**CONNECTING THE GENDER DIVISION OF LABOUR IN
POLICING TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF FEMININITY
BY WOMEN ENGAGED IN POLICE WORK**

by

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Doctor of Philosophy

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**Connecting the Gender Division of Labour in
Policing to the Construction of Femininity**

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in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract:

**Connecting the Gender Division of Labour in Policing to the Construction of
Femininity**

This work investigates the relationship between the gender division of labour within the Ottawa Carleton Regional Police Service and the construction of femininity by police women. A triangulation of methodologies was used, including participant observation, and semi-structured field interviews, in order to understand the construction of femininity among police women in interaction with co-workers, civilians and family/community members. Employing a structured action approach the study revealed the importance of viewing the construction of femininity by police women as fluid, diverse and adaptive. A framework referred to as the web of bounded knowledgeability was developed to visualize the interrelationship between the structures and relationships channelling women's knowledge of their career choices. This approach makes visible the use of resources including power, control and authority in the construction of femininity by police women not typically available to women in Canadian society. Such an approach allowed a fuller understanding of police women's relationship to the police organization and the choices individual police women make in regards to their occupational life. Consistent with this approach, we can account for variation in the gender division of labour within and between police agencies as the differential availability to police women of resources used to construct femininity, e.g., interaction with members of the public, family and intimate relationships, single person patrols vs. patrolling with a partner etc. Consequently, as the resources used by police women to construct their femininity change, the construction of femininity will change revealing different patterns of a gendered division of labour.

by Nancy Lewis-Horne
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Table of Contents

Acceptance Form:	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgments	iv
Table of Contents	vi
<u>Chapter 1: Introduction</u>	4
FIGURE 1.1: Area of Analysis	7
FIGURE 1.2: Web of Bounded Knowledgeability	8
Theoretical Framework:	12
Theoretical Framework Applied to the Model of the Web of Bounded Knowledgeability:	16
Sociological Literatures:	17
Research Question:	18
<u>Chapter 2: Informing the Model (Web of Bounded Knowledgeability)</u>	
Through a Review of the Literature	21
1. <u>Women and ‘Work’ (or Occupations)</u>	21
structural explanations of sex segregation (gender division of labour):	23
internal stratification systems distributing rewards, resources and opportunities:	26
cultural explanations-the organization as gendered:	29
2. <u>Women in policing:</u>	38
Occupational sex segregation	40
Internal stratification system.	43
The extent and nature of vertical segregation within the occupation.	51
The organization itself as gendered.	53
<u>Chapter 3: Setting for the Research</u>	67
Environmental Scan of OCRPS	67
History of Police Women with OCRPS	69
Hiring of women from 1990	73
Table 3.1: Numbers of Female and Male Recruits Hired 1990-2000 (OCRPS)	73
Table 3.2: Distribution of police women participating in the study	76

Women in the RCMP:	76
Comparing the two interview samples:	77
Chapter 4: Methodology	79
i) Participant observation	79
ii) Interviews:	85
iii) Focus group:	88
iv) Organizational Chart:	89
Chapter 5: Results: The Gender Division of Labour	
<u>Occupational Sex Segregation</u>	94
Table 5.1: Sex Representation Within OCRPS	95
Table 5.2: Sworn Police Officers at the Rank of Constable by Assignment and Sex Distribution	96
<u>Internal Stratification System</u>	102
Table 5.3: Observations of Rewards distributed by the internal stratification system	103
Image of masculinity central to the way the job is done	103
Organizational support and reward for men's activities	104
Chivalry:	105
Physical aggression:	105
Popular image of police men as heterosexually attractive, "action heroes":	106
The internal stratification system as it applies to women:	107
Women not rewarded for doing masculine related tasks:	107
Under valuing women and femininity:	108
Police women identify the rewards etc. related to low prestige-internal stratification system	112
Internal reward system for women:	114
<u>Vertical Segregation</u>	116
Table 5.4: Statistical Representation of Gender Distribution Within OCRPS	116
Table 5.5: Statistical Representation of Gender Distribution Within OCRPS General Duty Assignment	117
Table #5.6: Statistical Representation of Gender Distribution Within OCRPS Criminal Investigative Services	118
Table 5.7: Percentage of Female Police Officers Within the Ranks (1999)	120
Women reflect on their career progression:	120
<u>The organization as gendered</u>	122
Policies , practices and processes differentiating women from men:	123

Pursuing policies, practices and processes encouraging heterosexuality:	128
The continuum of sexual harassment:	128
Micro-level analysis-interaction	134
Relationship, interaction and influence of co-workers:	135
Table 5.8: Summarizing previously presented findings of the relationship between women and co-workers	135
Relationship, interaction and influence of the public:	139
<u>Interactions with the public</u>	139
Negative impacts involving professional contact with the public:	145
<u>Personal, familial and intimate relationships:</u>	150
Table 5.9: Relationship Status of Interview Respondents	151
Women as single parents:	153
Women in long term intimate relationships:	154
Women with children:	156
Women without children:	158
Parental influences:	158
<u>Chapter 6: Implications of the Findings</u>	163
Policing as a resource in the construction of femininity:	175
Summary of Recommendations:	172
The gender division of labour within the OCRPS:	173
Summary of Recommendations:	180
Women's bounded knowledge of the practices, processes and structures occurring within the organization and the choices they make in response:	180
Gender division of labour:	182
Choices related to promotion:	183
Summary of Recommendations:	184
Sexualized work environment	184
Summary of Recommendations:	186
<u>Appendix</u>	192
Appendix 1: Interview Guide	193
Appendix 2: Focus Group Discussion Questions	192
<u>Bibliography</u>	197

Chapter 1: Introduction

Historically, to become a police officer in Canadian police agencies the successful candidate was young, large, strong, physically fit, had perfect vision, lacked a criminal record, was of good character, and **MALE**. A few women were hired in Canadian police agencies, but were assigned to some “dumping ground” resembling a pink collar ghetto, with less pay, and even lesser status within the police organization. That is, women were not assigned to general patrol duties, instead they performed traditionally women’s work (clerical, working with women and children), and consequently were not eligible for the rewards a career in policing provided, including salary, benefits, vertical and horizontal mobility to various assignments.

A superficial look at the number of women and men in Canadian police agencies during the past twenty years would give the impression barriers to entering policing that historically served to limit women’s entry have been removed. Certainly the federal and provincial governments have pursued policies that have encouraged the recruitment of women and other under represented groups to enter policing. However the academic literature continues to maintain that policing is a gender segregated occupation. Although the literature is limited, an earlier study of policing in Canada supports the American and British policing experience of a gender segregated division of labour.¹

1

Walker (1993), in her report for the Solicitor General of Canada discovered gendered assignment patterns in Canadian police agencies

In what follows I examine the extent and nature of the gender division of labour within policing in a Canadian context in the late 1990's. Specifically, the current research project investigates the gender division of labour within the Ottawa Carleton Regional Police Service (here after referred to as OCRPS). This study provides an important contribution to our understanding of how the gender division of labour in policing is continually reproduced, and the characteristics of the gendered assignment pattern that leads to segregation. As well, this study will provide important insight into the participation of women in the paid labour market, more specifically that part of the labour market traditionally controlled by men.

I have attempted to scrutinize what appear taken for granted assumptions pertaining to women's career choices. That is, the lack of women in higher rank, or varied assignments within police agencies is attributed to women choosing to follow traditional gender roles. Such explanations assume individuals have the freedom to choose career paths, and that this choice is unbounded. Such an assumption is used to deflect responsibility from organizational structures, policies, or practices which may play a part in segregating women in less prestigious, and less rewarding positions within the police agency. In turn, this ensures the police organization is exempt from responsibility or pressure to change.

The purpose of this research was to make visible the bounded knowledge of women's lives, which serves to both limit and make available the career choices available to women employed in policing. An heuristic model referred to as the web of bounded knowledgeability is developed and introduced to serve as a general framework outlining the overlapping roles and responsibilities framing

women's knowledge from which choices are made. As will be made obvious in the pages that follow, the police agency through structural and cultural mechanisms plays an important role in making available the limited package of information used by police women to make career decisions. Equally of interest was information related to women's bounded knowledge derived from their roles and relationships outside of policing that fed back into their working lives. Such bounded knowledge relates to women's position in the larger structures and institutions operating in Canadian society. At times these sources of information resulted in role conflicts for the woman but at other times resulted in role congruence. Women mediated their gender construction in an attempt to respond to both.

This inquiry resulted in a rich body of information which facilitated an understanding of the relationship between the construction of femininity and the gender division of labor within the OCRPS. Because this research looked at the interaction of structural and cultural mechanisms operating within the totality of women's lives, results of the research can link elements not previously related to a discussion of the gender division of labor. Depending on whether you view the bottle as half full or half empty, the results of this research inquiry can similarly be viewed as an indication of positive social change for women, or continued stagnation relating to women's lack of equality in the work world. For instance, a sample of results from the inquiry found structural and cultural mechanisms operate to disadvantage women:

- to restrict the recruitment of single mothers
- to maintain sexual harassment of police women as a dirty secret
- to socially control the personal lives of unattached police women working in rural postings

However, the inquiry found elements and opportunities for positive social change including:

- the exercise of power and authority by police women in their professional role, often denied them in their personal roles
- at times to enable police women the ability and opportunity to advocate for other women
- financial independence for police women

These and other findings from the research indicate the unique and diverse results of the inquiry. The common element in the results is the link each has with the construction of femininity by women engaged in police work.

My study posits a connection between organizational structures, career choices women make, and women's ability to construct their femininity. The triangle explores the recursive relationship between structural elements of the organization, continuous needs and resources in the construction of gender, and career choices women employed in policing make. This relationship explores the continuous feedback

between these elements. For instance, I speak of the impact career choices have on women's construction of femininity, and organizational structures. At other times I discuss the impact of organizational structures influencing women's career choices, at the same time as influencing their construction of femininity.

FIGURE 1.1: Area of Analysis

The area of analysis necessitated the identification of broad and diverse roles and relationships encompassing a heuristic model referred to as the web of bounded knowledgeability. The model is a useful framework to pull together information gleaned from the literatures, and information obtained from methodologies pursued to inform the relationships identified in the area of analysis. The model facilitates the visualization of the myriad roles and responsibilities in women's professional and personal lives. The model allows us to see the

dynamic arrangement of these roles as they are continually negotiated, balancing the demands of personal and professional relationships and responsibilities. The purpose of the web of bounded knowledgeability is to provide a

framework in which we can organize the fine details of the structures, processes, practices and relationships influencing and impacting police women. This model facilitates a fuller understanding of femininity constructed by police women. Implicit in the model of the web of bounded knowledgeability is the assumption that individuals do not have a universe of information available to them. Instead, the web of bounded knowledgeability serves to identify and organize the limited knowledge derived by individuals given their sources and contacts. In addition, the web of bounded knowledgeability is a template that broadly outlines the structures, processes, practices and relationships used as resources for police women to construct their femininity.

The model of the web of bounded knowledgeability is theoretically informed by structured action theory and builds on three sociological literatures relevant to a study of gender within the occupation of policing. From the women and occupations literature we draw on four areas to be explored including a numerical analysis examining sex segregation within the organization (horizontal and vertical segregation). At the same time, this literature alerts us to examine the micro and mid range processes that ensure men and women perform different job tasks (internal stratification system, and the organization as gendered). The sociology literature exploring gender identifies the importance of examining gender as an ongoing construction through the interactions and relationships we engage in. Consistent with this literature the model of the web of bounded knowledgeability contains elements related to women's roles and relationships (public, family, co-workers). Application of the literature related to women working in policing contextualized the areas identified in the two sociological literatures, so that similar processes could be seen occurring within the police organization. For instance, the women and occupations literature identified women performing sexual work, including smiling, flirting and stroking the ego of male customers. At first reading, the idea of police women performing sexual work was dismissed. However, the more I thought about this I could see that police women acting as prostitutes in a "john" sweep, or being seen on the arm of the under cover drug detective was indeed police women doing sexual work. Consequently, the model as developed in my work is designed to account for the gender division of labour within policing as the outcome of complex processes involving the influence of the historical division of labour within larger social structures, including the family, as well as the historical division of labour within policing.

A key feature of the web of bounded knowledgeability is its ability to account for the inter-relatedness of women's lives. Women's roles of mother, employee, daughter, wife, community activist are not separate and distinct roles. Instead, the myriad roles and responsibilities in women's lives overlap. Consequently, the web of bounded knowledgeability accounts for a host of responsibilities and relationships influencing police women's actions and choices. As will be demonstrated in both the findings and discussion of the research, the responsibilities of the working wife, and gender appropriate behaviour for police women impact their ability to perform their personal and professional roles. For example the woman arriving home following her shift and overtime, in many instances expects to make dinner and do the laundry, whereas her male partner often arrives home to a meal on the table. Similarly, members of the public have expectations regarding the appropriate behaviour of women in Canadian society, which does not include 'ordering' or directing a male civilian to respond to a woman in a position of power.

Individual areas identified within the web of bounded knowledgeability will be expanded through analysis of the literatures and findings presented in the first five chapters of the dissertation. Chapter 6 brings together the various elements of the web of bounded knowledgeability to present the interaction and relationships between individual elements, to gain an understanding of the extent and nature of the source and content of the information police women have available to them, guiding their decision making in regards to career choices, constructing their femininity and interacting within organizational processes and practices.

In summary, a model developed to include relevant roles and responsibilities of police women's lives, referred to as the web of bounded knowledgeability is used throughout this study to identify and discuss the relevant but limited information available to police women, structuring their ability to act within their professional lives. Their knowledgeability, or what they know about any given option is "bounded" or limited by what they perceive to be "true" about those options. Just as interesting from a sociological perspective is the identification of sources of this information, including the importance of informal networks of information. This introductory discussion now turns to examining the theoretical perspective informing the model of the web of bounded knowledgeability.

Theoretical Framework:

This work is informed by Giddens's structuration theory and Messerschmidt's structured action theory. Contributions from both Giddens and Messerschmidt link the macro and micro level analysis, allowing for a deeper understanding of women's experience in the police agency. From Giddens (1984: 19), the research borrows the concept of the *duality of structure*, or "the rules and resources drawn upon in the production and reproduction of social action are at the same time the means of system reproduction." Giddens focuses on the relations between action and structure. For Giddens the dualism of action and structure are complementary; for example, every action of production is also an action of re-production.

In this way, the research connects the conduct of individual actors (i.e., police officers) to the reproduction of the structural properties that allow the gender division of labour within policing. The

gender division of labour within policing is the long term result of the intended and unintended consequences of career decisions made by individual women. These decisions are made according to the “bounded knowledgeability” (see figure #1) of actors interacting within sub-structures of society. That is, structural properties are produced and re-produced through human agency. For instance, women do not always realize the end result of their individual choices could be the reproduction of the structures that allow for their inequality (gender segregation, sexual harassment are examples examined in the current work).

Messerschmidt’s structured action theory builds on structuration theory through its examination of the gendered nature of social action. Although Messerschmidt provides some analysis of the construction of femininity (his examination of gang girls, 1997), his primary focus is the relationship between masculinity and crime. The benefit of Messerschmidt’s work is in its ability to demonstrate the construction of specific forms of gender through social action. Structured action theory understands the construction of gender as a situational accomplishment. Messerschmidt identifies gender relations as socially constructed differences between and within masculinity and femininity that both constrain and enable action.

Messerschmidt does not apply structured action theory to explain the reflexive nature of the relationship between the construction of femininity and the gender division of labour within policing. However, structured action theory contains many concepts that help us to understand the complex processes that result in the gender division of labour within policing characteristic of Canadian police

agencies entering the new millennium. Most important for the purpose of my research are Messerschmidt's analyses of the social structures affecting the construction of gender (and simultaneously race/ethnicity and class) as the gender division of labour, the structure of power and the structure of sexuality. These three structures overlap, and in the course of social action social actors perpetuate and transform these structures within the same interaction, and these structures simultaneously constrain and enable social action (Messerschmidt, 1993).

The concept of power is the common element linking Giddens and Messerschmidt to my research. Power is an important element in both Giddens's structuration theory and Messerschmidt's structured action theory. From Giddens we understand that options, resources, needs and authority are differentially distributed, comprising structures of domination. The options and resources available to achieve a need will be different for policemen than for police women. The action pursued by individuals comprising these different groups reproduces relations of dominance and subordination. From Messerschmidt we understand that the basis of power held by policemen is derived from male control of the important institutions of power in society, and their success in translating this power to smaller social groups which define gender relations on a day to day basis.

The importance of the concept of power to my research is demonstrated through reference to Reiner's (1992: 109) very apt description of police officers as the "microcosmic mediator of the relations of power in a society". Reiner's description alerts us to the very important role police officers play both in the lives of individuals and in the community. Police officers mediate conflict within the

community, often times favouring the rights of one individual over the rights of another. Hamner, Radford and Stanko (1989: 187), alert us to the importance of identifying gender as a structuring element mediating the relations of power. In fact, Hamner, et al. argue that gender needs to be interpreted to mean not solely the gender of the individual police officer, but a recognition that the structures in which they engage are gendered including the police organization and society. Hamner et. al. warn that the structure in which police officers interact is gendered (i.e., the greater social world), they themselves are gendered and act in a gendered reality. The ongoing debate regarding the ineffectiveness of police agencies to deal with wife battering, and to protect women in their homes is persuasive evidence of the link between power and masculinity at the societal level.² This work points to the importance of incorporating structured action theory to our understanding of both the limitations of police interaction into the lives of women, but also the very real consequences of providing police with this role.

Interestingly, a discussion of police women and their exercise of power (as opposed to their subjugation to power) is absent from the academic literature. As findings presented in my study reveal, police women have available to them power and authority to which many women in Canadian society never have access. Police women's use of power both to achieve their job tasks and negotiate their femininity provides an interesting and important contribution to both the literature on policing and 'women and work'.

2

George Rigakos (1995) provides analysis of the ineffectiveness of one Canadian police agency to intervene to protect women, even when faced with the existence of a restraining order.

Further, my study recognizes that police women are also gendered, and they interact in the lives of individual civilians in a gendered way, within structures that are gendered (read male). This begs the question, do police women engage with members of the public as women, or do they respond to the gendered structures in which they work? Are the resources of the occupation used by police women to allow them to engage as women, or to engage as mechanisms of social control in a gendered (read male) structure? The current academic literature has not addressed these questions to my satisfaction. These are two of the questions addressed in my study, as are the implications of such an approach to gender.

Theoretical Framework Applied to the Model of the Web of Bounded Knowledgeability:

Drawing on Messerschmidt's structured action theory, an advantage of the web of bounded knowledgeability is its ability to blend macro-sociological influences with a micro-interactional understanding of the gender division of labour within policing. In addition to identifying the structures of society that result in women's inequality³, the web of bounded knowledgeability requires an analysis of micro- sociological elements involving the ongoing interactions of individual actors within police agencies. Of specific interest is the ongoing interactions of individual actors that relate to the accomplishment of gender for police women. This work melds both a macro-structural and a micro-interactional approach to understand the multi-dimensional concept of gender. This approach sees gender as created through the ongoing interactions of individual actors on a day to day basis.

3

as identified by Messerschmidt (1993) as the gender division of labour, the structure of power, and the structure of sexuality

However, these interactions are structured by larger societal understandings of gender. In this way men and women do not interact ‘anew’ with each individual interaction. Instead their interactions are structured by society’s approach to gender.

Sociological Literatures:

Elements contained in the model of the web of bounded knowledgeability were informed through a review of the three academic literatures surveyed for the study: ‘women and work’; ‘women in policing’; and the ‘sociology of gender’. An analysis of the three literatures reviewed in chapter 2, provides a more thorough analysis of both the structural and cultural issues relevant to the research question than just a review of existing research related to women in policing. For instance, the women and occupations literature not only alerted me to the importance of understanding the vertical and horizontal patterns of occupational segregation, but also enabled me to recognize the internal stratification system which differentially distributes rewards and benefits to occupational tasks. In addition this literature raises issue regarding the gendering processes engaged in by the organization. Analysis of the women and occupations literature revealed the importance of shifting the level of analysis from the occupational category, to focus on the individual job, i.e., not just the overall distribution of males and females in the organization, but sex segregation in the job tasks.

Transgressing criminology, applying sociological literature to the area of inquiry included analysis of the sociological literature discussing gender. Review of this sociological literature emphasizes two dimensions in the definition of gender: power and difference. Power relates to images

of masculinity in which masculinity is associated with power, set within a stratification system placing masculinity as dominant to femininity. Until recently the gender literature understood gender as involving difference between masculinity and femininity. A focus on difference leads us to look for difference and ignore similarities between gender. However a more helpful approach to gender consistent with a structured action approach suggests we understand gender as overlapping curves that continue to evolve, adapting as the situation demands. This approach observes gender being constantly negotiated and recreated, through interactions with others, given the resources (structures and interactions) available. An interesting dimension to this literature suggested we incorporate an understanding of gender to our bodies, so that we learn to manage our bodies in a manner consistent with our understanding of masculinity and femininity. Consistent with this approach of viewing gender as socially constructed, women can construct a femininity which includes a relationship to their bodies as active agents, capable of inflicting or receiving violence.

Each of the areas encompassing the web of bounded knowledgeability, was identified by the various literatures. The advantage of this model is that it is not limited to use with police women. Tailoring this model through a review of other sociological literatures, the web of bounded knowledgeability could adjust to fit the circumstances of other groups of individuals in other occupations. It is hoped that this model will be adopted and adapted by other researchers examining other occupations, and explore other facets of gender.

Research Question:

Women enter policing with similar career aspirations as do men (C. Martin, 1996, and Coffey, Savage and Brown 1992). However, women's career progression is different than that of men, with the result that there is a gender division of labour in policing, characterized as both vertical and horizontal segregation. The current research project was guided by the quest to identify the various elements of structure and agency guiding police women's career choices (figure 1.1). To what extent do the presence or absence of resources supplied by the occupation that tailor women's gender construction influence the choices they make in their job? The existing literature examining gender issues in policing explains the gender division of labour as a result of a prestige scale that ranks skills and abilities associated with masculinity higher than the skills and abilities associated with femininity. This prestige scale implies a rigid dichotomy of gender appropriate skills and abilities that can be identified as masculine or feminine. However if we adopt a structured action approach which considers the job of policing as a resource for accomplishing masculinity and femininity, then the definition of gender appropriate skills and abilities varies according to the work area or assignment. That is, women and men in policing will demonstrate and tolerate displays of femininity and masculinity that vary between physical spaces and assignments in the police agency.

This calls into question the current academic literature that provides an account of the gender division of labour within policing as organized according to the simplistic dichotomy of gender assigned skills. Instead, the gender division of labour will be explained according to structured mobility in which women and men make career 'choices' according to the web of bounded knowledgeability they engage in, allowing them to construct certain gender identities, or to escape the construction of others'

gender identity. There are physical spaces and assignments in policing that allow for the construction of masculinity and femininity in isolation from each other; however, there are also shared physical spaces and integrated assignments where gender construction occurs in conflict or in harmony in the presence of the other.

Gender construction can also occur in interaction with community members. That is police women do not construct their gender identity isolated from influences affecting gender construction and accountability in the greater society. Interactions with gendered actors in the community also influence the construction of femininity among police women.

Specifically the goals of my research project are:

- to link the literature discussing women in policing within the broader sociological literature examining women and occupations to provide a more in-depth understanding of the structures and relationships providing resources in which police women make choices about their career, and in which they construct their femininity. A model referred to as the web of knowledgeability is developed and referred to throughout my research to understand and identify the structures and relationships that enable or constrain the options police women see as available to them.
- to further the literature and sociological understanding about gender construction, specifically the construction of femininity. To understand how women use the resources at hand to construct a femininity that is fluid, diverse and adaptive. To broaden our understanding of femininity to include not just traditional images of femininity but images of femininity that include physical and verbal aggression and the use of power and authority.
- to investigate the connection between the construction of femininity and the choices women make in their career and personal lives. Questions to be addressed include: do women make choices regarding assignments and working relationships to accommodate specific gender constructions? Do women's personal relationships influence their construction of femininity and in turn influence their career choices? Conversely do career choices influence specific elements

of a police woman's gender construction?

These are lofty goals worthy of pursuit. The work offers a different way of understanding the connection between gender and work, and offers conclusions and recommendations to respond to findings that observe a gender division of labour within the police agency. This work is exploratory, but offers interesting insights directing future research.

Chapter 2: Informing the Model (Web of Bounded Knowledgeability)

Through a Review of the Literature

As was suggested in the first chapter, three sociological literatures were reviewed in an attempt to gain a broader understanding of police women and their construction of femininity. These literatures include:

- women and ‘work’, or women and occupations
- women working in policing
- sociological study of gender

The purpose of the literature review was three fold: first, to guide development of the model of the web of bounded knowledgeability; second, to learn lessons from existing research examining complementary areas of inquiry; and third, to ensure that the current study not ‘re-invent the wheel’, but move the research to areas currently unexplored. A major advantage of the academic literature is its ability to inform us about women working in policing and non-traditional women’s occupations in other western, industrialized countries. Consequently, before describing the case study of the gender division of labour within OCRPS, it is necessary to review the current sociological knowledge on the linkage between women working in the paid labour market, women working in police agencies, and the sociology of gender.

1. Women and ‘Work’ (or Occupations)

This chapter begins by exploring the current state of scholarly knowledge of women working in the labour market. This literature is often referred to as ‘women and work’ or ‘women and occupations’. In addition, research by sociologists examining gender will be interspersed where appropriate to clarify and expand the sociological knowledge of gender, and its importance in work organizations. The focus of this review is to derive from the literature lessons to be learned, and examples to be taken from the experience of women in the labour force in other non-traditional women’s occupations, and from international contexts, which may shed light on the position of women working in policing in Canada. The importance of the literature review rests in its ability to detail the commonality in experiences of women whether they work in policing or another criminal justice occupation, or on a shop floor. Women are subject to differing rewards, resources and opportunities by virtue of their occupation, or relationships; however, the commonality of their experience is the inequality in the outcome of the resources, rewards, and opportunities.

The chapter introduces several central concepts integral to understanding the model of the web of bounded knowledgeability, including:

- the sociological concept of gender
- the gender division of labour
- gendering processes engaged in by the organization
- the distribution of resources, rewards and opportunities within the organization
- horizontal and vertical mobility

I begin by introducing the concept of the gender division of labour as understood by the ‘women and work’ literature. The chapter introduces structural approaches to understanding the gender division of labour within and between occupations. Structural approaches provide a picture of sex segregation

within the labour market, first at the aggregate level, but more useful data emerges as we refine the level of analysis to focus on processes, interactions and relationships at the mid range, and micro- interactional levels. Following an examination of structural approaches, the discussion focuses on cultural approaches that recognize the social and cultural creation of masculinities and femininities and the recent approach by sociologists to identify the work organization itself as gendered. Cultural approaches to the gendering of the organization are expanded to include analysis of the relations of sexuality and power within the organization.

structural explanations of sex segregation (gender division of labour):

From a structural perspective, reference to occupational segregation by sex as discussed in the literature refers to the observation that females and males are differentially distributed over the occupational categories that comprise the occupational structure of a particular economy (Moore, 1985). Research by Reskin and Hartmann (1986: 20) is characteristic of this earlier work:

In 1980, 48 percent of all women worked in occupations that were at least 80 percent female...Men were even more likely to work in occupations dominated by members of their own sex: 71 percent were employed in occupations that were at least 80 percent male...These proportions are slightly lower for black women and men.

Although this sociological literature originates in the 1980's, continued examination of women working in the labour force supports earlier findings that women and men do not work in the same industries and occupations.

Although Canadian statistics are not directly comparable to the data gathered by Reskin and

Hartmann⁴, Statistics Canada's Labour Force survey (1998) does provide an indication that sex segregation within the Canadian labor market persists. Analysis of the Labour Force survey (1998) reveals that 26.6% of working males are employed in industries that are highly sex segregated, in that 80% of the employees within the industry are male⁵. In contrast, working females are less likely to work in industries over represented by women. The labor force survey reveals that 22.8% of women work in industries over represented by women, that is represented by at least 70% women⁶.

The 'women and work' literature is not content at looking at aggregate level data; instead more recent research focuses analysis at both the mid range (the level of the firm or occupation), and at the micro level (involving the interactional processes and relationships that individual workers engage in). At the level of mid range inquiries, researchers have examined the prevalence of sex segregation at the establishment, firm or job level, directing our attention to sex segregation within job classifications, or within individual firms/establishments. For instance, in the context of the current study we examine the

4

Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey (1998) measured the industry and not the occupation of the respondent. The women and work literature suggests that as the unit of analysis becomes more focussed (the occupation of the respondent is more focussed than the industry in which the occupation is situated), sex segregation will be more pronounced.

5

Those industries identified by Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey (1998) as employing more than 80% males include forestry, furniture and fixture, paper and allied, primary metal, metal fabricating, machinery, non-metallic mineral, fishing and trapping, metal mines, non-metal mines, quarries/sand pits and general contractors, trade contractors and mining.

6

Those industries identified by Statistics Canada Labour Force Survey (1998) as employing more than 70% women include, health and welfare and personal services

representation of women employed in policing between provinces, and more specifically the tasks and assignments associated with the position of police constable. Although all police officers at the rank of constable are referred to as constables, have the authority of peace officers (according to the Criminal Code of Canada), and receive the same base rate of pay, a pattern is observed indicating assignments in the police organization are arranged by gender. This calls into question claims that women are making inroads into occupations traditionally identified as male work, and with it expectations that women's economic status will improve.

The earlier literature examining occupational sex segregation in the 1980's, directed our attention to aggregate level statistics drawing a picture of women's increased labour force participation rates (including women with young children), and women's increased participation in occupations traditionally reserved exclusively by males. Reskin (1993: 247) advises that the limited occupational-level "integration" of the 1970s and 1980s "simply shifted the locus of segregation from the occupation to the job", meaning some women have entered traditionally male industries or occupations, however they do not do the same jobs as men. In their investigation of occupational desegregation by sex, Reskin and Roos (1990: 71) concluded they found no clear cut examples of women's integration in traditionally male occupations characterized as genuinely integrated, or total integration. Instead, Reskin and Roos (1990) discovered a form of desegregation they labeled ghettoization, as the modal outcome of the feminizing occupations studied.

Ghettoization can also include vertical segregation as women are promoted within pink collar

ghettos to supervise other women employees. In her study Reskin (1992: 350) found vertical segregation was characterized by women holding the title of manager (supervisor etc.), but not necessarily having the authority or decision-making capabilities that traditionally went along with the title. An examination of the literature in this area by Yancey Martin and Harkreader (1993: 296) supports Reskin. The authors state, “research on the United States and Canada shows that, although women have made strides in gaining access to managerial jobs, they are crowded into middle-management and lower-echelon jobs, have minimal authority over men, have little say in major decisions, and receive less compensation than men.”

The literature indicates ghettoization occurs because men begin to reject specialties and occupations that become less desirable in terms of level of autonomy, entrepreneurial opportunities, and the work as a resource for the construction of masculinity. That is, when the work is no longer associated with masculine tasks, or when it becomes obvious that women can perform the job tasks equivalent to men then men leave the occupation. When men begin to reject the occupation, women are encouraged to staff these positions. In this way, occupations traditionally staffed by men are not filled by women until men begin to leave them.

internal stratification systems distributing rewards, resources and opportunities:

Ghettoization of women ensures that women entering the occupation are not provided the same rewards, resources or opportunities as are men. Patterns contributing to sex segregation at both mid level (firm or occupation), and micro-level (job tasks and relationship processes) were observed by

previous research. Ghettoization is characterized by women and men holding the same occupational title or rank, but typically performing different job tasks, or employed in different companies or industries. Associated with this differential distribution of tasks is an internal stratification system in which tasks men do are provided more value and reward than the tasks predominantly performed by women. According to Reskin and Roos (1990: 72) “men retained most of the more desirable jobs; women were disproportionately relegated to lower-status specialties, less desirable work settings, lower paying industries, and part-time rather than full-time work.” Discussion of internal stratification systems by Reskin and Roos(1990) alerts us to the importance of identifying the rewards, resources and opportunities associated with an occupation or organization.

In addition to ghettoization, Reskin and Roos (1990) identified a process of resegregation characterized by the change from a predominantly male occupational specialty to one predominantly filled by females. The sex segregation in work varies over time. Historical examination of sex composition of occupations indicates change in the sex typing of many specific occupations (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986: 8). Reskin and Roos’s (1992) edited examination of occupational sex segregation indicates some shifting in occupational sex segregation. Predominately the shift involves a few occupations recording a shift from majority male to female. For example, clerical workers shifted from being overwhelmingly male in the late nineteenth century, to the situation in 1999 with clerical work continuing to be preformed by a single sex, but currently that sex is female. Along with the feminization of clerical work came a reduction in the wages, mobility and status associated with the job. Pringle and Game (1983: 15) suggest “there is nothing static or fixed about the sexual division of labour. The

content of men's work and women's work is subject to change...if anything remains fixed, it is the distinction between men's work and women's work." Crompton (1990: 336) draws similar conclusions in her analysis of women's employment history in Britain. Crompton (1990: 336) argues, "Women's occupational inequality changes its form, it is renegotiated, but the underlying structure of inequality continues."

Although resegregation and ghettoization indicate that the gender composition of occupations is dynamic, it represents limited progress for women and indicates the persistence of sex segregation within occupations. Research indicates the gender identity of jobs and occupations is repeatedly reproduced, sometimes in new forms-but rarely in the direction of gender equality in work organizations.

A review of the literature adopting a structural approach examining occupational sex segregation encourages the development of the model of bounded knowledgeability to investigate the existence of ghettoization and re-segregation within the occupation of policing and to understand the internal stratification system comprising the distribution of resources, rewards and opportunities within the occupation. My study will heed Reskin's caution, and address the level of analysis and the specific population units studied to ensure we identify the dynamics at the job level. In this way, Reskin directs the focus not to aggregate figures collected by Statistics Canada, but to the micro level interactions and processes that determine the "job", including the tasks and relationships the incumbent engages in. Consequently, the current study will provide the aggregate level data situating women in policing in

Canada, but will devote most of its energy to looking beyond occupational categories of integration e.g., to examine the level of integration of the police constable job, and to recognize the micro- interactional processes and relationships that contribute to the continuing gender division of labour within the occupation of policing.

cultural explanations-the organization as gendered:

An alternative explanation to the structural approach used by researchers such as Reskin, Roos and Hartmann, involves a cultural approach examining the organization as a gendered entity. These theories begin from the perspective that organizations themselves are gendered. The concept of gender refers to the culturally and socially developed scripts of masculinity and femininity that individual males and females adopt, creating socially appropriate men and women. That is, we construct our masculinity or femininity as individual men or women according to society's collective understanding of what it is to be masculine or feminine. The result being we are gender accountable and largely consistent with societal gender expectations.

Creating and assigning gender is an important societal process and one that goes largely unnoticed by members of society. However, all societal institutions influence the creation of masculinity and femininity in individual societal members. For the purposes of my study we will examine contributions sociologists studying gender have made to our understanding of work organizations. For researchers such as Acker (1990), looking at organizations as gendered allows insight into the persistence of gender segregation in work organizations.

Joan Acker (1990) is credited with recognizing and elaborating a theory of gendered organizations. Acker suggests that organizational practices and processes, together with the arena work organizations provide, play an important role in the dissemination of cultural images of gender and the construction of gender identity. Other researchers in the field, such as Reskin and Hartmann (1986: 8) support the link between occupational sex typing and cultural constructions of gender. A theory of gendered organizations begins by asserting that organizations are not gender neutral, nor asexual. Acker (1990: 151, 152) questions the gender neutral assertion of the traditional organizational theories. She suggests,

the abstract, bodiless worker, who occupies the abstract, gender-neutral job has no sexuality, no emotions, and does not procreate. The absence of sexuality, emotionality, and procreation in organizational logic and organizational theory is an additional element that both obscures and helps to reproduce the underlying gender relations...

The abstract worker is actually a man, and it is the man's body, its sexuality, minimal responsibility in procreation, and conventional control of emotions that pervades work and organizational processes. Women's bodies-female sexuality, their ability to procreate and their pregnancy breast-feeding, and child care, menstruation, and mythic "emotionality"-are suspect, stigmatized, and used as grounds for control and exclusion.

Acker's (1990: 146) reference to the organization as gendered is influenced by Connell (1987), and West and Zimmerman (1987) recognizing two dimensions in the definition of gender:

- First, gender involves relationships of power. Gender contains structures of stratification, with the dominant nature and beliefs related to masculinity and subordinate nature and beliefs associated with femininity.⁷
- Second, gender has been traditionally understood by sociologists as difference between

7

Oskamp and Costanza (1993)

masculinity and femininity. Difference suggests two discrete genders, without overlap, positing each as the opposite of the other.⁸

More recent work in gender studies marks a shift in focusing on gender as difference, and instead focuses on men and women as “overlapping on multiple dimensions and gender stereotypes being fleshed out in multiple subtypes.” (Oskamp and Costanza (1993: 189) This conceptualization of gender involves more flexibility, understanding behaviour adapts as the situation demands. For instance in his examination of “girls in the gang”, Messerschmidt (1993) focuses on the construction of femininity by girl gang members, addressing the question “are gang girls doing masculinity?” Messerschmidt argues they are not “doing masculinity”, but are constructing a specific type of femininity using the resources available to them, given their structural circumstances of race, class and gender, or as West and Zimmerman (1987) suggest gender is ‘situationally accomplished’- we do gender according to the social situation in which we find ourselves. In this view of constructing gender, gender identity is viewed as a dynamic construction. It is the job of the social scientist to observe under what conditions (cultural, subcultural, expectations) gender is accomplished. Consequently, gender has to be made, femininity and masculinity does not just happen.

8

Epstein (1992: 232) argues that the belief in difference invariably results in inequalities—we maintain boundaries between the sexes at both the micro level of interaction, and at the level of the broader institutional structures. Both support cultural values that encourage difference. Even when real boundaries change, as when women take jobs labeled as traditionally male, conceptual boundaries allowing for distinctions between the sexes remain the same i.e., women are seen as doing the job tasks differently than men, having less commitment to the job than men, when in fact they behave the same as men. As a result of our focus on difference, Epstein suggests we are mislead, not recognizing that difference is superficial, and not examining the convergence of attitudes and behaviours between genders.

The model of the web of bounded knowledgeability approaches gender as a social construction. This model conceptualizes gender roles as variant, and this variation is widely construed. Gender is constantly renegotiated and recreated, through interactions with others, and in relation to the broader structures and social forces operating in society, and the work organization. Gender as a concept used in the current study includes an understanding of the importance of both structure and agency. Gender is not determined by structure alone, as agency allows for variation in gender's construction. Gender is constructed through interaction with various resources some of which are structural resources, e.g., occupational structures, and others which include opportunity for personal/professional interaction and relationships. This approach to gender suggests a recursive relationship between structure and agency. When we speak of "masculinities" and "femininities", we are referring to multiple, overlapping and competing conceptions of masculinity and femininity.

Gender as a social construction involves a hierarchal arrangement in which society bestows differential rewards on masculinity than femininity. Elaboration of a theory of gendered organizations must contain reference to the hierarchal arrangement of gender within the work organization. The dominant gender ideology is associated with a particular construction of masculinity, which Messerschmidt identifies as hegemonic masculinity. According to Messerschmidt, (1993: 82) "In contemporary Western industrialized societies, hegemonic masculinity is defined through work in the paid-labor market, the subordination of women, heterosexism, and the driven and uncontrollable sexuality of men. Refined still further, hegemonic masculinity emphasizes practices toward authority, control, competitive individualism, independence, aggressiveness, and the capacity for violence." The

very important role played by heterosexism in the gender ideology of masculinity is indicated by the linkage of man's identity with his sexuality, so that "sexual impotence threatens not only a man's sexuality, but his masculinity as well" (Messerschmidt, 1993: 75).

Consistent with Messerschmidt's approach, understanding heterosexualism and the practice of heterosexuality in western industrialized societies draws our attention to relations of power between the sexes.⁹ A cultural approach to the role of organizations in promoting or creating the gender division of labour includes analysis of the sexual relationships of power occurring in the organization, and draws a connection between power relations involving sexuality and women's continued economic inequality. This approach recognizes gendered organizations promote a sexualized work environment. As a social creation, the organization creates, and maintains specific elements of a sexualized work environment. Burrell and Hearn (1989) connect male power derived through sexualized practices to men's material advantage in the labour market. Sexuality includes a range of practices from feelings to flirtations to sexual acts, accomplished willingly, unwillingly or forcibly by those involved. They direct us to broaden our definition of sexuality in order to understand the current imbalances of power between genders. Examples of research demonstrating the sexual nature of occupations and work include the sexual commodification of women (cocktail waitresses), sexual harassment of women employees, the movement of employees throughout the organization, and discourse and imagery emphasizing men's sexuality at the work site¹⁰. Burrell and Hearn (1989: 13) contend,

⁹also see Rich (1983)

¹⁰see for instance Hall (1993); Epstein (1992)

1. sexuality is an ordinary and frequent public process rather than an extraordinary feature of private life; and
2. sexuality is one aspect of an all-pervasive 'politics of the body' rather than a separable, discrete set of practices (Foucault, 1977).

Following this thread, Adkins (1995) argues sexuality is a structuring process of gender in which women are disadvantaged in the sexual power relationship that both work and organizations create. Authors such as Adkins(1995: 224), Collinson (1989), Hearn, Sheppard, Tancred-Sheriff and Burrell(1989) recognize that sexuality is not separate from economic relations, but constitutes part of gendered economic relations. Adkins (1995: 141) explains,

The sexualized nature of women's work means that even when men and women work in the same occupation—be it behind a bar or in a restaurant, as a flight attendant or a bank clerk or a secretary—men and women are different sorts of workers...women and only women must maintain an attractive, appealing appearance, smile, make customers feel good and respond to sexual advances and innuendoes. The sexual subordinate status of women is not, however, simply operative between women workers and men customers, but also operates between women and men workers.

The significance of heterosexual relations is further discussed by Rich (1983) who argues heterosexuality is an integral part of a "system of social relations which maintains men's power over women." Witz and Savage (1992: 224) pick up on this theme explaining the compulsory nature of heterosexuality for women employees secures men's power over women in the work place. Witz and Savage (1992: 224) introduce the forgotten but essential element of agency into the discussion recognizing the possibility of resistance by women workers to these social relations (heterosexism). The authors acknowledge that although possible, resistance was rarely observed in their research, as it

carried a high price–dismissal for the woman employee.

Hegemonic masculinity structures relations of power between men and women, and also between groups of men. Distribution of power between groups of men is determined by class, race, and sexual preference. Messerschmidt (1993: 184) suggests that the ideology of hegemonic masculinity constructed by the police accounts for police use of power and coercion against men of subordinate masculinities, including visible minority, working class and gay men.

Hegemonic masculinity is complemented by emphasized femininity. Emphasized femininity is characterized by whiteness, heterosexism, availability or at least her willingness to defer to dominant males, emotional nurturing, and maintenance of relationships. Connell (1987: 187) describes emphasized femininity further, as

the display of sociability rather than technical competence, fragility in mating scenes, compliance with men's desire for titillation and ego-stroking [and] acceptance of marriage and child care...At the mass level these are organized around themes of sexual receptivity in relation to younger women and motherhood in relation to older women.

Others have described attributes of stereotypical female behaviour as including “emotional”, “weak”, “dependent”, “passive”, “uncompetitive”, and “lacking confidence”. Further, Oskamp, and Costanzo, (1993: 179) describe the gender construction of femininity as including “good interpersonal skills, she should be passive and docile, and she should cooperate with others.”

An interesting addition to the study of gender as a social creation is McCaughey's (1998) work focusing on the physical dimension of the social construction of gender. McCaughey (1998: 280) argues gender is so pervasive we incorporate an understanding of gender to our bodies,

Gender ideology affects the way we interpret and experience physical bodies. Gender is lived ideology-a system of ideas about men and women with which we live our lives. As lived ideology, those ideas get transformed into specific bodily practices.

Consistent with this view, the way we use our bodies, our understanding of our bodies, and their capabilities are deeply imbued with an understanding of gender ideology.

Our cultural understanding of femininity (as socially defined) does not include an element of physical aggression. In fact McCaughey (1998: 279) suggests we as a society are deeply skeptical and fearful women's aggression. Certainly Chesney-Lind's (1997) analysis of young women offenders confirms that American society is increasingly punitive toward "violent" women. Labeling Lisa Neve a 21 year old woman, a dangerous offender and providing her an indefinite prison sentence may be illustrative of the fear of aggressive women in Canadian society. Conversely not recognizing in the early stages of the investigation Karla Holmolka's responsibility in the violence inflicted on at least 4 young Ontario women (and the death of 3 of these women) is consistent with our cultural understanding of women as passive, and not instrumental.

According to McCaughey (1998: 280) (drawing from Young (1990)), girls and women are taught to be passive, instead of active agents. She links the cultural understanding of femininity with the

incorporation of these messages into an understanding and use of the body,

girls do not develop a relationship with their bodies as agents, as instruments of action. Hence, we learn to “throw like a girl,” that is, to withhold strength, to approach physical tasks in a timid manner. Girls and women tend not to make full use of the body’s spatial and lateral potentialities.

However, McCaughey accounts for women’s agency and resistance suggesting women can learn to use their bodies as active agents. Thus she can account for police women who must engage their bodies to inflict violence, as well as expect violence to be done to their bodies. McCaughey (1998: 279) argues women can develop a “fighting spirit”, but a fighting spirit is more than learning a set of fighting tactics, it involves transforming what it means to have a female body. McCaughey(1998: 283) explains this process involves self-defense instructors helping “women re-imagine their bodies as active agents capable of fighting, yelling, and killing.”

McCaughey’s (1998: 281) research outlines a process of deconstructing femininity for women who engage in self-defense training. Self-defense training encourages women to “internalize a different kind of bodily knowledge...a new bodily comportment.” (1998: 281) The body becomes “a potential locus of resistance.” Specifically this new body image involves knowing you can take a punch, as well as knowing you can deliver one. McCaughey’s research is an important contribution to our understanding of the ability of women to construct a femininity which accounts for women’s agency and also their resistance to the dominant ideology of emphasized femininity.

In sum, a theory of gendered organizations accounts for sex segregation in occupations by

emphasizing organizational processes and structures, as well as gendered meanings and relationships individuals encounter within the organizational setting. Within the organizational setting the individual acts to be gender consistent and accountable, or individuals can demonstrate their resistance to organizational gendering by demonstrating an opposing gender identity, not consistent with the gender identity the organization supports/creates¹¹.

2. **Women in policing:**

A brief review of the women and work literature raised four areas to be examined in the model of the web of bounded knowledgeability:

1. Occupational sex segregation
2. Internal stratification systems
3. Vertical segregation
4. The organization as gendered

In the next section of the review of literature, these four areas identified as issues of importance by the 'women and work' literature will be applied to the existing literature examining women working in policing. The purpose of this application is to identify lessons learned by previous researchers, investigating the experience of women employed in policing. The intent of this literature is to raise our awareness so that we may identify similar structural and cultural processes operating in the field investigation. Consequently the literature is simply a guide, and the international (especially American)

¹¹ Hall, (1993: 453)

context of it may not relate directly to the Canadian situation, but it does raise our understanding and awareness of processes that may be occurring within one Canadian police agency. The purpose of the research is to test whether these processes can be observed operating within the OCRPS serving to structure women's career choices, reproducing the gender division of labour.

A brief review of literatures examining the employment of women in other non-traditional criminal justice occupations provides interesting insights and parallels to women employed in policing. Preliminary observations of the literatures examining women working in policing, corrections and law tentatively indicate the entrenchment of a gender division of labour within each occupation. The most obvious similarities are between the gender division of labour in policing, and that of corrections as both occupations incorporate a traditional working class masculinity developed around images of social control, anger, physical and verbal aggression. Such a gender construction incorporates images of masculinity as valorized, and anything associated with femininity vilified, so that the working culture, and the images of policing or corrections become associated with maleness, the organization itself is gendered, and the reward structure benefits maleness through both horizontal and vertical segregation.

The practice of law is a little different. Lawyers continue to use their work as a resource for the construction of masculinity, but because the practice of law does not involve physical aggression or tests of physical aggression, masculinity is constructed differently. For lawyers masculinity is constructed through networks of association, and the prestige attached to individuals within that network. Also, masculinity that relates to physical stamina involves the long hours that lawyers are able

to devote to their jobs.

Limited comparisons between women in policing and women in corrections and law raises interesting opportunities for contrast within the broader women and occupations literatures. For instance, the picture of the gender division of labour may not be identical in each organization or occupation, but the literatures clearly indicated there exists a gender segregated labour force in each occupation. Most importantly, difference in the gender division of labour between occupations is a result of the different organizational structures and personal/professional interactions influencing the relations of work.

1. Occupational sex segregation. The earlier discussion of the 'women and work' literature revealed evidence of occupational sex segregation within the labour market. The literature defined occupational sex segregation as males and females working in different occupations and at different levels within occupations. This research suggests women's progress at desegregation is in the form of ghettoization. This literature would lead us to believe that although women have been given access to jobs within the criminal justice system, they are not the same jobs held by men, i.e., men and women do not work side by side, they do not do the same jobs. The purpose of this discussion is to draw a picture of occupational sex segregation within policing, through a review of the relevant literature. Have other researchers discovered occupational sex segregation within policing, and what are the patterns evident in their observations?

Beginning from an historic perspective sex segregation within all criminal justice system occupations was evident¹². It was never expected that men and women would do the same job tasks within the criminal justice system. Historically the gender division of labour in policing was characterized by rigid categories of appropriate women's work, and men's work, with women hired as civilians to do traditionally feminine functions, e.g., administer the paper work, intervene with women and children as both offenders and victims. While men were employed as sworn officers, with better pay, stable and secure work environments, women were provided fewer benefits, and their employment could be terminated at the whim of the organization, and/or if they married.¹³ There is some concern in the academic literature that women are becoming re-ghettoized into these once traditional functions as women police officers are now being "pushed" and "pulled" into specialty functions such as sexual and child abuse details, domestic violence units, school liaison units etc. They

12

Similar to policing, the literature examining women employed as correctional officers notes the historical development of the gender division of labour. Like the experiences of women working in policing, government policy encouraging the recruitment of women in corrections was the result of equal employment opportunity legislation and regulations both in Canada and the United States. The legislation allowed for the expansion of women's roles in corrections, and employment growth in their numbers, especially in facilities housing male inmates. For instance refer to Zimmer (1986), and for Canadian experience see Baltzer (1985)

13

The historical development of women pursuing a legal career is somewhat similar to the experience of women in other criminal justice occupations in that women in law were relegated to a limited number of low prestige specialties including "domestic relations, child custody, voluntary legal defense of the poor and government work.". More recent research indicates, sex segregation in the profession of law is characterized by internal stratification, in terms of inequality of opportunity of type of legal work, responsibilities and reward structure. Women lawyers had fewer choices for specialization than their male counterpart. Hagan's (1990) study of lawyers in Toronto found women to be under-represented in corporate and commercial law and civil litigation. Women lawyers are over-represented in family law.

are kept out of special units such as dog handling, mounted branch and fire arms duties. Also, there is some concern that women are not welcome in detective investigations units¹⁴. It is interesting that research examining women in policing from Britain¹⁵, the United States¹⁶, Israel¹⁷ and Canada¹⁸ find elements of occupational sex segregation within their own national context.

The previous introductory chapter described the current gender division of labour within policing as providing women a narrow range of positions within the occupation (both vertically and horizontally). The positions women occupy differ somewhat between countries, with women in Israel comprising 80% of all administrative workers, and constituting 70% of the passport control units at airports¹⁹. Women in Britain were over-represented in the “feminine caring posts” such as Special

14

In addition to international research indicating women are under represented and not encouraged to pursue assignments in investigative units, Force et al (1995: 108) asked employees in a medium sized Ontario police agency to rate the comment “*Women are not suited for some types of police work.*” 66.7% of males agreed with this statement, whereas only 39.3% of females agreed with the statement. According to work area, agreement with this statement was strongest among respondents working in criminal investigations division (78.6%). It is interesting to note that only one police woman had worked in criminal investigations division in this police agency, and at the time of the research she was no longer assigned in this area.

¹⁵see Brown, Sargent (1995); Brewer (1991); Fielding (1994)

¹⁶see Ehrlich Martin and Jurik (1996)

¹⁷see Moore (1999)

¹⁸see Walker (1993)

¹⁹Moore (1999: 51)

Inquiry Units dealing with sexual and child abuse, juvenile liaison and community involvement²⁰, and women in Canada are over-represented in community relations and crime prevention assignments²¹. Although the assignments staffed by women varies between countries, the existence of sex segregation within policing is consistent.²²

2. Internal stratification system.

The women and occupations literature suggests to understand the gender division of labour within an occupation we must examine the internal stratification system. For the purposes of the current discussion the internal stratification system is characterized by the distribution of rewards and benefits assigned to the tasks most highly valued within the occupation or employment environment. The women and occupations literature revealed tasks done by men and women are differentially valued, with tasks men do provided more value and reward than the tasks predominantly performed by women. The women in policing literature provides insight into the resources, rewards and opportunities provided within the occupation of policing, and the distribution of these.

²⁰Young (1991); Martin (1996) and Brown, Coffey and Savage (1992)

²¹Walker (1993: 19)

²²

In addition, there is some evidence to indicate that sex segregation occurs in other criminal justice occupations as well. Women were not employed as correctional officers in federally operated prisons for men in Canada until 1980. American researchers continued to observe a pattern of sex segregation in job assignments throughout the 1980s, with women correctional officers more likely to be over-represented in women's prisons (65 percent), and greatly under represented in men's prisons (13 percent). In the American context, the concern about the under representation of women in prisons housing men relates to the assignment limitations placed on women correctional officers in these facilities.

Analysis of the women in policing literature identifies five rewards, resources and opportunities valued within the occupation of policing and police culture:

- horizontal transfer to new assignments. Within assignments there is further distribution of rewards, resources and opportunities, including:
 - hours of work (and the opportunity to control hours of work);
 - dress practice (the opportunity to wear civilian dress and collect a clothing allowance);
 - engage in more exciting, challenging work than the routine of patrol;
 - develop new skills and abilities often through participation in formalized training courses;
- camaraderie and the support of co-workers
- the construction of masculinity
- prestige within the police agency and community
- vertical mobility (promotion)

Within the police agency not all work experience and duties are provided equal status. Jobs associated with major crimes investigations, tactical squads, and canine units are provided considerable status within the police organization²³²⁴. For instance promotion is more likely for constables who have

23

Similar to the internal stratification system evident in policing a stratification system relating to horizontal assignment patterns operates in corrections, as well. This value and reward structure confers better posts and shifts, increased promotional opportunities, and more and varied assignments, to correctional officers working in men's prisons. The gender division of labour in corrections is characterized by a pattern of horizontal segregation in assignment patterns, with women typically assigned to control rooms that monitor doors and communications, visitation, kitchen areas, and clerical duties. A look at gender distribution by correctional officer classification within Correctional Services Canada indicates the duties performed by women correctional officers are by far those involving surveillance and monitoring-not inmate contact. Women's lack of experience in assignments involving inmate contact severely limited their promotion opportunities. (see Morton, 1981)

24

Internal stratification systems distributing resources, rewards and opportunities in the legal field involves the socio-economic status of the client, the ability of the professional to control their work, issues of mobility and advancement for the lawyer, as well as disparities in income. (see Epstein, 1992, and Hagan, 1991)

participated in detective training, tactical team or canine squad (Fielding 1994). Other experiences improving promotional possibilities include having your life threatened, solving a major crime and securing the arrest of a dangerous offender. Previous research has linked both these experiences, and assignments to the dynamics of gender within policing. Work by Fielding (1994: 56) is characteristic of this body of research,

After two years of 'probation', recruits seek to accumulate a good record of activity, usually arrests, with which to make their claim for promotion. A very popular form of horizontal promotion is transfer to the CID, customarily enjoying the highest status within the police. But the two sexes do not compete equally. There is a pecking order among arrests; a 'good crime arrest', e.g., of a residential burglar, is better than arresting a drunk for obstruction. While WPCs [women police constables] certainly walk the beat, they do so less than their male counterparts, because women are thought to be better at clerical and administrative work and are more often deployed in the station. There is also evidence that, regarding offences of public order, they are pushed to the rear by male constables at disturbances, and excluded from the front line when deployed against pickets. It follows that it is harder for women to collect a portfolio of good arrests and thus to become detectives."

Earlier observations of women employed in policing (Martin, 1980, 1990, 1994) make it clear that women are not afforded the same level of acceptance or camaraderie as are their male counterparts. Women's entrance to policing was marred by suspicion as to their motives (to find a husband), their abilities (too fragile, will be a safety hazard for their male partners), and their sexuality (she must be a lesbian). Researchers continue to observe evidence of women's lack of support and acceptance in the ranks (Ehrlich Martin and Jurik, 1996).

The opportunity to construct their masculinity is considered a significant reward provided for those males engaged in the occupation of policing. Ehrlich Martin and Jurik (1996) drawing from

Messerschmidt (1993) identify the importance of the job of policing in the construction of specific elements of masculinity. Analysis of the gender division of labour within policing (reviewed above) reveals that just as there are positions reserved exclusively for women, there are also positions reserved exclusively for men. Drawing on Jefferson's (1996) argument that masculinity will be accomplished using the resources to hand, in an earlier discussion (Lewis-Horne, 1998) I suggested there has been an increase in the types of positions that will allow for the construction of traditional police officer masculinity (valorizing physical aggression, power) reserved for policemen. The growth in specialisms such as tactical team, support units, undercover units, CID, canine squads etc. which are vastly over represented by young, white, males²⁵ suggests that these areas, sheltered from the day to day surveillance of administration have become the new resource for 'doing masculinity' within policing. These units are the quintessential domain of masculinity, valorizing strength, endurance, aggression, action, the threat of violence, and absent of women. The growth in special units such as tactical team, canine unit, and support detail speaks to the ability of police culture to adjust to the threat posed by the growth of women in policing, by restructuring to continue to provide the necessary resources to accommodate the need of policemen to construct masculinity within the work organization.

There are specific ways that male police officers attempt to minimize the threat that police women pose to their ability to construct masculinity through policing. Perhaps the most common avenue described in the literature is to structure the work relationship so that policemen take the

²⁵Alvaro (2000) tracks the growth of these units in Canada

leadership role, and leave police women to act as their administrative assistant, i.e., doing the paperwork. Messerschmidt (1993: 175) observes,

when men and women officers are partners, men tend to dominate the partnership: they are more likely to drive the police automobile, to dictate the activities of the shift, and to conduct interviews of suspects and victims. Women officers routinely do the paperwork and often “merely record the responses to questions posed by the male partner”.

According to Carol Martin (1996: 520) this working style “compromised the capabilities of the female officer, and perpetuated the stereotype of the ‘weak link’ syndrome”. Also interesting in Carol Martin’s work was her observation that when male and female partners brought in an arrest, there was an automatic assumption by other officers that the arrest was the result of the work of the man, not the woman.

A second way policemen and police culture attempt to minimize the threat to their ability to construct masculinity through their work is by under-valuing the work that police women do. Young (1991: 191) describes valued skills in the police culture. He states “Categories of prestige, power, and status are allocated to tough, manful acts of crime-fighting and thief-taking.” Consequently, certain job responsibilities become associated with the appropriate masculine images of policing, e.g., relief patrol work, major crimes detective work, special operations (e.g., canine, support and tactical squads). Other job responsibilities become associated with feminine images of policing e.g., “supervisory, station house, and police academy assignments are associated with feminine labor involving “inside work” and women’s skills” (Ehrlich Martin and Jurik, 1996: 64; Hunt 1990). These positions within policing are provided low status, and denied social value. They are also positions traditionally outside of the

promotion track.

In his work, Fielding also draws a distinction between appropriate men's work, and women's work in policing, by linking the masculine role in policing with relief work, and the feminine role in policing with community patrol. Fielding (1994: 56) describes this theme,

The masculine qualities of this image and working style--the quest for excitement, aggressive interventions, winning a contest between 'us' and 'them' (Reiner 1985)--are obvious in the contrast between relief-based and community patrol...The contrast between relief and community policing is bold. Reliefs rush to problems, often in cars, often with their radio squawking, terminate interventions as quickly as possible, have no concern with the long-term resolution of problems, indulge in minimal community contact. For them, being in the police is being among police. When they are not at a call they are in a car or the canteen. ...For [community constables] being in the police is being among the public."

Recent work by Miller (1999) continues this theme linking gender to service delivery. In her work Miller examines how the gender imagery and discourse of community policing associated with social work a.k.a. "women's work", is changed to accommodate male police officers to engage in the Neighbourhood Police Officer (NPO) program in Jackson City. However, Miller demonstrates change in the imagery and discourse takes time and is tied to the internal stratification system distributing rewards and opportunities. Miller discovered the third wave of NPO incumbents were more likely white, male officers, pursuing the position as it was now associated with strong potential for promotion.

Policemen construct their masculinity around the working style of policing. The working style of policing is characterized as "aggressive interventions" (Fielding, 1994: 58), ensuring respect for police

authority, “chasing fleeing bandits” (Reiner, 1992: 252) and competition. Masculinity is more closely linked to aggression, respect, authority and competition, than is femininity. Miller’s (1999) work demonstrates that male police officers emphasize the law and order maintenance elements of their job, even when engaged in community policing programs. There is debate in the literature as to how closely police women associate with this dominant working style.

The gender division of labour within policing is characterized by a prestige hierarchy recognizing a dichotomy of skills, that is inherently gendered. This hierarchy provides high status and social value to skills traditionally linked to masculine traits, and low status and social value to skills linked to feminine traits. Prestige, power and status are allocated to tough, manful acts of crime-fighting, and thief taking.²⁶ Skills most often characteristic of women including, conflict resolution, planning and organization and nurturing/empathy are provided low status, and are attached to assignments that also have low organizational status, i.e, clerical, working with troubled teens, community consultation, and victimized women.

These descriptions above linking gender with job requirements articulate the message that police women are not competent to do the same job as policemen, nor do it as well. There appears to be an assumption in police culture that there is only one right way to do the job, and that is according to the ‘macho’ working style, that promotes the thrill seeking ‘macho’ image allowing policemen to ‘do

²⁶Young (1991)

masculinity', (as described above). Ehrlich Martin and Jurik (1996: 4) suggest that women may do the job differently than men "not as a result of different approaches to policing by men and women but as a consequence of the gendered interactions, both with citizens and fellow officers, that reinforce women officers' identities as they do gender on the job." Other researchers such as Berg and Budnick (1986) link gender differences in work performance to socialization experiences of women and men. Either way, the rigidity in working styles creates problems for some women (and men) who do the job differently from the traditional working style encouraged by police culture.

The available research indicates that women are 'pushed out' or resign from policing for family related reasons. A review of the literature examining turnover rates for male and female police officers does indicate that women leave policing at a slightly higher rate than men, and this varies between police agencies. Martin (1990: 45) using data from American police agencies found that women leave policing both voluntarily and involuntarily with a 6.3% turnover rate, compared to men with a 4.6% turnover rate. Canadian data indicate that women and men voluntarily leave police employment for different reasons--men because of dissatisfaction with the job, and women for family related concerns (Crawford Seagram et. al., 1995 and Walker 1993)²⁷. Research done by Pollitz Worden (1993: 214)

27

Walker (1993) notes the "significant lack" of policy to intervene effectively with sexual harassment, and maternity leave provisions, suggesting "their absence may contribute to women's voluntary turnover rates." She found that almost half (44%) of women who left policing voluntarily left due to family/career conflicts, pregnancy, harassment and general dissatisfaction.

A comprehensive examination of Canadian police women concluded that the total non-retirement turnover for police women was 2.45%, and .66% for males (Walker, 1993). Consequently, across Canada it appears police women are almost four times more likely to

examining a data set of American police agencies states that women report similar levels of organizational commitment to police agencies as men. Consequently it is difficult to determine whether women leave policing for family related concerns as a matter of choice (mothers should devote themselves to raising young children) , or because of the incompatibility between the structural conditions of policing as a career, and the requirements of parenting (not locating suitable child care to cover shift rotations and over time).

3. The extent and nature of vertical segregation within the occupation.

Horizontal segregation creates vertical segregation as women are not provided the opportunity to learn necessary skills, to handle complex files, or prove themselves in stressful situations that would arise from specialties like major crimes detective work. Horizontal segregation within policing apparent in the discussion of internal stratification systems and occupational sex segregation may account for much of the vertical segregation evident in policing. That is, jobs highly valued within policing such as major crimes investigations, and tactical squads are not assignments welcoming of women. But these are the assignments that groom future senior police administrators.^{28 29}

leave policing before retirement, than are male police officers. However, we are still talking about low numbers of women leaving, these statistics do not indicate a mass exodus of women from policing.

28

Similar to the experience of women employed in policing, there is an indication that women correctional officers in Canadian federal institutions are under represented in more senior positions. Correctional officers employed by Correctional Services Canada (CSC) fall into one of three levels; correctional officer 1 (CO 1), correctional officer 2(CO 2), or correctional officer 3 (CO 3). The duties of a CO 1 position involve perimeter surveillance, and monitoring duties. These positions do not have any direct inmate contact. CO 2 positions include inmate

The types of experiences necessary to secure promotion are impossible to achieve as the front counter constable taking traffic reports at the district office, or intervening with juveniles having trouble at home. In fact these latter experiences are provided very little status within the police agency. The horizontal movement of police employees within the agency has direct consequences for vertical movement of employees within the agency.

The available statistics describing women in policing in Canada indicates that women are primarily constables, with 92% of female police officers at the constable rank in 1996 and 1997 (Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, 1997). Female police officers have very little representation at either the rank of non-commissioned officer (7.5%), or officer(<1%). Canada currently has three women occupying positions as Chief of Police (Guelph Ont. 1994; Calgary Alberta 1995; and Commissioner of the Ontario Provincial Police Service, 1998). In comparison, only 69% of male police officers were constables, 26% were non-commissioned officers and 5% were senior officers in 1997. British and American researchers contend that police women are under represented in senior and administrative ranks, out of proportion with their numbers and their under representation cannot be explained simply by their lack of seniority or length of service.³⁰

contact, while CO 3 positions involve supervisory level duties.

29

Vertical mobility for women pursuing a career in law involves the ability to buy into a partnership. Canadian research by Hagan (1991) reveals, in "1988 nearly 17 percent of men, compared to less than 6 percent of women were managing partners. This research indicates "the odds of a woman being a partner are 0.61 of a man, or 39 percent less than a man."

30

Ehrlich Martin and Jurik (1996: 59); Grennan and Munoz (1996) and Taylor and McKenzie

4. *The organization itself as gendered.*

Analysis of the gender division of labour reveals how work organizations promote and maintain the gendering of occupations through “ideologies, customs, and practices that produce and reproduce gender inequality.” Mills (1989: 36) argues the way the job gets done, including the accomplishment of the tasks “incorporate assumptions about the nature of men and women”. Recognizing the organization as gendered suggests the organization pursues practices, processes and structures that promote or reproduce underlying gender relations. The work organization cannot be fully understood without an analysis of gender.

As was discussed in Chapter 1, discussion of the organization as gendered includes analysis of the organizations role in recognizing, influencing and regulating the sexuality of its employees. Adkins (1995: 51) connects the exploitation of women’s sexuality to the gendering of the labour market, through such processes as “men’s control of women’s labour in co-worker relations”, and in “economic power relations between men and women workers”. Adkins (1995) recognizes a primary labour market resource of women is their ability to perform sexual work. Consequently analysis of the organization as gendered will include analysis of sexuality within the organization, as sexuality constitutes part of economic relations.

The academic literature evaluating police culture makes clear the close association between policing and masculinity.^{31 32} In fact this assertion is never questioned and is repeated by all research on police culture³³. This literature discusses the “macho” nature of the occupational culture, including the “macho” image of police officer as crime fighter. An essential component of this link between policing and masculinity is the relationship between masculinity and heterosexuality. Messerschmidt (1993) recognizes that sexuality contains within it relations of power and dominance. Observations by academic research of the enforcement of hegemonic masculinity as normative within policing and the subordination of other masculinities such as homosexual males, and subordination of all femininities including lesbian women, attest to the strength of Messerschmidt’s argument.

A theme consistent in the literature is the close association between the image of policing and the construction of masculinity, similar to this description by Ehrlich Martin and Jurik(1996; 64),

men create an idealized image of policing as action-oriented, violent, and uncertain. They define themselves through these images, which are closely associated with the masculine side in contrasting pairs of gender-linked symbols.

³¹

Similar to the working culture of policing, the working culture of corrections is closely associated with images of masculinity. The job of correctional officer is historically linked to masculinity as a working-class occupation for young uneducated males. The social control dimension of the occupational culture stresses physical and verbal aggressiveness, as essential qualities to maintain inmate control. In the old guard work culture, masculinity and maleness are associated with positive images, including competence through males’ ability to use physical strength and to employ techniques of emotional distancing from inmates.

³²

There is also a close connection between the practice of law, and the image of masculinity. Catherine MacKinnon (1983) referred to the practice of law as “the ultimate male power role.”

³³Including Brewer (1991), Reiner (1992), Young (1991) and Crank (1998)

They use their work as a resource for doing masculinity.

The action oriented image of policing contains within it themes consistent with hegemonic masculinity including “love of action and the risk of violence” (Reiner, 1992: 111), “crime fighting...excitement” (Brewer, 1991: 233), and “the combination of danger and power” (Ehrlich Martin and Jurik, 1996: 67). This image is closely related to the traditional idea of “being a man”, described by Crank (1998: 181) characterized by four themes: “the avoidance of anything vaguely feminine, the attainment of success and social status, a manly air of toughness, confidence, and self-reliance, and an aura of aggressiveness, daring, and violence.”

This ‘macho’ action, excitement, and crime fighting image of policing has come under scrutiny in the policing literature. Reiner (1992: 252) tempers this image of policing by stating “both police and popular culture embody views of policing and its purposes which are at odds with the reality of police work.” Pursuing this theme, Coffey et al. (1992) and Jones (1986) both examining the experience of British police and Martin (1980) examining American police reveal that policing is not as risky an occupation as the image of policing portrays. According to Coffey et al. (1992: 14),

When comparing occupational risk statistics, policing is estimated as less risky than mining, construction, agriculture or transport work. In analysis of actuarial risk data it has been shown that police officers had 20% fewer deaths than estimated from standard life tables.

Coffey et al. (1992: 14) and Martin (1996) believe the discrepancy between the image and actual statistics of police officer killings is partially responsible for the resistance of policemen to accept

women in policing. The authors suggest that accepting police women who are regarded as “physically inferior and sexually submissive brings into question the occupational image of policemen as masculine, action heroes. Also, for policemen who “use their work as a resource for doing masculinity” women’s integration into policing challenges this image, and deletes this benefit of the job” (Martin, 1996: 64, 67).

An important element of the image of police officers is the practice of heterosexuality. Police culture literature contains many accounts of the heterosexual nature of police culture. Fielding and Brewer refer to this aspect of ‘cop culture’ as ‘canteen culture’. Brewer’s (1991: 234) description of ‘canteen culture’ is representative of this literature:

the core culture avows masculinity. Humour is lavatorial, sex jokes abound in the canteen, and women are considered as sex objects; deemed ‘fair game’ to be picked up in bars and bragged about after...There are few moral constraints on extra-martial affairs...Pretty young girls that are encountered in the course of duty are flirted with or the subject of sexual remarks afterwards. Sports, cars, sex and women dominate the canteen conversations of men.

The hegemonic masculinity structuring sexual relations within policing, sits at the top of a hierarchy in which all other sexualities and gender constructions are subordinate to it. In this way women are shaped as objects of heterosexual desire, and masculinity is defined through difference from women. (Messerschmidt, 1993: 75, 76).

In addition to the insatiable heterosexual adventure pursued by policemen, hegemonic masculinity is characterized by the subordination of other forms of masculinities. Subordinate

masculinities include homosexuality. Intervening with gay men in the community can be used as a resource for the construction of masculinity for policemen, but the presence of gay or lesbian colleagues is a threat to policemen's masculinity. Messerschmidt (1993: 184) explains this link between the construction of a specific masculinity (hegemonic) and gay bashing

Gay-bashing by police officers serves as a resource for constructing a specific form of masculinity: physical violence against gay men witnessed by other heterosexual street cops reaffirm's one's commitment to what is "for them" natural and masculine sex--heterosexuality.

The ability to control the sexuality of gay men reaffirms policemen's dominant position of normative heterosexuality.

It is interesting to note the contradiction that gay bashing in the community promotes the construction of hegemonic masculinity, but as Burke (1992: 38) points out allowing gay males in the police agency would be viewed as contaminating the organization. We could understand this as a threat to the construction of hegemonic masculinity. Burke (1992) argues,

Tolerating homosexual colleagues, let alone condoning their recruitment, would represent the most serious kind of contamination and the worst possible threat to the integrity of the service...What are the police to make of a situation in which homosexuals become a part of their sanctuary; where the 'them' is seen to penetrate, to be inside, and become a part of the 'us'? This defilement of the police body by such an unsanitary organ would be frightening, numbing and incomprehensible to a large proportion of the workforce.

The threat posed by gay and lesbian police officers is that they threaten the policeman's fundamental assumptions about the world; women are the objects of their sexual attentions, (men are the hunters,

and women the hunted), and that women are available to them. In fact a police woman who makes it clear through communication that she is not available sexually to policemen is labeled as a lesbian, and called derogatory names in local gossip.³⁴

Enforcement of normative heterosexuality is accomplished in the community through “gay bashing”, and in the police organization through the sexual objectification of women. The policeman as Hercules (Brewer, 1991), or as warrior (Young, 1991) is an heroic figure with an insatiable appetite for sexual adventure. It naturally follows in this folkloric account that any woman would be available to him.

Consequently, it appears the construction of masculinity is enhanced by the sexual objectification of women. There are various techniques used by policemen to objectify women and reinforce gender differences. One example that describes the objectification of women and differentiates between women and men involves the earlier statement that policemen think that police women only stay with the job long enough to find a husband. In fact Chief Christine Silverberg discusses this very assumption in her speech to the PAO, (Police Association of Ontario, March 1, 1994: 12)³⁵.

³⁴Ehrlich Martin and Jurik (1996: 42)

³⁵

The assumption is discussed in the context of systemic barriers identified by Chief Silverberg as workplace barriers operating against women in law enforcement.

These implicit assumptions about the availability of women, common in police culture are destructive for police women's credibility, but "mildly annoying" in comparison to increasingly coercive practices including sexual harassment many police women endure. Sexual harassment is an important area of inquiry in a study about women in policing. First because of the prevalence of this behaviour and the large numbers of police women who experience this treatment. Second, because of the instrumental nature of the practice in reducing women's opportunities³⁶.

Prevalence rates of sexual harassment occurring within the occupation of policing vary, with rates approximately 30% reported most frequently.³⁷ However, depending on the definition adopted researchers have suggested elements of a poisoned work environment are common. In fact, Walker (1993) identified an attitude among police women that sexualized joking was simply part of the working environment and was accepted. As we move along the continuum, research reveals most frequently the figure of 30% associated with prevalence rates of police women subjected to unwanted touching and about 5-6% of police women reporting having been seriously sexually assaulted.³⁸

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Walker (1993: 165) identified sexual harassment as a stressful incident related to police women separating from a police agency

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Interviews with fifty police women in the United States and Britain revealed to Heidensohn (1994: 301) that "Dealing with harassment by male colleagues was often a greater problem for women than handling street or domestic violence." She further observed that police women in the U.S. appeared to experience more extreme aggressive and threatening racial and sexual harassment.

³⁸

Similar to the experience of women in policing, women employed as correctional officers report the persistence of sexism and sexual harassment, at levels consistent to women employed in

These statistics appear to be similar to research investigating sexual harassment of police women in Canadian police agencies. For instance, a report commissioned by the Montreal Urban Community Police and quoted in the Globe and Mail (March 25, 1989: A4) states,

A third of Montreal's police women have been sexually harassed by a male colleague, through sexist remarks or unwanted physical contact...Some have also experienced more serious harassment.

According to the report 32% of police women reported they had experienced “scornful jesting and sexual wisecracks from superiors and 32% saying they had unwanted physical contact with fellow officers.” Recently a civil suit was filed against an RCMP Corporal in British Columbia for allegations of sexual assault and harassment by three women who worked with the Corporal--one an RCMP constable, another a jailer, and the third an auxiliary constable with the RCMP. In addition to the allegations and law suit against the Corporal, the women are suing the detachment Staff Sergeant, who they allege obstructed justice by not dealing appropriately with their numerous complaints against the Corporal. (Times Colonist, February 25, 1998, page A2)

Sexual harassment is purposeful behaviour, used to maintain male dominance, privilege and power in the workplace³⁹. In this regard, sexual harassment is understood as a continuum of heterosexual practices falling along a scale between coercive and non-coercive heterosexuality. As we move along the continuum from non-coercive to coercive, the level of social control of women

policing . See for instance Zimmer, 1986, and Belknap, 1991.

³⁹MacKinnon (1978)

increases. Accordingly, sexual harassment may be tied directly to a woman's continued job opportunities (as in *quid pro quo*), but it may include a sexualized poisoned work environment reminding women they do not belong, are not welcome and do not have equal opportunity to enjoy the physical space of the working environment.⁴⁰ The poisoned work environment that police women encounter is best described by Brewer (1991; 237),

Police women have jokes made about their bodies, have to listen to dirty jokes, have passes made at them, and are subject to some sexual harassment from low-level officers(having their waists pinched, arms put around them, comments made as to their appearance, and so on).

The example of one RCMP police woman who reported to a human rights tribunal that she did her paper work in the police car so as to avoid male co-workers, fits the definition of a poisoned work environment, and demonstrates the instrumental nature of the harassing behaviour (the case of Alice Clark, Alberta Report, June 13, 1994, p.3) . In the case of this woman the working environment of her detachment office was unwelcoming of her, and consequently she resigned, from the RCMP.

Following this thread, connecting sexual harassment to instrumental means, we can assume sexually harassing police women has several specific advantages for hegemonic masculinity characterizing police culture. First sexual harassment affirms gender difference between men and

40

Women lawyers report both peers, and judges treat them with a lack of respect, making comments about their appearance, and referring to them inappropriately. Women lawyers defined many of these incidents in terms of sexual harassment. Women suggested their treatment in this manner compromised their ability to act effectively on behalf of their clients, and also diminished clients respect for them as competent lawyers. (see Lynn Hecht-Schafran, 1995)

women, establishing relations of dominance in which police women are subordinate to policemen by virtue of their role as sexual objects of desire. In this way policemen construct masculinity at the expense of police women. Second, sexual harassment of police women encourages some women to move to assignments where other women predominate, in order to work in a comfortable working environment. Carol Martin (1996: 515) found evidence of this occurring in her study,

There also seemed to be an implicit coercion in joining women departments to get away from an undesirable working environment. Constables are offered aides or courses quite early on in their service, and this can result in officers applying for these, not because they are interested in the specialism but in order to move from a location or department where they are unhappy. Three women applied to join the Special Enquiry Unit (S.E.U.), which deals with sexual and child abuse, as a means of transferring from a station which they did not like (the same station in all three cases).

The constructive advantages of sexual harassment of police women is confirmed by Messerschmidt (1993: 182) who argues, “harassment of police women by policemen consistently create and maintain gender differences that reproduce the gender division of labor, gendered power, and normative heterosexuality.”

In addition to structuring relations between policemen and police women, hegemonic masculinity structures relations between policemen and women in the community. It is not uncommon to hear about sexual misconduct by policemen who abuse their position of authority and sexually assault civilian women. Crank (1998: 180) identifies examples of these types of behaviours;

Citizens may be exposed to voyeuristic contacts, that is surreptitious and systematic watching. More overt forms of sexual aggression include contacts with crime victims, offenders, and juvenile females, particularly truants,

runaways, and delinquents. Custodial staff sometimes harass females and are unlikely to be observed. Some officers seek opportunities to see women in various states of undress, and a few may extort favors from female inmates. In the most aggressive forms of sexual exchange, officers exchange preferential treatment for personal favors.

It is not uncommon for the Canadian press to report these types of incidents. The most recent example of a police officer in Ontario engaged in alleged inappropriate behaviour with a female member of the public involves the case of a Hamilton-Wentworth police Sergeant charged by the Special Investigation Unit with sexually assaulting a 29 year old woman in Dundas on April 16, 2000. The sergeant is the fifth law enforcement officer in Ontario charged with sexual assault during the past decade.⁴¹ Currently there is an ongoing investigation into allegations of sexual assault against a Kenora officer. In addition in other provinces there are recent cases involving RCMP officers (and a retired officer and currently serving member of Parliament answering to sexual assault charges that occurred many years ago), including an R.C.M.P. officer on trial in Edmonton for sexual exploitation of a 17 year old female student who was participating in a work experience program with the RCMP. At issue in the trial is whether the policeman had a relationship of trust with the young woman. The woman stated "he was an authority...He was someone who was wearing a uniform." (Edmonton Journal, 24 February , 1998, page A3)

The literature detailing the experience of women in policing suggest that women construct their

41

Clairmont, "Police Officers Court Treatment Brings Integrity into Question". The Hamilton Spectator. May 31, 2000

gender in response to the hegemonic masculinity prevailing in police culture. This approach sees some women employing strategies to minimize their sexual attributes so as to fit into the 'macho' world of policing. Kanter (1977: 974) refers to these strategies as limiting visibility, or as becoming socially invisible. This coping style is characterized as attempting to be 'one of the boys'.⁴² Brewer's (1991: 240) description is a fair reflection of this literature,

These police women fart in public, use four letter words frequently and employ other derogatory jargon, tell dirty jokes, do not object to the men watching blue videos (although not necessarily watch them themselves), like to drink, and restrict themselves to the conversational topics popular among male colleagues.

Berg, and Budnick (1986: 317) and Brewer (1991: 240) argue women who adopt masculine characteristics in order to gain acceptance and trust of male co-workers are in a no-win situation. According to Berg and Budnick "women police officers who become defeminized and emulate male officers are seen as a career threat by some male officers, as they will be in competition for promotional opportunities and transfer opportunities to details that are part of the ladder to promotion." Brewer (1991: 240) suggests that the women employing this technique which he characterizes as Amazons, will "win acceptance as members of the force but not as women. Policemen often make jokes about the absence of an appearance of femininity in this sort of policewoman, who becomes an object of ridicule. Such police women are therefore in a double-bind."

42

There were many examples of police women employing this technique in the literature including Brewer, (1991); Martin, (1980, 1990); Berg and Budnick, (1986); and Crawford et. al., (1995).

The second technique employed by other women to limit visibility in the sexualized work environment of policing is to adopt the image of the Hippolyte, i.e., the other extreme from the Amazon in the typology characterized by Brewer (1991). Brewer (1991: 241) describes the Hippolyte as maintaining and displaying typically feminine characteristics.

In the work environment they retain an appearance of femininity by being sensitive about their physical appearance. They wear as much make-up as regulations allow, restore the make-up as it wears off during the shift, and carry with them a small mirror into which they frequently glance to check their hair. The monitoring of personal appearance is maintained by keeping about their person various blushers, brushes and accouterments, and they dislike work which risks despoiling beauty.

These women are more successful at achieving invisibility because as Berg and Budnick (1986: 317) describe women fitting this Hippolyte type are found in the traditionally feminine roles in policing, e.g., clerical, communications functions, and working with troubled juveniles and women, i.e., physically distant from the ‘real work’ of policing. According to Berg and Budnick police women fitting this type “pose no threat to male officers” as there is no role conflict between the male officers concept of gender appropriate roles for women at home, or at work. Also, because these typically feminine functions within the police agency are not areas where police officers are promoted from, the Hippolyte type is not a threat to the career mobility of policemen.

A limited review of the policing literature drawing on the construction of gender and gender ideology provides an analysis of policing as a gendered occupational culture and organization. The literature provided an interesting and somewhat more detailed picture of the masculinity of police

officers, and a more narrow understanding of the femininity of police women. An analysis of gender construction within policing makes very clear the stratification of gender identities and ideologies, with hegemonic masculinity firmly entrenched as the dominant gender, and constructions of femininity subordinate to that. The literature described the many processes used to enforce hegemonic masculinity as normative within the police organization and police culture including maintaining the gender imbued meanings and themes of police work, and enforcing heterosexuality through action and discourse (including sexual harassment).

Chapter 3: Setting for the Research

Development of the web of bounded knowledgeability was guided by information gathered in two police agencies. The primary research site was the Ottawa-Carleton Regional Police Service (OCRPS), allowing a case study analyzing the gender division of labour within a police organization. However, the ability to speak with police women individually and in a group from one unit within the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) provided the opportunity to draw comparisons, raising awareness about the importance in studying the work organization as it relates to constructing gender. Similarities and differences between police women in the two organizations can be understood in relation to the position of women in Canadian society, organizational and cultural structures and processes operating to make police women gender accountable in the work organization and Canadian society, and at the same time, effective police officers.

Environmental Scan of OCRPS

As the OCRPS is the host agency of the case study, discussion of the setting will begin by introducing the police agency. OCRPS is a recently created regionalised police agency, resulting from the amalgamation of three municipal police agencies, and continues to grow in area policed and responsibilities covered. OCRPS resulted from the 1995 amalgamation of the Ottawa Police Force, the Nepean Police Service and Gloucester Police Service. More recently OCRPS has incorporated a number of Ontario Provincial Police jurisdictions.

OCRPS provides policing services for the 750,000 residents of Ottawa-Carleton Regional municipality. The police service consists of almost 1,500 police officers and civilian staff (approximately 1,100 sworn officers and 400 civilian staff). The police service responds to over 269,000 calls for service every year (www.ocpolice.com). The police organization professes a philosophical and program commitment to community based policing. OCRPS commitment to community policing is pursued through the development of strong, long-term partnerships with groups and individuals in the communities they serve. Partnerships are developed through the use of community police centres, staffed by civilians from the community, and by a community police officer. The community police officer works to build relationships with established community groups and to work cooperatively to prevent crime (www.ocpolice.com). In addition, OCRPS follows a district policing model of service delivery in which police officers work directly with assigned neighbourhoods to solve problems and facilitate long term strategies to prevent crime.

Deputy Chief Alex Mackie of the OCRPS explained the move to community policing requires a different skill set for effective street constables than the traditional skill set of relief or response models of service delivery. Whereas traditional response style policing provided few elements to encourage a positive image for police officers (lack of control for the officer of his work product), the needs of community policing require well trained, effective communicators, facilitators, and problem solvers. Deputy Chief Mackie explained the street constable is in a leadership position in the community and as such requires skills and abilities that meet three general criteria including:

- problem solving including confidence and flexibility to intervene in a range of situations (“as

circumstances dictate”)

- communication skills and the ability to be “balanced and fair”, “helping people”
- law and order maintenance

OCRPS management credits a decrease in property crimes as evidence of the success of their crime prevention programs (including community policing). The crime rate in Ottawa-Carleton dropped 15.1% in 1997, with further decreases of 16% in 1998, due largely to a drop in break and enters, auto thefts and fewer general thefts (The Ottawa Citizen, Thurs. July 23, 1998; D3; The Ottawa Citizen, Friday July 9, 1999; C6 The Ottawa Citizen,). The incidence of crimes against the person (homicide and assault) was also down. OCRPS offers a full range of policing services, comparable to most major municipal police agencies in Canada, including Criminal Investigations Division, Tactical and operational support units, forensics and advanced training. Recruit training occurs at the Ontario Police College in Aylmer Ontario.

History of Police Women with OCRPS

Unlike, current documented information about OCRPS regarding programs and philosophy, written documentation about the advent of women in the police agencies is not available. Instead the history of women in the police agencies is largely an oral history, relayed by an early police woman. The history of police women in the Ottawa Police Force begins in 1914 with the employment of the first woman. However, there appears to be no information on this woman’s name, responsibilities, or length of employment. The first documented history of women in the Ottawa Police Force begins with Alice

Goyette in 1936. Ms. Goyette was employed as a matron in charge of female prisoners. The first police woman hired as a sworn officer was Ms. Edna Harry, in 1946. The description of Edna Harry by a police woman who knew her suggests she was a very physically competent police woman. In an interview, Jan Dumais (class of May, 1960) described Edna Harry as follows: “*she was a woman who could go in any hotel and take out any man*” and “*no one dared touch a hair on Edna Harry*”, (interview with Jan Dumais, 06/01/2000). Edna Harry pursued her policing duties in the detective office, in uniform. Ms. Harry stayed with the Ottawa Police Force until retirement.

Ms. Dumais suggested the earlier hiring of three police women did not cause difficulties in the police agency: “*they were no threat to anyone*”. However, this changed in 1960 when the police force hired and trained twenty-one women at one time. The first full training class of police women graduated on May 13, 1960. These women had the same six weeks of training as male officers, and had the same powers of arrest; however they were not issued firearms. Against the wishes of the women, they were called the Women’s Auxiliary, and were administratively referred to as the Women’s Division. The women called themselves police women, but the administration was “*dead set against*” referring to them as such. Responsibilities of the early police women included enforcement of Highway Traffic Act, and city by-laws, including issuing parking tickets, and directing traffic. The early history of police women with the Ottawa Police Force reveals a gender division of labour from the outset as police women were hired for a specific purpose, and their duties were narrowly restricted to be consistent with that.

The women's primary responsibility was to control traffic congestion in downtown Ottawa. Consequently, traffic enforcement and ticketing of parking violators occurred only when public servants worked. The women met much resistance as male police officers believed the women were taking away their "cushy jobs", as the women worked day shifts Monday to Friday. Ms. Dumais reported they did not get much assistance or support from their male co-workers. Interestingly, she reported that OC transpo bus drivers, and taxi drivers "*were good to help us out, if they saw one of us struggling with punks, etc.*"

Ms. Dumais explained there was a large turnover in the women's division because if you got married or pregnant you had to quit. Also, women left because they "*were fed up with the bull shit*", or because there were no other career opportunities for them in the police force. Women often left to take other jobs, outside of policing. Ms. Dumais suggested the women who left often went on to be very successful in their other jobs, (including the public service) because to survive in the police force a woman had to be strong. According to Ms. Dumais this first class of twenty one police women "*stuck together and stuck up for each other.*" She suggested, "*the way they treated us, gave you back bone. You had to be tough*".

Increased hiring of women in the Ottawa Police Force during the 1960's came to an abrupt end in the 1970s. At that time the police force began a male cadet program, in which they hired young men aged 18 to 21. At 21 the men entered training as full constables, with all the powers of a sworn officer. Before they became full constables, these men assumed many of the responsibilities the women had

previously performed.

In 1973, the Ontario Police Commission abolished Women's Divisions, and all women became police constables with the same rate of pay, benefits and seniority as the men. At this time, there remained four sworn police women from the approximately fifty women that were hired during the 1960s. Of these four, one recently retired as an Inspector, another recently retired as a constable, and two remain-one as a sergeant. In addition, a fifth (Jan Dumais) will retire soon as a civilian with the police agency⁴³.

The history of women in both the Gloucester and Nepean Police Services is not as long as the history of women with the Ottawa Police Force, and is entirely an oral history. According to retired Chief Gus Wersch (1966-1988) of the Nepean Police Service, he initially hired women to the position of constable in the early 1970's. It was the policy of the Nepean Police Service that women would be treated as any other male constable, receiving the same training and benefits of the job. However, it was his goal to track competent women into specialties in which they showed promise such as working with youth and children. He suggested he pursued "*a cautious approach initially*", in the hiring of women. They came in qualified, they were not rushed to the top, but had the opportunity to "*get their feet wet...and if they showed extra promise they were transferred to youth or crime prevention.*"

43

In fact, on October 31, 1997 the last of the original police women retired from active duty as a sworn police officer. From her graduating troop of 21 women in 1960, she was one of only 3 who served long enough to achieve retirement. (Tam, "The Ottawa Citizen", November 1, 1997, C2)

(Interview with Chief Gus Wersch(retired), Tues. Feb. 29, 2000).

hiring of women from 1990

Turning from an examination of the history and early culture of police women in the agency, a structural analysis examining the numerical representation of police women hired in the past ten years indicates the relationship between government policy and hiring practices. During the years 1991, 1994, 1995 the three police agencies (previous to amalgamation), Ottawa, Nepean, and Gloucester hired more female recruits, than male recruits (refer to table # 3). During the period 1990-1995 the percentage of women hired as recruits range from a high of 56.68% in 1991 to a low of almost 29% in 1993. In contrast, during the next 5 years, beginning in 1996 with the repeal of the equity provisions in the Police Services Act initiated by Premier Harris, the percentage of women hired as recruits ranged from a high of almost 25% in 1999 to a low of less than 12% in 1996. Quite obviously, given a continuation of recent recruitment trends it is unlikely that police women in OCRPS will ever reach proportions commensurate with their representation in the community.

Table 3.1: Numbers of Female and Male Recruits Hired 1990-2000 (OCRPS)

year	female	male	female % of recruits
1990	6	15	40
1991	17	13	56.6
1992	4	6	40
1993	2	5	28.57

1994	27	22	55
1995*	24	23	51
1996	4	31	11.43
1997	21	65	24.42
1998	6	22	21.43
1999	13	41	24.07
2000	8	27	22.85

* three services amalgamated, to form the OCRPS

Analysis of recruitment levels of women in the OCRPS requires comparison with the representation of women in other Canadian police agencies. The 15.29% of women sworn officers in OCRPS (refer to chapter 5) does compare favourably with the national average, exceeding the 12.9% average of women police officers in Canada in 1999, and the provincial Ontario average of 13.6% (CCJS, 1999: 12). However, the percentage of women police officers in OCRPS is lower than British Columbia(16.5%). In addition, the percentage of women police officers in OCRPS does exceed the remaining twelve provinces and territories that record a range of women police officers between 7.2% (Nunavut), to 16.5% (B.C.). Consequently, such an analysis reveals that failure of OCRPS to recruit more women is matched and in some instances exceeded by other Canadian police agencies.⁴⁴

44

Obviously, there are difficulties comparing a municipal agency such as OCRPS to provincial agencies as such a comparison is similar to comparing a single apple to a bag of apples. The bag may contain some very large and very small apples, but over all the weight of the bag is 3 lbs. Consequently, we do not know if OCRPS compares favourably to other municipal police services with similar demographics and resources. This type of comparison would be far superior than comparing it to provincial and national averages. However data detailing gender

A general description of the women participating in this study indicates they came from various assignments within the OCRPS, and from various ranks, although the majority were at the rank of constable (see table 3.2). Four women were recruited in the 1990's with the most recent completing recruit training in 1996. Four women had more than 15 years service. Three of the women spent time with other police or military agencies previous to their career with OCRPS. The level of education achieved by the women interviewed was high, with one having completed a masters degree, three having completed bachelor degrees, three having spent time at university but not completing, or continuing to work on their post secondary education, and three completing a college diploma.

ratios from other comparable, municipal police organizations is not readily available.

Table 3.2: Distribution of police women participating in the study

Rank	Years of Service*	OCRPS	RCMP
Constables	less than 5 years	1	0
	5-10 years of service	4	9
	11-15 years of service	1	1
	16-22 years of service	2	0
All other ranks	5-10 years of service	1	0
	11-15 years of service	2	1
	16-22 years of service	2	0

*may include years of service spent at a previous police agency

Women in the RCMP:

The first female recruits to join the RCMP arrived at the RCMP Training Academy in Regina, Saskatchewan in September 1974. These 32 women comprised Troop 17, the first women to hold the rank of constable as regular members of the RCMP.⁴⁵ The first uniform for women was cut from a man's pattern. The review order for women in the early years consisted of a purse, high heels, and no pockets. However not all assignments in the RCMP welcomed women in 1975. For instance, women were not assigned to the RCMP musical ride until 1981. Currently, all assignments within the RCMP are available to female regular members. Today there are over 2,000 female regular members serving in the RCMP.

The RCMP women I interviewed work in an assignment among the last to be integrated by

⁴⁵Serry, Keith, (1995: 13)

women. Because I promised the participants in my study complete confidentiality it is not possible to identify the unit within the RCMP that the women were assigned to. But I can say that the women members of the RCMP were not junior in their service, as all had spent time in at least one former assignment, performing general patrol duties, or federal policing duties. The woman with the least amount of service spent five years with the RCMP, and the woman with the most service spent thirteen years with the RCMP. Ten of the women were at the rank of constable, and one was a Sergeant.

Comparing the two interview samples:

Information gathered from RCMP women was contrasted with stories and experiences of OCRPS women. The experience of policing with the RCMP differs in many respects from that of the OCRPS. Most importantly, police officers with the RCMP are routinely removed from their home provinces and communities and assigned to districts they are unfamiliar with having little previous contact or experience with. Conversely, most recruits hired by OCRPS have some experience living in the Ottawa-Carleton community, and have established relationships within the community. Consequently, for police officers with the RCMP their primary association to the community is as peace officer and law enforcer. Police officers with the OCRPS have the option of maintaining their personal relationships within the community. Another important difference between the two police agencies involves the demographic profiles of the communities policed. Ottawa-Carleton is a large, urban municipality, with a mix of socio-economic conditions including housing, employment, and education. In contrast, many of the communities policed by the RCMP are rural, dependent on primary industries such as fishing and farming and consisting mainly of working class residents.

Consequently, it was predicted that the experience of the two groups of women were different in several important respects. First, women with the OCRPS will have more anonymity in their personal and professional lives than women with the RCMP. Second, women with the OCRPS will experience more diversity of opinions and behaviours from citizens regarding the position of women in employment, and more generally in Canadian society, than will women working in the RCMP. Working class families continue to hold traditional values and attitudes toward women working outside the home⁴⁶, and as one might expect these opinions are amplified in their attitude toward women working in traditionally male roles.

The goal of my study is to examine the relationship between these and other influences and the construction of femininity of police women. Consequently, introduction of issues faced in a second work organization raises interesting similarities and differences police women reconcile in gender construction and career choices, helping to identify important dynamics and areas to be explored in the web of bounded knowledgeability.

⁴⁶Cherlin (1999)

Chapter 4: Methodology

The data gathering techniques described here were informed by feminist methods, allowing respondents the opportunity to understand and explain the nature of the phenomena they are engaged in, and the researcher is studying. Participants in this study were asked to reflect on their understanding of what was happening to them. Feminist methods recognize the power differential in the relationship between researcher and individuals interviewed. I structured and practiced the data collection and analysis to equalize the power imbalance. Such practices included opportunities to test the accuracy and acceptability of the information collected and to share information with participants. A triangulation of methods was employed, including:

- i) participant observation
- ii) in-depth personal interviews
- iii) focus group discussion and
- iv) analysis of the assignment pattern of the police organization

The result of the triangulation of methodologies is a rich and lengthy analysis of the three areas of examination related to women working in policing: the gender division of labour, the construction of femininity among women and the career choices women make. The triangulation of methodologies furthers an understanding of the web of bounded knowledgeability allowing both structure and agency for individual women performing police roles.

- i) *Participant observation*

Participant observation was used to ascertain how any police woman responds to the circumstances present in the natural environment, including interactions with the public and co-workers. Participant observation allowed me the opportunity to observe the circumstances in which women are expected to engage, including observing influences on women, and women's influences on the environment.

Participant observation consisted of shadowing one woman for her complete shift rotations during the month of January 1999. In addition, I had the opportunity to shadow two other women for their shifts as the initial officer was absent at a training day, or ill. These women appeared happy to take me along. The primary woman being shadowed was interested in exchanging information about the academic treatment of police women and my experience working as a crisis counselor in another police agency (as dated as it was). This woman was a wealth of information regarding her working environment. She appeared finely tuned to gender related issues and provided many stories of her experience with male co-workers and members of the public. However, she was also committed to her career and was willing to work within the present structures to advance her career. Knowing of my research plan she assisted me to meet other women and men who provided interesting perspectives to my research.

During the month of January, I shadowed this woman on day, afternoon and early night shifts. Day shifts were somewhat uneventful, with calls for service including traffic accidents, and mental health issues. The shifts passed with many "make work" assignments, such as educating the researcher about

notorious addresses in the area, and maintaining high visibility. Breakfast was usually enjoyed with at least one other officer who patrolled the area. Afternoon shifts were the most interesting, with domestic disputes⁴⁷, and violent incidents including a knifing at a local immigrant hang out, and a fight in the local night spot. I did not spend an entire night shift with her, choosing to be dropped off at the station to retrieve my personal vehicle between midnight and 2:00 a.m. (depending on the activities of the shift). Time passed by driving the stroll, and questioning prostitutes (both male and female) about their identity. Dinner was enjoyed by ourselves, as there was recently a major movement of police officers into and out of platoons, and this woman did not know many officers in her new platoon.

During the planning phase for the research, I requested the police agency place me in a busy section of the region, where I would attend a variety of calls for service. The Superintendent, initially the liaison for the project assured me that the assigned patrol met those conditions. Consequently, I was surprised by the low number of official requests for service calls that we responded to. However, the weather in January obviously mixed with the seasonal nature of the neighbourhood we patrolled resulted in an usually quiet month. This was not necessarily a problem for the research, as it provided more time to interact with the woman shadowed, and observe her interactions with co-workers.

47

Domestic disputes is the general term used by police officers to refer to any disagreement between individuals in a familial or intimate relationship. This term is very general in nature, not providing specific information about the extent and nature of the dispute, including whether individuals are injured, the relationship between the parties or the sex of the parties. Domestic disputes attended on ridealongs included, mother/son arguments with the threat of property damage, and male/female common law partners with probable physical violence inflicted on the female by the male partner.

Research as a participant observer was pursued as the first method of data gathering as it allowed my attendance in the police agency to become a taken for granted element of the scene. During the month of January I was in and out of headquarters building constantly. This allowed me to get accustomed to the culture of this agency, to become familiar with many of the officers I may wish to interview at a later time, and to understand the social world of the police, and the construction of femininity through interactions with members of the public and co-workers by women.

I intended to begin my role as a participant observer as a somewhat passive observer. However, this did not last very long. A few hours into my first shift of the research project, we attended a call initially coded as a break and enter. However, it was not a break and enter but a mental health situation. A male constable working the same area and platoon as the police woman shadowed, met us outside the building before we entered. He explained he had attended this apartment previously (but as it turns out, it was another apartment in the building). The resident of the apartment (the complainant) believed someone had stolen her cable television connection box. The police woman picked up very quickly that the complainants' thoughts were scattered, but was not yet engaged in asking her questions about her mental health history. Having worked for five years as a crisis counselor with a police agency, I am very familiar with mental health complainants, and indicators of such. As the two police officers attempt to reconstruct the complainants story of the missing property, I *discover* a piece of paper on her kitchen table, that appeared to be the menu for the lunch she received the day before while a resident on the "psych" floor of the Ottawa General Hospital. I subtly gave the police woman the piece of paper found on the table. The complainant was advised to attend her doctors

office for follow up treatment.

The woman later informed me that the male officer was very angry that I had involved myself at the scene of this complaint. At first, I thought I might have done something that contravened the complainant's rights, by moving her papers on the table (as my experience in policing was previous to the implementation of the Charter of Rights which structures police officers' abilities to intervene with complainants). However, the woman explained that as a ride along this male officer believed I should stand at the door and observe, not touch or look for clues to assist the police officers with their cases. He did not appear to be impressed by my background with mental health complaints. The woman shadowed let it be known that she was not concerned by my involvement, and that she has had her own difficulties with this officer. Of course, at the next call we attended with this male officer, I stood out on the front porch, instead of going into the home. As a somewhat humourous aside, as I was waiting on the front porch, who should exit the house and engage in a lengthy conversation with me, but the mother in the domestic dispute (complainant)! We responded to very few calls with this male officer after my initial day. In fact, we narrowly avoided having breakfast with him on a subsequent shift.

I attempted to keep a balance on my participant role skewed in favour of my role as observer. Occasionally, I was tempted to intervene as the crisis worker, but my role as sociologist required me to observe the woman's interaction with members of the public, without my interference. However, the woman being shadowed was eager and encouraging of my participant role. For instance, at the scene

of a physical fight between a store security guard and two individuals he attempted to prevent leaving the store with unpaid articles, I stood by and watched the woman successfully struggle with, and ultimately physically restrain the two individuals. Following the incident, she suggested that I should feel free to assist her in these situations by applying pressure behind the individuals knees assisting her to bring him to the ground.

The woman shadowed was very encouraging of my involvement as participant. We discussed her calls, and her co-workers following calls for service. She revealed details of her past calls for service, and past interactions with various co-workers. Even though I was warned upon entering the police agency as a researcher that at times I may be dropped at a corner, and have to find my own way back to my parked car at police headquarters, this never occurred. This woman allowed me to attend all scenes with her, however on occasion I elected to sit in the car, or wait outside of a building for her. She encouraged me to apply for the job of recruit, to go through training, and get a job in training at Algonquin College.

Members of the public appeared to assume I was either a plainclothes police officer, or the woman's supervisor. They tried to speak to me, make eye contact with me, and approached me at the scene of various calls for service. Obviously, being a little older than the woman shadowed, and departing from the front passenger seat of the police cruiser with clipboard and pen gave the impression of supervisory duties. Only occasionally did my presence at the scene of a call raise issue with members of the public. In these instances, the woman simply said, "she's with us".

ii Interviews:

The second stage of the research involved in-depth personal interviews with a non-random sample of twenty-two women and four men (including a deputy chief with the OCRPS). Eleven women were employed by the OCRPS, and eleven were employed with the RCMP. The three remaining men were police officers with OCRPS. The interviews were lengthy, with the shortest ones lasting approximately one and one half hours. However, most interviews with women with OCRPS occurred while riding with them in their police cruiser and attending their calls for service, often lasting three or four hours of their shift. We discussed issues of relevance to my research between their calls for service. Interviews with RCMP women were restricted to one and one half hour interviews, which took place in a private office.

The interview sample was selected through a snow-ball sampling approach. Initial interviews were conducted with women encountered through ridealongs with the woman shadowed in the participant observation phase of data collection. Consequently, the first respondents were co-workers and associates of this woman. From there, women being interviewed were asked for the names and platoons of other women they thought would be willing to meet with me, and who may be interested in the research. Women appeared willing to provide the names of future interview participants. Consequently, I contacted via voice mail women whose names had been provided to me by other women. On the voice mail message system I reported my name, the purpose of my research, the name of the woman who gave me their name, and the time commitment of their engagement in the research. For every five women contacted, approximately one respondent was subsequently interviewed. After

eleven interviews, it became apparent that the snowball sampling methodology was exhausted, as no new women returned my calls.

As more interviews were required to assist in understanding patterns of the gender division of labour, contact was made with women in another agency. In comparison to the lengthy process of securing access to the OCRPS, access to women in the RCMP specialized unit was rather straightforward. A fax was sent to the Inspector in charge of the area, and a response was received from the Sergeant supervisor the next week. I met with the Sergeant the same week, who introduced me to the Corporal and subsequently to one of the women who was charged with facilitating interviews between women in the unit and myself. In contrast to women with OCRPS, few women with the RCMP declined to meet with me.

Interviews with police officers were guided by “conscious partiality” (Mies, 1993: 68) in that as the researcher, I engaged in partial identification with those being interviewed. This was not difficult to achieve as having spent five years working in a law enforcement agency I was able to understand both their work, and their subordinate status (as woman in a male organization both in policing and my position in academia). Identifying with the women being interviewed allowed for increased sharing of information, and the opportunity to ensure the accuracy of information. The strength of this interactive interviewing technique, recognizes respondents are in the best position to analyze and understand their own situations.

The sharing of information involved a two way sharing of information in that they responded to my questions, and I shared information with them also. For example during conversations about future career decisions, I discussed with many women the importance of being responsible for their own career development including pursuing promotional exams, advanced education and training, and lateral transfers to other assignments. Conversations held with women about their career aspirations, and promotion possibilities were positively perceived by many. It appeared obvious to me that few women had the opportunity to discuss or be encouraged in the direction of promotion. For instance, one woman who aspired for promotion discussed her reasons for not writing the promotional exams said she did not want her promotion to be perceived as an affirmative action selection, it "*would be perceived that my opportunities are because I am a woman.*" (Respondent # 20) I spoke with this woman about the perception of gender bias in the police agency, and the instrumental nature of gender bias in social control. Interestingly, a message was later relayed to me via a mutual acquaintance that she appreciated my encouragement and was writing the promotional exams, after all.

Hand written notes were taken during interviews, and following the interview lengthy detailed notes of the interview were entered in a computer data base. A semi-structured interview schedule was followed (see appendix #1), allowing for both flexibility in topic order of discussion, and specific topic areas to be covered. There were specific issues that needed to be addressed with each participant, but also, sufficient flexibility to pursue related areas offered by participants. A semi-structured interview schedule allowed for the discussion of "women's gossip", i.e., stories from the gossip and rumour mill involving police women. These stories were an important source of information helping to identify

women's web of bounded knowledgeability.

The believability of the research is improved by the fact that much of the information supplied by OCRPS women is replicated by RCMP women. There were differences, but they can often be accounted for by the demographic differences between the two groups of women, as Table 3.2 reveals there is a difference in the years of service between the two samples of women, with women from OCRPS having more years of service than women with RCMP. Structural differences in working conditions may also account for differences between the two samples of women as women with the RCMP are posted to rural detachments, throughout Canada, often making the maintenance of family or romantic relationships difficult, while women with the OCRPS work and may live in an urban environment, and in a community they have personal relationships.

iii Focus group:

The final opportunity to use qualitative research methods, and have women explain the nature of police work was a focus group of five RCMP women. RCMP women were invited to attend a focus group in order to clarify issues raised during interviews and ridealongs. The second purpose of the focus group was to build on isolated and individual stories of structural constraints to understand the collectivization of the women's experiences.

Participants were introduced to the concept of gender and characteristics of traditional constructions of masculinity and femininity were discussed. The gender construction of police women

was discussed in reference to the CBC program *Life and Times: Christine Silverberg* (Chief of Police; Calgary Police Service). A continuum of femininity and masculinity written on newsprint pad paper was taped on the wall. Participants were each provided a coloured pad of four inch “stickies” and a pen. Participants responded to each of three questions asked by writing their ideas on “stickies” and placing their response on the continuum in the location they thought most appropriate (for questions addressed see Appendix #2).

Group discussions occurred after each participant placed her response on the continuum. The focus group provided an opportunity for women to openly discuss various experiences and impressions of the ways that their police organization, co-workers and family members influenced the construction of their femininity. Not only did this clarify competing thoughts from various respondents, it provided women an opportunity to understand that the pressures they experience are also experienced by other police women.

iv Organizational Chart:

Analysis of the organizational assignment pattern done at a specific point in time (March 1999) provided an opportunity to identify the organizational location, and assignment pattern of women and men at various ranks within the OCRPS. This analysis provided a picture of the gendered division of labour with assignments and locations in the organization over represented and under represented by women. It also allowed an important quantitative dimension to the gender division of labour within the OCRPS. Qualitative methods used to gather information provided explanation and understanding of

the pattern of the gender segregated division of labour discovered.

Due to a personnel change shortly after the beginning of the research project, the initial research design was revised. The new liaison for the research project refused to allow access to personnel records that would provide valuable information regarding length of service and assignment patterns of a matched cohort of police constables. Cohort analysis would have provided the opportunity to compare women and men at similar years of service, allowing conclusions to be drawn about career trajectories for women and men. Do they follow similar career paths? Are they promoted at the same years of service? Consequently, this study is restricted to understanding the gender division of labour within the OCRPS at one particular point in time, without contextualizing personnel in terms of career histories.

Quantitative analysis of the gender division of labour was devised from information taken from the “show me” sheet published by the OCRPS (see Appendix #3). This sheet, (22"x 15" in size), printed on two sides, lists all police officers assigned to each unit and department. Police officers first and last names were used to identify them. Consequently, in the event that the officer was not known to me, or the first name was ambiguous (e.g., Pat, Bev, Leslie) personnel services at the OCRPS provided the individuals sex as either male or female. This method allowed simple frequency counts of males and females within departments and units, and percentage distributions compared with their overall representation within the police agency, rank etc.

In conclusion, the methodologies pursued had several advantages and limitations identified in this chapter. Although much effort and time was devoted to gathering data to inform the research question, the study is limited in its ability to make generalizations and statements about the nature of femininity of police women and the gender division of labour within policing. The information gathered was not representative of all police women, not even women working in OCRPS, or the RCMP. However, that was not the purpose of the study. Instead, the qualitative information gleaned from the women and men interviewed alone or in a group, observations made during ride alongs and quantitative analysis of the organizational chart provided important insight into the issues and influences women experience further developing the model of the web of bounded knowledgeability of police women. Information regarding career progression, level of comfort and acceptance in the organization, and professional and personal relationships provided a pattern of “women friendly places” in the organization or conversely as “guy places” which were unwelcoming of women. The value of the quantitative analysis of the organizational chart was to confirm the gender division of labour within the police agency re-affirming the location of “guy places”, as described by women.

The methodology pursued did allow further identification and development of a model to test assumptions about the gender division of labour in policing and other organizational contexts. Pursuing this methodology has provided a new approach, identified more and interesting dynamics and relationships that need to be considered by future researchers investigating women employed in policing and other non-traditional occupations. Also important is this new body of information that points to the necessity of considering femininity as a complex, fluid construction overlapping the multi-faceted roles

women play. Work is only one resource in the construction of femininity, and it interacts with the various other professional and personal roles women play. The web of bounded knowledgeability must be identified in all its complexity to understand the construction of femininity of women. And more generally, researchers need to ask “What role does the construction of femininity play in the phenomena being investigated?”

Chapter 5: Results:

The Gender Division of Labour

Results of the research are presented consistent with the elements identified by the model of the web of bounded knowledgeability introduced in chapter one. The elements identified within the web of bounded knowledgeability were teased from the three literatures (previously reviewed, chapter 2), and raised during discussions with women interviewed. Such a presentation has the advantage of extending our knowledge to recognize various issues of interest to a sociological understanding of women in policing, including:

- occupational sex segregation
- internal stratification systems
- vertical segregation
- the organization as gendered
- relationships with co-workers
- relationships with family members
- relationships with the public

Women interviewed for this study were not monolithic entities, and not all women will draw equally on the existence of the areas identified in the conceptual framework(the web of bounded knowledgeability). However articulation of various elements contained within the framework is a good first attempt to recognize, investigate and understand the inter-relationship between structure and agency in women's lives, and how these tailor "free choice" of individual women.

An essential assumption inherent in the study, and reflected in the web of bounded

knowledgeability framework, is the important role gender plays in our lives, and especially in the lives of women working in non-traditional female occupations and organizations. The ability of women to mediate gender among and between the various aspects of their personal and professional roles (as depicted by the web of bounded knowledgeability) is instrumental in career choices they make. Consequently, chapter 5 is a case study, using the web of bounded knowledgeability as a conceptual framework guiding the discussion toward an understanding of the gender division of labour within the OCRPS, recognizing the complex and overlapping systems, procedures, practices and relationships police women may be exposed to and how these structure their career choices.

It is important to acknowledge the web of bounded knowledgeability entails the perception of reality, and not necessarily social facts. A relevant theme cutting across many issues explored in the current research related to the impact of gossip in the police agency. Individuals make choices and act based on their perceptions of reality, derived from various sources including personal experience, observations, gossip and hear say. This information may resemble social facts, but not necessarily. However, an individuals choices and actions are limited to their understanding of the world based on their “bounded knowledgeability”. Consequently, the results presented from this study include participants understanding of their reality, many times gained through gossip, observations of other women’s experiences and hear say. My research indicates that gossip has a strong effect on women in policing, as it structures their perceptions about reality, and limits their choices.

1. *Occupational Sex Segregation*

Summary of findings regarding:

Occupational Sex Segregation within the OCRPS

- police women comprise 15.29% of all police officers in organization
- police women are not evenly distributed within the organization
- feminizing trend in patrol work is evident
- women under represented in prestigious specialisms

Analysis of the division of labour within the OCRPS reveals a picture of a gender segregated organization. There are one hundred and forty one women with OCRPS, accounting for fifteen percent of the sworn police officer strength in the department (see table 5.1). However, women are not evenly distributed throughout the police organization in either horizontal assignment pattern or vertical promotion. Women are over represented in some assignments, physical locations, and under represented in others, including rank.

Table 5.1: Sex Representation Within OCRPS

	N	% of total sworn officers
police women	141	15.29
male police officers	787	84.71
Total	928	100

Table 5.2 (following) reveals the gender division of labour within the OCRPS. Women are over represented in general patrol duties, (referred to as district policing by the OCRPS). 78% of all police women, at the rank of constable with the OCRPS are assigned to patrol duties. In contrast, only 51% of all police men at the rank of constable are assigned to patrol duties. Further refined, 25% of general patrol

constables are women, while the overall representation of women with the OCRPS is only 15%, indicating that general patrol is an assignment over-represented by women.

Table 5.2: Sworn Police Officers at the Rank of Constable by Assignment and Sex

Distribution

Constable Rank	Male sworn officer		Female sworn officer	
	n	%/n	n	%/n
cst. general assignment	296	51.48	100	77.51
cst. operations	94	16.35	8	6.2
cst. criminal investigations division (C.I.D.)	119	20.7	12	9.3
cst. support services	58	10.09	7	5.43
cst. corporate services	4	0.7	2	1.55
cst. executive services	4	0.7	0	0
totals	575	100.02	129	99.99

Most interesting in terms of findings from the current research is a feminizing trend evident in patrol work. Table 5.2 reveals three quarters of all women work in general patrol or district policing. The over representation of women in general patrol work is consistent with interview data suggesting that women value patrol work, and expect that patrol duties will be a continual element in their policing careers. Even those who are currently in specialized units, talked about returning to patrol duties. This description by a woman with OCRPS of the importance of patrol in her career is reflective of other comments by RCMP and OCRPS women who wish to remain or return to general patrol work.

Respondent #2 stated

Patrol is more fair minded than other specialties. You have your own car and responsibilities. It is the great equalizer, it doesn't discriminate. I never had a problem on patrol.

Four women with Ottawa Carleton, and six with RCMP identified continuing or returning to patrol work as part of their future career goals. Consequently, there is an indication that this pattern of women over represented in patrol work may be a continuing element of the gender division of labour within the OCRPS.

The positive image of patrol work as welcoming of women, as the great equalizer etc. was discussed by women in terms of patrol work being an assignment in which women could make a contribution, because of their unique skills (gender linked skills). For instance one woman suggested the image of the general patrol officer has developed to include: "facilitator, listener, talking to people" (resp.# 7). Although nine women suggested elements associated with traditional attributes of

masculinity (e.g., “saving a partners life in a shooting situation”respondent #1) were associated with high police cultural values, six women included in their response to this question traditionally feminine attributes as valued within the police culture. These women suggested;

- *“people skills and the ability to communicate are as valuable, and maybe more so.”*
Respondent #6
- *“to problem solve”* (respondent 9), similarly respondent 22 suggested, *“solving the problem without writing a report”*
- *“perception of strength, but in reality, communication, judgement and training should be valued”*, (respondent 13)
- *“upholding the Dudley Do right, image, and the symbol of the Mountie as Canadian nationalism”* (respondent #24)
- *“to diffuse the situation, to have a successful resolution.”* (Respondent #25)

Table 5.2 reveals women are under represented in prestigious specialty units such as criminal investigations division. There are twelve women constables in criminal investigations, representing nine percent of constables in criminal investigations. Twenty-one percent of all male police officers at the rank of constable are assigned to criminal investigations division, whereas only nine percent of all women at the rank of constable are assigned to criminal investigations division. Consequently, a male police constable is twice as likely to be assigned to a criminal investigative unit as is a female.

However, analysis of individual work units inside C.I.D. indicates that gender segregation within the prestigious assignment is even more prevalent than initially thought. Gender segregation increases as the unit of analysis moves from the macro to the micro level. Women comprise one third of detectives investigating spousal assault cases(3 women, 6 men), and twenty percent of detectives with the Ottawa Carleton Regional Drug Unit (3 women, 12 men), and there are two women investigating sexual assault and child abuse cases (and 10 men). Of the twenty-one investigative units comprising criminal

investigations division, five have at least one woman. Sixteen investigative units do not have a woman attached to the unit.

The gender segregation within the C.I.D. units has not escaped the notice of women working in OCRPS. While explaining she would like to pursue an assignment with Major Crimes, this woman explained the gender segregation of the unit,

I would like to join Major Crime, but it is all male because they are able to choose who they want to work with. I would like to be one of the first women to join Major Crime. Many of these guys have been on 20-30 years, and haven't worked with police women. It will be accessible to women, when younger guys get in, who have experience with women as partners ... detectives have to work closely with a partner, so they want someone they can work with, and depend on. (Resp. #21)

According to this woman, the lack of women in criminal investigations division in OCRPS can be attributed to structural constraints such as the selection process (current members choose their new members), and the low turnover rate of detectives in the unit, leading to the result that male detectives in major crimes have little experience working with women. Consequently, the detectives are not familiar with the abilities and skills of many women.

There is a similar picture of segregation for women working in operational specialty units. Operational specialty units include, community response, tactical team, canine unit, traffic services, and youth services. Women comprise eight percent of constables working in operations units, and six percent of women at the rank of constable are assigned to operations specialty units (see Table 5.2).

In contrast, male constables comprise ninety-two percent of officers working in operations specialisms, representing sixteen percent of all male constables. Men are almost three times as likely to be assigned to an operational specialty unit as are women. Similar to the gender segregation of work units within C.I.D., women are more likely to work in particular units within operations, and not be represented in others. For instance more than half of all women constables working in operational specialty units work in Youth Services (5 women, and 29 men). There are no women working in either canine or traffic services units, with one woman working in tactical and community response units.

Support Services Section at the Ottawa Carleton Regional Police Service are responsible for:

- communication centre (switchboard, 911 and dispatch, call management)
- Divisional information centres
- firearms registration
- court liaison
- court security and cell block
- forensic identification
- radio project
- victim services

Women are under-represented in support services (see Table 5.2), as 5% of women work in this area, compared to their overall representation within the OCRPS of 15%. Although men comprise the bulk of sworn officers working in support services, considering all male constables working in OCRPS, only ten percent of male constables work in support services.

Two women with the OCRPS suggested they are concerned that police women returning from maternity leave are demanding and receiving assignments requiring no shift work to accommodate their

parenting roles. The current research did not find a pattern indicating that women were over represented in any assignment except general patrol duties. Consequently, the current research cannot confirm a pattern of women leaving patrol work for other assignments that may better accommodate parenting roles, (working schedules absent of shift work) such as youth or spousal investigations.

This is an interesting finding suggestive of the comment introducing chapter 4 that perceptions of reality are important in their own right, whether or not they are social facts. This perception of reality is interesting for two reasons: first, it reveals “common knowledge” within the OCRPS, which spawns a negative attitude toward women, feeding into the myth that women aren’t committed to a policing career (as discussed in chapter 2 as a systemic barrier to women’s acceptance in policing). Second, it is inconsistent with existing academic literature drawing on evidence from other police agencies studied that these are in fact the assignments women choose. It is interesting that the gender division of labour in OCRPS does not resemble the other police agencies in this regard.

To summarize occupational segregation within OCRPS, analysis of the gender division of labour indicates that women are under represented in the police department. The demographic profile of the community suggests that women consist of close to fifty percent of the population. However, women comprise only fifteen percent of all sworn officers in the agency. Together with analysis of recruitment patterns during the past ten years (see Table 3.1), it appears obvious the OCRPS is not moving toward a pattern of gender equitable representation. Analysis of the gender division of labour at the assignment level indicates the under representation of women is greatest in the prestigious

specialisms such as criminal investigations, and operational support. The current research suggests there is a feminizing trend in general patrol or district policing assignment. This feminizing trend is characterized by both over representation of women in these assignments, as well as an image of the assignment welcoming of women. The implications of this trend are discussed in more detail in chapter 6.

2. Internal Stratification System

The current research did not ask specific questions of respondents about the system of internal stratification that disproportionately bestows rewards and benefits to the most valued tasks performed, and conversely withholds or penalizes tasks inconsistent with those valued. However, open ended discussion elicited valuable information loosely organized into themes and presented in Table 5.3 related to this issue. Generally, the findings reveal the internal stratification system differently distributed rewards placing more value on males and masculinity, than on females and femininity. Table 5.3 summarizes the relationship between the women's perception of the internal stratification system and gender.

Table 5.3: Observations of Rewards distributed by the internal stratification system.

	Masculinity	Femininity
Males	<p>the job of policing as a resource in the construction of masculinity:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • image of masculinity central to the way the job is done • organizational support for men's activities • chivalry • physical aggression • attractive heterosexual partners 	<p>males doing work duties referred to as traditionally women's work, e.g., counselling, office work</p>
Females	<p>sanctioning of females who "do masculinity":</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • courage not rewarded 	<p>Women and femininity are undervalued:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • women's contributions and work product • not considered equivalent to male officers

The ability to construct masculinity is a reward that must be considered as an integral part of the internal stratification system. The research revealed the ability of men to use the resources of the job of policing to construct their masculinity. Resources included:

- image of masculinity central to the way the job is done
- organizational support for men's activities
- chivalry
- the ability to engage aggressively with other males (members of the public)
- take advantage of the popular image of police men as heterosexually attractive, "action heroes"

image of masculinity central to the way the job is done

Chapter 2 describing the sociological literature, revealed gender differentiated images and tasks so that images associated with masculinity were different than those associated with femininity. Police culture emphasizes the image of masculinity as central to the image of effective policing. Women interviewed discussed the predominance of masculinity within police culture, ensuring that the image of

masculinity associated with policing was rewarded. Nine women suggested traditional notions of masculine ethos of policing were associated with high police cultural values. For instance women reported,

- *“saving a partners life in a shooting situation”* (respondent #1)
- *“foot chase, putting up a good fight... winning isn’t as important as getting in there and giving it your all”*, (respondent #13) and
- *“whether you can intervene physically and verbally”* (respondent #16, 19)

were all important and highly valued ways of doing the job in both the OCRPS and the RCMP.

Organizational support and reward for men’s activities:

Women from both police agencies identified examples of organizational preference and support for activities male officers participate in. They further commented they would like their organizations to support women’s activities equally. For instance, women in the OCRPS spoke about organizational support for men’s hockey. In fact during a tour of the Elgin Street headquarters I observed male police officers engaged in a game of floor hockey in the gymnasium. The organization also facilitates ice hockey for police officers (by far the majority of participants are men). One male officer interviewed stated hockey is by invitation only. Women with OCRPS participate in the women’s city soccer league and requested funding to meet some of their expenses. At the time of the research, the women had not yet received an answer from administration. However, two women from OCRPS spoke about administration’s refusal to fund conference expenses to attend the International Association of Police Women conference. Almost all women with the RCMP spoke about their disappointment with their organization for reversing an earlier decision that recognized and celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary

of women in the RCMP with a ceremony at Canadian Sunset (the musical ride pageant during July). Initially one evening of the Canadian Sunset ceremonies was to be devoted to honouring police women, however, just previous to interviews the women were informed that their evening at Canadian Sunset would have to be shared with another commemorative event. Respondent #23 commented, *“I feel they are saying you are not important to us.”*

Chivalry:

Women interviewed, and women shadowed during ridealongs suggested examples of chivalrous treatment by male co-workers. Three respondents discussed (respondents 16, 17, 12) telling male co-workers to “back off”, and during a ride along (5/01/99), a woman spoke about counselling a male co-worker never to touch her again, as this male officer had “shoved” her to the rear as she tried to get past him at a call for service. In each case, women believed they were being pushed to the back in response to a call for service, because they were women. Interestingly, women recognized the differential treatment as fitting traditional gender relations, and most importantly identified the treatment as negatively impacting their ability to discharge their duties as police officers.

Physical aggression:

Physical aggression with other males was identified by Messerschmidt (1993, discussed in chapter 2) as an element in the construction of hegemonic masculinity. For male officers, physical aggression has additional rewards granted by the police organization. First, the male officer who arrests or apprehends a civilian engaged in a physical altercation with a police officer is recognized by others as

an effective police officer. Second, the original charge the civilian has received will now be accompanied by a charge of assaulting a police officer. The advantage to the police officer is that he will now attend court to provide evidence, possibly resulting in increased pay as he may have to attend court during his unscheduled hours.

Women discussed annoyance at backing up male officers who they knew to be overly aggressive. This was especially an issue raised by women on patrol with the OCRPS. The women spoke about this element of the job as something they often had no choice in, as they were backing up a co-worker who was first at the scene, and already engaged in the physical altercation. The women suggested had they been the first officer on the scene the situation would not have been resolved as it was with a fight and subsequent arrest. Being the back up meant the women didn't have control over the situation and they had no choice but to engage physically to assist the first officer. Respondent #10 suggested,

“A female member walks into the house and talks to the suspect, the male member beats him up-different way of doing the job.”

Another woman suggested, *“I’ve never been in a fight where 2 females responded to a call”*.

Women with both organizations commented that physical confrontations were not their first choice of intervention strategies, but did believe for many male officers physical intervention was their first choice.

Popular image of police men as heterosexually attractive, “action heroes”:

Women discussed the ability of men to translate the positive image of policemen as strong,

authoritative, and macho into attractive romantic partners. Although mentioned by women with the OCRPS, this appeared to be a greater reward for male members of the RCMP. Accounts of this dynamic presented by women in the RCMP were very descriptive. Respondent #11 suggested, “*when men wear red serge their appeal is continually reinforced.*” For instance one police woman with the RCMP discussed red serge fever, recalling a saying she has heard repeated by male members of her unit,

“You invite us to your town, we eat your food, screw your wives and daughters, and you shake our hands, and thank us on the way out of town”.

Women with the RCMP reported that the pursuit of women members of the public by their male co-workers was not restricted to single male members, but that “*In any detachment, some policemen will go out on their wife. There is a group who sees it as normal.*”

The internal stratification system as it applies to women:

Analysis of the data collected revealed the internal stratification systems distribution of rewards did not apply to women in the same way it applied to men, in two regards:

- First, women engaged in tasks associated with masculinity were not always rewarded in a similar fashion as their male colleagues:
- Second, women identified penalties associated with being a woman in the police organization, in that the internal stratification system under valued femininity.

Women not rewarded for doing masculine related tasks:

An example confirming for women they do not share in the internal distribution system of

rewards on equal terms with their male coworkers, involves an incident relayed to me independently by two different respondents. Respondent #8, and 21 spoke about an incident that happened during the last few years in which a woman was reprimanded for action they believe would have been rewarded if engaged in by a male. The example involved a woman arriving on-scene at a complaint of a suspicious person with a gun. As the woman rounded the alley, she met the suspect with the gun. At this point there was no time to wait for her back up, she was forced to respond. In the opinion of both respondents the woman handled the situation appropriately. However, the Sergeant was angry with the woman believing she should have waited for her back up. Consequently, he re-assigned her to work with a junior male partner, because she needed further coaching to deal with officer safety and decision making skills. According to respondent #8, *“You are damned if you do, and damned if you don’t”*, believing that if the officer had been male he would have been rewarded for both courage and quick decision making.

Under valuing women and femininity:

Women discussed the perception of gender bias in the police organization, suggesting that *“women are not recognized for their skills”*. This was a general theme repeated by most women. Some women raised this issue in terms of recruit selection, others when discussing promotion or selection for specialty squads. According to these women there is a perception among many male police officers that women’s achievements in terms of selection, recruitment, promotion and training are the result of affirmative action. This perception presupposes women’s achievements are a direct result of their status as women, not on the basis of their competencies. Women suggested there is constant

jealousy from the men, who think women get the specialties or promotions etc. through preferential treatment. The male officers see these positions as their due. The women are not recognized as having any strengths or talents, beyond being a woman. According to this line of thinking women are rewarded for being women, men are rewarded for their ability.

For many women the lack of respect given them by their male co-workers was a negative point. Respondent #16 stated, *“I challenge people who say I got my opportunities because I am a woman”*, and similarly respondent #20 commented *“women are not recognized for their skills”*. Another woman revealed the men see the coveted positions in the organization (either promotional or specialty squad assignments) as *“their rightful position”*. Interestingly respondent # 22 (a male officer) supported police women’s feeling that they are not considered as competent by their male co-workers. Respondent #22 suggested, he has heard comments expressed by other males that lead him to believe ‘there is a general belief among officers there are specific women who can’t pull their weight, as well as a general understanding about women as not being competent’.

For many women the lack of respect and recognition from their male co-workers translated into their consistently working hard for recognition. There was common agreement among many women (both RCMP and OCRPS) that they had to prove themselves as competent, which was not the case for male police officers who are assumed to be competent. Women commented *“guys really watch the women to see if they are pulling their weight”* (respondent #24), *“women have to go above and beyond”* (respondent #20) to be accepted as a competent police officer, and respondent #9

suggested, *“we have to put in that extra 25% to be considered equivalent.”*

Women provided various examples as evidence of this attitude within the police agencies they worked in. One woman suggested back handed comments such as *“that’s great for a woman, or not a lot of women can do that”*, reinforce her belief that most men believe competent women are an exception to the rule, as most women are incompetent (respondent #18). Another woman supported this statement suggesting that the comments men make, and their scrutinizing of females, lead her to believe that women are not considered equivalent to men in policing. In fact this woman suggested, *“if a guy screwed up you hear about it only once, but if a woman screws up the story is repeated”* (respondent #19). Similarly, respondent #21 suggested,

*if you’re a woman and you make a mistake, you’re a goof.
But if 10 men do the same thing then it is a mistake.
But the woman is still a goof.*

Interestingly, respondent #1 reported while a new recruit she was told repeatedly by the older guys on her platoon, *“you can’t wimp out...you better back us up...make sure you’re available for back up.”* This woman took these repeated messages as very negative, the men didn’t trust in her abilities, *“otherwise it would have been said once, as valuable information and then left at that, not repeated constantly.”* Two women discussed similar advice supplied by their coach/officer, informing them of the ineffectiveness of more senior women. For instance, respondent #9 was warned *“women previously here were screw ups.”* This woman interpreted the statement to mean she should watch herself, because every one else would be watching her. Not surprisingly, this woman later commented

“girls have to do extra, to be equal.”

The men’s perceptions of reverse discrimination discussed earlier are not without foundation as information collected provided evidence of an example of affirmative action occurring in regards to selection for a coveted reward among patrol constables¹. The example involved the selection to receive training as a breath technician. The job of breath technician is sought after by many police constables as it offers the following rewards:

- increased court time (ensuring increased pay to compensate for attending court during unscheduled time)
- inside work during uncomfortably cold or wet weather

The woman describing the incident identified the selection criteria as including (but not limited to selecting) one person from each platoon who spoke french, and one who was female, as both groups of individuals were vastly under-represented by current breath technicians. Consequently, the training class for breath technicians consisted of a number of females. A male police officer was very upset about not being selected for the training, suggested very loudly to all around him

take all of these fucking females, they’re going to go on maternity leave and have three kids, and they will have to train more technicians. Why don’t they just give us the course now. (Ride along 19/01/99)

According to this woman, no one commented to the male officer about the inappropriateness of his remarks. Of interest was the language used to support his concern, specifically the use of the word

1

this is not to suggest that there was not a sound organizational rationale to pursue affirmative action selections in this example

“us”. This male officer very clearly identified males as a class, distinct from the class of women, i.e., male officers are the “us” and police women are not! Such symbolic behaviour is used to restore or defend traditional boundary distinctions (Epstein (1992: 239).

police women identify the rewards etc. related to low prestige-internal stratification system

Through their conversations women identified tasks, and assignments with low prestige. These included doing paper work and working in the office, taking citizen complaints, and escorting female prisoners. Four women reported instances when they were given these duties because of what they perceived as a bias favouring women to perform such tasks. An RCMP woman (a participant in the focus group) reported “the staff sergeant made the women on the watch work the complaint desk”. She explained it was only the women because women do office work. A second woman interviewed with the RCMP reported that she sometimes hears from women at other detachments that, “*some women get all the shitty files that the guys don’t want to do.*” (Respondent 10) She reported this was not her personal experience in former detachments. This woman had not directly experienced receiving these files, but her knowledge of the gossip is important from the perspective that it shaped her bounded knowledgeability of the treatment and experience of women in the organization. This woman makes choices based on her “bounded knowledgeability” of the options and resources available to her.

Assignments with low prestige described by women with the OCRPS also included doing paper work. In fact, during ride alongs a woman discussed her anger with a male co-worker who

attempted unsuccessfully to “slough his report” on her. In addition, during another ride along, this woman was dispatched to the cells to escort a female prisoner to the hospital for medical attention. The officer was angry with the Sergeant who requested she attend this case as she believed it was more appropriate for the 2 arresting officers (both males) to transport her to the hospital as they had caused the injury and were available. This woman interpreted the call as having to clean up the mess her male co-workers had made. The male officers were free to enjoy the autonomy of patrol work on this Saturday afternoon, while the female officer spent the afternoon at the riverside Hospital waiting and watching medical personnel attend the female prisoner.

In summary, the distribution of rewards through the internal stratification system operating in the OCRPS revealed the importance of the job as a resource in the construction of masculinity. Consequently the distribution of rewards is structured to undervalue women’s achievements, work product and efforts. If women are seen to be effective at the job, than the work no longer is a resource for the construction of masculinity. The strength of the women’s perception is indicated by their responses to the question:

Do you agree with the statement that women are now accepted in policing as equivalent to males, i.e., can women do the job of policing as well as men?

Most women believe their male co-workers do not believe they are equally as competent as a male. Nineteen respondents disagreed with the statement. Interestingly, the three male police officers interviewed all agreed with the statement. Only two women agreed with the statement, and one police officer suggested it was both no and yes. Both women who agreed with the statement had fathers who

were police officers.

The extent of disagreement with this statement is interesting as it was contrary to my original assumption when entering the field to conduct research. After all, women have been doing police work for more than 20 years, in both police agencies. I expected that women had achieved some measure of acceptance. However, my assumption was quickly corrected by the first few women interviewed. Women with both organizations were emphatic that women are not accepted as equivalent to men. The women provided the above examples of male attitude and behavior that lead to their perceptions which was surprisingly similar between the two police organizations.

Further, many women suggested their male co-workers and supervisors may display an attitude that serves to differentiate females from males, but in 1999, most are too intelligent to articulate those preferences. They believe overt discrimination has been supplanted by subtle discrimination. For instance respondent # 8 stated *“the resentment or lack of support for women in policing is more covert, it has gone underground ... Most males will no longer express it to your face but their opinion and sentiment remains the same”*. Respondent #17 expressed a similar sentiment, but continued, *“They know they won’t get away with it.”*

Internal reward system for women:

Because women do not benefit from the construction of masculinity, which appears to be the major component of the internal reward system of policing, it is important to understand the rewards

women identify as contained in the job of policing. To begin with many women pursued a career in policing to fulfill a public service (10 women). Interestingly, the job of general patrol duties is most consistent with many of the women's reasons for joining the police department, suggested as providing an opportunity to help others, help the community and be a positive role model for other women and children. The response with the second highest frequency suggested women were attracted to policing because they understood the job as being challenging, exciting, interesting, offering variety, was non-routine, and not a desk job. Again, these descriptions of the job of policing are consistent with the position of general patrol constable.

Women were asked, *"What does it mean to succeed in the job of policing?"* Few women identified measuring their success in a manner consistent with the traditional internal stratification system. Only two women suggested they measured their success in terms of their ability to be promoted (respondents #10, #16)². Other women suggested they measure their success by knowing they *"did a good job"*, *"knowing you did the right thing"*, *"taking pride in your work and accomplishments"* (respondents #3,7, 19, 25, 24, 21). Respondent #25 stated *"you learn quickly that your satisfaction won't come from a pat on the back. But you know at the end of the day when you've done a good job."* Consistent with this theme, that success is not measured by official recognition from the police agency, four women suggested a measure of success includes acknowledgment and appreciation through recognition and respect often by the public that they

2

This is not to suggest that other women did not wish to be promoted. Many of them did.

appreciate your efforts. (Respondents #1, 12, 19, 25).

To summarize, women identified the internal stratification system as advantaging male police officers through associating prestige, status and organizational rewards with masculinity. It appears that many women do not buy into the traditional internal stratification system that benefits the construction of masculinity, especially when it is done at their expense. Instead, women look for their rewards outside of the organizational reward structure, such as “knowing they did a good job”, and “recognition from the public”.

3. Vertical Segregation.

Summary of findings regarding:

Vertical Segregation

- extreme under representation of women in the rank structure of the OCRPS
- women under represented vertically in OCRPS compared to national and international statistics

Table 5.4: Statistical Representation of Gender Distribution Within OCRPS

	Male sworn officer		Female sworn officer	
	n	%/male	n	%/fem
executive (superintendent, deputy Chief, chief)	6	0.76	0	0
supervisor (Staff Sgt., Inspector rank)	49	6.23	4	2.84
supervisor (Sergeant)	144	18.3	8	5.67
constable	588	74.71	129	91.49

total	787	100%	141	99.99%
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Table 5.4 indicates the extreme under representation of women in rank above constable.

Whereas, seventy-five percent of men are at the rank of constable, ninety-one percent of women are at the rank of constable. As one moves up the rank structure, the under representation of women becomes increasingly obvious. As indicated by the table, at the time of this research there were no women represented in the ranks of executive officer. However, a police woman was recently appointed to the level of superintendent.

Table 5.5: Statistical Representation of Gender Distribution Within OCRPS General Duty

Assignment

General duty assignment total compliment (male + female)= 488	Male sworn officer		Female sworn officer	
	N	% / men gen.duty	N	%/ women gen.duty
supervisor (Staff Sgt., Inspector rank)	26	6.8	4	3.77
supervisor (Sergeant)	60	15.7	4	3.77
constable	296	77.48	100	94.34
total	382	99.98	106	99.99

Table 5.5 examines the number of male and female sworn police officers of all ranks performing general patrol duties. The table indicates that a total of 382 male police officers are assigned to general patrol duties. 77.48% of these officers are at the rank of constable. In contrast, 106 women are

assigned to general patrol duties at the rank of constable, with 94.34% of all women assigned to general patrol duties at the rank of constable. In comparison to males in supervisory roles(in general duty assignments), females are greatly under represented, especially at the level of first line supervisor (sergeant).

Table 5.6 representing gender distribution within the OCRPS Criminal Investigations Division indicates nine percent of sworn officers assigned to C.I.D. are women. Comparing women to men in terms of rank, we see that women are more likely at the rank of constable, with one out of four men being a first line supervisor (sergeant), compared to one out of five women first line supervisors. Women have recently had the opportunity to participate in fraud investigations-two (2) women (sergeants) are fraud investigators, comprising twelve and one half percent of fraud investigators. Also women comprise one third of detectives investigating spousal assault cases (3 women, 2 constables and 1 sergeant). There are five sergeants, and one staff sergeant assigned to sexual assault and child abuse investigations, interesting that none of these positions is filled by a woman, the two (2) women in sexual assault and child abuse investigations are at the rank of constable.

Table #5.6: Statistical Representation of Gender Distribution Within OCRPS Criminal Investigative Services

Criminal Investigations Division (C.I.D.)	Male sworn officer		Female sworn officer	
	n	%/ men	n	%/ women

Senior administration/executive (Superintendent, Deputy Chief, Chief)	1	0.56	0	0
supervisor (Staff Sgt., Inspector rank)	12	6.77	1	6.25
supervisor (Sergeant)	45	25.42	3	18.75
constable	119	67.23	12	75
total	177	99.98	16	100

The existing literature suggested when women achieve promotion they will be in positions both outside of important decision making and will not supervise males. Regarding the first prediction that women will not be party to major decisions effecting the organization, the current research could not confirm or deny this possibility. Women in senior management with OCRPS did not wish to be interviewed for this study. However, two of these women were in charge of districts, leading one to assume they had decision making capabilities for their territories. Regarding the second issue, women in supervisory positions would not supervise males, an analysis of the organizational chart and gender segregation chart indicates that women first line supervisors are more likely in either investigative or support services, than in supervisory positions of personnel. Only three police women who are Sergeants, and one police woman Staff Sergeant directly supervise large numbers of men. Other female sergeants are investigators, or in support services (Professional Development and Court Liaison). Consequently, few men have the experience of working directly for a woman.

It appears the vertical segregation evident in the OCRPS is consistent with trends in other American and Canadian studies indicating that women have made some strides in obtaining middle management positions, but are vastly under represented in senior management positions, also, because

of their small numbers they have little impact on major decision making within the organization, and have minimal authority over male employees within the organization. A look at the status of women in policing in 1998 by Feminist Majority Foundation (1999) and an evaluation of police resources in 1999 by Statistics Canada quantifies the hierarchal division of labour within American and Canadian police agencies confirming that police management is a gendered occupation.

Table 5.7: Percentage of Female Police Officers Within the Ranks (1999)

	constable	non-commissioned (first and second line supervisor)	senior officer (Inspector and above)
American Statistics (Feminist Majority Foundation 1999)	14.7%	9.6%	7.5%
Canadian Statistics (Statistics Canada, 1999)	16.2%	4.7	2.8
OCRPS	13.9	1.08	0.22

Analysis of data reveals that women are most under represented in top senior officer positions, followed by supervisory positions. In fact the gender division of labour among higher ranks, is even more prevalent in the case of OCRPS than in the overall Canadian data, or the American data. The representation of women in ranks above constable are even less prevalent in OCRPS than data drawing on national samples would suggest. At the time of the current study the top command structure of the police organization studied had absolutely no representation by women.

Women reflect on their career progression:

Interviews asked respondents to discuss their career aspirations (*Where would you like to be 5 years from now?*). Most women reported their career aspirations have not changed significantly or have changed in the direction of greater expectations than when they entered policing as a career. Many of these women view the achievement of rank as a goal with strong possibilities. A woman with the OCRPS suggested seeing other women in her organization at inspector rank sends a message that achieving rank is possible. For this woman the existence of positive role models is very important. She commented,

[these women] are supportive of other police women. No male senior officer has asked me to go for coffee to discuss my career ambitions, but that is what these women do. (Resp. #1)

She further commented that she watches them balance, kids, family and work. And she is sad when she hears men *“talk shit about them, they are jealous and believe they achieved Inspector solely because they are women.”* But this respondent is optimistic that *“this attitude will change as more women get in.”*

However, not all women interviewed wished to pursue promotional opportunities, or continued to have aspirations for lateral transfers to other assignments. Five women (3 with OCRPS, and 2 with the RCMP) expressed comments indicating their career aspirations were lower than when they first entered policing. One woman suggested it was not a “glass ceiling”, but a “brick wall”. This woman had extensive experience as an acting Sergeant, had trained others who were now promoted, and had many years of service but has recently lost her desire to pursue promotion. She suggested,

I am more realistic now. I want to find a job that suits me and my family life. I prioritize my family life, over my job. I wanted rank, and variety in my job. You try and try again, but it's a brick wall and you say to yourself, 'do I want to get pissed off'...I've surrendered. I never did get into fraud.

It is possible there is a relationship between lowered career aspirations and years of service, in that the 3 women from the OCRPS who no longer wished to pursue promotion had the most years of service. One of these women had been promoted, but did not see future promotions as a possibility.

In sum, examining vertical segregation within the OCRPS identified the under representation of women in administrative positions throughout the organization. The methodology pursued by this study can not provide emphatic conclusions for the reasons underlying this trend. However, this study did provide women's perceptions about the potential for upward mobility in their careers. Overall, women in the study with both the OCRPS and the RCMP had optimistic expectations to achieve promotion. However, these women were more junior in rank than those who believed they had hit the "brick wall", or who believe their careers had stagnated.

4. **The organization as gendered.**

Summary of findings regarding:

The Organization as Gendered.

- organizational practices/processes differentiated between women and men
- women and men are different sort of workers with only women performing sexualized work
- separate spaces and assignments by gender
- promotion of heterosexuality and a sexualized work environment
- sexual harassment and poisoned work environment

Considering the organization as gendered builds on the earlier work of Acker's discussed in chapter 2, revealing the police organization is not gender neutral but is in fact a male organization. This is interpreted to mean that the organization is characterized by policies, practices and processes promoting masculinity. Results of the research reveal two general areas that further the maleness of the organization: policies, practices and processes that differentiate between women and men; and promotion of heterosexuality within the culture of the OCRPS. The similarities and differences between the perceptions and experiences of women with the OCRPS and the RCMP provide an indication of the importance of studying the working environment to understand the role the organization plays in promoting the gendering of the organization.

Policies , practices and processes differentiating women from men:

Consistent with analysis of the women and work literature (chapter 2), women and men are different sorts of workers, and they do different kinds of work. As Miller (1999) reveals, even when men and women appear to be engaged in the same work assignment, they perform the duties differently. Analysis of the findings from my research indicate the accuracy of this argument. In addition, findings from my research revealed the existence of physical locations in the organization identified as "guy places", and will be discussed in turn.

I was surprised to find information from my research confirming the argument that women and men are different kinds of workers with women expected to perform sexual work. However,

information collected from interviews did confirm that in two regards women in policing are expected to utilize their sexuality to perform their job tasks. Examples to support this observation included women from the OCRPS asked to work the stroll as prostitutes to arrest “johns” and second women interviewed with the RCMP perceive women assigned to undercover drug investigations are expected to play the supporting role as the girlfriend to the main investigator (male). It is interesting to note that during ridealongs no male officers were seen dressed in “drag”, working the stroll, to arrest ‘johns’, even though observational research indicated the presence of male prostitutes dressed as women. Consequently analysis of the organization as gendered includes the observation that the working conditions that encourage the sexualized nature of the work operate for women but not for men.

One woman with the OCRPS who spent one summer under cover as a prostitute in the market, discussed her discomfort at having people look at her as a prostitute (respondent #1). In addition, during ridealongs a woman discussed the attitude and behaviour of her male co-workers toward their female co-workers dressing like prostitutes and walking the market. According to this woman the male officers hang around headquarters to get a look at women as they leave the women’s change room, and wait for their escort to the market. The women’s appearance is met with ‘cat calls’ and remarks from their male co-workers. In addition, during the shift male co-workers are seen patrolling the market out of their assigned area. According to this woman, they are in the market to watch the women in revealing and demeaning clothing. This woman commented about the demeaning behaviour and attitude of her male co-workers, as she believed the women were entertainment for her male co-

workers.

A second organizational practice serving to differentiate male and female police officers involves the preference of dispatching women to intervene with women and children who have been victimized by male violence (example presented earlier). Four women commented on their assignment to calls involving victimization of women and children. (Respondents # 3, 6, 10 and 12) The comment from respondent #6 is reflective of others in this regard, *“male officers call for a female in the case of a sexual assault, because they feel more comfortable having a female officer there.”* Although the women recognize they receive these calls for service solely because they are female, one woman explained it is not necessarily negative, as *“it is believed you can do a better job, provide a better response.”* (Respondent #12, 10). Also, one woman suggested that she derives much satisfaction from her intervention with women and children who are victims. Respondent #21 provided examples related to women with whom she has intervened, and how she followed up daily to ensure the abuser didn't return, and the restraining order was maintained.

There is a perception that it is more appropriate to send a woman than a man to these types of calls for service, as the victim may feel more comfortable with another woman, or that because of their natural abilities to demonstrate empathy and develop relationships women would be better suited. However, this organizational practice demonstrates that male and female police officers are encouraged to do the job of policing differently. Even though both men and women are assigned to general patrol

duties, and can be dispatched to a variety of calls for service, this practice of sending women to intervene with women and children, reproduces the gendering of the organization, as men are free to pursue the more traditionally masculine tasks that are rewarded in the organization and are not encouraged to develop the skills necessary to effectively intervene with these victims. Conversely, women continue to develop their counseling and relationship building skills, and spend time at calls for service that are not well rewarded by the official internal stratification system. However, as indicated in the earlier presentation of the findings, women do not look for their rewards to be received from their organization, but see their rewards coming from the public, and knowing they did a good job, such as an intervention with a distraught victim of a violent crime.

A third example identifying organizational policies and practices differentiating male and female workers in the police organization involves the maintenance of separate physical spaces within the police buildings, and organization. The gendering of the organization continues to maintain difference between males and females through such processes and practices as sustaining separate physical spaces for them. Analysis of findings from my research revealed similarities among women in their ability to identify “guy places” in their organization. “Guy places” refers to specific physical locations that women choose not to attend, as well as assignments women believe are unwelcoming of them. In fact there is similarity between the two police agencies, in the identification of specific assignments as “guy places”. Further, women spoke about not pursuing these assignments, as the work environment did not appeal to them, and these environments would probably not change significantly in the future.

Overall, almost 1/3 of women interviewed were able to identify specifically male enclaves within the organization, suggesting they did not wish to pursue a particular assignment because it was male dominated and unfriendly to women. Four women referred to major crimes, two referred to tactical teams, one to canine unit, and two referred to drugs as “guy places”. Five of the women work for OCRPS, and two work for the RCMP. For instance, five women stated they do not wish to pursue drug investigations work. Two main reasons were given to explain their lack of interest in this type of work. The first involved the very “macho” nature of the work environment. The statement by this woman is reflective of this sentiment,

I am not interested in drug section, for the macho, chest beating of the officers. Having worked with them in the past I see they have no home life, and there is much back stabbing to get the big bust. (Resp. # 24)

The second reason given by women supporting their decision not to pursue drug investigations work involved the nature of the citizens the drug officer intervened with, and the life style led by such a detective. This respondent had previously dealt with drug section and commented from her experience,

It is very dirty work, I wanted to have a shower...It is also the type of job that you can't leave your work at the office, as you have to adopt a look and lifestyle compatible with drug work. (Resp. #11)

This was reiterated by another woman who suggested, *Drugs have no appeal for me, because you become one of them, adopting their values and morals. (Resp. #19)*

In addition to the lack of enthusiasm for drug work, three women stated they do not aspire to

work in major crimes investigations. The reasons given include that it is “very male dominated”, and unfriendly. The third woman suggested, *it’s a guy place, and will always be a guy place. (Resp. #2)*

Women from OCRPS spoke about the gym at headquarters as a physical location they did not attend. Although not all women identified the gym as a “guy place” only one woman attends the gym to work out. An interesting point is that civilian women employees frequent the headquarters gym during their lunch hour to work out. During ridealongs, one woman commented that male officers working at headquarters attend the gym at lunch hour to watch the civilian women in their spandex. Women interviewed from OCRPS discussed working out at other locations, such as joining private fitness clubs, the Canadian Police College, and running along the canal, all locations less visible to their male co-workers. Consequently, I include the gym as an example of a physical location the police women are not comfortable attending.

Pursuing policies, practices and processes encouraging heterosexuality:

Review of Messerschmidt’s work in chapter 2 linked heterosexuality with male power. Findings from my research detailed many examples of both sexual harassment of women interviewed, and a poisoned work environment women function in, supporting this link. The dominance of heterosexuality through practices of sexual harassment structures work relations to favour an active male sexuality, and a passive, exploited femininity. The lack of effective response from the organization to sanction both quid pro quo sexual harassment, and a poisoned work environment that constructs an

image of women as incompetent interlopers must be seen as the organization structuring gender relations, not toward gender neutrality, but in favour of masculinity.

The continuum of sexual harassment:

Negative attitudes toward police women abound. Negative attitudes range in a continuum from sexually harassing behaviour in which a male supervisor attempts to coerce sexual contact with a woman, to an environment unwelcoming of women. Seven police women discussed their experience with sexual harassment by male police officers, including supervisors. (Respondents #2, 6, 11, 12, 17, 18, 20) This included both RCMP women and OCRPS women. However, women from the RCMP had more examples of coercive sexual harassment fitting a definition of quid pro quo, while women from the OCRPS had more examples of harassment fitting the definition of a poisoned, unwelcoming working environment. Results of the current study confirm the assumption by one woman (a sexual harassment advisor in her department) who suggested that “*there is a lot of sexual harassment going on, but we don’t hear about it.*” (Respondent #2)

Of all the women who discussed personal experiences related to sexual harassment only one attempted to facilitate an official intervention to improve her situation, and that was not an official complaint of sexual harassment, but an informal concern raised to a division representative within the RCMP (similar to a union representative). The current research did not discover any woman who made an official complaint against a male police officer (either peer or supervisor), from their own

police agency. Asked why they would not launch an official investigation into their complaint of sexual harassment the women were able to provide numerous examples of women they either knew or heard about through gossip, who had officially alleged sexual harassment, and the result of their official complaint was never positive for the woman.

For example one woman from the RCMP with a clear, unambiguous experience of sexual harassment was told shortly after her arrival at her remote posting about the woman she replaced who alleged sexual harassment against the supervisor. The woman had been transferred out, and her reputation within the RCMP was tarnished, as was her memory at this posting. Consequently, when this RCMP officer (respondent #20) experienced significant, overt sexual harassment that not only affected her mental health but also threatened her physical safety on the job, she did not consider launching an official complaint of sexual harassment against the supervisor.

One of the two women with the RCMP who reported sexual harassment by her coach/officer discussed her reasons for not launching an official complaint of sexual harassment. She stated she did not feel confident to report this experience, because at the same time a woman from the RCMP working in another subdivision was alleging sexual harassment and she was the talk of the gossip mill, and all of it negative. Consequently, respondent #12, did not feel her complaint would be treated seriously, or confidentially. As a result the negative assessment she received from the coach officer (following her rejection of him as a romantic involvement) went on her file, and has followed her

throughout her career.

Both women who acknowledged sexual harassment by their coach officer reported they asked for new coach officers, but their requests were refused. In fact one woman who documented this treatment by her coach/officer was chastised by a supervisor for keeping notes on another police officer. She was told “*we don’t do that here.*” (Respondent #24) Evidence from interviews indicate the women were rarely successful in achieving a new coach/officer, and transfers were achieved only following lengthy delays and persistent requests.

It appears that women experiencing this type of harassment choose not to pursue official intervention. They do not see such intervention as improving their situation. Instead they attempt to pursue avoidance techniques that have the advantage of removing them from the offender and offensive behaviour. Examples of this coping strategy included asking for a transfer, changing shifts so as to avoid the offender, and requesting a new coach/officer. Obviously the disadvantages to these localized and individual strategies are to keep the behaviour secret, so that the organization can escape acknowledging or acting on the problem. But most importantly it allows this offender’s behaviour and attitude to continue unchecked.

Another woman spoke about an incident of sexual harassment by a supervisor that happened during a social occasion, (a transfer party for a police officer who was leaving for another posting).

According to this woman, she wore a pair of dress shorts to the party, and another officer (supervisor) commented to her “*You have legs*”. Respondent #11 commented she was uncomfortable the entire evening as this man continued to stare at her, and later “*he sat beside me and grabbed and felt the back of my leg.*”

In addition to quid pro quo sexual harassment, women identified negative and hostile attitudes by their co-workers and supervisors designed to make them feel unwelcome and unappreciated. With the exception of one woman (respondent #3) all women interviewed (both OCRPS and RCMP) described experiences in which the fact they are female impacted negatively their relationships with co-workers, and the police agency, and their ability to perform their duties as a police officer. For women interviewed there was agreement they had to prove themselves as competent, which was not the case for male police officers, who are assumed to be competent. For instance three women (respondents # 11, 21 and 8-two with OCRPS and one with the RCMP) discussed discriminatory conduct by supervisors and co-workers that served to disadvantage women. Respondent #8 recalled two incidents, one as recently as 1995 in which a supervising officer referred to herself and another woman, as the “P.M.S. patrol”, and another more recently in which a woman she knows was told by a Sergeant (who has since been promoted to Staff Sergeant), “*if I have to have a woman working for me, you’ll do.*” A third woman (RCMP) spoke about attempting to pursue an assignment to the Emergency Response Team in her division, and was told by the coordinator of ERT “it will never happen...I would quit before a woman got on.”

The significance of these examples poisoning the work environment against women is made particularly relevant when actors within the organization are given ample opportunity to neutralize or balance the masculine nature of the organization, but neglect to do so. It appears that the informal banter, gossip, and verbal interactions that place women as the “butt of the joke” serve to reproduce the image of police women as incompetent, or interlopers. The lack of response from other males within the organization to stop the practice encourages the continuation of the practice and attitude. An example demonstrating this involved an account about an older male police officer who is well known for not liking police women(01/99). During parade, the young woman was assigned as his backup. The male officer laughed at the suggestion that this young woman would be his backup. *“And all of the boys in parade chuckled or laughed too.”* Not only was there an opportunity in this instance for his male peers to comment about the inappropriateness of his comment, a supervising sergeant was present in the room. This was not an isolated event. Similar to the example given earlier about the young male officer who was angry at not being selected for breath technician training (internal stratification system) no one formally or informally commented on the inappropriateness of the response. Stories and comments apparently abound about male attitude toward women on the job.

Interactions with co-workers and supervisors are structured to differentiate between women and men, reserving for men the position of dominance in a stratification system that includes heterosexuality. Male power exercised through heterosexuality structures interactions between male and female officers to allow for sexual harassment and a poisoned, unwelcoming environment for

women. The inability of the organization to create effective policies, practices and processes to intervene in these interactions allows the harassment to act as a powerful form of social control, forcing women to remain silent, or to invoke informal, less effective options.

To summarize, the main findings to this point indicate the organizational structures creating and maintaining the gender division of labour within the OCRPS are characterized by a feminizing trend in general patrol duties, in that women are over represented in this assignment, and the assignment appears to be welcoming of women's contributions. Women recognize the traditional rewards and prestige bestowed within police culture and the organization are not tied to general patrol duties. However, women recognize other rewards in performing general duty assignments. Some women continue to seek the traditional rewards of a policing career, chasing transfers and promotions to more prestigious assignments. Whereas other women recognize they are in a catch-22 situation, both "damned if they do, and damned if they don't", as pursuing their work responsibilities in a manner similar to a male does not necessarily win them respect or rewards, as it does for men. In light of these processes/practices operating in the police agency it is not difficult to understand the fact that women are under represented in every level of management, and, as one climbs the rank structure, women become less evident.

Presentation of the main findings examining the organization as gendered indicate that in many ways the organization may appear gender neutral, but in actuality it is a male organization, reflecting

dominant images of masculinity including heterosexuality. The sexualization of the work environment is a logical outcome of the dominance of heterosexuality and masculinity, with women tolerating a hostile and poisoned work environment and engaging in sexual work. The gendered nature of the police organization creates police women and police men as different types of workers. Consequently both male and female police officers use work as a resource for the construction of gender, but the gender division of labour within the work organization differentially distributes on the bases of sex, access to the resources used to construct gender.

micro-level analysis-interaction

To this point elements of the web of bounded knowledgeability explored, focussed solely on the work organization. Presentation of the findings now moves to discuss the opposite side of the model of the web of bounded knowledgeability. The focus of this side of the model is to explore the overlap and link between women's personal and professional relationships, as women's lives must be examined in their totality. These elements contained within the model of the web of bounded knowledgeability play a strong role influencing the femininity constructed by women, and the career choices they make.

Analysis of these three remaining elements move the focus to a micro-level analysis, examining interactions and relationships women engage in. As identified in figure #2, these remaining elements are:

- relationship, interaction and influence of co-workers
- relationship, interaction and influence of the public
- personal, familial and intimate relationships

Relationship, interaction and influence of co-workers:

Previous sections of the presentation of findings has spent considerable time discussing aspects of co-worker relationships from the perspective of organizational influences. Table 5.8 summarizes this previous presentation.

Table 5.8: Summarizing previously presented findings of the relationship between women and co-workers

Element from the model of the web of bounded knowledgeability	Description of the finding
Occupational Segregation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> men and women do not work in the same assignments, in the same proportions, as women are over represented in patrol, and under represented in C.I.D., and Support Services
Internal Stratification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> distribution of rewards is gender differentiated with men and women not rewarded for the same tasks women and femininity are under valued women perceive their male co-workers and supervisors do not see them as competent
Vertical segregation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> women are under represented in supervisory and senior management positions, consequently, few men have the opportunity to be supervised by a woman
Organization as gendered	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> some men use their power to coercively sexually harass women, and others engage in maintaining an unwelcome work environment for women women and men are different sorts of workers with women performing sexual work, and encouraged to use their gender linked skills

Much of these previous results indicate the co-worker relationship is problematic for women. Not to minimize the difficulties women experience in interaction with a few male co-workers and supervisors, women spoke positively about many of their interactions and relationships with male and female co-

workers. In fact co-workers were described as a source of support by most women.

However, women appeared very selective in their choice of co-workers with whom they pursued professional and personal relationships. During ridealongs both women discussed their reasons for meeting a specific constable for breakfast, and trying to avoid another for coffee. Women during ridealongs sought out other women and men with whom to have casual conversation. These conversations often occurred in a parking lot, with the two patrol cars pulled alongside each other, so that the drivers doors were side by each. Topics of conversation between two women were different than the topics between male and female co-workers. Topics engaged in by women included wedding preparations, and decorating a new house. Topics engaged in by a male and female included changes in the organization including the move to district and community policing, NHL hockey, and activities pursued on their days off.

Co-workers are extremely influential in the construction of femininity among police women. Consistent with the sexualized nature of the work and organization, police women engage in interactions with co-workers (both male and female) that structures the resources available to police women to construct their femininity. The sexualized work environment favouring heterosexuality constructs police women as both potential mates, and incompetent police officers. Police women discussed resistance to both images. Police women identified female gossip that appeared to be an important channel of information for police women. Many examples of stories in this gossip constructed police women as

competent, even hero like, and even examples of police women who fought the inequities of the male organization. For instance, local female gossip within the OCRP included stories about the first police woman who required maternity leave, and her unrelenting struggle for fair treatment in the organization. Other stories from local women's gossip included a police woman who courageously intervened without back up to effect the arrest of a male with a gun, and a police woman who effectively put an abusive male in his place, by verbally insulting him. In this way local female gossip is a resource for the construction of femininity that is inconsistent or in competition with the images of police women as incompetent, within the dominant culture espousing masculinity within the police organization.

Women with both the RCMP and OCRPS discussed meeting female co-workers outside work, often in groups. For instance women with OCRPS spoke about a soccer team they organized to participate in the Ottawa women's league during the winter. Other activities included attending a cottage for a weekend get away, and occasionally arranging to get together with a few women friends. Women with the RCMP now residing in Ottawa spoke about getting together with a group of women co-workers to take a ceramics course, which was described as a lot of socializing and little ceramics. (However, given the nature of their past working conditions, sustaining a network of women co-workers in an RCMP detachment environment would be difficult). Results indicate that women (especially those with OCRPS) actively engage in a female network with other co-workers, which must be seen as a potential source of knowledge, as co-workers share both understanding of their work and gender expectations. In this way interactions, and influences of co-workers can be considered as an

occupational resource influencing women's career choices and femininity. Again, it makes little difference whether the information shared by co-workers consists of social facts, or knowledge derived from gossip, and hearsay. Either way, co-workers act to structure women's bounded knowledgeability.

Relationship, interaction and influence of the public:

Findings relating to:
police women interacting with the public.

- Positive interactions include:
 - neutralizing the power abusive males use against their female partners and children
 - exercising power and authority not traditionally bestowed on women in Canadian society
 - using traditional feminine skills and traditional gender dynamics to control males
- Negative interactions include:
 - derogatory and demeaning comments addressed to women

Women discussed positive interactions with the public including the ability to be role models for other women and children (discussed earlier in presentation of the findings related to the internal stratification system), as well as the opportunity to neutralize male power used against women and other males, enjoying chivalrous treatment, and the opportunity to exercise power and authority not traditionally allocated to women in Canadian society. However, police women also discussed negative elements of interactions with the public including derogatory and demeaning comments addressed to them as women, and difficulty in attracting romantic interest from male members of the public. Both positive and negative interactions with members of the public are considered resources structuring the

ability of women to construct their femininity and at the same time provides them knowledge of their work.

A major resource used by women to construct their femininity, is the ability of women to translate their authority as police officers to dominate male members of the public. The ability of women to exercise power through adoption of state authority demonstrates their resistance to traditional structures encouraging female subordination. Women spoke about using their authority as a police officer to neutralize the power abusive males wield in their homes. For instance, a woman spoke about a case in which she engaged in a verbal interaction with an abusive husband. In addition to treating his wife badly, the husband was an officer with rank at National Defence Head Quarters (N.D.H.Q.), and was attempting to use his authority to intimidate this police woman. According to the woman, she was counselling the wife, suggesting courses of action she might pursue (restraining order), when the husband yelled at the woman “*mind your own damn business, Bitch*”. The police woman responded to the husband

“Major asshole, come up here and collect your belongings and get out.”

Interestingly, this story was later relayed by another woman, a somewhat famous story within the women’s gossip mill! Both women were obviously very proud of this response to the authoritative male, who would not recognize the woman’s authority, as either a woman, or her office of constable.

Similar to the above example provided by the woman shadowed in the participant observation

phase of research collection, another woman during interviews discussed working closely with abused women, trying to emotionally support them and supply them with the necessary information to escape abusive relationships. (This example was previously discussed in *The organization as gendered*) As these examples indicate, women functioned as active agents in the power struggle between males and females in Canadian society by harnessing their power and authority to advocate for individual powerless women.

Field research revealed the competence of a woman's ability to use physical power to intervene and apply restraint to a male offender, without back up. This example demonstrates both the fluidity of femininity, and the exercise of power through physical aggression. In this way the job of policing can be seen as a resource in the construction of femininity. During a ride along, on a cold January evening, complete with freezing rain, the woman being shadowed arrived on scene (on the sidewalk in front of the store) of a fight between store security and two offenders attempting to leave the store with unpaid goods. Before her back up arrived, this woman engaged in a physical confrontation with the two offenders, successfully handcuffed one offender, and was in the process of physically restraining a second (who was resisting aggressively) when her male back up arrived. The entire altercation lasted almost 10 minutes (from the time of her arrival on the scene, until the second offender was restrained and placed in the back of a police cruiser). The next 10 minutes was spent taking a report from store security, and getting a case number for the incident. Having completed her duties in the store, and on the street associated with this case, the woman got back in the car, looked in

the rearview mirror, commented “*oh, what a mess*”, while running her hands through the front of her hair! The black velvet scrunchie managed to maintain her medium length hair in place, during the altercation. Off we went to another call. This interaction is an excellent example of the ability of women to construct a femininity that is fluid, and divergent, demonstrating within one interaction she was at both ends of the continuum of gender. She overlapped traditional constructions of masculinity, and femininity, as she constructed her femininity as a competent police officer and an attractive woman concerned about her physical appearance.

Women also demonstrated agency utilizing a more traditionally feminine ability to maintain their power and authority. Women identified the problematic nature of interventions between male police officers, and hostile male members of the public, suggesting relations between police and the public can be assisted when police women are at the scene. Women suggested their presence at the scene often served to de-escalate tension between male members of the public and male police officers. Respondent #13 (and similar to respondent #9) suggested “*sometimes at a scene with a male member the suspect would be antagonistic to a male member-ready to fight, but when I intervened the suspect would calm down and talk with me.*” Acknowledging that “*it is easier for a woman to confront a man, than have a male confronting a male*”, respondent #21 provided an example of arresting a “biker” for assaulting a fellow at a bar. The woman had no backup, and was on scene, consequently could not wait for her backup. She described how she was able to make the “biker” see how silly it was for him to continue assaulting a fellow smaller, and less intelligent than him,

and she did not get into a physical altercation with the male. It appears this woman was able to appeal to the “bikers” construction of masculinity, to re-interpret the interaction for him in such a way that his dominant masculinity was not being achieved by beating on a subordinate masculinity (or a police woman). As she constructed a traditionally feminine gender identity in this interaction, she did not offend the “bikers” construction of masculinity. Consequently, it appears that women have the ability to use agency to construct their femininity in their interactions with male members of the public, to avoid antagonistic interactions.

Although women demonstrated much agency and resistance to the structures that influence their gender construction and career choices through interactions with the public, macro-social structures evident in Canadian society are also at play in these interactions. For instance Canadian society is a patriarchal arrangement, ensuring male domination and female subordination. Although women have the ability to utilize the resources of their job to act against these power differentials, at times their interactions with others (members of the public, and co-workers) can serve to remind them of the “natural” arrangement of society.

One such example demonstrating this structural consideration involves displays of chivalry women in policing experience. Two women suggested they benefited from behavioural norms that treat women chivalrously, interpreted as meaning men treating women with respect. Respondent#7 reported an incident in which during a bar fight, the male offender was made aware of the fact that he was

fighting a woman, and the fight ended! According to respondent #7, *“during a bar fight, the bartender yells, ‘get off of her she’s a woman’, and they all did!”* Respondent #9 provided a similar example. She recalled during a bar fight a guy apologized to her, and said *“I can’t hit a woman.”* However, this does not appear to be a universal experience, as another women recounted an experience in which she was arresting an impaired male, and he yelled, *“I don’t care if you’re a woman or not, I’m going to fight you!”* (Respondent #13) While the result was different in this last example, the aggressor nonetheless recognized that he should be chivalrous and not hit the female police officer.

Two women discussed incidents in which male members of the public either came to their assistance, or appeared willing to render assistance if the situation called for it. During a ridealong a woman discussed the positive relationship she has with members of the public, and trusted that if she was experiencing difficulty members of the public would come to her assistance. She provided an example of an experience she had arresting an offender on Bank street. She was alone at the time (without back up), and *“guys on Bank street were hanging around to see if I might need assistance.”* A woman with the RCMP spoke about having difficulty making an arrest during a physical confrontation with an offender. She was able to get the hand cuffs secured on only one of his wrists and he was swinging it around as a weapon. She and the senior officer (male) were struggling to restrain the offender, and two guys from the crowd stepped in and helped her grab his second arm. She commented that she was not offended, but very impressed by the help of the public in this instance.

It is interesting that chivalrous treatment by male members of the public are perceived more positively than was similar treatment by male co-workers. Explanations for this difference were not pursued in this research project, but it does raise an interesting area for future exploration.

Negative impacts involving professional contact with the public:

According to women, there is no equivalent for 'blue' or 'red serge fever' for women wearing a uniform. It appears that women who pursue a non traditional career in policing pay a high price for their resistance to societal norms that reward women for their passivity and gentleness by constructing them as appropriate romantic partners in the heterosexual mating ritual. Conversely RCMP women suggested women in positions of power and authority are turn offs for many men, that is they are not deemed attractive romantic partners. Respondent #9 suggested, "*For women the uniform is a repellant to men, a woman in authority does not attract male civilians*". The accuracy of this statement was illustrated by other respondents. For instance respondent #12 discussed two incidents in which she was engaged in social contact with men and once they discovered she was a police woman they discontinued further interaction with her. In one incident:

The woman was dancing with a man socially , and in the middle of the dance floor he turned around and left. He had just asked her what she did for a living!

Respondent #12 suggested, "Some men (civilians) have problem with the power or authority, as well as the good salary you make, often making more money then civilian men. Your financial success makes them uncomfortable".

Two women discussed interactions with men in which the male did interact with them in a

manner that acknowledged they are women and potential sexual partners, but the interactions did not suggest serious romantic involvement for the women. For instance, one woman suggested sometimes men tease her, asking her *“please arrest me”*.”(resp. #11) Respondent #9 spoke about the difficulties of being a single woman in a remote, or isolated detachment area, including the fact that your sexuality and social life are part of the town and detachment office gossip mill. She suggested *“All the guys in the community want to meet you and date you so that they can say they dated (or slept with) the cop.”*

This raises an important area of difference for women working in the two police agencies, pointing to the importance of examining different working conditions in the structuring of women's opportunity to use work as a resource in their construction of femininity. Because most RCMP women interviewed had previous experience working in small detachments or isolated posts they had little anonymity in their personal lives. In fact their personal lives were part of the town's gossip mill. For example respondent # 25 provided an example of how her personal life in her previous posting was an open book. According to this woman, after her posting to Ottawa was confirmed but before she left the detachment, a young woman she never met approached her on the street asking about her local boyfriend's plans now that she was leaving for Ottawa. Even though women in small detachments do not wear a uniform 24 hrs. a day, they are recognized as non-traditional authority figures first and foremost.

As opposed to men in the RCMP who are seen as a great catch by the local young women, police women are shunned, and gossiped about, by both the towns people, and other members. They have little privacy and are kept under surveillance by all, similar to the daughter in a family. The brother has more freedom to live his life, he can go out to the bars etc., but the daughter is controlled so that her sexuality does not embarrass the family. Consequently there is a great deal of pressure on women (especially single police women) to construct their gender identity similar to that of a “hippolyte” a traditional femininity in order to be an attractive heterosexual mate. The price of being an “amazon” or to appear as an “amazon” is to be socially isolated from romantic involvement, and to be cast as a slut or lesbian by co-workers, and members of the public.

Conversely, women with OCRPS have the advantage of maintaining relationships developed in the region previous to their policing career. But most importantly, these women have the advantage of greater anonymity in their personal lives. For instance these women can shop, pursue activities in their children’s school, or simply walk their dog and have the choice of whether to identify their occupation or place of work. Considering the above comments regarding the impact on women’s dating relationships of being associated with a policing career, this anonymity is an important resource for women working with OCRPS.

Interactions with the public in which members of the public treat them as invisible can also be considered the price of resistance for women who choose a non-traditional career such as policing. A

number of women identified more subtle interactions with male members of the public linked to their lack of comfort dealing with a woman in a position of authority, and perhaps their preference for engaging with male police officers. Four women (respondents, #6, 8, 9, 19) identified instances when they worked with a male partner (sometimes junior to them in rank or seniority), a member of the public would speak past them to the male police officer. For instance respondents #8 and #6 independently explained in their interviews, *"The public will walk past the police woman in the car, to talk to the male in the other car."* Similarly, respondent #8 suggested, *"You ask a civilian a question, they respond to the male behind you, or beside you!"* This experience was echoed in interviews with other women respondents, who provided various examples of this preference operating. For instance respondent #9 recalled, *"When on detachment I had a male auxiliary RCMP member working with me, and at a call a male civilian went straight to the male auxiliary member instead of approaching me"*. Respondent #19 offered an example of an incident that happened the night before our interview. She was the lead investigator at a call, but the male victim talked directly to the inexperienced male investigator (junior in authority and knowledge to her). Similar to these experiences, respondent #25 suggested that some male members of the public take exception to a woman in a position of authority. Respondent #25 recalled an incident in which she was the only police officer at the scene of a fatal traffic accident, requiring her to both investigate the accident, and secure the scene. She stated,

"I was trying to control the scene, and do the investigation. A male driver was very unhappy about being re-routed around the scene. A man called to complain about the female member who banged on his window... At the scene he asked a fire member where the male members were." She acknowledged that her manner

was abrupt with him, but that any officer working the scene would have demonstrated the same mannerisms.

It appears that women members of the public may also demonstrate confusion about women in positions of authority. Respondent #4 discussed an incident of mistaken identity which was obviously an upsetting experience for her as it was raised at both meetings we had. The incident involved the female Mayor of a western Canadian city who suggested to this woman at a community dinner held to honour the RCMP unit this woman was a member of “how nice, you get to travel with your husband [while he is on official RCMP business].” At the time of the mistake in identity, she was wearing the same informal uniform as the other male members of her unit, including a shirt with the name of the unit written on it.

A third example related to the price of resistance women pay for not demonstrating a gender construction consistent with a traditional femininity involves the flip side of women being invisible, that is the price they pay for their visibility is that their femininity is questioned. For instance, two women discussed the gendered name calling in which some male civilians engage. Respondent #9 suggested that there is an important distinction between the derogatory names women are called and those of men. She suggested derogatory names for women are more plentiful, and sexually derogative, as opposed to those used against male officers. Respondent # 8 recalled some male members of the public have called her names like “sugar,” with the intention of trying to “*sweet talk you, and if they don’t get a flirty response you are branded (bitch)*”. This woman stressed she doesn’t want a

compliment from the public, she wants respect. *“Some male public don’t understand what police women want is respect for them doing their job, not a compliment for being a woman”.*

Academic research supports this observation by police women. Lindsey (1997: 79) suggests the English language “is hostile to women”, by denigrating women and defining them “in often derogatory sexual terms”. Lindsey argues there are several hundred sexually related terms for women and only a handful for men and that these terms are used almost exclusively by men.

To summarize, interactions with members of the public provide women opportunity to demonstrate agency in their use of power and authority conferred by their job to neutralize the abusive power some men wield in their homes. For many women this was a resource they used, and enjoyed using, allowing them to construct a femininity that incorporates both physical and verbal aggression, when necessary. However, women’s ability to resist societal structures that allow/encourage male dominance and female subordination comes at a high price, both in terms of their personal and professional relationships. Often women are sanctioned as heterosexual women, denying them ability to construct their gender as attractive mates. Their invisibility in some interactions is compensated for by their visibility in others. But in both instances (invisibility and visibility) their status as women is used against them.

Personal, familial and intimate relationships:

Findings related to

Interactions with family members and personal relationships in the ability of police women to construct their femininity:

- fluidity of gender construction between their personal and professional relationships
- made an effort to leave work at work, to share decision making and authoritative role
- family members attempt to influence the woman's gender construction toward a more "traditionally feminine" gender construction

Table 5.9: Relationship Status of Interview Respondents

Relationship status: current	#	%
married or living in a stable, heterosexual common law relationship	11	50%
long term lesbian relationship	2	9%
single, never been married	9	41%
Other relationships:		
police women with children	8	36%
police women at some point in their career were single parents	5	23%

Women identified relationships and interactions with intimate partners, children, and parents serving to structure their ability to use the resources of the work to construct their femininity. Although the academic literature has not addressed this issue at any length, work by Epstein (1992) indicates a woman's personal relationships impact her ability to function in her career suggesting women in traditional family relationships have less flexibility to construct their gender. Findings from the current study revealed that at times women's relationships limited their career choices, but at other times their relationships assisted them to mediate the structures to allow them expanded career opportunities.

The women interviewed identified a range of personal/family relationships they were involved

with. Women provided examples of both constraining and enabling influences of these relationships on their construction of femininity. The degree of fluidity in the women's construction of femininity is evident in the variation between their construction of femininity as a police woman, and their personal lives. There was an indication from women that their gender construction which includes their roles as mother, wife and daughter are different from their gender construction of police woman. Where their gender overlaps this can be a sight of conflict in their personal relationships.

Eleven (11) women were married or living in a stable common law relationship, both to men who were not employed in policing, as well as to policemen. Nine (9) women were single, and had never been married, one of these women recently ended a long term common law relationship. Two women had long term stable lesbian relationships, although one of these women was not currently living with her partner because of the geographical distance between them. Of the three policemen interviewed, two were married, both to women not employed as policewomen. Eight (8) of the women interviewed had children, and five (5) of these women at some point in their policing career were single parents.

Women interviewed employed with the OCRPS were more likely married or living in a long term relationship (10 respondents), compared to women with the RCMP (3 respondents). This finding probably relates to the ages of the respondents, as women interviewed with Ottawa Carleton Regional Police had more years of police service than did women with the RCMP

Because of the responsibility of women to children in Canadian society it is important to identify and discuss the nature of the mothering relationships by the interview sample. Table 5.9 reveals eight women interviewed had children, and five of these women at some point in their policing career were single parents. In addition, one woman ridealong was a single parent. Of this group, three women were single parents at the time they joined the OCRPS. The representation of single parents in the interview sample was surprising, as I had not contemplated this issue previous to entering the field to conduct the research. Consequently a line of discussion with respondents delved into the challenges of the single parent role among police women.

women as single parents:

The single parent women who joined the police agency as recruits discussed significant problems needing to be addressed to facilitate joining the police agency. For instance as recruits these women had to attend training away from their children for long periods of time. Two of the women were able to take advantage of close family networks to provide child care responsibilities. However a third woman discussed her difficulties locating suitable child care arrangements amidst hostile interference from the child's father. Other recruits who were also parents had the advantage of leaving their children with the child's other parent, therefore lessening the disruption in the child's life. However this was not the case for these three women, as in all three cases the child's father was not able or refused to provide child care while the woman was pursuing recruit training. Consequently, for all three women the price of resistance to the structures of Canadian society that place the responsibility

for care of young children on the mother was very high, and was expressed as the great pain of separation from their children, and the guilt they felt leaving the child.

The women who were single parents at some stage in their career spoke of the challenges of the combination. Although many of the women who were parents with a partner had stories about child care difficulties, the problems were magnified for women who did not have partners. Many of these difficulties involved shift work, a necessary part of the position of general duty constable. For instance one woman discussed the continual stream of live-in babysitters required to ensure someone would be with her daughter in the evenings and nights when she was scheduled to work (resp. #21). For another woman the biggest difficulty was not having back up or emergency arrangements in place to assist her with her daughter, so that there was no one to call if her arrangements would not fall into place. This woman spoke of the horror she experienced one afternoon when she had pre-arranged to pick up her daughter at a bus stop at a specified time. However, at the last minute she was required to work overtime. The woman was fairly new to the area and did not have anyone to call and ask for assistance. (resp. # 20). Of the three women interviewed who joined the police agency as single parents, only one of these women had a local support network.

women in long term intimate relationships:

Twice as many women were married or living in a common law relationship with men who were not employed in policing than with policemen (6 vs. 3). These women expressed their belief that

marrying outside of the job had many benefits, such as allowing them “*to get away from the job*”(resp. #1), and similarly “*her social life is less limited*” (resp. #16). Not surprisingly, it was a common theme for women who had intimate relationships with men outside of the job to suggest they “*make an effort to leave work at work*”, as respondent # 3 did. For women and men who had children having a partner who had a job outside of policing usually involved having more flexibility in their schedule, which helped to compensate for the lack of flexibility in a police officers schedule and shift rotations. However, many of the married and single women discussed the difficulty many civilian males they were romantically involved with had relating to women who are police officers. Consequently, the male civilians personally involved with police women were described as somewhat different than the average male civilian, for example “very secure and confident in himself...supportive of my career” (resp. #16).

Police women married to police officers suggested that a police marriage also had positive benefits including, understanding her work responsibilities and shift work (resp #6). For women in the RCMP romantic involvement with another police officer has different significance than it does for women in OCRPS. Because police officers with the RCMP are mobile, having to move detachments frequently throughout their career, romantic involvement with another RCMP officer can be more easily managed than involvement with a civilian. The RCMP women interviewed suggested civilian men think you are going to give up your job and live in remote Newfoundland with them! Being romantically involved with another police officer becomes a logistical problem for the organization to deal with, being involved with a civilian becomes your logistical problem.

The two women involved in lesbian relationships pay a high price for resisting dominant cultural values of heterosexuality. These women practiced complete separation of their private and personal lives. While many police officers keep reminders of their personal relationships in their offices or wallets, women in lesbian relationships kept their personal relationships completely confidential and separate from their professional relationships and use of space. Both women suggested they have told a limited number of co-workers about their personal relationship. For these women, their personal relationships are not secret, but they don't feel it necessary or advisable to publicly identify themselves as lesbian. According to these women, the few co-workers they have told have treated them with respect and interest. To their knowledge there has not been any negative consequences for their career or their professional relationships as a result of their sexual orientation.

women with children:

Women who are parents spoke of the challenges/difficulties of parenting while doing shift work, especially the ability to coordinate children's activities with her shift rotations. Many of the women in this situation suggested their children do not get involved in extra-curricular community programs as often as they would like because they cannot commit to being available one night/week for an entire season. One woman suggested that Christmas in her house is not always Dec. 25, it depended on her shift schedule (resp. #2). Another woman commented on the positive aspect of having children while involved in policing. She suggested that having children changed her priorities in a positive way, suggesting she didn't want to be one of the boys, instead "*you want to be comfortable with yourself*

in the job” (resp. #8).

Women with children spoke positively of the similarity between their personal and professional roles, which included organizational skills (which were commented on by four women, but interestingly not by any men) flexibility, communication, and problem solving. However, two women identified a somewhat negative similarity between the two roles which can/has caused them some difficulty in their personal relationships. The women spoke about being the person in authority, being in charge, and having difficulties compromising the authority with either older children or partner. Respondent # 6 suggested this is especially a problem when it is a two police officer family,

As both a police officer and wife/mother I like to be in charge. This causes difficulties when married to a police officer, because he likes to be in charge too.

Women without children identified the similarities between the role of police woman and their casual/intimate or family relationships as including communication and independence, and being supportive in your personal and professional relationships.

The differences between personal and professional roles were discussed as conflicts occurring between the two sets of roles. Women with children identified the most conflict between roles in terms of intensity and quantity of conflicts. Conflicts include being strong and authoritative at work, but not at home (respondent #4), the challenges of being a good mother but because of shift work not always being there for the children. As was stated earlier, some of these conflicts involving parental responsibilities can be mediated when involved with a partner who has flexibility in his/her schedule.

Usually this means a partner who does not have a career in policing.

women without children:

Women without children suggested that they do not perceive much conflict between their personal and professional roles, but identified having children as the single element that would greatly increase role conflict. Interestingly, many of the women without children predict a time when they will have increased responsibilities for aging parents.

None of the women with the RCMP interviewed was yet a parent, but they expressed different conflicts between personal and professional relationships than did the OCRPS women either with or without children. For example the frequency in which RCMP officers must be out of town, work overtime, or move causes conflict in their personal relationships. As one woman suggested “*demands at home and you’re not there for them, sometimes your physical location makes it very difficult to make regular visits home.*” (Resp. #24) Also, one woman with the RCMP identified the conflict involved in maintaining the RCMP image, and being a single female. Many of the RCMP police woman spoke of their very public image, and not having any privacy. Consequently their personal life and activities are continually measured up to the RCMP image.

parental influences:

During focus group discussions five women with the RCMP identified behaviour and attitudes

of family members who attempted to influence their construction of femininity. Interestingly, when family members attempted to influence their construction of femininity it was in the direction of making the women more traditionally feminine and accountable. For instance one woman identified the concern and attitude demonstrated by her parents-in-law who thought she should leave the RCMP rather than transfer to North Vancouver, and make their son move away from his home (away from his parents and friends). This woman interpreted her in-laws attitude as attempting to influence her femininity to such an extreme extent, she placed the sticky with this example off of the left hand extreme of ultra feminine (refer to focus group methodology, chapter 4).

A second woman with the RCMP during the focus group discussion identified her parents concern that her behaviour would change, becoming unfeminine. This woman suggested her parents (particularly her mother) were afraid “*I’d start swearing like a sailor after becoming a member*”, as they heard stories from an uncle who is a retired police officer, that this is how the women behaved.

A woman with the OCRPS discussed her parents encouragement for her to take an inside desk job. The parents were very concerned about her safety, and believed she should be transferred to an inside job. This woman continually explained to her parents that an inside job was not part of her career plans at this point, but to no avail.

Analysis of the nature of the family, intimate/casual relationships of women in policing indicate

that these relationships can both facilitate or hinder a woman's ability to pursue her career goals, as well as mediate or create conflicts between their professional and personal roles. The structuring of roles of wife, mother, daughter narrowly defined to fit traditional role expectations, such as the wife as homemaker, mobile to support her husband's career, serve to constrain or pressure women to construct their femininity to be more gender accountable to a traditional notion of femininity. Conversely the ability of women to mediate the potential conflicts between their personal and professional roles such as the case for women whose partners share in child care responsibilities allows more flexibility for women to construct their femininity, and to make career choices not constrained by the rigidity of structures of motherhood and wife.

Presentation of the findings related to the web of bounded knowledgeability explored women's personal and professional relationships, revealing the importance of including these elements in an analysis of women's work. These findings reveal that relationships play a role in mediating the resources of the job available to women to construct their femininity and control their career. Interactions and relationships with selective male and female co-workers provides a network of information sharing that structures women's knowledge of their work organization and professional roles. This knowledge can be considered constraining as it is through the identification of "guy places" in the organization which limits women's career choices. However it can also be considered a valuable source of knowledge, such as when gossip identifies certain individuals as anti-women or harassers. This knowledge structures women's response. In addition, interactions with members of the public

provide opportunities for women to construct a femininity which is empowering of them as individuals and women. Women use the resources of the job (office of constable, state sanctioned use of force, financial security) to construct a femininity reflective of power, authority and independence. Although the rewards of constructing this femininity are high, the price police women pay for this gender construction can also be high.

In summary it appears that macro structural conditions present in both Canadian society, and the police agency set limits for police women constraining the opportunity for police women to construct femininity. Structural factors evident in Canadian society related to the mothering roles of women, including the tendency of women to maintain custody of their children, must be considered as part of the web of bounded knowledgeability influencing the ability of police women to construct their femininity. Together with the practice of the OCRPS to send recruits away for training, these macro structural influences place women recruits who are also single parents in a position of role conflict.

A review of the significant findings relating to police women's ability to construct their femininity indicates the web of bounded knowledgeability women engage with both constrains and enables opportunity for police women to use their job as a resource to construct their femininity. Interactions with family members and personal relationships, together with macro social influences tend to influence police women to construct their femininity toward a traditionally feminine gender construction. However, some police women construct their gender through resistance to these constraining

influences, choosing an intimate relationship that is supportive of their professional lives, and developing and managing child care arrangements that will allow them to comply with conditions of work that are anti-family (e.g., shift work, overtime, little flexibility).

Chapter 6: Implications of the Findings

This research had two purposes: first, to determine if there was a gender division of labour operating in the OCRPS; and second, to understand the connection between the construction of gender and gendered assignment patterns (or to discern whether such a connection exists). The research examining the gender division of labour in the OCRPS found a pattern of sex segregation within assignments and rank operating in the police agency. Results of the research reveal a connection between the construction of gender and the gender division of labour within the OCRPS. The significance of this study is not simply in defining the characteristics of the gendered assignment pattern within the police agency. More importantly the contribution of this research to the discipline of sociology is to make visible the mechanisms (both structural and cultural) serving to continually reproduce this phenomenon. This analysis includes the structuring of resources, rewards, and opportunities used by male and female police officers to construct their gender. Discussion of the implications of these findings and recommended policy outcomes will be presented in this chapter.

The structural and cultural mechanisms which reproduced sex segregation within the police agency were made visible through the development and analysis of the framework referred to as the web of bounded knowledgeability. The framework is a heuristic device that aids visualization of the myriad roles, relationships and responsibilities in a person's life. Visualizing the framework reminds me that women's roles, relationships and responsibilities overlap and must be considered in combination,

not isolation from each other. Consequently, the strength of this model as an analytical tool is demonstrated in its ability to account for femininity as a complex, fluid construction, overlapping the multi-faceted roles of women's lives. Analysis of the model allowed for an understanding of the overlap in resources and opportunities utilized by women in both their professional and personal roles to construct their femininity, given the position of women in a capitalist, patriarchal society, and working in an occupation and organization well known for its "macho" orientation (see chapter 2). Discussion of the findings will include analysis of the rewards, resources and opportunities police women pursue in the construction their femininity on the job. It appears there is an underlying tension between the rewards, resources and opportunities traditionally pursued or promoted "officially" by the police agency, and the "unofficial" rewards, resources and opportunities police women pursue. The "unofficial" rewards, resources and opportunities pursued by police women will be discussed as themes of resistance by women who construct their gender to avoid the social control of them as women by the traditionally male police organization.

This final chapter will highlight new knowledge gained by the research. Results of the research reveal the construction of femininity by police women has explanatory value to understand women's bounded knowledge of career choices they make. The research examining the gender division of labour within the OCRPS was exploratory in nature and not generalizable in any way. However, it is hoped that future research will explore these new areas of knowledge, applying it beyond one agency to other police agencies, and beyond policing to other occupations and organizations. Future

researchers need to ask “What role does the construction of femininity play in the phenomena being investigated?”

In summary, this chapter discusses three general themes arising from the research findings. These themes expand on previous academic literature and attempt to take account of the patterns observed in the current research inquiry. These themes raise issues to be addressed at the organizational level, and by scholars examining the occupation of policing in the future. These themes include:

- re-interpreting police work to include an analysis of the resources available to women to construct femininity
- the gender division of labour within the OCRPS identified as a feminizing trend evident in patrol work
- the source and content of women’s bounded knowledgeability of the practices, processes and structures occurring within the organization, and the choices they make in response.

The three themes are linked by the importance of examining gender, and the role gender plays in each area of analysis. This discussion will incorporate the important element of agency as women’s ability to act is not wholly determined by the structures in which they interact, as was previously presented by some academic literature.

Policing as a resource in the construction of femininity:

The academic literature described the ability of male police officers to construct their

masculinity at the same time they did police work. However, the literature was silent on a comparative ability for women. Instead the literature understands the construction of femininity as a narrow construction in response to its supporting role in the construction of masculinity among male co-workers. The previous academic literature allowed for a very narrow construction of femininity among police women and the construction of femininity was in contrast to the construction of masculinity, in that the resources used in gender construction by women and men were assumed to be different.

Consequently, a review of the academic literature leaves one with the idea that :

- the construction of femininity by police women is determined by the structures of the organization, allowing police women to narrowly construct their gender at either end of a continuum of gender, as either ultra masculine, or ultra feminine, with very few women constructing their gender at points in between, and
- police women who demonstrate characteristics traditionally associated with competence in policing, e.g., physical strength, assertiveness, love of action, are described as masculine, diminishing their femininity. Women who are effective at doing their job were seen by previous researchers as “less womanly”.

Understanding femininity as deterministic is the result of a single focus on the traditional resources, rewards, and opportunities inherent in the police organization, assuming women interpret the significance of these similarly to men, or that police women participate in the internal reward system. Consequently, these earlier studies are limited by a narrow focus on the dominant or official rewards, resources and opportunities within the organization/occupation only. The value of my research includes observations of the existence of both official and unofficial rewards, resources and opportunities pursued by police women. The pursuit of unofficial rewards is interpreted as a form of resistance to organizational practices that under value women and their work product.

The approach favored in my research encourages a revised understanding of femininity constructed by police women. Police women objected to being equated with male officers or masculinity when they demonstrated competency in the performance of job skills. Instead women wanted to construct their gender to include elements traditionally associated with femininity but still be considered competent in their job. This approach moves the focus to consider:

- femininity is not constructed as the opposite or different from masculinity, but instead is overlapping, fluid and diverse
- femininity is a situational accomplishment--constructed and re-constructed ongoing through the interactions with co-workers, the public and family/friends. Gender construction is diverse, fluid, adaptive

Such an approach allows the construction of a femininity by police women rejected by Brewer (1991) and Berg and Budnick (1986). Observing an alternative internal reward system of rewards, resources and opportunities pursued by police women occurred through analysis of women constructing their femininity. A femininity referred to in this discussion as Xena³. Xena is developed through analysis of the web of bounded knowledgeability designed to account for the roles, responsibilities and relationships articulated by various women interviewed and observed in the exercise of their

3

I borrow Xena from the popular television show in which the character Xena is a "Warrior Princess". Warrior and princess are usually mutually exclusive contrasting labels. However the character of Xena unites these images and we see Xena wearing battle clothing revealing a very womanly figure complemented by long hair unrestrained. Her appearance does not impact her strength, daring and courage as she battles evil and generally is victorious. Evident by the many web sites on the Internet and the many books chronicling new adventures of Xena, Xena has a large, loyal cult following especially among women. Consequently Xena is used in this discussion as a metaphor in contrast to the metaphor of Amazon and Hippolyte used by Brewer (1991).

occupational duties. It should be noted that just as not all women construct their femininity to be Hippolyte, or Amazon (Brewer, 1991), not all women construct their femininity as Xena. But given the bounded knowledgeability experienced by the women interviewed, Xena is a gender construction available to women. Xena is in contrast to Amazon and Hippolyte, in that Xena is constructed throughout a range of gender characteristics in response to the resources and structures present, recognizing that women have agency to resist or acquiesce to the structures, processes and practices present in the work organization. Xena is a fluid, overlapping gender construction that adapts to the environment she interacts in. Xena demonstrates that femininity is a situational accomplishment, constructed and reconstructed through ongoing interactions making use of the resources and opportunities available.

This new femininity was observed in several ways during the course of my research. It was evident that women can use the power and authority of the office of peace officer as resources in their construction of femininity. Similar to Xena, women fought on the side of good, against evil. Women spoke about advocating for abused women and children, and neutralizing the power and authority abusive males possessed in their homes. Women and “women’s gossip” identified activities pursued by women that assisted subordinated women, and denigrated abusive males. Observations during ridealongs revealed the ability of a woman to engage aggressively with male offenders and successfully restrain them. An interesting observation was that many of the women identified their past experiences in sports as influential in their decision to pursue a career in policing. Possibly earlier experiences in

sport allowed these women the opportunity to use their body as an agent and instrument and understand their bodies potential capacity to be used as an instrument of action. Consequently, many of the resources available to men to construct their masculinity are also available to women to construct their femininity. However, as was revealed in the research findings the resource can be used differently by men and women, resulting in different outcomes.

Similar to Xena, women maintained an aura of femininity. Perhaps women in policing do not have the resource of personal appearance through clothing or hair style available to Xena, but women demonstrated an interest in maintaining their feminine appearance, and in displaying symbolic culture consistent with femininity. Similar to the woman who looked in the mirror to remark on her hair after her physical encounter with the offenders, the symbols, and the appearance of femininity are secondary to pursuing their job responsibilities. Wearing a velvet scrungie in her hair did not deter the woman officer from jumping out of her police cruiser in the freezing rain, without back up, to restrain two male offenders.

My observation reveal that the police organization uses its authority to structure the resources of symbolic culture available to police officers (men and women). The organization uses its authority to define the acceptability or appropriateness of symbolic cultural resources to include tangible items used to construct masculinity, but in many instances to deem items used to construct traditional (emphasized) femininity inappropriate. For instance women in the RCMP;

- could not wear a “more feminine” appearing scarf, they were ordered to wear the official tie
- medium length hair, too short to be tucked under their hat in an elastic, but too long showing on their collar was not acceptable, necessitating women to cut their hair very short (similar to a hair cut given a male)
- believed they could not wear nail polish, coloured scrungies or heavy make up

However, women provided examples of resisting the control of feminine symbolic culture. One woman in the RCMP insisted on wearing translucent pink nail polish, even though she was teased about her “pink fingers”. Another woman spoke about keeping long hair, to remind herself she had a life as a single woman outside of the organization.

Demonstrating a fluidity in their gender construction allowed women to employ traditionally feminine resources available as well as occupational resources of physical power and coercion. Women discussed mediating and neutralizing masculine aggression through the traditional feminine characteristics of expressiveness and emotionality. Women suggested their presence at the scene often served to de-escalate tension between male members of the public, and male police officers.

Consequently, the ability of women to use the resources of the job of policing, such as demonstrated by their use of power and authority (sometimes physical power), demonstrates that women have available to them an opportunity to construct a femininity that is not only inconsistent with constructions of femininity by most women in Canadian society, it allows for differential constructions of femininity by virtue of their use of the resource of power and authority. Women have the ability to construct a unique femininity, given the resources at hand, within the structures/practices operating in

their work organization(gender division of labour). Women may construct femininity consistent with Brewer's typology of Amazon or Hippolyte, should they choose to do so. However, within their bounded knowledgeability framed by cultural and structural mechanisms occurring within Canadian society, and the work organization, there is sufficient opportunity and resources for women to construct their femininity to enable them to demonstrate agency and often resistance that allows for a gender construction of Xena.

Xena is a police woman competent and confident to utilize the resources of power and authority through physical or verbal coercion, or given the right circumstances to achieve compliance and cooperation through reason and compassion. Observations and interviews with women in OCRPS and the RCMP demonstrate that the same woman can call forth from her arsenal both these resources in her ability to perform her functions as police woman. Consequently, women demonstrated amazing resistance to the structures, processes and practices that attempted to sexualize them; and construct them as incompetent. Women enjoyed their job in policing because they had access to the resources and gender construction not typically available to most women in Canadian society. For women their enjoyment of their job is not simply about surviving in a male world, but believing they make a contribution to their families, communities, and to other women. Police woman involves a gender construction that allowed them to be, if only in their professional lives, Xena.

Recommendations:

OCRPS	Future Research
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assess the importance of working conditions and structural constraints effecting the way the job is accomplished. • disaggregate the construction of gender to explore similarities and differences between femininity (constructed by women) and masculinity (constructed by men)

It is possible that earlier research revealing that women in policing are no more effective in dealing with abused women than are their male co-workers is a result of the gender dynamics within policing that subordinates police women, in a similar way that it subordinates women in society. In both instances the women are silenced, and not part of the decision-making process, as police officers are gendered, and work within a gendered organization promoting a male bias. Single vehicle patrols may allow police women to intervene as gendered subjects, to promote the interests of women in the community, as for a time they are less confined by the organization promoting masculinity.

In the current study police officers with the OCRPS and the RCMP patrolled in single person vehicles, allowing more independence for individual police officers to make decisions and control their working environment. In addition, it can be surmised that patrolling alone insulates the woman from negative and harassing behaviours of co-workers that make her feel marginalised in the police organization, allowing her to construct an image of women as competent in patrol work. Future research could compare attitude and impacts between single person vs. partner patrols and same sex

vs. opposite sex partners.

Single person patrol is one example of the importance of examining structure to understand agency engaged in by police women. Single person patrol is a resource used by women to construct their femininity as competent patrol officers, insulating them from the negative, harassing behaviour that serves to differentiate males from females and undervalues the contribution and work product of women. During these women to women interactions void of men, through gossip and networking women offered competing constructs of effective police women standing in opposition to the organizations' cultural images of police women as incompetent, interlopers. In this way, women's gossip and story telling can be considered a form of resistance, offering competing images of women.

The gender division of labour within the OCRPS:

Presentation of the findings related to occupational segregation within the OCRPS revealed a feminizing trend within general patrol duties, supported by structural and cultural factors. From a structural perspective the findings showed women over represented in this assignment, and from a cultural perspective attitudes and responses from women indicated that this assignment was welcoming of women, as women were treated as equals to male co-workers in this assignment. The question for discussion asks whether this trend will continue as the OCRPS adopts more programs consistent with its community based policing philosophy? The women and occupations literature raises alarm bells that the feminizing trend in general patrol assignments may not be an indication of greater integration (of

women in policing) but a trend of continued segregation. Reference to the academic literature, specifically Crompton (1990) and Pringle and Game (1983), can be interpreted as a caution predicting general patrol duties within the OCRPS could very well become a pink collar ghetto, locking women into an assignment from which they will have difficulty escaping. In addition, the literature cautions that as women staff these positions, and men leave, the internal stratification system which distributes rewards and values tasks and assignments within the organization will adjust to under value this assignment. Consequently, the pink collar ghetto of general patrol duties will be characterized by women, receiving low organizational prestige, from which avenues of mobility and opportunity are closed.

This pessimistic forecast is tempered by Miller's (1999) recent work, indicating that community based policing programs (specifically the Neighbourhood Patrol Officer program) can be made attractive to male officers. Her work demonstrates that community based policing with its association with femininity and social work, need not become a pink collar ghetto. Instead, Miller found the Neighbourhood Patrol Officer (NPO) assignment became attractive to male officers once it became associated with the promotion track. In her study of Jackson City, Miller revealed a key indicator of success in attracting male officers to the NPO program, was the perception of this program as an important step in the promotion process, as other male officers were promoted with NPO experience. In addition her work discovered that male officers in NPO positions changed the discourse associated with the assignment and the nature of the duties. Male NPO's were not doing social work (linked to

femininity), but emphasized the social control and order maintenance elements of their jobs. In this way, male NPO's changed the gendered (feminine) nature of the job, so that it could be used as a resource in the construction of their masculinity.

This finding points to the importance of the internal stratification system both the organizational rewards and the values attached to tasks and accomplishments in understanding gender within the police organization. Miller's analysis of the Jackson City NPO program revealed that the third wave of NPO officers were not characteristic of the first wave of officers, in that women and men of colour were replaced in the third wave by white men eager for promotion. In addition, Miller's work demonstrates the job will continue to be used as a resource in the construction of masculinity, through adaption of the tasks and discourse to appeal to men.

I reconcile the competing explanations and predictions from these two literatures, the first predicting patrol could become a pink collar ghetto, with the second suggesting patrol and community policing need not become a ghetto, by focussing on the important role played by the internal stratification system which distributes recognition and rewards within the organization. Women within the OCRPS did not discuss or identify assignments or tasks associated with community policing programs as instrumental in receiving organizational rewards. However, at the time of information collection the organization was re-structuring to a new model of service delivery which would more effectively accomplish community policing. Perhaps in the future organizational rewards for community

policing will reflect this change to district policing. However, the question remains, will women participate in this internal stratification system that distributes rewards or will they be closed out, choosing to pursue their own rewards? My findings reveal that women do not necessarily look for the same rewards as their male co-workers. Also, my findings reveal that the recognition of tasks, and the distribution of rewards is gendered, recognizing and valuing males and females differently. Consequently, my research cautions that as long as the assignment appears welcoming of women, women will continue to pursue it, and may be left in a pink collar ghetto.

Miller (1999) recommends the answer to the gendered nature of police work is the movement toward androgyny, so that both males and females adopt skills and abilities necessary to complete their job functions. In this way male officers develop traditionally feminine skills such as relationship building, empathy and caring, and female officers will be recognized for their physically aggressive skills. My concern with this approach is that many police women currently demonstrate an androgynous skill set, but still are not rewarded for the same skills and abilities that male officers are. Findings from my research indicate the gendered nature of the internal stratification system so that women performing tasks as Hippolyte are interpreted as doing that which comes naturally, and therefore under valued, and not rewarded. Women performing tasks as Amazon are treated arbitrarily in that they may be rewarded, or it may be interpreted as poor judgement, and penalized. In contrast men are rewarded in both instances. Miller's work reveals that males doing non-traditional feminine linked skills such as working with children are rewarded through promotion (as in NPO), and males performing traditional

masculine tasks in police work such as physically aggressive police work are also rewarded.

Consequently, the gendered nature of the internal stratification system emphasizing gender difference favours men but does not support an androgynous female police officer. Instead, I believe the answer to this dilemma is to affect the organizational culture to value femininity as it does masculinity.

Gender continues to be a powerful criterion used to differentiate and reward police officers. This statement is supported by the overwhelming response from women in both police agencies that they do not believe they are considered as competent as their male co-workers. As well women made numerous comments that their male co-workers do not accept them as equals. This approach recognizes the gender neutral fallacy of the police organization and recommends analysis of the internal stratification system that rewards skills and abilities according to the gender of the officer. It is my prediction that as long as women continue to be vastly under-represented in police work, there will not be sufficient challenge to the internal stratification system, or the gendered organization, to amend its practices, processes and structures to truly be a gender neutral organization.

Having taught young women at both the university and college level who are interested in pursuing a career in law enforcement, I find it hard to believe that the OCRPS cannot find enough interested and qualified female candidates to increase their representation in recruit classes to 40-50% of recruits. I recommend OCRPS review their method of attracting recruits, assessing possible gender bias in their advertising, and initial stages of candidate review to ascertain whether they are discouraging

potentially qualified women candidates. As well, police agencies may improve their success at recruiting women by focussing on young women in team sports through coaching, and sponsorship. At a later time these women and others who similarly participated in team sports will be the interested pool of potential recruit candidates.

More importantly, OCRPS should recognize and respond to the demographic challenge posed by their new selection criteria which emphasizes life experience and formalized education for new recruits. Achieving formalized education and life experience ensures that potential recruits are no longer 19 years of age, but more likely 23-30 years of age (and many times older). These are also the peak child bearing years for women. Consequently potential recruits who are also women, may come with dependent relationships. Although police departments recognize that these recruits have more to offer than the typical 19 year old high school graduate, police departments have not adjusted their training practices/facilities to accommodate this new breed of recruit. For instance, OCRPS, and the RCMP continue to send new recruits away for training. This is a major disincentive for women to join these police agencies, as it would separate them from their children for 16 weeks. All three women who were single parents in my study, felt the pain of separation from their children, and felt guilty about leaving their children. The difficulties these women faced overcoming the obstacles encountered between the two conflicting structures (their responsibilities to family and their responsibilities to work/reproduction vs. production) remind women the police organization is structured to accommodate male roles. Instead, the police organization can work to accommodate recruits in this position, to institute

pro-family policies including:

- day care on premises at Ontario Police College (OPC)
- family suites available at OPC
- adjusting hours of training at OPC to accommodate recruits who re-locate with their families to attend OPC
- a co-ordinator within the OCRPS to assist new recruits to find housing, day care etc. and become established in the community.

Summary of Recommendations:

OCRPS	Future Research
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> link duties and assignments associated with community policing to the reward structure of the organization, so that officers demonstrating success and commitment to the community are positively rewarded for their efforts, and the culture of the organization recognizes the importance of engaging with members of the community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> examine the internal stratification system distributing reward and recognition as it applies to community policing and general patrol. Does gender bias exist within the internal stratification system?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> change gender bias within the internal stratification system favouring male officers, so that women are rewarded for the same tasks and accomplishments as male co-workers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> compare assignments within police agencies to differentiate rewards provided to each assignment. Is the awarding of rewards and recognition consistent with the stated goals and mission of the organization?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> increase the representation of women in the organization, at every level, and encourage women to pursue every specialty. Selection to specialty assignments should be made on the basis of skill and ability and development of the officer, not who the incumbents wish to work with. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> identify the reward structure pursued by women in policing. At what stage in their career do women choose to opt out of the “official” internal stratification system?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> intervene to change the anti-woman sentiment, or the sexualized nature of the working environment in the assignments women identified as “guy places”. 	

women’s bounded knowledge of the practices, processes and structures occurring within the organization and the choices they make in response:

Police women make choices acting within their bounded knowledgeability. These choices impact their career and further enable or constrain the construction of their femininity. Analysis of these

choices demonstrates the dualism of action and structure, i.e., action and structure are complementary. Adapted from Giddens duality of structure, choices or actions by the police women are a continuous feedback loop reproducing the structures and practices constituting the web of bounded knowledgeability. In this way, we can understand the gender division of labour within policing as the long term result of the unintended consequences of career decisions made by individual women. These decisions are made according to the web of bounded knowledgeability of women interacting within the police agency and Canadian society. This does not minimize the impact of structural and cultural mechanisms at the level of the organization and society that shape women's bounded knowledge. But given the shape of the bounded knowledge it is women who ultimately choose from the available options. That is, women make choices but not always in conditions of their choosing. In this way structural properties are produced and re-produced through human agency. Specifically the research examines the argument presented in chapter 1:

The gender division of labour within policing is influenced by the recursive relationship between the bounded knowledgeability of police women - their response to the structures and relationships restraining and enabling their structured mobility given the possibility to accommodate their gender identity needs, within particular assignments and given the allotment of physical space.

Examination of the source and content of women's bounded knowledgeability derived from the findings revealed three examples of choices police women make that reproduce the structures, processes and practices serving to ensure women's inequality in the occupation of policing:

1. choices made that reproduce the gender division of labour in assignments (horizontal)

2. choices made that reproduce the gender division of labour within the rank structure (vertical)
3. choices made that reproduce the sexualized working environment

1. *gender division of labour:*

Women construct their femininity while doing the job of policing in environments sometimes hostile to them as women. However, evidence gathered in the current study indicates that women attempt to control their working environment so as to limit the negative influence of anti-feminine norms, or the sexual commodification of them as women, through the choices they make. Earlier presentation of the findings and discussion indicates a feminizing trend in general patrol duties, with women over represented in general assignment. Patrol work appears to be an attractive option for many women as it contains many beneficial features. Especially attractive for women is the opportunity for autonomy, and to work in a department with many other women, in which your contribution is appreciated. However choices by individual women to remain in patrol, or return to patrol have the effect of continuing the gender division of labour- leaving other units and departments in the police agency void of women. Consequently, reducing the attractiveness of these work units for other women. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, we may be observing an early trend toward the ghettoization of women in patrol assignments. If this trend continues in the long term, there is a very real danger that patrol may become a pink collar ghetto, with few opportunities for advancement either up or out of this assignment for women. The key to the future of this assignment appears to be the response of the OCRPS, specifically whether the organization institutes a reward system that recognizes participation in these assignments with tangible rewards pursued by male officers. However, given a change in the internal

stratification system to reward patrol work, women may be pushed out of patrol toward other assignments less valued by the “official” reward system.

2. *choices related to promotion:*

A second example reflective of the duality of structure regarding the gender division of labour indicates the choices individual women make regarding promotion reproduce the gender division of labour reflecting the absence of women in the rank structure above the level of constable. As was suggested in the earlier discussion of findings, many women indicated their continued interest in pursuing promotion. The result of women choosing not to pursue promotion is that fewer women and men have the experience of being supervised by a woman, and decision making will continue to be void of womens’ input and interests. Consequently, this process will make it less likely that other women will pursue promotion.

More work is needed to understand the relationship between vertical mobility and gender in the police organization. The gender neutral response continues to be that women have not served in police organizations long enough to expect to see large numbers in the rank structure. My research reveals such a statement is too simplistic, and does not take account of the gendered nature of the police organization, which maintains a gender division of labour serving to disadvantage women from the organizational rewards their male co-workers pursue. It was my focus initially to investigate this very question, and to resolve whether women are under represented in the rank structure given their years of

service. However, the current administration of the OCRPS did not support this focus. Although my research provided some cultural contextualization from the perspective of the women, a purely structural analysis remains to be done to resolve this very important issue.

Summary of Recommendations:

OCRPS	Future Research:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • develop a mentoring program for police women, where senior women could provide more junior women (especially recruits) with the knowledge and experience necessary to work in the police organization. Perhaps, such a support system could assist junior women and new recruits and assisting them to pursue official and unofficial complaints of sexual harassment • a mentoring program may continue to encourage competent women to pursue promotion 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a structural analysis of promotional practices including tracking cohorts of police officers, to allow conclusions about gender and years of service in the promotional process
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • an examination of the promotional process to assess the place of gender in decision making

3. *sexualized work environment*

The dualism of structure is reflected in the manner by which women respond to the sexualized work environment. The sexualized work environment appeared to be a difficult experience for women to cope with, as police culture and some individual male police officers strongly identify with the sexualized work environment. Current research revealed numerous instances in which women's responses to the sexualized work environment resulted in the reproduction of this unwanted working environment. For instance, police men engage in heterosexual banter that objectifies police women,

and denies their competence. Instead of speaking up to support other women, and identify these interactions as inappropriate, many women provided examples in which they actually reproduced the image of women as incompetent, or “whiners”. Examples were provided by women who spoke of other women they knew who alleged sexual harassment by male supervisors and co-workers. Instead of supporting these women, they denied these women’s experiences, or the seriousness of the experiences. Interesting, even in the face of their own experiences with sexual harassment, they could not conceive that another woman experienced something similar.

In addition women experiencing sexual harassment, both quid pro quo and poisoned work environment, did not pursue official complaints of sexual harassment. Women witnessed the inability or unwillingness of the organization to intervene to support women in cases of poisoned work environment (issues of women’s competency). Consequently, women did not pursue official channels of complaint, attempting to cope with sexual harassment informally, and individually.

Pursuing informal mechanisms to control the sexualized nature of the work environment was the practice pursued by women interviewed. Pursuit of this practice took many shapes depending on the context of the sexualized work environment. For instance women spoke about carefully choosing their work assignments and asking for transfers when the work environment became sexualized. Women avoided physical locations serving to sexualize them (the Elgin street gym) and did not volunteer for assignments in which their sexuality would be exploited (‘working the stroll, trolling for johns’). It

appears avoiding their sexualization is not limited to the confines of the work organization, as one woman discussed escaping a hot tub before her male co-workers arrived at a party and observed her in a bathing suit. One might suggest the women attempt to make themselves sexually invisible. However, informal mechanisms employed by the women to deal with the sexualized work environment and sexual harassment had no effect on the overall work environment. The overall culture of the organization continued to allow the exploitation, under valuing and harassment of women.

Summary of Recommendations:

OCRPS	Future Research
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> institute a more pro-active, informal mechanism to intervene in cases of sexual harassment. Because women recruits ask for new coach/officers instead of launching official complaints of sexual harassment, a sexual harassment coordinator/advisor could interview and speak with each recruit male or female asking for a new coach/officer. A similar policy could occur when officers ask for transfers to new assignments, or platoons 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> identify informal mechanisms women use to cope with or resolve the sexualized work environment. It is not enough to quantify incidents of sexual harassment. Research needs to assess women's coping mechanisms, so that more effective strategies and policies can be developed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a poisoned work environment targeting women, sexualizing them, and constructing them as incompetent appears to be a feature of the OCRPS culture, where jokes about women appear to be an everyday occurrence. In addition male supervisors do not correct these images. Examples were provided by the women of men promoted to supervise others who themselves are recognized as reproducing this attitude. The organization should pursue a zero tolerance policy recognizing the attitude for what it is - hate mongering. The organization would not tolerate the attitude if it was anti-black, anti-gay, or anti-Asian. Why should women not get the same respect? 	

This study contributes to the field of sociology through the approach pursued and new

information produced. The approach utilizing a framework of the web of bounded knowledgeability began from the assumption that the myriad roles, responsibilities and relationships women engage in must be studied in combination, because isolating one role from the others would not allow for an understanding of the overlap and feedback women contend with in their daily lives. Police women interviewed discussed the convergence in their various roles, such as the difficulties they experienced as single, heterosexual or lesbian women performing a non-traditional occupation involving law and order maintenance. To study women's roles in isolation from each other would assume that as individuals we live separate, discrete lives. This would assume, that similar to superman (who changes into his superman costume in the telephone booth), changing into/out of the uniform allows women to take on an entirely new persona. Although women may try to control the conflict between the various roles and responsibilities in their lives, they are never able to completely devolve themselves of their competing roles. Consequently, in doing work, they are doing gender.

The framework of the web of bounded knowledgeability is designed to account for many of the roles and responsibilities women engage with including daughter, wife, mother, worker. Although these are the major role components of women's lives it does not account for other significant roles such as community member, consumer, neighbour (and others not yet identified). Relationships and responsibilities rising from these roles may influence women's gender construction also. For instance I was struck by the contrast between the role of police woman and consumer. As has been remarked during the course of earlier discussion the role of police officer allowed women the opportunity to use

the resource of power and authority conferred on the office of constable to construct their femininity to include an element of power, authority and respect. However, once the uniform is removed police women are anonymous to many people in the community. Consequently, women police officers in their roles as consumer, mother etc. are not provided special status, they wait in line at the grocery store, wait 2 hrs. with their child to see the physician and are closely scrutinized at the bank when applying for a consumer loan. It can be argued that male police officers do not experience the same level of role contrast given the different position of men and women in Canadian society, e.g., the banking industry has traditionally been suspicious of women's credit trustworthiness, and the medical establishment has traditionally intervened to serve men's interests before women and children, etc.

The development of a framework referred to as the web of bounded knowledgeability promises to shed new light to understand the construction of gender, and subsequently other aspects of women's lives. The benefit of the model of the web of bounded knowledgeability is that it is not limited to use with police women. The framework can be adjusted to fit the circumstances of other groups of individuals in other occupations. I hope the model will be adopted and adapted by other researchers examining other occupations, and explore other facets of gender.

Summary and Conclusions:

The results of the research inquiry reveal that gender matters. Gender matters because in constructing gender we also "do work", "do parenting" etc. This means that we construct gender in

every facet of our lives, in every interaction in our day and in every relationship we engage with. Being that gender is a social fact, we can no longer explore social phenomena without explaining the significance of gender. And, given that gender construction is ongoing throughout our daily interactions we can no longer limit our analysis of gender to one discrete facet of our lives, but must account for the spill over from our various roles and relationships. The research inquiry set out to investigate the role played by the construction of femininity in the gender division of labour within the OCRPS. Results of the research reveal that while “doing work”, police women are “doing femininity”. The research revealed that women make career decisions consistent with their construction of femininity.

Focussing on gender construction in the division of labour within OCRPS revealed the importance of examining both structure and agency in the decision and outcomes of women’s career choices. In response to the question stated in chapter 1: “do police women engage with members of the public as women, or do they respond to the gendered structures in which they work?” Results of the research reveal they do both, given the organizational structures (eg., single person patrol), and the decision of the police woman as to the most efficient and effective intervention strategy to achieve her goal (eg., physical confrontation or counselling).

The gender division of labour within policing is pervasive, observed internationally, and indicative of similar patterns occurring in other criminal justice occupations. Research results reveal the under-representation of women in senior and administrative ranks, or in prestigious specialties such as

major crimes investigation units cannot be explained simply by women's lack of seniority or length of service. Instead, attention was paid to the important role played by the internal stratification system structuring the distribution of resources, rewards and opportunities within the organization. The organizational resources and opportunities used in the construction of gender can be either similar and different for female and male police officers. However, even when resources and opportunities are similar the outcome can be different, as the reward system is imbued with gendered meaning.

Identification of the internal stratification system operating in the OCRPS reveals prestige associated with major crimes and drug investigation units are those assignments with the greatest official rewards. Although senior administration in the organization states general patrol duties in his organization require a well trained intervener, problem solver and communicator there continues to be fewer official rewards in this assignment than the more prestigious major crimes and drug investigation units. However it is an assignment containing many unofficial rewards pursued by police women, including autonomy. Consequently, I predict the observed pattern of gender segregation, characterized by a feminizing trend in general patrol duties within the OCRPS will continue. The challenge for women in this organization is to question the official internal stratification system to provide patrol assignments with the rewards, opportunities and resources to continue to enjoy their career, and provide mobility throughout the organization (vertical and horizontal). As well, the internal stratification system needs to stop rewarding officers who are known to create and maintain a poisoned work environment, sexually harassing women and constructing them as incompetent.

Although there are many examples of the negative, and harassing attitude and behaviour demonstrated by a few male police officers directed at their female co-workers and subordinates, generally women in policing responded they enjoy their occupation, support and are loyal to their organization and consider most of their interactions with members of the public and co-workers as positive. How can this be the case? Response to this question addresses two themes, both related to the position of women in Canadian society. First, comparing the occupation of policing to alternative occupational positions for women (more traditional feminized occupations) suggests several advantages to a career in policing. Advantages described by respondents included financial security, challenge and lack of routine, and the opportunity to make a positive contribution to the lives of others. Second, women in policing have an opportunity to act outside of societal expectations of traditional women's behaviour, exercising power and authority not normally accessed by women in Canadian society. For women in policing an advantage to the occupation is the freedom to be Xena.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Issues to raise for interviews:

1. Why were you attracted to law enforcement as a career choice?

Roles:

- 2.1. What other roles do you play in your life? (E.g., mother, wife, girlfriend, daughter, neighbour, coach etc.)? What are the similarities and differences between these other roles, and your job as a police officer? Do these other roles enhance or conflict with your job as a police officer?
- 2.2. Do you bring to your job, any material reminders of your other roles (outside influences), e.g., pictures, trophies, jewellery, cell phones for personal contacts?
3. Do/How do your career aspirations differ now, than when you first joined?
4. Where would you like to be 5 years from now?

5. Are some assignments/locations more inviting to you than others? Which, Why?

Assignment/location	Why?

6. How has your personality, or how you see yourself changed over the years (in the job)?

7. Describe your experiences with officer/coach. Were they given positive encouragement that women belong in the job, or can excel at the job?
8. What does it mean to succeed in the job of policing? What resources are necessary (individually and organizationally/structurally)?
9. Examples where being a female was made relevant: (positively or negatively perceived-were you or any one you know sexually harassed). Describe your experiences with the public? Were there times when you felt undervalued as a police woman or a woman?(Construction of femininity)
10. Examples where being a female was made relevant: (positively or negatively perceived-were you or any one you know sexually harassed) Experiences with co-workers, supervisors? Were there times when you felt undervalued/over valued as a police woman or a woman?(Construction of femininity)

Police Culture Issues:

1. Do you agree with the statement that women are now accepted in policing as equivalent to males, i.e., can women do the job of policing as well as men?
2. What aspects of doing the job are valued by the culture? (E.g., might vs. brain, strength vs. pepper spray, CID vs. School resource)
3. Experience with maternity or parental leave? (Impressions)

2. Chart career path (history), and assignments requested but not received

<u>assignment</u>	<u>dates</u>	<u>reasons for assignment</u>	<u>reasons why(not) moved</u>	<u>roles (professional/personal)</u>

Appendix 2: Focus Group Discussion Questions

Following a viewing of the CBC documentary chronicling Christine Silverberg, Chief of Police, Calgary Police Service, 5 focus group members commented on the following questions:

1. Discuss chief Silverberg on the continuum of gender, through out her career. Does her position on the continuum change?
2. Construction and management of your gender, sometimes you have to fight against other people who try to influence your gender construction, e.g., “Silvertits”

Give examples where other people have influenced your gender construction and as a result you had to work at remaining (or moving) to a place on the continuum where you are comfortable. What about your troop mates?

3. Considering where you worked before this, is your gender construction the same or different, then on the assignment you are currently doing?
4. Last? Young Women in university classes often ask me about policing as a career choice. What advice would you give them? List 3 reasons why they should pursue a career in policing, and 3 reasons why they shouldn't.

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