

Women in Policing: Their Disillusion Phase at Work

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ABSTRACT

Studies on the career paths of municipal police officers have revealed an emergence of four distinct phases which officers pass through during their professional careers, phases where the perception of their profession changes. These phases are more constant at the patrol officer level where most officers begin and finish their career. Among these four phases is the disillusion phase (between 6 and 13 years), where the expectations at work are not met. The perception of the police administration, the public and the criminal justice system, all become negative and the hope for promotions diminish. These studies were mainly conducted in a period where there were very few or no women in policing. Through a feminist perspective and a social constructionist theoretical framework, this thesis makes the hypothesis that because women have different expectations at work, a varying work/life balance and a contrasting aspiration to attain positions of power, women will live this second phase differently. To explore this hypothesis, data was collected from ten semi-structured interviews with female patrol officers having worked between 6 and 13 years in municipal police departments. A qualitative data analysis effectively shows significant differences for the reasons underlying our hypotheses. Even if they have some frustrations about certain aspects of their work, we did not see any disillusionment from any women in this phase.

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“You must be the change you wish to see in the world” - Mahatma Gandhi

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Introduction

Studies on the career paths of police officers have revealed an emergence of four distinct phases which officers pass through during their professional careers, phases where the perception of their profession changes (Beauchesne, 2010; Duchesneau; 1988; Edelwich & Brodsky, 1980; Niederhoffer, 1967). These phases are more constant at the patrol officer¹ level where most officers begin and end their career.

The first is the alarming phase (0-5 years of experience). Officers in this time frame have just entered the force with a hunger for crime fighting, hoping to make a difference in society. But as the years go by, they realise that the change they make is not so significant. Their perception of the public, their managers and the justice system become more negative. In addition, they start to realise that promotions will not come with ease, if they come at all.

The following period is known as the disillusion phase, covering the range of 6 to 13 years in the profession. At this stage, officers tend to lose their feeling of being able to make a difference in the world they police which in turn leads to an elevation in stress and depreciation of work satisfaction.

¹ Often referred to as street policing, these are officers assigned to general law enforcement duties (GLED). GLED refers to officers whose primary purpose is responding to calls for service and patrolling neighbourhoods. Some officers assigned to GLED are only able to respond to calls for service due to the volume of calls while others are able to conduct some proactive policing measures such as foot patrols, speed traps and so forth, in between calls. It is important to note that officers from different ranks and units can take part in GLEDs at anytime, but generally do not as their primarily duties take precedence over the latter.

The personalisation phase is the third phase covering officers with 14 to 20 years on the force. This range encompasses officers who no longer prioritise their careers, but rather their families and friends.

With over 20 years of service, patrol officers enter the introspection phase, the fourth and final phase. Nearing retirement, officers in this range take a step away from their career, and try to coast the rest of their way through to retirement.

We will be making use of the social constructionist theory along with a feminist perspective in order to make sense of the findings in this research.

Studies on the different phases in the career of policing began with Niederhoffer (1967) and have since been used to explain varying aspects of police practices or certain problems such as chronic stress in policing (Howard, Donofrio, & Boles, 2004; Kakar, 2002; Morash & Haarr, 1995). However, these studies have never distinguished between men and women's phases because most of these studies were conducted before women entered policing or around the 1980s which were years where women were few and did not yet occupy all ranks and functions in policing institutions. Today, policewomen are numerous and many have remained in patrolling duties their entire career just as men have (See figure 1.0). It is important to reconsider these phases on women's side, particularly the second phase which is the one most distinctive by its characteristics in policing for patrol officers. We have reasons to believe that although men and women have the same diversity of motivations to enter the profession and variety of perceptions of what the profession entails (Burke & Mikkelsen, 2005; Poteyeva & Sun, 2009; White, Cooper, Saunders, & Raganella, 2010), this second phase will present significant differences between men and women.

The first reason that we identify is the fact that studies showed women's expectations at work differ in many respects to those of their male counterparts. Women, unlike men, place more importance on job security and autonomy from their work and place high importance on their relationships with coworkers and supervisors (Fielding, 1994; Lasley, 1992). Men on the other hand, care more about their salary, their status at work, and the prestige of their profession in the community (Elizur, 1994; Neil & Snizek, 1987; Unger & Crawford, 1992).

Secondly, the social expectations regarding family roles are still different for women than men and not overly contested by women (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Burke & Mikkelsen, 2005; Herrington, 2002; Padavic, 1991). Women accept that they will be the primary caregivers of their households, having to manage family and work. Furthermore, studies show that the household day to day tasks are still predominantly women's responsibility (Archbold & Hassell, 2009).

Thirdly, women's expectations to attain positions of power are most likely different than men's. Women are more constrained by the difficult combination of family and work. In addition, the importance they place on work climate can make them less inclined to compete if they believe this type of competition for a position of power may negatively affect the work climate, particularly if men are also competing for the vacancy (Holdaway & Parker, 1998). Furthermore, a position of power, particularly in an authoritative and highly hierarchical management structure and in an operational position, is still perceived more credible if held by a man rather than by a woman (Brown & Carlson, 1993).

This research will explore the second stage identified by the studies as a turning point on job satisfaction with female patrol officers to determine if the changes occurring in their

perception of the profession correspond with the literature. Our hypothesis is that some differences will be clearly noticed and tied to the three reasons we identified.

The first chapter of this study will be a review of the literature on the four phases of the occupational career cycle and the specificity of this second phase for front line workers which are, in the policing profession, the patrol officers. Afterwards, we will examine the theoretical perspective in criminology identifying where we stand for this research, namely social constructionist theory and the feminist perspective. Finally, we will cover studies on the three reasons we identified in our hypothesis where differences will be found between men and women in this second phase, namely the expectations at work, perception of work/family priorities and aspirations to attain positions of power. Based on this presentation, we will be able to construct the analysis grid to help us answer our main research question: Do women patrol officers pass through the second phase of their career as described in the literature?

In the second chapter, we will discuss our choice of qualitative method of interviews to answer this question, the pertinence but also the limits of this method, the way we construct the sample and present the way the interviews were undertaken.

In the third chapter we will present the data and the fourth chapter will make use of the analysis grid presented in the first chapter on the data to examine the possible answers to our research question.

Chapter 1

Literature Review

Occupational career cycle

Sociology of work along with occupational psychology posit that there is a particular pattern that individuals cross during their professional career. This pattern referred to as cycles, time periods or phases at work (Selye, 1974; Dubar, 1995), manifests itself in just about any profession. For the purpose of this research, the aforementioned will here on be referred to as occupational career phases.

There are four occupational career phases which workers cross throughout their careers. The first phase is the training and adaptation phase (0-5 years). At this stage, workers demonstrate a high degree of commitment to their job, while maintaining a positive attitude towards learning and professional development. The second phase consists of the social valorisation by the manifestation of his/her competencies (6-13 years). The professional identity and social identity are at their strongest point if the environment of the professional permits the expression of new ideas, projects, and realisations. The third is the personalisation phase (14-20 years) where work starts to diminish as a priority, as family and friends become more and more important and finally, the introspection phase, where retirement is the next step. (Dubar, 1995)

These four phases certainly have many variations depending on the status at work, the expectations of the individual and the work environment. But globally, there are four cycles, especially for professionals in the field. In the helping profession, some specificities are attached to the second phase, mainly for front-line workers.

The helping profession

Many front-line workers in the helping profession, in the second phase of their career, experience a high degree of disillusion. This is qualified in the sociology of the profession as the disillusion phase. It is important to understand that disillusion is far different than mere disappointment in one's job or performance. A person's motivations to enter a helping profession is the idea that their hard work and effort will indeed come to help many people or reduce social problems (Benner & Phillips, 1994). On the field, their recurring inability to achieve this goal will in turn affect their high initial enthusiasm to make a difference.

In addition, in many helping professions, there is a lack of criteria in measuring accomplishment. Workers do not have a standard measure for reviewing their own and others' performance. For this reason, the institutional support is particularly important to recognize the value of their work. When front-line workers see their recommendations disregarded or reversed by their superiors and see their institution's mandate of serving others or reducing problems ignored time and time again, such actions or lack thereof, take their toll on workers, particularly in large hierarchical organisations.

Inefficient use, or lack of resources, in-turn affects workers' ability to do their job the way they see it. If front-line workers feel that case management is too heavy or that they lack resources to complete the job properly, they will begin to feel discouraged and frustrated as they realise they cannot save the world all at once. This is often learned through difficult experience. Furthermore, high visibility joined with popular misunderstandings of the job fosters lofty criticism from the public.

The purpose of the aforementioned characteristics is to demonstrate why in the helping professions, the second phase between 6 to 13 years of experience, is often a disillusion phase for the front-line workers.

We will now examine how this second phase is translated in the policing profession.

Occupational career cycle in policing

A considerable amount of research (Duchesneau, 1988; Edelwich & Brodsky, 1980; Niederhoffer, 1967) has been conducted on career phases in the policing profession. While these phases are somewhat similar to the professional career cycle aforementioned, the second phase is mirroring the one experienced by the front-line workers in the helping profession – which in this case are the patrol officers.

These career phases in policing studies are usually referred to as follows: the alarm phase, the disillusion phase, the personalisation phase and the introspection phase.

Officers passing through the first five years of their career are going through training and adaptation, the alarm phase. They are what Edelwich and Brodsky (1980) call, idealistic enthusiasts. They are preoccupied with making a difference and changing the world but most importantly believe that they can indeed be successful in doing so. Having little or no experience in the field of law enforcement, they expect an action packed career filled with crime fighting, heroism and valour with little or no resistance from coworkers, high-ranking officials or the public (Elizur, 1994; Neil & Snizek, 1987; Unger & Crawford, 1992). Most importantly, officers at this alarm stage expect to make a difference by their action in diminishing crime.

But as the years go by, they feel that pressure from the criminal justice system backed by organizational and departmental policies and public reactions restrict their movements and their abilities to affect change (Herbert, 1996). This is the beginning of the disillusion phase (6-13 years). Studies demonstrate that this phase represents a time frame when officers are at the lowest point in their career in terms of job satisfaction, productivity and overall happiness if they are still patrol officers in the field (Duchesneau, 1988; Edelwich & Brodsky, 1980; Niederhoffer, 1967). The immediate factors contributing to this disillusion phase will be discussed extensively in the following paragraphs. But we have to keep in mind that these studies do not differentiate between male and female officers, therefore leaving the assumption that women's occupational experiences in this phase are the same as those of men.

During the personalization phase (14-20 years), one's personal goals begin to take precedence over that of institutional and occupational goals. The officer no longer allows the pressures of work to get to them. One's perception as to what is most important in life can begin to change. As a result, less stress is experienced as work demands hold less importance and fear of failure has significantly decreased. The officer begins to prioritise family and friends over work.

In the final phase (20 years and above), coping is no longer a stage but rather an ongoing process requiring constant change. Now approaching retirement, stress is low as officers have distanced themselves significantly from their job and hold a great degree of experience when it comes to stress management. The officer is now counting down the days to retirement and takes their job one day at a time.

The disillusion phase

According to Logan (1995), officers who reported the highest levels of chronic stress are uniformed constables with 9 to 13 years of experience. Chronic stress is experienced from prolonged emotional pressure over an extensive period of time. This leads to many serious health risks such as hypertension, muscle fatigue, digestive problems in addition to a variety of other health problems. Furthermore, divorce, drug-use, alcoholism and suicide are most prominent in this phase (Beehr, Johnson, & Nieva, 1995; Brunet, 2005; Carter & Stephens, 1988; Kamerman, 1993; Territo & Vetter, 1981). Lack of proper coping techniques to deal with chronic stress intensifies these destructive behaviours (Seagrave, 1997; Stone, 1999).

Studies on chronic police stress² help us to understand what goes on in the disillusion phase. Note that for the purpose of this research, we are not looking at post-traumatic stressors³ (PTS). Although the later may indeed have an effect on an officer's disillusionment, its frequency is not nearly as high as chronic stress across the spectrum of the profession to affect all officers. Instead, the focus will be placed exclusively on chronic stress and aspects contributing to it. Often referred to as routine stressors, chronic stress takes many shapes and sizes when it comes to the disillusion phase.

We will identify the main sources of this chronic stress using the classification of Beauchesne (2010). From the following policing stressors, a detailed questionnaire will be extracted in order to examine whether or not there is a difference between how men and women live their disillusion phase.

² Stress linked to a variety of factors which accumulate onto each other and which can eventually lead to burn-out (Violanti & Paton, 1999). (See figure 1.4)

³ Stress linked to a particular lived or witnessed event such as combat, suicide or death which in turn causes severe trauma (Violanti & Paton, 1999).

Gap between the idealistic view of the profession and reality

The first source of chronic stress in policing refers to the disconnection an officer feels between the idealistic view of the profession learned at the academy and the realities of policing on the streets. This stressor manifests itself as the officer progresses throughout their career and grows frustrated at the little amount of positive change that can be made in regards to crime, criminality and criminal behaviour in general. In addition, there is an increased level of resentment towards the criminal justice system and correctional services which do not support the same crime control ideals and severe punishment approaches as the officer does (Herbert, 1996).

Moreover, the media's perpetuation of the ideal crime fighter comes to frustrate the officer who is realistically unable to measure up to these crime fighting personas and in turn faces undue criticism from the public due to his lack of authority (Manning & Van Maanen, 1978). The negative perceptions which certain members of the public hold of the police, along with their lack of cooperation, generates a great deal of stress for the officer (Fleming & Grabosky, 2008; Forcese, 1999; MacDonald, 1983; Monjardet, 1994).

There is finally stress linked to fear of danger that is communicated in the training with this idealistic view of the profession as crime fighter. In reality, officers are less likely to be injured or killed in the line of duty, contrary to popular belief and propagated media messages. Nevertheless, the fear is communicated in the training and is still present as officers are left having to live through it (Chan, 2007; Monjardet, 1994). In the event of a traumatic situation, many officers are not well trained to deal with stress, therefore leaving the officer unable to cope with the residual effect. Policing is not an institution which fosters openness for emotion sharing,

particularly among men (Padavic, 1991). Due to the masculine nature of police-work, discussing traumatic events with coworkers is far more difficult for men than women and therefore adding to the occupational stress (Fielding, 1984; Fletcher, 1996).

Bad communication in paramilitary structures

The second source of chronic stress arises from the hierarchical nature of the paramilitary structure. This structure does not facilitate the free flow of ideas to guide practices, solve problems and reciprocate positive reinforcement (Coutts & Schneider, 2004; Stinchcomb, 2004; Zhao, He, & Lovrich, 2009). High ranking echelons signify a level of experience, knowledge and judgement therefore resisting the input of subordinates viewing them as inexperienced and not valuable. This subordination of lower ranking officers by their superiors creates a barrier in communication, an “us” versus “them” mentality, along with added frustration. While officers encounter difficult situations on the street face to face with the public and often under negative circumstances, their superiors often underestimate the effort put into conflict resolution.

Therefore, bureaucracy from which emerge orders more so than guidance and communication in addition to internal investigations originating mainly from public complaints, contribute to a negative environment making patrol officers feel as if they hold little or no control over their profession (Adamson, 1987; Adamson & Deszca, 1990; Coutts & Schneider, 2004).

Task management and lack of clear objectives

The third source of stress is linked to how work is organised. There are far too many tasks to be completed, many of which are unorganized to begin with, not to mention the absence of an overarching goal to define the usefulness of each one of them (Forcese, 1999). The lack of clear practical objectives to these tasks leads them to view assignments and personnel management as chaotic. This in turn increases the difficulties of shift work and long hours at the expense of officers' health, well-being and family without really understanding the importance of these tasks to the overall benefit of the organization and public.

To add, random patrols and responses to calls for service generate a great deal of boredom and tedium as a result of idleness, and a lack of interest caused by routine. Therefore, as Forcese (1999) explains, an officer who is overworked develops feelings of exhaustion, whereas one who is underworked engenders feelings of undervalue.

Lack of promotions

The fourth source of chronic stress in police work is the continuous denial of promotions for upward mobility within the organization. To properly understand what is at stake here, it is important to understand the particular importance of promotions in police work. Rank on the epaulette clearly sends the message that patrol officers are at the lowest level, whatever they say in the organisation (Jackson, 1986).

Officers who have been refused promotions more than twice tend to have a decreased level of motivation, particularly among the most educated, as they tend to have greater

expectations and aspirations. As previously mentioned for helping professions, the difficulty of measuring success stresses the importance of recognizing good work through promotions.

Interrogations underlying my research hypothesis

Considering the main characteristics of the disillusion phase that we highlighted, here are our interrogations about the potential differences for women, interrogations that come from the elements that will be underlined in the next section.

Gap between the idealistic view of the profession and reality

1.1) Do women feel the same disillusion as men in regards to the idealistic view of the profession learned at the academy and the realities of policing on the streets?

1.2) Are they affected, as men are, by feelings of resentment towards the criminal justice system and correctional services feeling they do not support the same crime control ideals and severe punishment approaches as they have?

1.3) Are they affected, as men are, as to the degree of criticism and negative perception from the public due to their lack of power?

Bad communication in paramilitary structures

2.1) Are they affected negatively, as men are, by the view that police management structure is not a facilitator in the free flow of ideas to guide practices, solve problems and reciprocate positive reinforcement?

2.2) Do women find that their superiors create a barrier in communication, forming an “us” versus “them” mentality further contributing to added frustration as men feel?

2.3) Do women find that from the bureaucratic structure of the organisation emerge orders that are more than mere guidance and communication as men do?

2.4) Do they find that internal investigations originating mainly from public complaints, contribute to a negative environment making patrol officers feel as if they hold little or no control over their profession as men do?

Task management and lack of clear objectives

3.1) Do they find that there are far too many tasks to be completed, many of which are unorganized to begin with, not to mention the absence of an overarching goal to define the usefulness of each as men do?

3.2) Do they find, as men do, that the lack of clear practical objectives to these tasks leads them to view assignments and personnel management as chaotic, which consequently increases the difficulties of shift work and long hours at the expense of officers’ health, well-being and family without really understanding the importance of these tasks to the overall benefit of the organization and public?

3.3) Do they find that random patrols and responses to calls for service generate a great deal of boredom and tedium as a result of idleness, and a lack of interest caused by routine as men do?

3.4) How do women feel about the presence of routine in their job in comparison to men?

Lack of promotions

4.1) Do they place a great deal of importance on upward mobility and promotions in the ranks of the organisation as men do?

4.2) If they have applied for promotions that were not awarded, do they feel a decreased level of motivation because they consider promotions as the main way to recognize their good work as men do?

Theoretical framework

The sociology of work has developed substantial analysis on the occupational career cycle. In service jobs, we have observed a disillusion phase. Specifically, there have been four distinct phases identified in policing. With that being said, we notice the absence of studies which examine these phases exclusively for women in policing. To examine this further, we are relying on the feminist perspective and social constructionist theory.

Constructionist perspective

The idea behind the social constructionist perspective is that new knowledge emerges from previous knowledge and experience which has been built upon, adding to the old. Simply said, social constructionism takes knowledge as being an absolutely subjective concept which is internalised by each person differently just as it is reproduced subjectively based on the onlooker's views in order to develop a particular perception of reality.

From the constructionist perspective, conditions are best analyzed not as stable objective realities, but as phenomena that are interpreted differently in terms of the values and vested interests of various claims markers. Gergen (2003) explains that social constructionism does not focus on the objective truth but rather on how humans subjectively interpret and understand the world. As a result, individual's perceptions of what constitutes reality and what is true remains subject to their own interpretation and understanding through history, social forces and ideology (Searle, 1995).

The social constructionist perspective generally posits the idea that reality should be examined through an approach which emphasizes history, societal factors, context dependency,

human activity and the socio-linguistic make-up of all associated matters (Berger & Luckman, 1966; Best, 2001; Hibberd, 2005; Koch, 2005; Meckler & Baillie, 2003; Strati, 1998; Turner, 1991). That being said, the aforementioned suggests that our actions, those of others and how we interpret the two are context bound, meaning that what we view as truth depends on the social and political state of a time period. This truth is affected by existing social processes such as history, societal factors, or linguistic activities such as negotiation. Best (2001) explains that this perspective argues that everything we know and accept as true is therefore not objectively factual, but instead rather constructed and created through processes of negotiation while simultaneously being shaped by language, culture and the social structure of society.

Turner (1991) states that, “premises of everyday life are historically variant and that objective social reality is not part of the nature of things, but exists only as a product of human activity” (p. 23). This simply means that reality, or what one views as objective truth, is affected by historical events and human activity. There is no one reality, or overarching truth as what we consider to be objective knowledge is only so as a result of our construction and understanding of events and actions. Simply put, fact would not exist without the assistance of human manipulation and interpretation; and what is considered factual is only so as a result of social processes which have defined it as such. The social constructionist perspective then requires consideration of both human elements and societal factors in order to make sense of reality and its evolution. Meckler and Baillie (2003) posit that truth, as we search and construct it, is no more than, “negotiated beliefs rather than objective features of the world” (p. 279). This view entails that the only reason something is considered true is because it has been endorsed as an acceptable belief of a particular socially dominant group and does not necessarily mean that this so called truth is indeed factual (Dawson, 1981; Meckler & Baillie, 2003). In addition, Koch

(2005) argues that our knowledge of the world which surrounds us comes from historical conditions, technological developments and contemporary social and political powers. Because of subjective meanings, knowledge is constantly changing (Berger & Luckman, 1966).

Keeping the aforementioned in mind, it is only through the social constructionist perspective and feminist perspective that one can make sense of the research at hand. Because of social and political powers, and the historical context in which they were found, women did not occupy a great presence in the institution of policing. Feminist and constructionist perspectives will go hand to hand in my research to understand if my hypothesis on the differences of job satisfaction for women police officers in their second phase is true.

Feminist perspective

Hagan (2006) states that theory represents attempts to develop explanations about reality or ways to classify and organize, describe, or even predict future events. Niederhoffer (1967), a pioneer on the phases patrol officers pass through during their career, uses individual strain theory to focus on the difficulties patrol officers face once their expectations of the job are not attained and how they deal with this frustration throughout the various phases of their career. However, there are problems with using strain theory in my research. Because my research question pertains to answering whether women patrol officers go through the same disillusion phase in their career as described in the literature, I will bring upon a feminist lens to look at my findings. The reason behind my choice of a feminist perspective is that most theories assume that what holds true for men is also true for women (Akers & Sellers, 2009; Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Thio, 2010). My research is attempting to prove otherwise because although women's motivations to enter the job and perceptions of the job are similar to those of men, their

expectations at work, their relations with family and job along with their expectations to attain positions of power are all different. By using a feminist perspective, I will be able to examine the impact of these differences in their second phase at work.

Criminology has been dominated by men since its emergence as a social science; many of its theories are entrenched within a masculinist perspective, denying women's experience and the material, social, economic, and gendered conditions that articulate this experience (Olesen, 2000). MacKinnon (1982) and Collins (1990) assert that consciousness raising is the basis of feminist methodology along with recognizing that there are multiple knowledges and ways of attaining them. The feminist perspective is designed to see passed the androcentric bias held within the majority of criminological theories by facilitating the production of new and more profound understandings of gender relations in society. These understandings can facilitate the development of new ideas which hold the potential of destabilizing knowledges about oppressive situations for women or actions for further research (Olesen & Clarke, 1999). Harding (1993) explains that all knowledge gathering attempts are socially situated and that some objective social locations are better than others for accurate knowledge production (p.163). Granted that not all women have the same experiences or the same knowledge, nevertheless, the aforementioned leads me to believe that only by speaking to women and using a feminist lens as my theoretical framework will I be able to develop my research and make sense of my findings.

The basis of feminist research is to recognise first and foremost the importance of social gender relations in all domains of life including that of knowledge production and of women's oppression (Parent, 1998). Many studies have demonstrated the organisational difficulties women undergo within the institution of policing (Acker, 1992; Beauchesne, 2009; Belknap & Shelley, 1992; Garcia, 2003; Hunt, 1990; Neil & Snizek, 1987; Schulz, 1993). Feminist

perspective in the context of this criminological research aims to draw on women's methods of interpreting their own lived experiences in contrast to men. The idea is to eliminate an androcentric perspective on knowledge and develop a distinct feminist view (Akers & Sellers, 2009). Both questions asked and answers found are often if not always the product of white men's experiences and generalised to women (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Parent, 1998). Looking at my findings from a feminist perspective will enable me to produce a new and deeper understanding of gender relations in society and how they come to affect women's lived experiences in their disillusion phase when working in the police force as patrol officers.

The generalisation of male officers' experiences to women is partially a result of the small number of female officers having entered the force in the past 25 years. It was not until the past 10 years that women started entering the institution of policing in numbers and moving up the ranks (See figure 1.0 & 1.1). This is not to say that no studies on women in policing have yet been conducted. On the contrary, many studies touching on matters of sexual harassment, difficulties of integration, work-life balance, stress and so forth, have come to expose the struggles women are facing within the institution of policing (Beauchesne, 2009; Elizur, 1994; He, Zhao, & Archbold, 2002; Kurtz, 2008; Morash & Haarr, 1995). While studies on job satisfaction in policing have been extensively examined, these studies fail to differentiate between men and women's differing avenues of job satisfaction and generalise the two as one. Studies conducted on the phases of policing have not been reflective of women's lived experiences arguably as a result of their deficiency among the ranks in addition to the police force in general (See figure 1.1).

Smith (1987) explains that in order for women's lived experiences to be truly understood, the epistemology used must start from women's experiences, and must stress women's personal

understanding thereof (p. 107). All in all, the aim is to examine the experiences of both the dominant and the subjugated (Smith, 1987, 1990a, 1990b). Feminism, as a theoretical framework of understanding, challenges the traditional scientific and historical approach to professionalism, which requires that we separate experience and subjectivity (Addelson, 1991; Fonow & Cook, 1991; Grbich, 1991; Mies, 1987). Grbich (1991) explains that male knowledge, based in objectivity, places women as unknowledgeable and excludes the different representations about power constituted within women's lives. The goal of my research becomes having to retrieve women's experiences of authority in both senses of being subjected to the traditions of male objectivity and rationality and being the subjects of authority, and how this shapes the attitudes women have of their profession at the disillusion phase in their career. In doing so, I also seek to understand the relations of power which they are subjected to and how they come to affect women's lived experiences and job satisfaction.

Only women know and understand their own lived experiences and are able to share them with the rest of the world. Taking a feminist perspective to research methods has enabled women to become personally involved in the knowledge making process while understanding and making sense of their own voices (Fonow & Cook, 1991). Feminist research gives authority and power back to women's subjectivity. Modern feminism has basically fostered a space for action-oriented research, where research serves as a form of empowerment to women, especially those who are subjugated (McCormack, 1987; Naples, 2003; Ristock & Pennell, 1996). Using a feminist perspective to look at my research brings forth much more than mere knowledge production. The goal becomes research to foster change and social awareness, liberation and consciousness-raising but most importantly, empowerment (Acker et al., 1991).

The concept of empowerment emerged from feminism when women started to feel enabled in recounting their lived experiences in their own voices and from their own standpoints (Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Stanley & Wise, 1983, 1991). As a researcher conducting work on a feminist area of study, it is important to be cognisant that empowerment ultimately comes from within, and that my role as a researcher may or may not assist my subjects down that path.

A feminist framework requires that we recognize that our own conceptual presumptions, status, positionality, and histories impact how we conduct our research (Acker et al., 1991; Fonow & Cook, 1991; Kirby & McKenna, 1989; Mies, 1987; Naples, 2003; Reinharz, 1992; Ristock & Pennell, 1996; Stanley & Wise, 1983, 1991; Williams, 1990). Nevertheless, “the feminist researcher must not ignore the power that is inherent in her [his] own assumption of ability to grant voice to the “othered” (Hesse-Biber & Leckenby, 2004, p. 215). By analysing and evaluating the world through women’s perspectives, it is assumed that different views than the conventional will arise therefore making this theoretical perspective ideal for this research (Williams & McShane, 2010).

In addition to using a feminist perspective in order to make sense of my findings, I will also be using the social constructionist paradigm to shed light on the emerging knowledge collected.

Literature founding our hypothesis

As discussed, women studies give us reasons to believe that although men and women have the same diversity of motivations to enter the profession and variety of perceptions of what the profession entails, this second phase will present differences between men and women.

The first reason is that studies show women's occupational expectations at work differ in many respects to those of their male counterparts. Secondly, the social expectations regarding family roles are still different for women than men and women have integrated these social expectations or, at least, must take them into account. Thirdly, women's expectations to attain positions of power are often different than men's. In addition, a position of power, particularly in an authoritative and highly hierarchical management structure and in an operational position, is still perceived more credible if held by a man rather than by a woman.

Occupational expectations at work

Even if men and women enter the police force for similar reasons, the aspects of work that give stress or satisfaction to women differ in certain ways from men. In fact, the sociology of work shows that women find more important than men a good relationship at work and a good occupational atmosphere. In addition, more so than men, women are sensible to what their colleagues and supervisors think of them. Men find their salary to be of greater importance than women in addition to their job status and the prestige that the job can bring them in the community. Women indicated that salary had less influence on their career choice than men (Heckert et al., 2002). Consequently, they are less aggressive in seeking raises, and are less likely

to seek employment elsewhere when dissatisfied with their salary (Gasser et al., 2000; Heckert, 2002).

Relationship with coworkers

Coworkers are work colleagues who are at the same level of the organizational hierarchy and who interact with each other on work-related issues (Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008). A meaningful work experience is based on positive and supportive relationships with coworkers (Chamberlain & Hodson, 2010; Frone, 2000; Hodson, 1997, 2001; Rumens, 2010). Workplace support and one's perception of it are also intricately linked to career mobility, access to workplace information, and health outcomes (Schaufeli et al., 2001; Jacobs, 1989; Johnson & Hall, 1988). This is why the treatment workers receive from other coworkers can greatly impact their well-being and job satisfaction (Sloan, 2012).

Employees who experience mistreatment at work such as workplace bullying, abuse or harassment may suffer significant difficulties varying from psychological distress, problems with substance abuse, job dissatisfaction and so forth (Frone, 2000; Martin, Tuch, & Roman, 2003; Pavalko, Mossakowski, & Halmilton, 2003). Social support provided at work by coworkers helps to prevent some of this poor treatment and a person who feels socially supported can cope much easier with stressful situations at work than one who is not (House, 1981; Cohen & Wills, 1985). Especially in the service industry, coworkers are the most important source of support. The sharing of common experiences increases the likelihood of workers turning to each other for support (Lively, 2000, 2008). Coworkers have the ability to empathize with each other therefore protecting each other from the consequences of poor treatment (i.e. stress, psychological distress

etc.). This is particularly true for women especially if they are working in a predominantly masculine environment.

Women who work in male-dominated occupations face more doubt from their coworkers about their competence because they complete tasks that are gender-typed at which men are believed to be more competent (Britton, 2000; Ridgeway, 1997). Therefore, coworker support is a much more important aspect of job satisfaction for women in a male-dominated profession because it reduces the negative work conditions that women are more likely to experience, because of their derogation to female stereotypes (Miller, 1980; Moore, 1985; Pugliesi, 1995, 1988). The retention of women, even in high paid and high-status professions, is difficult when perceptions of low levels of access to workplace support increase personal dissatisfaction. (Schaufeli et al., 2001; Jacobs, 1989; Pierce, 1995) Some men can intentionally withhold support and information from women, especially young women, if they are viewed as a threat to their own chances for promotion (South et al., 1987).

This situation mirrors within the institution of policing, still a predominantly masculine organisation. Martin (1996) studying the integration difficulties of the first female officers found that two thirds of women in law enforcement have been sexually discriminated against at one point in their career. There was a constant demand from male officers that women prove themselves at work notwithstanding the fact that women are withheld proper tutoring and mentoring (Greene & Del Carmen, 2002). Furthermore, some male officers added to women's workplace stress by putting women down or causing them to have self-doubt while underestimating their capabilities (Gossett, 1996). Many of these first female officers were denied information, alliances and protection from their colleagues (Ellison & Genz, 1983). They were repeatedly compared to their male counterparts. Their physical abilities are still

underestimated today by some police officers, to whom they are perceived to have a lack of influence on the “proper” delivery of policing methods in addition to bias and sexual harassment (Morash et al., 2006). For these reasons, female officers reported that male coworkers, particularly the oldest ones, do not provide reliable support, protection or backup while consistently questioning their abilities as officers (Greene & Del Carmen, 2002). They even feel certain levels of hostility and discrimination coming from them.

In fact, the strongest predictor of stress in female officers is still male co-worker bias and this stress can affect their work decisions (Morash et al., 2006). Occupational workplace support is particularly helpful for workers who experience mistreatment at the hands of their supervisor because of the workplace hierarchy (Lively & Powell, 2006; Sloan, 2004).

Relationship with supervisors

The relationship employees have with their supervisors is different than the one they share with their coworkers. Supervisors are agents of the organisation who manage employees’ performance to maintain proper performing workers within the organization (Thomas, Bliese, & Jex, 2005). Workers only feel comfortable expressing their feelings with other workers as a result of the equal status they share. Therefore, workers who feel unfairly treated by their supervisors benefit significantly from having supportive coworkers (Sloan, 2012).

Alternatively, supervisors may serve as a source of support for coworkers. Supervisors can provide emotional support but are most likely to provide instrumental support such as disciplining the antagonising worker therefore alleviating the victimized worker’s stress (Sloan, 2012). Unfair treatment at the hands of a supervisor is directly linked with a worker’s job

satisfaction or dissatisfaction in addition to psychological distress. Without supportive supervisor relationships, employees often will not or cannot take advantage of formal policies which enable work reductions or schedule flexibilities that are available to them (Glass & Estes, 1997; Hochschild, 1997).

The relationship women have with their supervisors is of particular importance for women because not only does it contribute to a good climate and reassurance on their work, but can serve as protection against discrimination and hostility when they are not welcome or experience conflict. If this support is not there, the attitude of the supervisor can be a confirmation to the co-workers about their negative attitude to women.

For these reasons, in male-dominated workplaces, women are more dependant of their supervisors' attitude to ensure equal treatment, preserve and confirm their success and competency. Furthermore, social support from supervisors has been shown to reduce job-related stress and strain in addition to positively affecting mental and physical health (LaRocco & Jones, 1978; LaRocco et al., 1980). Finally, women who had supportive supervisors experienced greater levels of job satisfaction when returning to work from maternity leave or a long period of absence (Holtzman & Glass, 1999).

If this support is not there because supervisors feel women are violating ideals of appropriate behaviour for women in a "man's field", it is a serious impediment to institutional advancement and amplifies the stress at work (South et al., 1987).

The differential treatment received by supervisors is a phenomenon also currently present in the institution of policing among female officers and was quite generalised with the first women in policing. Martin (1996) shows that female officers reported significantly less encouragement than men from their immediate supervisor, which was perceived often highly

discriminatory towards female officers. Furthermore, according to studies conducted by the National Center for Women in Policing (2001), findings suggest that discrimination and sexual harassment are present in police departments and some supervisors and commanders not only allow this type of behaviour, but they are often the perpetrators. Therefore, it is difficult for these women to find protection from their coworkers by going to their supervisors.

Finally, the lack of supervisory support women can face seriously affects their job satisfaction and even shapes their future career paths; in policing, this support is particularly important considering the stressful nature of the job, and the fact that women are still not fully recognised as competent as men in the profession by some officers.

Job security and Salary

Women are more concerned with the social aspects of work such as supervision and relationship with coworkers, and less with their salary than men, even in the institution of policing (Herzberg et al., 1957; Smith & Plant, 1982; Tang & Talpade, 1999). Salary is much less important for women because it is not directly linked to their job security and satisfaction at work (Heckert et al., 2002; Lawler, 1971).

Job security comes as an integral part of career expectation for the great majority of people seeking long term employment within an organisation. Erlinghagen (2008), in addition to Clark and Postel-Vinay (2009), define job security as the situation where employees perceive the continuance of their employment not to be under threat of termination. Job insecurity on the other hand is conceptualized as worry or anxiety regarding the outcome of job loss (Sverke &

Hellgren, 2002). Job security is used to express the importance of job continuity and its importance when choosing a career (Salladare et al., 2011).

Women seek job security for many of the same reasons that men do but nevertheless have their own gender centric motives in doing so. For women, more so than men, the family situation is an important factor influencing the decision to seek employment which guarantees a good sense of job security. According to Bockerman (2004), a woman's marital status in addition to the presence of children in the household is very likely to influence the importance she places on her job security. Parental responsibility, especially through financial support, influences the importance women attribute to job security more so than men (Salladare et al., 2011). This is not to say that men do not place any importance on the aforementioned but rather men's reasons for the attainment of job security differ from those of women (Anxo, 2003; Salladare et al., 2011). According to Lewis (2002), men are more likely to report a higher level of importance allotted to job security because of their traditional social role as the main source of income whereas women place importance on it due to their dual role as employee and mother where their family and domestic roles may come to threaten their career and its advancement.

A woman who faces a long period of absence due to maternity leave might face job loss depending on her level of job security in an organisation (Arulampalam et al., 2001). Women will find more risky leaving on maternity leave if their job is not guaranteed when they return (Tolbert & Moen, 1998). Men on the other hand do not have the same worry of job loss because the same leave of absence for parentality is often optional and they feel greater liberty to make their decision around their job security (Arulampalam et al., 2001).

It is in consideration of this job security in policing that salary is highly ranked for men, but not on women's scale of work expectations. For women, particularly the ones with families

or having a desire to have children, job security is their supreme concern whereas for men it is their salary (Tang et al., 2000).

Job status and prestige in the community

Occupational prestige is defined as the perception of a job's social status and the social standing of the job and job holder (MacKinnon & Langford, 1994; Nakao & Treas, 1994). Furthermore, occupational prestige represents a collective, subjective consensus on occupational status as it indicates how members of a community collectively evaluate the social standing of a job (Fujishiro et al., 2010; Xu & Leffler, 1992). Occupational prestige essentially defines how others will view the job and the job holder and therefore this social interaction which the job holder experiences heightens their subjective prestige and job status (Fujishiro et al., 2010).

While there are various socially agreed upon prestigious occupations, men often have differing views on job status and prestige. According to Xu and Leffler (1992), the more exclusively an occupation is comprised of men, the higher its level of prestige within the public's eye and the community. With that being said, we can infer that occupations which are primarily dominated by women are in fact much less considered to be prestigious in nature. Touhey (1974) explains that the increasing number of women into high-status, male-dominated professions, such as policing, will inadvertently result in a significant decline in job status and community prestige in this profession. Touhey (1974) explains that women's presence within these traditionally male-dominated positions makes them appear more easily attainable and therefore less masculine.

Research in occupational psychology shows that women are more oriented toward the interpersonal factors of work (Dubeck & Vannoy, 1998). Women place high importance on the intrinsic values of an occupation. Essentially, women care more about the work itself and building relationships with coworkers and the public (Dubeck & Vannoy, 1998). In contrast, men are more concerned with prestige and the status which comes along with the job. This is not to say that the primary reason why men seek employment is for job status and prestige in the community but rather for the extrinsic aspects of the job which make up prestige. For example, income, advancement, autonomy, leadership and recognition are all extrinsic aspects of the job which make up occupational prestige for men (Dubeck & Vannoy, 1998). Furthermore, men attribute salary to status and identity and unless they do not have a high salary, they will not attribute themselves to having a high status (Tang et al., 2000).

Women do not place the same level of importance on job status and prestige in the community as men do. Becker (1991) explains that women allocate the majority of their efforts outside the workplace whereas men focus their efforts mainly on the labour market. Becker (1991) continues to explain that women with domestic responsibilities (i.e. family, household duties, children etc.) have significantly less energy available to perform on the labour market. Men have time for leisure and non-work related activities while women spend much of their “free” time on domestic duties and childcare (Magnusson, 2010). Essentially, women’s high levels of non-paid work take away their energy from their paid work. Occupational prestige therefore is not as much an expectation at work for women as it is for men. As a result, many women simply seek job security and comfort in order to better manage their work and family (Magnusson, 2010).

This is not to say that men do not have or share family obligations but rather that high status positions often require workers to put in more time than the average employee. Often, high status workers or prestigious occupations require that workers put in on average between 50-70 hours of work per week and this is only possible if an individual has no obligations outside of work (Williams, 2000). Therefore, this leads many organizations, such as policing, to invest more in the hiring and promoting of men rather than women because so much overtime and shift work is required (Glauber, 2008). This explains why many women with family responsibilities do not seek particular occupations for prestige because they are fully aware that prestige entails constant availability, overtime, short notice travel and more (Rutherford, 2001).

To summarize on this first point, expectations at work, men seek more extrinsic rewards (salary, status in the community) whereas women seek more intrinsic rewards (job security, good relationship with coworkers and supervisor) (Beutel & Marini, 1995; Lueptow, 1992, 1996; Rummell & Feinberg, 1988). These differences will influence many of their choices at work even to this day and our hypothesis is that it is the same in policing, which will make differences in the second phase in their career, the disillusion phase.

Another important element that will play a role in the second phase is the difference in work/family burden between men and women.

Work/life balance

Despite the drastic increase in the participation of women in the workforce over the past 50 years, unpaid household duties are still predominantly performed by women (Walters & Whitehouse, 2012). It is important to note that men, on average, have been taking on more

household responsibilities over the years than ever before (Bianchi et al., 2000; Kan, 2008; Sullivan, 2000). Regardless, the current division of labour reflects that women, employed or not, still take on the majority of housework (Bianchi et al., 2012; Brines, 1993; Marini & Shelton, 1993). Furthermore, domestic labour increases for women following the birth of a child (Baxter, Hewitt, & Haynes, 2008). The literature on domestic labour covering domestic duties, pregnancy and pursuant childcare is of the unanimous view that even if women are spending more hours at work and holding higher positions, they still carry a highly disproportionate load of unpaid work at home compared to their partners (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006; Miller & Mulvey, 1998; Paulsen, 1998; Wright, 2007). As a result of the aforementioned, we have reason to believe that work/life balance consequently shapes and affects women's occupational careers and aspirations more so than their male counterparts.

Domestic duties

Domestic duties are defined in the literature as tasks that do not have a high degree of flexibility as to when or how they are completed within the household. Domestic duties generally include, but are not limited to the following: cleaning, cooking, laundry, washing, ironing, routine preparations, yard work, picking up after other family members and so forth (Riley & Kiger, 1999; Walters & Whitehouse, 2012). In essence, domestic duties are seen as requiring little skill or training and as such are devalued (Cox, 1994).

To this day, domestic duties remain linked to women's identities (DeVault, 1990) whereas the idea of household breadwinner is associated with a man's masculine identity (Hood, 1993; Nolan et al., 2000). According to Kan (2008), both men and women strongly believe that it

is a man's duty to be the main financial provider of the family unit even if he has less experience or lower academics than his spouse. Therefore, women spend significantly more hours per week doing housework than men (Kan, 2008; Perrone, Webb, & Blalock, 2005; Thomas, 2002).

Women often opt to remain out of the labor force and work from home in order to more easily manage all the domestic duties (Gurstein, 1991). Even when women hold full-time employment, they still manage the majority of the housework while their male counterparts remain unwilling to increase the time and effort spent on housework (Gershuny, 1992; Layte, 1999; Morris et al., 1993). Although women might not necessarily enjoy doing the bulk of domestic duties, they often do not openly express a sense of injustice toward the inequitable burden of the work (Baxter & Western, 1998; Dempsey, 1999; Oakley, 1974). Women are led into believing that if they do not do the work itself, men will not bother themselves to do it and therefore the work will not get done, and this is quite often true (Walters & Whitehouse, 2012). Men will often step in to help with domestic duties only when their spouse is unavailable or unable to complete the duties (Brayfield, 1995; Deutsch, Lussier, & Servis, 1993; Noonan, Estes, & Glass, 2005). This is not to say that men do not complete any domestic duties but rather that when they do help, they complete the more flexible tasks such as mowing the lawn or shovelling snow (MacDonald et al., 2005). As such, men's social power is being used against women in order to encourage them to accept men's domestic work preference forcing women to see this division of labour as fair (Sanchez & Kane, 1996).

The consequence of this unequal division of domestic duties between men and women cause women to frequently face obstacles to equality in the workplace (Guy & Killingsworth, 2007; Kelly & Newman, 2001; Pynes, 2000; Stivers, 1993). Women's domestic duties greatly influence their earning capabilities (Coverman, 1983; McAllister, 1990). Furthermore, these

domestic duties place severe constraints on their access to paid employment and their motivation to pursue career advancement because it reduces energy and commitment to their occupation (Baxter, 1992). Women's movement into paid employment has not resulted in the redistribution or reduction in domestic duties. Therefore, the problem remains that if women decide to join the labour force, they come home to a second shift of domestic duties (Robinson & Spitze, 1992; Sutor, 1991). If they are unable to keep up with the domestic duties, women reduce the time spent on household labour or need to employ domestic help rather than reorganising the domestic division of labour with their partner (Baxter, 1992). This unchanged amount of domestic work or its lack of redistribution therefore reduces women's time for job training, further education, overtime, socializing with clients, colleagues and co-workers outside of work hours (Baxter, 1992). The aforementioned are all important contributing factors in upward mobility and job satisfaction. This lack thereof consequently affects women's wages. Therefore, women earn less than men because they cannot build themselves up to be competitive on the job market. The added work brought forth by domestic duties and the lack of appreciation attached to it contributes to an increase in stress even though women are ultimately accepting of these duties (Thompson, 1991). This disproportionate amount of domestic duties transfers over to negatively affecting women's overall job satisfaction, aspirations and motivations for upward mobility and occupational performance (Davis & Greenstein, 2004; Shelton & John, 1996).

If women choose to enter the workforce, they do so under men's conditions of work. This meaning that women need to adjust to meet the demands of the masculine-like design of occupational institutions, not vice versa (Johnson & Duerst-Lahti, 1992). Therefore, women need to choose between being career oriented with less family priorities or primarily mothers sacrificing their upward mobility at work (Tower & Alkadry, 2008). Ultimately, women are

paying a significantly higher social cost for their advancement at work than men because the workplace is ultimately designed for men, as if they have no family to take care of (Guy, 2003). Unless workplaces are designed for people with families, women will always be forced to choose between their family and their career (Tower & Alkadry, 2008). This is not to say that women have been excluded from the workplace because they are women but rather that they have too many domestic duties which take time and energy from their abilities invest efforts at work (Bloch & Taylor, 2012).

Men do not perceive domestic duties as their job and expect great appreciation when they help their partner. In contrast, women feel dissatisfied that their unpaid work goes unnoticed and taken for granted (Sanchez & Kane, 1996; Thompson, 1991). In addition, men tend to regularly downplay the inequality of domestic labour when possible (Goode, 1982).

This phenomenon is present within the institution of policing especially for women. For female officers, family duties often conflict with work requirements and affect overall job satisfaction (Howard et al., 2004). Family obligations such as domestic duties become of great concern for law enforcement organisations because aspects of family life such as domestic duties generate conflict at work (Williams & Alliger, 1994). Female officers working long shifts come home to domestic duties and as aforementioned, this creates a great deal of stress and pressure which transfers over to their work and families. At this point, satisfaction with the job in general and the work itself suffer the greatest decline (Howard et al., 2004). Irregular working hours such as in policing are very difficult and demanding for women especially if they are the primary caregivers in the household (McCarty, Zhao, & Garland, 2007; Potts, 1983). This is another reason why we believe that women will experience the disillusion phase much differently than their male counterparts.

Pregnancy

Arguably one of the most challenging aspects of many women's employment emerges around the time they become pregnant as it interrupts their career progression (Brannen, 1989). As such, women are seen as suited for particular types of work surrounding motherhood such as temporary, part-time and low level work, often in service industries (Brannen, 1989). According to Fried (2000) and Johnson (2008), 80-90% of women will be employed during their pregnancy. Unfortunately, many believe that pregnant employees burden the workplace and limit team productivity as they become less competent, less committed, more irritable and less promotable, and as such should not be hired or promoted (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Fuegen, Biernat, Haines, & Deaux, 2004; Gueutal, Luciano, & Michaels, 1995; Gueutal & Taylor, 1991). Pregnancy is still seen as a signal that women are no longer effective workers or committed to their work (Corse, 1990; Halpert, Wilson, & Hickman, 1993; Vogel, 1990). Experimental research shows that compared to pregnant women who did not appear pregnant, women who appeared pregnant were treated with hostility when applying for jobs and consequently receive lower performance evaluations (Halpert et al., 1993; Hebl, King, Glick, Kazama, & Singletary, 2007). Therefore, research shows that women will indeed encounter negative workplace experiences during pregnancy (King & Botsford, 2009). As a result, many pregnant women will delay or avoid disclosing their pregnant status because they do not want to be seen as incompetent or uncommitted (Major, 2004). Open disclosure of one's pregnancy leads to a variety of issues. This discussion triggers the negotiation of maternity leave, consequently leading to resentment of coworkers, biased treatment from supervisors and most importantly, a woman's own personal reconsideration of career and overall life priorities (King & Botsford,

2009). It is important to note that it is in women's best interest to disclose their pregnancy early because it is only then that they gain access to resources, legal protection and social support (King & Botsford, 2009). Therefore, when women choose to delay disclosure, they are denying themselves access to helpful resources (King & Botsford, 2009).

From the perspective of coworkers and supervisors of the pregnant employee, early disclosure can have a positive precautionary effect on the redistribution of work and resources required of the office during maternity leave (King & Botsford, 2009). Without appropriate and timely disclosure, the breach of legal and social issues may arise such as the withholding of promotions or the inappropriate attribution of weight gain to pregnancy. In addition, a pregnant employee's work group needs to know as early as possible in order to reorganise tasks and distribution of responsibilities to ensure that work is completed in the employee's absence (Buzanell & Liu, 2007). Delayed disclosure can only contribute to the development of a hostile environment and the emergence of resentment and injustice on the part of the pregnant woman (Dolliver, 2000; Minehan, 1996). Fear of early disclosure is more likely to occur in male dominated workplaces where it can lead to career or interpersonal consequences (McKay, Avery, & Morris, 2008). In contrast, disclosure can facilitate the request for time off, allow for flexibility in work hours in addition to allowing access to resources such as family planning or health benefits. Doctor's appointments and prenatal preparations often conflict with working hours and disrupt one's work schedule. This in turn may cause women to be more highly concerned with their workplace identity and the impression they are leaving with management (Roberts, 2005). As a result, early disclosure can be beneficial in allowing colleague social support which would likely be absent without disclosure.

Becoming a mother is on one hand a fundamental and defining characteristic of femininity. As such, pregnant women are fulfilling the expectation of their social roles (Eagly, 1987; Glick & Fiske, 2001). However, the expectations required of motherhood highly conflict with the expectations of an ideal worker (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Essentially, the reasoning behind this is that in order to perform as an ideal worker, you cannot perform as an ideal mother (Cowan & Bochantin, 2009). Childbirth causes a significant reduction in work participation for women (Miree & Frieze, 1999; Paull, 2006). Once pregnant, a woman increases the perception of her lack of fitness to perform the duties and tend to the demands of the job (Hebl et al., 2007). The expected commitment that women have to their family and home is assumed to conflict with the commitment of their work (King, 2008). As such, pregnant women who work can easily be seen to be violating the traditional gender role expectations required of a mother or conversely neglecting their work roles (Hebl et al., 2007). Stemming from this worker/mother conflict, research shows that pregnant women will face negative stereotypes (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004; Masser, Grass, & Nestic, 2007), social rejection (Hebl et al., 2007), discrimination, termination and lack of promotion (Williams & Segal, 2003) in addition to economic disadvantage (Budig & England, 2001). Needless to say, pregnancy is a stigmatized characteristic in the workplace environment and is viewed as disruptive yet controllable.

Expectant mothers are likely to have family interfere with work.

As a result of emerging workplace conflict linked to motherhood, 25% of new mothers quit their jobs prior to or immediately after childbirth (Johnson, 2008). Furthermore, Johnson (2008) found that 36% of women had not returned to work within 12 months post childbirth. Women beginning their career may often delay childbearing in order to ensure early career advancement (Tower & Alkadry, 2008). Consequently, absence from the workplace negatively

affects women's upward mobility because 80% of women's upward mobility occurs prior to childbirth. Therefore, birth contributes to falls in earning and lack of long service and job security (Brannen, 1989).

All of the aforementioned phenomena are also present, if not intensified, within the institution of policing. The institution of policing is no different than any other workplace in treating pregnant women. Unlike most workplaces, police organisations often do not have systemic plans put in place for officers to become pregnant (Schulze, 2010). If accommodation is required, the institution is more likely to be conducive to fathers' accommodations rather than those of mothers (Silvestri, 2005). Women have to work under gender-neutral policies that do not address their most significant life events such as childbirth. Women's leave-taking becomes a very aggravating move to the bureaucratic efficiency and undertakings of day-to-day police work (Meisenbach, Remke, Buzzanell, & Liu, 2008; Wayne & Corediero, 2003). Lack of proper policy establishment forces police women to return to work earlier than they may be able to consequently causing women to resign from law enforcement due to leave-related hardships (Schulze, 2010). As police officers, mothers often feel that they have to choose the worker role where they take minimal amounts of time off. Alternatively, they may choose the mother role and quit their job altogether to take care of their child (Schulze, 2010). In a more supportive environment, most women would work to slowly transition out of work prior to childbirth and slowly transition back into it afterwards (Schulze, 2010). It is important to understand that a woman's position as mother in policing is difficult for several reasons. Police women's stress does not stem from the number of responsibilities they have as women, but rather the conflicting nature of the roles they play as mother and law enforcer in addition to the amount of support they receive, or lack thereof (Epstein, 2004; Gigliotti, 1999). Women who are already mothers when

applying to the police force may be faced with a great deal of discrimination in the application process since police work requires a great deal of schedule flexibility (Correll & Benard, 2007). The department essentially treats and frames pregnancy as an illness (Cowan & Bochantin, 2009). In policing, fathers' periodic absences from the household are warranted, whereas a mother's absence is not. As such, women readily conceded that they could not perform at work and be mothers without a strong social support network and out of home childcare services (Cowan & Bochantin, 2009).

It is because women are faced with pregnancy and the life issues attached to it that we feel it is one of the major reasons why women will undergo the disillusion phase differently than men.

Childcare

After childbirth, many things change in a woman's occupational cycle. At this point, job satisfaction is on a decline as women continue to be burdened with the responsibilities pertaining to the nurturing and caring of children (Arendell, 2000). Having children may negatively affect women's careers even if they decide to maintain labor force participation after childbirth (Miree & Frieze, 1999; Paull, 2006; Waldfogel, 1997). Women's job satisfaction becomes intricately linked to their increased family roles post childbirth (Holtzman & Glass, 1999). Policies surrounding childcare such as the ability to use personal time to care for a sick child along with flexible scheduling positively affect women's occupational satisfaction (Christensen & Staines, 1990; Thomas & Ganster, 1995). In contrast, long working hours, inflexible schedules, and unsupportive workplaces on their worker/mother role decreases their levels of job satisfaction and increases the likelihood of conflict at work (Desai & Waite, 1991; Galinsky & Stein, 1990).

Pursuant to childbirth, a woman's emerging childcare responsibilities conflict with her requirements as a good worker. Childcare affects women more so than men when it comes to absenteeism, intermittent workplace participation, and turnover (Felmlee, 1995; Glass & Riley, 1998). Women's change in occupational performance is due to added childcare responsibilities and because they are now treated much differently by their coworkers, supervisors, and especially by men (Wenk & Garrett, 1992). Gerson (1985) presents that there stands a possibility that women who are unhappy at work are more likely to have children as an excuse for them to exit the workforce or take a leave of absence.

Following the birth of a child, women often experience what is referred to as role overload (Holtzman & Glass, 1999). These women experience great difficulty in fulfilling the expectations linked to being an employee and being a mother (Rudd & McKenry, 1986). One of the major problems employed mothers face is a shortage of the resource of time. As a result, women find themselves deprived of sleep, loss of leisure, and chronic fatigue (Hochschild, 1989; 1997; Schor, 1991). The reason for this is that responsibilities of childcare and domestic duties continue to disproportionately fall on mothers rather than fathers (Gerson, 1993; Glass & Camarigg, 1992). Nevertheless, there is a valued component to childcare that is not present in housework that gives it greater meaning because it is part of the development of children which in turn is lifelong and irreplaceable (Connelly & Kimmel, 2010; Nelson, 2010). Therefore, to a mother, childcare feels less like the bargain of housework but rather a pleasure that life brings (Raley, Wang, & Bianchi, 2012). Large amounts of time spent taking care of children is linked to our social identities as good parents, especially a good mother (Hays, 1996). Women are most likely to be the ones to stay home with sick children and having to pick them up from school or daycare if ill (England, 2005).

The time period immediately pursuant to childbirth is the hardest for mothers because infants and toddlers require intensive care which is immensely time consuming and cannot be provided by a substitute to the mother (i.e. breastfeeding) (Holtzman & Glass, 1999). As a result, women more so than men, reduce their paid work to care for children (Bianchi et al., 2012). Women's ability to control their own schedule and have schedule flexibility greatly affects their job satisfaction and reduces their work-family conflict and psychological distress (Rogers, 1992; Thomas & Ganster, 1995). Women who were privileged with accommodated shifts (i.e. flexible, time reduced, time off) were much less likely to leave their occupation (Glass & Riley, 1998). But the fact of the matter is that it is very rare for women to be able to negotiate their own schedules and therefore are stuck dealing with the realities of the aforementioned.

Being faced with a great change in their life, women's coworkers and supervisor support is critical in helping in the adjustment of the new set of role demands outside of the workplace (Holtzman & Glass, 1999). Women who had supportive supervisors upon their return to the workplace had much higher levels of job satisfaction (Galinsky & Stein, 1990; Holtzman & Glass, 1999). Personnel policies offering support to mothers are crucial but not always present therefore causing added stress to women who cannot find childcare and are unable to take time off work to care for their children (Hurlbert, 1991; Rudd & McKenry, 1986). As a result, women may choose to leave the workforce in order to care for young children which consequently delays their upward mobility (Brannen, 1989; Paull, 2006).

Within the institution of policing, much of the aforementioned is mirrored if not worse. For police women, poor management of their career post-childbirth may reduce their career aspirations leading them to settle for a different position or even leaving the force altogether (Bradley, 1999). In turn, this costs the organisation a great deal of money in having to recruit,

train and employ new officers to replace the mothers who leave. There is a greater gender imbalance within the institution of policing more so than in any other occupational workplace as there is a greater difficulty in managing both police work and family duties (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Many of the first women trying to manage a career and motherhood were met with a great deal of gender discrimination causing them to feel put down by male attitudes and the patriarchal nature of the police organisation as a whole (Martin, 1996). This negative attitude towards pregnant or working mothers made it very difficult for policewomen to effectively do their job. In policing, many supervisors were not supportive of the mother/worker status and overlook overtime or travel for policewomen that are mothers as though they are not competent enough (Martin, 1996).

As for childcare, there is a great issue for women not being able to find appropriate services which match their shift with their hours of operation (Martin, 1996). As a result, women are forced to request being reduced to part-time work. In policing, part-time workers are defined as disabled, physically or mentally by child bearing, a woman wanting the department to provide for her (Bradley, 1999). Even if this part-time work is approved, the police woman is often placed in an administrative position with no chance of promotion therefore forcing career aspirations to be put on hold (Bradley, 1999). In essence, men are able to take breaks for secondments, sabbaticals, courses but women are scorned and seen as losing their skills if they take time off to have children.

It is evident at this point that women are unevenly burdened with the majority of the childcare work. A disproportionate division of labour in addition to family being a heightened priority for women therefore influences their decisions at work and creates particular factors of

stress. This in turn leads us to believe that women will experience the disillusion phase much differently than men.

Promotions

A great deal of research shows that there exists very different opportunities of employment for men and women (Crompton & Sanderson, 1990). Martin (1996) presents a rather interesting tautology to help us make sense of the aforementioned, “the exclusion of women within the police workforce is absolute evidence of their wider exclusion within a society, and women’s wider exclusion within a society is absolute evidence of their exclusion within the police” (p. 512). Within the institution of policing there is a large absence of women among higher ranks. The police organizational structure, in general, is adversarial towards women (He et al., 2002). There are many reasons for the following. Women, like men, have many personal reasons for not applying to higher ranking positions. But with that being said, it is important to consider that there are greater sub-cultural characteristics which are exclusive to the institution of policing which discourage women, more so than men, to apply for promotions (Holdaway & Parker, 1998).

Female officers are more likely than male officers to indicate that they have been victims of unfair behavior with regards to transfers, access to upper management, promotion, and representation in senior positions and in special units perceived as masculine jobs (Sousa & Gauthier, 2008). In addition, women reported having to work harder than others in order to be considered equals within the organization (Sousa & Gauthier, 2008; Wertsch, 1998). Furthermore, Sousa and Gauthier (2008) found that some women believed that their colleagues have lower expectations of them, and that some officers, male or female, did not want to partner

with them because of their sex. All in all, Sousa and Gauthier (2008) found that women believe they have less respect within the organization. Their findings suggested that this is perhaps a reflection of a historically male-dominated culture within policing.

Organizational structure

Brown and Carlson (1993) discuss that men typically want to keep their domain to themselves whereas women are more open to change and diversity. Men who are socialized among the ranks value superiority over women, especially in the workplace and face a great deal of difficulty accepting female competence. The presence of women among the ranks comes to threaten the very foundation of male-dominated workplaces. Brown & Carlson (1993) focus their findings on the notion that in a sub-culture based on hyper-masculinity and aggression, women are faced with the cultural stereotype that should they truly be feminine they should be: non-aggressive, not tough and not capable of protecting men. Archbold & Hassell (2009) agree with Brown & Carlson (1993) in stating that the organizational culture in male-dominated organizations plays a major role in impeding the progress of women.

In addition, the literature shows that women face a tremendous amount of sexual harassment and are frequently assigned to desk duties because male coworkers refuse to partner with them. Darien (2002), Garcia (2003), Brown & Sargent (1995), Burligame & Baro (2005), Dick & Jankowicz (2001), Heidensohn (1994) discuss congruently that women hold the lowest positions in organizations. In policing, women are assigned to patrol duties (the lowest duties of a constable) because the social construction of policing enables men to move up in the organization while keeping women at the very bottom. Garcia (2003) and Brown & Sargent

(1995) go on to explain that patriarchal society has worked to create and maintain women's subordination and that although women have been successful in entering male dominated workplaces, they are nevertheless subordinated and kept in lower positions than men.

Police institutions, like many organizations, do not do enough to facilitate women's performance in law enforcement with respect to providing resources to help with finding or developing adequate child-care services or accommodating women with necessary time off for child related emergencies (He et al., 2002). Institutions expect women to develop their own coping skills to deal with these issues and if they find themselves unable to manage, counseling is an alternative they must take (Klyver, 1983; Graf, 1986). Instead of managing the problems women face as an institutional and occupational issue that requires organizational changes and resources, policing institutions place the onus on women to deal with these problems themselves (He et al., 2002). In the end, both women and the institutions are affected. Women do not feel comfortable applying for promotions because they do not have organizational support, and the organizations do not have a representative amount of women in their upper ranks therefore making them appear sexist and intolerant of affirmative action and the competencies of women as police officers (He et al., 2002).

Although many women look favorably to promotions and supervisory roles, many of them may not want to hold such positions of power in a male dominated policing environment. Women find that characteristic related to sexism, competition, homophobia, unfairness and lack of support are indicative of the policing institution and one they do not want to hold a high position (Sousa & Gauthier, 2008).

Work experience

For many reasons, women feel unqualified to apply for promotions. Truth be told, women are often less qualified for new positions, special assignments or promotions to higher ranks than men but this comes as no fault of their own. There are institutional factors which impede women from applying. As mentioned in the previous section, female officers may face barriers to advancement because they have not built enough experience or assigned jobs within the department (Sousa & Gauthier, 2008). Women are less likely to receive special assignments which limit them in their future aspirations for advancement within the department. Research shows that men and women are presented with different opportunities within the force (Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Sun & Chu, 2010). In policing, men are encouraged to maintain road duties and move up in the ranks while women are pushed into office and clerical work (Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Sun & Chu, 2010). Women are forced to deal with domestic violence due to their nurturing features and turned away from specialized units focused on firearms usage (Brown & Sargent, 1995; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Women often lack experience, expertise or special skills/abilities which are required for promotions (Holdaway & Parker, 1998). These requirements are often attained from selective patterns of work deployment and varying crime work. Women often do not have sufficient patrol experience to apply for promotions because they have been removed from patrol duty and assigned to positions off the street (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Wexler & Quinn, 1985). Women are therefore placed at a disadvantage. Female officers are often kept in community policing units, crime prevention units, administrative roles or as school resource officers (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Miller, 1999). As such, they remain unable to develop new skills and further their experience as

effective law enforcement officials. Many women are cognizant of this gender difference and avoid the promotional process altogether because they are unaware as to the support that will (or will not) be provided to them. For one, when someone applies for a promotion, their entire file is reviewed. An individual is required to have a good attendance record, secondments to special assignments, and a strong team player and so forth. Although the aforementioned appear easy enough to attain, for women in the institution of policing, such criteria may be often seen as impossible to achieve.

Family considerations

There are also factors affecting women's decision to apply for promotions which emerge from outside the institution and more so within one's personal life. According to Frone et al. (1992), women report that conflict between home and work is the highest stressor related to any profession. When it comes to policing, there is no exception. As mentioned in the previous section, women are still to this day perceived as the primary caregivers in the majority of households. Taking care of children and attending to domestic duties are encompassed within this care giving role. According to Holdaway and Parker (1998), women are in a harder position to attain their aspirations within the institution because they remain constrained by traditional female roles.

Women, more so than men, report that getting married or being married, has influence their decision to apply for promotions. Evidently, a higher position encompasses many more responsibilities and supervisory duties which inevitably require more time to be spent at work completing such tasks. More time at work means less time spent at home. This leaves one's

partner responsible for more of the child care and domestic duties. It is still socially perceived to be the norm that women take on these duties while men accept higher ranking positions. Should the roles be reversed, a great deal of strain could be placed on certain households unable to manage the said duties. Therefore, it comes to no surprise that married women are often discouraged by their partner to apply for higher ranking positions for fear that they will have to bear the residual household duties (Holdaway & Parker, 1998).

Another extra-institutional factor contributing to women's motivation for attaining or aspiring to attain opportunities for promotions is having children. More women than men indicate that a potential conflict with taking care of children and managing work duties is an influencing factor as to whether or not they choose to apply for a promotion (Hughes et al., 1992). Female officers agree that family considerations are important reasons for not applying for promotions or transfers (Sousa & Gauthier, 2008). In addition, female officers, more so than men, consider delaying or not having a family as a result of their career and consider their family more often than men when making important career decisions (Sousa & Gauthier, 2008). Having children is a socially defined role for women external to any profession. Regardless, this external role greatly affects women's internal duties within policing and contributes to a great deal of stress (Violanti & Aron, 1994). As mentioned in the previous section, women are still socially perceived as the primary care givers and as such, they are left with the responsibility of catering to their children's needs or other duties related to them. Spending more time at the office to complete tasks, covering for another officer or merely conducting regular duties of supervising cannot be properly conducted if an officer is preoccupied by her children. This is not to say that women who are applying to higher ranks should not have children but rather if they do not get the required help from their partner, additional duties which come with promotions

may be difficult to complete. Even though many women are able to manage both home and work duties effectively, male colleagues view that their ability to not only be able complete the tasks but also in an effective manner is highly questionable (Galinsky et al., 1993, 1996). As a result, many women, more so than men, deny being a parent at work (Holdaway & Parker, 1998). Research has found that for women, even the mention of children meant that they were automatically seen unfit to work overtime, or on particular shifts and that their colleagues would view them as unfit for a career in law enforcement (Holdaway & Parker, 1998). This leads to more difficulties for women having to work harder than their male colleagues to prove themselves while constantly worrying about small mistakes and adding to their work-related stress (McKeen & Burke, 1989; Burke, 1993). Women therefore become more cognizant of the support they may or may not receive in addition to the effects that a pregnancy could have on their career (Sousa & Gauthier, 2008).

At this point, the main problem women face becomes evident. Because women are still considered to be the primary caregivers and homemakers in the majority of family units, their social expectation to manage all domestic chores while maintaining employment has inevitably affect their promotional aspirations, particularly given the difficult and often unpredictable schedules and demands of police work (Sousa & Gauthier, 2008). Stone (1999) discusses the difficulties of shift work on women's physiology in addition to their household responsibilities as wives and mothers stating, "female officers have more difficulty adjusting to shift work. They feel it's solely their responsibility to carry the entire load of domestic work and raising children" (p. 212). Stone (1999) suggests that female officers, "learn to delegate household duties. Be aware that shift work can cause severe mood swings and affect hormone production. Talk to your physician if you experience difficulty when on certain shifts" (p. 212). This in turn reinforces

the notion that women's domestic roles are heavy and burdening therefore differing greatly than those of men. This leads to added stress to complete duties in addition to coming up with coping strategies to manage all the stress (He et al., 2002). Family considerations therefore act as a serious barrier to women who may be seeking a promotion in the institution of law enforcement.

Co-worker support

A substantial body of literature addresses the importance of encouragement as an institutional factor contributing to women's motivation to seek promotional opportunities within policing (Quick et al., 1992; Morris et al., 1993). Because of the nature of their work, police officers require a great deal of support and positive reinforcement from their peers and supervisors (Graf, 1986). LaRocco et al. (1980) and Graf (1986) found that workers who perceived themselves as having a strong peer support group in addition to the support of their superiors were more motivated to apply for promotions. Peer support is especially important to women who are entering a male dominated career where their presence is often resisted and unwanted (Walker, 1985; Martin, 1996). Women often do not benefit from positive reinforcement from their supervisors or senior employees when expressing their interest to attain higher ranking positions. Holdaway and Parker (1998) found that women were often less encouraged than men to seek promotions by their supervisors, senior workers and even their domestic partners. Holdaway and Parker (1998) found that most male workers had mentors or at least someone in their work team who took special interest in seeing them succeed while holding a positive interest in their career aspirations. This is not always the case for women, particularly the ones with children, who need to push themselves forward in order to attain their goals and even then they face a great deal of resistance from their supervisor, colleagues, seniors workers

and domestic partners who believe that, as one officer put it, “they will just have children and leave” (Holdaway & Parker, 1998, p. 55).

This phenomenon is evidently present in policing. Women’s pregnancy or domestic responsibilities often act as justification for some male officers to regard women’s careers less seriously than men’s. The main idea behind this impediment that women are faced with is how they are viewed by others. According to Holdaway and Parker (1998), many supervisors and senior officers did not regard women as engaged and employed in the same way as male officers. For them, conceptions surrounding marriage, motherhood, and parenting seem to conflict with a woman’s ability to fully devote herself to a higher ranking position and perform the tasks at hand without interruption. This male officer’s views regarding promoting women are that the police force in question cannot sustain and hold a framework of constraints around female officer’s experience of employment and opportunities for upward mobility. Because of these perceptions, women often worry about the hostility they might face from their male peers if successful in the promotion process and as a result decide to avoid the process altogether (Archbold & Hassell, 2009). Therefore, a woman who seeks to be successful in the promotion process may feel she has to remain mindful of the decisions she makes in her personal life, whether it be marriage or having a child.

Tokenism

Occupational psychology discusses the concept of tokenism as being one of the main reasons why women avoid seeking promotions. As defined by Kanter (1977), tokenism refers to using false inclusion practices to make it appear as if the organisation is not discriminating

against certain people (i.e. sex, gender, race, religion, sexual orientation, spoken language etc.). In essence, it turns into promotions for the purpose of statistical representation. In the context of this research, the idea of tokenism basically refers to a woman as being promoted to upper ranks simply because she is a woman.

Most women who are encouraged by their supervisors to participate in the promotion process often do so. But when women are encouraged to be part of this process simply because the position needs to be filled by a woman, then they are much less likely to apply for the suggested promotion. When applying for promotions, any aspect of the process linked to tokenism or suggesting that a woman might be hired as a result of this quickly dissuades her from the process (Archbold & Schulz, 2008).

Within the institution of policing, if female officers feel that they are not being supported as patrol officers, they are much less likely to participate in the promotion process (Archbold & Schulz, 2008). This is a result of fear that if promoted into a management role, women would not receive support from their male coworkers. The reason for this stems from women's token status often perpetuated and made obvious by supervisors openly encouraging female officers to apply for promotions simply because women are needed among the ranks. However, by singling women out, supervisors are actually causing women to draw unwanted and negative attention from male coworkers (Archbold & Schulz, 2008). Needless to say that once identified as a token, women interested in promotions quickly avoid them. The reason for this is that if promoted, the female officer appears as though she is promoted simply because she is a woman, not because she is an effective leader and qualified for the position.

Therefore, in order to avoid the token label and status, female officers transfer to departments where there is a higher concentration of women, often in administrative positions

and departments (Wertsch, 1998). By doing so, women take refuge in so called “sex appropriate” units for female officers which specialize in dealing with women, children, or prevention issues (Schulz, 1993; Segrave, 1995). These units stand far away from those involving autonomy and discretion such as detective or tactical units (Wertsch, 1998). As such, the underlying problem here becomes that women remain in these “sex appropriate” units for such a long time that they consequently miss out on gaining valuable experience to help them attain higher ranking positions in the future. Consequently, when applying for promotions, they are deemed unqualified due to limited field experience.

It is evident at this point that all of the aforementioned underlying issues affecting women’s involvement in the promotion process differ significantly from men and therefore will probably have an impact on the way women experience their disillusion phase.

Summary

The aforementioned review of the literature confirms that there are distinct differences between how women and men undergo their career in policing. Having much different expectations at work than men, women consequently lead us to believe that they will not undergo the same occupational trajectory as their male counterparts. Furthermore, women’s work-life balance also differs greatly from that of men therefore also leading to a change in how women’s careers unfold. Finally, the differences in aspirations for promotions between men and women further exemplify the great differences among the sexes.

The review of the literature leads us to believe that women will have a different occupational career cycles than men especially in the second phase, the disillusion phase.

Our sub-questions aforementioned will serve as a guide from which we will be pulling our interview questions to be asked to individual participants in the study.

In the following section, we will be covering the detailed outline and explanation of our research methodology.

Chapter 2

Methodology

Choice of qualitative methodology

Qualitative techniques are extremely useful when a subject is too complex to be answered by a simple yes or no framework. This method sees the world as being constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed on an ongoing basis (Johnson, 2011). The world is a transient place, contingent on the meanings and understandings we use to negotiate it. That being said, understanding perceptions and behavior requires getting close to research participants. Recurring concepts are expressed as themes which create measures as data is gathered. Unlike quantitative research, the data gathered is expressed in the form of words and images and analyzed using description and narratives. The data collected in qualitative research refers to the meanings, concepts, definitions, symbols and descriptions of things. The reasoning behind using qualitative method of analysis is the belief that the observed data along with certain experiences cannot be meaningfully expressed by numbers. Qualitative research seeks to answer questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings (Berg, 2009). It allows the researcher to share in the understanding and perception of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives. To keep things in simple terms, qualitative research seeks to account for behavior in context.

Taking the aforementioned into consideration, it comes to no surprise that my method of analysis is purely qualitative in nature. My research seeks to understand matters affecting women in their disillusion phase, how these situations are, or have been, constructed. In addition, I am interested in the context in which certain things occur and most importantly, the meaning they have to the actors involved.

There are a variety of ways by which I could have collected data for my research. I conducted interviews as my data collection method for many reasons. Taylor & Bodgan (1998) state that the interview is an effective method of collecting information when investigators are interested in understanding the perceptions of participants or learning how participants come to attach certain meanings to phenomena or events.

The semi-structured interview was the best fit for my research design. This type of interview facilitates a series of areas to be explored while allowing for flexibility in the dialogue and providing direction with specific questions and themes to cover (Berg, 2009). I wanted my participants to describe the experiences they have had to face in the second phase of their career. As a result, I focussed my questions around this time range. Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to give the participants enough room to discuss issues personally touching them while enabling the researcher to maintain a firm grip on the direction of the interview ensuring that it remains on track (Berg, 2009; Patton, 2002).

While semi-structured interviews are proven to be the best method of data collection for my research, it does nevertheless hold some limitations which must be addressed. Interviews are not as easy as they may appear to be in social science research. Interviews cannot be replicated in the sense that an interviewee can be guided towards discussing a certain subject matter but if the interviewee is interviewed a second or third time, their chances of recounting the same events as they did the first time would hardly be possible (Roulston, et al., 2003). It is not because the data is not present, but rather because you need to guide the interviewee to it which makes it unnatural (Gray et al., 2007). Roulston et al. (2003) stress that you cannot or should not go into an interview looking to find something specific, rather you should let the interview unfold naturally and analyse your findings afterwards.

Some of the main problems interviewers experience when conducting interviews is their own biases which come to negatively influence the interview (Caplow, 1956). The researcher might unintentionally communicate their expectations to the interviewee through their body language which may in turn influence the respondent's answers (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2001). In addition, phrasing and negotiating questions often affects the respondent's answers, particularly in semi-directive interviews. My interview questions essentially stem from the interrogations underlying my main research, the sub-questions to the main research question. These interrogations focus on the potential differences for women, interrogations that come from the elements that have been underlined in the previous section. It is from these sub-questions that emerged my interview questions which globally encompass all the lived experiences of the participants. The object is essentially to yield a testimony, not answers to questions. Therefore, there might be a noticeable difference between the main research question and the interview questions posed to the participants. (See Annexe A & B for interview questions - English and French).

Also, Marshal and Rossman (2010) mention that some interviewees might not be completely truthful, and hold valid reason not to be. Interviewees may hold extreme views regarding a particular subject which they want to conceal, they may want to make their organisation look good rather than bad, or they may simply want to give the researcher the "right" answer.

These aspects show some limitations in my methodology choice that appeal for further research to complete my results in this exploratory research.

Exploratory research

The type of study I conducted is exploratory in nature because I aimed to learn or discover something entirely new and unknown with a small sample. Up to this point, women's career experiences passing through the aforementioned phases have been generalized by the phases of men. I explored whether or not women live these phases, particularly the second phase, the same as men. As a result of this type of research, general ideas and new research questions can emerge for further research on the topic. Because the size of my sample, my research can only pinpoint some new questions to explore without giving final answers. (Johnson, 2011)

Data

My study population is female patrol officers from municipal police forces or police forces conducting municipal duties. The women are in the second phase of the career phases having six to thirteen years on the force.

The sampling method used in this research is snowball sampling. The recruitment process followed the general rules of the snowball sampling method. I was guided to different prospective participants by police officers who knew what the study was about. From there, I contacted the candidates and provided them with information on the research project and their potential involvement. All of the subjects in the study were selected through a reference of a known co-worker who knew the researcher and facilitated trust among the researcher and interviewees.

In selecting my sample, I could have gone through the individual police departments but by doing so, this could threaten the validity of certain interviews as many interviewees might be worried that their identity may be released or that their positions might be jeopardized by their participation (Seale et al., 2008). Granted that it is my duty to ensure that my participants' identity will remain confidential along with all matters discussed throughout the interview process, I cannot ignore the possibility that if the organization knows or finds out who participated, it might in turn influence the information discussed by the interviewee with the principal researcher during the interview. Snowball sampling was the most appropriate sampling method since I did not need a large sample from each police department examined. The ten candidates selected for this research belonged to four different police departments, two of which were provincial (conducting municipal duties), and the other two municipal.

None of the women consented to have their names used and preferred to be assigned a number. For this reason, they have been assigned a number based on the order in which they were interviewed. All but two of the women interviewed have children. This surely creates a limitation in my research because it would have been interesting to know if significant differences in answers are part of this family situation. But for most of the aspects covered by my questions, I reach a saturation point. Researchers generally use saturation as a guiding principle during the data collection process. In qualitative studies, the greater the size of a sample does not necessarily lead to a better representation or information with regards to the overall population. Ritchie, Lewis and Elam (2003) explain that this is because only one piece of data is all that is required to ensure that a particular occurrence becomes part of the analysis framework. Crouch and McKenzie (2006) explain that this is because qualitative research design is not focused on making generalized hypotheses but is rather concerned with the meaning behind the occurrence.

Participants in any research area can have very different opinions or views on the world which surrounds them. A sample needs to be large enough to be representative of the population size so as to ensure that personal lived experiences are uncovered. Furthermore, if the sample is too large, what ends up happening is a large repetition in the data causing it to become excessive. Therefore, keeping the principles of qualitative research in mind, Glaser and Strauss (1967) state more data, or a large sample, is not useful if it does not bring forth any new observations to the issue being researched. When this occurs, the research sample has reached saturation.

It is for the above mentioned reasons that I decided to cap my research sample at 10 participants as I have found that saturation was obvious in my research (outside the limitation of women without children). While the women's units varied, they were all highly concentrated around general law enforcement duties (GLED) as opposed to highly specialised units such as homicide and special weapons and tactics unit (SWAT) which would greatly reduce their time on the road performing GLEDs.

The women interviewed had the following profiles:

- Candidate 1: 12 years of service, 1 child.....(C-1, 12yr., 1ch.)
- Candidate 2: 11 years of service, 1 child.....(C-2, 11yr., 1ch.)
- Candidate 3: 13 years of service, 2 children.....(C-3, 13yr., 2ch.)
- Candidate 4: 12 years of service, 3 children.....(C-4, 12yr., 3ch.)
- Candidate 5: 13 years of service, 2 children.....(C-5, 13yr., 2ch.)
- Candidate 6: 13 years of service, 4 children.....(C-6, 13yr., 4ch.)
- Candidate 7: 8 years of service, 1 child.....(C-7, 8yr., 1ch.)
- Candidate 8: 6 years of service, no children.....(C-8, 6yr., 0ch.)

Candidate 9: 6 years of service, 2 children.....(C-9, 6yr., 2ch.)

Candidate 10: 12 years of service, no children(C-10, 12yr., 0ch.)

The setting can greatly affect the results of qualitative research and the data being collected, recorded and transcribed (Creswell, 2003). Interview sites can facilitate the production of important information about the way participants construct their individual and social identities (Chih, 2003). In addition, these identities can influence interviewer and interviewee dynamics. Both the participants and interviewer agreed and consented to the locations selected for each interview. A quiet public place was selected by all of the candidates as a site to conduct the interview. The average length of the interviews conducted was 45 minutes. The shortest interview lasted 35 minutes and the longest lasted 1 hour and 40 minutes.

Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis is the method used to look at the data collected. I have selected this method of data analysis to look at my transcripts because it enables me to identify recurring themes, concepts and terms through coding (Babbie & Benaquisto, 2009). The qualitative data can be in any form to begin with, but it is often converted into written words in a transcript before it is analysed (Berg, 2009).

Qualitative data analysis has its limitations. The first thing to acknowledge is that it is impossible to be comprehensive because the data cannot be analysed in all possible ways (Berg, 2009; Babbie & Benaquisto, 2009).The data to be analysed is coded as part of the analysis process. Codes can be defined as “tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive

or inferential information compiled during a study” (Bell, 2010). A coding guide has been developed in order to help identify recurring trends in the data (Annexe C). For example, if the women I interview repeatedly told me that having a child has affected their job expectations, then this is coded as a theme through my coding procedures. After all themes and concepts have been coded, an analysis of their frequency was conducted in order to make sense of the trends in the data set (Berg, 2009; Babbie & Benaquisto, 2009).

Berg (2009) explains that there are seven major elements present in written messages and that need to be taken into consideration in the coding process of the content analysis. Words, themes, characters, paragraphs, items and concepts are all important elements to be counted (Berelson, 1952; Berg, 1983; Merton, 1968). For the purpose of my research, only recurring themes will be counted for frequency between the women. Counting the frequency of words, characters and paragraphs will serve no purpose due to the nature of this research as I am not looking at analysing language seeing as how I am aware that the candidates have expressed themselves in different manners. Themes were the most useful to count because they help develop ideas and trends in the content which can then lead to answering some of my research questions (Berg, 2009). After cross-referencing the themes, I counted the frequency of their emergence from all 10 women. By doing so, I was able to identify the main issues women bring up as affecting their positions and involvement in the organization.

Ethical considerations

Although I did not deal with a vulnerable population or a very sensitive subject to begin with, my research dealt directly with human subjects and therefore there were some ethical

considerations to keep in mind. First and foremost, my research project was approved by the University of Ottawa Research and Ethics Board (REB) (See Ethics Certificate Annex D). Informed consent was obtained from the parties involved in the research process. All parties were made aware of the rules and guidelines of the REB and have willfully signed all the consent forms required for the ethical conduct of this research. These documents informed participants of the objectives of my research, guaranteed anonymity, confidentiality, data conservation and voluntary participation. The forms were provided to French speaking candidates when appropriate. Participants were reassured that every effort was taken in order to ensure that any possible risk that their identity or the collected results has been accounted for and prevented. In order to reduce risks for participants' identities to be discovered, officers' names are not mentioned in the thesis. Participants in this study do not, and will not know who participated in the study. Interviewees were made aware that they may withdraw from the process at any time prior, during or after the interview is conducted. They were also informed that should they change their mind, their participation and collected data can be withdrawn from the research. No rewards or compensation was provided to the participants so as to ensure that those interested in the study were not taking part in it for any kind of compensation but rather to have their voices heard.

Chapter 3

Data

This chapter will cover the presentation of data gathered from the 10 female candidates. All 10 candidates answered all questions asked. No answers or candidate testimony were spoiled or discarded. A basic presentation of the tallied answers to each question in addition to emerging themes will be presented.

Expectations and realities of the practices

Gap between the idealistic view of the profession and reality

Men entering the profession expect an action packed career filled with crime fighting. Instead, they are met with tedious work and grow frustrated with the routine of the job.

In contrast, the majority of women (9 out of 10) do not report any disappointment with the realities of the job as they knew exactly what to expect prior to their entry or simply had no expectations at all and were therefore not disappointed as their male counterparts were. Even if the data shows no difference between men and women when it comes to a disconnect between what is essentially taught at the police academy and its applicability or the realities of the practices once applied to GLED (general law enforcement duties) street patrols, the deception is not the same considering their expectations were not the same.

« Je pense que le maintien de l'ordre, non je pense que ce que j'avais prévu, c'est pas mal ça que j'ai vécu. C'est sûr qu'on ressort sans cesse les mêmes personnes, on travaille sensiblement avec la même clientèle mais c'est pas mal ce que j'avais prévu là. » (C-1, 12yr., 1ch.)

« Ben ça correspondait à mes attentes parce que faut dire que je ne suis pas rentrée à la police à 20 ans. J'avais travaillé en milieu carcéral avant donc pour moi ça correspond à, c'est ce que je m'attendais. C'est sûr comme je disais tantôt, à l'école de police, en gros, ça correspondait, mais quand je suis rentrée à l'école, je savais que justement ce n'était pas nécessairement la réalité. C'est comme dans un milieu idéal puis les interventions. C'est

comme l'idéal devrait se passer mais qui se passe pas toujours dans la vie, mais ça je voyais ça là qu'à l'école, je prenais plus ça comme un jeu pis quand je suis arrivée sur le terrain, ben là ça correspondait plus à l'idée que je m'en faisais. » (C-2, 11yr., 1ch.)

“I feel that when I started out, it was exactly what I wanted, that it was dead on, yea. I felt I was in the right place if that's what you're asking. I felt that it was what I had signed up for, for sure.” (C-7, 8yr., 1ch.)

It is worth noting that women did not mention at all expectations about an action packed career. This probably contributes to the fact that the disillusion for women is not the same here. In fact, the only women who expressed not having a good understanding of the job before her entry in the police did not mention that the realities disappointed her once she was exposed to them.

“I didn't understand the severity of it. Sure it's a serious job, everybody knows it is oh my gosh you could die you carry a gun whatever. But the daily risks that you put yourself through and the things that you're exposed to I definitely didn't have an understanding of that as a civilian. You can't have an understanding of it unless you've lived it...You could go on a ride along and experience it but it's definitely not the same, you're not wearing the uniform.” (C-8, 6yr., 0ch.)

The majority of women (8 out of 10) perceived that the disconnect between expectations and the reality of policing which certain officers can experience are not gender based but rather depend on years of service and personality of the individual officer. These two factors will dictate if an officer is satisfied or not with the profession considering his ideals. It is important to note here that women mention believing that they hold similar expectations as men as to what the job entails. There is a possibility that this explains why women do not see gender expectations here.

“I think that male and female police officers start with the same ideals and the same idea of the profession [...] if there's a bigger disconnect or not, I

wouldn't think so. I would think it is similar. I think it's more personality and expectation that would make that difference.” (C-8, 6yr., 0ch.)

“I think it would be different, keep in mind that there are very few of us as women in the force right now. I would say that we don't see the reality the same way depending on the years of service, not whether they're men or women.” (C-10, 12yr., 0ch.)

Little effect on crime and lack of support by the criminal justice system

Men expect to make positive change in regards to crime, criminality and criminal behaviour in general when they enter the police service. They quickly realise as the years go by that they have little effect on crime rates. One of the causes they perceived for this situation is the criminal justice system which does not support the same crime control ideals and severe punishment approaches as them. This creates a great deal of frustration as they thought the criminal justice system was a law enforcement partner supporting the same ideals.

Results show no difference between men and women with this disillusion. All the women believed at their entry to the force that the criminal justice system would support them but are disillusioned by the fact that the criminal justice system does not hold the same goal of overall public safety. Women do not believe that there is a gender difference in opinion on this disillusion, and they are correct.

“Let's look at the Tatsis case right now that's going on, that's a perfect example of how the criminal justice system does not support what we're trying to do as law enforcement people and it's clear right, if you have money you can pay a lawyer Micheal Edelson, very expensive lawyer, one of the best, is the best in the city if not the country and he can get anybody off clear evidence shows that she was impaired, caused the accident, but because of a loophole or a glitch in the Charter you know that part of the evidence was

thrown out. Never mind that there's a victim that died, you know, never mind that a lot of lives were affected by this..." (C-6, 13yr., 4ch.)

"There was a lot of frustration. We were just working so hard at preventing crime or just getting the same people off the streets and then continuously being released and we ended up, honestly, we always dealt with the same people and the same family members, and then they had kids and then we would deal with them. You end up having a feeling after, because in the beginning you're not thinking about ideals...that's deep thinking, it's not thinking I had when I started. It's later on that it gets frustrating, you keep on getting called to the same houses all the time and there's nothing you can do about it and it's very time consuming work, especially domestics...even drinking and driving. The rules were starting to get very very strict for police officers where any little mistake would get them off and so there was a lot of frustration on that level" (C-7, 8yr., 1ch.)

"My eyes have totally been opened to the fact that the lack of support for police in general considering that we're working you would think for the same goal, it's insane. The focus for the criminal justice system...so much is given to the accused in my opinion and from what I've seen. If the police officer makes one mistake, it's like they come down so hard on them but the accused can get away with so much more and you'd think that the goal of the criminal justice system would be justice, would be to have somebody whose committed a criminal offence have them dealt with in whatever way that is suitable. It's not to punish somebody, it's to have them held accountable for what they've done and it doesn't seem that way... If there's a mistake done and even though they for sure committed the offence and that the judge knows that for sure they committed the offence, a couple mistakes by the crown's side or the police side could throw that case and they wouldn't get anything. And that's frustrating for police officers. You learn to just not care because if you cared you'd get really frustrated and if you get like that, then you wonder well what's the point of doing my job? What's the point of arresting this guy when you know that it's possible that in court they know he did the offence and he did the offence but he's just gonna get let go. That's frustrating." (C-8, 6yr., 0ch.)

Like this woman, the majority of women (7 out of 10) say that they do not remain frustrated with this situation. They learn how to stop actively involving themselves in the case and simply do what is asked of them which is to report their observations. They realise that they are merely a simple piece in a much larger puzzle. They finally accept it as it is and do not take it personally. The remaining women (3 out of 10) simply did not mention how they felt about this.

“Be honest, your job is to law enforce, your job is not to, you know, to trial the case, you can only say what you saw, you know, but in the end, you know, don’t expect, you know, the full arm of the law and that’s what they’re gonna get. And in reality, you know, that comes with experience. You get to realise that it’s not always gonna be that way and does it make you bitter, yea, does it make you cynical, absolutely, on this job. Does it stop you from doing your job? No. Because as long as you tell yourself that you’re a law enforcer not a law maker right, you have to draw that line and you can’t take it personally” (C-6, 13yr., 4ch.)

“No system is ever perfect and I think that because there’s such a gap between when you commit an offence to when you get punished that the whole message gets lost anyways. I mean humans we work on immediate consequence, everything is immediate and if the consequences aren’t immediate, they don’t get connected to what you did. It just doesn’t make sense, it doesn’t work. Frankly, I don’t care, and I can’t care. When I get to the courthouse, I have no more say. And when I get to the stand, I don’t get nervous because this is all I got, this is what I did, no I don’t remember that, I don’t know. So it’s not mine anymore.” (C-9, 6yr., 2ch.)

Critics and negative perceptions of the public

In the disillusion phase, the media’s perpetuation of the ideal crime fighter comes to frustrate the officer who is unable to measure up to these crime fighting personas and in turn feels for this reason they face undue criticism from the public due to their lack of power. Furthermore, the negative perceptions which certain members of the public hold of the police, along with their lack of cooperation and support, makes them stick to what they have been asked for, being less proactive to avoid criticism.

Findings on this issue for women are generally the same as those of men. 9 out of 10 women felt that the public did not understand their work and did not support them on a general basis. This created a great deal of frustration for women and they also expressed an ongoing feeling of resentment from the public in addition to a lack of appreciation. Disillusion at this

phase causes women to reduce the effort they put into proactive policing and no longer going out of their assigned duties for fear of being reprimanded.

The majority of women (8 out of 10) expressed that while they agree that the public does not support the police, they still feel that support is most often present when people are in need of the police for help. The reason for this situation, in their opinion, is that the public does not really understand what the function of police officers is therefore leading them to base their perception of the police on unrealistic television shows. Furthermore, there was a general consensus that the public focussed more on rare negative interventions rather than the regular positive community involvement.

« Quand on fait des mauvaises interventions pis on est jugé par la population, ça vient plus nous chercher. Mais la population, si elle passait une journée avec nous, elle aurait une toute autre vision du travail que juste de la répression. » (C-1, 12yr., 1ch.)

« Quand ils ont besoin d'aide, lorsqu'ils sont en état de crise puis qu'on arrive, ils nous voient comme des supers héros, pis le reste du temps ils sont capables de nous descendre...ca rend le travail dur des fois » (C-4, 12yr., 3ch.)

“Generally the public [...] care when they need us. But if they cared they'd be behind us all the time. When I get called a racist for pulling someone over, what the fuck? You want me to pull over an 80 year old grandma in Hetherington? Why? She's not the crack dealer you know what I mean? Great, now I can't pull over people that I need to pull over because people say I'm being racist” (C-9, 6yr., 2ch.)

“Like as if we're not human right, I'm actually shocked. We're so depersonalized you know, it's the uniform. People can't relate because they don't see what we see. They look at us differently. We're in the papers we're just a symbol for something else so that's different” (C-8, 6yr., 0ch.)

“When I became a police officer I thought people would be nice and supportive. Look at those drugs guys, the off duty cops who pulled over a car full of guns and drugs. That got thrown out of court because apparently it violated their rights. Imagine if people in Ottawa actually gave a shit. Those

cops in our city just got rid of 5 guns and 2 kilos of cocaine. They could be feeding that to my kids. Oh my God officer, good job. No instead they're like, those fuckers how dare they pull them over. They don't get it. No they don't support us, at all, and it can get frustrating sometimes you know. But you just learn not to give a shit." (C-9, 6yr., 2ch.)

Negative perceptions of management

Bad communication

Men feel that management does not facilitate the free flow of ideas to guide practices, solve problems and reciprocate positive reinforcement leaving them frustrated with their superiors and their careers.

The majority of women (7 out of 10) agreed with male officers that the management structure was conditionally supportive towards their ideas. The remaining 3 out of 10 believed that there was a disconnect between upper management's understanding of what patrol officers do and did not believe that there was a facilitation in the free flow of ideas. Women are left frustrated because they believed coming into the profession that they would be heard if they were to voice any concerns. This disappointment inadvertently causes women to reduce their proactive involvement in problem solving.

7 out of 10 women answered that the police management structure is a facilitator of ideas only if a good immediate supervisor/sergeant is involved. All 7 candidates strongly agree that the organization listens but may or may not do anything. The majority of women (7 out of 10) who had good superiors, in their point of view, expressed feelings of comfort and appreciation given that their supervisor/sergeant listened to what they had to say and acted appropriately. The

minority (3 out of 10) who had a bad supervisor/sergeant expressed feeling under-appreciated, under-valued and disconnected from their platoon.

6 out of 10 women testified that they were aggravated because upper management does not spend time on the road, and what they ask of patrol officers is often unrealistic and not practical from an operational perspective and is merely politically driven. The remaining 4 candidates either never brought an idea to upper management or believe that doing so would be futile in the grand scheme of things and therefore develop feelings of hopelessness towards communication with management.

« Sur la patrouille, tout dépendamment du boss que t'as, si t'a un boss qui a une vision de développement, qui a une vision, qui fait confiance à ses gens, ça va être facile, on va lui amener des idées, pi ça va se faire facile. Si t'a un boss qu'on appelle les dinosaures que c'est leur façon de faire, c'est comme ça que ça fonctionne, qui déroge pas de t'ça, c'est sûr que tu s'ras pas bien vu pi que tu vas être tassé pis que ça fonctionnera pas. » (C-1, 12yr., 1ch.)

“There's a very structured chain of command so you know I have to bring it to my sergeant who has to bring it to a staff sergeant who has to bring it to an inspector...you know and a lot of times they get diluted and there's a bunch of us, male and female, who would agree with this” (C-5, 13yr., 2ch.)

“I think management has fiscal responsibilities and core responsibilities, let's just say I wouldn't wanna be the chief. I'm sure he has really good intentions, he's caught between his members and politicians and I don't think he's given much choice in terms of what he really wants to do and what he has to do and at the end of the day, I don't think us here at the bottom are given an opportunity to tell him or them how we wanna see things although like to think they do that. They bring consultants in, we sit as a group, at the end of the day they're gonna do what they wanna do based on reality right, financial reality, political reality, what the climate is, pressure, and again their own personal agenda right and we don't have a choice once they bring it down to the bottom, that's how it is.” (C-6, 13yr., 4ch.)

“My experience has been that lower management I've always found people...my sergeants, I've had 3. Personally I feel that they've been extremely receptive, maybe it's me, maybe I've been lucky I'm not sure...they did try to help me out, help our platoon out, and they were very very...I have nothing but good things to say about my direct sergeants. The higher up you

go in the ladder, the more pressures they have from upper management and it gets more difficult but police officers rarely have direct contact with even a staff sergeant, I mean, if you're in a staff sergeants office something's wrong...But I was lucky to have a sergeant that listened. If what you were saying made sense they would actually talk to upper management and they would actually consider it and I have always been someone who's pretty open about my thoughts and things that might help and what not...I think it totally depended on who your direct sergeant was. And how they approached things you know as far as upper management and stuff like that my experience has been that it really depends on who your direct supervisor is. I feel that everyone feels this way. A lot of people had horrible sergeants. Men and women." (C-7, 8yr., 1ch.)

Feeling that their input and ideas are not valued, men expressed sentiments of subordination by their superiors whom they felt did not listen to their ideas. This ultimately creates a barrier in communication between the upper and lower ranks rupturing the development and implementation of ideas.

The great majority of women (9 out of 10) coped differently than men with this situation; they do not feel discouraged if their idea is not adopted. All women unanimously understand that there are important factors for upper management to consider prior to fully implementing an idea which ultimately keeps them from taking rejection personally and from developing feelings of resentment towards management like men do.

« c'est que sur la patrouille mon superviseur lui il écoutait mais est-ce que il transmettait, est ce qu'il transmettait, c'est une autre chose le bas vers le haut quand on n'est plus des joueurs actifs parce que nous autres c'est en voie hiérarchique. » (C-1, 12yr., 1ch.)

« Ben oui, j pense que au dessus de nous il peut y avoir de l'écoute, j pense qu'en général oui, mais c'est plus lourd après ça, c'est une grosse structure, c'est lourd, alors je sais pas, [...] il y a une écoute, mais ça vas-tu au-delà de l'écoute, ça c'est une autre histoire. » (C-2, 11yr., 1ch.)

« À la patrouille, ce qui vaut pour moi c'est l'équipe, le chef d'équipe, du chef d'équipe au lieutenant j pense que ça va. Mais j pense que rendu plus haut là, c'est carrément dans un autre monde. Donc, c'est un peu la même chose que

du bas vers le haut, j'pense que la communication peut être bonne pis à un moment donné ça se perd à mon avis. Pis ça aussi j'pense que c'est comme le jeu du téléphone, plus qu'il y a d'intermédiaires, plus ça fait qu'au bout de la ligne, ce que la base dit, [...] moi j'dis quelque chose à mon chef d'équipe, mon chef d'équipe le dit au lieutenant, le lieutenant le dit au capitaine le capitaine le dit à l'inspecteur pis l'inspecteur ben...à moment donné là y a trop d'intermédiaires mettons pour faire changer quelque chose là. » (C-3, 13yr., 2ch.)

“As I said, you have to go to your sergeant, and it depends if your sergeant is any decent or any good where those go from there. You know, it's so contingent upon individual personalities and no, what a pain in the ass is my idea on that. And I think everybody's got that idea [laughs]” (C-5, 13yr., 2ch.)

“I think again the top half of our service is politically driven and no matter what we see here on ground level and we try to tell upper management what's going on here, nothing is done until shit hits the fan. Unless it becomes front page, then it's driven, then they do something about it. Middle management is different because they're the ones still working with us, they see what's going on so I couldn't that part but I mean when you're talking senior officers like brass, no. I think it's completely politically driven, community driven, you know, the squeaky wheel gets the grease.” (C-6, 13yr., 4ch.)

“But a lot of the time, people at the bottom are angry, bitter, like they just...they're frustrated because maybe previously that wasn't open and I think maybe they just don't make the attempt anymore because from whatever reason, maybe several times they've tried and they've been shut down, I don't know, maybe it was for a good reason or a bad reason, but now attempts aren't there anymore. Personally I've brought things forward and I have had them heard and changes have been made. But I've put myself into that position to say those things. I've provided feedback on things and they've been changed. People listened. So I think it's there, maybe not for everything because there are some things that are kinda set in stone and they're not gonna budge, at a certain level they'll say no. It's a lot surrounding money. So it just depends on what it is for the most part but it's there. You're able to voice your concerns... Another thing, it depends on who are your sergeants and staff sergeants for our level it's the sergeants and for the sergeants. It's the staff sergeants and then inspectors and so on and so forth. It really depends on whether your sergeant's gonna listen or if he's just going to say fuck you, suck that. Me, personally, I've been lucky, I've had some really good sergeants and really good staff sergeant and so things that I've voiced, they've listened to and then they'll make their judgment.” (C-8, 6yr., 0ch.)

Complaint management

Men feel as if they hold little or no control over their profession because of the negative environment they work in. Men attribute this negative environment to the policing bureaucracy from where emerge internal investigations originating mainly from public complaints.

None of the ten candidates interviewed ever had personal involvement with complaints and therefore could not comment. The majority of women (8 out of 10) answered based on what they have heard or speculated, that internal investigations were properly managed. 1 out of 10 candidates stated that she was not sure and could not answer the question. The other 1 out the 10 candidates felt that complain management was not properly managed. Women say that there are no gender based differences on the opinions of officers with respect to this topic. With that being said, candidates generally mentioned that although there are no gender differences, people who did undergo an investigation would most likely feel negatively about them.

“I don’t really have an opinion because I don’t know. Well now I have gone through a couple complaints that have gone to PSB [Police Services Board] they come to see me and you know we discuss it, those aren’t complaints like theft or... the people just weren’t happy with the outcome of the investigation.” (C-5, 13yr., 2ch.)

“ I’ll be honest with you, that’s a hard question for me to answer because in my time on the force I’ve never had a public complaint...but I can only speak for friends and colleagues who have been through that process and a close friend of mine now is being investigated and I think again that situation is as a result of ... as a result of community pressure and I think also because the service as much as they like to think that they’re open to all cultures, I think they don’t understand all cultures. Do you know what I mean?” (C-6, 13yr., 4ch.)

“A lot of people get frustrated with internal investigations. I think there’s a huge need for it. I think that no one’s perfect, people make mistakes, some people intentionally and some people unintentionally. It’s the people that make them intentionally or the people that make poor decisions intentionally

that needs to be dealt with. I think that it's managed well, but I don't have a lot of experience with it. I don't have any. I've had one SIU [Special Investigations Unit] complaint and it was minor and it was complete and it was gone it was fine. It was dealt with fine. I think there was a lot of support for us on that. The right support was given and it was given quickly and there was no issues. I found it as a positive experience. Our membership was supportive. I think complaints in general are managed well whether it's PSB, PSS, or SIU. Many internal complaints don't even make it to PSS. Instead they go to our staff sergeants and they talk to us if they feel that it's relevant and they'll give us an opportunity to explain it and then if it's a further issue then they forward it up which is their process right and I think it's reasonable. If you do your job, you're going to get complaints and that's just part of it. You're dealing with so many people. Not everybody's gonna like you, you're arresting people, you're telling people that they can't do things that they wanna do. It's how you do it. If you're an asshole to people all the time when you don't need to be an asshole well you're gonna get complaints or in trouble. I think that it's managed fairly well. I've seen certain people that should not have had complaints and others that should have had complaints it just depends on how you are as a police officer.” (C-8, 6yr., 0ch.)

“I do think that most of the complaints, the people in there know, this is fuckin' bullshit. If I'm wrong, I will apologize. But if I'm not wrong, I'm not wrong, I'm not gonna apologize, you can kiss my fuckin' ass. Fuckin' sue me, I don't care, he's not getting a sorry. These frivolous complaints have always been dealt with well. This is part of a bigger thing that the chief is doing, that we're holding our people accountable.” (C-9, 6yr., 2ch.)

Inappropriate task management

Lack of objectives

Men feel that they are overwhelmed with tasks, many of which are unorganized.

Furthermore, the reason behind why these tasks are required of them is rarely clearly defined.

The absence of practical objectives to these tasks leads them to view assignments as chaotic.

Conversely, women unanimously agree that the tasks they have to complete are indeed appropriate with respect to the objectives of policing. Women did not show any signs of

disappointment or frustration with this and instead saw it as a positive part of the job. While women express annoyance with certain tasks, they never expressed that they felt these tasks were not in line with the overarching goal of public safety.

« Les tâches qu'on a à accomplir, ça va tout le temps dans le sens du maintien de l'ordre, j pense que oui. C'est sûr qu'il y a de grandes lignes de tracées, mais quand tu travailles par exemple comme patrouilleur, quand t'es sur la route, c'est toi qui fais ta journée aussi là. C'est sûr des fois y a des assignations spécifiques, mais en général, c'est toi qui fais ta journée, pis oui j pense qu'on y va toute dans le même sens, dans ce sens là. » (C-2, 11yr., 1ch.)

“At the end of the day, regardless of where you work, you're still a law enforcer, you're a police officer, so each section that you work in is task specific right so every section I've worked in has been reasonable, I guess worked towards what the mandate is for that section.” (C-6, 13yr., 4ch.)

“I think paperwork from day 1, from the academy, from my years with police technology, I was aware that paperwork would be a very very big part of my life, so maybe that affected my whole perception of it. I was never tasked with anything. [...] It's very rare that we will be tasked with anything except with RIDE programs which were organized things that we needed to do. We didn't even have a set number of tickets to give, that's complete fiction. We went out there, we had to answer calls, but the work we did was self-created. A good cop created their own work.” (C-7, 8yr., 1ch.)

“To me, that's my job, every task that you do, when someone's arrested, I would take out a kit that I had, and in there I had 6 sheets of paper that I had to fill, and to me that was my job, it wasn't a task, and I was always happy when I took a drunk driver off the road, I didn't see it as a task, I saw it as my job.” (C-7, 8yr., 1ch.)

“This is kinda like 50/50. Some of it yes. I would say most of the things we do in a regular day. 60% of the stuff we do, yes. But there's a good 40% off stuff, it's like I'm a babysitter right now [...] and stuff like that is frustrating. The majority of the stuff is police stuff whether minor or more serious.” (C-8, 6yr., 0ch.)

“Obviously your charges, your notes, your briefs, those are more than reasonable. But then, there's some other stuff that are like pet peeves and I will not do them. I don't do warrants. They're stupid.” (C-9, 6yr., 2ch.)

Difficulties of shift work and long hours

Without really understanding the importance of their tasks to the overall benefit of the organization and public, men face great difficulties dealing with shift work and long hours which in turn affect their health, well-being and family.

Conversely, the majority of women (9 out of 10) agree that the distribution of hours and work is appropriate and properly managed. With that being said, even though women express that they very much like their shift arrangements and hours of work, the majority of women (6 out of 10) mentioned that at times shifts, long hours, and overtime can become difficult if a woman has children.

« J' pense que oui là, c'est sûr qu'à la patrouille, t'as pas le choix là. Je sais pas comment ils pourraient arranger ça sur la patrouille. Moi j'ai jamais eu de problèmes sur l'horaire et les shifts, la seule chose que quelqu'un pourrait trouver ça plate, c'est quelqu'un qui a des enfants, c'est quelqu'un comme moi. C'est sûr que ça, on n'a pas la possibilité et aucun corps de police offre la possibilité de faire du travail à temps partiel. [...] L'idéal pour une femme dans la police, je pense que toutes les femmes qui ont des enfants à moins qu'elles soient des carriéristes parce que y a des femmes qui sont carriéristes dans police pis c'est ben correct pour eux autres, moi j'suis pas carriériste, j'veux rien savoir de tout ça, mais souvent que tu vas entendre que câline, si j'travaillais 3 jours par semaine, me semble que j'aurais plus de temps avec mon enfant. [...] Les femmes c'est sûr qui vont te dire ce que je t'ai dit par rapport au temps partiel, c'est sûr qu'un homme va pas te dire ça. Mon opinion là c'est par rapport aux femmes à la patrouille. » (C-3, 13yr., 2ch.)

*« C'est difficile de travailler de jour, de soir, de nuit. Le sommeil, le dîner, le souper, on saute des repas, les enfants, avec la gestion familiale à travers tout ça, c'est pas évident donc moi j'suis restée deux ans sur des shifts alors que, ***** et *****, mes enfants, étaient très jeunes donc le sommeil était très rare. Je dormais difficilement sur une oreille, j'me faisais réveiller la fin de semaine quand je devais dormir même si on mettait des règles, c'était difficile à respecter, pis on arrive au travail on est ok, mais après quatre nuits là... quand on tombe en séjour de congé par la suite, c'est pas rare qu'on est malade parce qu'on a manqué de sommeil. On travaille les nuits, on est à l'envers de tout le monde, le système est à l'envers. Les repas*

et tout ça change, tu sais plus quand tu déjeunes [...] T'as pas de vie, quand tu te lèves le soir, ben t'es comme un zombie, tu te couches épuisée, tu te lèves fatiguée, ça c'est quand on fait pas «d'overtime» et quand on fait pas de comparutions le matin, ou quand y en a pas un qui call le matin parce qu'il est malade puis qu'on continue le matin. Ça, c'est pas rare non plus quand on travaille les nuits de rentrer à 19 heures plutôt qu'à 3 heures. Donc les nuits sont pas mal écourtées. Ça fait trois ans que j'en fais plus, puis c'est ben correct comme ça. » (C-4, 12yr., 3ch.)

“The shift work schedule for the police service is one of the best schedules in the Province. It is a good balance for family life of officers considering we are an essential emergency service.” (C-6, 13yr., 4ch.)

“My mindset when I entered the police force I expected obviously shift work. It became more and more difficult as I got older and I had a lot of court on my days off which sucked but it's hard to have an opinion on something I totally expected would happen. I would have died doing a 8 to 5, I mean that's the sole purpose why I became a cop, I wasn't looking for the 8 to 5, sitting behind a desk, sort of job.” (C-7, 8yr., 1ch.)

“To be honest, I love our shift schedule, it's a good schedule, it's dealt with really well. The only thing is I think the expectation in terms of overtime and court is a little bit hard on patrol when it's on your days off. If you're on your days off and you've got court for 2 days or the day you're working and you've got court, they still expect you to go to work and to work your shift. You get over time for your time in court and whatever but it's just taxing on you to be up for such a long amount of time and not have any rest. You could work 24 hours. You work a shift, then you're expected to go to court in the morning. So I would have worked all last night and I'm expected to be here all day today and that's just standard. People's personal lives need to be given some credit too and sometimes, I don't think that they think about police officers as having personal lives. That can create some complaints that come forward. It can cause issues like police officers dying or whatever because not enough focus is put on things that make their life a positive place. I think that should be addressed in terms of work/life balance. They always say there needs to be a work/life balance we promote a work/life balance. So I think our shifts are great, I think they're fantastic.” (C-8, 6yr., 0ch.)

“I think it's more taxing on women because you have that maternal instinct so if you wanna be home with your children, it's gonna be even worse. It's a potential idea put in women's mind why they would leave the job because of that. If they're not getting to spend the time with their kids and that's very important, which it is. It's important to men, but it's even more important for women. So when you have that family that becomes a serious issue, and I know women who have turned down like raises and promotions because of

those issues. If they're gonna have to spend less time with their kids they're not gonna take that even if it involves a pay increase or whatever, it's not worth it to them to have that because they're going to lose precious time with their kids. So in that sense yes, probably yes, for women it would be more of an issue than men. I'm sure men miss their kids too and whatever but yea, I think it's more taxing that way for women with children. Me personally, when I'll have kids it's going to be an issue but right now, it's not an issue because I don't have kids and my boyfriend does all the housework for me [laughs]. You really need to balance all that or else it causes a lot of stress.” (C-8, 6yr., 0ch.)

“My coworkers get home and get to sleep a few hours and then their kids wake them and then their wives get upset cuz they're still sleeping, you know what I mean. That's not hard for me because I get that time, people with families don't. On afternoon shifts it creates a nice harmony because I sleep for 5 hours and then do stuff for the remaining 5 hours and relax, have a beer, jump in the hot tub, go back to bed or whatever you know. There's nobody here going mom mom mom mom, so it's easier sleep wise.” (C-9, 6yr., 2ch.)

“Absolutely. I mean you gotta expect that you always know what time you start but you never know what time you finish, that has to be expected as a police officer. Management are there so that after a certain amount of hours, they'll cut you loose.” (C-10, 12yr., 0ch.)

Random patrols and routine

For men, random patrols and responses to calls for service generate a great deal of boredom and tedium as a result of idleness, and a lack of interest caused by routine. Ultimately, an officer who is overworked develops feelings of exhaustion, whereas one who is underworked engenders feelings of undervalue making a perfect balance hard for male officers to find.

In contrast, random patrols are very much enjoyed by women. Women unanimously stated that random patrols is the best part of their job and that they love the independence it brings along with it. Women embrace the freedom random patrols give them and repeatedly stated enjoying being able to create work for themselves.

« Ouais, j'aime ça planifier mon temps. Pis si vous voulez vraiment cibler des zones, disons quand c'est les heures scolaires, ben c'est le fun de suivre les autobus scolaires. Exemple, j'aime planifier mes choses, j'suis une personne plus autonome, mais ça c'est moi. Me faire dire quoi faire, si c'est logique c'est correct, mais si c'est pas logique, ça j'aime pas ça. J'suis capable de défendre mon point de vue en disant 'ça fait pas de bon sens ce que tu vas me faire faire là' » (C-1, 12yr., 1ch.)

« J'faisais pas mal tout ce que j'voulais faire quand j'le voulais. Si on avait rien à faire, ben y'en a qui faisaient plus de sécurité routière, d'autres du communautaire. La patrouille au hasard, c'est correct. Dans police là, si t'as pas d'appels pis si tu ne fais pas du radar ou des choses de type sécurité routière, pis t'aime pas faire des affaires communautaires, t'es tout seul dans ton auto dans le jour, donc si ça te tente de te parker et attendre que le temps passe, ben tu peux le faire. Si c'est au hasard, ben tu ramènes ce que tu veux ramener. Moi, personnellement, on faisait ce qu'on voulait. » (C-3, 13yr., 2ch.)

« Lorsqu'on est maître de son horaire, ben c'est sûr que j'aimais ça planifier ma propre journée. Je pouvais aller le matin travailler proche des écoles pour surveiller les infractions routières autour des écoles [...]. Puis ensuite, j'pouvais faire un radar puis faire la rédaction plus tard. J'ai toujours aimé ça gérer moi-même ce que je voulais faire de mon dix heures, c'est super. » (C-4, 12yr., 3ch.)

“Yes. I love the freedom of being up here. I love being able to drive around and you know up here, we're pretty unsupervised, we don't have a lot of meddling into what we do. You know, you just grab your keys and leave and go drive around wherever you want, I love it. I don't know anything else but random patrols.” (C-5, 13yr., 2ch.)

“That's a no brainer, that's part of the job, yea, I love it, and that's the only way. I mean, if there's down time that's what we do and your body, your muscle memory all goes back to random patrol, if you're not going to a call if you're not specifically doing something, random patrol's the default. Drive around, you know, stop cars, run plates you know, that's random patrol.” (C-6, 13yr., 4ch.)

“It's why I became a cop. I did enjoy doing my own thing and creating my own work and having the liberty to chill and do the personal errand from time to time. [laughs] Everyone did it.” (C-7, 8yr., 1ch.)

Contrary to men, women unanimously feel strongly that there is no routine in their job as patrol officers. Furthermore, women also unanimously express loving the fact that routine is non-existent in their career and that it is the big reason why they chose to become police officers in the first place.

« Ben y'en a pas de routine là, t'es dans un milieu ou t'as pas de routine. Tu sais à quelle heure tu pars le matin, tu sais à quelle heure tu commences, tu sais jamais à quelle heure tu vas rentrer, tu sais jamais où ce que tu vas être, tu sais jamais à quelle heure tu vas manger, est ce que tu vas manger? Tu le sais pas ça, [...] t'as pas de routine, c'est le métier où t'as le moins de routine, sur la patrouille. » (C-1, 12yr., 1ch.)

« Patrouilleur, c'est sûr qu'il n'y en a pas de routine. Parce que tu sais jamais à quoi t'attendre dans une journée. Ça se peut que tu reçois aucun appel ou plusieurs et pis que tu ne peux pas dîner. Donc c'est sûr de ce côté-là, quelqu'un qui n'aime pas la routine, ben c'est sûr qu'il va être satisfait dans ce travail là. » (C-3, 13yr., 2ch.)

« Ya aucune routine dans mon travail, j'adore ce que je fais. Pis j'aime le stress qu'on peut avoir à vivre dans certains appels. Le fait qu'on va être déstabilisés, j'aime ça. Faire une perquisition une journée et une autre journée être en opération, en observation sur un lieu où on va faire des achats de dope, faire du double les journées d'après puis travailler dans les écoles le lendemain, dans des écoles qui ont intimidé, par exemple. De jamais à avoir à faire la même chose. Les gens habituellement qui vont choisir ce métier-là, c'est parce que c'est loin d'être routinier, c'est passionnant, on sait jamais ce qu'on va vivre au travail quand on arrive le matin. J pense que le fait que c'est pas routinier fait qu'on va s'enligner vers ce métier-là. La personne qui aime sa routine n'ira pas dans la police. » (C-4, 12yr., 3ch.)

“There's not a lot of routine in the job, other than you show up at 7 and you know, get keys and do whatever you need to do. I picked this job because it's not routine, you get new stuff every day.” (C-5, 13yr., 2ch.)

“There is no routine in this job, that's why I wanted to do this job. Unless you get an admin job but I've never had one, but everybody's different you know so there is no routine in policing. I think that's what attracts people to this job, not every day is the same so that question doesn't really really...you ask police officers, what's routine, they'll say I don't understand what that means cuz it's not routine right.” (C-6, 13yr., 4ch.)

“I don’t know what you mean by routine. I can’t say that two days would be the same. I like that it’s different, you never knew what to expect, I liked that aspect of it, it’s another reason why I became a police officer.” (C-7, 8yr., 1ch.)

“But in terms of daily routine on the road there’s nothing. It’s kinda fly by the seat of your pants and you go to the calls that you have. There’s routine in terms of procedure like if something happens there’s a procedure to follow for certain calls or whatever. But for the most part, it’s not a routine job and that’s what people like about it, it’s that you do whatever you gotta do. If I wanna go do traffic, I go do traffic. If I have court, I have court. There’s no set work duties or work schedule.” (C-8, 6yr., 0ch.)

“When I come in, I like to know that ok at this time I grab my stuff, at this time I hit the road, at this time I get my coffee in the morning. But nothing else is really routine during the day except I know when I start, I know when I’m having my first coffee, cuz unless you’re dying, I’m having a coffee, everything else can wait.” (C-9, 6yr., 2ch.)

“I can’t really say we have routine because we’re constantly changing, moving, being transferred and having access to new opportunities. So I don’t think it’s a routine job at all. In all my years of service, I’ve done several jobs and I can’t say that I’ve had a routine and anyone who says that they have a routine, they must be doing something wrong because it’s not a routine job that we have.” (C-10, 12yr., 0ch.)

Lack of promotions

Their importance

Men place significant importance on promotions within policing where rank signifies one’s standing and credibility as a law enforcer. They define their value, success and their self-worth on the rank they carry.

Women, in our interviews, do not place any importance whatsoever on promotions. The majority of women (9 out of 10) see them as a career option more than a necessity or an end goal. Furthermore, women understand and value a good work-life balance which is why many

chose their families over a promotion over and over again. Also, the majority (9 out of 10) are strongly disinterested in the administrative work attached to many promotions and prefer staying on the road where they can connect directly to the public and feel free to choose their work.

« Une promotion exige du temps, exige de la disponibilité, et la disponibilité j'en ai pas tant que ça avec les enfants. Quand les enfants vont être plus vieux, peut-être, mais là, pour l'instant, ma carrière je la mets un peu de côté pour ma famille. Disons qu'il y a des femmes que leur carrière c'est très important et ça je respecte ça au bout mais c'que je vois là, c'est des femmes qui ont pas d'enfants. [...] Un homme qui va vouloir une carrière va la faire enfant, pas enfant, il va graduer il va être promu plus rapidement qu'une fille. Il n'aura pas la contrainte j'pense familiale pis il n'y pas ce p'tit complexe là. Les hommes sont bien vus parce que les hommes font plus du TS [temps supplémentaire], ils se donnent beaucoup, ils font des interventions à haut risques. Nous autres, on a plus la petite crainte qu'il faut que je revienne le soir parce que j'ai des enfants à la maison. [...] avant d'avoir des enfants on est beaucoup plus téméraire, on va pousser des interventions beaucoup plus loin, on va aller dans les ruelles noires et sombres pour aller puncher quelqu'un, pas d'enfant. Avec des enfants, tu te donnes une minute là. «C'est tu correct d'y aller?» T'sais, tu vas te poser plus de questions. J'dois revenir le soir. Il y a plus de sentiments. Là, tu vois ça, l'intervention en véhicule, pas d'enfant, tu roules 140, 160, ça va ben la vie! [rires] Quand t'as des enfants tu dis m'a rouler 120, j'vas juste arriver 5 secondes plus tard, t'es plus rationnelle, je pense, tu dis wow wow wow, attends, tu te questionnes plus, tandis qu'un homme j'suis pas sûr qu'il se pose les mêmes questions que ça là dans ses interventions. » (C-1, 12yr., 1ch.)

« La police c'est beaucoup de stats, c'est beaucoup performance, fais que si tu fais pas de TS, t'es pas disponible, tu fais pas d'interventions hauts risques, t'es peut être moins une personne cible à être vue aux promotions dans une équipe d'enquête, fait que tout ton chemin dès que tu as des enfants c'est, c'est [pause] c'est un choix ben si tu vas dans des promotions où c'est une équipe d'enquête ou qu'ils ont des frappes à faire, du haut risque à faire, des interventions à faire, je pense que les femmes avant de rentrer là, faut qu'ils savent leur stuff en tabarouette. Il y a des équipes d'enquête qu'il n'y a pas de femmes qui sont là. Mais pour ce qui est des promotions au niveau administratif, c'est plus facile pour une femme. Ben pas plus facile femme homme mais pour une femme d'avoir une promotion côté administratif, c'est plus facile que du côté opérationnel. [...] c'est une question de disponibilité. (C-1, 12yr., 1ch.)

“I don’t, and mostly because here you might...once you get to be sergeant there’s a lot more work for not a lot more money like 8 to 10 thousand dollars more and you get a lot more work and it’s a lot more administrative and I’m not interested in administrative. I’m happy where I am, I will retire here if I can. I don’t particularly care about promotion.” (C-5, 13yr., 2ch.)

“I never really thought about being promoted you know and...but only because I was enjoying what I was doing because the higher you go the less choices you have on where to go. I’ve been a police officer 13 years and I haven’t done my exam because I was happy with what I was doing, you know. That’s just my personal opinion because I’m not driven that way, that’s not what drives me right, wearing chevrons on your shoulders isn’t something that drives me.” (C-6, 13yr., 4ch.)

“This is an awesome job but I’ve got two kids at home and I’ve got a home I love, I fuckin’ love my home. If I get promoted it wouldn’t work. But for what? So that I don’t get to see my kids and dig my garden and invite people over for dinner? There’s no rhyme or reason to it. Are they going to put that on my grave stone? She was a really hard worker and she was super dooper inspector fuckin’ whatever. No. And then you get all this money and then what? Here you go kids, go entertain yourself. No, we’re going camping, we’re going out west. I know my schedule, I know my patrol schedule. If I get onto IDENT, yea the money’s good but no, being a mom is more important to me. My kids come first and they know when they don’t. My kids still talk about when I went to police college. They said I was gone for very long. They don’t want me to leave them again you know. If I fail as a mother, I would have failed as a human being because I chose to have kids. That’s my job. That is my job. This is an income.” (C-9, 6yr., 2ch.)

“For me I prefer to be at the rank that I’m at just because it gives me the flexibility to move just about anywhere across the city doing any opening that there is. You start to go up in rank and becoming transferred become less and less because you become a bit of a pen pusher and that’s what happens when you’re in management where you have to oversee people.” (C-10, 12yr., 0ch.)

Denial of a promotion

The denial of a promotion or upward mobility within the organization creates considerable disappointment in men. Men who have been refused a promotion tend to have a

decreased level of motivation and initiative in their work, particularly among the most educated ones as they tend to have greater expectations and aspirations.

The majority of women (7 out of 10) expressed that a denial in promotion did not affect their motivation as police officers. Women repeatedly stated that they did not take this denial personally because the bulk of the process is sometimes unfair and largely out of their control and the successful candidate is often targeted long before the process begins. Furthermore, women mentioned that they felt their male counterparts take this denial much harder than women.

The remaining women (3 out of 10) never applied for a promotion and expressed having no intention of doing so in the future for the reasons mentioned in the previous section.

« On s'essaie des fois pour des promotions des fois, on sait qu'on est pas nécessairement la mieux placée pour l'avoir. Ça m'a pas affecté mais je suis certaine que quelqu'un qui veut faire une promotion puis qu'il se fait casser en raison de son sexe, ça peut être démotivant, en raison ils te veulent pas parce qu'ils veulent l'autre à côté. Ça se fait continuellement là. Ils ciblent des personnes pis tu les mets en entrevue pareil, pis ils te font échouer ton entrevue fais que tu ne passes pas. [...] tu sais que t'es qualifié, tu sais que tu serais capable de faire la job, tu sais que t'es meilleur que l'autre, mais ils te jugent vraiment parce que t'es pas dans les bonnes grâces des gestionnaires en place, tu te fais casser. Ça, ça me fais de quoi. » (C-1, 12yr., 1ch.)

« Ça m'est déjà arrivé que j'ai passé une entrevue pour une promotion pis ça n'a pas fonctionné. [...] Ça n'a pas affecté ma motivation, pas du tout. J'me remettais pas en question par rapport à ça. J'savais c'était quoi les raisons pour lesquelles j'avais pas été retenue pis c'est pas ça qui m'a découragée. » (C-2, 11yr., 1ch.)

“Personally, it's never affected me. I've applied for becoming a breath tech but there were very few things that were available out there. It didn't affect my motivation. I know for a fact that I didn't get that position because I was a female. They offered to be the sexual assault liaison officer which was really insulting because I wasn't interested at all in doing that. The guy that got it had 3 years less experience than me. But it didn't affect my motivation.” (C-7, 8yr., 1ch.)

“I think that men take denial a lot more severely than women just because of the pride, I think, it’s ego. Men have a bigger ego, especially police officers. The type of personality and stuff. They’re being rejected and they take a big hit. Whether it’s personality issues with whoever their interviewer was or if you don’t have enough courses or you can’t take it or you didn’t do well whether it’s your ego or your manhood it still affects men more than women because women are not as brute force or egotistical.” (C-8, 6yr., 0ch.)

“I think that men take it terribly, fuckin’ terribly. They get angry, they get bitter, they fuckin’ blame everybody else. Generally, from what I’ve seen. It’s not about being sexist, it’s about who you know, it’s about who you play hockey with, it’s about who you drink with.” (C-9, 6yr., 2ch.)

Chapter 4

Analysis

As previously mentioned in Chapter 1, the literature on women founding our hypothesis shows distinct differences on occupational expectations at work, work/family balance and promotional aspirations. These differences have given us reason to believe that in policing, women experience their disillusion phase differently than men.

Expectations and realities of the practices

Our data shows that women are not deceived as men are by the lack of action in the profession. In fact, women find policing to be a job of action and they are satisfied with it. Furthermore, while men attempt to idealize the police superhero image which society perpetuates, women on the other hand do not internalize this idea and simply aim to serve and protect the public. It is important to mention that when women decide to have children, they will in fact try to avoid conflict situations and take fewer chances when faced with high risk situations because arriving home to their family becomes a major priority in their lives. This is not to say that men do not prioritize their family, but rather that women will allow their family and domestic responsibilities to shape the daily and hourly decisions they make on the job.

Our hypothesis was confirmed here because different expectations at work and work/family priorities with women show that they are not disillusioned by the lack of action on the job.

For the lack of support by the criminal justice system, women feel the same disillusion as men but are not affected the same way. The data shows that women strongly agree with their male counterparts that the criminal justice system have their own agenda and their own mandates which do not correspond with the ideals of policing. Where men become increasingly frustrated

with this and consequently diminish their motivation about interventions and proactive policing, women incorporate this reality of their work, understanding that their job is a mere part of a larger system of actions and reactions to crime and criminality and that in the grand scheme of things, their arrest is insignificant. When court proceedings are initiated, women, contrary to men, disconnect themselves from the case and simply report their findings without feeling frustrated as to the outcome of the action. Women do not allow themselves to be stressed or emotionally drained by these court proceedings because they understand that once the matter is in court, the outcome is out of their hands.

These findings also confirm our hypothesis because although women are disillusioned similarly as men with regards to the criminal justice system, they are not affected the same way because to women, policing is a job that makes a living and they accept the reality of the job as it is and cope with it.

Similarly, men in this second phase of their career strongly feel that the public does not understand their job, its difficulties, the hardships that come along with it and the overwhelming reaction of the public in response to an officer's abuse of power. Consequently, men become frustrated as a result of the aforementioned. Women agree with this perception but cope with it differently. Women are not oblivious to the fact that there are many members of the public who do indeed support their work, their help and their presence in the community. They do not generalize this situation to all members of the community. Where women show more frustration is in the fact that while they are seen as positive role models and community helpers by many members of the public, the media never portrays the good and the difference police officers make in people's lives on a regular basis. Instead, they focus on rare isolated incidents that make not

one, but all officers look mistrustful. It is how they explain the public distrust many times in police work.

This also confirms our hypothesis, in the sense that in their expectation at work, the projection of their profession in the community is less important than what they feel they are doing in their daily routine. Furthermore, women feel they do some good and they see the people who appreciate it, even if it is not all of them.

Negative Perceptions of management

The findings of this research demonstrate that women are affected just as negatively as men by the limited flow of ideas and communication which are not facilitated by the police management structure. The women interviewed explained that the policing structure, in their view, is split in two between management and patrol officers. They explain that both divisions have very different jobs and therefore very different concerns which the other division might not consider important. Managing officers may find fiscal responsibilities to be far more important than the operational responsibilities of road officers and vice versa. As a result, we can conclude that the free flow of ideas is limited as a result of uneven power distribution within the organization because those with the power ultimately do what is best for them. This situation generates frustration with men.

The women interviewed confirm this negative image. They find the policing organization will solicit its members' views and opinions so as to appear as if they are engaging with patrol officers in order to create a better work environment. But ultimately, nothing is done. In the end, the managing division of the policing organization will do what they want, no matter what the

concerns of the members are therefore not guiding practices, solving problems and reciprocating positive reinforcement.

Not only do women live the same disillusion, they also feel the same way with respect to the limited communication and the difficulty of changing something from within. But in their expectations at work, women place great importance on day to day interactions with their immediate authority (sergeant/supervisor) for support. In the interviews, the women mention that even if they recognize this situation, they quickly place this issue on the relationship with their sergeant/supervisor, who will (or not) do the best they can in regard to the situation. It is this relationship with the supervisor that is the most important. Women stated that a good supervisor has a large role to play in positively reducing a patrol officer's frustration and occupational stress whereas a bad supervisor would have the reverse effect. Trust building between patrol officers and their supervisors will enable them to feel that their problems are being brought up the ranks and addressed. On the other hand, a bad supervisor often creates a barrier in communication therefore forming an "us" versus "them" mentality.

The data confirms our hypothesis. In their expectations at work, women put more importance on the work climate, and their immediate supervisor is the one most important in this atmosphere. If they feel that their sergeant/supervisor is doing the best they can to support them, they are ultimately satisfied, despite what the higher ranking officials will do in the end. Their frustration will increase only if they feel they are not able to communicate or are not supported by this supervisor/sergeant. If this is the case, they, along with men, will develop an "us" versus "them" mentality contributing to occupational stress.

In the disillusion phase, police officers are also frustrated by upper management who make them carry out orders without any proper explanation or reason. Women feel controlled

and helpless to the politically driven wishes of upper management because these orders are rarely founded with reason and operational applicability, therefore making it increasingly hard for patrol officers to apply them on the road. At this point, we did not observe any difference with men.

With respect to the frustration created by the internal investigation process, no women in this research underwent formal investigations by the Special Investigations Unit but nevertheless commented extensively on the topic using hearsay discussions from other officers. Women explained that officers who underwent investigations for whatever reason often returned to work frustrated and unmotivated. Many feel betrayed by the organization which they had sworn to serve for in the interest of the public. Upon an officer's completed investigation, they often return with high distrust and resentment towards the organization. This is ultimately noticeable in their attitude and further reflected in their work. Women testified that this change in attitude of one person brings the entire morale of the team, or the platoon, down. More things will be missed and duties not properly completed therefore burdening the other members of the platoon to carry-out the uncompleted work.

It is important to mention here that the women did not express themselves based on their own feelings on this issue and therefore we cannot know what their feelings would be if they were faced with a public complaint coming from the public. The only thing they comment on which fits in our hypothesis is the fact that the officers who underwent the process negatively affected the work environment. This in turn significantly bothers women because they place a great deal of importance on their work atmosphere.

Inappropriate tasks management

This research shows that women, unlike their male counterparts, enjoy the lack of structure when dealing with their day to day tasks. This research finds that women want to be masters of their own work and therefore prefer to manage their own time and their own work schedule throughout the day by developing a personal routine. Furthermore, the women in this research unanimously stated that they did not need a justification from upper management for every tasks assigned to them because unlike men, women perceive that each and every tasks, big or small, is linked to the overarching goal of law enforcement and public safety, and is consequently important. With that being said, although women may not enjoy completing all tasks, some of which they believe can be delegated to other agencies, they nevertheless appreciate that in the grand scheme of things they are all part of the job and they ultimately understand the usefulness behind them on a large scale.

These findings confirm our hypothesis. Unlike men, women have a perception that all tasks, big or small, contribute to the undertaking of the overarching goals of policing. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that although women may not be in agreement with certain tasks, they prefer to complete them at their own pace and would rather not be micro-managed or directed as much as their male counterparts would.

More specific to shift work, many testified knowing, prior to their entry into policing, that it would be difficult and taxing on the body. Regardless, with all of this taken into consideration, the women still expressed enjoying shift work. It is important to note that the majority of women, whether they had children or not, stated that shift work is much harder on women who have children. Women who have children, and others who witnessed women at

work who had children, all stated that due to their need to be at home with their children, especially at night, shift work can cause some issues among police mothers.

Only a minority of women expressed on the record how difficult the job can become if one has children and no supportive partner. The majority of women expressed their views on this post-interview and discussed the matter with the researcher off the record as many of the situations the police mothers are or were going through were highly sensitive. Off the record, many explained the difficulties of being a mother in law enforcement and having to leave their children at night or be unable to attend their extracurricular activities due to work schedule conflicts. Furthermore, many explained that if they do not have a supportive partner who understands the difficulties of the job, they often become faced with more, if not all, of the domestic duties which in turn reduce the amount of sleep they get on their time off. To make things worse, the women explained that this lack of sleep or constant destabilization in sleeping patterns affects their immune system causing them to fall ill on their days off. Many women expressed that lack of moral and physical support from their partners in dealing with childcare and the majority of domestic duties contributed to the failure of their marriage. Regardless of the above, these mothers still expressed great enjoyment and understanding in the shift work rotations assigned to them. With that being said, this frustration is probably felt of all the women working shift hours, and therefore not limited to the institution of policing.

These findings confirm our hypothesis that work/family issues affect women differently than men and consequently generate more stress. But their discourse is not embedded with disillusion about policing. They accept that they have a greater role than men in the family unit and that this is a woman's social situation. Only off the record did some women show some frustration with regards to the fact that they have to do more domestic and care giving work in

the home. With that said, it is important to note that this frustration is not directed towards their careers as police officers, but rather against their partner/husband at home.

Another interesting finding, which remains to be explored, is the fact that women, many times, after different questions, expressed that the reason why they do not find boredom in their work is mainly because they have the privilege of creating their own work. This leads us to questions if the reason for this feeling can be tied to the fact previously mentioned off the record. If at home their time is highly structured and routine because of domestic duties and care of children due to their partner not taking on their fair share of the work (or women not letting them take it), going on hazardous patrol becomes free time where they make their own decisions. Repetitively, women stated how much they enjoy managing their own time on the patrol. They stated that officers grow tired or bored of the profession because they practice too much reactive policing and simply wait for calls for service, instead of taking part in proactive measures. This freedom to be proactive is really important in their view because it enables them to be masters of their work.

The majority of women interviewed in this research did not understand at first what I meant by random patrols and routine because they interpreted all of their work to be random and unstructured, but not a routine job. The women unanimously expressed that the best part of their job, and the main reason why they chose policing as a profession, was because their work had no routine. The hypothesis we make is that men find the random patrols a routine job, because their point of comparison is an action packed job. Women do not find random patrols a routine job because their point of comparison is routine at home with all the domestic duties they have to accomplish.

Lack of promotions

The data shows that contrary to men in policing, most women do not place great importance on promotions. To women, it is not an aspect of the job that defines their abilities nor does it represent their effectiveness as law enforcers and keepers of the peace. The women interviewed explain that day to day interactions with the public and solving issues one by one yields them greater feelings of achievement than a promotion would. The women interviewed all stated that they have nothing against promotions, hierarchy or officers who seek upward mobility in the organisation. On the contrary, they unanimously state that having the option to move up is a great opportunity, but for them it is an opportunity they would rather pass. Women, contrary to men, do not have or see a promotion as a goal or a direction to strive for. The reason expressed by women is the importance of a good work/life balance and consequently choose their family over any promotion. To the women interviewed, a promotion meant more work and consequently more time away from home. The disillusion phase which we are looking at is the main timeframe where women choose to have a family and it is a choice they expect and accept will affect their possibility of promotion, and they are not frustrated or bothered by this. The women interviewed all want to be good police officers and unanimously state loving their careers but they nevertheless hold a maternal priority to be caregivers and good mothers first and foremost.

If we put motherhood and childrearing aside, the majority of women in this research expressed being highly disinterested in promotions because they involve a great deal of structured administrative office work in addition to the frustrations of managing people. As discussed in the previous section, women see their work in policing as liberating from the

structure and routine of housework and therefore we would hypothesize that a promotion would create more restrictions on women which they are trying so desperately to avoid. Ultimately, women prefer working on the streets where they can be masters of their own work and where they have the freedom they enjoy.

This confirms our hypothesis that women do not seek or hold the same aspirations for promotions as men do simply because their expectations at work differ greatly from men. Women are more focussed on having and keeping a healthy work/life balance while embracing the freedom that street policing provides them. Furthermore, the majority of women having children stated off the record that they had to give up or reject offers of promotion in the past because they had to make a choice between their career and their family. More often than not, women make these sacrifices for their family. Women understand that they cannot possibly manage the high demands of specialized unit work if they have young children. Men, on the other hand, as women said, are able to do so as they often rely on their wives/partners to fill the void they leave behind.

When it comes to denial of a promotion, these women said they take rejection much better than men. Men take this denial personally and their motivation is negatively affected in addition to the development of a cynical attitude draining the rest of their platoon. With that said, women yield the opposite response to men. If denied a promotion, the women interviewed testified that their motivation was not affected at all. They stated that they do not take this denial personally, nor do they see it as reflection of their abilities as officers. The women repeatedly stated that they understand that in the grand scheme of things, the process is ultimately unfair and biased and that the successful candidate is targeted long before the competition even begins. Although they are aware of this, women still apply for promotions. Ultimately, some of the

women mentioned doing so simply to familiarise themselves with the process so that they would know what to expect once they actually chose to make that career move in the future. With that being said, the majority of the women stated that should they seek a promotion in the future, they would only do so once their children had grown up and become independent. But until then, they are content with simply familiarizing themselves with the process. A minority of women interviewed mentioned never having applied for promotions and not being interested in doing so because they knew that the process was biased and unfair and consequently want nothing to do with it. These women also place high value on their families and want to avoid the politics behind promotions which is why they refuse to apply.

These findings confirm our hypothesis. Women are not affected by a denial in promotion the same as men because their expectations at work are significantly different. Women still see their primary social roles as mothers responsible for their family and that a promotion would only conflict with this role. The majority of the women stated off the record that they know they were denied promotions in the past simply because they were mothers and that they could not commit to the high demand and availability requirements of certain specialised units they had applied for. With that being said, women are not disappointed because their priorities differ greatly from those of men which is why they only view promotions as an option rather than a goal.

Returning to our general hypothesis, we have found that, yes, women will go through the disillusion phase differently than men because their expectations at work differ. Women place more importance on work/family balance, especially if they have children. Furthermore, they see a promotion as an option and a possibility only after they have raised their children, but never as a way to evaluate their effectiveness as police officers.

In addition, we found that even when they perceive the same disillusionments as men (lack of communication with upper management, lack of support by the criminal justice system), women cope with these disillusionments very differently. Women view policing simply as a career, unlike men, they do not use their career to reinforce their masculinity, or femininity in this case. Therefore, women do not feel personally disenchanted by this situation since policing is simply a way to make a living.

Although embedded within our hypothesis, we have come to make certain unexpected findings. Women find routine patrols really enjoyable because they feel free to choose what they want to do, they become masters of their own work. They explained that if one is proactive, there is really quite a lot of action on the job, compared to taking a reactive approach to crime fighting. This led us to question and wonder if the fact that domestic duties and childcare, both requiring great routine and structure, served as a point of comparison for women causing them to enjoy routine patrols. In addition, we have found that women's definition of action is more geared towards interventions in which they manage to help and protect people on a day to day basis, versus a media vision of action.

Links with social constructionist theory and the feminist perspective

Contemporary literature and research on women in policing has focused on a multitude of issues varying from sexual harassment, work/life balance, use of force and so forth. With that said, there is a rather prominent gap in the literature with respect to how women look at policing. Using a feminist and social constructionist perspective, my research sheds light on rather original and interesting findings.

First and foremost, when looking at feelings with regards to on the job routine, it is clear in the literature that men find themselves highly constrained by administrative duties that dictate the majority of their work. These duties create a routine and tedium on the job that greatly affects occupational satisfaction and motivation. Upon completion of a workday, most policemen feel liberated from work when they return home and regain their positions as masters of their world. In contrast, a feminist perspective has led me to uncover that women have opposite feelings towards this reality. The women interviewed in this research mention that at home they feel highly constrained with a variety of domestic duties, household chores, and childcare which they are oftentimes left to manage on their own. As a result, they see, feel, and live this routine regularly leading them to look for a change and an outlet away from home to where they are free to seek new challenges. For the women interviewed, their career in policing is that outlet. Unlike their male counterparts, these women stated not feeling routine in their work. Our hypothesis is that they see policing as an escape from the routine of housework and are consequently enabled to be masters of their work by managing their own day as they please.

Aligned with the aforementioned, social constructivism has enabled me to uncover the variation between the perceptions of action among the sexes consequently affecting their overall job satisfaction and motivation. An overwhelming body of literature shows that men's definition of action and policing is highly media based. When men begin to uncover the reality of policing as a more administrative job rather than action packed, they become increasingly disappointed. They begin to realize that most of their tasks are not linked with feelings of crime fighting but rather clerical work. In contrast, the women interviewed reported that they felt policing was action packed and that administrative work was just as much part of the crime fighting process. Where men perceive routine in tasks such as paperwork and report writing, the women interviewed judged these tasks as important. Looking at this from a feminist perspective we can see that there is a clear and distinguishable different among the sexes that cannot be ignored. For example, monitoring a school zone for speeding vehicles can be characterized as useless, boring and the furthest thing away from "real crime fighting" for most male officers. In contrast, this is an action probably seen as very important and directly linked to police work for the women. Women will probably draw the link between protecting children around schools and protecting their own children. In policing, and based on the findings of this research, our hypothesis is that most of the routine tasks that are deemed important by women are considered routine and boring by men.

Validation is an important aspect of any job. In policing, the most common form of validation is a promotion. This promotion is considered as one of the very few ways to reinforce the idea that someone is indeed doing a good job. From a feminist and social constructionist perspective, this research has identified a rather significant difference between the sexes. Men seek promotions for validation whereas most women do not. The women in this research clearly

avoided promotions for varying reasons but primarily because they were happy with their work and felt validation from the daily routine which men despised. Therefore, women do not view promotions as validation, but rather as an available option for new challenges.

Conclusion

The literature on occupational career cycles in policing discusses the emergence of four distinct phases officers pass through during their profession as law enforcers. These phases are most common among patrol officers, constables performing general law enforcement duties on the road, not belonging to any particular unit of work. Officers who experience these phases most frequently are the ones who begin and end their career on patrol. During these phases, officers' perceptions of their own careers change greatly.

The second phase, on which this research is based on, is referred to as the disillusion phase, a period between 6 to 13 years of service in the profession. According to the literature, this is the most sensitive period in an officer's career as reality has fully set in and belief in one's ability to really make a difference has faded at this point. At this stage, there is an increase in stress and devolvement of occupational job satisfaction. Furthermore, officers begin to find that there is a lack of action in their job. Relationships and communication with management prove to be highly divided and negative. Shift work becomes difficult and tedious as there is an evident lack of objectives or clear explanation behind required tasks. Finally, aspirations for promotions are very high yet prove unattainable. Denial of a promotion at this stage in one's career causes a serious downfall in occupational job satisfaction in addition to a highly cynical and negative attitude.

While there has not been extensive research on the occupational career cycles of patrol officers, the literature present on the subject shows no distinction between men and women because at the time they were made, women were very few in the police force and were not full constables but rather meter maids. Adopting a feminist and constructivist perspective, we made the hypothesis that women will undergo and experience the disillusion phase much differently than men. Although men and women have the same motivations to become police officers in

addition to a variety of perceptions of what the job entails, there are still three distinct differences among the sexes.

Firstly, the literature shows that women's expectations at work differ greatly from those of men. Women hold different priorities and place higher importance on job security, autonomy and relationships with coworkers and supervisors.

Secondly, although women have come a long way, they are still considered to be the primary caregivers, in charge of domestic duties and their family, while managing their careers at the same time. The fact that these daily household responsibilities are still considered to be woman's work is not overly contested by either of the sexes.

Thirdly, women's views on promotions or upwards mobility within policing are very different than men due to the constraints placed on women by the work/family dynamic. Women tend to prioritise their families over their occupational advancement. Furthermore, they do not define their personal success as women on promotions as much as men do.

These three differences led us to believe that women will indeed experience the disillusion phase differently than men and consequently living a varying occupational career cycle altogether. To explore this hypothesis we used a qualitative research approach. Through snowball sampling, we recruited ten female candidates who had between 6-13 years of service performing general law enforcement duties as patrol officers at the rank of constable. We collected our data through semi-structured interviews which were recorded, transcribed, and analysed. The results of our data confirm our hypothesis.

In regards to expectations at work, the results showed that women find routine patrols really enjoyable because they feel free to choose what they want to do as they become masters of their own work. They explained that if one is proactive, there is really quite a lot of action on the

job, compared to taking a reactive approach to crime fighting. This led us to question and wonder if the fact that domestic duties and childcare, both requiring great routine and structure, served as a point of comparison for women causing them to enjoy routine patrols. In addition, we have found that women's definition of action is more geared towards interventions in which they manage to help and protect people on a day to day basis, versus a media based definition of action.

With respect to the criminal justice system, our findings show that women's views were in line with those of men, yet women reacted much differently. Both female and male officers agreed that the goals of the criminal justice system did not coincide with those of policing. While this left men highly discouraged, significantly decreasing job satisfaction and effort in daily tasks, women were satisfied that they had done their job and that from this point on, the end result was out of their hands.

In regards to the public perception of their work, women differed from men. The data showed that women, much like men, agree that the public did not understand their work and the daily trials they underwent. But with that being said, women still managed to see that some members of the public did indeed support and respect the police and the work they do. Women, unlike men, view that the media negatively perpetuated images of the police simply for the tabloids but did not allow this to affect their relationship with the public.

Furthermore, the data shows that women and men feel a disconnect between upper management and the lower ranking officers. This in turn creates a great deal of occupational stress and decrease in job satisfaction for men. Nevertheless, women place more importance on the relationship they have with their immediate supervisor/sergeant. Women understand that upper management have different goals and have to answer to public opinion which is why

certain changes at the patrol level cannot be made. But with this being said, as long as women feel that their immediate supervisor/sergeant supports their decisions and listens to their concerns, they are satisfied, despite what upper management ultimately settles on. If women feel that they are not supported by their immediate supervisor/sergeant or unable to communicate with them, frustration will grow, job satisfaction will decrease and occupational stress will amplify. Consequently, a poor relationship with an immediate supervisor will lead women's feelings to match those of their male counterparts at this level.

Aspirations for promotions differ greatly between men and women. The findings show that women see promotions as an option and not as a goal or a reflection of their abilities as good law enforcers. Women appreciate and value the option of upward mobility but with that being said, for women, promotions come at the same time that many decide to start a family and consequently find the need to prioritise between the two. Women evaluate that a promotion will require more time at work, with added responsibilities and therefore less time at home with their children. As a result, many women choose their families over their careers. Most of the women very much enjoy the day to day public interactions and autonomy that patrol work enables. They also perceive that a promotion would be taking that away and this is another reason they do not place high importance on attaining it. In addition, women unanimously stated seeing the promotion process as holistically unfair and biased therefore adding to the absence of disappointment in the event of a denial. Taking the aforementioned into consideration, it comes to no surprise that if denied a promotion, women are not as disappointed as men and their job satisfaction is not affected.

In summary, even if women undergo certain frustrations on the job, we cannot compare them to the disillusion phase mentioned in the literature. The importance placed on work climate and autonomy, work/family issues and promotions as opportunities that must fit within a work/family priority are the main reasons explaining this difference.

Limitations

Although this research is sound and that the data is indeed valid, it is still important to point out some limitations which may affect the findings.

Evidently, the sample size is quite small for this research to make a generalization that all policewomen do not go through a disillusion phase as men do. Further research on this particular topic should have a greater sample size more representative of the female policing population as a whole.

In addition, we realize that for women to say that policing does have action and autonomy leads them to perceive the job itself as a way to become the main breadwinners. This must be examined further to better understand the larger differences. A comparison between men and women as to the meaning of action, autonomy and promotion in the police will help in that sense. Furthermore, the comparison of how they see the labour division at home with domestic duties and children will also help to better apprehend the differences experienced in this second phase and why it is lived this way.

Finally, different methodologies are also to be used in further research to complete qualitative research. It would be interesting to see whether or not the same, or similar, data can be found using quantitative research methods. Many police officers, although reassured by the

researcher as to the policies under the ethics and research board, may still fear that their opinion or opposition to certain practices or to the institution itself could be used against them. For example, very fruitful data collected came from off the record conversations with the women after the researcher was able to gain their trust and only after the record was closed. It would be interesting to see if this same data would emerge in surveys or questionnaires.

In summary, our research shows that this disillusion phase has to take into account some differences with women. With further research, it will be possible to evaluate not only the nature of these differences, but the impact of having more women in the policing organisation.

Implications for further research

Based on the women interviewed, this research uncovers the importance of creating a new series of research on the integration of women in the police force which separates itself from the conventional research on this topic touching on the difficulties of harassment, work/life balance, and so forth. These studies would look at women who truly embrace the profession for what it really is, not for what it is socially constructed by the media. Most male officers resist the structure of policing along with regular changes emerging from within it. For the women in this research, the service aspect of policing and the usual institutional changes are aspect of the profession which they enjoy. Given that this research is explorative in nature, these satisfactions for women correspond with their realities of the profession as opposed to their male counterparts. The women I interviewed demonstrate that their narrative corresponds to the changes that are

being made in policing. Given that my research is focused only on ten women, it would be great to conduct more research on to examine whether or not all police women hold similar feelings.

Granted that my sample is small, the originality of what emerges from this research brings forth many new questions and important implications for further research to be conducted.

Based on the women in this research, we have reason to believe that most women experience high levels of satisfaction compared to most men. This causes the emergence of a series of questions related to the 3rd phase. In this 3rd phase, the majority of male officers disconnect from work and focus on family. We question whether women at this stage who did not originally seek promotions as validation would now change their minds given that their children have aged. Furthermore, would they not seek new challenges given that they have grown accustomed to the daily routine of policing, or do these regular tasks still enable them to yield a high level of job satisfaction? While these are all important questions, given the small size of my sample and the stage of their career they were in, I could not answer this.

It is well known that the first generation of police women was seeking to be recognized for being able to do the same thing as men. Simply defined, this was their struggle. They were pioneers shaping their place in a then exclusively masculine domain of policing. Today, policewomen are no longer pioneers as they have established themselves as equals and their ability to perform at the same level as men is rarely in question. My research has led me to believe that at this point, we have passed the generation of pioneer women and we are now looking at a new generation of policewomen. This new generation of policewomen causes the emergence of a variety of new questions given their much different perception of policing. We hypothesize that these women will be actors of change given that they could possibly be reshaping policing. The numerous

websites where policewomen interact with each other, not isolated like the pioneer policewoman, certainly changed their power to deal with many issues and the ability to shape this profession.

As aforementioned, my research sample is too small to examine this phenomenon but further research on this issue would yield very interesting results.

Figures

Figure 1.0 - Police officers by sex, Canada, selected years

	Men		Women		Total
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
1965	29,956	99.4	190	0.6	30,146
1970	37,763	99.5	186	0.5	37,949
1975	47,151	98.8	562	1.2	47,713
1980	48,749	97.8	1,092	2.2	49,841
1985	48,518	96.4	1,833	3.6	50,351
1988	50,604	94.9	2,708	5.1	53,312
1990	52,461	93.6	3,573	6.4	56,034
1993	52,340	92.0	4,561	8.0	56,901
1995	49,630	90.2	5,378	9.8	55,008
1998	48,076	87.8	6,687	12.2	54,763
2000	48,304	86.3	7,650	13.7	55,954
2003	50,060	84.3	9,352	15.7	59,412
2005	50,450	82.7	10,576	17.3	61,026
2008	53,076	81.3	12,207	18.7	65,283
2009	54,565	80.9	12,860	19.1	67,425
2010	55,969	80.8	13,330	19.2	69,299
2011	55,820	80.4	13,604	19.6	69,424
2012	55,701	80.1	13,838	19.9	69,539

Source(s): Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Police Administration Survey.

Figure 1.1 - Male and female police officers by rank, Canada, 1986 to 2012

	Senior officers ¹		Non commissioned officers ²		Constables	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
	Percent					
1986	99.8	0.2	99.5	0.5	94.6	5.4
1987	99.8	0.2	99.4	0.6	93.9	6.1
1988	99.8	0.2	99.2	0.8	93.0	7.0
1989	99.7	0.3	98.9	1.1	92.1	7.9
1990	99.6	0.4	98.7	1.3	91.4	8.6
1991	99.6	0.4	98.6	1.4	90.5	9.5
1992	99.3	0.7	98.4	1.6	89.8	10.2
1993	98.8	1.2	98.2	1.8	89.2	10.8
1994	98.7	1.3	97.8	2.2	88.0	12.0
1995	98.4	1.6	97.3	2.7	87.2	12.8
1996	98.3	1.7	97.0	3.0	86.5	13.5
1997	97.9	2.1	96.6	3.4	85.7	14.3
1998	97.8	2.2	96.1	3.9	84.5	15.5
1999	97.2	2.8	95.3	4.7	83.8	16.2
2000	96.9	3.1	94.5	5.5	83.0	17.0
2001	96.5	3.5	93.7	6.3	82.2	17.8
2002	96.0	4.0	92.9	7.1	81.4	18.6
2003	95.3	4.7	92.3	7.7	80.9	19.1
2004	94.8	5.2	91.1	8.9	80.2	19.8
2005	94.5	5.5	90.3	9.7	79.3	20.7
2006	93.9	6.1	89.2	10.8	78.9	21.1
2007	92.8	7.2	88.0	12.0	78.5	21.5
2008	92.3	7.7	86.7	13.3	78.8	21.2
2009	91.7	8.3	85.6	14.4	78.6	21.4
2010	91.4	8.6	84.8	15.2	78.6	21.4
2011	90.5	9.5	83.6	15.8	78.4	21.6
2012	90.1	9.9	83.6	16.4	78.2	21.8

1. Includes personnel who have obtained senior officer status, normally at the rank of lieutenant or higher, such as chiefs, deputy chiefs, staff superintendents,

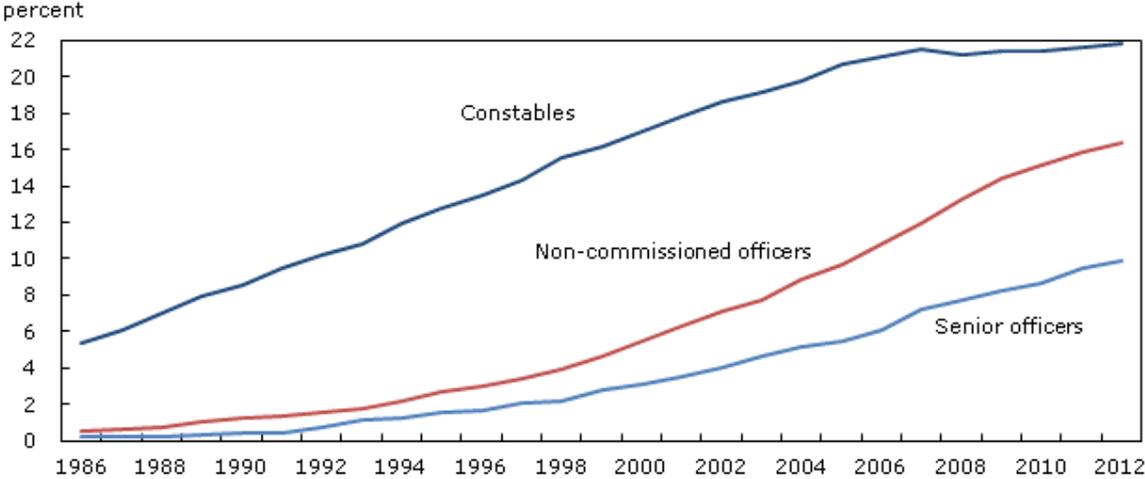
superintendents, staff inspectors, inspectors, lieutenants, and other equivalent ranks.

2. Includes personnel between the rank of constable and lieutenant, such as staff-sergeants, sergeants, detective-sergeants, corporals and all equivalent ranks.

Note(s): Prior to 1986, data on the rank of police officers was not available.

Source(s): Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Police Administration Survey.

Figure 1.2 – Increase of female officers in Canada 1986 to 2012



Source(s): Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Police Administration Survey.

Figure 1.3 – Police officers by sex, provinces and territories, 2012

	Male		Female		Total
	number	percent	number	percent	number
Newfoundland and Labrador	749	80.9	177	19.1	926
Prince Edward Island	205	83.0	42	17.0	247
Nova Scotia	1,610	83.2	324	16.8	1,934
New Brunswick	1,151	84.4	213	15.6	1,364
Quebec	12,171	76.1	3,821	23.9	15,992
Ontario	21,357	81.3	4,917	18.7	26,274
Manitoba	2,289	84.6	417	15.4	2,706
Saskatchewan	1,874	81.5	424	18.5	2,298
Alberta	5,613	82.7	1,174	17.3	6,787
British Columbia	6,992	78.7	1,895	21.3	8,887
Yukon	104	87.4	15	12.6	119
Northwest Territories	173	86.9	26	13.1	199
Nunavut	109	87.2	16	12.8	125
Provincial and territorial total	54,397	80.2	13,461	19.8	67,858
Royal Canadian Mounted Police Headquarters and Training Academy	1,304	77.6	377	22.4	1,681
Canada	55,701	80.1	13,838	19.9	69,539

Source(s): Statistics Canada, Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics, Police Administration Survey.

Figure 1.4 – Social re-adaptation scale according to Holmes and Rahe (1967)

Death of spouse	100	Son or daughter leaving home	29
Divorce	73	Trouble with in-laws	29
Marital separation	65	Outstanding personal achievement	28
Jail term	63	Spouse begins or ceases working	26
Death of close family member	63	Starting or finishing school	26
Personal injury or illness	53	Change in living conditions	25
Marriage	50	Revision of personal habits	24
Fired from job	47	Trouble with boss	23
Marital reconciliation	45	Change in work hours, conditions	20
Retirement	45	Change in residence	20
Change in family member's health	44	Change in schools	20
Pregnancy	40	Change in recreational habits	19
Sexual difficulties	39	Change in church activities	19
Addition to family	39	Change in social activities	18
Business readjustment	39	Mortgage or loan under \$10,000	17
Change in financial status	38	Change in sleeping habits	15
Death of close friend	37	Change in number of family gatherings	15
Career change	36	Change in eating habits	15
Change in number of marital arguments	35	Vacation	13
Mortgage or loan over \$10,000	31	Christmas season	12
Foreclosure of mortgage or loan	30	Minor violation of the law	11
Change in work responsibilities	29		

Source: Holmes, T. & Rahe, R. (1967). The social readjustment rating scale. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, 11(4), 213-218.

Note: This scale enumerates major life stressors based on their severity and is used to measure the degree of stress in those suffering from it. It is important to mention that life stressors include, but are not limited to, the aforementioned.

Figure 1.5 – Sources of police stress

<p>External</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family life (work-life balance) • Social life • Domestic duties • Childcare • Spouse 	<p>Internal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizational structure • Promotions (or lack of) • Ambiguity or role conflict • Lack of goal clarity
<p>Functional</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work schedule • Physical health risks • Predictability • Justice system • Community relations • Relationships with coworkers • Work overload (under load) • Emotions in relation to human suffering • Severity of acts committed • Difficult requirements of the job • Feelings of uselessness • Isolation/boredom/routine/solitude • Fear • Inadequate supervision 	<p>Organizational</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problems with equipment • Importance of one’s role in the organisation • Police administration • Workplace not favouring the sharing or displaying of emotions

Source(s): Archbold & Hassell (2009); Archbold & Schulz (2008); Beauchesne (2010, 2009, 1999); He, Zhao, & Archbold (2002); Howard, Howard Donofrio, & Boles (2004); Kurtz (2008); Morash & Haarr (1995); Sousa & Gauthier (2008).

Note: The aforementioned include, but are not limited to, major stressors affecting police officers at the patrolman (constable rank) level.

Figure 1.6 – Police rank structure (municipal and provincial)

- Chief of Police / Commissioner / Chief Constable
- Deputy Chief of Police / Deputy Chief Constable
- Staff Superintendent
- Superintendent
- Staff Inspector
- Inspector
- Sergeant Major
- Staff Sergeant
- Sergeant / Detective
- Constable (Class 1 to 4)
- Cadet (officer in training)

Sources: RCMP (2013); Toronto Police Service (2013)

Annexes

Annexe A

Interview questions

1. Expectations and realities of the practices

1.1) Gap between the idealistic view of the profession and reality

- a. Do you feel that the view of the profession taught at the academy corresponds to the realities of policing on the streets now that you've been working in the field for many years?
- b. (If necessary) How do you feel about the realities of policing on the streets compared to your expectations when you chose this profession?
- c. (If necessary) Do you think that your feelings regarding the realities of the practices are the same as those of all your colleagues, more so with women, or is this specific to yourself?

1.2) Feelings on the lack of support by the criminal justice system and correctional services

- a. Do you feel that the criminal justice system and correctional services support the same crime control ideals you have now that you've been working in the field for many years?
- b. (If necessary) Do you think that your feelings regarding the criminal justice system and correctional services are the same as those of your colleagues, more so with women, or are they specific to yourself?

1.3) Critics and negative perceptions from the public

- a. Do you feel that the public understands your work and supports you as you were expecting now that you've been working in the field for many years?
- b. (If necessary) Do you think that your feelings regarding public support are the same as those of your colleagues, more so with women, or are they specific to yourself?

2. Negative perception of management

2.1) From the top to the bottom

- a. Do you feel that police management structure is a facilitator in the free flow of ideas to guide practices, solve problems and reciprocate positive enforcement now that you've been working in the field for many years?
- b. (If necessary) Do you think that your feelings regarding the management support structure are the same as those of your colleagues, more so with women, or is specific to yourself?

2.2) From the bottom to the top

a. Do you feel that communication from the bottom to the top is adequate now that you've been working in the field for many years?

b. (If necessary) Do you think that your feelings regarding communication from the bottom to the top are the same as those of your colleagues, more so with women, or are they specific to yourself?

2.3) Complaint Management

a. Do you feel that that internal investigations originating mainly from public complaints are properly managed now that you've been working in the field for many years?

b. (If necessary) Do you think that your feelings regarding the internal investigation process are the same as those of your colleagues, more so with women, or are they specific to yourself?

3. Inappropriate task management

3.1) Lack of objectives

a. Do you feel that the tasks you have to complete are appropriate regarding the objectives of policing now that you've been working in the field for many years?

b. (If necessary) Do you think that your feelings regarding your tasks are the same as those of your colleagues, more so with women, or are specific to yourself?

3.2) Shift work and long hours

a. Do you feel that the distribution of shift work and hours on duty are managed properly now that you've been working in the field for many years?

b. (If necessary) Do you think that your feelings regarding the distribution of shift work and hours are the same as those of your colleagues, more so with women, or are they exclusive to yourself?

3.3) Random patrols

a. Do you like doing random patrols now that you've been working in the field for many years?

b. (If necessary) Do you think that your feelings regarding random patrols are the same as those of your colleagues, more so with women, or specific to yourself?

3.4) Routine

a. How do you feel about routine in your job now that you've been working in the field for many years?

b. (If necessary) Do you think that your feelings about routine in your job are the same as those of your colleagues, more so with women, or exclusive to yourself?

4. Lack of promotions

4.1) Their importance

a. Do you place a great deal of importance on upward mobility and promotions in the ranks of the organisation?

b. (If necessary) Do you think that your feelings regarding promotions are the same as those of your colleagues, more so with women, or are they specific to yourself?

4.2) (If necessary) Denial of a promotion

a. If you applied for a promotion in the past and it was denied, do you feel that it has affected your motivation in the profession?

b. (If necessary) Do you think that your feelings about the denial of a promotion are the same as those of your colleagues, more so with women, or are they specific to yourself?

Annexe B

Les questions d'entrevue

1. Attentes et réalités des pratiques

1.1) L'écart entre la vision de la profession telle qu'envisagée et la réalité

- a. Pensez-vous que l'image professionnelle de la police projetée au Collège correspond à la réalité du maintien de l'ordre dans les rues, maintenant que vous avez travaillé dans le domaine pendant de nombreuses années?
- b. (Si nécessaire) Quel sont vos sentiments sur les réalités du maintien de l'ordre dans les rues par rapport à vos attentes lorsque vous avez choisi ce métier?
- c. (Si nécessaire) Pensez-vous que vos sentiments à l'égard de la réalité des pratiques comparativement à vos attentes sont les mêmes que ceux de tous vos collègues, que cela est plus spécifique aux femmes dans la profession, ou croyez-vous que cette perception est assez particulière à votre cas?

1.2) Sentiments sur le manque de soutien de la part du système de justice pénale et des services correctionnels

- a. Pensez-vous que le système de justice pénale et les services correctionnels soutiennent les mêmes idéaux de lutte contre la criminalité que vous avez, maintenant que vous avez travaillé dans le domaine pendant de nombreuses années?
- b. (Si nécessaire) Pensez-vous que vos sentiments à l'égard du système de justice pénale et des services correctionnels sont les mêmes que ceux de vos collègues, plus spécifiques aux femmes, ou sont propres à votre cas?

1.3) Les critiques et les perceptions négatives du public

- a. Pensez-vous que le public comprenne bien votre travail et vous soutient comme vous vous y attendiez, maintenant que vous avez travaillé dans le domaine pendant de nombreuses années?
- b. (Si nécessaire) Pensez-vous que vos sentiments concernant le soutien du public sont les mêmes que ceux de vos collègues, plus spécifiques aux femmes, ou sont propres à votre cas?

2. Perception négative de la gestion

2.1) Du haut vers le bas

- a. Pensez-vous que la structure de gestion de la police est un facilitateur de la libre circulation des idées pour orienter les pratiques, résoudre des problèmes et vous encourager, maintenant que vous avez travaillé dans le domaine pendant de nombreuses années?

b. (Si nécessaire) Pensez-vous que vos sentiments concernant la structure de soutien de gestion sont les mêmes que ceux de vos collègues, sont plus spécifiques aux femmes, ou sont propres à votre cas?

2.2) Du bas vers le haut

a. Pensez-vous que la communication du bas vers le haut est adéquate, maintenant que vous avez travaillé dans le domaine pendant de nombreuses années?

b. (Si nécessaire) Pensez-vous que vos sentiments concernant la communication du bas vers le haut sont les mêmes que ceux de vos collègues, sont plus spécifiques aux femmes, ou sont-elles spécifiques à votre cas?

2.3) Gestion des plaintes

a. Pensez-vous que ce que les enquêtes internes provenant principalement de plaintes du public sont bien gérées, maintenant que vous avez travaillé dans le domaine pendant de nombreuses années?

b. (Si nécessaire) Pensez-vous que vos sentiments concernant le processus d'enquête interne sont les mêmes que ceux de vos collègues, plus spécifiques aux femmes, ou sont-elles spécifiques à votre cas?

3. La gestion des tâches

3.1) Manque d'objectifs

a. Pensez-vous que les tâches que vous devez accomplir sont appropriées au regard des objectifs de maintien de l'ordre, maintenant que vous avez travaillé dans le domaine pendant de nombreuses années?

b. (Si nécessaire) Pensez-vous que vos sentiments au sujet de vos tâches sont les mêmes que ceux de vos collègues, plus spécifiques aux femmes, ou sont spécifiques à votre cas?

3.2) Quarts de travail et longues heures

a. Pensez-vous que la répartition du travail par quarts et les heures de service sont gérées correctement, maintenant que vous avez travaillé dans le domaine pendant de nombreuses années?

b. (Si nécessaire) Pensez-vous que vos sentiments concernant la répartition du travail par quarts et les heures sont les mêmes que ceux de vos collègues, plus spécifiques aux femmes, ou sont spécifiques à votre cas?

3.3) Les patrouilles au hasard

a. Aimez-vous faire des patrouilles au hasard, maintenant que vous avez travaillé dans le domaine pendant de nombreuses années?

b. (Si nécessaire) Pensez-vous que vos sentiments à l'égard des patrouilles au hasard sont les mêmes que ceux de vos collègues, plus spécifiques aux femmes, ou sont spécifiques à votre cas?

3.4) Routine

a. Comment vous sentez-vous à l'égard de la routine dans votre travail, maintenant que vous avez travaillé dans le domaine pendant de nombreuses années?

b. (Si nécessaire) Pensez-vous que vos sentiments au sujet de la routine dans votre travail sont les mêmes que ceux de vos collègues, plus spécifiques aux femmes, ou propres à votre cas?

4. Manque de promotions au travail

4.1) Leur importance

a. Accordez-vous une grande importance aux promotions dans les rangs de l'organisation?

b. (Si nécessaire) Pensez-vous que vos sentiments concernant les promotions sont les mêmes que ceux de vos collègues, plus spécifiques aux femmes, ou sont-elles spécifiques à votre cas?

4.2) (Si nécessaire) Refus d'une promotion au travail

a. Si vous avez demandé une promotion dans le passé et qu'elle a été refusée, pensez-vous que cela a affecté votre motivation dans la profession?

b. (Si nécessaire) Pensez-vous que vos sentiments au sujet d'un refus d'une promotion sont les mêmes que ceux de vos collègues, plus spécifiques aux femmes, ou sont-elles spécifiques à votre cas?

Annexe C

Data coding sheet

1.1	Candidates									
Answer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Yes										
No	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Theme	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not realistic	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Some people (offenders)	X								X	
Change of outlook after having children	X		X							
On the job training is best/ you learn as you go	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
Hard for women							X			

1.2	Candidates									
Answer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Yes										
No	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Theme	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Only for Statistics	X				X	X	X	X	X	
Business (best lawyer wins/building cases take time)	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
Different job – not aligned			X							X
Don't care about it					X		X	X	X	

1.3	Candidates									
Answer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Yes			X							
No	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Theme	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Public supports police online when they need them	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
Public lacks the understanding of the job	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	

2.1	Candidates									
Answer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Yes	X	X	X	X	X		X	X		
No						X			X	X

Theme	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Depends on direct supervisor to move the idea(s) up	X	X		X	X	X	X			X
Management's disconnect with patrol officers' duties	X	X	X	X		X				X

Note: Unanimous statement that gender is not a factor for interviewees

2.2	Candidates									
Answer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Yes	X	X	X	X			X	X		X
No					X	X			X	

Theme	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Depends on supervisor	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Gets lost in the chain of command		X	X	X						

2.3	Candidates									
Answer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Yes	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X
No							X			

Theme	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Cannot comment – never been investigated, commenting based on hearsay from coworkers	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		

Note: Unanimous belief that there is no gender based difference with regards to feeling about investigations

3.1	Candidates									
Answer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Yes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
No										

Theme	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Divided between men and women	X									
You create your own work	X	X	X		X		X	X		
Some are, some aren't						X		X	X	

Note: 9 out of 10 interviewees believe there is no gender difference.

3.2	Candidates									
Answer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Yes	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
No				X						

Theme	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Hard for women with children			X	X				X	X	

Overtime and court dates is hard						X	X			
----------------------------------	--	--	--	--	--	---	---	--	--	--

3.3	Candidates									
Answer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Yes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
No										

Note: Question answered by “Yes” or “No” without elaboration, therefore no themes emerging.

3.4	Candidates									
Answer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Yes	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
No										

Note: Question answered by “Yes” or “No” without elaboration, therefore no themes emerging.

4.1	Candidates									
Answer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Yes				X						
No	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X

Note: Question answered by “Yes” or “No” without elaboration, therefore no themes emerging.

4.2	Candidates									
Answer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Yes										
No	X	X	X	X	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	X	X

Note: Question answered by “Yes” or “No” without elaboration, therefore no themes emerging.

Annexe D

File Number: 04-12-11

Date (mm/dd/yyyy): 10/11/2012



Université d'Ottawa **University of Ottawa**
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Ethics Approval Notice Social Science and Humanities REB

Principal Investigator / Supervisor / Co-investigator(s) / Student(s)

<u>First Name</u>	<u>Last Name</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Role</u>
Line	Beauchesne	Social Sciences / Criminology	Supervisor
Elie	Labaky	Social Sciences / Criminology	Student Researcher

File Number: 04-12-11

Type of Project: Master's Thesis

Title: Women in Policing: Their Disillusion Phase at Work

<u>Approval Date (mm/dd/yyyy)</u>	<u>Expiry Date (mm/dd/yyyy)</u>	<u>Approval Type</u>
10/11/2012	10/10/2013	Ia

(Ia: Approval, Ib: Approval for initial stage only)

Special Conditions / Comments:
N/A



Université d'Ottawa
Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche

University of Ottawa
Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

This is to confirm that the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board identified above, which operates in accordance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement and other applicable laws and regulations in Ontario, has examined and approved the application for ethical approval for the above named research project as of the Ethics Approval Date indicated for the period above and subject to the conditions listed the section above entitled "Special Conditions / Comments".

During the course of the study the protocol may not be modified without prior written approval from the REB except when necessary to remove subjects from immediate endangerment or when the modification(s) pertain to only administrative or logistical components of the study (e.g. change of telephone number). Investigators must also promptly alert the REB of any changes which increase the risk to participant(s), any changes which considerably affect the conduct of the project, all unanticipated and harmful events that occur, and new information that may negatively affect the conduct of the project and safety of the participant(s). Modifications to the project, information/consent documentation, and/or recruitment documentation, should be submitted to this office for approval using the "Modification to research project" form available at <http://www.research.uottawa.ca/ethics/forms.html>

Please submit an annual status report to the Protocol Officer four weeks before the above-referenced expiry date to either close the file or request a renewal of ethics approval. This document can be found at: <http://www.research.uottawa.ca/ethics/forms.html>

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Office at extension 5387 or by e-mail at ethics@uOttawa.ca.

Signature:

Germain Zongo
Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
For Barbara Graves, Chair of the Social Sciences and Humanities REB

Certificate of Completion

This is to certify that

Elie Labaky

*has completed the Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics'
Introductory Tutorial for the
Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS)*

Issued On: **February 15, 2011**

Abbreviations

GLEED – General law enforcement duties

PSB – Police Services Board

PSS – Professional Standards Section

PTSD – Post-traumatic stress disorder

REB – Research Ethics Board

SIU – Special Investigations Unit

TS - Temps supplémentaire

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