.08	3
Group 3	5.96	.90	1, 2
Group 4	6.31	.95	1
<i>Ambitious</i> $p = .000$			
Group 1	5.93	1.02	2, 3, 4
Group 2	5.41	1.43	1, 3
Group 3	4.58	1.46	1, 2
Group 4	4.46	1.39	1
<i>Eager to soothe hurt feelings</i> $p = .05$			
Group 1	5.25	1.38	3
Group 2	4.88	1.32	3
Group 3	5.39	1.14	1, 2

<i>Competitive</i>	$p = .000$			
Group 1		5.41	1.42	3, 4
Group 2		5.14	1.56	1, 3
Group 3		4.56	1.57	1, 2, 4
Group 4		3.54	1.61	1, 3

Overall, by *Age* younger females, those aged 18-34 years, were more ambitious and more competitive than other age groups. Older females, aged 45-54 years, were more sympathetic and forceful and those aged 35-54 years were more sensitive to the needs of others and eager to soothe hurt feelings than other groups. There were no significant differences between female groups for *Self Perceptions* in terms of *Age*. As there were no females in the sample in the age group 55 to 64 years, there is no report for Group 5.

The results for one-way between groups analysis of variance for males in the sample are presented in Table 7. There were no significant differences for male groups for *Self Perceptions* in terms of *Age*.

Table 7: Influence of *Age* on *Personal Qualities* for Males

	M	SD	Significant difference between groups
<i>Defend my own beliefs</i> $p = .03$			
Group 1	5.64	.90	4
Group 2	5.58	1.14	4
Group 3	5.59	1.07	4
Group 4	6.18	.76	1, 2, 3
<i>Ambitious</i> $p = .000$			
Group 1	5.97	.77	2, 3, 4, 5
Group 2	5.24	1.19	1, 3, 4, 5
Group 3	4.77	1.38	1, 2
Group 4	4.41	1.33	1, 2
Group 5	3.75	2.06	1, 2
<i>Love Children</i> $p = .000$			
Group 1	5.39	1.27	3, 4, 5
Group 2	5.21	1.27	3, 4, 5
Group 3	5.92	1.26	1, 2
Group 4	5.88	1.39	1, 2
Group 5	6.50	.06	1, 2

By *Age*, younger men (those aged 18-34 years) were more ambitious, particularly those aged 18-24 years. Older males aged 45-54 years were more likely to defend their own beliefs, and those aged 35-64 years were more likely to love children, than were younger age groups.

One-way ANOVA was also conducted on *School Type* (q.12). School type was divided into groups, these being *State-co-educational*, *Private-co-educational*, *State-single-sex*; and *Private-single-sex*. Separate ANOVAs were conducted for female and male respondents on *Self Perceptions* and *Personal Qualities*.

Results for females at the $p < .05$ level indicate that the only significant difference ($p = .028$) for females in *Self Perceptions* was on *I feel I have a number of good qualities* (q.26b). On this measure there was a significant difference between *State-co-educational* ($M=1.30$, $SD=.576$) and *State-single-sex* ($M=1.82$, $SD=.603$). *State-single-sex* was also significantly different from *Private-co-educational* ($M=1.29$, $SD=.461$). This suggests that females who had attended State single-sex schools were less likely to feel they had good qualities than those attending co-educational schools. There were no significant differences between female groups for *Personal Qualities*. ANOVA for males on these measures are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Influence of *School Type* on *Personal Qualities* for Males

	M	SD	Significant difference between groups
<i>Ambitious</i> $p = .04$			
1. State-single-sex	4.19	1.76	2, 3
2. State-co-educational	5.14	1.25	1
3. Private-co-educational	5.17	1.40	1
<i>Competitive</i> $p = .02$			
1. State-single-sex	4.31	1.49	2, 3, 4
2. State-co-educational	5.37	1.31	1
3. Private-co-educational	5.14	1.15	1
4. Private-single-sex	5.19	1.13	1

Results indicate that males who attended State single-sex schools were less ambitious than those attending State co-educational or Private co-educational schools. They were also less competitive than males who had attended other school types. In contrast to females who recorded no significant differences on *Personal*

Qualities measures, there were no significant differences between male groups for *Self Perceptions*.

One-way analysis of variance was conducted to explore the influence of *Family Type* between the ages 0 to 14 years (q.9) on *Self Perceptions* and *Personal Qualities*. Responses were divided into groups - Group1: two- parent family; Group 2: other (single parent, shared parenting, step-parents). Separate ANOVAs were conducted for male and female respondents. The results for females on *Self Perceptions* are presented in Table 9.

Table 9: Influence of *Family Type* (0-14 years) on *Self Perceptions* for Females

	M	SD
<i>All in all I'm inclined to feel that I'm a failure</i> $p = .03$		
Group 1 - Two-parent	3.56	.66
Group 2 - Other	3.26	.93
<i>I feel I don't have much to be proud of</i> $p = .01$		
Group 1 - Two-parent	3.55	.71
Group 2 - Other	3.21	.85
<i>I certainly feel useless at times</i> $p = .000$		
Group 1 - Two-parent	2.89	1.09
Group 2 - Other	2.12	1.22
<i>At times I think I am no good at all</i> $p = .004$		
Group 1 - Two-parent	3.35	.83
Group 2 - Other	2.88	1.07

Analysis of *Family Type* for females found that those raised in two-parent families from 0-14 years were overall more positive in their self perceptions, indicating they were less inclined to feel a failure, to feel useless at times, to at times think they were no good at all, and that they did not have much to be proud of than those raised in other family types. There were no significant differences between female groups for *Personal Qualities*.

The ANOVA results for *Personal Qualities* for males in the sample on this measure were:

- The mean score for Group 2 (M=5.68, SD=1.132) differed significantly ($p=.018$) from Group 1 (M=5.17, SD=1.205) for *Sympathetic*.

- There was a significant difference ($p=.034$) between scores for Group 2 ($M=5.73$, $SD=1.146$) and Group 1 ($M=5.32$, $SD=1.094$) for *Compassionate*.

Male respondents did not differ significantly on *Self Perceptions*. Results suggest that males raised in two-parent families between the ages of 0-14 years were less sympathetic and less compassionate than were those raised in other family types. A one-way analysis of variance was conducted to explore the influence of *Family Type between the ages 14 years to 18 years* ($q.10$) on *Self Perceptions* and *Personal Qualities*. Responses were again divided into groups - Group1: two- parent family; Group 2: other (single parent, shared parenting, step-parents). Separate ANOVAs were conducted for male and female respondents.

The only statistically significant result for female respondents on *Self Perceptions* indicated Group 1 ($M=3.57$, $SD=.563$) was significantly different ($p=.009$) from Group 2 ($M=3.29$, $SD=1.042$) on *I feel I do not have much to be proud of*.

Similarly, only one question returned a significant result for females on the *Personal Qualities* measure. On *Affectionate* the mean score for Group 1 ($M=5.69$, $SD=1.108$) was significantly different ($p=.034$) from the score for Group 2 ($M=5.31$, $SD=1.468$). Results suggest that females raised in two-parent families between age 14 years and 18 years felt they had more to be proud of and they were more affectionate than those raised in other family types.

The ANOVA result for males in the sample on *Self Perceptions* showed that there was a significant difference ($p=.033$) between Group 1 ($M=3.20$, $SD=.873$) and Group 2 ($M=2.92$, $SD= 1.039$) on *I wish I could have more respect for myself*. Results suggest that male respondents who were raised in two-parent families between the ages of 14-18 years felt less need for more self respect than those raised in other family types. Family Type was not significant between 14-18 years for males on any other *Self Perception* measure or on any *Personal Qualities* measures.

ANOVAs were conducted for male and female respondents to explore the impact of *Birth Order* (q.11) on *Self Perception* and *Personal Qualities*. Birth order was grouped as - Group 1: first born, Group 2: second born, Group 3: other.

Interestingly, the results for females showed no significant differences between groups on any measure for *Birth Order*. The results of *Personal Qualities* in this analysis for males are presented below.

Table 10: Influence of *Birth Order* on *Personal Qualities* for Males

	M	SD	Significant difference between groups
<i>Sensitive to needs of others</i> $p = .009$			
Group 1	5.52	1.05	3
Group 2	5.33	1.25	
Group 3	5.01	1.25	1
<i>Understanding</i> $p = .02$			
Group 1	5.90	.71	3
Group 2	5.79	.79	
Group 3	5.57	.82	1
<i>Make decisions easily</i> $p = .003$			
Group 1	5.91	.79	3
Group 2	5.72	1.02	3
Group 3	5.43	1.01	1, 2
<i>Compassionate</i> $p = .009$			
Group 1	5.60	.99	3
Group 2	5.34	1.06	
Group 3	5.09	1.27	1

By Birth Order, first born males indicated they felt they were more sensitive to the needs of others, more compassionate, more understanding and made decisions more easily than others in the birth order. Interestingly, three of the four items are consistent with stereotypically 'feminine' attributes. There were no significant differences for males on *Self Perceptions* (q.26) in terms of *Birth Order*.

A one-way analysis of variance was conducted to explore the influence of *Marital Status* (q.3) on *Self Perceptions* and *Personal Qualities*. Responses were divided into groups - Group1: single/divorced; Group 2: partnered/de facto. Again, separate ANOVAs were conducted for male and female respondents.

Females in the sample showed significant differences for only two *Self Perception* measures and one *Personal Qualities* measure. These are reported in Table 11.

Table 11: Influence of Marital Status on Self Perceptions and Personal Qualities for Females

	M	SD
<i>All in all, I am inclined to feel I am a failure</i> (SP) $p = .03$		
Group 1 – Single/divorced	3.36	.79
Group 2 – Partnered/de facto	3.57	.67
<i>I certainly feel useless at times</i> (SP) $p = .01$		
Group 1 – Single/divorced	2.47	1.14
Group 2 – Partnered/de facto	2.90	1.12
<i>Defend my own beliefs</i> (PQ) $p = .03$		
Group 1 – Single/divorced	5.48	1.23
Group 2 – Partnered/de facto	5.84	1.09

These results suggest that partnered/married females were more positive in their self perceptions than single/divorced females, indicating they were less likely to feel like a failure or useless at times and more able to defend their own beliefs.

No significant differences were detected for *Self Perceptions* on *Marital Status* for males in the sample. Significant results for the influence of *Marital Status* of *Personal Qualities* are reported in Table 12.

Table 12: Influence of Marital Status on Personal Qualities for Males

	M	SD
<i>Understanding</i> $p = .05$		
Group 1 – Single/divorced	5.94	.69
Group 2 – Partnered/de facto	5.72	.79
<i>Ambitious</i> $p = .02$		
Group 1 – Single/divorced	5.41	1.23
Group 2 – Partnered/de facto	4.95	1.34
<i>Dominant</i> $p = .04$		
Group 1 – Single/divorced	4.47	1.35
Group 2 – Partnered/de facto	4.09	1.33

On these *Personal Qualities* measures, single/divorced males indicated that they were more understanding, ambitious and dominant than were their married/partnered counterparts.

The impact of *Educational Attainment* (q.8) on *Self Perceptions* and *Personal Qualities* was also examined using ANOVA. The respondents were divided into groups - Group 1: less than year 10; Group 2: year 10; Group 3: year 11/12; Group 4: skilled vocational; Group 5: Degree; and Group 6: Post Graduate. Separate ANOVAs were conducted for males and females.

There were no significant differences detected in the female sample for *Self Perceptions* in terms of educational attainment.

Results for *Personal Qualities* indicate there was a significant difference ($p=.015$) for *Have leadership abilities* (q.27i) between Group 1 ($M=4.00$, $SD=.816$) and Group 3 ($M=5.47$, $SD=1.249$), Group 4 ($M=5.56$, $SD=1.338$), Group 5 ($M=5.60$, $SD=1.047$) and Group 6 ($M=5.78$, $SD=.833$). The mean score for Group 2 ($M=4.72$, $SD=1.249$) was significantly different to all groups except Group 1.

These results suggest that female respondents who attained education levels beyond Year 10 are more likely to feel they have leadership abilities than those with Year 10 or less educational attainment.

There were also no significant differences between groups of males for *Self Perceptions* in terms of educational attainment. Results for *Personal Qualities* are presented in Table 13.

Table 13: Influence of *Educational Attainment* on *Personal Qualities* for Males

	M	SD	Significant difference between groups
<i>Independent</i> $p = .02$			
Group 1	6.20	.63	4, 6
Group 2	6.00	.96	4, 6
Group 3	5.97	.89	4, 6
Group 4	5.48	1.06	1, 2, 3
Group 6	5.40	1.06	1, 2, 3
<i>Affectionate</i> $p = .03$			
Group 2	5.45	1.09	6
Group 3	5.34	1.12	6
Group 4	5.19	.98	6
Group 5	5.21	1.04	6
Group 6	4.33	1.54	2, 3, 4, 5
<i>Strong Personality</i> $p = .04$			
Group 3	5.55	1.08	6
Group 5	5.21	1.04	6
Group 6	4.33	1.54	3, 5
<i>Ambitious</i> $p = .03$			
Group 2	4.60	1.48	3, 4, 5
Group 3	5.10	1.29	2
Group 4	5.23	1.17	2
Group 5	5.47	1.16	1, 6
Group 6	4.67	1.45	5
<i>Aggressive</i> $p = .04$			
Group 1	4.60	1.89	2, 3, 4, 5
Group 2	3.19	1.40	1
Group 3	3.48	1.27	1
Group 4	3.26	.96	1
Group 5	3.63	1.05	1

For males, those with the least levels of education (year10 or less) indicated the highest levels on *Independent*, with post-graduates and those with skilled vocational qualifications being the least independent. Post-graduates were also less affectionate, felt they had less strong personality and, with year 10 educated, were least ambitious than other groups. Those with less than year 10 educational attainment also indicated they were more aggressive than did those with higher levels of education.

5.6 Independent Sample t-tests

Independent t-tests were conducted to compare the mean scores on *Self Perceptions* measures for male and female respondents who, between the ages of 14 – 18 years, had a father who was employed.

There was a statistically significant difference between scores for males ($M=3.17$, $SD=.90$) and females [$M=2.97$, $SD=1.05$; $t(477)=2.18$, $p=.03$] on q.26a. *I wish I had more respect for myself*. There was also a significant difference between males scores ($M=3.15$, $SD=1.01$) and females [$M=2.80$, $SD=1.13$; $t(477)=3.52$, $p=.000$] for q.26h *I certainly feel useless at times*.

Results suggest that females whose father was employed during the relevant time period were more likely to feel a need for more self respect and to feel useless at times than were male counterparts. Male and female respondents did not differ significantly on any other *Self Perception* measure.

Independent t-tests were also conducted to compare the mean scores on *Personal Qualities* for male and female respondents who, between the ages of 14 – 18 years, had a father who was employed. The items showing significant differences in scores for males and females are presented below in the following Table 14.

Table 14: Influence of having an Employed Father on Personal Qualities by Gender

	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>	
	M	SD	M	SD
<i>Independent</i> $t(477) = 3.87, p = .000$	5.90	.93	6.21	.82
<i>Affectionate</i> $t(477) = 3.11, p = .002$	5.24	1.15	5.58	1.19
<i>Sympathetic</i> $t(447.9) = 2.98, p = .005$	5.22	1.21	5.55	1.19
<i>Forceful</i> $t(477) = 2.85, p = .005$	4.65	1.25	4.31	1.34
<i>Sensitive to others needs</i> $t(477) = 4.16, p = .000$	5.32	1.12	5.74	1.09
<i>Leadership abilities</i> $t(395.77) = 2.28, p = .02$	5.68	.99	5.44	1.21
<i>Understanding</i> $t(477) = 2.74, p = .006$	5.77	.78	5.98	.86

<i>Make decisions easily</i> $t(381.97) = 4.80, p = .000$	5.75	.89	5.28	1.15
<i>Compassionate</i> $t(477) = 3.46, p = .001$	5.35	1.12	5.72	1.18
<i>Soothe hurt feelings</i> $t(477) = 3.56, p = .000$	4.63	1.29	5.06	1.31
<i>Warm</i> $t(477) = 3.36, p = .001$	5.12	1.16	5.49	1.19
<i>Willing to take a stand</i> $t(398.28) = 2.25, p = .02$	5.62	1.01	5.38	1.22
<i>Tender</i> $t(406.57) = 2.59, p = .01$	4.51	1.26	4.84	1.47
<i>Act as a leader</i> $t(384.42) = 4.33, p = .000$	5.38	1.05	4.89	1.33
<i>Competitive</i> $t(477) = 2.85, p = .005$	5.29	1.27	4.91	1.60

Female respondents indicated higher levels on stereotypically ‘feminine’ measures, such as affectionate, warm, tender, sympathetic and understanding than did males. Male respondents indicated higher levels than did females on stereotypically ‘masculine’ measures such as forceful, have leadership abilities, willing to take a stand. However, females indicated higher levels of independence (a stereotypical ‘masculine’ characteristic) than did males. Male and female respondents did not differ significantly on ‘instrumentality’ measures *Defend own beliefs, Strong Personality, Ambitious, Dominant, Aggressive, Individualistic* nor on ‘expressivity’ measures *Love Children, Gentle or Cheerful..*

Independent t-tests were conducted to compare the mean scores on *Personal Qualities* for male and female respondents who, between the ages of 14 – 18 years, had a mother who was employed. Significant differences in scores for males and females are reported below in Table 15.

Table 15: Influence of having an *Employed Mother* on *Personal Qualities* by Gender

	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>	
	M	SD	M	SD
<i>Independent</i> $t(355) = 3.50, p = .001$	5.91	.96	6.24	.79
<i>Affectionate</i> $t(355) = 2.17, p = .03$	5.30	1.10	5.57	1.18
<i>Sympathetic</i> $t(355) = 2.19, p = .03$	5.26	1.19	5.54	1.20
<i>Forceful</i> $t(355) = 2.84, p = .005$	4.62	1.25	4.23	1.29
<i>Sensitive to others needs</i> $t(355) = 3.72, p = .000$	5.33	1.06	5.75	1.08
<i>Understanding</i> $t(355) = 2.22, p = .03$	5.79	.79	5.98	.84
<i>Make decisions easily</i> $t(355) = 3.66, p = .000$	5.73	1.00	5.33	1.08
<i>Compassionate</i> $t(355) = 2.59, p = .01$	5.38	1.07	5.69	1.18
<i>Soothe hurt feelings</i> $t(355) = 3.19, p = .002$	4.64	1.25	5.07	1.32
<i>Warm</i> $t(355) = 2.78, p = .006$	5.17	1.10	5.51	1.19
<i>Willing to take a stand</i> $t(311.74) = 2.31, p = .02$	5.63	.94	5.37	1.19
<i>Tender</i> $t(354) = 2.57, p = .01$	4.52	1.24	4.88	1.43
<i>Act as a leader</i> $t(320.23) = 3.11, p = .002$	5.37	1.07	4.98	1.30

Similar to results for respondents who had an employed father, there were no significant differences between means for scores on *Defend my own beliefs*, *Cheerful*, *Strong Personality*, *Ambitious*, *Dominant*, *Aggressive*, *Love children*, *Gentle*, *Individualistic*, nor in this test, for *Competitive*. It is interesting to note that whereas having a father who worked appeared to influence males to be more competitive, there was no significant difference between males and females on *Competitive* when the mother was employed. This suggests that having an employed mother influences women to be more competitive. Females who had a mother who worked were more likely to feel useless at times than were male counterparts, but as this was also related to having a father who worked the relevance is unclear. This may reflect the greater willingness of females to

acknowledge these feelings, or differences in life experiences of males and females, but may also be indicative of an attitude consistent with the 'machismo syndrome' of police culture (cf. Reiner 1992). However, females recorded higher scores on *Independent* in both parental work related measures than did males. All other reported scores/differences are congruent with stereotypical gender expectations.

Independent t-tests were also conducted to compare the mean scores on *Self Perceptions* for male and female respondents who, between the ages of 14 – 18 years, had a mother who was employed. There was a significant difference in scores for males ($M=3.15$, $SD=.973$) and females [$M=2.74$, $SD=1.10$; $t(329.817)=3.67$, $p=.000$] for q.26h *I certainly feel useless at times*, suggesting females whose mother was employed during this period were more inclined to feel useless occasionally than were male counterparts. Male and female respondents did not differ significantly on any other *Self Perception* measure.

5.7 Standard Multiple Regression

Standard multiple regression was used to indicate how well a set of variables predict self esteem (q.26 *Self Perceptions*), instrumentality and expressivity (q.27 *Personal Qualities*) and *Motivation* (q.21). Independent variables were recoded as a set of 'dummy' variables-1 and 0- in the following sets; *Marital status* = 1 partnered; 0 other; *Dependent children* = 1 Children; 0 none; *Education level* = 1 year 12 or more; 0 less than year 12; *Family type to 14 years* = 1 two-parent family; 0 other; *Family type 14-18 years* = 1 two-parent family; 0 other; *Birth Order* = 1 first/second born; 0 other; *High school type* = 1 single-sex; 0 co-educational; and also 1 state school; 0 private; *Father worked* = 1 yes, 0 no; *Mother worked* = 1 yes, 0 no; *Age* = 1 aged 18-34 years; 0 35 + years and *Time Served* = 1 less than 60 months; 0 more than 60 months, and were used in all the following regression models.

Separate linear regressions were conducted for this set of Independent variables for males and females, using all measures of questions 21, 26 and 27 as individual Dependent variables. As question 26 has both positive and negatively worded items negatively worded items were reversed, so high scores indicate high levels of agreement (Pallant 2007:83). Probability values, standard errors of the mean (SE)

and standardised regression coefficients (Betas) are reported. Results that were significant at .05 level on q.21 *Motivation* for males are as follows.

Table 16: Regression on *Motivation* for Males

Male	<i>p</i>	Beta	SE
q.21d <i>I got tired of seeing bad people get away with things</i> $p = .02, r^2 = .09$			
Family type 14-18yrs (2 parent)	.02	-.20	.64
Mother worked	.04	.13	.39
q.21e <i>I wanted to make the place safer for my children.</i> $p = .009, r^2 = .09$			
Family type 14-18 years (2 parent)	.009	-.23	.70
Time served (25-60 months.)	.003	.18	.42

These results suggest that having a mother who worked may positively influence male motivation to stop offenders. Those who had served as police officers for between 2 and 5 years were also more motivated to make the place safer for their children. However, males raised in a two-parent family between the ages 14-18 years were less motivated to become police officers by a desire to make the place safer for their children and to stop offenders than were other male officers. The results on these measures for females are presented in Table 17.

Table 17: Regression on *Motivation* for Females

	<i>p</i>	Beta	SE
q.21e <i>I wanted to make the place safer for my children.</i> $p = .04, r^2 = .10$			
Dependent children	.000	.34	.57
q 21h <i>Changes to entry requirements</i> $p = .000, r^2 = .16$			
Partnered	.002	-.20	.50
Age group (18-34)	.003	-.24	.57

Females with dependent children were motivated by a desire to make the place safer for their children, but changes to entry requirements was not a factor for younger aged (18-34 years) or partnered females. The major positive influence for females appears to be related to current familial circumstances (having dependent children) as opposed to males who are influenced by family of origin. Significant results for males and females on standard regression for q.26 *Self Perceptions* are presented below in Table 18.

Table 18: Regression on Self Perceptions by Gender

Males	<i>p</i>	Beta	SE
q.26a <i>I wish I could have more respect for myself</i> $p = .02, r^2 = .09$			
Education level (yr. 12 or more)	.003	.19	.15
Father worked	.03	-.18	.13
Females			
q.26b <i>I feel I have a number of good qualities</i> $p = .04, r^2 = .10$			
High School type (single-sex)	.007	.19	.11
Mother worked	.03	.15	.08
q.26h <i>I certainly feel useless at times</i> $p = .008, r^2 = .12$			
Married/Partnered	.03	-.15	.17
Family type 0-14 yrs. (2 parent)	.000	-.31	.29

Results suggest that males whose father worked were less likely to wish for greater self respect, but, rather surprisingly, this was negatively associated with males who had attained education levels above year 12. Females raised in a two-parent family to age 14 years were less likely to feel useless at times, as were policewomen who were married/ partnered. Attending a single-sex high school, and having a mother who had been in employment appears to be positively related to self esteem in females.

Results for standard multiple regressions on the stated IVs and question 27 *Personal Qualities* (instrumentality /expressivity) for males are reported in the Table below.

Table 19: Regression on *Personal Qualities* for Males

	<i>p</i>	B	SE
q.27f <i>Sympathetic</i> $p = .05, r^2 = .08$			
Family type 0-14 yrs. (2 parent)	.01	-.21	.30
Birth Order (1 st /2 nd born)	.03	.13	.17
q.27h <i>Sensitive</i> $p = .03, r^2 = .08$			
Family type 0-14 yrs. (2 parent)	.03	-.18	.28
Birth Order (1 st /2 nd born)	.002	.19	.15
Age group (18-34)	.01	-.18	.16
q.27j <i>Understanding</i> $p = .004, r^2 = .11$			
Birth Order (1 st /2 nd born)	.001	.20	.10
Age group (18-34)	.001	-.23	.11
1.27k <i>Make decisions easily</i> $p = .002, r^2 = .11$			
Birth Order (1 st /2 nd born)	.00	.17	.13
Time served (less than 60 months.)	.01	.17	.08
Father worked	.004	.18	.29
q.27l <i>Compassionate</i> $p = .02, r^2 = .09$			
Family type 0-14 yrs. (2 parent)	.03	-.18	.28
Age group (18-34)	.04	-.15	.15
Birth Order (1 st /2 nd born)	.004	.18	.15
q.27m <i>Ambitious</i> $p = .000, r^2 = .16$			
Family type 14-18 yrs. (2 parent)	.04	-.17	.27
Age group (18-34)	.005	.19	.18
q.27t <i>Love children</i> $p = .000, r^2 = .17$			
Dependent children	.000	.32	.18
Age group (35+)	.02	-.16	.17

The major factors influencing perceptions of personal qualities appear to be birth order, family of origin and age. First and second born males are more sympathetic, sensitive to the needs of others, understanding, compassionate and made decisions easily. Others who felt they made decisions easily were most likely to have a father who worked and to have served less than 60 months. Males raised in a two-parent

family between 14-18 years of age were less ambitious, while those raised in a two-parent family to 14 years of age were less sympathetic, sensitive to the needs of others and compassionate. By age, males aged 18-34 years were less sensitive, understanding and compassionate but more ambitious, while those aged 35+ years were less likely to love children. Results for females were on this regression are provided in Table 20.

Table 20: Regression on *Personal Qualities* for Females

	<i>p</i>	B	SE
q.27f <i>Sympathetic</i> $p = .03, r^2 = .11$			
Dependent children	.01	.20	.21
Father worked	.01	-.19	.30
q.27i <i>Have leadership abilities</i> $p = .006, r^2 = .12$			
Education level (yr. 12+)	.001	.22	.29
Mother worked	.03	.15	.18
q.27m <i>Ambitious</i> $p = .000, r^2 = .19$			
Time served (more than 60 months.)	.002	-.25	.25
Age group (18-34)	.002	.25	.24
q.27t <i>Love children</i> $p = .001, r^2 = .15$			
Dependent children	.000	.38	.27

Female predictors of ‘instrumentality’ and ‘expressivity’ were fewer and more varied than those for males. Females who had dependent children were more likely to love children and to be sympathetic. Having a father who worked was also a negative predictor for being sympathetic. Being aged 18-34 years was positively associated with ambition, and serving more than 60 months was negatively associated in this model. An important finding is that higher levels of education (above year 12) and having a mother who worked are predictors of a belief in leadership abilities in females.

Survey results for females and males and an overview of the central findings that inform the following discussion are presented below.

5.8 Summary of Survey Data by Gender

5.8.1 Summary of Female Data

There were 234 responses from females (45.3%). Of these 86% were employed Full-time, 77% in General Duties. Constables made up 76% of the sample, first Class Constables 11% and 13% were Senior Constables. Gender composition of current shifts was 28% female officers. The majority were aged 25-44 years, with the average age being 31.6 years. By marital status 70% were partnered and 66% had no dependent children. The majority (86%) was raised in a two-parent family and were first or second born. Between the ages of 14-18 years, both parents of 65% of the female sample were employed, and 71% had a mother who worked at this time. The majority achieved Year 11/12 levels of education, with 21% achieving a degree and 4% a Post Graduate award. The majority came from middle income families and 42% had been previously employed in Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service Workers occupations, while 16% were Advanced Clerical and Service Workers and 12% Associate Professionals. Only 4% had a father who was/had been a police officer, but 28% had a close relative and 22% had a close family friend who was/had been a police officer.

The areas of motivations where Extreme values recorded by females were greater than those recorded by males were: *I wanted to make a difference.*; *A job where I felt respected*; *A career where men and women are equal*; *Job where I knew what was expected of me*; *I like to be part of a team* and *Changes to entry requirements*. The most common *Other* motivations for female respondents were ‘a job where I am paid in training’; ‘a job that offers diversity’ and ‘good career prospects’.

By Age, those aged 18-34 years were more ambitious and more competitive than other age groups. Females aged 35-44 years were more sympathetic and forceful and those aged 35-54 years were more sensitive to the needs of others and eager to soothe hurt feelings than other groups.

Females attending State single-sex schools were less likely to feel they had good qualities than those attending co-educational schools or private schools. Females raised in two-parent families from 0-14 years were less inclined to feel a failure, to

feel useless at times, at times no good at all, or that they did not have much to be proud of, than those raised in other family types. Those raised in two-parent families between age 14 and 18 years were more affectionate than those raised in other family types.

Females who were partnered were less likely to consider themselves a failure or to feel useless at times and were more likely to defend their own beliefs than were single/divorced females. Respondents with dependent children were more likely to love children and to be sympathetic than were others. There were no significant differences recorded for females on *any* measure for Birth Order.

Females with education levels year 10 or less were least likely to feel they had leadership abilities, whereas those 11/12 and above felt they had. Those with Year 12 and above levels of education also were less likely to feel a need for greater self respect.

Females whose father worked were more likely than males to wish they had greater self respect and were more likely than males to feel useless at times. However, they were more independent than males whose father worked, more affectionate, sympathetic, sensitive to the needs of others, compassionate, eager to soothe hurt feelings, warm and tender.

Where the mother worked, females were more likely than males to feel useless at times. However they were more independent, sympathetic, sensitive to others needs, affectionate, understanding and tender than were males. Females whose mother worked were also more likely to believe they have leadership abilities and to believe they have a number of good qualities than were females whose mother did not work.

In regard to motivations for entering police service, those with dependent children were more motivated to make the place safe for their children than were other groups. Those who were partnered and those in younger age groups (18-34 years) were less motivated by changes to entry requirements than were older, single respondents.

5.8.2 Summary of Male Data

There were 283 responses from males (54.7%). Of these, 99% were employed Full Time, 83% in General Duties. Constables constituted 62% of the sample, 11% were first Class Constables and 27% were Senior Constables. The gender composition by shift was 72% male. The average age was 34.5 years with the majority aged 25-44 years. By marital status 77% were partnered with 46% having no dependent children. The majority (50%) had achieved year 11/12 level of education, with 15% having a degree or Post Graduate degree (5%).

Most respondents were raised in a two-parent family (87%) and were first or second born. Between ages 14-18 years the majority were raised in middle income families, 64% had both parents employed, with 68% having a mother who worked. By previous occupation, 20% of the sample was Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service Workers, 16% were Tradespersons and Related Workers and 15% were Associate Professionals.

Seven percent of respondents had a father who was/had been a police officer, and 0.7% had a mother who was/had been a police officer. However, 31% had a relative who was/had been a police officer and 21% had a close family friend employed in the police service. More males (41.3%) had been employed in policing for longer than 6 years than females (25.2%).

There were no areas of *Motivations* where Extreme values recorded by males were greater than those recorded by females. The most common response was *It seemed like a good idea*, and the most common 'Other' motivation for males was that it offered good career prospects.

By age, men aged 18-24 years were more ambitious, those aged 18-34 years wanted to feel more respect for themselves, were less understanding and less sensitive and compassionate than other age groups. Males aged 45-54 years were more likely to defend their own beliefs, and those aged 35-64 years were more likely to love children than were younger age groups.

Those who attended single-sex State schools were least ambitious and least competitive (State and Private co-educational were most ambitious). Those with the least levels of education were more independent, with post-graduates being the least independent. Post-graduates were also less affectionate, had less strong personality and, with year 10 educated, were least ambitious. Those with less than year 10 education were also more aggressive, and those with less than year 12 wished they could have more respect for themselves.

Males raised in two-parent families between ages 0-14 years were less sympathetic and less compassionate than were those raised in non-nuclear families. Those raised in two-parent families between ages 14-18 years felt less need for more self respect, were more compassionate, less ambitious, less motivated to make the place safer for their children and less motivated to stop 'bad' people getting away with things than those raised in other family types.

By birth order, first born were more sensitive, more compassionate, understanding and made decisions easily and first/second born were more sympathetic than others in the birth order. Single/divorced males were more understanding, ambitious and dominant than their partnered counterparts.

Males whose father worked had more self respect and were less likely to feel a failure at times than were females, less likely to feel useless at times, more forceful, had leadership abilities, made decisions easily, were willing to take a stand, to act as leaders and to be competitive than were females. However, they were less independent than females whose father worked. Males whose mother worked were less likely to feel useless at times, more forceful, willing to take a stand, to make decisions easily, and to act as a leader than were females. They were also more motivated to stop 'bad' people getting away with things. However, they were less independent than females whose mother worked.

By time served, those with less than 24 months service felt they could make decisions more easily than did those with longer service. Males with dependent children were more likely to love children.

5.9 Discussion

Several areas have shown some unexpected results. These relate to the degree to which respondents identified with gender stereotypes (*Personal Qualities*), the *Self Perception* measure and *Birth Order*. As previously mentioned, an important factor in the likelihood that a person will seek employment within a particular field is the individual's belief they have the requisite ability and skills. The *Self Perception* instrument measured the respondent's self esteem and self confidence.

There is a marked similarity between male and female responses. These findings contradict previous findings (cf. Hackett & Betz 1981; Martin 1996) that males in policing and other stereotypically masculine occupations have higher self-efficacy than females. Boni and Circelli (2002) suggest that gender socialisation plays a part in women's low self-efficacy and self esteem, as women are not encouraged to engage in activities that increase self-efficacy and occupational expectations, restricting them to particular occupational fields. A person's self-efficacy is influenced by previous learning experiences and can directly affect career interests, as a person's belief about their ability to perform a task or occupation can significantly influence both their choices and behaviour (cf. Betz & Hackett 1997). The only agent of socialisation negatively influencing female respondents' self esteem was a small effect in school type related to attending a State single-sex school. Positive influences on self esteem were related to being raised in a two-parent family, being partnered/married, having a mother who was employed, and attending a single- sex private school. No socialisation factors *negatively* influenced male self esteem.

Another unexpected result relates to the ratings of *Personal Qualities*. These questions are based on Bem's Sex-Role Inventory and measure the degree to which one views the world using gender as a lens i.e. *instrumentality* (masculinity) and *expressivity* (femininity). Overall, in relation to *Personal Qualities* male respondents were more influenced by socialising agents than were females. By school type, males attending State single- sex schools were least ambitious and competitive; those raised in two-parent families were less sympathetic and compassionate; unmarried males were more dominant and ambitious but less understanding; those with the highest levels of educational attainment were least

independent, had lower self esteem; were less affectionate and, with year 10 educated, were less ambitious than other males in the survey.

In contrast, females recorded no significant influence from school type, family type or marital status on *instrumentality* or *expressivity* measures. Females' recorded higher levels on independence than did males in both parental employment situations and those with higher levels of education were more likely to believe they had leadership abilities. These findings suggest that female officers are less influenced by socialisation agents such as school or family type and parental employment. In contrast to male officers in the sample, where higher education levels revealed negative effects, this was a positive influence on female leadership potential.

As expected, women scored highly on *expressivity* (femininity) measures, but they also scored highly on most of the *instrumentality* (masculinity) measures, such as 'ambitious', 'strong personality', 'independent' and 'defend my own beliefs'. An unexpected finding was that, while men rated themselves highly on *instrumentality* (masculinity) measures, they also rated highly on *expressivity* (femininity) measures such as 'gentle', 'love children', 'understanding' and 'cheerful'. This suggests that this sample of police constables can be categorized as 'androgynous', in that there is a combination of stereotypical characteristics of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' evident.

The *Self Perception* and *Personal Qualities* measures were analysed with *Age* and *Time Served* to explore if results were an effect of socialisation *within* the police service. It was found that the only significant differences, for both male and female officers, related to those aged less than 24 years and those who had served less than 2 years, who scored higher Ambition and higher Confidence levels than others. This suggests that the measures are stable and the results reflect socialisation experienced *prior* to recruitment and are not a result of socialisation within the workplace.

The presence of androgynous characteristics in this sample suggests that androgyny is a significant factor in the choice of policing as a career. Previous research has

found that women who are high in stereotypical masculine traits are more likely to succeed in management than those with stereotypical feminine traits (cf. Adams 2001). Kolb (1997) found that women displaying androgynous characteristics were more likely to achieve leadership positions. Given the androgynous characteristics of the women in this sample, it appears that many policewomen have the potential to be leaders. This is supported by the finding that females reported high levels of self esteem and those who had attended private single-sex schools and had a mother who was employed (71%), believed they had leadership abilities. However, there are a wide range of factors that can limit female officers' access to leadership positions and there remains an under-representation of women in the senior ranks. Boni & Circelli (2002) suggest that a substantial increase in the number of women in policing is one way of improving the position of female officers and of representation in senior management levels, so research which can assist in the recruitment and retention of women officers is important.

Women who are weaker in stereotypical gender identification are less likely to hold their gender as central to their identity. A study by Oswald (2008) found that women who weakly identified with gender stereotypes felt more confident they could succeed in either female-typed occupations or male-typed occupations than did women who strongly identified with gender stereotypes. However this does not explain the presence of androgynous characteristics of males in the sample.

Analysis of *Birth Order* revealed a possible explanation for androgyny in male respondents. Standard multiple regression was used to indicate how well a set of independent variables, including birth order, predict self esteem, *instrumentality* and *expressivity*, and motivation. Birth order was found to be significant in a number of measures for males, but not significant on *any* measure for females in the sample. The majority of the sample was first or second born. First born males scored significantly on four expressivity, or 'feminine' measures: sensitive, compassionate, understanding and sympathetic. While this needs further investigation these findings suggest male androgyny could be related to the higher expectations placed on the first born son (Nyman 1995:51). Studies have found that the first born son is most influenced by the father, with guidance based on traditional gender stereotyping, but there is often an expectation that the eldest will take a degree of

responsibility and a caring role for younger siblings. They also tend to have higher self-esteem, adopt more task-oriented leadership roles and conform to authority more than others in the birth order (Ickes & Turner 1983; Nyman 1995).

An initial interpretation is that gender stereotyping through socialisation appears to be influencing males more than females. Social expectations with regard to the importance of gender equality and equal employment opportunity have changed over the past three decades, resulting in an influx of women into the paid workforce, dramatically changing the labour market in Australia. As a result, perceptions of gender appropriate careers have become increasingly blurred (Lord & Friday 2003:64). This raises the question of whether the 'blurring' of gender lines is from the 'feminine' rather than the 'masculine'. Raised awareness in schools (cf. Weiner et al. 1997) and the wider society has resulted in less stereotypical gender expectations for females, but there appears to have been little change in gender socialisation for males.

5.10 Conclusion

The survey provided a means of evaluating the relative impact of a range of structural and institutional factors on self-esteem, motivation and gendered perceptions in this sample of police constables. The findings suggest that although different factors are influential, for example birth order for men and a working mother for women, overall there were more similarities than differences. This is evident in the high levels of self esteem of both men and women in the sample. The high levels of both 'masculine' and 'feminine' characteristics ('androgyny') suggest that the respondents do not strongly identify with stereotypical gendered expectations. This is commensurate with Connell's (2002) concept of a multiplicity of genders (as discussed in Chapter 3).

The findings of the survey were further explored in greater detail in interviews, through which not only structural factors but also the influence of agency on career choice and the way policewomen perform policing were investigated. Details and results of the interviews are presented in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6

Gender Socialisation and Career Choice

6.1 Introduction

Surveys provide one view of the relationship between socialisation and career choice, but more complex and subtle understandings can be found in in-depth semi-structured interviews. The first phase of the interviews, presented in this chapter, extends the research relating to the first research question –the influence of socialisation on career choice. Participant interviews provided a further step in investigating the research questions more deeply, a way to explore issues raised in the survey and to clarify individual understandings and perceptions of socialisation and career choice. While the survey focused on the structural (macro-social) aspects, interviews provided a way to explore how policewomen understood their gender socialisation within family, education and workplace (micro-social aspects).

The interviews provided an opportunity to elicit information relating to participants' experiences of gender socialisation within the family, educational institutions and the workplace. Further, the areas of inquiry related to whether sources of the high levels of self efficacy and confidence detected in the survey sample can be identified; whether an identifiable relationship could be discerned between experiences of gender socialisation and what I term androgyny; and whether evidence of agency could be detected in participants' accounts.

As discussed in Chapter 4, interviews were conducted with twenty-four female officers serving in Tasmania Police, Western Australia Police or Victoria Police. An interview schedule was prepared with questions focusing on the main areas of inquiry; that is, family of origin, educational experiences, social life and activities outside school hours, previous employment and the decision to apply for a career in policing. Participants were invited to give their own accounts about specific times and situations in their lives. Ethnomethodology (as discussed in Chapter 4) is a commonsense approach which provides a way of understanding how individuals make sense of their world (Taylor & Cameron 1987:101; Neuman 2003:367). Using

an ethnomethodological approach in this research provided an opportunity to gather information on the subjective meanings of individual policewomen and their interpretations of particular circumstances and experiences.

All interviews began with the same open-ended question –‘Can you tell me about the family you grew up in?’ This question provided the direction for the interviews, guiding the conversation through the participants’ perceptions of themselves in their lives prior to becoming police officers.¹⁵ The interviews were semi-structured, but the focus questions mirrored those in the survey. Thematic analysis of the interview transcripts was undertaken. Themes that developed from this loose format related mainly to how participants perceived themselves within particular situations, for example ‘sporty’, ‘academic’, ‘shy’, ‘girly’, ‘tomboy’. Overall, the demographics of the interview sample were consistent with the demographic data for the survey sample.

6.2 The Family of Origin

The family is the first institution within which children learn how gender relations work, how to adopt particular gender identities and how to negotiate the gender order (Connell 2002:81). While most participants were raised in two-parent families and spoke of the enjoyment of spending quality time with their father, doing odd jobs, shopping or just talking, eight spoke of an absent/ineffective father or a father who had died during the participant’s childhood, and of, in effect, being raised by their mother alone.

I don’t really remember much about Dad. He was away at sea all the time and Mum brought us up...And when Dad was home we didn’t see much of him anyway....Basically we were raised by a single mother, you could say. F19

... Dad was never there, but that wasn’t an issue. So it was basically me and my brother and Mum. F17

A third of participants (8 of 24) grew up in female-headed households. Research has found that the socialisation of children raised in female-headed households is more

¹⁵ For a discussion of the utility of retrospective accounts see Chapter 4.

egalitarian than that of children raised in male-headed households, with girls being more likely to receive the same opportunities as their male siblings (cf. McIlwaine and Datta 2002:40).

6.3 Parental Employment

The majority of participants were raised in middle-income families where the father was in full-time employment. Only one participant recalled a period of financial hardship during her childhood. Mothers were employed in stereotypically female occupations. While some worked part-time in offices or hospitality, other mothers were in semi-professional, full-time employment, for example as phlebotomist, office administrator and chef. All but two participants had been raised in families where the mother was employed.

Mum picked up jobs along the way for that extra bit of money. F18

Mum, as far back as I can remember, I remember she was working. F4

*Mum brought us up. But she also worked...full time as well...*F19

And Mum had jobs. She was a good example. And she worked hard! Like, she worked heaps of jobs to scrape enough money for us to have dinner every night.
F14

Maternal employment has been associated with more liberal attitudes to gender and a lessening of the value women place on traditional understandings of gender. For example, it has been found that children whose mother worked outside the home are not as traditional in gender orientation as children whose mother stays home (cf. Witt 1997). Women who choose traditionally masculine occupations and who tend to reject or loosely identify with gender stereotypes are more likely to have been raised in families where the mother was employed (cf. Sennett 1998; Kent and Moss 1994:135).

6.4 Family Life

The majority of participants recalled their early family life as happy and their parents as supportive but rather strict:

Very close, very close, my family... ..my Dad was very strict, Mum was pretty much the same. F6

...we were a close family....my parents were really...even though they were strict, they were ...they were lenient where they needed to be lenient, strict where they needed to be strict. F7

However, several participants spoke of their family life in a very different way:

It wasn't a great family life... F19

It was the typical every 2nd weekend you go and stay with Dad. He comes and picks you up and takes you off for the weekend and tries to do all the...I'll buy your love type of thing and take you and...do all kinds of stuff...and then he would sometimes not turn up and....Just the typical story... F14

6.5 Memories of Childhood

Responding to questions about how they viewed their childhood, participants spoke of childhood in suburbia or of growing up in a rural area. Although several described themselves as shy children (for example: *As a child? I was very ... quite shy and reserved...wouldn't say boo to a goose... F11*) most spoke of remembering childhood as a happy time, of an 'outdoors' lifestyle and themselves as confident and active.

Just very happy in general. I was always an outside sort of kid, playing outside, always doing stuff outside....um...I was into horses... Reasonably adventurous... sort of yeah, always sort of...not a 'dolly' girl. No...no...probably a bit of a tomboy, if anything. ...went and helped Dad cut firewood and round up the cattle. We didn't do a lot of girly stuff. (laugh) We had a Barbie doll and played with that too. F13

...very happy. I was very active, so lots of sports ...lot of creativity... Lot of friends, played like...kicking the football or playing cricket ...like, we were always outdoors...F21

We'd make slip and slides on the lawn out the front and we had winged skate boards and um...oh we had...we played all the girl things as well. We had Barbies and my brother used to play Barbies with me. And we had cubby houses and we had the trampoline... F24

As evidenced from the preceding statements, childhood was consistently portrayed as a balanced upbringing, with little gendering of activities. Most recalled childhood activities that were a mix of stereotypically masculine and feminine pursuits. While there may be some benefit to adhering to strict gender role stereotypes, for example, in providing a sense of security, parents who espouse an egalitarian attitude regarding gender roles are more likely to foster this attitude in their children. Children who have parents with strong egalitarian values tend to be more knowledgeable about non gender-typed objects and occupations than other children and their sense of self includes the knowledge that they have the ability to make choices which are not hindered by gender (Witt 1997).

6.6 Tomboy Resistance?

While at no time were questions relating to understandings of gender asked of participants, it became obvious early in the interviews that participants were using socially constructed notions of gender in their narratives. For example, a surprising number described themselves as a 'tomboy' but did not identify as in any way masculine.

Very tomboy...I was a tomboy, used to play in the mud, get dirty, get filthy. Climb tress, fall out...make mud pies and then I'd go inside and sit down and read books and...do quiet things. F14

A typical girl, like with my Barbie and things, but then yeah, you go through a phase where you're a tomboy... Bows in hair, dresses, things like that, so I was like that, but with scraped knees and stuff. F6

Only one person described themselves as ‘girlie’...*was pretty...a ‘girlie’ child, yeah. um....Barbie dolls... yeah Barbies* F8. However even this participant provided anecdotes which could be seen as ‘tomboyish’. ...*he’d (brother) only be able to go out riding his BMX if I went out with my bike with him...so then I did grow up ...doing a lot of jumps (laughs) in the creek near our primary school (laughs) hanging around him and his mates.* F8

Research (cf. Carr 1998) has found that a substantial minority of women recall being ‘tomboys’ in childhood. Due to increasing parental and peer pressure and physical changes during adolescence, it is generally viewed as a temporary status. However, empirical research suggests that some ‘tomboys’ retain their skills and traits in adulthood, merely adopting a more feminine performance. Cross-gender performances in childhood can therefore lead to a more flexible performance of femininity, or androgyny, in adulthood (Carr 1998:530-531). Gender identities are created and maintained through embodied practices of resistance and conformity, and agency emerges through resistance to gender socialisation and norms (cf. Gaskell 1992; Connell 2002:78; Messerschmidt 2002; Carr 1998: 537-538). Conforming to some feminine expectations while resisting others is evidence of agency in this sample, in that participants were choosing the way they negotiated gender within the enabling framework of their families.

6.7 Memories of Adolescence (or the teenage years)

Participants were also asked about their perceptions of themselves as teenagers. While participants mentioned having ‘lots of friends’, both male and female, in childhood, all spoke of maintaining a small group of same-sex close friends in adolescence. Adolescence is a time of change; it is about peers and attachment to close friends and a growing independence from parental control (Williams 2002:35).

While most participants described themselves as increasing in confidence, active and achieving in some area, particularly in sport, but also academically or musically, and of socialising with a group of close friends, several mentioned that they *tested the limits* (F1), were *rebellious* (F15) and *threw over the traces a bit*

(F11) at about age 16 years. This reflects a challenging of parental control and a testing of boundaries. Three identified that they took rebellion to an extreme:

I didn't go out and start partying and drinking until I was about...maybe 16...I was sneaking on the bus and into town and catching the last bus home...started to go off the rails a little bit, like nicking off and going drinking and stuff like that, smoking, carrying on a bit then. F17

Running away from home, smoking, drinking... We used to climb out the windows, do that sort of stuff, go to beach parties. F19

A review of the interview data revealed that F17 and F19 were raised in families where the father was largely 'absent'. The other participant had left the family home at the age of 16 years.

.... I moved out when I was sixteen... Her(mother) partner was an abusive alcoholic, and I'd had enough...the most socialising that we did...absolutely we went to clubs...but we'd stand and drink... so, there wasn't really an awful lot of...there was no energetic dancing or anything like that and the times that I was energetically dancing I was on drugs anyway. F5

6.8 Education -School Type

Differences within and between genders persist throughout all areas of socialisation as gender relations are present in all institutions. When asked about the type of school attended more than half the respondents mentioned they had spent at least part of their education in private, single-sex schools.

I'd gone to a mixed primary school but I'd gone to a female secondary school...F2

I went to a private school in grade 6, 'cause Mum was at St. Michaels which was run by the Sisters and... Mum believed in education. F22

Research conducted by the Australian Education Council (1992) found that girls achieve better and develop higher self-efficacy in single-sex schools, in a climate

devoid of sexual harassment and hostility to girls. Single-sex girls' schools are increasingly producing women who challenge the traditional positions of women and notions of femininity (Connell et al. 1982:112). The organisation of these schools is crucial in this as they tend to be staffed by well educated, career oriented, independent women who are committed to improving the status of women; stressing academic achievement and social competence. This is evidenced in the following statement:

I went to a girl's school... good for self confidence, I think. (teachers) definitely very encouraging...pretty much I felt you could sort of...you were encouraged to do... you could do any subject, so you had a wide range to choose from, ...I did systems and technology, which was a sort of electronics side of it... secondary school - there were a couple of female lecturers that were really inspirational and just...um...very positive towards females achieving what they wanted. F21

6.9 Experiences in Primary School

Participants were asked about their experiences in school and how they remembered themselves as students at the primary school level. Examination of thematic coding relating to participants' perceptions of themselves as primary school students revealed four categories with which participants principally identified – academic, sporty, arts/music and social. Participants made a point of identifying what they were *not*, as well as areas they excelled in, for example... *not academic. Sporty, outdoorsy, yeah, any excuse to go out and play was sort of my thing, most definitely. Always enjoyed interacting with other kids, yeah. F21*

Most described themselves as 'average' academically, but mentioned areas of achievement, such as sport or art/music.

I was very much into athletics, a very sporty child as well. Always been sporty rather than academic. Athletics is what I shone in... F16

I was an average student. Loved sport and I enjoyed Art. P.E was one of my favourite subjects and I loved drawing, or being creative. More artistic/sporty than academic. F20

These responses suggest the participants were active social agents, rather than passive recipients of socialisation and gender learning. Children learn how gender relations work and how best to navigate them (Connell 2002:81). As children, these participants continued to resist and negotiate stereotypical expectations of gender behaviour. Given participant recollections of achievements in primary school, it was surprising that, when asked about their experiences, almost half remembered it as a negative experience. Some saw it as a 'happy' time:

Oh, I think I was a happy child in primary school. I think I had a good spread of male and female friends' F24

Others had a different perception, for example:

I never liked primary school. Didn't like it. F22

I hated school. It was shocking! I was picked on terribly! It was just an absolute nightmare. F6

6.10 Experiences in Secondary School

Participants had achieved at least a year 12 level of education, with the exception of one mature-age policewoman who had attained year 10 before beginning employment. The four identified themes relating to self perceptions -academic, sport, arts/music, and social- were again prominent in participants' descriptions as themselves as students in secondary school. However, perceptions were overall dissimilar to experiences of primary school. Where most participants had described themselves as 'average' students academically in primary school, in secondary school academic achievement was the most prominent theme.

Did really well academically though, yeah, really well. F15

Did well in school without being a genius. It was sort of As and B+s. F23

I did quite well in year 12...I finished year 12...was 5th out of the school for year 12, so 5th out of 132...I was pretty happy with that. F24

Asked what subjects they had studied and which they most enjoyed some participants mentioned subjects such as Art, English and History, with a dislike of Maths. However, others mentioned stereotypically masculine subject choices such as Electronics, Systems and Technologies, Economics, Chemistry and Biology as being their favourite subjects. According to Gaskell (1992:36), although the trend has been towards a less gendered curriculum in schools, few females choose traditionally masculine subject areas such as physics, mathematics and technology. Despite moves to encourage more females into these areas, they are still predominantly found in areas such as the Arts and Humanities (cf. Kniveton 2004; Arnot 2002). The range of subject choices may be influenced by the type of school attended- private or public- but within this limitation there appears to be a degree of resistance to gender expectations in subject choice in this sample of policewomen.

6.11 Achievement, Self Efficacy and Agency

Achievement and success were important to participants. At an early stage of the interview process I became aware that the policewomen in this sample were providing statements that were related to high self efficacy and self confidence. When asked how they viewed their life prior to policing all participants spoke of areas in their lives where they had excelled, whether academically, in sport or previous employment and it became apparent that they perceived themselves as successful. Further, agency is evident in this sample. Participants were conforming to some feminine expectations of behaviour while resisting others, choosing to adopt a 'blended' gender identity that best suited them. While the focus was on academic achievement, other areas of ability were also recounted, such as in arts or sport. For many females, adolescence is a time of resistance to gender norms and the start of adjusting gender expectations to best suit themselves, for example, blending masculine and feminine elements by participating in competitive sports (Connell 1987). The majority of participants maintained their interests in areas of achievement both at school and out of school. Some had achieved a high level of success in sporting activities, representing both their school and their District or State in areas such as athletics, swimming and netball.

...me and another girl used to go to Borough championships, like State championships... and I went that route with athletics mainly...as my main sport. But

at secondary school level, because there were more teams, I ran for the school and the county...like the State...but I also played hockey at State level...and ...I also played rugby at sort of suburb level...women's rugby team...F2

I was good at breaststroke, I was State champion... I was actually a swimmer. I achieved...I was the 3rd fastest breaststroker in the State...F11

Another participant who had attended a State co-educational secondary school remarked that she was the sole female participating in rock climbing at her school. She also participated in mountain bike riding, bushwalking, white water rafting and sea kayaking at this time. She remarked:

I was the only female in that class...it was just fun. Being a girl was neither here nor there. And I had a lot of advantages. I mean the fellas were stronger but I was more flexible and agile than them. F13

According to Breakwell (1992:35), personal belief is related to self efficacy, and self efficacy is the basis of personal agency. Success and achievement attained prior to choosing a career in policing appears to be influential in the high levels of self efficacy and self confidence of these policewomen.

Did well at school and Uni, did well in exams and all that kind of stuff....F9

I liked the creative subjects. I did dance, music, art and English and excelled. F7

I did a lot of public speaking and debating, and all that sort of thing, representing the school and stuff like that. I did drama all the way through high school. Was always involved in productions and the Rock Eisteddfod and all that sort of thing as well. F12

I was on the Student Council and I was still doing a lot of sporting stuff. F24

I was headhunted again from there to go into the State Parliamentary area...to do Appointment Secretary. F5

6.12 Failure is Not an Option

While the policewomen's accounts of earlier achievements support the survey findings in that it is indicative of high levels of self efficacy and confidence in their ability, the participant's attitudes towards *failure* was unexpected. One of the first policewomen interviewed stated:

*I would never want to fail... at anything... There is no window for me to fail...
Second place is first failure. F2*

As the interview process progressed it was noted that many of the participants expressed similar attitudes, either directly or through anecdotes. Some examples are:

I guess it's not giving up, it's keeping going, having one goal. F5

*I won't give up on things... I know that anything I want to do, I could possibly do...
F17*

*I think of myself as ...an achiever...got over a lot of bad spots in my life and I'm
doing good... F19*

6.13 Major Influence

In order to investigate other potential sources of participants' high self efficacy and confidence and the relationship between these and socialisation, I asked 'Who has been the most influential person in your life'. Interestingly, the majority of participants identified their mother as the most influential person. Most described their mother as 'strong' and encouraging.

*I would say it was my mother... she's a strong woman...and she'll stand up for
herself... F8*

*I always sort of look at her as...she's...she's a shining light, you know. She's very
strong, really strong. Looking at her strength, I think, she can do anything, so why
can't I? F10*

Mum, yeah my Mum. My Mum...is strong...pretty much an older version of me. F7

... it comes back to Mum and Nan for me, every single time...two very strong females...Particularly strong women...Great role models. F16

I admired her. She worked part of the year to, you know, get the nicer things in life... Yeah...I looked up to her as a strong person and I guess she is... F15

She's always said... do well at what you do, because you've always had that in you. F18

She encouraged us...she didn't hold us back if we wanted to do it. F17

However, although also stating that their mother had been the most influential person in their life, two policewomen mentioned that they felt this had been because the relationship had been a *negative* rather than a positive one. Both participants had pushed the limits during adolescence, came from a family where the father was 'absent' and were the only officers who had been raised by a 'stay-at-home' mother.

Probably more (laughs) not wanting to be like my mother. She looked after us, but...Yeah, probably more the reverse, not wanting to be like Mum and not be at home and just bringing up kids and running kids around all the time. F17

I don't want to be like my mother, at all...F19

Other persons of influence were located in education and the workplace:

At school there were a couple of female lecturers that were really inspirational and just...very positive towards females achieving what they wanted. F2

The people I worked with, my supervisor in particular, were really good. ..They were very supportive. ..So by the time I came to apply for policing I had the confidence to take on the world. F13

6.14 Previous Employment

Women tend to choose gender-diverse workplaces (Moss n.d.). The desire to avoid social stigma arising from working in an occupation normatively linked to males, and fear of being labelled 'lesbian' or 'masculine' often prevents many women taking on gender atypical roles (McElhinny 1994:159 -160). Participants were asked about employment prior to police recruitment. Previous employment for this sample was consistent with the survey data. Six participants had attended University, four had worked in the Health Care sector (nursing, mental health, phlebotomy) and of the others all but three had worked in an office in some capacity at some stage. Of the remaining three, one had gone straight into policing and two had worked in hospitality. Only one participant had been previously employed in a female atypical occupation. This participant had been in the Army prior to enlisting in policing.

Joined the army. ... nearly 6 years. I was a Medic and Military Police. F17

One participant had completed a Police Studies course at University prior to recruitment in the police service:

I did a Police Studies/Arts degree 'cause ...I was told, to do my Police Studies degree would help me get into the police. F22

6.15 Motivation

Participants were asked why they had chosen a career in policing. The majority stated that it had been a long-term ambition.

I wanted to be a police officer when I was 17, like when I was still at school and Mum said 'No', and you had to be 19 so I thought I'd do something until then. I just wanted to do it. Yeah I just...ahh I just knew I wanted to. F7

...it was about 15-16 when I'd decided what I wanted to do...I'd already decided I wanted to be in the police... I didn't think I was going to change the world...I never joined thinking I would...so...yes...because I haven't. F2

...this was always something I wanted to do....ever since I can remember... it was always something I wanted to do... I don't know what it is, but it is just something, ever since I was a little kid that I'd always wanted to do. F13

Another common motivation was finding their current employment was boring and unfulfilling, with a lack of diversity.

I guess I was just tired of doing administrative work, work which was basically about doing things others created and not being a part of that creative process. And not being able to see the end result. Not being able to see where it came from really and where it was going...F20

I wanted another job but I couldn't decide specifically what I wanted to do so I was just looking for something diverse, something where I wasn't stuck at a desk all day. I didn't want to do that kind of job. F23

...at the time I applied to the police...and it was the diversity I think...I got sick of doing the same thing, day in day out...F5

A motivation, typically from mature aged women, was based on economic factors and a desire for a stable career:

I guess the training, especially being older, because I joined when I was older...the big advantage is that you are being paid in the training...F3

I was just mainly driven by...finance really. I just...thought oh, this is secure job, my Mum always told me get a secure Government job...I knew it was a...you know, 'man's' job, but I just thought...why can't a woman do it? F10

Being influenced by contact with a police person was another type of motivation:

A Senior Sergeant, one of her good friends, came and talked to me, gave me this big lecture; cried my eyes out and ever since then...because it was this big turnaround

because I'd gone off on the wrong track, so that was probably one of the main points that started me thinking about this. F6

Others wanted to make a difference:

I was getting a job where I was going to...save the world and...make a difference. And I've still got that attitude...make a difference...if you can save one person or one child that's on the wrong track, if you can fix them, then you've done your job. F14

A study of women in gendered occupations by sex role orientation (using BEM) found that 'androgynous' women were able to succeed in either male or female-typed occupations, due to high levels of self-esteem (Jones & Lamke 1986).

6.16 Discussion

The high levels of self efficacy and confidence present in policewomen, evidenced in both the survey and the interviews, suggest that female police officers possess these qualities *prior* to seeking a career in policing. According to Connell (2002), individuals resist and negotiate gender norms from childhood. The ability to resist and to negotiate the stereotypical gender expectations (cf. Connell 2002) of the various institutions identified in this research assists in the development of an androgynous gender orientation. Cross-gender performances in childhood and adolescence enable a flexible performance of femininity, or androgyny, in adulthood. Conforming to some feminine expectations while resisting others is evidence of agency in the development of gender identity in this sample of female constables. I argue that individual characteristics such as self efficacy, self confidence and the ability to negotiate gender expectations empower some women to consider employment in a stereotypically masculine workplace such as policing.

Bandura (1995:2) defines self efficacy as 'beliefs in one's capabilities to organise and execute the courses of action required to manage prospective situations'. If a person experiences continual failure and lack of encouragement they tend to avoid challenges and to give up when faced with difficult situations. Women are therefore more likely to accept traditional gender roles if they have low self-efficacy, while

those who have high self efficacy are more committed to achieving their goals (cf. Oswald 2008). Even those female officers who had atypical childhoods overcame setbacks to achieve. The main influences identified in thematic analysis relating to levels of self efficacy in this sample are success leading to confidence, particularly when overcoming a setback; observing others in similar life situations succeed through perseverance and; being verbally persuaded by a significant person that one has the ability to succeed (cf. Breakwell 1992). Gender identities are created and maintained through embodied practices of resistance and conformity, and agency emerges through resistance to gender socialisation and norms (Connell 2002; Gaskell 1992; Bourdieu 1990). These factors are identifiable in the interviews.

Female constables rated high levels of self esteem and self efficacy, both in the survey and during interviews. The findings suggest that female police officers' high levels of self confidence and belief in their ability to achieve can be linked to previous success in diverse areas, but most specifically to encouragement and support from the mother. A strong aversion to failure is also evident in this sample of policewomen. Analysis of the interview data suggests that these characteristics were developed during primary and secondary socialisation. The majority of the sample had a mother who was employed during the participants' adolescence. I argue that maternal employment and encouragement are influential in the development of self efficacy and a liberal attitude towards gender in daughters, and are important factors in women's belief in their ability to succeed in a male dominated occupation.

The second phase of the interviews, including observations, relates to the second main research question- does a policewoman's gender identity influence her experience of policing (i.e. is there a relationship between 'doing gender' and 'doing policing')? The following chapter extends this research by examining the ways policewomen understand both their policing role and the way they do gender, through personal anecdotes and observations conducted within the workplace. These are presented and assessed in Chapter 7.

Chapter 7

Doing Gender/Doing Policing

7.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the second research question relating to how a policewoman's gender identity influences her experience of policing. The second focus of the interviews examines female officers' perceptions of their police role and is enhanced with observations conducted in the workplace where appropriate. The analysis acknowledges the performativity of gender and embodiment of policewomen as related to Bourdieu's concepts of 'field' and 'habitus' and culture, with a focus on policing 'habitus' and culture. These concepts represent the structural conditions of policing and the learned dispositions of police. Specifically, the discussion focuses on the agency of policewomen in relation to their work environment and the ways they either adopt, reject or negotiate gender in the performance of their duties.

According to Chan (1997:95) police officers 'are not passive entities; they take an active part in the construction of their environment.' This has implications for understanding the ways in which structure impacts on organisational practices. Although the focus of this chapter is the police 'habitus' it is important to recognise the influence of the police 'field' on policing practice. Officers are both affected by, and affect organisational structure. The 'field' according to Bourdieu's (1990:11) definition emphasises the historical structural relations between positions of power and the social space where structural practice is produced. This encompasses elements such as government policies, the political contexts, discretionary powers and internal organisation of policing (cf. Chan 1997:79).

While police practice is bordered by directives from police management and various policies, laws and legislations, within this framework the norms, values and behaviours are largely defined by police culture. Police culture can be viewed as arising from both an awareness of structural requirements and a 'logic of practice' (Bourdieu 1990:11), or learned common-sense understandings and

skills. Policewomen abide by the same specified laws and codes of conduct as their male counterparts, and are expected to conform to established 'male' ways of policing.

While it is recognised that there is no 'one' police culture, there are similarities across jurisdictions (cf. Reiner 1992:109; Chan 1999:99). If police culture is viewed as shared organised knowledge held by members of a group, police practice can be conceptualised as the product of interactions between this shared knowledge and the structural conditions within which police operate (Chan 1999:105). It has been suggested that the culture of policing has a powerful acculturation effect, the influence of which policewomen adopt, resist or negotiate (Brown & Heidensohn 2000:64-66). This aspect is explored in the interviews and observations. I argue that policewomen are active in structuring their experience and understandings of the police environment and are active agents, able to resist or assist in cultural and structural change. The interviews were analysed to investigate how high levels of self efficacy and confidence in their ability to succeed shapes the way policewomen conform to, resist and/or negotiate police culture and for evidence of agency in the way policewomen 'do policing'.

In order to minimise the risk of observing only stereotypical performances, observations were conducted in the informal spaces of policing. Field notes compiled from observations conducted at major urban and suburban police stations will be used where relevant.

7.2 Negotiating police culture

An assumption in most research and discussions about police is that there is a close relationship between the demands of police work and the existence of police culture. According to Brogden and Shearing (1993:42) 'police culture is everywhere the primary source that shapes police action'. The central idea in the literature is that the organisational culture of the police promotes 'masculine values' which engender particular views of the nature of policing, of women, and of the roles for which men and women are most suited. Overall, the way police define their practice is a product of interactions between police culture and the structural conditions within which they operate.

7.2.1 'Fitting in'

Policewomen often contend with the demands of two opposing roles arising from the traditionally masculine aspects of police work and expectations appropriate to their gender. It has been suggested that as a response, women may decide to adapt, embracing the masculine police culture and becoming 'one of the boys'. Those who adopt a pseudo-masculinity are said to become 'defeminised' into *policewomen* (cf. Bradley 1998; Reiner 1992; Chan 1997; Brown & Heidensohn 2000).

Awareness of police culture and the need to 'fit in' became apparent early in this second part of the interview process and were identified as a major theme. Interestingly, while participants acknowledged the presence of police culture or the 'Boys Club', during conversations with senior police officers in different states I was assured that it was 'dead' and no longer existed in the police service. Several sergeants acknowledged that it still existed, but was not as strong, as the men were 'aware of the laws now' (Field notes 2007).

7.2.2 Knowing where the 'line' is

An expression consistently employed by policewomen was in reference to the 'line' and the need to be aware of it.

You have to be careful about it- know where the line is. It can cause trouble for the other women. F22

...it's very hard. You have to be very careful how you walk that line. Go too girly...but you can also go that...you know "She's a loud mouth", 'She's a slut...lesbian or whore' (laughs). You've got to be in the middle and I think I walk that line. F19

They don't want you too be girly but they don't want you to be one of the boys either...not really. It's a thin line. F20

7.2.3 To Change or Not to Change?

Some participants felt they had changed in order to 'fit in', for example:

...in the job, I probably act a bit more masculine than I do out of the job. I think that's how we are expected to act...That's the way I fit in with the boys anyway. I've certainly changed... Did a lot of things to fit in...well, not to fit in necessarily... I was still myself. But also I'm a lot different to what I was, anyway...I don't know...I probably haven't had to adapt or anything, because I was still...a child...like kind of...only a teenager, so it moulded me more than me having to change to fit in. F12

I think you have to bend. Yeah. I think you have to ...be a bit more like them...to feel accepted. Probably be a bit more rough around the edges, I think...because you want to get the confidence from them that, if you go to a job that your going to be able to at least physically or...or whatever, be able to match it with a bloke, so you try and probably be a bit more... masculine, a bit more assertive...be able to swear and things like that. To...to fit in...'cause...because, being such a male dominated job...F9

However, most felt that they had not had to make more than superficial adaptations:

I fit in pretty well, because I'm a bit of a tomboy...and I don't mind getting in and getting my hands dirty and I don't mind getting in a scuffle...but I think we have to prove ourselves more. F14

This is my personality. I haven't changed, coming in here...I think when you start to change because you think it's expected of you, that's an issue. ...I don't do that....you've got to be yourself and not become just one of the boys. It can be really hard for some of the young ones. In the policing side of things, women feel that it's an expectation. F11

I find that, really the best thing for me is just to be myself and....as much as possible...F20

I feel comfortable. I do the same job as anyone else...um...I believe, in a way everyone has to prove themselves, not just the females, the males as well, and...if you do that very early on um...I find that you fit in just fine...F8

7.2.4 One of the Boys?

The degree to which one is influenced by police cultural expectations appears to be related to the age of the participant on entry. The majority of participants' spoke of young women entering policing who felt they had to adopt the masculine police culture in order to 'fit in'.

..... I watch a lot of these young girls they come out, they don't seem to retain their individual personality that they came into the job with. I think instead they act in the way they think is expected of them. F11

... I think women become loud and swear a lot, to fit in, when they first start. F20

An area that most participants wished to discuss was how they perceived police culture as influencing behaviour, particularly in the first few years, specifically with younger policewomen and largely related to the 'drinking culture'. A study by McNeill (1996) found that young officers, particularly females, were the most vulnerable to the 'drinking culture' of policing. She suggests that women entering policing are subjected to the 'cult of masculinity' which encourages drinking and other masculine behaviours; behaviours which are at odds with expected female behaviour. Policewomen who participated in the culture felt they were accepted by their male colleagues as 'one of the boys'.

Some younger officers spoke of drinking as a way to 'fit in' and as the way they become 'one of the boys'.

...as long as you join in their conversations with them about whatever and go to the bar and have a beer with them and other boys in their circle ...probably if, like, the ones who don't go to the bar...ever...the ones who are fairly quiet and don't want to have a laugh...they're a bit more... not as accepted... And when you think that the whole thing about policing is the camaraderie! But, um...as far as fitting in...with

the boys that's accepted but with the girls they're excluded...On nights off, often go out and have drinks with the boys...whatever. When I went to the Academy I was an innocent, said 'yes' to whatever, polite...a good girl... never drank or anything like that...F12

... I'll knock off and go and have a beer with...no problems....I mean you get the dirty jokes and all the filthy comments and stuff, but...I just give it back to them. If you can't beat them, join them...F14

...when you're young and single and on the Watch you do that anyway, you go out after and drink. F17

However, other officers who had been over twenty-five years of age on entry and/or who had longer service saw this as problematic. McNeill (1996) suggests that in seeking acceptance by adopting police cultural norms and becoming 'one of the boys', policewomen become 'defeminised'. Despite their efforts to conform they are unlikely to be accepted by the male officers, by virtue of being female. Also, their behaviour actually distances them from other women. This became evident in the interviews.

...There's a tendency for women to join in with the men in the first year or so, drinking, smoking, swearing, whatever it happens to be, before they realise they don't have to do that. I see a lot of that... I think it's probably a feeling especially among the younger ones...when they first come out...that if I want to be accepted by the boys I've got to be like the boys. But then they realise that they don't like you being like that. F20

It can be really hard for some of the young ones. In the policing side of things, women feel that it's an expectation. And then, you know, the men complain that women talk too loud, laugh too much, swear too much, drink too much. What do they expect? We are surrounded by blokes. Damned if you do and damned if you don't...but then because of the type of culture... And so they go out drinking as a link.... I suppose it's the nature of the job, isn't it. ... It's all that talking too loud and laughing at their jokes and the drinking... 'cause it's a drinking culture. It's understandable to want to have the odd drink with your shift...you know, 5 or 6

people, but it's more than that... Traditionally, propping up a bar is a man's thing, not a woman's thing, but the girls are joining in to fit in... F11

7.3 Maintaining 'masculine' discourses

During observations a number of male officers engaged me in conversation. The major topic was my area of research and conversation reflected stereotypical male attitudes towards policewomen. Typical comments were 'Women swear too much and talk too loud' and 'There are a lot of lesbians now. Policing seems to attract them' (Field notes 2007). Negative attitudes by males towards female officers have been well documented in the literature (cf. Martin 1996; Austin 1996). However, it was somewhat surprising to find that many of the interview participants also maintained these attitudes.

7.3.1 Being too 'girly'

Participants spoke of ways in which they perceived 'other' policewomen did not 'fit' into policing. In this perception of 'other' policewomen, participants appeared to adhere to the dominant masculine discourse of policing. Participants made references to women who appeared 'too feminine' and that this reflected poorly on, and made things difficult for other policewomen. Women who take on a more traditional, service-oriented role, retaining their femininity at the expense of their police role, are said to become 'deprofessionalised' into policewomen (Reiner 1992; Chan 1997; Bradley 1998; Brown, et al.1999; Brown and Heidensohn 2000).

I just see so many women come through and they just act the wrong way. Being sooky, whingey, showing too much boob, all that sort of thing, they straight away do the wrong thing...girly stuff...then you know... 'She's a girl'... 'She's an idiot'...F19

I've seen a lot of young girls who try really hard to the point that they try too hard, where...it doesn't work in their favour...You've got to be careful. You'll never be one of the boys, and sometimes I think if you try too hard to be one of the boys, it's just like you're putting a big cross up and you won't be accepted...F15

Some guys get shitty with...I dunno, a real 'princess' sort of person, won't get their hands dirty. They don't like that. F13

7.4 Maintaining 'femininity'

As a result of stated perceptions of 'other' female officers who were 'too girly', I remarked to participants that all the policewomen I had met seemed feminine. This observation was enthusiastically responded to.

Of course we're feminine (laugh) Look at the clothes they dress us in. Of course we're going to put effort in to look feminine, aren't we! They're dressing us like men! Man sized guns... Everything's gauged to men, you know. It is a generic uniform because we all wear it, but it's been designed for men, obviously...F11

We do the same work, but we don't have to look like them. I mean...I don't know if we do it on purpose, it's just who you are... Being assertive doesn't mean you're a lesbian or a bloke...it's just doing the job and being who you are. F14

I think that you do have to remember some of your femininity... I don't try and act like one of the blokes. F4

Maybe it's that factor that you're in a male dominated area that you want to hang on to something of your femininity...I know I'm not one of the boys... I think that, yeah, that there's nothing wrong with showing our feminine side...because we are female. F15

Most of us like to look nice. I think, for policewomen, it's to try and change the way people look at them. F22

It is noted that at no time during the research period was I able to identify any policewomen who could be described as 'policewomen' or 'policewomen'. Contrary to the extant literature policewomen in this sample were neither 'deprofessionalised' nor 'defemininised' by either fully adapting to or rejecting police culture (cf. Chan 1997; Reiner 1992). While they were expressing the dominant 'masculine' discourse of police culture around traditional understandings of gender they were maintaining their 'femininity'. The comments reinforced my perception that while female officers in the sample were repeating the police discourse, they were negotiating police culture and exhibiting agency in

maintaining their femininity in a masculinised occupation (Connell 2002; Bourdieu 1990; Messerschmidt 2002)

7.5 Maintaining the Status Quo

Policewomen are pressured to conform, prove their competence while maintaining their own identity and not challenge the status quo in any significant way (Etter 2009:29; Holdaway & Parker 1998). One way men maintain women's subordinate status in masculine occupations is by sexualising the workplace (Cockburn 1991; Martin 1996). Policewomen often cope with behaviours and attitudes that they would not tolerate in other occupations, for example, behaviours that are consistent with sexual harassment.

7.5.1 Sexualisation of the Workplace

Participants were aware of policies designed to address workplace issues such as sexual harassment in the police service. However, most participants provided statements which suggest that this problem has not been fully addressed in policing. Policewomen coped by either joining in or ignoring it. If, however, it became too vulgar they would be assertive and let the person know they'd 'gone too far', coping mechanisms highlighted in the literature (cf. Brown and Heidensohn 2000:125). Statements that speak to this point were:

With all this workplace Access and Equity and that sort of stuff that goes on about...sexist jokes and whatever else...it hasn't improved because...there's a lot of stuff that goes on. You see, there is police culture... Older men are more used to an environment where women weren't equal...it can be frustrating if you don't sort them out early on. F11

Some women coped by joining in:

...you get the dirty jokes and all the filthy comments and stuff, but...I just give it back to them. If you can't beat them, join them. If you come back with a really good line they shut up. F14

Others coped by ignoring it, using humour, or being assertive and letting the perpetrator know when it is not acceptable:

I think that there are certain things that you do have to leave at the door, things to be easily offended by. Oh, certainly overtly sexual jokes. These days most of them are aware it and it's ahh...it's also a bit of a joke as well...you know... 'Ooh, you can't say that, that's a bit of an EO issue' ...but, umm, there are certain things that I wouldn't have put up with previously. F5

I know the innuendo is there, but I mean you just say, pull your head in, if it's offending you. But that comes with being a bit older; you just go with it to a point. F17

These coping measures are highlighted in the literature. Brown and Heidensohn (2000:17, 125), for example, suggest that women who use problem-solving strategies and assertiveness are more likely to succeed in non-traditional occupations.

An example of sexual innuendo was witnessed during observations at a suburban station. 'Joking' sexual comments were made to a young female officer when she was checking who she was partnered with on shift. Present were five male officers. One policeman commented 'Aren't you lucky. Partnered already. Fast mover, getting off with [...] already are you?' The male officers laughed, but the policewoman kept her back turned then left the room, avoiding eye contact with the male officers (Field notes 2007).

Although policies and legislation have been implemented aimed at addressing this aspect of police culture, they appear to have little effect. Despite denials of its existence from senior male officers and awareness of sexual harassment legislation, this behaviour still appears to be prevalent, particularly in the lower ranks.

7.5.2 Generalising Female 'Failure'

Several participants reported experiences where, if a female officer did not perform well, or did something perceived as inappropriate, it was because she was female

and this was often generalised to all women. Martin (1996:4) found that the 'errors of an individual woman are exaggerated and generalized to all women'. Natarajan (2008:17) states that 'minor failures by women are inflated into major problems and woven into stereotypical comments'. Similarly, Holdaway and Parker also noted that 'the mistakes of a woman are noticed more and remembered longer than those of a man' (1998:53).

F2...I feel like people...sounds paranoid...they can't wait for you to slip up, because you're a girl.

Me. And if you do slip up?

F2 Oh...it's because you're a girl...

Me. But do people remember the males that have screwed up?

F2 No, no, no...it will always be ...that girl couldn't catch him, or...that girl crashed the car or...

Me. Not that 'officer'?

F2 No, no, no!...

Any woman does something wrong it'll be 'Oh, the bitch. She did this...Yeah...and make out it's women in general. F9

7.5.3 Stereotyping Activities

Brown and Heidensohn (2000:155) argue that the organisational structures, male-constructed images of policing, a male majority in policing and male control of resources mirrors that of domestic relationships and preserves the power differential. The male attitudes influencing policewomen's role-definition and practice are not isolated; they are supported by formal structures, wider social norms and greater socio-cultural influences.

Stereotypical expectations based on gender appropriate activities were apparent in observations. For example, two female officers (a Senior Constable and 1st Class Constable) at a major station were 'filling in' for sick colleagues, preparing court briefs. All officers directed their queries in regard to charges, interviewing arrested persons and general procedures to the female Senior Constable, despite the presence of a male Sergeant. Recorded in the field notes was the following observation.

An older male officer hurries into the room brandishing papers and asks 'Anyone got a computer up so I can get a clearance?' He looks at the two female officers (who do not acknowledge him) with an obvious expectation that they will do the work-this despite there being at least six unattended computers available. The female officers do not respond. 'Thanks for that (indrawn breath) overwhelming response' (spoken sarcastically). The Senior Constable, concentrating on her computer screen, quietly responds 'Sorry, I'm not ignoring you' and continues with her work-ignoring him. The male officer finally goes to a computer to complete the work himself (Field notes 2007).

Other instances of gendered attitudes and resistance to the integration of women were recounted in interviews, with several participants stating that some older male officers did not like working with women or felt there was no place for women in policing. Some examples are:

Couldn't work with a woman in the squad...he refused to work with women...He was an older man so maybe that explains it. Older men are more used to an environment where women weren't equal...and I think that was this officer's problem in the end.

F11

The older ones are like it mainly...there's a sergeant...he just won't have a bar of me unless he wants to talk...he should have retired years ago. F14

*...our drill sergeant at the Academy...would say that we shouldn't have women because they only go and get pregnant and go anyway...*F13

These events suggest that male officers, particularly older male officers retain a belief in the gendered division of labour.

7.5.4 Promotion

Selective recruitment and promotion and the structure of policing form an integrated mechanism of gender relations that also results in maintaining women in subordinate positions and the exclusion of women from positions of authority (Connell 1998:36). Etter (2009:28) identifies the sexualisation of women in the workplace and the potential for undermining by male colleagues as obstacles for women in policing achieving leadership positions. When asked how they viewed promotion, participants' responses reflected the influence of police culture and the way the workplace is sexualised. All policewomen who held the rank of 1st Class or Senior Constable stated that they were not prepared to address the culture and apply for promotion. The following is a response representative of the majority.

I think I don't want to be a sergeant...men treat you differently straight away, if you're a woman in charge. I see...they don't respect you. Probably family things, you know, the man's the breadwinner...that's so old, but probably why... but I'm happy where I am, so why would I want that extra stress? You know, if I can just go home and...switch off...and be with my children, then I'm happy...Women often don't want to apply, because if they raise their head above the crowd they are likely to get it chopped off...yeah, like 'You slept your way to the top', 'Don't deserve it', 'Got it because of who she's going out with...' or whatever...yeah. The latest is 'Oh, she's got tits'. You know, you can go wherever you want...that's what the men think, that if any woman applies for any job, they'll get it over ...especially if they are a lesbian...or whatever...you'll get it over a man. That's what they think at the moment. (laughs) Nothing's changed... F19.

7.6 'It's a job, not my life'- Perceptions of the Policing Role

A major point in discussions was of perceptions of differences between male and female attitudes towards the policing role. Most women over the age of twenty-four years spoke of having a life beyond policing. Although female respondents defined their roles and practices in line with occupational expectations, policing was a job, distinct from other parts of their lives. They had a previous career and kept in contact with persons from these occupations, kept in contact with family and maintained friendships formed prior to enrolling as a police officer. Many were paying for mortgages established prior to enrolling, were married/partnered, often

with children, and felt their priority was beyond policing. All but two officers (under the age of twenty-four years, less than two years service, with male partners in policing-but not at the same station) spoke of a 'life' beyond policing, a perception they felt male officers did not share.

I don't associate with them outside of work... I'm just happy to go home. I have a life outside the job and I'm happy to go home. Men seem to make it their life. F11

I've tried to maintain all my friends that I had from before I joined and to maintain the life that I had, outside work...I still have a life outside of work and I live with my friends. F12

... I feel more comfortable going to work and being easygoing, getting along with everyone and coming home and not making work my life. F23

7.7 'Doing' Policing

The gendered practice of policing is a contested issue. The assumption that women and men differ in their conception of the policing role, with men concentrating on law enforcement and women perceiving the role as service and community oriented, relies on stereotypical gender assumptions rather than empirical research into possible differences in beliefs and attitudes along gender lines (Christie 1996; Rayment and Trusty 2002). Stereotypically 'female' characteristics of physical weakness, emotional vulnerability and compassion are portrayed as handicapping. These fears persist despite current training techniques and technology, and the shift towards a more service-oriented approach requiring people management skills more than physical strength (Prenzler 1992; Wilkinson and Froyland 1996).

The persistence of these attitudes was evident in observations. Two male officers were conversing with me. Both agree (with each other, talking together) that it is OK to have women officers, but they just aren't strong enough when it came to a fight. I ask what accoutrements they have (gun, tazer, baton, spray). I then ask 'Why would any officer need to fight-male or female? Can't they use the equipment provided?' Response is grudging agreement. I got the impression they hadn't thought about it before, that they were just quoting the accepted view. They then

change the subject and begin discussing a male officer who routinely tazers, a practice they disapprove of - neither officer has ever used theirs. This segue into a discussion of the inappropriate use of accoutrements suggests that these officers felt that the lack of female strength could lead to an over-reliance on alternative techniques-of which they did not approve. (Field notes 2007)

7.7.1 Doing it Like the Boys

I asked participants to describe the way they performed their duties. All spoke of their confidence in their ability to perform the same duties as their male peers...*putting on the mantle type of thing...out and do the job* F13. A change in body language and stance was noted in observations. While I did not notice this change in male officers 'going on the road', this was noted in policewomen. Policewomen, after 'hitting the armoury and grabbing their gear' (an expression noted consistently in observations 2007) adopted a more rigid posture and confident attitude. I interpreted this change as 'putting on the mantle'.

*If something turns pear-shaped in this job, I can step up and I don't back down...
... If I do have to step up I mean I'm the first one there for a bit of a biff if it needs to be done. Like if you accept someone's being...negative to being arrested and it's not a good arrest, you know, I won't run away... I won't let the man go in and do it, because I'm fully capable... I like to be involved. I don't like to be left out.* F11

I think, in policing, that, as a female that you can do the job just as well as a man. Your approach to it may be completely different to theirs, and that's based upon, I guess, your physicality and your personality and what have you, and...everyone, even blokes amongst themselves have differences in some...and handle things in different ways. F15

One female officer commented:

We are possibly modelling ourselves on the men, because...they're the role models we have at work... So the good coppers that you learn from are often men...you're modelling yourself on them. Just taking the role quite often means putting on quite a masculine sort of...all the qualities that you think about as being female are

often...being compassionate and showing empathy and um...but you're really not in a position to do that a lot of the times. When you go to a crisis situation you've got to control things... to be quite assertive... F24

These responses are congruent with Messerschmidt's (2002) concepts in that the policewomen are using gender situationally, engaging in a cross gender performance appropriate to the particular circumstances. Policewomen were also using agency and negotiating gender in performing their duties (Connell 2002; Bourdieu 1990). These excerpts demonstrate the different ways policewomen 'do policing'. Some policewomen were aligning themselves with the accepted 'male' policing model. However, others were acknowledging that, although abiding by the shared understandings of their male counterparts and considering law enforcement to be 'real' police work, within the dictates of police policy, they were adapting their performance in line with their physicality and personality. They were acknowledging that, within the restraints of accepted practice, they were doing policing in individual ways. This understanding was not restricted to female officers, for example (see above) *even blokes amongst themselves have differences in some...and handle things in different ways. F15*

7.7.2 Perspectives on a Need for Physical Force

Studies have identified the presence of a paternalistic attitude within police culture with males believing that women will not be able to respond appropriately in a physical confrontation (cf. Austin 1996). Policewomen abide by the same specified laws and codes of conduct as their male counterparts, and are expected to conform to established 'male' views of policing. The majority of police work involves restoring order and providing assistance but a common argument against policewomen has been the need for men to protect them in situations of physical confrontation (Chan 1997; Brogden and Shearing 1993; Waddington 1999). The persistence of this attitude is demonstrated in the following excerpt:

There is still the 'Stand back girlie' type...but they just don't get it. If you go into a situation we'll be in there too...there's blood spatters and occasionally violence and you can't avoid that. It's out with the baton if you need to, but we try to talk them

down first. You don't need to go in there all gung ho and swinging, so there's no need to say 'Stand back little lady'. F11

However, the majority of participants stated that they had rarely, if ever, had a situation where they had needed to use physical force.

I am fully confident I would have no issue with spraying anyone or using any of my options either. But in 4 years I've never, ever, ever, got into a position where I needed to do something...where I needed to use physical strength that I didn't have. F24

I've never had to go 'hands on'... I've never been in a punch up or anything like that. F23

...many of them still put so much importance on...you know...being physically...strong. Personally I think...the need for that kind of strength comes about very, very rarely. I haven't needed it. F20

7.7.3 The Problem of Male Aggression

Despite a large element of social service tasks in actual police activity, the fact that the police force is overwhelmingly male contributes to a culture which glorifies 'masculine' qualities of strength and aggression (Reiner 1992:140-141; McCulloch and Schetzer 1993; Natarajan 2008). However, participants felt that male aggression created problems for both officers and civilians, whereas they preferred to talk first. The following selection of quotes speaks to this point.

When it comes down to it, the men tend to escalate problems where we can talk them down. And they feel all big and macho about it (laughs). And they do, and you see it. (laughs) And most of the time they get back at the station and they...the crook is like... 'I'm not talking to him, he's a prick, get him away from me, I'll talk to you'...and then they're fine. F14

... Most of the men get to that stage because their attitude and they way they speak to people is a little bit different...and women don't, well...myself personally, I don't

get to there. I mean I'm in there supporting the boys, but they've started the fight...and it's like...Jeez...I'm running down the road after the crims because they've been tipped on their bum and...(laughs) F11

...I've got to the point with some blokes who are very...I think they are a little bit too over the top with the more... 'I'm in charge here and listen to me'... and I'm thinking- 'Oh God, this ain't helping the situation here', you know? (laughs) F22

I've had a partner who has created the situation, as opposed to the person that we are dealing with. Men do raise aggression. And often you can get really nice coppers, guys that you work with, who are 6 foot 4 and 100 kilos, and they might be the best talkers, but the minute that an angry person opens the door to that person, they feel threatened and that person becomes a target. Because they feel like that, that copper has escalated it by his physical presence and being there. F24

However, several officers confided that there were occasions when having a male partner was an advantage:

I still feel that I'm more comfortable beside a bloke when that brute strength that they have has come...well obviously has been very handy in the job...And there are times when you just need a little bit of brute strength to come in and help you drag this guy out. F22

There are definitely times when you can't reason with someone, especially on drugs, and I'm the first in line to admit that having a nice big fella beside you can be very handy at times. F1

7.8 'Doing' Gender while 'Doing' Policing

Participants spoke of the way they prefer to 'do policing'. While participants described themselves as assertive, willing to 'back up' their colleagues, able to take control of a situation and to 'step up' and take the lead if necessary (stereotypical masculine characteristics), they also believed listening skills, ability to calm a situation, to show respect for civilians, 'read' people and show empathy (stereotypical feminine traits) were equally important. These perspectives support

Messerschmidt's (2002: 462) observation that females may engage in gender specific and gender different practices, each practice justified by appropriate circumstances and are also indicative of agency and gender negotiation (Connell 2002; Bourdieu 1990).

7.8.1 Doing Policing Differently

The main theme in all descriptions of female policing performance was how participant's considered their approach to policing to be different from their male peers. All participants identified communication as one of the main abilities they had brought to their policing career. As one participant remarked: *It's a masculine organisation and these aren't...stereotypical masculine...traits.* F20

As previously mentioned, during observations male officers frequently engaged me in conversation. I had the impression that, being aware my focus was on policewomen, they felt a little defensive and needed to inform me of their perspectives on the topic. Several mentioned that they believed policewomen were more able to talk to victims of crime in a caring manner, and to communicate better with perpetrators, than were men. However, the majority of policewomen felt that communication was a skill that men should also be able to use, and were trained to use, but there was little evidence that they did so.

Communication ...The thing is, I've seen a lot of guys being able to do it. It's something they can do but many of them don't. It is a skill worth developing, for all officers, not just women. If you can't talk them down, you take them down (laughs) and that's how we are trained anyway... yet we don't seem to use it as much as we probably should. F20

...I think women are good for policing. Women tend to talk people down; men quite often will talk them up. F13

We can talk to crooks sometimes a lot better than blokes can. F19

You shouldn't need to physical all the time. I think that women and men work in different ways. Like I think women can often handle things in better ways than the boys can, talk to people better. F12

7.8.2 Different approaches -working with a policewoman or a policeman

I found a topic that was raised in the first few interviews to be a continuing theme. When two female officers work together they appear to work differently than when working with a male officer. An interesting finding was that female officers use communication skills when partnered with another policewoman, but this is generally lacking when working with a male officer. An example representative of the majority is:

I've found that women calm the situation down and just be a little bit smarter so that when we go to a job, and there's people going off their heads and things are getting smashed or there's someone armed with a knife or something like that...we talk a lot before we get there and we say- 'Let's not get out of the car until we know we can. Let's use the car as a ...and if they come towards us we'll just drive 10 metres forward and stop again and we'll call for backup'. And we talk a lot more about what we are going to do, Whereas I find if I go to that job with a male...we won't really talk on the way, we'll just get there and then we deal with it. And you're never quite sure what you are supposed to do or what they want you to do- because you've not discussed anything, you don't have a plan...F24

However, while all participants had on occasion been partnered with other female officers the general opinion was that the best arrangement was to have a male and female officer partnered on duty, the female officer to take the lead role and talk to the offender and the male officer in case 'brute strength' was needed.

...I think, if you had... a male and a female working together, then one could take the lead role to...to just sort of calm down the situation. I think that's sort of what's needed. Women are good at that. F2

If you've got a woman up and a man up you've got the best of both worlds. F24

7.9 Self Confidence and Interaction

When describing the way they performed their duties all participants spoke of their confidence and belief in their ability to perform their policing duties. Overall, female officers exhibited high levels of self confidence and interactional skills during observations and interviews. They interacted well with male officers and on many occasions were asked for advice regarding appropriate charges and procedures, often taking the lead role.

High levels of interactional skills were most obvious in observations, particularly in policewomen over the age of 24 years and those in elite units. Longer serving and mature –age policewomen tended to accept my presence easily, making occasional, friendly comments and references to what was occurring (for example when a policewoman was hugged by a male officer she laughingly remarked *We love each other. It's not sexual harassment*). Other officers casually explained what they were dealing with (charge/interview/complaint). It appears however, that length of service and maturity are closely related to levels of self confidence and interactional skills. Female officers observed at what is basically a training station for 1st year officers tended to ignore both myself and non-sworn officers, appearing to lack confident interactional skills even with the Senior Constable and Sergeant. A Senior Constable remarked later that he thought it was a 'generational thing' as he was noticing it more frequently with younger officers.

Lack of confidence and weak interactional skills was also observed in a young policewoman at a suburban station. A female officer who was new to the station spoke during an interview of her confidence in her ability. However, she was noted to avoid interaction with the male officers in the station, relaxing only when another female officer arrived. She again appeared intimidated when going on shift, partnered by a male officer who showed no respect or liking for her. In fairness to all other officers observed and interviewed during the research project, it should be noted that the only occasions where the 'Boy's Club' was obvious was at this suburban station. Comments by male officers at this location included sexual innuendo, sexist and racist remarks and statements 'blaming the victim'. They also exhibited resistance to the presence of female officers and resentment of the hierarchy-all elements generally described in the literature as constituting 'police

culture'. There were only two female officers at this station-the aforementioned young probationary constable who appeared unable to cope with the male culture, and a more mature-aged officer who coped by talking loudly and joking.

7.10 Summary and Discussion

High levels of female officers' confidence and self efficacy were apparent in discussions of policing in both phases of the interviews and during observations. The only exception observed was with interactional skills where age and length of service were factors. While it is reasonable to expect that these factors are not limited to policing, self confidence is a masculine characteristic and the lack of this is likely to be more noticeable in a masculinised workplace. The evidence in this sample of policewomen of high levels of self efficacy and agency in negotiating police culture and the structures of policing can be related to experiences in socialisation (as discussed in Chapter 6).

The persistence of male opposition to women in policing based on their perceived lack of physical strength was evidenced in both the interviews and observations. Australian Police Services have changed from an authoritarian, confrontational style of policing to a more conciliatory, community service approach requiring people management skills more than physical strength (Prenzler 1992; Wilkinson & Froyland 1996). However, the macho image of policing persists, despite little police time being actually involved in physical confrontation (Christie 1996). Holdaway (cited in Brown and Heidensohn 2000:99) found that the 'potency of the rank and file informal culture, in which excitement and action predominate' subverts the community policing approach advocated by police management. Despite the persistence of this view, agency and cross-gender performances in pursuing their policing duties enabled a flexible performance of femininity, or androgyny in this sample.

The way police define their practice is a product of interactions between police culture and the structural conditions within which they operate. Police practice is bordered by directives from police management, and various policies, laws and legislations. Policewomen abide by the same specified laws and codes of conduct as their male counterparts, and are expected to conform to established 'male' ways of

policing. Within this framework the norms, values and behaviours are largely defined by police culture.

The shared knowledge of policing underpinning police culture defines roles appropriate for women to adopt. Policewomen are expected to conform to accepted 'masculine' behaviours when performing their duties, but are also expected to be stereotypically 'feminine' at other times. They experience both pressure to perform 'like the men', and to display 'feminine' behaviours that mirror broader societal gender roles; to practice in the same way as male peers, but also to enact stereotypical female roles. However, participants had the ability to resist dominant gender expectations and to negotiate the gender regimes of policing, conforming to some feminine expectations while resisting others. These findings are evidence of agency in negotiating gender within police culture, and also of performing gender situationally (Connell 2002; Messerschmidt 2002; Bourdieu 1990).

Among the participants there was an awareness of police culture and its influence, but the effect appeared to lessen with maturity and length of service. Although female respondents defined their roles and practices in line with occupational expectations, policing was a job, distinct from other parts of their lives. They distanced themselves from their job when they were off-duty, and, apart from the younger policewomen, were less likely than their male counterparts to drink and socialise with police officers (cf. Waddington 1999a; Brogden and Shearing 1993). This negotiation of gender norms is evidence of agency in this sample of policewomen.

It is noted that at times policewomen repeated the dominant 'masculine' discourse, potentially reinforcing its potency. However, while policewomen were repeating the 'masculine' police discourse, they did not appear to hold to the negative values of police culture which subordinate feminine characteristics such as communication skills and ability to avoid the use of force, instead seeing these as positives. Female officers felt there was little need for male physicality and aggression and that this approach tended to create problems for both civilians and other officers. They all maintained that they preferred to use communication rather than physical force when dealing with the public, feeling this was their major strength. While they were

as capable as the men in the performance of their duties, abided by the same rules and regulations and had access to the same accoutrements, they felt that women bring skills other than physical strength. Women's performances in General Duties is equivalent to those of male officers, but they are less aggressive, more inclined to communicate orally and less confrontational than are men. They performed gender situationally, crossing gender where appropriate but were at all times emphatic about their femininity.

Male officers also considered communication to be policewomen's major ability. I suggest that this is a way for males to justify the presence of females in policing. Women, by their very presence, challenge the masculine image of policing. Policing cultivates masculinity and male models of behaviour that are the dominant norms (Brown 1996:2). Male officers often perceive women as threatening to the norms and solidarity of policing, fearing they confuse the male identity that is intrinsic to the law enforcement. Police culture and male ways of policing have been used to ensure that the presence of women does not undermine the traditionally masculine workplace. Accepting a stereotypically feminine trait such as communication skills ('women are good at talking') does not challenge males' shared definitions of their own masculinity or self worth. This finding supports my argument that while male officers are focusing on negative feminine stereotypes to maintain the subordinate status of women, female officers are seeing these skills as positive, challenging the way policing is done. These and other significant findings of this research are discussed in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8

Discussion and Conclusion

I think, in policing, that, as a female that you can do the job just as well as a man. Your approach to it may be completely different to theirs, and that's based upon, I guess, your physicality and your personality and what have you, and...everyone, even blokes amongst themselves have differences in some...and handle things in different ways. F15

8.1 Introduction

In this thesis I addressed the research questions -does socialisation, especially the construction of gender identity, play a role in individual perceptions of policing as a suitable career choice and further, does a policewoman's gender identity influence her experience of policing i.e. is there a relationship between 'doing gender' and 'doing policing'? The study was designed to collect data on Australian police constables, both male and female, and more specific data from female police constables. In order to achieve this I adopted a mixed-methods approach as it offered different techniques of data collection and analysis through which to investigate the research questions. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods of analyses were used; that is, a survey distributed to police constables; individual interviews with female police constables and; observations of constables in the workplace. In this concluding chapter I discuss the utility of the conceptual framework and the main findings of my empirical data. I show how this research advances understandings of the influence of socialisation and gender identity on choice of a career in policing and the ways gender identity influences policewomen's performances within the 'masculinised' police environment. Implications of the research and suggestions for future research are also presented.

8.2 Approach

As there were two main research questions I needed to develop a framework within which to explore both the influence of socialisation and gender identity on career choice and the relationship between 'doing gender' and 'doing policing'. This required an approach which not only provided a method of analysing the influence of macro-social aspects, that is, social structures and institutions on gender identity

and career choice but also to analyse individual policewomen's understandings and perceptions of socialisation and career choice and how they performed gender (micro-social aspects). While the survey focused on the structural (macro-social) aspects, interviews and observations provided a way to explore how policewomen's gender socialisation within family, education and workplace influenced career choice and how they performed gender within the policing environment (micro-social).

I developed a conceptual framework by adopting Connell's (2002) concepts of a multiplicity of genders and 'negotiated gender', Bourdieu's (1990) concepts of the relationship between structure and agency within 'habitus', 'field' and 'culture' and Messerschmidt's (2002) extension of West and Zimmerman's (1987) 'doing gender' concept. This approach bridges the gap between structure and agency, offering a way to examine how structure and agency in socialisation interact in career choice, and the ways in which a policewoman's gender identity influences the way she performs policing duties. While Connell's and Bourdieu's conceptual approach informed the empirical research throughout, Messerschmidt's concept of 'doing gender' situationally was most useful in qualitative data collection. Combined with an ethnomethodological approach this conceptual framework provided a way to focus on policewomen's 'common-sense' understandings of everyday life and how policewomen manage and negotiate the practicalities of policing; that is, how policewomen 'do gender' while 'doing policing'.

8.3 Summary and Discussion of Research Findings

The importance of this research is situated not only in its innovative approach, but perhaps more importantly, in its relevance to contemporary policing. The findings are specifically relevant to areas related to recruitment and retention of female officers, but they also extend sociological understandings of the way policing is performed. Gender imbalance and an inherently masculinised workplace culture pose specific problems for women entering male-dominated occupations such as policing (Bradley 1998).

Policewomen have faced sustained resistance to their presence at both the organisational and cultural level and across time and jurisdiction, and their

opportunities continue to be restricted by the gendered work culture (cf. Adams 2001; Martin 1996; Boni & Circelli 2002; Brown & Heidensohn 2000). Police selection and training procedures, supervisory practices, organisational hierarchies, ideologies, interactions and activities are all infused with gendered practices and consequences (Prenzler 1996; Prenzler 2002). Specific problems for women in policing feature in barriers such as resistance from males who fear women's presence as a threat to their occupational solidarity and masculine self image, paternalism and gender-related stereotypes which disadvantage women by rewarding qualities and characteristics associated with masculinity (Martin 1996).

Overall, the view that policing is an unsuitable job for a woman and the continued resistance to the integration of women in policing has been based on, and sustained by, what I choose to call the 'myth of difference'. By this I mean that the male resistance to policewomen has been based on stereotypical gender assumptions which mirror that of domestic relationships and preserves the power differential between genders (cf. Brown & Heidensohn 2000:155). Masculinist police cultural discourses are based on notions that policing is an 'unnatural' gender role for women and resistance to the full integration of policewomen 'stems from their difference, or in other words, from the fact they are women' (LeBeuf 1996:7). It is a common assertion that 'the single largest career barrier for women in policing is the attitude and behaviour of their male colleagues, who continue to oppose the presence of women ...and believe that women are not emotionally or physically able to handle the job' (Boni and Circelli 2002:5). The findings of this research dispute the taken-for granted basis upon which these perceptions have been founded, that is, the difference between *policemen* and *policewomen*.

The first question in the research addressed the influence of gender socialisation on career choice. I designed a survey to elicit information from police constables, both male and female, about the respondent and their immediate family, in order to examine how various factors such as family structure, educational attainment, previous employment, family of origin and current family situation (macro-social aspects) relate to the selection of policing as a career. The survey also provided a means of evaluating the relative impact of a range of these structural and institutional factors on self-esteem, motivation and gendered perceptions in this

sample of police constables and was administered to male and female constables in Tasmania Police, Western Australia Police and Victoria Police.

The findings of the survey suggest that, demographically, policemen and policewomen were raised in similar types of families. Further, although different socialisation factors were found to be influential, (for example, birth order for men and a working mother for women) overall there were more similarities than differences between male and female officers. The majority were first or second born, raised in two-parent families with similar middle-income economic backgrounds and were currently partnered. The only notable demographic differences were that more males than females (overall) had dependent children and females had achieved higher levels of education.

There was evidence of high levels of self esteem in *both* policemen and policewomen in the sample. An important factor in occupational choice is an individual's belief that they have the ability and skills in relation to the requirements of an occupation. A person's self-efficacy is influenced by previous learning experiences and can directly affect career interests, as a person's belief about their ability to perform a task or occupation can significantly influence both their choices and behaviour. Self esteem was measured using Rosenberg's (1965) Self Esteem Scale, adapted by Adams (2001). There has been an assumption in the literature that males in policing and other stereotypically masculine occupations have higher self-efficacy than females (cf. Boni & Circelli 2002). Boni and Circelli (2002) suggest that gender socialisation plays a part in women's low self-efficacy and self esteem, as women are not encouraged to engage in activities that increase self-efficacy and occupational expectations, restricting them to particular occupational fields (also Betz & Hackett 1997). However, this research found a marked *similarity* between male and female ratings of self-efficacy and self esteem. Positive influences on self esteem were related to being raised in a two-parent family, being partnered/married, having a mother who was employed, and attending a single-sex private school. The only agent of socialisation negatively influencing female respondents' self esteem was a small effect in school type related to attending a State single-sex school. No socialisation factors negatively influenced male self esteem.

This research also found evidence of high levels of *both* ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ characteristics (‘androgyny’) in both male and female constables. The extent to which an individual identifies with stereotypical gender expectations is an important factor in career choice, particularly when a career is non-traditional for one’s gender. I measured gendered world views using a scale based on Bem’s Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), developed by Heifer, Knoll, Olsen and Salon (cited in Adams 2001:15). This scale measured the degree to which male and female police constables in the sample viewed the world using gender as a lens i.e. instrumentality (masculinity) and expressivity (femininity).

As expected, women scored highly on stereotypical ‘feminine’ measures, but they also scored highly on most of the stereotypical ‘masculine’ measures. An unexpected finding was that, while men rated themselves highly on stereotypical ‘masculine’ measures they also rated highly on stereotypical ‘feminine’ measures. This finding suggests that neither male nor female constables strongly identified with stereotypical gendered expectations and that this sample of police constables can be categorized as ‘androgynous’, in that there is a combination of stereotypical characteristics of ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ evident. The variability in gender characteristics in this sample is evidence that gender is not static and is commensurate with Connell’s (2002) concept of a multiplicity of genders.

In order to establish if results were an effect of socialisation prior to recruitment, or were an effect of police service, these measures were analysed with age and time served. It was found that the only significant differences for both male and female officers related to those aged less than twenty-four years and those who had served less than two years, who scored higher ‘Ambition’ and higher ‘Confidence’ levels than others. This suggests that the results reflect socialisation experienced *prior* to recruitment and are not a result of socialisation within the workplace.

Female officers were found to be less influenced by socialisation agents such as school or family type than are males. While male and female low attachment to gender stereotypical expectations were surprisingly similar, different agents of socialisation were implicated in the acquisition of these characteristics. Overall, male respondents were more influenced by socialising agents than were females. By

school type, males attending State single- sex schools were least ambitious and competitive; those raised in two-parent families were less sympathetic and compassionate; unmarried males were more dominant and ambitious but less understanding; those with the highest levels of educational attainment were least independent, had lower self esteem; were less affectionate and, with year 10 educated, were less ambitious than other males in the survey.

In contrast, females recorded no significant influence from type of schooling, family type or marital status on 'masculinity' or 'femininity' measures. Females' recorded higher levels of independence than did males in both parental employment situations and those who had an employed mother were more likely to believe they had leadership abilities. In contrast to male officers in the sample, where higher education levels revealed negative effects, this was a positive influence on female leadership potential.

That policewomen were less influenced by socialisation agents than policemen was also evident in motivations for choosing a policing career. In this research policewomen were more likely than men to indicate a sense of mission and idealistic aspirations. It was found that male motivations were related to family of origin (e.g. having a working mother; being raised in a two-parent family) or simply that 'it seemed like a good idea'. Female motivations were more varied, such as a desire to make the place safer for children; wanting to make a difference; a job where they felt respected and a career where men and women are equal. Previous research (cf. Reiner 1986; Christie 1996) generally extrapolates a sense of mission to males.

Overall, the findings from the survey suggest that high levels of self esteem and low levels of attachment to stereotypical gender expectations are significant factors in the choice of policing as a career. These are particularly relevant to women who choose a career in policing as they are not stereotypically feminine characteristics. Given the androgynous characteristics of the women in this sample, it appears that many policewomen have the potential to be leaders. This is supported by the finding that females who had attended private single-sex schools and had a mother who was employed (71%) believed they had leadership abilities. It appears that women who

do not identify strongly with stereotypical gender expectations and who have high levels of self esteem are less likely to hold their gender as central to their identity. This supports Oswald's (2008) finding that women who weakly identified with gender stereotypes felt more confident they could succeed in either female-typed occupations or male-typed occupations than did women who strongly identified with gender stereotypes. Previous research has also found that women who are high in stereotypical masculine characteristics are more likely to succeed in management than those with stereotypical feminine characteristics (cf. Adams 2001). Kolb (1997) found that women displaying androgynous characteristics were more likely to achieve leadership positions.

The findings of the survey which identified the aforementioned similarities in factors influencing career choice were enhanced by the findings of the first phase of the interviews. It was confirmed in interviews that female police officers possessed high levels of self efficacy and confidence and low attachment to stereotypical gender expectations *prior* to seeking a career in policing. The factors influencing this were located in socialisation through family, educational institutions and prior work experience. According to Connell (2002) individuals resist and negotiate gender norms from childhood. The ability to resist and to negotiate the stereotypical gender expectations of the various institutions identified in this research assisted in the development of an androgynous gender orientation in the sample. Participants' recall of childhood activities identified a mix of stereotypically 'masculine' and 'feminine' pursuits. Children who have parents with strong egalitarian values tend to be more knowledgeable about non gender-typed objects and occupations than other children and their sense of self includes the knowledge that they have the ability to make choices which are not hindered by gender (Witt 1997).

Cross-gender performances in childhood and adolescence enabled a flexible performance of femininity in adulthood. Participants chose the way they negotiated gender within the enabling framework of their families, conforming to some feminine expectations of behaviour while resisting others, choosing to adopt a 'blended' gender identity that best suited them. It was found that a surprising number of respondents described themselves as a 'tomboy' but did not identify as in any way 'masculine'. Empirical research (cf. Carr 1998) suggests that some

'tomboys' retain their skills and traits in adulthood, merely adopting a more feminine performance. Conforming to some feminine expectations while resisting others is evidence of agency in the development of gender identity in this sample of female constables.

Achievement was very important to the policewomen interviewed and success attained prior to choosing a career in policing appeared to be influential in their high levels of self efficacy and self confidence. If a person experiences continual failure and lack of encouragement they tend to avoid challenges and to give up when faced with difficult situations (cf. Breakwell 1992). Women who have high self efficacy are more committed to achieving their goals (cf. Oswald 2008). When asked how they viewed their life prior to policing, all participants spoke of areas in their lives where they had excelled, whether academically, in sport, or previous employment and it was apparent that they perceived themselves as successful. They evinced a surprisingly strong abhorrence of failure, preferring to focus on success and achievement, seeing any 'failure' as a temporary setback and an opportunity for self-improvement. Even those female officers who had an atypical childhood and/or adolescence overcame setbacks to achieve. These findings support my argument that individual characteristics such as self efficacy, self confidence and the ability to negotiate gender expectations empower some women to consider employment in a stereotypically 'masculine' workplace, such as policing.

An important finding was that all participants considered their mother to have been the most influential person in their lives. While, for the majority, the mother was seen as a positive influence, several considered their mother to be influential in a negative sense. The influence of the mother on a daughter's self esteem, confidence and attachment to gender stereotypes is an area which warrants further research.

The second research question explored the influence of policewomen's gender identity on their policing practice. Workplace practices, ideologies and discourses influence the relationships between men and women, perpetuating and reinforcing gender and gender discrimination. Each of these aspects of the organisation are acknowledged as both influencing and being influenced by police culture, affecting female officers and the ways they define their roles and practices (Martin 1996;

Adams 2001; Boni & Circelli 2002). Overall, the way all policewomen define their practice is a product of interactions between police culture, the structural conditions within which they operate and agency. High levels of female officers' confidence and self efficacy were apparent in both phases of the interviews and in observations. The evidence in this sample of policewomen of high levels of self efficacy and agency in negotiating police culture and the structures of policing can be related to experiences in socialisation.

The 'myth of difference' as a basis for male opposition to women in policing is often related to women's perceived lack of physical strength. Assumptions based on perceptions of stereotypically 'female' characteristics, such as physical weakness, emotional vulnerability and compassion have been handicapping for women in policing (cf. Boni & Circelli 2002; Silvestri 2002; Natarajan 2008). The misperception that females lack the abilities necessary for policing was evidenced in both the interviews and observations. Australian police services have changed from an authoritarian, confrontational style of policing to a more conciliatory, community service approach requiring people management skills more than physical strength (Prenzler 1992; Wilkinson & Froyland 1996). Nevertheless, and despite little police time being actually involved in physical confrontation, the macho image of policing persists (cf. Christie 1996; Natarajan 2008). However, my findings suggest that policewomen's agency and cross-gender performances in pursuing their policing duties enabled a flexible performance of femininity. Although they at times expressed the 'masculine' discourse of police culture around traditional understandings of gender, policewomen maintained their sense of 'being feminine', engaging in gender performance appropriate to the particular circumstances and performing gender situationally (cf. Messerschmidt 2002).

It has been argued that police culture is the primary source that shapes police action (Brogden and Shearing 1993:42). Participants were aware of the influence of police culture on performance but the effect appeared to lessen with maturity and length of service. It was noted that at times policewomen repeated the dominant 'masculine' discourse, reproducing police culture. However, there was evidence of change. Chan (1997:72) argues that cultural change is possible through changes in either the 'field' or the 'habitus'. Police officers are 'active participants in the construction

and reproduction of cultural knowledge and institutional practice' (Chan 1997:73) reinforcing or transforming cultural knowledge which is then reflected in practice. Although policewomen were reproducing the 'masculine' police discourse, they did not adopt the negative values of police culture which subordinate feminine characteristics, instead seeing these as positives.

This suggests there is a tension between police cultural discourse and policing performance in that, while stereotypes are being maintained at the discourse level, there is variability in practice. Policewomen demonstrated agency through negotiating gender when performing their duties, describing different ways policewomen 'do policing'. While some policewomen at times aligned themselves with the traditionally 'male' policing model, others, although abiding by the shared understandings of their male counterparts and within the dictates of police policy, adapted their performance in line with their own physicality and personality.

While prepared to 'police' in the same ways as their male peers, most felt that the more frequent use of communication skills was preferable to the use of physical force. Female officers believed there was little need for male physicality and aggression and that this approach tended to create problems for both civilians and other officers. They all maintained that they preferred to use communication rather than physical force when dealing with the public, feeling this was their major strength. With the shift towards a more flexible style of policing and a change of emphasis from reactive to community policing (cf. Brown 1996:5) the skills policewomen bring to policing practice means that policewomen have abilities which, it could be argued, need to be encouraged and utilised.

Policing cultivates masculinity and male models of behaviour that are the dominant norms (Brown 1996:2), and police culture and male ways of policing have been used to ensure that the presence of women does not undermine the traditionally masculine workplace. This research found that while male officers are acknowledging policewomen's communication skills, this is viewed as a stereotypically feminine characteristic ('women are good at talking') which does not challenge males' shared definitions of their own masculinity or self worth. If male officers were to accept that women can 'do policing' as well as them it could

threaten the male order of policing and masculine definitions of the occupation, and undermine the social status of men. However, while male officers are focusing on feminine stereotypes as negatives, thus maintaining the subordinate status of women, female officers are seeing their skills as positives, challenging the way policing is done.

Despite participants' high self esteem and confidence in their ability to perform police duties, negative aspects of police culture were still influential. This was particularly evident on the topic of promotion. Despite evidence of leadership potential in the sample, no policewoman interviewed intended to apply for promotion beyond 1st Class Constable. While some women spoke of family responsibilities, such as having dependent children, all indicated that the main reason for not applying for promotion was their unwillingness to face the sexual and derogatory comments from male officers. These perceptions are consistent with reports of negative male attitudes which reflect the continuing male prejudice towards women in authority (cf. Etter 2009; Lynch 2002; Boni & Circelli 2002). The persistence of such informal discriminatory practices in policing can limit women's career success through promotion and other leadership possibilities. Implications of the research findings are discussed in the following section.

8.4 Implications of the Research

A problem facing some police services in Australia is in the areas of recruitment and retention of female officers. This research found that female officers exhibited high levels of self esteem and confidence and had a low attachment to stereotypical gender expectations. Most were raised in two-parent families where the mother had been employed and from whom they had received support and encouragement. Policewomen had a positive attitude to success and achievement and a dislike of failure. Motivations were varied, but centred on wanting to make a difference and being part of a team in a job where they had equality and respect. Consideration should be given to the development of recruitment campaigns and targeted publicity which highlight these factors, presenting policing as an attractive career option particularly targeted to females for whom these aspects are important.

While the number of women entering policing has increased over the past twenty years the low proportion of women serving longer than six years compared to males (see p. 104) suggests that more women than men are leaving police services. Conflict between family and work has been cited as a contributing to this (cf. Boni & Circelli 2002) but review of the data reveals that more male than female officers had dependent children (33% of females; 54% of males). This suggests that it is still women who are finding that family responsibilities interfere with career prospects. Despite the introduction of more flexible work options in most police jurisdictions few policewomen appear to be taking advantage of these. Only one female participant was employed part-time. Another mentioned that she had taken the option of part-time work while pregnant but the negative response from both senior male officers and male peers had ensured that she would neither recommend this course nor use it again. Comments which support the perception that female part-time officers were not respected by male officers were heard during observations. Continued development and refinement of flexible policies undertaken in consultation between senior staff and general staff would ensure that policewomen's needs are actually being met.

Given the potential for leadership in this sample of policewomen the finding that these officers were unwilling to apply for promotion is of concern, as police organisations appear to be under-utilising a viable human resource. The reluctance of female officers in this research to seek promotion is consistent with previous findings (cf. Etter 2009; Boni & Circelli 2002; Martin 1996; Stewart 2003; Adams 2001; Keaveny & Inderrieden 1999). Sexualisation of the workplace has been a continuing problem for police services, despite the introduction of anti-discrimination, equal opportunity, access and equity and affirmative action policies and legislations. It is apparent that police services have some way to go in combating this negative aspect of police culture. While policewomen regularly coped with sexist comments, it appears that the expectation of harassment from and threat of, non-acceptance by male peers discourages policewomen from realising their potential as leaders.

While mentoring by senior female officers has been proposed as a way of addressing this issue, (cf. Etter 2009; Adams 2001; Boni & Circelli 2002) the low

numbers of female officers currently in senior positions makes this proposal somewhat unrealistic. The development of cross-gender mentoring programmes wherein senior male officers support and encourage females to achieve promotion may assist with this problem. Such programmes may actually help to contribute to changes in masculinist police culture. However, the potency of the 'masculine' culture still needs to be addressed. While it has been argued that raised awareness around gender issues in schools (cf. Weiner et al. 1997) and the wider society has resulted in less stereotypical gender performances in females, there appears to have been little change in the stereotypical gender attitudes of the 'masculine' police culture.

8.5 Limitations and Further Research

A limitation of the research is that, because only three of the six state police jurisdictions were included in the study, results cannot be generalised beyond the sample. However, it is argued that they are indicative of actual processes. A further limitation of the study is that the focus has been on the gender identity of females and the influence of this on career choice and performance. While male officers were included in the survey, providing a way of identifying some similarities and differences, the influence of socialisation and gender identity on career choice and performance for men was not pursued in the research. However, this is an area that would benefit from further investigation. The relationship between birth order and choice of a career in policing was found to have no influence on policewomen, but first born males were found to be more sensitive to the needs of others, more compassionate, more understanding and felt they made decisions more easily than others in the birth order. Interestingly, three of the four items are consistent with stereotypically 'feminine' attributes. Given the research finding of androgyny for males as well as females, research on the influence of gender socialisation on males' choice of a career in policing and police performance is warranted.

8.6 Conclusion

The notion that policing was and remains an inherently unsuitable job for a woman has pervaded historical and contemporary discussions of women's roles in policing. This research has determined why some women self-select a career in policing, looking to socialisation and the development of gender identity for possible

explanations. There were more similarities than differences between male and female officers, demographically, in self-esteem and in low attachment to gender stereotypes. Extending the research through interviews with female officers, it was found that these characteristics were developed through childhood and adolescence within agencies of socialisation; notably the family but also educational institutions. A positive attitude towards achievement, self confidence and the ability to negotiate gender can be related to socialisation experiences. Having a mother who was employed and was supportive was particularly influential in women acquiring these characteristics. These abilities were further evidenced in discussions of the way policewomen performed policing and negotiated police culture. While just as capable as their male peers in performing their duties, they preferred to be less aggressive, less confrontational and to use communication skills when interacting with the public.

There was evidence that the 'myth of difference' that has sustained resistance to the integration of women in policing was being maintained through police cultural discourse. Police practice is bordered by directives from police management and various laws, legislations and policies. However, within this framework the norms and values which influence behaviours are largely defined by police culture. While policewomen were repeating this dominant 'masculine' discourse of police culture, potentially reinforcing its potency, they did not appear to hold to the negative values of police culture which subordinate feminine characteristics such as communication skills and ability to avoid the use of force, instead seeing these as positives. However, despite policewomen viewing their attributes such as self confidence, empathy and communication skills positively, men continue to focus on negative stereotypes of women, devaluing the feminine, suppressing similarities and emphasising differences. Not all discourses carry equal power. Some will justify the status quo and others will be dismissed as irrelevant. Women are accused of being too 'masculine' or too 'feminine' and of using sexuality to gain promotion, rather than achieving through merit. These tactics which stress differences and ignore similarities support male interests and male dominance of this workplace.

Female police officers in this sample provided evidence of high self efficacy, self confidence and low attachment to stereotypical expectations. I conclude that

characteristics, acquired through gender socialisation (macro-social aspects) influence both gender identity and the performativity of gender in the 'masculinised' workplace of policing and that there is variability in performance within gender as well as between gender. While younger policewomen (aged under twenty-five years) initially 'adopt' the 'masculine' way of policing in order to fit in, with maturity and length of service policewomen 'adapt to' and 'negotiate' police culture. The latter are more confident to 'do policing' within the required policies and procedures, but reject aspects such as the use of force in the first instance, preferring to use communication skills, an ability perceived as under-utilised by male officers. Policewomen adapt and negotiate gender through their own performance in line with their own physicality and personality. The way policewomen 'do gender' while 'doing policing' has the potential to not only impact on police culture, but also less directly, but no less cogently on the way policing is performed.

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Appendices

Appendix A - Information Sheet for Surveys

INFORMATION SHEET

Title: **Pathways into Policing**

Chief Investigator: Associate Professor Roberta Julian (PhD),
Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies, School of Government,
University of Tasmania.

Investigator: Barbara Stewart B.A. (Hons.) PhD Candidate,
Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies, School of Government,
University of Tasmania.

You are invited to participate in the following research by completing the attached questionnaire. This research is being undertaken as part of the requirements for a PhD. The purpose of the research is to gain an understanding of the experiences of police constables and the various factors influencing their choice of policing as a career, with a particular interest in gender.

We are inviting approximately 1,500 police constables, randomly selected from Western Australia, Victoria and Tasmania to take part in this survey. There is a lack of research investigating the factors which influence individual's choice of policing as a career. The aim of the research project is to identify such influences, with a particular focus on the ways gender socialization affects the choice of policing as a career. The questionnaire is part of the larger study and focuses mainly on family and educational factors. Your participation in this research may assist in future police recruitment practices and policies. If you decide to participate please complete the enclosed questionnaire of 29 questions, which will take approximately 10 minutes, and return in the reply-paid envelope supplied.

Your participation in the study is entirely voluntary and evidenced by returning the completed questionnaire. Please note that the questionnaire does not request any identifying information, and so it is to be completed anonymously. As a result you will not be identifiable in the research output. Nor will your responses, as the data collected will be reported as group data. Your responses will be coded and analysed using a computer program. Completed questionnaires will be kept in a locked cabinet in the School of Government for 5 years from the termination of the study, and thereafter destroyed in accordance with ethical requirements.

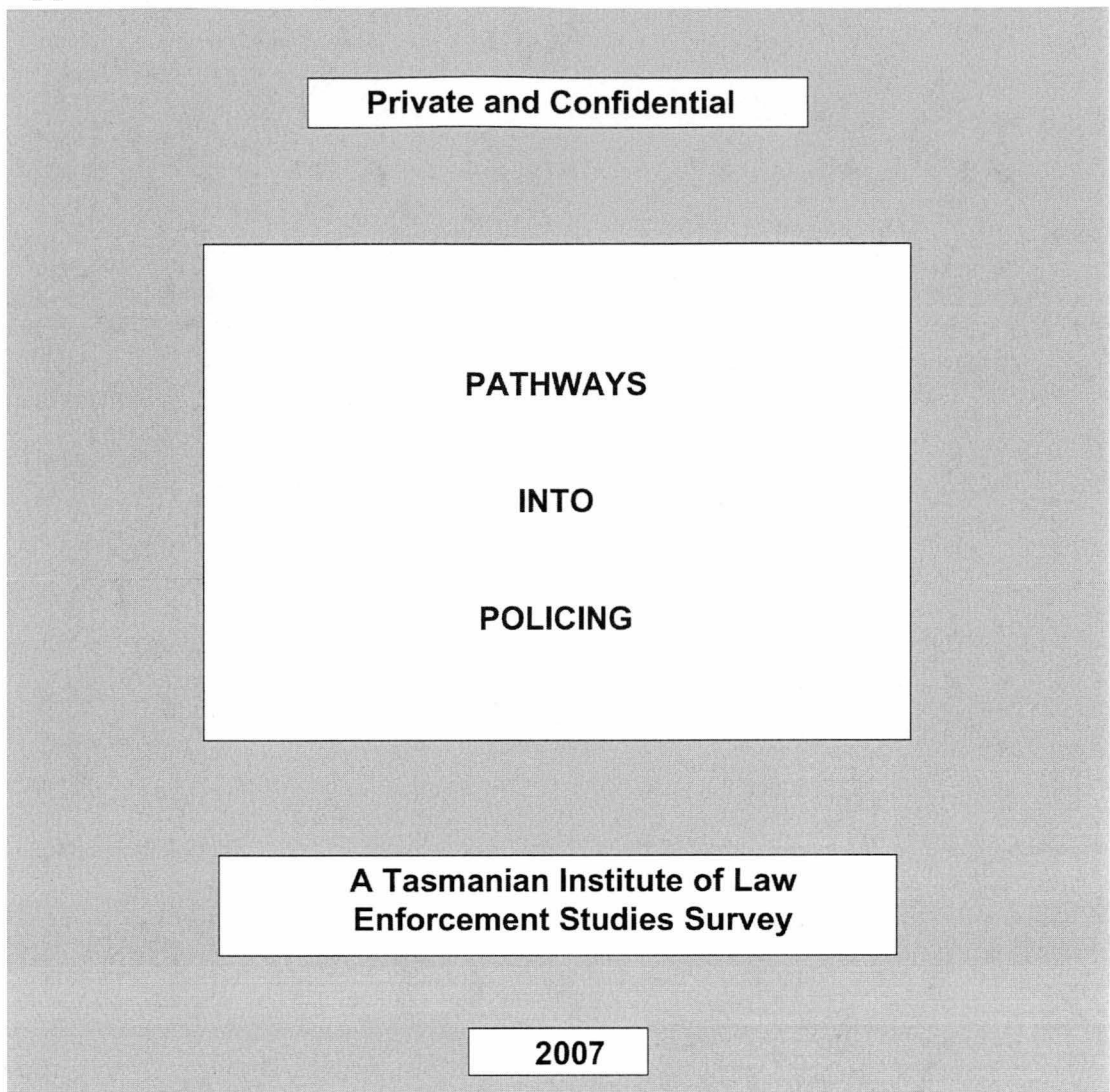
If you would like more information relating to the study, or participation, please contact Assoc. Prof. Roberta Julian at the Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies, University of Tasmania, on (03) 6226 2217. Approval for this research has been received from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network and (relevant police service)

Thank you for taking the time to read this Information Sheet. We hope that you will be willing to contribute to this study by completing and returning the questionnaire.

Barbara Stewart (B.A. Hons.) _____

Associate Professor Roberta Julian (PhD) _____

Appendix B - Survey



This Survey is presented at 65% of the original size in order comply with thesis formatting requirements.

Your Responses To The Questionnaire Are Entirely Anonymous

Demographics

To Start With, Can You Please Supply The Following Details About Yourself.

Q1. Sex Male ☐ Female ☐

Q2. What Is Your Age In Years ?

Q3. What is Your Current Marital Status ?

Single	<input type="checkbox"/>	Partnered (Same Sex)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Married	<input type="checkbox"/>	Partnered (Opposite Sex)	<input type="checkbox"/>
De Facto	<input type="checkbox"/>	Divorced	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q4. How Many Dependent Children Do You Have ?

None	<input type="checkbox"/>	One	<input type="checkbox"/>
Two	<input type="checkbox"/>	Three	<input type="checkbox"/>
Four	<input type="checkbox"/>	Five +	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q5. What Is Your Employment Status?

Full Time	<input type="checkbox"/>
Part Time	<input type="checkbox"/>
Job Sharing	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q6. What Is Your Current Location ? (e.g. General Duties, Bike Squad, Counter Enquiries, CIB, Forensics)

Please Specify

Q7a. How Long Have You Worked For The Police Service? (excluding training time at the Police Academy)

Years Months

Q7b. What is Your Title e.g. Constable 1st Class ?

Q8. What Is The Highest Level Of Educational Qualification You Have Obtained ?

High School (less than year 10)	<input type="checkbox"/>	High School (year 10)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Matriculation (year 11/12)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Skilled Vocational	<input type="checkbox"/>
Degree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Post Graduate	<input type="checkbox"/>

These Questions Refer To Your Family Of Origin i.e. You, Your Parents, Siblings

Q9. Which Best Describes The Family You Grew Up In, From 0-14 Years?

Two Parent Family	<input type="checkbox"/>	Single Parent Family (mother)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Single Parent Family (father)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Shared Parenting	
		(divorced or separated)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Step or Blended Family	<input type="checkbox"/>	Grandparent(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Foster Parents	<input type="checkbox"/>		

Other Please State

Q10. Which Best Describes The Family You Grew Up In, From 14-18 Years?

Two Parent Family	<input type="checkbox"/>	Single Parent Family (mother)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Single Parent Family (father)	<input type="checkbox"/>	Shared Parenting	<input type="checkbox"/>
		(divorced or separated)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Step or Blended Family	<input type="checkbox"/>	Grandparent(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Foster Parents	<input type="checkbox"/>		

Other Please State

Q11. What Is Your Position In The Family ?

Born 1st ☐

2nd ☐

3rd ☐

4th ☐

Other Please State

Q12. For The Majority Of Your High School Education, Did You Attend

State - Co-Educational ☐

Private - Co-Educational ☐

State - Single Sex ☐

Private - Single Sex ☐

Other e.g. Home School, Distance Ed.

Please State

Q13. When You were Aged 14 Yrs. To 18 Yrs., To The Best Of Your Knowledge, Did

Both Your Parents Work ☐

Only Father Work ☐

Only Mother Work ☐

No Parent Was Employed ☐

Not Applicable ☐

Go to Q.17

Q14. During This Time, If Your Father Worked, What Was His Primary Occupation?

Q15. During This Time, If Your Mother Worked, What Was Her Primary Occupation?

Q16. Was Either Parent, At Any Time, Employed As A Police Officer?

Father Yes ☐

No ☐

Mother Yes ☐

No ☐

Q17. At Any Time Prior To You Joining, Was A Relative (other than parents), Or Close Family Friend Employed As A Police Officer?

a. Female Relative

Yes ☐

No ☐

b. Male Relative

Yes ☐

No ☐

c. Close Family Friend – Male

Yes ☐

No ☐

d. Close Family Friend – Female

Yes ☐

No ☐

Q18. Were You Employed Prior To Applying For Policing?

If Yes, Please State Last Two (2) Jobs.

If No, Please Go To



Question 20

Here 0 equals 'not at all' and 10 equals 'to a very large extent': please circle one point only

A horizontal number line with a shaded gray background. It has a vertical tick mark at the left end labeled '0' and a vertical tick mark at the right end labeled '10'. There are nine additional tick marks between 0 and 10, dividing the segment into ten equal intervals of length 1.

<input type="checkbox"/>	T.V. Series /Movies	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Newspaper/Media Advertisements	
<input type="checkbox"/>	A Close Friend Was A Police Officer	
<input type="checkbox"/>	A Family Member Was A Police Officer	
<input type="checkbox"/>	I Was Impressed By A Particular Officer's Achievements	
<input type="checkbox"/>	A Personal Experience Involving Interaction With The Police	
<input type="checkbox"/>	It Offered Good Career Prospects	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Other Please specify	

Here 0 equals 'not at all' and 10 equals 'to a very large extent': please circle one point only

	0	10
a. I Wanted To Make A Difference		
b. I Wanted A Job Where I Felt Respected		
c. I Wanted A Career Where Men And Women Are Equal		
d. I Got Tired Of Seeing Bad People Getting Away With Things		
e. I Wanted To Make The Place Safer For My Children		
f. I Wanted A Job Where I Knew What Was Expected Of Me		
g. I Like To Be Part Of A Team		
h. Changes To Entry Requirements (e.g. height, age, marital status) Meant I Could Apply		
i. It Just Seemed Like A Good Idea		

Q22. Where Did You Find Information About Policing As A Career, Prior To Applying?
Please tick all answers that apply

Police Recruitment Office	<input type="checkbox"/>	Talking To A Family	
Brochures	<input type="checkbox"/>	Member in the Police Service	<input type="checkbox"/>
Newspaper Advertisements	<input type="checkbox"/>	Talking To A Friend	
Career Counsellor	<input type="checkbox"/>	In The Police Service	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other **Please state**

Q23. Of The People Who Are Usually in Your Shift (including yourself)

a. How Many Are Women?	
b. How Many Are Men?	

Here 0 equals 'not at all' and 10 equals 'to a very large extent': please circle one point only

	0	1
a. Equal Opportunities For Promotion		
b. Equal Opportunities For Career Development e.g. Secondments, Training Courses		
c. Equal Support And Treatment From Workmates		
d. Equal Support And Treatment By Commissioned Officers i.e. Above The Rank Of Inspector		

Self Perceptions

Q26. These Statements Relate To How You Feel About Yourself

	Agree	Strongly agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a. I Wish That I Could Have More Respect For Myself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. I Feel That I Have A Number Of Good Qualities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. All In All, I Am Inclined To Feel That I Am A Failure	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. I Am Able To Do Things As Well As Most Other People	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. I Feel That I Am A Person Of Worth - At Least On An Equal Basis With Others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. I Feel I Do Not Have Much To Be Proud Of	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. I Take A Positive Attitude Toward Myself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. I Certainly Feel Useless At Times	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. At Times I Think I Am No Good At All	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q27. Below Is A List Of Personal Qualities. Please indicate how well each describes you.

	Almost never true	Usually not true	Sometimes but infrequently true	Occasionally true	Often true	Usually true	Almost always true
a. Defend My Own Beliefs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Cheerful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Independent	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Affectionate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Strong Personality	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Sympathetic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Forceful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. Sensitive To The Needs Of Others	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. Have Leadership Abilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
j. Understanding	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
k. Make Decisions Easily	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
l. Compassionate	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
m. Ambitious	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
n. Eager To Soothe Hurt Feelings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
o. Dominant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
p. Warm	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
q. Willing To Take A Stand	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
r. Tender	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
s. Aggressive	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
t. Love Children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
u. Act As A Leader	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
v. Gentle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
w. Individualistic	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
x. Competitive	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Q28. Are You Confident In Your Ability To Perform Your Duties?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Q29. Overall, How Confident Are You ?

Here 0 equals 'not at all confident' and 10 equals 'extremely confident'

- please circle one point only

0 10

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Please Place The Questionnaire In The Envelope Provided.

Thank You For Your Participation.

Appendix C - Interview Schedule

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE/GUIDE

1. Introduction of self. Give Information Sheet and get Consent Form signed.
Give assurance of anonymity, brief explanation of the research and questions and explain that examples/stories would be appreciated.
2. Ask to complete the survey-explain it is to guide the interview process (not to be used in data collection).
3. Tell me about the family you grew up in? Prompts - parents, brothers, sisters.
What was life like, how did you get on with different family members, who did you get on with best?
4. How would you describe yourself as a child e.g.s
5. What was school like? Prompts-What sort of student were you/ favourite subject/activities/ favourite teacher/anyone who particularly influenced/encouraged you?
6. How would you describe yourself as a teenager? Prompts - activities/experiences
7. Were you employed prior to becoming an officer? Prompts – experiences etc.
8. Why did you decide to join the Police Service?
9. Is it what you expected? -prompts to talk about why/why not/Co-worker/senior officers interactions
10. Given that the majority of police officers are male, how do you see women fitting in? Can you give me examples?
11. How would you describe the way you work as a police officer? Prompt-interact with co-workers/public?
12. Thinking back over your life, what experiences and skills do you think you have gained that have helped you as a police officer?

Appendix D - Invitation to policewomen to participate in Interviews

ATTENTION POLICEWOMEN

We are urgently seeking policewomen willing to help further this research by taking part in an interview. The interview will be confidential and you will not be identified in the study.

Your participation is entirely voluntary. The interview focus is on family, education, previous work experiences and motivations.

While it is hoped that interviews will be conducted face-to-face, it may be necessary to conduct some via telephone. If you are willing to volunteer, or want further information about the interviews, please send contact details to barbaras@utas.edu.au

Appendix E (a) - Information Sheet for Interviews

INFORMATION SHEET

Date:

Title: **“Pathways into Policing”**

Chief Investigator: Associate Professor Roberta Julian, Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies, School of Government, University of Tasmania.

Investigator: Barbara Stewart B.A. (Hons.), PhD Candidate, Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies, School of Government, University of Tasmania.

You are invited to assist in this research, by participating in an interview. The research is being undertaken as part of the requirements for a PhD. The purpose of the research is to gain an understanding of the experiences of police constables and the various factors influencing their choice of policing as a career, with a particular interest in gender.

We are inviting female police constables from Tasmania, Victoria and Western Australia to take part in the interviews. There is a lack of research investigating the factors which influence individual's choice of policing as a career. The aim of the research project is to identify such influences, with a particular focus on the ways gender socialization affects the choice of policing as a career. The interviews are part of the larger study and focus mainly on family and educational factors. Your participation in this research may assist in future police recruitment practices and policies. The Police Commissioner has granted approval for interviews to be conducted with police constables in your State.

The interviews will be of approximately 45 minutes duration. Your participation in the study is entirely voluntary. You will be provided with a Consent Form which you will be asked to read and sign prior to the commencement of the interview. You will be given a copy of this Information Sheet to keep. You may withdraw from the

interview at any time if you so wish, or avoid answering questions which you feel are too personal or intrusive.

Please be assured that no identifying details will be collected and anonymity is guaranteed. As a result you will not be identifiable in the research output. Nor will your responses, which will be coded. It is intended that, with your permission, interviews will be audio-tape recorded, and later transcribed. The audio tapes will then be erased, to ensure you cannot be identified. Transcripts of the interviews will be kept in a locked cabinet in the School of Government at the University of Tasmania for 5 years from the termination of the study, and thereafter destroyed in accordance with ethical requirements.

If you would like more information relating to the study, or participation, please contact Assoc. Prof. Roberta Julian at the Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies, University of Tasmania, on (03) 6226 2217. Approval for this research has been received from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network and (State) Police. Any concerns of an ethical nature, or complaints about the manner in which the project is conducted, should be directed to the Executive Officer of the Network, on (03)6226 2763. If you wish to be informed of the overall results of the study, they may be obtained on request from barbaras@utas.edu.au after (date to be decided).

Thank you for taking the time to read this Information Sheet. We hope that you will be willing to contribute to this study. If you decide to participate please send your preferred method of contact details to barbaras@utas.edu.au.

Barbara Stewart (B.A. Hons.) _____

Assoc. Prof. Roberta Julian _____

Appendix E (b) - Consent Form for Interviews

CONSENT FORM

"Pathways into Policing"

1. I have read and understood the Information Sheet on this study.
2. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
3. I understand that the study involves an interview of approximately 45 minutes duration.
4. I understand there is a possibility that I may find a question upsetting. Should this occur, I may choose not to answer the question, and may suspend the interview at any time.
5. I understand that, on request, I may review the transcript and withdraw data if I so wish.
6. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania premises for a period of 5 years. The data will be destroyed at the end of 5 years. All tape recordings of interviews will be erased on submission of the report.
7. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
8. I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published provided that I cannot be identified as a subject.
9. I agree to participate in this investigation and understand that I may withdraw at any time without any effect to my employment.

Name of participant _____

Signature of participant _____ Date _____

I have explained this project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that she understands the implications of participation.

Name of investigator _____

Signature of investigator _____ Date _____

Appendix F (a) - Information Sheet for Observations

INFORMATION SHEET

Date:

Title **"Pathways into Policing"**

Chief Investigator: Associate Professor Roberta Julian, Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies, School of Government, University of Tasmania.

Investigator: Barbara Stewart B.A. (Hons.), PhD Candidate, Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies, School of Government, University of Tasmania.

You are invited to assist in this research, by participating in an observation of police constables in the workplace. Your work group has been selected by (insert VicPol; TasPol or WAPol) for this section of the research. The research is being undertaken as part of the requirements for a PhD. The purpose of the research is to gain an understanding of the experiences of police constables and the various factors influencing their choice of policing as a career, with a particular interest in gender.

We are inviting police constables from Tasmania, Victoria and Western Australia to take part in the observations. There is a lack of research investigating the factors which influence individual's choice of policing as a career. The main aim of the research project is to identify such influences, with a particular focus on the ways gender socialization affects the choice of policing as a career. The observations are part of the larger study and focus mainly on interactions between officers in the workplace. The aim of this stage of the research is to gain an understanding of how officers, particularly female officers, perform their duties. Your participation in this research may assist in future police recruitment and retention practices and policies. The Police Commissioner has granted approval for interviews to be conducted with police constables in your State.

The observations will be conducted over the period of one work shift. Your participation in the study is entirely voluntary. You will be provided with a Consent

Form which you will be asked to read and sign prior to the commencement of the observations. You may withdraw from the observations at any time if you so wish.

It is intended that interaction between the researcher and participants will be minimal. Please be assured that no identifying details will be collected, all observations will be coded, and anonymity is guaranteed. As a result you will not be identifiable in the research output. Observation notes will be kept in a locked cabinet in the School of Government at the University of Tasmania for 5 years from the termination of the study, and thereafter destroyed in accordance with ethical requirements.

If you would like more information relating to the study, or participation, please contact Assoc. Prof. Roberta Julian at the Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies, University of Tasmania, on (03) 6226 2217. Approval for this research has been received from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network and (State) Police. Any concerns of an ethical nature, or complaints about the manner in which the project is conducted, should be directed to the Executive Officer of the Network, on (03)6226 2763. If you wish to be informed of the overall results of the study, they may be obtained on request from barbaras@utas.edu.au after (date to be decided).

Thank you for taking the time to read this Information Sheet, which you may keep. We hope that you will be willing to contribute to this study.

Barbara Stewart (B.A. Hons.) _____

Assoc. Prof. Roberta Julian _____

Appendix F (b) - Consent Form for Observations

CONSENT FORM

"Pathways into Policing"

1. I have read and understood the Information Sheet on this study.
2. The nature and possible effects of the study have been explained to me.
3. I understand that the study involves observations conducted over one work shift.
4. I understand there is a possibility that I may find being observed upsetting. Should this occur, I may choose not to participate, and may withdraw my consent at any time.
5. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania premises for a period of 5 years. The data will be destroyed at the end of 5 years.
6. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
7. I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published provided that I cannot be identified as a subject.
8. I agree to participate in this investigation and understand that I may withdraw at any time without any effect to my employment.

Name of participant _____

Signature of participant _____ Date _____

I have explained this project and the implications of participation in it to this volunteer.

I believe that the consent is informed and that she/he understands the implications of participation.

Name of investigator _____

Signature of investigator _____ Date _____