How Policewomen's Experiences of 'Male Construct' Interact with Sustainability of Career Development and Promotion Practices

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This work is dedicated to

MaTina Antoinette Vivian MCD531, Senior Sergeant Auckland City
21 September 1968 - 12 February 2017

and

Donna Marie Ellen Howard DHD528, Wairarapa Area Commander
24 May 1968 – 16 January 2018

Abstract

Women in today's New Zealand Police organisation work across almost all roles and ranks, including 14 percent representation at commissioned and non-commissioned officer level. Disparities relating to women and men's access to senior and high-level roles and workgroups continue to challenge police, despite new policy and performance initiatives for cultural reform. Understanding how policewomen's experiences of police as a gendered organisation interact with sustainability of career development and promotion practices exposes the rules of formation that permit the conditions and outcomes of structural processes and practices that engender women in police as they negotiate their career progression strategies. 28 policewomen at commissioned and non-commissioned officer ranks were interviewed in a semi-structured conversational style about their experiences. A Foucauldian discourse analysis was applied, attending to the gendered social power relations that define and delimit social practice and the governance of women, both within and outside the workplace. The analysis showed that dominant heteronormative discourses regulate policewomen's practices of gender coherence within a hegemonic socio-cultural discourse of masculinist rationalisation that differentiates male / female, masculine /feminine as contingent subject positions and investments in compliance and/or resistance to social institutions of work and family. Furthermore, women were positioned within and through discourse as neoliberal active gendering agents whose subjection to, and mastery of, masculinist ideals for leadership shape career progression as the strategic navigation of work and family commitments in accordance with a duplicitous and inegalitarian system. Alternate realities were also presented as reproducing and re-producing masculine values and the gender order for progression in the police hierarchy. This research contributes to the paucity of scholarship attending to the career progression experiences of senior-ranking policewomen in a gendered organisation that function to reproduce dominant discourses as social power relations that intervene in the practices of women and men in police. It may also provide understanding for what may be required to transform and/or vanquish relations of power in order to effect meaningful long-term organisational transformation.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I acknowledge the policewomen who volunteered to participate in this research - all very busy, dedicated, professional individuals. That you were willing to spend time sharing your achievements and enjoyment of being a senior-ranking woman in New Zealand Police, as well as the challenges and struggles, is the ultimate validation of this research and the applicability of this work. I will always be grateful for your support and humbled by your generosity.

I also acknowledge my thesis supervisor, Dr Leigh Coombes, whose unwavering support of me and the research project is immeasurable. You have consistently been the only person to really 'get me' throughout my, at times partial and fragmented understanding of what was before me, always positive and encouraging me to think and learn through the limits of my own realities. Thank you Leigh, you're the best!

My experiences as a long-term, part-time student have been supported by the New Zealand Police part-time study assistance programme for many years and this has been of immense value to reaching this point in my academic journey. Of greatest significance was being granted six months full-time study leave in 2018, together with a number of periods of annual and long service leave, in order to give this research the level of focus it deserved. I acknowledge my immediate supervisors and unit manager, Senior Sergeant Kevin 'Stan' Brown, for his foresight and support in terms of the relevance of this work to the recruitment, retention and development of women in police and the police organisation in general. I also wish to thank the Police Credit Union for granting me financial assistance.

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Chapter One - Introduction

My Position as Researcher and Insider

As a long-serving member of New Zealand Police, my position as a policewoman-researcher is acknowledged in terms of my own pre-existing investments in compliance and resistance to institutions of discursive knowledge, including that of the police organisation. Subject investments act as a framework of meaning by and in which my own gendered subjectivities are positioned, such that my standpoint as a researcher is *"irreducibly bound to her own politics"* (Burman, 1991, p.339). To this end, I am a 49 year old woman of Pākehā and Ngāi Te Rangi decent. I grew up in West Auckland, heoi ko Huia tōku tūrangawaewae. Kei reira hoki tōku kāinga. As a young girl I was taught by my father what I later learned to be skills more likely to be taught to boys, including how to think about mechanical problems, how to rewire plugs, how to hunt and how to prepare the kill for eating. My father also taught me to read and write before I started school. While my mother taught me all the home skills that I would later learn to be more typically 'women's work', I also learned from her how being a woman / mother / young widow also requires one to enact masculine roles. This included being the principal earner in the household, doing strenuous physical work outside the house, and the experience of how heteronormativity may disempower girls / women in terms of important life skills and access to economic independence.

I became a policewoman[1] at age 21, after the realisation that the 'women's work' skills I had gained through both formal and informal education, had set me up for employment and lifestyle roles that marginalised me in terms of what I found stimulating and rewarding. While being a policewoman gave me access to a more challenging and interesting 'masculine' as opposed to 'feminine' occupation, there have been many occasions where workplace practices and heteronormative assumptions have guaranteed my gender in terms of being 'not male' / not eligible for certain work roles, and at the same time as being 'female' / destined to have children and therefore not eligible or motivated to progress in the organisation. Although I have never progressed

[1] The term 'policewoman' is used in recognition of gender as an important socio-cultural construct relevant to this research, often masked by seemingly gender-neutral terms such as 'constabulary member'.

past the rank of Constable, I have enjoyed all my achievements in the police organisation, including performing roles that had traditionally been the domain of men. While access to formerly all-male roles was initially self-driven, each required the advocacy of senior-ranking men in order to obtain approval to go ahead, often making such pursuits a confronting and demoralising experience. This has included the research project itself, such that the applicability of this research was questioned by certain people pivotal to the allocation of time to undertake the study. Applicability was denounced in terms of 'the woman problem' as no longer being an issue; that the Commission of Inquiry was 'over' (despite the then ongoing 10-year implementation and auditing period); and if I needed to find out about 'women's issues', to 'go and join a WAN' (Women's Advisory Network).

My interest in this research originated from my own experiences in the police organisation, together with academic interests in the psychology of women and how relations of power exercised within and through institutions of social action, as modern power structures, define and delimit what is knowable, and thereby govern what is possible in terms of women's lived realities. It has been my experience that from the time I entered the police organisation in 1989 (initially as a typist) and to date, working predominantly within the three Auckland districts, there exists an unspoken yet distinct set of rules governing the workplace experiences of women when compared with their male colleagues. Informal sanctioning in terms of work roles due to one's gender still occur today, located where women are more likely to be designated a male patrol partner rather than another woman; where women's access to roles may be constrained due to assumptions that having family commitments outside the workplace impact negatively on role requirements; where predominantly women rather than men experience career-debilitating disruption as a consequence of having children; and where men's progression to senior ranks never attracts commentary regarding their competence, that in turn guarantees their gender. Though non-neutral and therefore potentially problematic, my researcher-insider position as an author rather than a discoverer of knowledge, is therefore considered to bring an important level of sensitivity to the linguistic practices of the research participants in terms of what was said and specifically, what was not said (Gill, 1997; Willig, 2013). As an epistemological consideration, my own 'voice' as a policewoman-researcher is therefore deemed to be facilitative to both the interviews with participants and discourse analytic

process, rather than authoritative. This research then considers - 'How policewomen's experiences of 'male construct' interact with sustainability of career development and promotion practices', and therefore seeks to understand how policewomen understand themselves in terms of gendering processes as practices and social structures, both within and outside the workplace, that maintain and reproduce heteronormative social power relations. Additionally, the research is interested in how such social power relations function in terms of inequality regimes that differentiate women and men, as well as regulate career development and progression to senior levels of the police organisation in accordance with a hegemonic masculine ideal.

Chapter Two - Women in New Zealand Police

2.1 Still Scarce at the Top

August 2016 marked 75 years since the first ten women were trained as recruits in the New Zealand Police constabulary. It was 20 years before a woman was appointed the rank of Sergeant in 1961 and this same woman became the first female Commissioned Officer at the rank of Inspector in 1966 (Redshaw, 2006). Another three decades passed before the first woman of only five female Commissioned Officers at that time (compared with 208 male Commissioned Officers) was appointed to the rank of Superintendent in 1999, later to become the first female District Commander in 2002 (Redshaw, 2006; Ten One Magazine, 2018). Today, at the 'rank and file' level of police, women account for one in five constabulary members, working across almost all roles in the police organisation. Five out of 35 Superintendents are women, with four holding District Command (executive) roles, and six out of 36 Area Command roles are held by women at the rank of Inspector (NZ Police Annual Report, 2016-2017). The most significant recent development for women in New Zealand Police has been the 2017 appointment to the executive of the first female Assistant Commissioner, followed by two further female Assistant Commissioners appointed in 2018.

2.2 Women in the Rank and Role Hierarchy

There are nine hierarchical ranks of constabulary in New Zealand Police: Recruit, Constable, Sergeant, Senior Sergeant, Inspector, Superintendent, Assistant Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, and Commissioner. As at 2017, women comprise 19.6% of constabulary members, including around 14 percent representation at both non-commissioned officer (NCO) and commissioned officer (CO) level. Across the rank stratified organisational structure, numbers of males (M) and females (F) comprise:

Table 1 Constabulary employees by rank and gender, as at June 2017

Constable	Sergeant	S/Sergeant	Inspector	Super & Above
M 5078	M 1271	M 422	M 253	M 41
F 1434	F 174	F 63	F 36	F 6

Source: NZ Police Annual Report, 2016-2017

Under and including the top-ranking position of the (male) police Commissioner / Chief Executive Officer, the police executive and policy level comprises 20 males (M) (two of whom are non-constabulary Deputy Chief Executives) and nine females (F) (two of whom are non-constabulary Deputy Chief Executives) (as seen in Figure 2). Non-constabulary police employees at executive level are specialists in fields such as resource management, human resources, public affairs, strategy and finance, entering the organisation as direct entry employees in rank-equivalent roles, as compared with constabulary employees who attain rank on the basis of promotion from the bottom up.

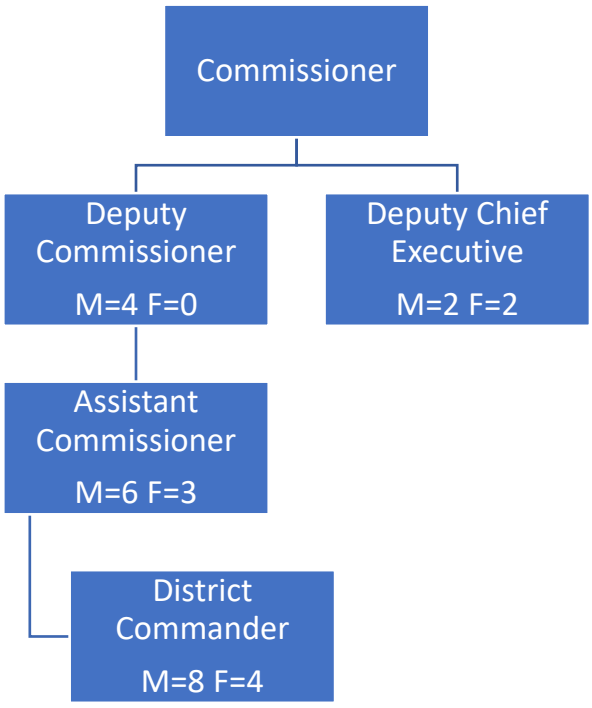

Figure 1 Executive and policy employees by rank and gender (NZ Police Executive Structure, 2018)

Female non-commissioned officers and commissioned officers may also be viewed by rank designation and workgroup. The designation of 'Detective' may be added to a rank where Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB) skills are achieved. Organisational workgroups are predominantly General Duties (front line policing groups), Administration (prosecution, Criminal Justice Support Unit), Training (Royal New Zealand Police College groups), Road Policing (Traffic Alcohol groups), Community / Youth (Youth Aid, Maori Pacific Ethnic Services), Family Violence (Family Safety teams), Intelligence, Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB), CIB/Adult Sexual Assault, and CIB/Child Protection Team. Non-commissioned officer (NCO) roles are as either a supervisor (Sergeant / Detective Sergeant), or senior supervisor (Senior Sergeant / Detective Senior Sergeant). Commissioned officer (CO) roles are either at the level of manager (Inspector / Detective Inspector), senior manager (Superintendent), or as a member of the Executive (District Commander, Assistant Commissioner, etc.).

Viewing senior-ranking policewomen's representation by rank and workgroup allows an understanding for the vertical and horizontal distribution of women within the ranked hierarchy of police, as well as the types of roles in which senior-ranking women are clustered (as seen in Figure 3). While the 2016/2017 Annual Report for New Zealand Police makes proclamations of progress in terms of women's representation across all policing roles, such broad statements conceal important disparities relating to the types of roles at senior levels that define women's progression as well as delimit equity in terms of access to roles. Up until the recent 2017/2018 appointments of female Assistant Commissioners, the police executive has been the sole domain of male commissioned officers and there has yet to be a woman at the next level of promotion to Deputy Commissioner or Commissioner of Police.

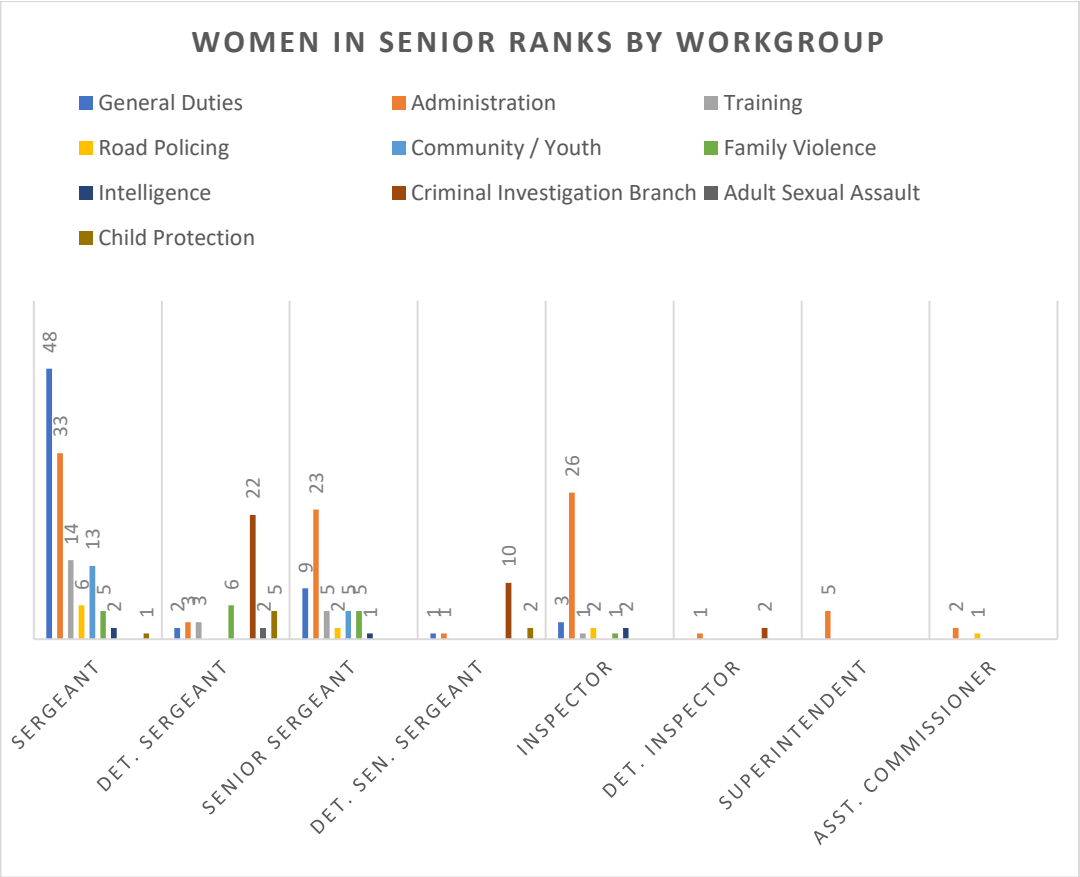

Figure 2 Women in Senior Ranks by Workgroup (NZ Police Strategic Workforce Planning, 2018)

Along with police senior ranks and the executive, specialist work groups continue to exhibit a paucity of representation of women (as seen in Figure 4) due to masculine ideals and images that remain prevalent for specialist workgroups as the domain of men. Ideals and images such as physical competency and skill thresholds normed on men's capabilities, together with the desirability of specialist roles for which there are limited positions, delimit women's legitimacy and eligibility for such roles.

Figure 3 Specialist Groups 2018 (NZ Police Women's Advisory Network, 2018)

2.3 Why is Representation Important?

Representation of women in senior ranks in New Zealand Police is an area of measurable organisational commitment to gender diversity. In February 2004, a Commission of Inquiry (COI) into Police Conduct was established to carry out an independent investigation into the way in which New Zealand Police had dealt with allegations of sexual assault against members of the police and their associates. The COI commenced following the publication of allegations made independently by two women, suggesting that police officers may have deliberately undermined or mishandled investigations into complaints of sexual assault made against other officers. The COI was completed in 2007, resulting in a report by Dame Margaret Bazley covering a 25-year period from 1979 to 2004. Among other things, the report criticised police officers and their associates for historic inappropriate sexual activity, as well as the police organisational culture for scepticism regarding reported sexual assaults. It outlined 47 recommendations for police stipulating the need for change in police systems and procedures, as well as attitudes and behaviour within the police organisation itself (NZ Police: A decade of change. 2017). As a result of the COI, a 10-

year period of State Services Commission annual health audits was initiated to ensure that the impetus for recommended change would be sustained in terms of projects and initiatives being implemented to address police culture and systems change on a long-term basis.

One initiative implemented by police to embed the COI recommendations and wider cultural change was to establish measures to increase the number of women and ethnic minority group employees, and to provide these employees with a safe work environment. This initiative was linked to the COI highlighting the need for police to pay critical attention to prioritisation of recruitment and retention of women, increasing the numbers of high-ranking women, and increased recruitment of employees from minority groups. Such measures were deemed necessary to ensure police culture and values reflect those of the broader social context, and to promote effective and impartial investigation of complaints alleging sexual assault by members of the police or their associates (Bazley, 2007).

Initial targets for increasing representation of women in senior ranks were not achieved due to fundamental issues contributing to the scale and complexity of reaching targets. For example, the 2010 target for increasing women in senior management (commissioned officer level) to 12.5 percent averaged only 9.6 percent (as seen in Figure 5), resulting in a new reduced goal of 10 percent by 2017, set as part of a State Services Commission agreement. Problems were attributed to a plateau of overall representation of constabulary women leading to restricted growth at higher ranks; insufficient workforce strategy linking diversity of skill to policing; the need for extension of key support structures such as the Integrated Leadership Framework; key initiatives including flexible employment options not being maximised; and organisation-wide lack of focus on diversity (NZ Police Assurance Group Report, 2014). Such structural, procedural and socio-cultural constraints were an indication that the recruitment, retention and development of women in police was more than just a numbers issue in terms of the lack of qualified women in the pipeline for promotion and the tendency for women to remain at certain ranks or in specific work roles.

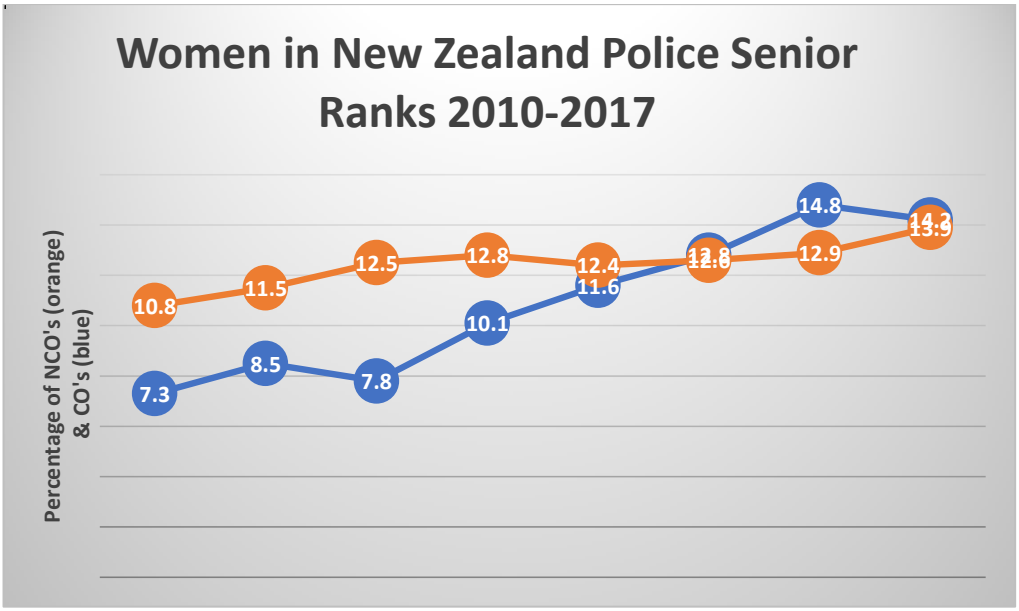

Figure 4 Women in NZ Police Senior Ranks 2010-2017 (NZ Police Annual Report, 2016-2017, p125-126)

By the end of the 10-year audit and implementation period in 2017, notable changes had occurred for women in police, in particular the increased representation of women at the rank of Inspector and Superintendent who had been promoted to District and Area Command roles, and the first woman promoted to the level of Assistant Commissioner. Unconscious bias training was being undertaken by the police executive and recruitment team to support ethnic diversity targets, as well as ongoing reviews of recruitment strategies to meet the new recruitment target of 50 percent women for 2016/17. Women's Advisory Networks were established in 2014, to encourage inclusive networks for women for support and development, and to bring women's issues to the attention of the executive. Women's development programmes and annual women's leadership conferences were made available to women seeking to develop and progress in police. The COI change management programme also included separate reporting on the 'Safe Working Environment for Female and Ethnic Minority Employees' to be included in the annual New Zealand Police Workplace Survey (NZ Police: A decade of change, 2017), however this reporting mechanism was concluded at the end of the 10-year implementation period. A new target for the current four-year plan to 2019 was set for women to represent 21 to 24 percent of female constabulary staff and 50 percent of recruits (Police Ten One, June 2016).

Given these developments, this research recognises the complexities of structural, procedural and socio-cultural constraints in terms of how such constraints organise gendered social power relations within the police organisation as mechanisms of control governing women's career progression that continue to challenge organisational performance outcomes, such as the increased representation of women in senior ranks.

Chapter Three - Diversity and Transformation

3.1 Heteronormativity and the Police Leadership Profile

Termed as 'a comprehensive and coordinated approach' to addressing gender diversity, New Zealand Police has focused predominantly on reviewing gender diversity indicators and women's development programmes. Human Resource policies and processes were also a focus, such as reviewing the appointments process and goal-setting for women in management roles. Diversity strategies included networking programmes dedicated to women, leadership skill-building, external coaches, mentoring, and programs to increase the proportion of potential women leaders. The area of greatest improvement required from police in order to drive significant change was identified as the need for increased commitment from management, specifically at executive level, to making diversity strategies a priority, rather than such mandates being the responsibility of Human Resource and external agencies such as the State Service Commission. Furthermore, in terms of the police work environment and the profile of police leaders, 'male construct' was identified as an under-addressed barrier to the recruitment, retention and development of women, and an area of minimal focus by police (NZ Police Assurance Group Report, 2014). The report identified 'male construct'[2] as unconscious bias in the workplace functioning to undermine organisational best practice in terms of appointment processes and appreciation for diverse leadership styles. Appointment processes that fail to account for unconscious bias in terms of heteronormative, gender stereotypical practices that equate leadership potential with traits more readily ascribed to men, enable men's progression in the workplace by privileging masculine traits and practices as being more congruent with managerial responsibilities. Equating leadership potential with masculine characteristics also functions to maintain and reproduce gender inequality in the workplace through backlash. This may be enacted as adverse reactions to women's subjective investments in stereotypical masculine traits, practiced in order to fit with a heteronormative organisational leadership profile. Women are thereby more likely to be negatively evaluated in terms of promotion prospects for being overbearing, where their

[2] The term 'male construct' is drawn upon throughout this research as a multifaceted socio-political construct that shapes gendered social power relations within the police organisation.

male colleagues are perceived as decisive, and for breaking with stereotypical expectations of women and women's roles (Whelan, 2013). This research is interested in how, despite the identification of barriers as unconscious bias toward women through the privileging of male construct, progression to leadership positions may occur as a double-edged sword for women whereby male construct requires women's compliance with stereotypical expectations of both men and women, in order to be positively evaluated in terms of being a woman and a manager.

3.2 Just Add More Women and Stir

When the role and capacity of police services become the subject of increased public scrutiny as a result of damning reports relating to policing conduct, imperatives to achieve greater gender diversity are given priority with the view that improved policing will result from the difference and transformation that such initiatives are purported to bring (Silvestri, 2015). Recent research draws attention to a decade of such change for police in the United Kingdom and Wales, referring to the 1999 Macpherson Enquiry into institutional discrimination involving both race and gender as one of the strongest drivers for developing diversity in the police organisation. UK police and other public authorities responded by adopting proactive measures and significant policy changes, including the 2007 Equality and Human Rights Commission. New measures shifted the onus of responsibility for gender equality from the individual into the institutional realm, such that it is no longer up to individuals to challenge poor practice without strategic responsibility on the part of public bodies. Considerable improvement in recruitment, representation and progression of women in police for the United Kingdom and Wales (27 percent overall) has resulted from government and public service initiatives. However, such workforce data masks variation across jurisdictions and the inadequate 18 percent representation of women in senior leadership roles, whereby factors relating to geographic location and the top tiers of the organisational hierarchy continue to resist notions of difference and transformation (Silvestri, 2015). Similarly, gains in terms of overall increases in representation of women in New Zealand Police obscure persistent and ongoing underrepresentation of women at senior levels of the organisation. Geographic differences are more pronounced and problematic where smaller districts tend to have more stable

workforces with fewer opportunities for progression for both women and men. Deeply embedded gender disparities in terms of access to senior ranks continue to present challenges across all districts. The distribution of women in senior ranks across the 12 districts, including Police National Headquarters and the Royal New Zealand Police College, shows how representation of women diminishes not only vertically within the rank hierarchy with clusters of women at specific ranks, but also horizontally in terms of geographic location (as shown in Figure 6).

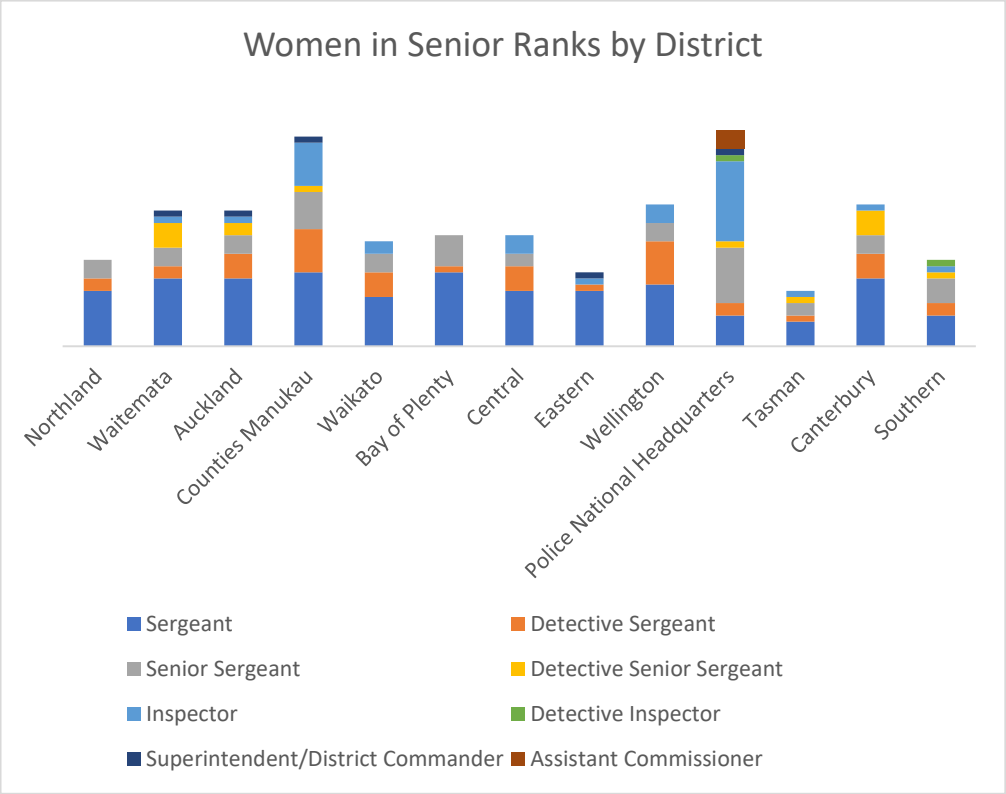

Figure 5 Women in Senior Ranks by District (Strategic Workforce Planning, NZ Police, March 2018)

Overly simplistic imperatives of critical mass that rely on numerical representation of women in police as the solution to altering male-centric cultural beliefs and dominant meanings in relation to access to progression in the organisation overlook the manner in which gendered socio-cultural formations are routinely accomplished in the police organisation as practices that limit women's progression and representation in senior ranks. Furthermore, current rhetoric on diversity initiatives underestimates the importance of understanding how such initiatives are perceived and

experienced in the workplace as the systematic undoing of progressive, inclusive and enabling cultural reform measures (Silvestri, 2017). Lack of recognition for the manner in which structural aspects of the workplace maintain and reproduce gender disparities in terms of heteronormative social power relations, both within and outside the workplace, is more likely to result in outcomes whereby individual women are held to account for gender difference and organisational transformation. This may be reinforced by perceptions that gender barriers no longer exist, whereby the presence of women in senior ranks today is viewed as evidence that development opportunities are readily available to anyone who wishes to progress. Additionally, recently introduced cultural reform initiatives intended to facilitate women's progression to senior levels of the police may be viewed as unnecessary, encountering resistance from women and men in the workplace, while dominant meanings pertaining to male-centric measures of leadership competence are obscured.

3.3 Representation and Gender

The New Zealand Police organisation is male dominant in terms of overall gender representation as well as structurally by hierarchical rank and role distribution. This is consistent with policing being one of the few occupations that continue to be defined as "masculine" or resistant to the integration of women (Martin & Jurick, 2007). At 14 percent of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, representation of senior-ranking women equates to that of numeric tokens - less than 15% at senior levels of the organisation. As the 'few among many' in this male dominant sector of the workplace, women who succeed or aspire to senior levels experience greater visibility and isolation in the workplace and over-exaggeration of perceived differences in relation to men. Such experiences for women include having their skills and abilities distorted to fit with the assumptions and stereotyped views of men, leading to performance pressures and problems with assimilation (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Kanter, 1977; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Policewomen considering promotion in the United States have experienced tokenism as being singled out and supported to seek promotion by well-meaning supervisors, resulting in unwanted and negative attention from their male colleagues. This was linked to a general perception that any woman who applied for promotion would be accepted

because the organisation was so desperate to promote women (Archbold & Schulz, 2008). Organisational imperatives to address representation of women in New Zealand Police senior ranks have also been linked to negative perceptions of promotion by gender, leaving some policewomen feeling like imposters when they succeed in promotion. Furthermore, women still considering their options for progression experience a lack of confidence to pursue promotion or other development opportunities, despite being as or more qualified for advancement than men in their workgroup (Report on Improving Diversity in the CIB, 2017). Performance pressures for token group members may be such that their jobs become public performances within and quite different from the dominant group, as the work roles and behaviours of tokens are known to everyone, used as examples, and their (often negative) reputations precede them between work sites. Navigating the workplace can include working harder to have one's achievements noticed beyond the level of token status characteristics, going to extreme lengths to ensure one's performance is never called into question and that one's private life never enters the work arena. However, the risks of working harder in order to be seen as being as competent as one's male colleagues may be met with retaliation, suspicion and peer acceptance pressures to conform to norms for progression, such as doing one's time and waiting ones turn, and being quarantined by and excluded from dominant group networking (Kanter, 1977; Silvestri, 2005; Turnball & Wass, 2015). Being a numeric token in police senior ranks may therefore be understood as a contradictory experience for women whose individual self-transformation in order to compete with their male colleagues becomes a mechanism for de-gendering the workplace through reconstituting group difference as group sameness. Gender is thereby systematically problematised *and* overlooked as a barrier for women in terms of 'being as good as men' and gaining access to senior levels of the organisation. Such patterns of behaviour undermine a sense of comfort in the workplace and marginalise, exclude and limit women's access to information, training and mentors (Martin & Jurick, 2007).

In policing in particular, Silvestri (2005, 2007, 2015, 2017, 2018) asserts that theoretical integration of women into police organisations does not guarantee full acceptance nor translate to equity in terms of access to senior ranks. Women at all levels of policing organisations continue to experience resistance and hostility in the workplace, such as differential deployment, discrimination and sexual harassment,

despite longstanding policies, processes and initiatives to increase representation and ensure equal opportunities. Kanter's (1977) study sought to demonstrate how organisational structure in terms of proportionality of social groups and social types can affect the experiences of individuals in the workplace, by positing gender as an individual and neutral characteristic situated in relation to structure. However, the study did not account for gender as being routinely produced and maintained by structural mechanisms operating within and through organisational processes. Women and men actively navigate their workplace in terms of gendered subjectivities, relationships and meanings that cohere around appropriate roles, scripts, and hierarchies, often legitimated by discourses that conceal the embodied elements of work. Gender is therefore a process, rather than an individual characteristic, enacted in accordance with practices and social structures that differentiate women and men (Acker, 1990; Silvestri, 2005). Current practice for those aspiring to police senior ranks continues to be governed by common 'knowledge' regarding the need to gain experience in particular roles and ranks, in order to demonstrate the seemingly gender-neutral attributes of credibility, commitment and stamina for 'what it takes' to make it to senior levels of the organisation. However, socio-cultural structures, both within and outside the workplace, constitute such practice as being a different experience for women in police as compared with their male colleagues. Such structural constraints may take the form of being excluded from access to essential networking and visibility due to one's gender and/or where familial responsibilities outside the workplace are legitimised as the domain of women. Lack of advocacy and access to opportunities for development, delayed or disrupted career progression, alternate working patterns and performance pressures arising from the need to 'balance' divided commitments are therefore more likely to be the experiences of women in senior ranks rather than men. Career progression practices and social structures that maintain and reproduce disparate outcomes for women and men are of significant importance to the aims of this research whereby, despite the COI recommendations and subsequent initiatives targeting the recruitment, retention and development of women, gendered social power relations continue to render women's experiences of career progression in police as regulated outcomes of gender coherence.

Chapter Four - Gendered Organisation of Police

4.1 Difference and Domination

Drawing on extensive research examining relations of inequality in organisations in terms of gender, class and race (Acker, 1990, 1992a, 1992b, 2006, 2012), the police organisation, as a social institution, may be understood as gendered in terms of organisational processes, workplace practices, images and ideologies of policing and police officers, and the distribution of power that privileges men's realities and subordinates those of women. Police organisations historically, as well as today, are dominated by men and symbolically interpreted in terms of the realities of men in leading organisational positions. The New Zealand Police workplace institutes a compulsory and normative hegemonic socio-cultural discourse of heterosexuality that requires and regulates gender in terms of a binary relation whereby being male / female, masculine / feminine is relative to and contingent upon subjective investments in discourses of heteronormativity. The aforementioned 'male construct', enacted within and through unconscious bias as heteronormative stereotyping in appointment processes, gendered assumptions regarding leadership characteristics, and adverse reactions to women's subjective investments in masculinity, are examples of such heteronormative discourses.

Predominant within the higher echelons of policing organisations, subject investments in doing and managing time are paramount to securing a credible police identity and a top-level position. Such investments however, are predicated on a male-centric 'smart macho' career model as the normative standard for assessing career progression and as such, obscure an underlying gendered substructure that reproduces a masculine profile at senior manager level (Silvestri, 2005). Such a normative standard thereby functions at a structural level to engender women's and men's identities or subjectivities, constituting and maintaining social power relations in terms of advantage for those who are able to meet such an ideal and disadvantage for those who cannot. Enacted in terms of a masculine ideal for success, managerial competence in police organisations in particular has been linked to exemplars of productivity, decisive action and risk-taking, such that managers are symbolised by characteristics of performance,

competitiveness and aggression (Martin & Jurick, 2007). Such practices of hegemonic masculinity support the ascendancy of men and male norms, subordinating women as well as non-hegemonic masculinities through mechanisms of social action, such as cultural consent and discursive centrality as heteronormative assumptions held by both women and men about their roles within and outside the workplace (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Gendered assumptions regarding which individuals in the workplace are more likely to benefit from, or are deserving of, development opportunities and highly valued roles reproduce hegemonic masculinity within and through heteronormative social power relations. Equally or more qualified women may be overlooked due to assumptions regarding whether or not they have, or intend to have children, and/or as a result of having been constrained by a low (token) level of visibility in the workplace. Such women may perceive themselves as unlikely to be selected, regardless of whether they signal interest in progression, due to the knowledge that their male colleagues are more readily recognised for their ability to 'fit' within the masculine ideal in terms of leadership potential. Heteronormative social power relations are also in play when policewomen-mothers employ exhaustive strategies to transform their work and personal lives in order to 'balance' 'being as good as men' with culturally ascribed, inegalitarian familial roles situated outside the workplace.

Family may be viewed as an institution outside the workplace in which women are maintained as having a defining and central, yet subordinated role, whereby women's reproductive capabilities become equated with childcare, oversight of children's education and care of other family members, as a domain of female responsibility. Such gendered divisions of women's and men's roles are perpetuated by institutional practices and processes formulated on assumptions that responsibilities for bearing and caring for family take place outside the workplace (Acker, 1992a, 2012; Raddon, 2002). Family-friendly work roles incorporating flexible employment options of reduced hours and alternate career progression paths, predominantly adopted by women in police, may assist some women with family responsibilities to function optimally at senior levels. However, their aspirations and accomplishments may also be marginalised or delegitimated by their more 'ideal' (generally male) colleagues whose full-time capabilities in the workplace make them 'naturally' more suited to the pursuit of traditional roles and pathways to promotion (Acker, 2012; Silvestri, 2005). A full-time, plus over-time, uninterrupted career model continues to remain the most highly

valued leadership model at senior levels of the police organisation, particularly at commissioner officer rank. This occurs despite initiatives such as Women's Advisory Network's highlighting the manner in which such a leadership profile marginalises the realities of many women who either opt out of or experience debilitating pressure through compliance with a career model predicated on such a gendered ideal. Hegemonic masculinity is thereby enacted in relation to the reduced economy of family-friendly options in terms of career development, such that advantage and disadvantage become by-products of what it means to have parental responsibilities and to be subjected by and within coexisting socio-cultural norms in which women are over-represented as providers of childcare.

While policewomen aspiring towards or working within senior levels of the police organisation may be deterred from progressing into a role that is not conducive to alternate working patterns and/or reduced hours, they do not necessarily resist working practices at senior levels that marginalise them. A sense of organisational belongingness, together with a desire to 'fit in' as meeting the requisite standards of commitment and credibility and not be left behind in the timeline to attain experience and recognition, govern the practices of women in senior ranks such that procedural and structural inequities become an accepted part of the job. Such practices are evident in policewomen's strategic management of pre and post-pregnancy work roles, including a hasty return to work after maternity leave. Commonly understood attitudes to reduced hours and alternate working patterns as constraining individuals to career-limiting, reduced-value roles are also linked to policewomen electing clandestine working arrangements with managers in order to manage role requirements, without being seen to be needing working patterns that detract from what their unencumbered colleagues are able to perform (Silvestri, 2005). Such patterns include working full-time or flexible hours that enable finish times to coincide with the end of the school day, but with additional work hours in the evenings as an informal requirement, as most role requirements at senior levels exceed standard full-time hours. Furthermore, reduced hours arrangements are more likely to manifest as achieving a full-time workload within the parameters of less hours so as to avoid perceptions of having a reduced value or level of commitment. Discursive subject investments of 'doing time' in the workplace are thereby reproduced through structural mechanisms of gender formation and division that constitute women's and men's gendered subjectivities, such that 'performance' of

gender is presupposed in terms of a universal and stable rationality *"produced and compelled by the regulatory practices of gender coherence"* (Butler, 1990, p.30). Increased visibility, isolation and assimilation problems for women in a male dominant, homosocial organisation may therefore be understood as the systematic manifestation of gendering processes, or 'male construct', that reproduce gender inequality through what Acker (2006) delineates as practices that shape advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity.

4.2 Organisational Logic and the Politicised Anatomy

Jobs are basic units in an organisation, comprised of competencies, tasks and responsibilities, as well as occupying positions in an organisational hierarchy. Organisational logic posits both jobs and hierarchies as abstract categories, made concrete by the appointment of a disembodied worker whose imperatives outside the workplace are such that they do not impinge upon the job. The image of the 'ideal' worker, in terms of social and economic theory (Acker, 1990), is the full-time, life-long male worker whose personal needs and children are taken care of by a woman to whom such 'legitimate' imperatives make her less suited to the abstract job. The concept of a job is thereby gendered, imbued with a division of labour and a distinction between the public and the private sphere (Acker, 1990). The same gendered assumptions and attitudes continue to resonate through to many of today's organisational hierarchies such that the ability to commit fully is 'naturally' commensurate with suitability to the responsibility and authority of higher ranks, while lower ranks become the domain for those who must divide commitment to obligations outside the workplace (Acker, 2012). Ongoing difficulties in terms of shifting the balance of representation of women in higher ranks of police may therefore be understood in accordance with enduring practices formulated on organisational logic that reproduce gendered assumptions relating to such 'suitability'. Higher levels of the police organisation continue to tokenise and exclude many women, as well as non-hegemonic masculinities, in terms of being unable to represent the image of the 'ideal' worker. The attitudes, beliefs and values inherent in such a cultural prescription were found to be a significant factor in terms of career progression and equal opportunities for women's advancement in UK police where the underlying view was that women, in general, *"will just have children*

and leave" (Holdaway & Parker, 1998, p.54). Such assumptions or gender bias resulted in women receiving less encouragement from immediate supervisors, colleagues and senior officers, in comparison to their more economically viable male colleagues and for policewomen with children, there was a corresponding and prevalent view that the most appropriate person to care for children was their mother. Aspiring UK policewomen-mothers were thereby constrained and engendered in terms of the way they experienced the police workplace, on the basis of dominant heteronormative socio-cultural beliefs regarding the wider role of women as parents. Ongoing underrepresentation of women at higher levels of police organisations may therefore be understood as a by-product of heteronormative socio-cultural assumptions that shape organisational logic and corresponding practices in the workplace as well as in wider social contexts such as the home.

The aforementioned conceptualisations of the job and the universal 'ideal' worker are therefore deeply gendered and 'bodied', underpinned by a gendered subtext of complex evaluations of role requirements that position jobs both vertically and horizontally in the organisational hierarchy. A gendered 'ideal' masculine worker is thereby produced and maintained in relation to the systematic marginalisation of women who, in order to fulfil the qualities of a worker at higher ranks, must become like a man (Acker, 2012). Such discrimination is also linked to the intersectionality of gender and class as disparities relating to access to the highest levels of organisations, functioning to shape inequality in terms of economic divisions (Acker, 2006). Access to higher paid roles and commensurate social benefits is thereby contingent upon outcomes of heteronormative social power relations whereby eligibility is organised in accordance with one's ability to fit the profile of the 'ideal' (male / masculine) police senior manager.

At the rank and file (lower) levels of police organisations, including training academies, men and women, and masculinity and femininity, are differentiated within and through a gendered subtext that equates physicality and a capacity for force with men. Police work is thereby enacted as the 'natural' preserve of men, subjectively positioning women outside the normative assumption of the 'ideal' masculine worker. At senior levels of police however, the gendered subtext centres upon temporal arrangements of work, equating credibility, commitment and competency with the full time and uninterrupted career status of the 'ideal' male / masculine leader or manager.

Women whose career development includes part-time work and/or taking a career break such as maternity leave, are positioned in direct contrast to the 'ideal' leader whereby part-time is often perceived and feminised as less committed, less professional and outside the cultural prescription of police leadership (Silvestri, 2018). The gendered subtext of police thereby constitutes structural aspects of the workplace in terms of heteronormative socio-cultural power relations. What it means to be men and women, masculine and feminine, occurs in accordance with culturally ascribed subject investments that predetermine practice at both the individual and organisational level. Senior-ranking policewomen's 'knowledge' that their progression prospects may be limited by taking a career break and/or opting for reduced hours, alternate working patterns and family-friendly roles is thereby constituted by and within discourses of heteronormativity. The police workplace thereby functions as an apparatus for the systematic maintenance of social power relations that privilege those whose practice enables them to reproduce the characteristics of the 'ideal' worker.

4.3 Gendered Substructure and the Docile Body

Drawing on Foucault's (1977) notion of the analysable and manipulable body, the economy, efficiency and internal organisation of workers' gendered bodies become individual objects of control in the exercise of organisational functionality, enacted within and through a gendered organisational substructure as modalities of subtle and coercive power. Enactments of power and control occur at the level of the mechanism itself: the docile body, subjected, used, transformed and improved in terms of the requirements of the job (Bartky, 1998; Foucault, 1977). Acker defines gendered substructure as the often-invisible, day to day organisational processes "*in which gendered assumptions about women and men, femininity and masculinity are embedded and reproduced"* (Acker, 2012, p.215), acting to perpetuate gender inequalities such as wage gaps and sex segregation of work roles, occupations and hierarchies. The components or modalities of a gendered substructure interact with organisational logic and gendered subtexts through organising processes, organisational culture, interactions on the job, and gendered subjectivities.

Organising processes include job design, salary scales, hierarchical structure and physical layout of the workplace, and the implicit/explicit rules for behaviour at work.

Such rules include seemingly gender-neutral expectations about the number of hour's one works per day and the ability to give an undivided / unencumbered focus to one's workload. Organisational culture comprises time and place-specific beliefs about gender difference, including acceptable and unacceptable gendered behaviours, images of multiple masculinities and femininities, as well as values and attitudes. Interactions on the job include formal and informal, face to face and group setting interactions between colleagues and those at different levels of power, often as sites that affirm inequalities such as when interactions belittle or exclude the contributions and abilities of women. Gendered subjectivities are both brought to and constructed by and within the gendered substructure of the workplace, and may also be contradictory in terms of how one's gendered subjectivity or self-image may be modified to enable workplace participation as well as one's lived realities outside the workplace, such as in the attainment of work-life 'balance' (Acker, 2012). For example, the updated New Zealand Police flexible employment policy seeks to alter current perceptions of flexible employment options (FEO) as being an initiative that is not just for women returning to work after having children (Ten One Magazine, 2018). However, FEO may be considered to be inimical, with the culturally prescribed leadership profile of police senior managers, due to implicit and explicit rules functioning within and through heteronormative relations of power and control to engender acceptable workplace practice at senior levels. The assiduous working patterns of policewomen-mothers in senior ranks who are striving to achieve 'balance' may therefore be understood as subject investments in self-transformation, defined and delimited by the gendered substructure as a modality of disciplinary power. A successful 'balance' is more likely to represent power and control as a relation of docility-utility in terms of practices that re-shape the gendered subjectivities of policewomen-mothers in order to be perceived as 'unencumbered' by parental responsibilities. Such practices enable policewomen-mothers to meet the contradictory, neoliberal ideals that govern beliefs regarding equal access to progression in police whereby 'choosing' to become a police leader is also perceived as being at odds with being a 'good mother' (Adamson, 2017; Gill & Sharff, 2011; Holdaway & Parker, 1998; Wall, 2013).

4.4 Objects of a Discourse for Gender Order

All components of the gendered substructure contribute to ongoing organising processes (Acker, 2012). In accordance with Foucauldian theory regarding the formation of discursive objects (Foucault, 1969), women's and men's gendered subjectivities constitute a relative point of convergence such that the conditions of their historical appearance emerge within and through the gendered substructure of police as a body of rules. Women and men's workplace practices are thereby organised by and within such rules of formation as heteronormative social power relations that govern their lived realities as objects of a discourse. The 'masculine' managerial culture of police, for example, places high premiums on working longer hours, geographic mobility and uninterrupted career progression as fundamental attributes of managers' commitment, stamina and credibility that in turn constructs gendered subjectivities in the workplace within and through women and men's tacit understanding of the way things are done (Silvestri, 2005). Police leaders are constructed both in terms of socio-cultural norms and beliefs about leadership attributes as well as within and through individuals' gendered self-image in the workplace, reproducing the hierarchical structure and rules governing workplace practices. The 'heroic male' police leader embodies masculine attributes of endurance, strength and stamina, not only to be a leader who progresses within the strictly linear ranks of the police organisation, but also one who is conversant in leadership as command and control and who understands the requisite levels of deference and respect defined by the police hierarchy (Silvestri, 2018). Gendered subjectivities in the workplace are thereby constituted in terms of a shifting and contextual experience such that one's gendered self-image occurs as *"a relative point of convergence among culturally and historically specific sets of relations"* (Butler, 1990, p.14).

Interactions on the job that positively enhance visibility, networking and acceptability are essential mechanisms of being seen to do one's job well. Such interactions occur both within and outside the workplace and may act to pre-empt and sometimes circumvent formal promotion processes and development opportunities. Additionally, the pervasive power of 'old boy network' interactions as informal, non-meritocratic criteria, privilege a certain type of masculinity at senior levels of organisations, as cultural capital for occupational success. This may occur where access to the highest level of the hierarchy reflects a cohort of individuals whose homosociality

as men / masculine is also constituted through having progressed in the organisation together, played sports together, attended the same schools, and/or belong to the same demographic (Bird, 1996; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Flood, 2008; Wajcman, 1999). The uppermost levels of New Zealand Police hierarchy, for example, typically reflect a hegemonic masculinity formulated within and through homosocial bonds between cohorts of white males for whom associations in the police organisation may have developed as early as their recruit training courses. Men's ongoing, shared experiences of development and progression in the organisation strengthens such homosociality and this is particularly so for those who have specialised as Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB) members. CIB induction and qualification courses have historically promoted CIB as an elite group within police that is superior to general duties groups. While there are differences between districts in terms of todays' CIB workgroups, progression to CIB senior ranks continues to occur in accordance with a gender order, such that men's homosocial bonding functions to marginalise many women, as well as non-hegemonic masculinities. Practices of homosocial bonding, such as where CIB specialists were brought in from other districts to assist with major enquiries, functioned to renew bonds both within and outside the workplace through commonly understood enactments of a 'work hard-play hard' mandate that in turn qualified them as 'good old boys'. Such individuals were reputed to be men who could be relied upon to put work before all other commitments, to both work and play hard, and to keep a secret (at times relating to ethically questionable practices), so as to ensure that 'what goes on tour stays on tour'. Enactments of emotional detachment, competitiveness and the objectification of individuals who did not 'fit' within such a cultural prescription, such as women and alternate masculinities, thereby occurred within and through a form of cultural consent, functioning as a body of rules to shape heteronormative social power relations that guarantee the ascendancy of certain men and masculine norms.

While there has been a significant reduction in unethical practice since the introduction of New Zealand Police Code of Conduct in 2008, the gendered substructure of police continues to constitute ideals of heteronormativity and hegemonic masculinity that inform the practices of many of today's highly valued workgroups. This may be a particular problem for some provincial areas where workforces remain stable and where there are fewer opportunities for progression. Furthermore, despite

the recent ascendency of women to the police executive, this level of the organisation continues to reflect hegemonic masculinity in terms of ‘boys club’ homosociality, predicated on a confluence of homosocial bonding, cultural consent and discursive centrality.

Chapter Five - Gendered Substructure of Police

5.1 Technologies of a Disciplinary Institution

Foucault (1977) draws our attention to the political anatomy as a 'micro-physics' of power, defined in terms of disciplinary coercions or technologies enacted upon the body. Workers' economic utility may be increased and/or diminished as a relation of capacity and aptitude enacted within and through strict subjection. The gendered substructure of the police organisation operates to routinely produce and maintain the workplace as a disciplinary institution. Reproduction of the gendered substructure is constituted by and within systematic and often minute modalities of subtle yet constant coercion that define and delimit a form of political investment functioning at the level of the individual as a micro-physics of power. For example, the aforementioned practices of homosociality and hegemonic masculinity function to define certain roles and ranks in accordance with the segregation of social groups. The disciplinary technologies that constitute organising processes, organisational culture, interactions on the job and gendered subjectivities may therefore be understood as the actions and tactics of a political rationality adopted by the organisation in response to particular needs, such as those defined in organisational logic. Such organisational 'needs' are maintained by and within relationships of knowledge and power that intervene in the practices of women and men's politicised and thereby disciplined bodies. The disciplinary power of the gendered substructure therefore constitutes subjected and practiced bodies - docile bodies, within and through individual subject positions or investments as actions that reproduce or re-produce the gendered substructure as discursive and material practices, defined by Foucault (1977) as:

> A total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions; it incites, it induces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action. A set of actions upon other actions (p. 789).

Day-to-day actions, as well as those which may arise in the future, are produced in terms of the subjective meanings or knowledge governing women and men's practices in the workplace. Such practices constitute the maintenance (reproduction) of 'male construct' as the heteronormative gendered substructure of police, or to its modification (re-production). Women and men's gendered subjectivities are thereby shaped by the meanings attributed to individual enactments of being male / female, masculine / feminine, as a subjectivised and non-unitary social practice rather than a fixed characteristic of women and men. However, the disciplinary power of the gendered substructure of police ensures the automatic, always-already totalising and individualising functioning of dominant masculine discourses. For women, such discourses occur as both subject *and* object positions.

5.2 Disciplinary Power and the Neoliberal Subject

Women and men's subject investments within the gendered substructure of police form part of the process by which the 'ideal' (masculine-not feminine) body of the police manager is reproduced. For women, this may occur in accordance with a sense that one is always-already 'not male' and that being male / masculine is highly valued. The binary male / female, masculine / feminine subject positions defined by hegemonic cultural discourses of heterosexuality, enacted within and through the heteronormative gendered substructure of New Zealand Police, simultaneously differentiates / objectifies women as 'not men' *and* normalises / subjectifies women as other. Women's and men's discursive investments in such socio-cultural discourse, in terms of historically defined and engendered subject positions, may therefore be considered to equate to different levels of social power (Hollway, 1984, in Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn & Walkerdine, 1984). Success at senior levels of policing organisations in particular requires that women employ individual strategies in order to navigate heteronormativity and hegemonic masculinity as "active gendering agents", achieving their aspirational goals by enacting both masculinity and femininity (Martin & Jurick, 2007). Such strategies function to reproduce a practised and subjected body upon which an 'other' female-not male status is inscribed. Women's experiences in terms of career development and promotion processes may therefore be considered to be distinctly gendered and markedly different from that of their male colleagues.

A tacit understanding for the need to be 'as good as men' is a common example of how policewomen's dual yet contradictory subject positions are constituted by and within the gendered substructure of police, so as to reproduce heteronormative social power relations enacted within the workplace. While the New Zealand Police organisation of today may provide numerous examples of women's success in attaining roles and ranks predominantly and/or only ever occupied by men, heteronormativity guarantees the characteristics and practices relevant to such roles and ranks as being imbued with a masculine ideology and valued in terms of men's culturally ascribed competencies to fulfil such organisational requirements. For many women, the perceived gains of being 'as good as men' may outweigh the costs of any imposed disempowerment brought about by the boundaries of heteronormative specificity. By being 'as good as men', women may reproduce the non-neutral value attached to being male / masculine, however at senior levels of the organisation such value is equated with the ability to demonstrate commitment, stamina and credibility, and to be like women is equated to being not-male / other. The non-neutral value attached to the attributes and characteristics conferred on men by and within the gendered substructure of police carries with it the underlying contradiction that such qualities guarantee the gender differences of women in relation to men. Women may put themselves outside the category 'women' but in doing so remain women, negatively constituted, because to compete with men necessitates a negative definition of women, reproducing the signifier 'woman / women' as unchanged (Hollway, 1984, in Henriques et al., 1984). It is therefore unsurprising that some women who have succeeded to senior levels of police organisations resist women-centred organisational initiatives to address lack of representation and development of women in senior ranks. To support such initiatives may challenge and delegitimise their hard-earned, non-negotiable, masculine, gendered subjectivity in police. This may be experienced in the workplace as senior ranking women being particularly critical toward and unsupportive of other successful and/or aspiring women whose career progression may be perceived as re-producing technologies of power, such as 'doing time' in accordance with alternate or 'feminised' patterns of rank and role completion. Women at senior levels of police may also be reluctant to perceive themselves as having been disadvantaged in terms of their gender. To acknowledge that one's 'mastery' of the masculine leadership profile has occurred in terms of the embodiment of a masculine 'ideal' may also require a commensurate acknowledgement that one's achievements are the product of an inequality regime.

The individual strategies or practices adopted by women that enable them to be 'as good as men' may therefore be understood as a neoliberal 'ideal'. Navigating the workplace as a valued (citizen)-worker occurs in terms of a form of governmentality, operating through the re-shaping of women's gendered subjectivities (Adamson, 2017). Competing with one's male colleagues becomes more than just a matter of 'choosing' to avail oneself of the qualifications and opportunities 'freely' available to everyone. It is women, rather than men in the police organisation, who are required to transform their dispositions, attitudes and mind-sets so as to demonstrate the competencies defined and delimited by 'male construct' to be 'as good as men', while at the same time having their gender guaranteed within and through heteronormativity as being 'not male'. Being an active gendering agent may therefore incur penalties for women aspiring to senior ranks, such as being overlooked for development opportunities or being viewed as having achieved one's role and rank as a result of favouritism or special treatment, because to be a woman in police senior ranks means that one is always-already objectified by and subjectivised within a hegemonic masculine ideal.

5.3 The Disciplinary Gaze of the Gendered Substructure

Drawing on Foucault's notion of knowledge-power as an agent for the transformation of human life (Foucault, 1976), organisational logic, gendered subtexts and gendered substructure, may be understood as mechanisms that function to systematically divide and compel women's gendered subjectivities as political strategies of heteronormative specificity. The aforementioned regulated and explicit calculations of women as active gendering agents in the workplace operate as strategic performances of bio-power. The performances of woman within or aspiring to senior ranks of police may therefore be understood as a historical outcome of an apparatus of disciplinary power centred upon regulating life, both within and outside the workplace. The totalising and individualising power of heteronormative and masculine discourses operating at senior levels of police simultaneously differentiates women as 'not men' and normalises women within and through the gendered substructure. Such relations of power bring together the automatic functioning of disciplinary power in the form of control of the gendered body and control of difference as a state of conscious and permanent visibility.

Women are rendered visible within and through the disciplinary power of the gendered substructure of police such that their physical and psychological selves or subjectivities become meaningful as subjective normalisation or 'knowledge'. Such 'knowledge' constitutes practice in terms of disciplinary power through which women form and transform themselves in accordance with self-reflexive judgements or 'truth's'. At senior levels of the police organisation, such relations of knowledge-power and 'truth' are signified by the gendered substructure as the typical or desirable characteristics, attributes and behaviours of police senior managers (Dick & Cassell, 2002). Career progression at senior levels of police therefore functions as a disciplinary technology of normalisation that incorporates all components of the gendered substructure in terms of dividing practices at the level of organising processes, organisational culture, interactions on the job, and gendered subjectivities (Acker, 2012; Dick & Cassell, 2002; Silvestri, 2005). For example, the construction of role requirements, both explicit and implicit, together with non-subjective rationalisations of selection panels for promotion and development opportunities, characterise collective 'facts' about how roles must be performed, thereby constituting applicants as describable and analysable objects. Applicants' individual features, aptitudes or abilities are systematically created, classified, and in terms of anomalies, controlled, under the gaze of a male-centric corpus of knowledge that simultaneously subjugates its applicants as dependent upon on a selection process that is normed on men's realities. Women are thereby objectified in terms of their gendered subjectivities and their always-already discursively constituted (constrained) subject investments. Within and through the gendered substructure of police, career progression thereby assures difference, dissymmetry, and disequilibrium, a set of actions upon other actions and a certainty for those aspiring to senior ranks of a constant visibility. The knowledge that one's performance is constantly visible to one's supervisors, higher ranking superiors, colleagues, human resource professionals, and lower ranking reports becomes a state of conscious and permanent visibility such that women's gendered subjectivities assume responsibility for the constraints and automatic functioning of power as relentless self-surveillance to ensure one's commitment and competence is never called into question.

In an examination of disciplinary practices that produce distinctly gendered and docile bodies, Bartky (1998) develops the gender-blindness of Foucault's (1977) interpretation of Jeremy Bentham's Panoptican, as a metaphoric structure for the

manner in which modern institutions constitute the embodiment of an automatic functioning of power. Such power is enacted at the level of the individual through a state of conscious and permanent visibility to disciplinary control. Women's relationships with the patriarchal institutions of modern life may therefore be understood in terms of forms of subjection that engender the feminine body, functioning to render women's docile bodies as being more docile than the bodies of men. Institutionalised heterosexuality for example, constructs and maintains a 'feminine' body as that which stands before and under the inescapable judgement of an anonymous patriarchal Other (Bartky, 1998). While seemingly contradictory, women in police organisations are active stakeholders, both in the perpetuation of their institutionalised gendered subjectivities and of their abilities as senior managers, enacted in terms of a sense of mastery and a secure sense of identity in the workplace. The gendered and embodied nature of police organisational culture thereby constructs, and is reproduced by and within, the utility of women's docile bodies (Westmarland, 2017). Aspiring policewomen may therefore be considered to be the surface of application of disciplinary power, at times knowingly objectified by and subjectivised within the discursive field of visibility that comprises police senior ranks. Policewomen's embodiment of the disciplinary technologies operating within and through the gendered substructure of police thereby constitutes women's practices in terms of becoming the principle of their own subjection. Disciplinary power reproduced within and through the gendered substructure of police in the United Kingdom for example, is legitimised and strategically reproduced by many senior ranking women as the conscious belief that total commitment is essential to success at senior levels of the organisation (Silvestri, 2005). Women working in or aspiring to the 'smart macho' management culture of police become knowing / practiced discoursing subjects, reproducing the gendered substructure in terms of being seen to work longer hours, anywhere and anytime, in order to demonstrate the stamina, commitment and leadership characteristics necessary for building a credible profile as a police manager. The knowledge-power of the disciplinary technology of 'doing time' is thereby maintained by and through aspiring policewomen's docile bodies, so as to control their bodily movement within the organisation in terms of practices predicated on masculine norms for progression. While alternative working practices may appear to be a re-production of the status quo, there is a tacit understanding amongst women intending to or already using such practices, of the need to demonstrate commitment to their career and not be left behind,

leading them to utilise intensive and exhausting strategies to manage time in their daily work, career planning and responsibilities outside the workplace. However, this does not guarantee them a place in the race to attain the requisite merit and skills for a career at senior levels of the organisation due to the value attached to a full-time, uninterrupted career profile (Silvestri, 2005). Women's progression to senior levels of the police organisation may therefore be considered as being contingent upon dual characteristics of subjection and mastery, enacted by and through women's subjected and practised bodies, to shape women's gendered subjectivities in accordance with a duplicitous and inegalitarian system.

Chapter Six - Method

6.1 Methodology

As a mode of action upon actions, the gendered substructure or male construct of the police organisation is enacted within and through a network of social practices that simultaneously define and delimit, reinforce and contradict the legitimacy of the institutions that make such power relations possible. It is from the standpoint of social practices that power relations can be elaborated, questioned and analysed in terms of the governance of individuals (Butler, 1990; Foucault, 1982; Rabinow, 1984). The analysis that follows therefore seeks to establish:

(1) the system of differentiations that permit the conditions and outcomes of the gendered substructure to operate on the actions of women and men, such that status and privilege are inextricably linked to gendered subjectivities of being male / female; female / not male; full-time / part-time; unencumbered-committed / encumbered-part able;

(2) the types of objectives that the gendered substructure guarantee in terms of how the police organisation functions at the level of senior ranks, such as the maintenance of homosocial elitism within and through masculine managerialism and the delegitimisation of alternate realities;

(3) the means by which power relations are brought into being as explicit and implicit rules pertaining to individual behaviour both within and outside the workplace, such as temporal arrangements, networking, and alternate working patterns;

(4) the forms of institutionalisation that comprise the network within which the gendered substructure operates in terms of state governance, the institution of the family, and the 'closed in' hierarchical and regulatory functioning of the police organisation; and

(5) the degrees of rationalisation that underpin women's strategic navigation of disciplinary technologies, such that reproduction and re-production of the gendered substructure may be multiply enacted in terms of compliance and resistance to an inegalitarian system of established processes.

By relating the gendered substructure or male construct of police to the abovementioned body of rules that enable its formation and transformation, the analysis centres upon senior ranking policewomen talking about their experiences of the gendered substructure in terms of how male construct interacts with the sustainability of career development and promotion practices. The disciplinary power of the gendered substructure of police regulates access to and progression within police senior ranks through dividing practices enacted as subject investments in organisational life that objectify women in terms of (1) how women understand themselves as an embodiment of an intelligible and recognisable gender; (2) how disciplinary technologies categorise, distribute and manipulate women's gendered subjectivities and capabilities as aspects of economy within and outside the workplace; and (3) how women as knowing agents actively navigate disciplinary power as a form of governmentality, ensuring women's constant subjectification as a relation of docility-utility through practices that reproduce and/or re-produce the gendered substructure. Women's accounts of their experiences thereby constitute the conditions of their historical appearance within an enunciative field as discursive practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak.

6.2 Approval to Conduct Research

Approval to conduct the research was obtained from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee in October 2015 (approval reference SOB 15/68). Approval to access participants as sworn employees of the New Zealand Police service was obtained in February 2016, under the provisions of the New Zealand Police Research and Review Assurance Committee (approval reference EV-12-378). Additional support for the research included the appointment of a research supervisor internal to the police organisation, in order to provide formalised advisory and procedural capabilities to the researcher in the event that a research participant made a disclosure of serious misconduct relating to another police member or an associate. This provision was made in accordance with the Protected Disclosure Act 2000 and the 2015 Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, and as an acknowledgement of the responsibility of the researcher to protect research participants as sworn police employees, as well as the police organisation. Additional support for the research also included obtaining Massey University approval for financial support to assist with

expenses relating to printing, travel and accommodation during the field work phase of the project. Six months paid study leave, as well as the use of annual and long-service leave accruement from New Zealand Police was also approved to assist the researcher with writing the Master's thesis.

6.3 Ethics

Information sheets (see Appendix A for details) outlining the nature of the research were posted to approximately 30 policewomen inviting participation in the research, of which 28 responded in the affirmative. A small number of participants were known to the policewoman-researcher and had signalled early interest in the research, however the majority of participants were met for the first time at interview. It was assumed that those participants who did not know the researcher had informally appraised her in terms of her police identity, as is common practice for police members to enable them to 'place' people within the context of the workplace. The reputation and credibility of the policewoman-researcher may be understood in terms of how safe participants may or may not feel speaking to someone they do not know. The ability to ascertain who the researcher is, who she knows and how long she has 'been in the job', goes towards establishing subject positions for both the researcher and the participant that enable a level of confidence in contributing to the study. Such appraisal was assumed to contribute positively to the relational context of the interview, in terms of the policewoman-researcher being lower in rank to every participant, but not necessarily in length of service, so a shared level of knowledge as well as a non-threatening, deferential hierarchical standpoint was established prior to meeting participants for the first time.

Upon signalling interest as participants, each policewoman received preparatory information representing areas of interest relevant to the research (see Appendix B for details). The preparatory information centred on six questions regarding how the promotion process helped or hindered women's development, perceptions of role requirements and how certain roles may be more ideal than others, how one's career path may be influenced over the course of development, how individual characteristics may be related to roles, and how one's gendered self-image may be constructed and maintained both within and outside the workplace.

Each participant signed a Participant Consent Form prior to being interviewed (see Appendix C for details) as well as an Authority for Release of Transcripts (see Appendix D for details) once they were happy with their interview transcript.

6.4 Participants

All participants in the study were senior-ranking 'policewomen' in the New Zealand Police service. The total number of participants (n=28) was derived from the researchers understanding for the manner in which organisational experiences vary by way of geographic location, length of service and rank. Participants were therefore selected in terms of rank from Senior Sergeant and above, length of service, ranging upwards from around 17 years, and from locations across all 12 districts, including Northland, Waitematā, Auckland City, Counties Manukau, Waikato, Bay of Plenty, Eastern, Central, Wellington (including Police National Headquarters and the Royal New Zealand Police College), Tasman, Canterbury and Southland. Participant's geographic location, length of service, rank, role and contact details were obtained from the New Zealand Police Who's Who employee directory, a resource available to the policewoman-researcher. Participants varied in terms of the types of roles that contributed to their career development, as well as age, ethnicity, family responsibilities and other demographic characteristics.

Over and above the privacy protections outlined by the 2015 Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research and the provisions of the Protected Disclosures Act 2000, many participants expressed concern for the maintenance of confidentiality, both at the time of providing informed consent and when giving authority for the release of transcripts. Participant confidentiality was revisited where necessary as a crucial component of women's ongoing sense of safety and wellbeing in the workplace as a place where one's development potential hangs in the balance of reputation and credibility, and to challenge organisational processes may be seen as a lack of commitment that risks being further marginalised and side-lined in terms of ongoing career progression (Thomas & Davies, 2002). To this end, pseudonym's derived from gender-neutral names have been utilised in the analysis and other identifying details such as rank, role, age, and length of service have been withheld.

6.5 Interviews

One-on-one interviews were audio recorded and transcribed in full by the researcher during 2017. Informed consent was explained in full by the researcher prior to each interview commencing and the aforementioned Participant Consent Form (see Appendix C for details) was completed at this time. Interview duration ranged from 90 to 120 minutes and took place at a location of the participants choosing. Most interviews occurred in the workplace, however a small number of women elected a location outside the workplace. The interview format was a semi-structured conversational exchange between the participant and the researcher, however priority for conversational 'space' was given to the participant to enable them to convey their experiences in terms of individual style and flow. The researcher contributed to the conversation in several ways, such as asking questions relating to the research topic, asking participants to clarify or embellish experiences of interest to the researcher, and acknowledgment of shared experiences where it seemed helpful to establish mutual understanding in terms of what the participant wished to convey.

Some of the participants referred specifically to the preparatory information they had received in advance of the interview (see Appendix B for details), while others spoke about aspects of one or two questions that resonated with them, or dispensed with the preparatory information altogether. This was not unexpected, as the purpose of the information was to enable participants to gain an idea of what the interview would be about in advance, with the view to maximising the time allowed for the interview, rather than to define the parameters of the interview. At the beginning of each interview, participants were asked to provide a general timeline of their policing experience, so as to orientate the conversation toward experiences of career development and promotion processes and it was this that tended to guide the conversation for the rest of the interview.

A follow-up email was sent to participants after the interview, to offer ongoing support in the event that any aspect of the interview may have caused discomfort or concern. Some participants expressed significant concern post-interview regarding confidentiality, in terms of details provided in their accounts that could identify them. The focus of Foucauldian discourse analysis as being on the rules and practices that make participants experiences knowable was explained to address these concerns, as

well as giving assurances that any interview excerpts used in the written report would be of a non-identifiable nature. Confidentiality concerns were understood by the researcher as the manner through which the disciplinary power of the police organisation is both guaranteed by and constitutive of policewomen's subjectivities as a state of conscious and permanent visibility, both within and outside the workplace, regulating what should or should not be said about people or practices within the organisation, such that one's commitment and loyalty may be called into question.

Post-interview notes were made by the researcher to enable timely reflection on the manner in which the interview as a social interaction also incorporated non-verbal communication of material relevant to the research that audio recording cannot capture. This was considered to be important due to the length of time between the interview and the transcription process, and the desire to capture as much of the interview as possible in terms of feel for the occasion itself, as well as what may be learned for subsequent interviews. There was a sense at times that an interview may have been more difficult than others and/or did not centre on the research question sufficiently enough to obtain an account of a participant's experiences of male construct. However, for any interview where this seemed to have occurred, subsequent transcription of the account revealed no lack of relevant detail. What appeared to contribute to the researchers' initial impression was the relationship between the interviewer and the research participant, such that the level of ease in the interview context varied, often in accordance with the seniority in rank of the participant. While this sometimes resulted in a reluctance to interrupt the participant when she was speaking and a sense that the participant was controlling the interview, it did not detract from the participant articulating a valuable account of her career progression and development in police. Such an experience for the policewoman-researcher is linked to commonly understood behaviours in the police organisation relating to respect and deference to senior-ranking officers, enculturated at recruit-level and as an ongoing practice throughout one's career. This is also experienced by those in senior ranks, particularly after the transition from non-commissioned officer to commissioner officer, as a shift in the practices of junior ranks whereby respect and deference may lead to a lack of ease for junior ranks when in the presence of commissioned officers, even where prior rank equivalence existed.

Interviews were transcribed to reflect non-verbal content such as pauses, signified as '..' and '.. .. .. ..' for long pauses, sighing as (sighs), as well as capitalising

words where particular emphasis was placed on words. Participants received their completed transcript by email to read and amend where this was deemed necessary by the participant, such as where a specific part of the transcript was inaccurate in terms of what the participant had said during the interview. Any amended transcripts were adopted as the master transcript. Interview excerpts included in the analysis utilised [ ] and '…' to indicate where material had been omitted, such as identifying detail or superfluous 'fillers' in conversation uttered by the researcher and/or the participant, such as 'mmm-hmm' and 'yeah'. Geographical differentiation was signified in the excerpts by the terms 'provincial', 'metropolitan', or 'rural' area to allow understanding for the way women's experiences vary in accordance with location.

The interview transcription process also included contemporaneous note-taking in order to begin to identify the manner in which the discursive object, male construct as the gendered substructure of police, was constructed within and through the transcripts as a corpus of statements. Subsequent close-reading of the transcripts included further identification of the different ways in which male construct was rendered visible and knowable, and how policewomen's gendered subjectivities operationalised male construct in terms of technologies of power that govern human conduct in accordance with localised and broader discourses or 'truth's' enacted as rules and procedures that intervene in policewomen's lived realities (Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2017; Willig, 2013).

Discourses were broadly grouped as (1) discourses of credibility, including doing time, reputation, being as good as men, and getting ahead of the game; (2) discourses of the 'ideal' police leader, including working long hours, balance, extreme over-work, doing time outside work hours, and geographic mobility; (3) discourses of flexible employment options, including being a policewoman-mother; discourses of male networking, including advocacy and masculine managerialism; and (4) discourses of cultural reform, including the Women's Advisory Network and quotas.

6.6 Method of Analysis

The corpus of statements or accounts generated by the interviews was approached in terms of the availability of discourses that allow policewomen to articulate their experiences of the workplace and the implications this has on their lived

realities, both within and outside the police organisation. Policewomen may therefore be understood as being simultaneously constrained by and complicit within the boundaries of what can be said, done and felt about their developmental experiences in terms of the gendered substructure or male construct of the police organisation. In talking about career development and promotion practices, policewomen's accounts set out the historic conditions and 'truths' of the gendered substructure, such as how social practices in the workplace privilege certain versions of 'reality' and legitimise existing power relations and social structures, and the manner in which gendered subjectivities may be formed and transformed as a result. The accounts are therefore treated as a function of experience governed by laws of possibility, defined and delimited by rules of existence in terms of the objects to which they refer, and the discursive conditions that pre-exist what can be said in order to delineate meaning and 'truth'.

A Foucauldian discourse analysis (Willig, 2013) was utilised to explore the availability of subject positions as well as subjective investments in discursive constructions that define and delimit the ways policewomen experience their realities within the police organisation such as being female / not male, one's legitimacy and value within senior ranks, and being a committed / unencumbered 'ideal' worker. Discursive positions and investments were approached in terms of identifying relations of power enacted within and through multiple and co-existing disciplinary technologies that govern the rationalities and practices of the police organisation as well as the work and personal lives of senior ranking policewomen. Identifying the meanings and 'truth's' that define the historical limits of such social practices is made possible within and through policewomen's discursive subject positions and investments as they talk about their experiences of career development and promotion practices, including the complex and subtle manner in which policewomen navigate their moral location within such social interactions.

The analysis also explored how women's multiple subject positions and investments correspond to a multiplicity of non-unitary subjectivities. The masculinist rationalisations of the gendered substructure of the police organisation, as well as other co-existing social institutions such as the family, presumes a stable, heterosexual male / female binary distinction that is inextricably linked to the culturally ascribed meanings of gender and the masculinities / femininities assumed by women's and men's sexed bodies. Policewomen's subject positions and investments are expected to evidence the

manner in which cultural constructions of gender allow for consequences such as how man-masculine can signify a female as well as a male body, just as woman-feminine can signify a male as well as a female body. The category 'woman' may therefore be contested in terms of policewomen's subjective investments in masculinist rationalisations, enabling women to 'be as good as men' and to distance themselves from certain categorisations of woman-feminine. Non-unitary subjectivities are also expected to be contradictory in terms of how subject positions and investments may afford more or less power in different social practices such as being policewomen-mothers and wives.

Contradictions may also be viewed as conflicts or sites of resistance to discursive power, whereby contingent progress may be made towards disruption and change in terms of the way discourse intervenes in relations of what is known, said, or practiced. Alternate practices may re-produce knowledge or 'truths' within and through policewomen's subjective investments in discourse, such as where women are 'firsts' in succeeding to particular levels or roles in the police organisation. However, such transformations may not necessarily subvert the normalising power of the gendered substructure in so much that the resulting isolation and visibility may pressure women into over-adapting to male construct rather than to risk challenging the status quo. The current levels of representation of women in senior ranks of New Zealand Police may therefore be viewed in terms of change occurring within always-already inscribed processes of disciplinary power whereby women's non-rational and non-unitary gendered subjectivities reproduce and/or re-produce knowledge and 'truths' as compliance and/or resistance to the disciplinary technologies of the gendered substructure. The term 're-production' is utilised to differentiate between practices that comply with and maintain discursive knowledge (reproduce the gendered substructure as a dominant discourse) or those that alter in some way toward resistance and change (re-produce new truth's as alternate realities), such that day-to-day practices and the derived meanings that give them effect may be understood in terms of the constitutive nature of discourse to form and transform the objects of which they speak.

Analysis was broadly separated into six stages (Willig, 2013) in order to identify the discursive resources and subject positions available to senior ranking policewomen that regulate and construct certain ways of 'knowing' and 'being' in senior ranks, and to understand how such constructions shape policewomen's subjectivities and practices in

terms of organisational life, career development and promotion. The analytic stages pose specific questions pertaining to Foucauldian discourse analysis including:

(1) How the discursive object (the gendered substructure / male construct of police) is constructed through language (policewomen talking about their experiences) and the type of object that is being constructed. For example, the 'ideal' worker is constructed in this account as the type of object / worker who has established their credibility in accordance with the gendered substructure, articulated as 'the way it works in police'. The gendered substructure of the organisation therefore shapes the practices of individuals seeking to gain credibility. … "*I know the credibility and the way that it works in Police, and if I don't do that job, I'll have no credibility in my, in the long term", …*

(2) What discourses are being deployed by policewomen to understand their experiences (ie. ways of knowing what a credible police officer is) and what relationships there may be with wider discourses. For example, discourses of the 'ideal' police leader are being deployed in the following account in order for the speaker to understand her experiences of the workplace as that in which practices of working in excess of a full-time working week privilege certain workers in terms of credibility and progression in the police organisation. Discourses of the 'family' are also implicated such that working a standard eight-hour day due to one's parental responsibilities is perceived as not 'the done thing' and therefore less than the 'ideal'. … "*I can't really go anywhere. I can't do anything because of, most jobs in the Police aren't eight to four. … They really aren't and almost definitely, ALL commissioned officer's jobs that I know of aren't eight to four. And if you do, then you're frowned upon and, … I know of somebody down at PNHQ in the Executive, who apparently twice a week left at four so that he could spend time with his kids, and he was sort a, laughed at, or, or ridiculed by other members of the Executive, because that just wasn't the done thing"…*

(3) The action orientation of the stories in terms of what the various constructions of the gendered substructure achieve at particular points in policewomen's accounts, what is gained by doing so, what function is being served and how this may relate to constructions in other parts of the accounts. For example, the various constructions of the gendered substructure allow understanding for the co-constitutive nature of discourse as an action orientation of policewomen's experiences. Progression to senior

levels of the police organisation occurs in terms of regulatory practices that form and transform the aspiring worker in accordance with the reproduction of a particular leadership profile. Hegemonic masculinity at senior levels of police is thereby enabled as a function of the gendered substructure and becomes relevant to subsequent constructions pertaining to the manner in which women are constrained in terms of representation in senior ranks.

(4) What subject positions (ways of being) are made available by the constructions (ways of knowing) as discursive locations from which policewomen speak and act. For example, a subject position for women aspiring to senior levels of police is that of knowing one must be perceived as being 'as good as men' … "*I'm as smart as they are and I'm as tough as they are, … I mean, how can they .. so my motivation was just .. they're not better than I am."* … This construction of the gendered substructure functions as a discursive location from which the participant understands the 'truth's' of the workplace as well as how to 'be' in terms of competing with her male colleagues.

(5) What practices are constituted by and within the discursive constructions that define and delimit what can be said and done from within available subject positions (ie. the contingent possibilities for the reproduction and/or re-production of the gendered substructure). For example, practices constituted by and within discursive constructions of being a valuable (citizen)-worker and being a good mum define and delimit the work-life 'balance' that this participant is endeavouring to achieve, as a contingency for reproducing the level of commitment required from senior managers. … *"it's just about wanting to be a hundred percent at work and giving it heaps and FEELING productive without feeling torn. Um, and likewise at home, feeling like I can be a good mum without feeling guilty because I'm not .. at the the computer or on the phone, often I'm just you know,"* …

(6) How subjectivities are formed and transformed in terms of what may be felt, thought and experienced, as a result of taking up subject investments. For example, this participants' gendered subjectivity is formed in terms of her subject position as being 'not male' and her perception of not being seen as equal to her male colleagues. She is taking up a subject investment in progressing her career in police, however is aware that being equal in terms of qualifications does not level the playing field when it comes to competing with her male colleagues … *"I was aware that I wasn't .. I wasn't*

ahead of any of the men, I was probably .. equal, but I wouldn't be seen .. I didn't feel equal.'' ...

Chapter Seven - Analysis and Discussion

7.1 Discourses of Credibility

7.1.1 Doing Time

Career progression and advancement for sworn (constabulary) members in the New Zealand Police is regulated in terms of clear definitions of rank within a hierarchical structure. The police organisational structure functions as a closed and relatively autonomous system of institutionalised subject positions within which women's and men's gendered subjectivities are formed and transformed. Aside from a small number of non-sworn-equivalent roles in the organisation that may be performed by individuals who enter the organisation laterally as specialists, all roles in police carry a rank designation and all sworn members commence at the lowest rank and lowest position in the hierarchy. This seemingly equal start point in the opportunities structure is anchored by one's allocated police identity number as a marker of time-served. Such signification acts as a readily observable measure in terms of commonly understood practices pertaining to the amount of time one must allow before taking the first level of promotion to Sergeant and subsequent progression thereafter in the organisational hierarchy. The length of time one has been in the police organisation, as well as in particular roles and ranks is a significant factor in terms of whether or not one is deemed to have a credible reputation to be eligible for what one is aspiring to do, whether it be a desirable development role such as relieving in a higher rank, or attaining promotion to a higher rank. To have the stamina for 'doing time' functions in accordance with a hegemony that equates a masculinist career model of full time, uninterrupted commitment to work, with credibility and readiness to progress in the police hierarchy. The socio-cultural prescription of 'doing time' in a gendered organisation such as police may therefore be understood as constitutive of advantage and disadvantage within and through temporal arrangements of work that are predicated on a masculinist 'ideal' (Silvestri, 2018). This was evident when policewomen were talking about their career development both before and after accessing senior ranks.

Max: *So you're talking about a really stable workforce and culture ah, and you .. so you did your time before you went and did, did stuff. (Provincial area).*

Val: *... um, there was a lot of .. um .. .. you know, you've got to know your 'place' stuff, (Provincial area).*

Cameron: *... so I would've been ah, absolutely critical of her being too light, and having not done the yards, ... in a lot of ways is that actually I've been around quite a bit longer, I'd been doing my job, a harder job than what she'd had before she come in, ... and effectively I would, I never applied for the job, 'cos I never thought I woulda had the credibility to do it, and I was sort of a little bit probably thinking about, 'well actually [ ], have you got the credibility to do it?' And she may have been asking herself that same question too, because we're all .. We're all feeling it. (Provincial area).*

'Doing time' or 'the yards' is constructed as something that is commonly understood as everyone having a clearly defined position within the ordered system of a social structure that equates entitlement to progress with understanding one's 'place' in this order. To be 'too light' is to have one's credibility questioned in terms of eligibility and legitimacy for securing a promotion. Max, Val and Cameron's accounts demonstrate the implications of such spatial ordering in terms of normalisation and generalisation whereby control of the individual body and the control of groups and 'knowledge' occur as relations of power. The social structure of the workplace is a regulatory and corrective apparatus in which everyone's subjective behaviour in terms of 'doing time' is tied to their own identity as self-knowledge of the correct way to go about progressing in the organisation. While the object of control is constraint in terms of the functioning of the hierarchy, the modality of control occurs through the processes of activity exercised through the partitioning of time, space and movement that guarantee the subtle yet coercive control of individuals through a relation of docility-utility (Foucault, 1977). Policewomen's experiences of 'doing time' demonstrate the manner in which knowledge, obedience and credibility or perceived usefulness operate as a relation of disciplinary power that constitutes policewomen's subjectivities in terms of whether they feel ready or that it is appropriate for them to progress.

MacKenzie: *They came to me, and this is how the woman thing works a little bit differently .. ah, my [ ] came to me at the time and said, "you're doing a great job, we want you to apply for the Sergeants role", and I went, "no, no .. I've only done five*

years. I want to go and do CIB .. I've got all these other things I need to do first, before I get .." (Provincial area).

Alex: *they asked me to apply for the [ ] job, so that was, I didn't apply for that, because I wasn't ready to become an [ ] and thought I needed to do more time and .. and so I didn't apply. (Provincial area).*

Cameron: *and they were really specific about it, they wanted me to apply for this job and I said, "I'm not applying for it", I said, "I don't want to be a [ ] yet, I want to be a [ ]. I know the credibility and the way that it works in Police, and if I don't do that job, I'll have no credibility in my, in the long term", ... (Provincial area).*

While there may be an organisational imperative to shift the balance of representation of women in senior ranks, the disciplinary power of the socio-cultural masculine rationality of police as a gendered institution governs the subjectivities of policewomen identified as being in the promotion pipeline. The above accounts clearly demonstrate the power-knowledge-subject relationship (Henriques et al., 1984) such that MacKenzie, Alex and Cameron are positioned by and within the norms of 'doing time' with the understanding that any movement towards promotion at this point in their career is to risk their credibility in terms of perceived competence. Policewomen's refusal or reluctance to take promotion is the manifestation of power exercised through their actions as they 'correctly' navigate the subject positions available within the structural constraints of the police organisation. However, the exercise of power in a gendered institution such as police occurs in accordance with differentiations between women and men that give legitimacy to masculine rationalities and define the processes, practices, images and ideologies that in turn govern the normative functions of the workplace (Acker, 1992a). Normalisation allows for the systematic creation, classification, and control of 'anomalies' (Rabinow, 2010), which for women in police means subject positions of compliance or resistance to the privileging of masculine rationalities as a political 'double bind' of simultaneous individualisation and totalisation within a power structure. The differentiation / objectification of women as 'not men' operates together with the normalisation / subjectification of women by and within masculine rationalities whereby women's and men's subject positions equate to different levels of power in terms of progression prospects in the organisation. The effects of such advantage and disadvantage are made clear in Cameron's experience of

compliance with the masculinist 'ideal' for progression, ensuring that she has 'ticked all the men's boxes first' in order to demonstrate credibility for having achieved rank and to move to the next level, as well as to make a 'difference' in terms of transforming the male-centric organisational hierarchy. However, Cameron is simultaneously differentiated / objectified by and within such a masculinist technology of power whereby 'doing time' also means being overtaken by her male colleagues for whom enactments of 'doing time' may be enabled on different terms to women, such as through access to networking and the ability to give time.

Cameron: *So that's probably my, so I would say I'm trying, I am, I'm definitely working in the males world, and I make sure that I've ticked all the 'men's' boxes first, so all of the things, so the credibility, the networks, ah .. the making sure I do the hours .. I do all of those things, and then I add in my own bits so that I know that I have more chance of getting them across the line because I've done all the other things first.*

SM: *... I don't think the men necessarily have to be conscious of ticking .. the men's boxes, because that's just normal and ordinary for them.*

Cameron: *Yeah.*

SM: *But women FEEL as if they do have to tick those boxes .. in order to do what you want to do.*

Cameron: *And, and I absolutely do, I, I am conscious of ah, I know that unless, I can't .. in order for me to make a difference, I've got to have done all of these other things first, and then when I've done those things I know I'll get my chance to have my say, so which is maybe why I thought .. rightly or wrongly, that I needed to do five years in the job that I'm doing, whereas a number of my colleagues that were promoted to [ ] before me, didn't do five years, they only did two or three years.*

SM: *And they were males?*

Cameron: *They were males, ... and we got promoted at the same time, or some after me, and I, I'm interested in that because I think, actually how can you .. so in my own head, I'm like where's your credibility to get that job but effectively what it is, I don't even think they need it, whereas I'm the one who, that's my own .. my own bias I suppose is that I think I need to do that. (Provincial area).*

Cameron's experience constructs 'doing time' as a gendered double bind in terms of different / individualising processes for women exercised in accordance with masculine rationalities that reproduce the normative / totalising functioning of the masculinist organisation. Cameron's practices of 'ticking the men's boxes first' and 'doing the hours' demonstrate the docility-utility power-knowledge-subject relationship as the self-regulation of one's actions based on one's knowledge of the 'truth's' that govern what is required to be eligible for promotion. However, the individualising-totalising power of the gendered institution means that Cameron must first prove that she meets the normative / masculine standard of performance in order to demonstrate her legitimacy for progression. This double-bind systematically defines and delimits women's progression to senior levels of the police organisation in terms of the manner in which heteronormative social power relations are constituted within and through discourses of 'doing time'. The hegemonic masculine 'ideal' to which everyone aspiring to senior levels is held to account constitutes subject positions of 'doing time' that support the ascendency of a dominant masculinity, while systematically subordinating femininities and non-hegemonic masculinities.

While masculinist discourses of 'doing time' construct a subject position of compliance for many women aspiring to senior ranks, some women may be positioned in terms of resistance such that they re-produce the social power relations of the gendered organisation. This may occur where succession to senior ranks is achieved after having spent less than the nominal amount of time in the rank and role hierarchy, as well as having an overall length of service that is less than what is commonly understood as acceptable for progression to higher levels of police. A subject position of resistance is thereby constituted in terms of non-compliance with the hegemonic 'ideal' of 'doing time', such as through reliance on one's qualifications and high-performance to be eligible for progression. Such an alternate reality is likely to be rejected in accordance with heteronormative social power relations functioning at senior levels of the police organisation, as demonstrated in Cameron's earlier account, where she is critical of women who are 'too light'. Not doing 'the yards' may be perceived as undermining the credibility of those who are 'doing time', whereby compliance with a masculinist model for career progression is equated with the attainment of credibility, commitment and competency to be eligible for a high ranking leadership role, as well as the commensurate increase in social power. Cameron's subsequent account adds to

this construction of resistance to the 'norm' as occurring in terms of what is defined and delimited by heteronormative social power relations, rather than as an alternate reality situated outside this structure (Henriques et al., 1984). While the discourse of 'doing time' as 'hard yards' seems to remain unchanged by the resistance position, there is a sense of potential for disruption to the masculinist norm. This is brought into view through Cameron's account in terms of the success of those who are 'too light' as being inadequate for a high level rank / role. What is being accounted for is the organisational imperative to increase women's representation at senior levels and the resistance that such initiatives face from both women and men in the workplace. As discussed later in this analysis, cultural reform initiatives that are based on fast-tracking women's progression may be perceived as undermining and deligitimising the credibility of those whose realities have been constructed in accordance with the normative / masculine functioning of the organisation as a gendered institution.

Cameron: *I said, you know, I'd talked about some women that I thought had been promoted far too early and he said, "why would you worry about that?" ... "there are plenty of useless men, so why do you care if there are useless women?" ... but I do, I care that there's useless women so um, because that's, that's the part for me is that I, I sort of feel like actually .. my appointment .. I know that there'll be a whole lot of people that'll say, "she only got appointed 'cos look you tick [ ] boxes". Um .. and there'll be a lot of people that'll say that. I equally think there'll be a lot of people that .. that know me that wouldn't say that, so I don't have a, a complex about that, but I do still feel like I would have to prove myself. ...*

Cameron: *... So I think that I have to continue to prove myself which is why the things like um, working the hours that I do, putting the effort in that I do, I over-scrutinise things that I do, I'll forgive you of something but I don't forgive myself of that .. um .. that type of .. That's why I feel like that, I think that actually I've got twice as many .. things to make up.*

SM: *I read something recently ... by a woman called Clare Booth-Luce ... she said, "because I am a woman, I must make unusual effort to succeed. If I fail, no-one will say, 'she doesn't have what it takes', they will say, 'women don't have what it takes'".*

***Cameron**: Absolutely. And, and I think that is my reason for, when one woman go, does something I feel like, 'how come she can't be the very best ..' And that's exactly why I care so much. (Provincial area).*

Cameron's account constructs the resistance position of 'being promoted far too early' within and through a masculinist discourse of 'doing time' that in turn constitutes re-production of the status quo as the progression of 'useless women'. The individualising-totalising power of the gendered substructure of police may therefore be understood in terms of the manner in which women who aspire to senior ranks are regulated in accordance with a masculinist 'tick box' system of eligibility, rather than being recognised as skilled and qualified contenders. Men's legitimacy for promotion is thereby an automatic function of the heteronormative social power relations which, in accordance with Acker's (1990) definition of the gendered organisation, constitute advantage and disadvantage, meaning and identity, and exploitation and control as patterns of difference in terms of how women and men experience the workplace. The aforementioned political 'double bind' of simultaneous individualisation-totalisation may therefore be understood as the systematic marginalisation / control of women as 'other' and 'not male', functioning with and through the exploitation of women's gendered subjectivities / identities in accordance with a form of governmentality that holds women to account as being responsible for their compliance *and* constraint within a masculinist 'ideal' for progression.

Whether or not women 'do the time', the totalising effects of a gendered inequality regime may inevitably trump women's individual legitimacy whereby systematic disparities exist in the power and control over outcomes (Acker, 2006). As can been determined in the next accounts, implications for practice include being overlooked for a development opportunity despite holding rank longer than the chosen male applicant, having one's credibility for progression questioned, and/or being sanctioned for being afforded a development opportunity over a longer-serving male rank-equivalent. Such implications are constituted by and with the gendered substructure of police as disciplinary technologies for the regulation of progression within the hierarchy, as implicit and explicit rules regarding appropriate (masculinist) practice for navigating career progression. Women's resistance to disciplinary power in terms of disrupting discursive 'truth's' regulating progression to higher levels of the organisation conflicts with dominant heteronormative social power relations that negate

the legitimacy of alternate realities, such as where women may be perceived as succeeding on gender alone, despite their skills and qualifications. The subtle and coercive, day to day enactments of such power relations, evidenced in the following accounts, demonstrates the manner in which maintenance and reproduction of a masculinist culture is enabled within and through today's policing organisation as a modern institution for disciplinary power.

Taylor: *um, 'cos certainly the one who got the [ ] relieving role, he's more .. he's got more service than I have, … but I've been in this rank .. for longer .. (Provincial area).*

Shannon: *Um, once he found out I was coming to relieve he took three months off … 'Cos he hadn't got the relieving.*

SM: *And was he a, was he a [ ]?*

Shannon: *Yeah, but he'd been like a [ ] for 10 years and you know, he'd been promoted and it's like, you know, I'd never done .. you know and he was, he might be an [ ] number or something too, but anyway*

SM: *And so was that around a sense of entitlement that you've been there for ages therefore you should be the one getting the acting up role?*

Shannon: *And plus it would've been .. you know, here .. well, my perception, 'here's this female, she's getting a little bit of favouritism, she's not up to this job', you know .. um .. and you know, that sense of entitlement sort of thing.*

SM: *Yeah. So how did you get to be, um how did a person get to be on the A-team? What would qualify you for that?*

Shannon: *Um, you'd been around for a while, and you're a bloke. (Metropolitan area).*

Taylor and Shannon's accounts demonstrate the manner in which heteronormative social power relations play out in day to day organisational life to maintain the masculinist ideal of 'doing time' and obscure discriminatory social practices being enacted within today's seemingly gender-neutral, modern policing organisation. Taylor's qualifications and rank status are rendered irrelevant in comparison with her male colleague who has being 'doing time' for longer, thereby reinforcing the aforementioned marginalisation of skilled women to a 'tick box'

qualification subject position of ‘doing time’, rather than having their competence recognised as credentials for a development opportunity. Similarly, while Shannon succeeded in attaining a development opportunity over a longer-serving male colleague, her eligibility for the role is resisted by this male in terms of rejecting her instalment as his ‘legitimate’ superior and purposely making her life difficult.

Policewomen’s accounts demonstrate the power-knowledge-subject relationship in terms of their understanding for the need to ‘do time’ in accordance with a dominant, masculinist ‘ideal’ before seeking promotion or development opportunities. Such knowledge maintains subject positions of readiness for progression that may not be the same for their male colleagues in terms of whether or not to seek promotion even when encouraged to do so, and worthiness such that one’s long term credibility and legitimacy hinges on doing time and that it is wrong to progress too soon or ahead of someone more senior in service. The barely masked concealment of such an inequality regime in today’s policing organisation is made possible by and within a framework of neoliberalism whereby access to all ranks and roles is purported to occur on the basis of a gender-neutral, egalitarian opportunity structure for all who ‘choose’ to aspire to senior ranks. The ‘free choice’ to progress in a gender-neutral workplace is thereby constituted as an individual undertaking, rather than that in which women and men partake. The neoliberal context therefore situates gender inequality as a ‘non-problem’, such that there is no basis for the notion that there may be ‘individuals’ whose choices are defined and delimited by structural inequities, both within and outside the workplace (Connell, 2006). Failure to acknowledge and act upon structural inequities that obscure and conceal the contextually situated social practices within which women’s and men’s gendered subjectivities, relationships and meaning-making practices are enacted as embodied, and therefore gendered, elements of organisational life perpetuates a sense of ‘gender elsewhere’. Furthermore, that any cultural reform measures must therefore consist of opportunities for everyone, rather than as targeted initiatives for those who are marginalised.

7.1.2 Reputation

Reputation in police is constructed in policewomen’s accounts as a characteristic of one’s credibility that is developed through doing time. It is referred to as something

that is made early on in one's career, as being something that may or may not guarantee acceptance, and as something that requires advocacy at times of progression in the organisation. Such constructions implicate reputation in terms of visibility in the organisation as a dual and contradictory subject position for women. As minority group members in a male dominant organisation, many women experience increased visibility in terms of isolation, performance pressures and assimilation as being the few among many (Kanter, 1977). This may be at odds with the increased level of visibility required for progression to senior ranks whereby securing a reputation as a 'good police officer' is achieved through demonstrating one's value to the police organisation (Thomas & Davies, 2002). Drawing on Bartky's (1998) reformulation of the automatic functioning of disciplinary power as that which produces women's gendered and docile bodies, the heteronormative specificity of the police organisation may be understood in terms of the manner in which visibility for women is constituted by and within relationships of subjection and mastery. For example, women's mastery of a reputation as a 'good police officer' is constituted within and through heteronormative social power relations that target and engender women's bodies as 'other' / 'not men'. Such mastery is thereby enacted at the level of the gendered and subjectivised individual, the good 'woman', as a state of conscious and permanent visibility to disciplinary power, under the inescapable judgement of a ubiquitous male gaze that constitutes women's visibility within the gendered organisation of police.

Ash: *I think, you would've possibly been .. subject to this .. if you ever made a mistake as a woman in the police, everybody know, knew about it. Whereas men make mistakes all the time and everybody didn't know about it. So, the, my thought was .. let's not make mistakes, so that everybody's not talking about me, 'cos they're already talking about me 'cos there's nobody else to talk about, anyway, originally (laughs) do you know what I mean, originally, not NOW, but originally when I was a young constable and as a young detective, you know, so everybody would've um .. … You've always got something .. everyone's always got an opinion about you. (Metropolitan area)*

Ash's account constructs reputation as a different experience for women than it is for men whereby even one mistake made by a woman is more readily visible to the dominant number whose mistakes may be easily overlooked. Her gendered subjectivity is thereby formed and transformed by this 'knowledge' in terms of performance pressure such that Ash self-regulates her conduct / docility so as to ensure that she

makes no mistakes, with the intention of reducing her visibility and avoiding isolation in the workplace. She later refers to her reputation as a key factor in attaining a promotion, however this is in accordance with a requisite increased level of visibility in the workplace. Reputation is also constructed as a fixed characteristic of being either 'good or bad' and achieving a good reputation determines one's eligibility for progressing in the organisation. As discussed later in this analysis, increased visibility in the organisation in terms of progression is experienced differently for women, whereby access to influential networking and advocacy in order to garner a good reputation may be less readily available to women than men. Increased visibility for women aspiring to senior levels of police may also be understood as an intensification of the male gaze in terms of the subjectification of women by and within the highly masculinist managerial culture of police senior ranks. Mastering leadership characteristics associated with masculine managerialism such as performativity, competitiveness and aggression (Martin & Jurick, 2007) requires subjection in terms of women's' practised and docile bodies, as an automatic functioning of disciplinary power and control.

SM: *So, what aspects of the promotion process were helpful for you in attaining this role?*

Ash: *Um, I think my experience and my reputation. Um, um, I've been, I have been a 'supervisor' since [ ], you know, both in the CIB and in uniform, so I've been a supervisor for a long time. Um, so they definitely were probably the big things that I brought to the table and my positive attitude I think. And that, that .. you know, reputations in New Zealand Police are very quickly made, good or bad, um and if you have a reputation as a hard worker and I would like to think that I have a reputation as a hard worker and somebody who got thing done, ah things done …(Metropolitan area).*

A good reputation may be experienced differently for women in senior ranks than for their male colleagues whereby women's legitimacy in senior ranks and in police in general occurs in terms of the regulatory practices of the police organisation as a gendered institution. The ability of women to self-regulate their behaviour so as to demonstrate competence and 'achievement' of the masculine rationalities that govern

the functions of policing becomes a requirement for acceptance by their male and female colleagues and a determinant of reputation.

SM: *And as the first female [promoted in a provincial area where one is well known] here, um .. did you come up against any resistance from, from males either, males that you were supervising or .. your actual supervisors?*

Glenn: *No.*

SM: *Good. What do you put that down to?*

Glenn: *I don't know, just by then I .. guess I just had the reputation that I was .. … did the work and would .. walk the walk and talk the talk I guess, I don't know. I actually don't know …(Provincial area).*

Glenn's reputation is 'achieved' through her ability to perform the normalised masculine practices of policing at the rank and file level of the organisation whereby effective law enforcement relies on the ability to maintain power and authority in a variety of policing situations (Rabe-Hemp, 2008). The subtle coerciveness of the docility-utility relationship is evident in her subject position of being unaware that her actions were anything other than the normal day-to-day functions of a police officer. The governing practices or enactments of 'truth's' that reproduce normalised practices such as the ability to 'walk the walk and talk the talk' conceal the masculine rationality of policing and systematically constitute Glenn's gendered subjectivity as she self-regulates her practice in terms of this 'knowledge'. However, the 'achievement' of a good reputation does not guarantee acceptance for women on an ongoing basis, particularly when a promotion position is in a different area to that in which one's reputation was established.

Eddy: *And they don't have, never had a woman .. working with any rank over there either … it was .. a real different environment than I, what I was bringing? … and I thought I would get through that, … just by being me, … um, because I never had a problem .. here, because everyone respected I was a hard worker, … um, and that I'd had the hard fight … out on the street, I'd proved myself … And I didn't fit their mould, … 'cos I started to .. I waited, and um .. thought I'll ease myself in, … (Rural-provincial area)*

SM: *… were you well known in this area?*

Val: *Not at all. … So um, I'm .. not at all. … but I was very lucky and I've had some very key, some people here .. who are [ ] who I've worked with [ ] and who knew me very well, … who before I came had .. talked about me widely, and that really set me up, um for success initially in terms of people .. having an open mind about me, which was really lucky .. 'cos .. um .. yeah I was lucky with that. (Provincial area).*

Leslie: *… what did I have at that stage, maybe .. 10, I don't even think I had 10 years, … so I'm sitting there thinking .. 'you're a fraud', … But anyway, it was like, well that's .. and so .. you know, when, if you look back now and you think .. my .. you know, cliché's we're talking about but the visibility and the people that know me, … (Metropolitan area).*

Eddy's account constructs her reputation in accordance with successfully mastering her gendered subjectivity as a good 'woman', constituted by and within a position of compliance with a hegemonic masculine ideal that defines proof of competence as having 'had the hard fight'. This reputation did not carry over to her new role in the same general area of her tenure, where she is targeted anew under the male gaze of an all-male workgroup who had never before been supervised by a woman. It is Eddy's gendered subjectivity rather than her 'good' reputation that is guaranteed in her new role, by and within enactments of heteronormative social power relations whereby she is isolated by her new workgroup as 'other' / not male and has difficulty assimilating. Val and Leslie's accounts, on the other hand, construct reputation at the level of legitimacy in senior ranks as increased visibility achieved through reliance on the advocacy of people who can 'luckily' influence perceptions. As discussed later in this analysis, the necessity of advocacy may be understood in terms of the manner in which hegemonic masculinity at senior levels of police operates within and through heteronormative social power relations such that advocates regulate the legitimacy and authority of women aspiring to such levels where being 'other' / not male may be 'unlucky'. The masculine leadership profile of police is also guaranteed within and through such practice in terms of the automatic functioning of power and control over who succeeds to senior levels. Leslie's subjectivity is formed and transformed in terms of feeling like 'a fraud' because her good reputation does not automatically precede her in a new context, however the advocacy of others guarantees her legitimacy.

7.1.3 Being as Good as Men

Discourses of 'doing time' construct time-serving as a determining factor for demonstrating one's legitimacy and credibility for progression to leadership roles and ongoing access to higher levels of the police hierarchy. Time-serving is experienced by aspiring women as competing with their male colleagues to be 'as good as men' in order to be eligible for progression. Being as good 'as men' however, presupposes 'men' in accordance with being a gender neutral term, thereby constituting eligibility for progression as being contingent upon competing for recognition of qualities that are characterised in accordance with men's realities. In a gendered organisation such as police, 'being as good as men' is predicated on a 'smart macho' masculinist career progression model that values qualities that are likely to be at odds with personal and family considerations, such as commitment and stamina for working long hours, extensive geographic mobility, and aggressive and competitive career progression practices (Silvestri, 2005). Such discursive 'truth's' regarding competence and eligibility are maintained by and within heteronormative social power relations functioning to regulate women's progression in terms of positions of subjection to a masculine 'ideal'.

Jesse: *I'm as smart as they are and I'm as tough as they are, … I mean, how can they .. so my motivation was just .. they're not better than I am.*

SM: *Did you feel that you were constrained in any way from, during that .. or in any of those processes, as you sought promotion? Anything that was holding you back?*

Jesse: *Um, well I guess to some extent, I thought that I might be held back because why hadn't there been … why hadn't there been any female [ ] beforehand? … So I knew that obviously it wasn't gonna be easy. … But I mean that's never inhibited me before.*

SM: *Um, and because you were able to basically um .. and please don't take this the wrong way, but you were able to work like a man, because a lot of the men in those roles are fully supported at home … they can give the time, they can be geographically mobile, um, their, their family at home just follows them around and, and keeps supporting them,*

Jesse: *Yeah, that's true.*

SM: *so were you able to do that too?*

Jesse: *I was, yeah, yeah. (Metropolitan area).*

Jesse's account locates the disciplinary power of the police organisation in accordance with that of a gendered institution that normatively categorises women as 'other' / not male, thereby maintaining a masculine rationality that privileges men's legitimacy over women's' at higher levels of the organisation. Disparities in terms of who hold the majority of high-level roles in the police hierarchy are therefore the automatic functioning of such disciplinary power. Jesse's experience of being subjectively positioned in this manner occurs as a form of compliance and resistance whereby her gendered experiences in the organisation have been such that she is able to demonstrate the same levels of commitment as her male colleagues as she progressed into senior ranks, proving that she is as 'smart' and as 'tough as they are' and therefore not 'other' than men in terms of being less than the 'ideal' male worker. It is dominant discourses of masculine rationality however, that define and delimit Jesse's position of resistance, such that the characteristics of what makes the 'ideal' police leader are comprised of a system of normalisation incorporated into the regulatory functions of the police organisation as a gendered institution. Jesse's experience of 'being as good as men' is evidence of the regulatory power of the organisation to both isolate / objectify and normalise / subjectify women as anomalies / 'not men'. Such disciplinary power operates at the level of governmentality whereby women's gendered subjectivities are constituted by and within ongoing self-regulating practices that prove one is 'as good as men'.

Max: *... there's, you know, been things like that throughout um, when we'd have catch-ups, the girls and we'd just talk about, you know, you just need to understand, you need to prove yourself every time but it's ok to say no. (Metropolitan area).*

Max's account constructs 'being as good as men' as the 'need to prove yourself' in order to be accepted, and that this is something women negotiate in the workplace on an ongoing basis. An increased sense of acceptance and integration into a police organisation that celebrates masculine values and engenders certain views of women may be achieved through mechanisms that equate to a gain in status, such as achieving a rank that demands respect. For women in senior ranks however, such acceptance and status is not 'achieved', but rather required to be continuously negotiated on a day to day basis through high levels of self-awareness and monitoring (Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

The subject position for women necessitated by this account is one of strict subjection to a masculinist 'ideal' enacted as relentless self-surveillance in order to manage perceptions regarding one's competence and legitimacy as 'other', thereby enabling the systematic reproduction of masculine rationalities for career progression.

Drew: *And .. .. I, if somebody had said to me, 'look, you know .. you're doing an amazing job as a [ ], you're, you're out-performing a lot of these guys, and you're a [ ]', 'you need to be applying for jobs', I would've gone, and I did in my own head around the .. 'whatever', look they just know so much more than me.* (Provincial area).

Drew's experience of 'being as good as men' constructs her as 'always-already' 'not male' in terms of the manner in which negotiates her gendered subjectivity or self-image in the workplace. The disciplinary power of the gendered substructure forms and transforms Drew's practice within and through heteronormative social power relations such she 'knows' that her male colleagues are more likely to be considered for progression, despite her ability to out-perform them. Such 'knowledge' or 'truth' constitutes Drew's lack of confidence to apply for other jobs. This subject position reproduces 'being as good as men' as something that is more than just a measure of skills and abilities and that there is an advantage to being male in terms of visibility in the organisation and eligibility for progression. 'Being as good as men' may therefore be understood in terms of navigating dividing practices that maintain advantage and disadvantage, constituting women as 'other' / 'not male'. This power-knowledge-subject relationship is also accounted for in Eddy's experience of having to prove herself in relation to men from the very outset of commencing her career in police.

SM: *.. it, it sounds to me that that's part of who you are, but did you also get a sense of um .. of having to work twice as hard to be seen as half as good as your male counterparts?*

Eddy: *Totally ... Yeah. Right from day one. ... that you do have to .. do a hundred and fifty percent,* … (Rural-provincial area).

Policewomen's increased visibility in terms of being 'other' / 'not male' / token's in a male dominant, gendered organisation is constituted by and within heteronormative social power relations as feminine / not masculine and therefore as lacking in terms of the stereotypically valued masculine characteristics of police officers. Women's credibility as police officers may therefore be understood as a

function of assimilation with a masculine 'ideal' whereby their performance of masculinity is a core component of acceptance as POLICEwomen whose performance counters gender stereotypes regarding their ability to perform the same duties as their male colleagues. Such assimilation is in contrast with policeWOMEN whose acceptance of gender stereotypes positions them as feminine and therefore not equal to men in the workplace (Archbold & Schulz, 2008). 'Being as good as men' is therefore enacted in terms of disciplinary power, whereby women's gendered subjectivities as valuable (citizen)-workers are shaped in accordance with a masculine 'ideal'. The inescapable judgement of the male gaze however, ensures women's constant visibility as 'not male' and therefore always-already 'other' such that 'being as good as men' is both a state of continuous renegotiation and ultimate denial for women. 'Being as good as men' is also constructed in terms of gender-neutrality whereby taking up a masculine subject position in order to 'be as good as them' and 'get where I wanted to go' is perceived as proof that one is as good as the gender-neutral 'person' that one is competing against and obscures the masculinist construction of such competition.

Jamie: *Um, I, you know I think about the struggles that I've had, but I don't see them as struggles, because I actually think that I wanted to prove that I could be as good as anyone else, and it wasn't necessarily about being as good as a male, it was actually being as good as the person I'm competing against, whether they're male or female. However, in police they're more likely to be male. And to put yourself in a position where you can ah, compete with them, you have to be as good as them, so it's upon you to decide what that looks like and if you don't want to go into that environment then do something else, that's cool. So I knew what I did to get to that level…. but that was for me, that was to satisfy my desire to get to where I wanted to go, um and I never had any issues. And so I kind of, I was a bit startled sometimes when the women would say, "oh we don't get anywhere because we're females", and all the rest of it. I suppose I was a bit, I was sorta looking inwardly, well I hadn't had any troubles, getting there .. um, because I knew it was what I wanted to do and I was gonna prove myself beyond all doubt that I was the best person for that job. Um .. so I really haven't struggled and I'd have to say that all the way through my career .... I've done everything I wanted to do, … (Provincial area).*

Jamie's account is constructed by and within a neoliberal, postfeminist sensibility (Gill, 2007) such that her experiences of successfully competing for a

position on a traditionally male-only workgroup and her progression to senior ranks occur in accordance with rational, calculating and self-regulating 'choices' and that such choices are freely available to all women in the organisation. Framing choice in this manner necessitates a subject position for women as the bearers of responsibility for their career development outcomes and that any constraints upon their actions are either unfounded or may be addressed by simply choosing another, less competitive / feminised option. Furthermore, it implicates women as responsible for their own oppression with no recognition for the externally situated regulatory functions of the police organisation as an apparatus of disciplinary power. Overwhelming evidence to the contrary is brought to bear on this account however, when consideration is given to the extent to which women, rather than men, are required to reconfigure their gendered subjectivities in order to self-manage and self-discipline their practices in the workplace so as to transform themselves into 'being as good as men'. It is the disciplinary power of the socio-cultural masculine rationality of police as a gendered institution that exerts pressure and constraints upon women's subjectivities, thereby necessitating a subject position of 'not being like women', rather than an individualism that resides in women as a self-reinventing subject.

7.1.4 Getting Ahead of the Game

Recently introduced initiatives to policing organisations in the United Kingdom and Wales have been implemented to reconfigure the standard pathway for progression to senior levels, including access to higher education for officers with leadership potential, fast-tracking schemes, and direct entry from the public sector to senior ranks. Such initiatives have had minimal effect due to the entrenched rules of formation that govern internal recruitment to senior levels, in accordance with the principle that all senior managers commence their careers at the lowest level of the constabulary (Silvestri, 2018). Those who successfully attain a high-level rank and/or role through non-adherence to such an ideology for progression are commonly perceived as lacking in credibility due to not having 'done the time' in terms with 'legitimate' working patterns and proven capability.

SM: *Have you ever experienced or observed any preferential treatment of women for promotion? You know, like positive discrimination and, you know, that sort of stuff?*

Sam: *I think .. I think there is .. um .. .. and you probably know it in a sense that we've been in the job long enough to know that there's still that thing that .. um .. you kind of have to have almost done the time, or proven yourself … that when you get a position people will say, "oh yeah, that's ok". Um, it's a bit like if you get a law degree and suddenly you're an Inspector and you were a Constable last week.*

SM: *Yeah. So there's a real importance on doing the time aye.*

Sam: *Well just having that um ..*

SM: *Credibility.*

Sam: *yeah, that's the word. … Um .. yeah, having that and I've seen .. I've seen um .. I guess .. um .. here would be a good example, … Um .. females came from [ ] to [ ] within 18 months, 'cos ..*

SM: *Why was that happening?*

Sam: *Um, and I think .. they were, they were competent … don't, don't get me wrong, but I can see the perception from outside, was .. um, 'really?' (Metropolitan area).*

While a specialist academic qualification may be administratively recognised as justification for skipping a rank, such individuals are subjectively positioned by and within the dominant discourse of 'doing time' as lacking credibility. The implications of being enabled to skip a rank are demonstrated in Dakota's account in terms of performance pressure and the need to regulate her conduct in the workplace so as to prove her credibility as a senior manager to her male colleagues. The dominant discourse is thereby reproduced while alternate realities for progression are constrained.

Dakota: *I kind of had to prove myself. ... I really didn't have um .. much .. didn't feel like I had much of a um .. much to give as far as my .. my voice being heard, I guess the way that I'd come through .. um being promoted .. um, some people had a view on that, … (Provincial area).*

Enhancing one's credibility, visibility and competitive edge in order to progress to senior levels of police may be achieved through the attainment of specialist academic qualifications and/or early completion of promotional qualifications. Women in policing agencies in the United States experience the attainment of academic qualifications relevant to career progression as a means to overcoming obstacles in

police work, such as resistance from men in terms of being perceived as a threat to the masculine domain of policing. Academic qualifications are considered to enhance women's prospects for progression in terms of being able to be more competitive, as well as providing a coping mechanism for overcoming the slow, strictly rank-governed progression system and the all-important institutional rigidity of 'doing time' (Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Silvestri, 2005). The not insignificant efforts of such practices for progression in the rank structure may result in women being fast-tracked through ranks and roles and/or skipping a rank, or result in not amounting to a competitive advantage at all. Additionally, such efforts may be met with a backlash of being sanctioned by explicit as well as implicit processes and practices, as enactments of heteronormative social power relations, functioning to bring one's progression path back into line, thereby putting one back in one's proper 'place'. MacKenzie's account, for example, constructs equality in terms of completion of police promotional qualifications and the attainment of rank as not being the same as being equal to or ahead of men with the same skill sets, reinforcing the aforementioned lack of neutrality in terms of 'being as good as men'. McKenzie's gendered subjectivity is such that it is incumbent on her to find a way to transform her 'reality', in order to compete within an inequality regime for progression that constrains women and enables men.

MacKenzie: *I was aware that I wasn't .. I wasn't ahead of any of the men, I was probably .. equal, but I wouldn't be seen .. I didn't feel equal. (Provincial area).*

Jesse: *And a lot of police are quite competitive. … And um, and so I, I am a bit of that nature that I'm competitive and so it was just part of the promotion, you know, I just wanted to get on and, and strive for … you know, that's just the way I am. And so that's why I went through the um, organisation a bit. Um .. and of course I did some academic things to, to help that. … Um, and I was in management at the time but I did, did an [ ] to give me those skills and to give me some sort of competitive advantage because, but you don't need it, it seems in this job, because if you look at, you know .. some of the people that get through, they don't need any, any qualifications or anything.*

SM: *So those people are getting through on their .. what?*

Jesse: *They're getting through on their 'who they know'. (Metropolitan area).*

MacKenzie and Jesse's experiences construct 'getting ahead of the game' as the attainment of qualifications for the purpose of gaining a 'competitive advantage' in

order to increase one's visibility and credibility for progression, but this does not necessarily equate to success in terms of being equal to one's male colleagues. While women can and do progress in police in terms of taking up highly competitive subject positions, attempting to do so through qualifications is constructed as holding less social power than that which is available to men through in-house networking. As discussed later in this analysis, men's networking functions as the exercise of disciplinary power, operating within and through heteronormative social power relations in the workplace that systematically enables progression for some while constraining that of others. Such mechanisms of social control may therefore be understood as mechanisms of power that trump the attainment of relevant qualifications and rank.

Actively seeking qualifications in order to increase one's visibility and eligibility in order to counter disparate heteronormative social power relations is also constructed as incurring backlash. Shannon's account demonstrates such an experience whereby her male colleagues endeavour to reduce any advantage she may be relying on by actively undermining her through reputation.

Shannon: *... so I was always ahead and I got all of those modules done.*

SM: *And were there any women?*

Shannon: *No. Oh, Detectives? Or .. there was one um, [ ]. Um, she was a Const um, a .. D/C, Detective Constable ... and there wouldn't've been any Sergeants, there was definitely no female D/Seniors and certainly no Inspectors. ... So it was just [ ] and myself, so you know, it was like I know there, there were a lot of knockers and it's like, 'oh', you know, the standard 'she must be sleeping with someone'. (Provincial area)*

While Shannon's account constructs early completion of qualifications as gaining a competitive advantage, it is her gender and visibility as 'other' that is targeted in the backlash she experiences from her male colleagues and unsuccessful all-male competitors. To be accused of 'sleeping with someone' in order to progress is constructed as a commonly understood 'standard' reaction in the workplace that functions to delegitimise women's successes by constituting women in terms of being 'other' / not male and therefore disruptive / not suited to male domain of senior ranks. The suitability of women to leadership at higher levels of police continues to be defined in terms of masculinist ideals regarding leadership characteristics and career progression processes such that women are constituted as a dual threat to the gender order of the

organisation, both as women and as women in control of men (Silvestri, 2005). Shannon's subsequent experience of successfully gaining a competitive advantage to secure a promotion is also constructed in terms of having her gender being the salient feature that negates her legitimacy for success. The dominant masculinist discourse of 'doing time' functions as the mechanism through which women's enactments of 'getting ahead of the game' are more likely to invoke accusations of illegitimate gain, rather than recognition for a successful alternate reality, such as generating readiness for progression through one's ability to demonstrate competence early in one's career.

Shannon: *And um so .. so got, I got that job but when I got it um .. you know, I, this is, I and I think every job .. that I've ever had other than when I was [ ] and [ ], and this was for the [ ] um, you know, they reviewed and appealed it, and I felt that was a real .. you know, I, I didn't see how you could do that, um, and it was a .. and it was a crack at your character, um, how they would do it. … And I know it was all about, I haven't done 10 years in the [ ]. So um, AND probably you know, 'who's this woman', 'she's had preferential treatment'. So, despite the stuff, you know, that I've done they .. um, so .. so … (Metropolitan area).*

Shannon's account demonstrates how the disciplinary power of discourses of credibility and 'getting ahead of the game' function to maintain the 'natural order' for progression and eligibility to senior levels of police. Her lack of adherence to the 'tick box' masculinist system of progression is perceived as disrupting the 'natural order' and as giving her an unfair advantage over her unsuccessful male colleagues who then initiate a review process as means of character assassination. Shannon is constrained by and within heteronormative social power relations in terms of both being 'other' / 'not male' and for lack of obeisance to masculine norms for progression.

7.2 Discourses of the 'Ideal' Police Leader

As a gendered 'institution', the disciplinary technologies of the police organisation function to regulate the practices of women and men in the workplace in terms of organising processes, organisational culture, interactions on the job and gendered subjectivities, enacted as commonly understood behaviour or social action that differentiates women from men. Historically as well as in the present context, police organisations reproduce a substructure, particularly at senior levels, that is organised in

terms of gender, developed by and for men, and defined by the absence of women (Acker, 1992a). Normative understandings of gender function in accordance with a hierarchy of masculinities *"as a pattern of hegemony"* (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p.846) that is contextually legitimated and associated with authority and social power, within which hegemonic masculinity emerges as a material practice of authority, control, independence, and competitive individualism. The gendered nature of police senior ranks is constituted in terms of a hegemonic masculine managerial culture in which commitment, stamina, credibility and competitiveness are valued as fundamental attributes of individual managers. Such a pattern of hegemony therefore subordinates alternate realities such as where requirements for alternate working patterns are perceived as part-able, part-committed and part-credible (Silvestri, 2005).

Roles at senior levels of the organisation maintain an underlying male-centric organisational logic premised on a masculine rationale for evaluating the characteristics of roles as positions in an organisational hierarchy that exist as representations of tasks, competencies and responsibilities. Roles and hierarchies are abstract categories transformed into existence by the addition of a 'disembodied' 'ideal' worker who can perform the role requirements with minimal obligations to life outside the workplace that may impinge on a full-time, life-long job (Acker, 1990). The 'ideal' police leader is therefore a masculine subject who is in possession of a full time, uninterrupted career, guaranteed through their ability to demonstrate commitment, competence, credibility and competitiveness. Such an ideal for women, whether or not they have family commitments, therefore becomes an investment in the 'smart macho' culture of police leadership (Silvestri, 2017). Such systematic differentiation, formulated on a hegemonic masculine ideal, enables an inequality regime in which disparities between individuals in terms of power and control over outcomes, the organisation of work, and access to opportunities for development and related benefits function to privilege those who meet the 'ideal' and disadvantage those who cannot (Acker, 2006).

7.2.1 Working Long Hours

Hours of work for most commissioned officers are set at 40 hours per week, with a stated expectation in their contracts that hours may extend from time to time. Non-commissioned officers' hours may vary if there is a shift-work component to their

role. There are only two commissioner officer roles in New Zealand Police that have a shift-work component. All roles incorporate set hours loaded into a personnel database that may be altered where actual hours of work differ from one's set or rostered hours. Non-commissioned officers are entitled to accrue time off in lieu for additional hours by amending their time sheets accordingly, however commissioned officers are not entitled to accrue time off in lieu. All of the commissioned officers and non-commissioned officers in this research were in non-shift work role's working full-time set hours. A small number of non-commissioned officers had flexible full-time working arrangements to accommodate family commitments.

The dominant theme for full-time senior ranking policewomen was that their roles regularly require additional hours outside a full-time week. For many of the participants, this occurs on a day to day, week to week basis, particularly for, but not limited to, those working in provincial and rural areas. Additional hours of work occur both in the workplace as extended hours, as well as at home in evenings and on weekends.

Lee: *But I, I'm really um, like I do probably, like everybody, work too much and work too longer hours sometimes, but still take the time for myself as well to work it out.*

SM: *Yeah. Um, what are your average hours per week?*

Lee: *Mmm, they're probably um .. just over 50. They're definitely not 40. Yeah, so they'd be, travel between 50 and 60 probably. And that doesn't include emails at home and stuff like that, so .. (Metropolitan area).*

SM: *Um, so what would be your average hours per week in this role?*

Max: *Ohhh .. 50 to 60. ... but then I can have, I can have a week straight that's just 40 hour week. Ah but my phone can go anytime. I mean they pay me for that. ... I don't necessarily expect that of all of my people. They're not necessarily paid for that, there's .. certain people are so ..*

SM: *So you understood that to be part of your role.*

Max: *Absolutely. Buck stops here. (Metropolitan area).*

SM: *And in your previous role, um .. was it similar? In terms of you staying across all of your role requirements? You managed to fit it pretty much reasonably into the working week?*

Glenn: *No. No. Never.*

SM: *How did it look in your previous role?*

Glenn: *Never put it on the time sheets, but, yeah .. always .. started early, always working late … you usually start, oh, probably do to start at 7.30 and go through till five sometimes five-thirty each night, Friday's .. longer, so that you actually .. could come back on Monday .. and only maybe do half an hour to an hour overtime on a Monday.*

SM: *And that was week to week.*

Glenn: *Yeah. Every week. (Provincial area).*

Jamie: *My .. my honest hours would be no different to most rural [ ]. … Um, it would be anywhere between 60 and 80 hour weeks. (Rural area).*

These accounts construct working long hours and being available after hours as commonly understood practices occurring on a daily basis. While Max's salary may reflect the 24/7 availability required by her role/rank, the disciplinary power of such normalised patterns of work is such that it is the individual who is required to transform their behaviour in terms of self-regulation to 'still take time for myself' and to not formally report one's actual work hours, as well as self-discipline around acceptance that a standard 40-hour week is the exception rather than the norm. Working long hours is also constructed as something that is both an explicit and implicit expectation at senior levels and that one knowingly chooses and therefore naturally expects when applying for such roles.

Jesse: *Um, yeah I mean I, I worked long hours … and I think a lot of people do. I mean you, you put your hand up for these jobs, and so that's what you've gotta expect. I didn't expect to not work long hours, you know.*

SM: *Was that made explicit to you in the position requirements that you know, the sort of hours?*

Jesse: *... no, it, it wasn't but I mean you'd have to be silly to think that you're gonna go ... and run a district as big as [ ] ... and work eight hours and go home for the day. 'Cos you didn't, you know. (Metropolitan area).*

Sam: *... It's probably what I put on me though, 'cos it's never been um .. when I talked um, to [ ] he said, "you just", you know .. um, "it's not a forty hour week", um, "but you figure out what you work", (Provincial area).*

Sam's experience further demonstrates the mechanism through which governing practices such as the requirement to work long hours is enacted as a technology of the 'self'. Sam is subjectively positioned by and within the dominant discourse of 'doing time' as having to 'figure out' how she is going to meet the requirement to work long hours. The regulatory power of a structural element of the workplace is thereby transformed in terms of a responsibility enacted upon oneself as a self-managing neoliberal subject. Sam's belief that 'it's probably what I put on me though' and Jesse's attitude of 'you'd have to be silly to think' reproduces 'doing time' as occurring at the level of individual 'choice' rather than as a technology of power operating as domination of the self.

Police National Headquarters (PNHQ) is a specific location in which commitment and stamina for working long hours is valued more highly than working within the parameters of full-time hours. Policewomen experience PNHQ as a specific socio-cultural location for the reproduction of hegemonic masculinity in terms of the need for ruthless competition to ensure recognition of one's abilities to perform in accordance with a masculinist ideology for success. At senior levels of policing in particular, a distinctly masculine subject is constructed through practices that demonstrate high visibility and availability, sacrifice of personal commitments, and being a docile, obedient, unquestioning subject (Thomas & Davies, 2002).

Casey: *I can't really go anywhere. I can't do anything because of, most jobs in the Police aren't eight to four. ... They really aren't and almost definitely, ALL commissioned officer's jobs that I know of aren't eight to four. And if you do, then you're frowned upon and, ... I know of somebody down at PNHQ in the Executive, who apparently twice a week left at four so that he could spend time with his kids, and he was sort a, laughed at, or, or ridiculed by other members of the Executive, because that just wasn't the done thing.*

SM: *Yeah. So what ARE the expected hours?*

Casey: *Oh, I don't know. I think you're expected to be there well after the, the majority have left, you know, I don't think it's, it's a SAID time, but it is kind of, you know, first in last out is, is the, are the people that are valued, regardless of what they're doing.*

SM: *Yeah. That's crazy aye. It's like working harder is more valued than working smarter.*

Casey: *But also we talk about, you know, the whole work life balance and that and I just think it's a joke because .. at the highest, that's ok for the lower echelons but at the highest level, we can't model that. And if somebody actually DOES, like this gentleman that I was talking about, you know, it's, it's frowned upon, … (Metropolitan area).*

MacKenzie: *Here (PNHQ) is a bit different and that .. ah .. .. the, the .. .. um .. responsibility or no, or the expectation I think? Is that you work .. long hours at this um .. rank, …*

SM: *So that expectation, how is that conveyed to you? Is it made clear? Or, is it what's modelled?*

MacKenzie: *Just .. no. No. It's just … Well, it's not even .. yeah, it is modelled by others, but you just feel that that's the expect, …(Metropolitan area).*

Casey's account clearly demonstrates the operation of hegemonic masculinity in terms of how the governing practices of work being modelled at PNHQ act to constitute the subjectivities of women and men in the workplace, thereby systematically advantaging those who can demonstrate such practices and marginalising alternate masculinities and femininities. Casey and others whose commitments outside the workplace are incompatible with working long hours are relegated to feminised subject positions of being constrained, thereby being of less value and more likely to be sanctioned in terms of access to certain roles in senior ranks and to the benefits that go with such roles. For example, the man who is 'ridiculed' for spending time with his kids rather than working long hours is positioned by and within the hegemonic masculine 'ideal' as feminine / not masculine, therefore lacking the credibility and ability to compete at that level of the organisation. MacKenzie's account constructs working long hours at PNHQ in terms of being something one can 'just feel' or 'knows' to be part of one's rank. Contemporary modes of power may be understood in terms of

the manner in which such power operates on and through the formation and reformation of women's gendered subjectivities (Gill & Sharff, 2011). The docility-utility relationship is demonstrated in MacKenzie's experience as the embodied 'responsibility' or 'expectation' of working long hours as disciplinary 'truth's' that constitute her subjectivity at the level of governmentality, whereby the practice of working long hours is enacted in accordance with becoming the normatively constructed 'ideal' worker.

Val: *so for me, I've always said I, I never want to work at Headquarters, um because I .. the culture there of the .. everything is done .. because of um .. because politically it's the right thing to do, or because it has some influence somewhere else, or .. and people um .. ah, the competition between people for things, not for the right reasons but because actually they want the role for themselves or, all of that sort of stuff I find um .. is an environment that I wouldn't remain healthy in.*

Obtaining a role at PNHQ is constructed as an essential component for progression to higher levels of the organisation. Val is subjectively positioned by and within hegemonic masculinity as unlikely to pursue a role at PNHQ where competing with one's colleagues for desirable roles occurs in terms of a normative socio-political demand for practices that demonstrate the successful deployment of competitive masculinity. Furthermore, the constant purposive action required to remain competitive in this environment is not conducive to the wellbeing of all workers. Val's active resistance to such practices is defined by and within the individualising and totalising effects of the police organisation as a gendered institution whereby hierarchical economies of desirable and influential roles are negotiated in terms of disciplinary power occurring as a mode of action upon the actions of those aspiring to higher levels of the organisation. For example, the relationship of power defined by hegemonic masculinity differentiates, regulates and maintains alternate masculinities and femininities as 'other' / those over whom power is exercised and therefore those who act in terms of subject positions of constraint, as demonstrated in the aforementioned account where an alternate, 'feminine' reality incurs ridicule. This is further demonstrated in Max's account where she attempts to locate resistance and change at the level of the individual.

Max: *But I know at Headquarters there's a different view where people are thinking they have to work from six 'til six because that's what the bosses are working but, you know, that .. that I think is just .. ah .. a challenge for them to overcome because it's actually not expected.*

SM: *So why are they doing it?*

Max: *Why are the others doing it? The, the .. ah, to impress, to .. they think they have to because, or maybe because the, the boss above isn't using their um .. ah their discretion to NOT call them at five o'clock and ask them questions. … Yeah. It's, so it's not exactly something that's being modelled up here. You know, doing huge hours. Never has been. Well [ ] was the [ ] here when I was here working for him, and he worked huge hours and he would think nothing of ringing you at, whenever he decided to ring you to talk about something and his principle was, 'well you're paid to do that' as the [ ]. Ah and .. ah he wasn't the only one so I probably shouldn't just name him but, ah over the years, but and I would just simply say, … "well actually, actually that's something that waits 'til Monday", … And, or we'd … work our way through it. And there might be people that can't have that conversation maybe? Ah but .. those are things and that's managing up. (Metropolitan area).*

Max's account constructs working long hours in terms of neoliberalism whereby power and control is exercised in accordance with the abilities and choices of rational and self-motivated individual managers and workers. Subject positions of unnecessary compliance or lack of competence are enabled, whereby individuals 'think they have to' 'to impress', and to resist such normative practice occurs in terms of a requisite ability to 'manage up' and effect one's managers' inability to exercise discretion. Situating the structural at the level of the individual conceals the power-knowledge-subject relationship through which the governing practices of a socio-political gendered institution such as police operate to constitute women's and men's subjectivities in the workplace. Subject positions of constraint and struggle are thereby problematised in terms of lack of individual capabilities to overcome structural barriers to development such as being better at maintaining one's own boundaries as a manager where roles require one to work in excess of a full-time working week.

7.2.2 Balance

Policewomen's experiences of achieving a work-life balance construct 'doing time' in terms of conflicting subject positions of compliance with being a 'good (masculine *and* feminine) leader' who also models a healthy work-life balance. The promotion of new professional / managerial police subjectivities, implemented to support organisational change in accordance with equal opportunities and diversity measures, has been experienced by women in senior leadership roles as the embodiment of the traditional masculine managerial subject *and* new forms of competitive performativity. Such performativity is also termed as a 'soft', inclusive and therefore more 'feminised' professional norm that includes new core leadership and managerial competencies of being professional, managerial, and ethical in terms of valuing diversity, such as family-friendly working patterns. Despite the aims of such new managerialism, predominant structural constraints operating within and through heteronormative specificity continue to shape police managerial culture in terms of the traditional masculine subject as the 'ideal' leader whose personal life is able to be sacrificed in order to satisfy the levels of commitment required by their role (Thomas & Davies, 2002). For women senior managers who have parental responsibilities, the embodiment of the new professional / managerial subjectivity continues to represent a constrained / feminine subject position. Attempts at work-life balance, such as structuring working patterns around childcare responsibilities risks sanctions relating to perceptions of a reduced level of commitment to organisational requirements. Subject positions that require women to embrace and balance certain aspects of 'femininity' in order to 'achieve' balance reproduce the gendered power relations of contemporary organisations in terms of individual responsibility for the performance of a calculated and efficient work-life balance that ensures the business goals of the organisation in the first instance, rather than the wellbeing of the individual (Adamson, 2017). For example, women's lived experiences of the costs of being unable to achieve balance, such as loss of time with family, burnout and/or illness, remain the responsibility of the individual in terms of a lack of ability to successfully enact both masculinity and femininity within the masculinist context of police senior management.

SM: *What sort of stuff do you have to work hard at managing?*

Dakota: *Ah, not working too many hours .. primarily. Yeah, though I've got better at that, um, I mean at the end of the day, we're all indispensable. I've seen too many people .. now, um .. get sick. And um, and some not come back, and um, it's just not worth it. Um .. so yeah, I think um .. you know, and especially for me .. to be a good leader, um, if I can't acknowledge that myself, and work .. you know, sensible hours and .. you know .. not, you know, there should be no expectations on anybody else and it should be seen that, you know, you've gotta have a good work-life balance so ..*

SM: *Um, you mentioned um, sort of .. ah, work-life balance, well I mentioned it before and you said that you've changed or made improvements on that, so what was it like and how did it change?*

Dakota: *Mmm. .. yeah, I look back and I haven't spent a lot of time .. I've missed out on a lot of my kids ..um .. .. activities, um or .. celebrations, you know, when they've done well at school, um .. all the time it's, you know, it's .. I wouldn't duck away from work .. um .. because I didn't feel, I guess, you know, I guess committed to the job, or be late getting home so I wouldn't be there .. to necessarily spend much time with, with them before they would go to bed so .. yeah and I guess um .. you realise .. that's, unfortunately it takes something to happen in your life, to make you appreciate .. that time, that special time you have with them. Um .. so .. um .. yeah, it was really about .. um .. I don't need to do .. I mean yes, I was doing this all .. this extra time, but actually what was I achieving out of it? Was I ever getting on top of it, was I taking too much on? (Provincial area).*

Dakota's accounts construct work-life balance as a contested notion, whereby sacrificing family to demonstrate commitment reproduces the highly valued masculine leadership 'ideal', however her renewed commitment to 'sensible hours', so as to ensure one is seen to be a 'good leader', functions to construct a conflicting 'feminine' / not masculine subject. Work-life balance is also constructed in terms of having to sacrifice one's commitment to working the long hours that one's role demands, in order to be actively involved in one's parental role. The subject position of the 'ideal' unencumbered worker is clearly demonstrated as that of someone who is committed to fulfilling their role requirements by working long hours and who does not need to 'duck away from work'. This is at odds with the coexisting subject positions of being a 'good leader' who role-models a work-life balance through not working too many hours, as

well as being a 'good mother' who is there when her children need her. The requirement to demonstrate work-life balance therefore occurs in terms of the power-knowledge-subject relationship such that work-life balance constitutes the valuable (citizen)-worker. The governing practices defined and delimited by and within subject positions of being an 'ideal' neoliberal worker, a 'good leader' and a 'good mother' constitute Dakota's gendered subjectivity in terms of her calculated and managed efficiency to ensure that she can 'achieve' productivity together with good role modelling without working the long hours that her role demands. The structural elements of organising processes and role requirements remain intact while responsibility for work-life balance is situated at the level of the individual. This is further demonstrated in MacKenzie's account whereby work-life balance, good leadership and being an 'ideal' neoliberal worker are constructed in terms of what is visible in the workplace and the normative demand of one's role requirements. It is MacKenzie who is called upon to self-manage her work practices by taking work home to ensure productivity and leadership competence.

SM: *And what sort of hours were you doing as a [ ]?*

MacKenzie: *No, so I was, I was trying to role model really good behaviour in the office sense where it was visible, but I was still going home and doing, I was actually working at home, because we've got mobility, we've got those notebooks.*

SM: *So prior to coming into the role, was that made clear to you, the enormity of it?*

MacKenzie: *No. No, I don't think so. No, not at all. But none of those, when you go into a new role you never get that, … (Provincial area).*

The implications of 'achieving' work-life balance in this manner is the concealment and reproduction of normative 'smart macho' practices of 'doing time' at senior levels of the organisation. Policewomen's discursive constructions of 'doing time' in certain roles at commissioned officer-level of the organisation necessitate subject positions of constraint in terms of willingness and/or ability to perform the requirements of such roles.

Val: *I think that um .. people don't want to be Commissioned Officers, um, and they certainly don't want to be [ ] because the perceptions of our workload, and what we do and what we get .. what we don't get compensated for, in terms of our salary package.*

Adrian: *Um, yeah so I don't see, I see if I want to go up another .. level, a problem here. Um .. for me it would be me, that would be the problem, like my thoughts or .. .. confidence or lack of confidence about applying for a role and the time that it would take, you know, like .. I, and, and as an Inspector they expect people to do .. time outside of .. your, you know, your 40 hours or whatever hours you're doing, away from that and I'm not sure that I've got the .. the time or the inclination to do that when I've got .. other stuff going on. My daughter's only [ ], so ..*

SM: *That expectation that you mentioned, is that um .. largely unwritten?*

Adrian: *Oh yeah.*

SM: *But yet it's common knowledge aye.*

Adrian: *Yeah. (Provincial area).*

Sam: *… it makes me sound as if I'm not ambitious and stuff, but I'm not sure .. I, I still wanna enjoy life, um .. I'm not that keen to work 70 hours a week .. you know?*

SM: *And is that's what's being modelled at [ ] level?*

Sam: *I think well, perhaps, perhaps not 70 but it's certainly what we're getting from the Exec, you know, um .. and yeah, I don't think that's me. (Metropolitan area).*

Val, Adrian and Sam's accounts demonstrate the manner in which women's gendered subjectivities are formed and transformed by and within the normative functions of 'doing time' at commissioned officer-level. Unwillingness or lack of confidence to progress past a certain level in police senior ranks occurs at the level of governmentality as acquiescence to 'truth games' rather than resistance to the structurally situated disciplinary technologies of the gendered organisation that constitute commitment to working excessive hours in accordance with a masculine ideal. Sam's account demonstrates the manner in which the gendered organisation maintains a binary division between men and women through the construction of women as 'not men'. For example, being 'ambitious' is constructed as a normative / dividing term for those who have a legitimate position at senior levels of police in comparison with those who may not wish to sacrifice personal life for work. The construction of women as the 'not' of men demonstrates the coercive power of discourses *"that are clearly instrumental in the oppression of women, and others, explicit where they must normally function implicitly"* (Grosz, 1989, p.37). The

normative or implicit nature of masculinist discourses operating within the police organisation as a gendered social institution function within and through heteronormative social power relations, such that binary divisions of man / woman and masculine / feminine are enacted in terms of dichotomies whereby man / masculine is equated with primary / privilege, relegating woman / feminine to all that is 'not'.

7.2.3 Extreme over-work

'Doing time' as a demonstration of commitment to one's role is a fundamental element of a police managers identity and one that is measured in terms of high visibility, working long hours, being available at all times, and the capacity to put the needs of the organisation before one's personal life (Thomas & Davies, 2002). Working excessive hours is a dominant theme for policewomen in senior ranks as part of one's designated role, taking on additional roles and where role requirements are over and above what the original role represented. Health and wellbeing also featured strongly as a tradeable commodity, regardless of whether senior-ranking policewomen had children, such that many participants spoke of having at some point in their police career, experienced significant physical and psychological health issues resulting from privileging work over all other aspects of life. Such practices are maintained and reproduced through an institution of over-work whereby individual working practices are exercised in terms of the need to manage feelings of guilt for confining one's work hours to that of a full-time working week, compared with normative practices of working additional hours, and of the need to avoid being perceived as weak and unable to cope with the responsibilities of police senior ranks (Turnball & Wass, 2015). Subject positions of resistance and/or individual responsibility are articulated in policewomen's accounts in terms of relinquishing roles in order to gain control over work hours and health matters; feeling like one can't say no when asked to take on additional roles; that working excessive hours is not unreasonable because it is comparable to what others are achieving; and to question the way work is structured is risky. Such subject positions reflect the aforementioned masculine values defined in accordance with the hegemonic masculine managerial ideal that delimits organisational life at senior levels of police.

Alex: *Oh, huge, huge hours because you know .. down there (metropolitan area) trying to get as MUCH done as I possibly could, so it would be nothing to work a 12 or 14 hour day. ... in (provincial area), I was working 90 hour weeks.*

SM: *And is that, is that made explicit when you apply for a role like that?*

Alex: *Nah.*

SM: *How do you know it becomes, at what point do you know it's part of the role?*

Alex: *Yeah, if you want to get stuff done that's just how long it takes sometimes and .. in [ ] (provincial area) on average, we would have 20 hours .. meetings .. a week. So, if you work a 40 hour week, and I did have this discussion with the [ ] ... I said, "look, over a two week period, you've got us actually booked in for 40 hours worth of meetings. ... and he was like, "what are you trying to say?" ... "so, is there some way that we can streamline the meetings, um shorten them up, make them run on time, so we start on time, finish on time", because they all ran over time as well. .. Well, you'd think I was being stroppy (laughs).*

Alex's account demonstrates the power-knowledge-subject relationship in terms of how her commitment to 'doing time' as extreme over-work is regulated by and within normative, governing patterns of work for senior manager's 'if you want to get stuff done'. Senior managers are thereby defined by their role requirements as organising processes within and through relations of docility-utility whereby normative demand equates to excessive hours and one's 'good reputation' is delimited by one's ability and/or willingness to meet such role requirements. The gendered nature of the docility-utility relationship is also demonstrated in terms of Alex's questioning of workplace practices that maintain the need to work excessive hours. The masculinist subject position of the obedient and disciplined (committed) manager is always-already guaranteed in relation to feminised positions of resistance as the 'stroppy', questioning (undisciplined) subject. Alex's manager's 'reality' of being unaware of any problem resonates with Foucault's concept of power enacted within and through socio-political structures as the individualising techniques and totalising procedures of an apparatus of institutional power (Foucault, 1982). Such simultaneous individualising-totalising power is further demonstrated in Morgan's account whereby giving 'my hundred and twenty, fifty percent of myself' is a condition of increasing specification of individuality

as a reconfiguration and transformation of her subjectivity in accordance with the specific patterns of work by those above her in the organisational hierarchy.

Morgan*: I gave .. my hundred and twenty, fifty percent of myself. And I didn't leave anything for the rest of me. … I didn't have .. … so all my life was, was work, work, work, work, work, … So I .. actually really contemplated leaving the Police, and that stage .. um, I needed a break,*

SM: *Why was it that you were allowed to work such huge hours? Who .. who's .. who ok'd that, kind of thing?*

Morgan: *I dunno if it was huge hours, I mean I don't know if I .. well, no ok, I did do a lot of overtime .. but .. .. I dunno if it was .. .. I mean, everyone did .. you know .. I, I didn't work as .. many hours as [ ] did, I mean .. far out, she .. .. she worked really hard. (Provincial area).*

Morgan's account demonstrates the manner in which women may be positioned by and within discourses of 'doing time' as taking up a masculine subject position, such as that of her manager who is modelling excessive work hours. Practical implications of the systematic enabling of working patterns that privilege organisational productivity through relations of docility-utility may therefore be understood as the enculturation of conduct within and through heteronormative social power relations as always-already commonly understood workplace practice. Resistance to and/or escape from the tyranny of such disciplinary power is constructed within and through Morgan's gendered subjectivity in terms of feeling like she may have to leave the police organisation or relinquish her role. While data relating to reasons for women's resignation from their police career has been found to lack sufficient detail, early resignation from police occurs at a higher rate for women than for men, whose separation from the organisation is more likely to take the form of retirement rather than resignation (Martin & Jurick, 2007; Prenzler, Fleming, & King, 2010). The possibility of re-producing an alternate reality, albeit in terms of being defeated by the status quo, is demonstrated in Casey's experience of extreme over-work. However, it is the individual who is immediately constrained in terms of the ultimate costs of the eventual change to Casey's work role, brought about by personal sacrifice, exhaustion and burnout.

Casey: *… when I was the [ ] and working for up to 60 hours a week, that was, that was why I learnt, and that was why when I went down to [ ] … I determined I was making fresh start and I wasn't going to work all hours of the day and night, and I was going to have a life outside of it. So I was doing, you know, up to 60 hours a week when I was [ ] … that's when I was saying, "it's a TWO person job now". And I remember saying to, .. um, saying, saying to the team, "the best thing I can do is leave because nobody will apply for this job and come and do this, nobody will want it". … And as soon as I did leave they advertised two jobs.*

SM: *So while you were prepared to do it, they were prepared to ..*

Casey: *And I saw that, eventually, I saw that, but not before I collapsed at a um, bloody training … and um, ended up on stress leave as a result, or sick leave, (Provincial area).*

Casey's account demonstrates the manner in which organising processes and structural change predicated on masculinist working patterns are constructed by and within discourses of extreme over work and work-life balance as constituting the gendered subjectivity of the individual feminine / not masculine subject. It is the individual woman senior manager who bears the burden of transforming her practice in order to meet the structural requirement of her work role. Casey's experiences of the level of sacrifice her role required may be understood in terms of the knowledge-power-subject relationships functioning within and through masculinist discourses of 'extreme over work' that define commitment, credibility and personal sacrifice in terms of a normative, male-centric understanding for establishing a secure identity and a legitimate position at higher levels of police. Being able to do and sacrifice more is perceived as being highly committed and therefore more suited to the masculinist profile of a police leader. Such organising of heteronormative social power relations renders women's docile bodies as being more docile than men's in terms of the manner in which women are constituted as both masculine *and* feminine subjects in the workplace. This is also demonstrated in Drew's experience of extreme over work as the failure or inability to 'say no'.

Drew: *I said, you know, "the fact that I am one of three [ ] and I am .. in the station, domiciled with [ ]", "you see me .. as a resource to be used and there is an expectation that I will do things that you wouldn't expect other people to do", (additional portfolio's*

to one's role) and I have difficulty at times saying no .. and so I get quite stretched and .. I don't think that's particularly fair in some regards that .. because I do so much for you, you expect so much more from me. That you keep asking and I .. you know, don't often say no. Um .. and so for me that was a little bit about self-preservation, otherwise I'm gonna die, trying to please everyone and be everything to everyone, (Provincial area).

Drew's subject position reproduces the regulatory power of the docility-utility relationship in accordance with the manner in which such power constitutes her 'reality' within the normative 'smart macho' managerial context of police. Saying 'no' is problematised and feminised in terms of being at odds with the masculinist discourse of 'doing time' and the 'docile obedient servant', whereby the 'difficulty' of saying no may be perceived as a lack of commitment, stamina and sacrifice for the responsibilities of roles at higher levels of police. Self-blame is a common theme in policewomen's experiences of the individualising-totalising regime operating within and through discourses of 'doing time' as a gendered construct. 'Fault' at the level of the individual, for allowing one's life to be 'consumed' by the totalising processes that define how work is organised in a gendered organisation such as police is constructed in accordance with a neoliberal view of individual responsibility for failure. This view resonates with policewomen's experiences of *doing* and *managing* 'time' in order to demonstrate commitment and credibility at senior levels of police as essentially informal, yet fundamental leadership characteristics (Silvestri, 2005).

Ash: *... So I worked loads of hours. I worked loads of hours the next year. Yeah, and then I, I, I've sort of, making a conscious effort this year .. but not to work so many hours. Because it's too much. My life has gotta, got consumed. ... See I need to, I think part of it's been my fault. I haven't managed my time, you know, I, I've worked too much, and instead of take, 'cos we don't get toil, and that's, you know, but I was, you know, I, all of that extra time I wasn't then having that day off ...*

Ash is positioned as lacking the management skill of 'doing time' in such a way that doesn't result in extreme over-work. While Ash's earlier account regarding her 'good' reputation is constructed within and through her experiences of mastery of the masculine 'ideal' as a lower-level manager, strict subjection under the gaze of masculine managerialism at higher levels of police constitutes Ash's gendered

subjectivity in terms of lack and/or the 'not' of men. Attaining legitimacy as women of high rank within the normative and implicit functioning of such a structural / masculinist 'ideal' is therefore constrained in terms of the need to navigate 'lack' as a feminine / not masculine issue in accordance with a neoliberal governmentality. 'Failure' to manage time by those who are positioned as having to divide their time between personal and work commitments can therefore only be reconciled at the level of individual responsibility. Such conflict between the need to demonstrate the requisite high levels of commitment at senior levels and the need to properly manage the lived reality of one's long hours, availability, visibility and unquestioning identification with the organisation (Thomas & Davies, 2002) is further demonstrated in Morgan's account.

Morgan: *Um .. so I think it was expectations I put on myself really, to do as much as I could, … So, looking back now, if I wanted to have .. probably had more longevity .. in my [ ] role, I shouldn't have taken that .. that other .. that other role on, 'cos .. the two of them are massive. … And in that time I was on eight panels, eight .. um .. vacancy panels and while .. I look at that now and go, "wow, that was awesome for me", it was SUCH a burden while I was there … um, but I seemed to be the 'go-to'. Um .. so that was a huge workload as well, which could've been shared around some of the other managers. .. Maybe I should've said no more, but .. I'm not a no person ..*

Morgan's enthusiasm 'to do as much as I could' in order to legitimise and confirm her position in senior ranks is defined by and within her subject position as 'the go-to' committed individual. Rather than questioning the structural processes that determine her role requirements and performance outcomes, Morgan takes responsibility for her lack of longevity as a failure to say 'no'. Being a 'no person' is constructed in gender-neutral terms, however in accordance with the aforementioned problematisation of saying 'no' to managerial role requirements, being a 'no person' or bearing the burden of not saying no, is deeply gendered. While doing and sacrificing more is commensurate with the masculinist profile of the highly valued, committed police leader, saying no and/or being feminised in terms of struggling with the burden of one's role requirements risks being positioned as not having what it takes to compete in senior ranks.

7.2.4 Doing Time Outside Work Hours

Being available outside work hours via one's police mobile phone and the ability to manage emails from home are commonly understood practices for 'doing time' through managing one's workload at senior levels of the organisation. Policewomen experience this capability in conflicting ways, as being both an explicit and implicit expectation of their role that may be simultaneously discouraged and necessitated by senior managers, and as something that enables them to manage their workload.

SM: *Is there an expectation that you after hours, do respond?*

Ash: *Yes. Yes.*

SM: *And was that part of the role requirements? Was that made explicit to you?*

Ash: *No. No. No. But that, that, no. But it absolutely is expected. And that every day I'm looking, and in the weekend I'm looking at my phone to see what's happened in the weekend and, absolutely. And I think it's WRONG. But we do it. The ONLY time I'm not looking at my phone is when I go overseas. (Metropolitan area).*

SM: *Are you required to stay across your um, emails and be available by phone 24/7?*

Taylor: *That's the expectation.*

SM: *Is that an explicit expectation of your role? Or .. unwritten?*

Taylor*: unwritten. It's a unwritten, yeah so, verbally they'll say, "no, we don't expect that", but .. um, I've been .. um, told .. um, not in a direct way, that .. "oh you didn't see that email last night …", sort of thing. It's like, "no I didn't because I ..", am not required to check my emails at night, so yeah, they say one thing but then, just little comments and chips through .. um, indicate that the expectation's otherwise. … And you know, maybe as a woman, um, feeling .. um, that I have to achieve or do things, be on top of things more, like I take more notice of that 'cos I think, well if I'm NOT on top of that .. or if I haven't checked them .. then how do I .. look like I'm doing a good job, or how do I .. (Metropolitan area).*

Ash and Taylor's experiences construct 'doing time' in terms of commonly understood practices of monitoring one's emails outside work hours, practices that are both required and discouraged by their senior manager's. The power-knowledge-

subject relationship is demonstrated through the manner in which these subject positions call Taylors's commitment and competence into question in terms of the governing practices of her team. Her gendered subjectivity is thereby reconfigured in accordance with needing to manage organisational masculine rationality, functioning so as to differentiate Taylor as being 'not male', through aligning her conduct with that of her team in order to ensure her legitimacy. While policewomen's accounts construct 'doing time' in this manner as being 'wrong', their knowledge that everyone does ensures compliance to such normative demands. Practical implications are evidenced in Chris's account whereby such working patterns at higher levels of the organisation may be a deterrent to her progression.

SM: *And .. and is, it is, seems to be um, an unwritten requirement of the role, that you stay across things, outside your workplace, aye.*

Chris: *Yeah. Yeah. It's so wrong. I just, you know, I .. when I look at the ah, certain people in leadership roles, and I just think, you know, I, I have NO aspirations to actually want to promote because of that. That's not the example that should be set, and it, it would be really good to get away from that.*

SM: *Do you see um, people at those levels modelling any other way of doing it?*

Chris: *No.*

SM: *Is anyone doing it differently?*

Chris: *No. (Metropolitan area).*

Chris's experience of 'doing time outside work hours' is that of normalised practices that govern the gendered subjectivities of those considering their career options as resisting the masculine subject position of the self-sacrificing committed police manager. Such resistance is also constructed in policewomen's understanding for the need to manage perceptions of how 'doing time outside of work hours' may be viewed by others.

Dale: *I don't think I'm excessive. I, like I don't, certainly don't send emails at two o'clock in the morning or anything like that. Um, and it bothers me when I see that actually 'cos I think, 'oh'. … Yeah, from some of the members of the Executive, yeah. … Yeah, like I, like I'll open it in the morning and think, 'oh, when did that .. oh … 'two*

o'clock', you know, but they might've woken up with insomnia, who knows. (Metropolitan area).

Sam: *Um .. but mobility I think makes it easy and I'm really conscious .. um, I'm terrible on the weekend, I'll always check my phone and I'll respond to some emails and then I think .. 'shivers, staff don't wanna see me emailing them .. at seven o'clock on a Sunday morning', you know. Um .. so .. I have to, I, I'm very cognisant of that. But in order for me .. to have that work-life balance of like … I'll do emails on the weekend, put them in the draft thing and, and send them out on, on Monday. (Provincial area).*

Sam's account constructs 'doing time outside work hours' in terms of re-producing the way it is perceived by her team. Her account is also constituted by and within discourses of work-life 'balance' whereby 'doing time outside work hours' is essential in order for work-life 'balance' to be achieved. While women as managers may endeavour to re-produce an alternate reality in terms of the way 'doing time outside work hours' calls others into being, the masculinist knowledge-power-subject relationship in terms of demonstrating commitment to one's role requirements remains unchanged. Structural mechanisms for the manner in which role requirements are understood remain intact while responsibility for re-presenting such realities rest at the level of the individual.

7.2.5 Geographic Mobility

The New Zealand Police service is geographically divided into 12 districts namely Northland, Waitematā, Auckland City, Counties Manukau, Waikato, Bay of Plenty, Eastern, Central, Wellington, Tasman, Canterbury and Southland. Wellington District includes Police National Headquarters (PNHQ) and the Royal New Zealand Police College (RNZPC) and the greater Auckland area is divided into three districts. Geographic locations of police stations vary in terms of the size of a district and the representation of rural, provincial or metropolitan areas within the district. Such variations have a significant impact on the number and type of development opportunities that are available for police staff to progress to senior ranks and higher levels of the organisation. Selecting an applicant for a vacancy of any rank occurs on the basis of the best applicant for the role, however some appointment conditions implement additional proviso's such as unwritten rules that applicants seek positions

outside their originating station or district, or that applicants must reside in the district where the vacancy exists. Such practices of 'doing time' as geographic mobility are constructed in policewomen's accounts as being a 'healthy' imperative that functions to strengthen the police organisation in terms of developing leaders.

Ash: *Yeah because there's a lot to be gained from not promoting at senior level within district. … Um, and I DO know people that've just been promoted within district and it's not BAD but I think you do gain some .. knowledge um and .. just seeing how things are run a bit differently … It's the same reason I don't wanna promote a … constable in my station to be a sergeant in my station, I'd rather he, we, we skilled him up, even though it's a pain in the arse, and I send him somewhere else to be a sergeant. He can come back and eventually, but go away.*

SM: *Is that in order to experience a different type of policing?*

Ash: *Yes. That's right. Yeah. And different people and actually being a good a leader you need to be able to go in somewhere where they don't know you, … because they've never worked with you or for you and you go there and then you .. it's, it's a good way to be.*

SM: *So it makes a difference on the people under you.*

Ash: *Yes.*

SM: *So if you're promoted .. if you grow up in the same station, is there ..*

Ash: *I don't think it's that healthy. So we've, we've stopped doing that.*

SM: *Healthy in terms of the way that your staff respond to you.*

Ash: *That's right, and also how, yeah and also healthy for their mind-set, because if you've only known one way, there's more ways .. than one way to skin a cat, and you come back a bit more knowledgeable as well. You know, we only know what we know here 'cos we know it here. Go over there and see what they're doing and bring that back as well. (Metropolitan area)*

SM: *So do you think the geographic mobility requirement is something that's always going to be the case?*

Max: *I think .. you can't afford to stagnate and that's what happens and you look at these provincial areas and there is a degree of that, ah and so, unless we keep, and I say to keep ourselves honest around, around our leadership and strive to .. to not, not just, not turning people over but turning the mind over and challenging ourselves ah, that's always gonna be your weakness. Ah, so those that can move around, are they gonna have more advantage than others? Possibly because they get a wider .. breadth of experience. (Metropolitan area).*

Police stations in provincial and rural areas generally have a smaller and more stable workforce, limiting opportunities for progression to senior ranks due to the reduced number of positions and lack of movement by those occupying them. Max's account demonstrates the manner in which the discourse of 'doing time' as geographic mobility subjectively positions those who do not seek promotion outside provincial areas as potentially 'stagnating' in terms of practice and policing experience and those who do as having an increased chance of success in their attempts to progress in the organisation. The extent to which those aspiring to higher levels of police must adopt a career strategy that includes geographic mobility thereby becomes significant in terms of access to the socio-culturally instituted, gendered resource of time in terms of an unbroken career trajectory that includes occupying key development roles and ranks. In comparison with male officers, senior ranking policewomen in the United Kingdom emphasise lack of choice or strategic intent for the strictly regimented progression pathway and timeline that governs movement from middle to senior management (Silvestri, 2005). Within the rank structure and hierarchy of New Zealand Police, geographic mobility may be understood as an essential mechanism for 'doing time' in the increasingly competitive 'smart macho' managerial environment where time-serving continues to be one of the most highly valued attributes of masculine managerialism functioning at senior levels of the organisation.

SM: *So what do you see as .. current or sort of existing barriers to women in senior ranks today?*

Lee: *Um, the fact people have gotta move around the country, so there's that definite thing, you have to move. Um, like I relieved in [ ] for a little while … and I was there for five weeks and my husband was on leave, so it worked out quite nice. And then got to the end of that five weeks and, oh about two .. a day or two before, [ ] goes, "oh, can*

you stay longer?" And I go, "I'll go home first and see if that works". … "well, why do you have to do that? You can just decide", and it's like .. actually .. my family's really important and living [ ] in [ ] doesn't work for me. Um .. so, did that for a little bit longer and then they said, "oh, can you stay longer", and it's like, "no, I'm done", you know, and it's just, I'm not prepared to move round the country and travel, just don't want to. Other people do, and that's fine, so .. Um, like I would never apply, if I was looking at [ ] or [ ] I wouldn't move, I wouldn't apply for out of [ ] expecting my family to follow. You know, they would, but I wouldn't do it, so it's just a personal choice really. So I think that's a barrier because .. if you get settled somewhere, some people like moving and some don't, and I guess when there's so few women looking at that, um, they're not as keen to move. And some are. (Metropolitan area).

Lee's account constructs 'doing time' as geographic mobility in terms of being an essential structural requirement for career progression that defines and delimits her subject position as a senior ranking policewoman-mother. The regulatory power of geographic mobility constitutes Lee's gendered subjectivity in terms of her 'personal choice' to decline out of district development opportunities as a 'barrier' to progression. Additionally, Lee's preference for remaining in one area is constructed as less than optimal in terms of organisational practices for strategic career development, thereby constituting her subject position of constraint within the institutional hierarchy. Lee's gendered subjectivity as a senior manager with family commitments is thereby formed and transformed by and within social institutions of work and family that define 'successful' / masculine working patterns as those that are unencumbered by familial responsibilities that delimit alternate / feminine realities. The 'choice' to seek less optimal progression pathways may therefore be understood as occurring in terms of disciplinary power. The socio-political masculine rationality of the police organisation as a gendered institution governs practices for progression that produce distinctly different experiences for those who must consider obligations outside the workplace. As discussed later in this analysis, it is policewomen-mothers aspiring to senior levels in police who are disproportionately disadvantaged by such socio-structural constraints. Additional implications for being constrained by a stable workforce may be a longer delay in progression due to having to wait for a vacancy to become available in senior ranks. Such realities are also constructed as 'trade-off's' for strategic career progression.

Val: *But in terms of promotion I, look I think being .. geographically mobile is important .. .. if you .. want to try different things, and you don't want to wait. So I think if you .. if you're happy to wait and you've, you've gotta have balance, you know and .. you know, some things are more, people have to know what's important (inaudible) if .. balance and family and stability is what's important to them, then that, then with that comes .. you may have to wait, particularly if you're in the provinces, because the opportunities don't come up a lot. Um .. if you .. um .. like for me I like .. going to new places … so for me it's a .. good, positive thing. … But um .. it does mean if you're mobile that it means there's more options for you. Um .. but if you're not mobile then .. and that might be a good thing too but it's, that's just the trade-off, you have to make. (Provincial area).*

Val's account constructs geographic mobility as increased access to opportunities to develop one's policing experience, however this occurs in accordance with a 'trade-off' between subject positions of being 'happy' to wait for opportunities, such as where one may be constrained by the needs of balancing family and therefore not mobile, or being unencumbered by such factors and able to take advantage of options that require one to relocate. Such a 'trade-off' between family life, the need for stability and being unencumbered is constituted within and through heteronormativity and governmentality whereby waiting for opportunities functions in accordance with the regulatory power of 'doing time' and geographic mobility as a masculine 'ideal' for progression to senior management, rather than being a 'choice'. As a structural requirement for career progression in a gendered organisation such as police, geographic mobility limits the development of women with a need for family stability in terms of being marginalised to a position of limited agency. Such agency may be understood as a subject position that is defined and delimited in accordance with the disciplinary power of heteronormativity as a social institution that regulates practice and constitutes gendered subjectivities in terms of notions of 'truth' and 'choice' (Gill, 2008). Discourses of 'family' are therefore also implicated within and through heteronormativity in terms of access to the resource of time whereby men are more likely to benefit from the discursive positioning of women as wives, mothers, carers of children and other family members, as well as providers of domestic services.

Kim: *um, I'm not motivated to move around the country, FOR promotional opportunities. I wouldn't've done that to my family. And we always said right at the*

beginning, wherever the kids start school is where they will finish school and we KNEW at that point that that meant limiting the opportunities. (Provincial area).

Ash: *I wouldn't leave [ ]. Yeah. And that's a conscious decision.*

SM: *So there's never, you've never had anyone say to you, "oh, if you want to progress you need to .. to be mobile".*

Ash: *No. No. I mean look, people've said, "if you go to Wellington you're gonna get promoted quicker", or, you know, absolutely, but I'm never going to go to Wellington.*

SM: *Oh so is that the case, you get promoted quicker if you're down there?*

Ash: *Yeah. Absolutely. Definitely. Yeah. Or you, definitely if you go to Wellington or you move out of [ ] definitely, particularly if you go to Wellington or PNHQ or the College or, you know, absolutely. Yeah.*

SM: *Yeah. Why is that?*

Ash: *It's all, I have to say, it's always been that way. (Metropolitan area).*

'Doing time' as geographic mobility is constructed in terms of enduring, definitive and commonly understood organisational practices that expedite progression in senior ranks for certain individuals who are willing to 'choose' such a pathway. Kim's cognisance that a decision to have children 'meant limiting the opportunities' for progression demonstrates the power-knowledge-subject relationship within which policewomen's gendered subjectivities and 'conscious' decisions regarding geographic mobility are constituted. However, the regulatory power of geographic mobility as an organising process that structurally defines and delimits agency and access to the economy of opportunities is evidenced in terms of the blocked mobility (Kanter, 1976) experienced by policewomen who have family considerations.

Policewomen's accounts also construct geographic mobility as a strategic mechanism for increasing one's competitive edge, whereby being willing to commute between districts at one's own expense in order to gain experience may qualify as increased visibility for progression once a promotion position becomes available.

MacKenzie: *Um .. so yeah, so then um .. I realised that there were .. are gonna be other people competing, other men competing for that job, and that they had the same sort of stuff that I had, as a [ ]. So I thought, 'well that's not gonna work', 'cos I've*

always been quite strategic in my way of thinking. So I thought, 'well that's not gonna work if I'm gonna compete with them at the same level, they're possibly gonna ..', you know, 'have some things over me', so .. actually so then I started looking around on where I needed to put some .. experience in .. and I realised I needed to do some strategic stuff. And so there was a [ ] job advertised [ ] … So I applied for that and got it. So I moved to [ ] and I spent .. 18 months commuting from [ ] to [ ] .. and back. … not only was I commuting back six hours on a Friday and going back six hours on a Sunday, I was studying, I was doing three Inspector papers, … (Rural area)

Alex: *… and it was a Headquarters-based position. And I didn't want to move to Wellington, but I lived in [ ], so I could drive there. … So, my husband, [ ] … he was like, "if you go to Wellington, I'm not going to see you", .. so we made an agreement that I would work three or four days a week from Wellington, and that was at my own cost, so I had to find somewhere to stay down there and .. which was HUGE. But … it was just such a MASSIVE opportunity to be involved and … get some MASSIVE exposure and actually make a really .. good difference to the way that things were. … and I'm glad I did it, but it did come at a hell of a cost. I mean, I was getting up at 4 o'clock on Monday morning to drive to work. Ah, driving home on Thursday afternoon, working a day a week from [ ] and yeah, it was just, it was massive, but .. I wanted to do it. But yeah it did come at a cost and if I'd had children .. I wouldn't have seen my kids. Um, didn't see much of my husband who got a bit miffed with the fact I was away so much, and working, working 12, 14 hour days … (Metropolitan area).*

MacKenzie and Alex's accounts demonstrate the knowledge-power-subject relationship operating within and through heteronormativity whereby geographic mobility positions those who are unable to permanently relocate for a key development role to a regime of commuting between districts at their own expense. Policewomen's gendered subjectivities are constituted in terms of a willingness and capacity for making significant personal and familial sacrifices in order to demonstrate the worldliness that is considered to define the masculinist 'cut and thrust' decision-making abilities and cosmopolitan leadership qualities of senior managers in today's policing environment (Silvestri, 2005).

For some senior ranks such as Area Commander and particularly for District Commander, there are clearly defined and commonly understood practices for

appointing a suitable applicant based on geographic mobility. This proviso is modelled on other such 'best practice' in the United Kingdom for appointing Chief Constables whereby successful appointees must originate from a police force (district) other than that in which the Chief Constable vacancy exists. Those who succeed in attaining such a rank are also expected to serve at this level in at least one other district so as to be regarded in terms of being nationally mobile and 'cosmopolitan' senior officers (Silvestri, 2005). The New Zealand Police equivalent District Commander roles are highly desirable and preferable in terms of optimal access to the highest levels of the organisation whereby a superintendent holding the position of District Commander is a higher rank than other superintendent roles, with the difference being that District Commanders are members of the Police Executive. Policewomen's experiences of the requirement for geographic mobility in order to secure one of the 12 district command roles demonstrates the implications of such strict masculinist provisos.

Sam: *Um .. so yeah, unless you're prepared to move .. and I think in terms of, I think the likes of the District Commanders now, they want you to be prepared to move. (Provincial area)*

Leslie: *Yeah, so I'd applied for a District Commanders position before, and been unsuccessful, um and, and I knew the jeopardy that I was playing, that there was an expectation that you would [ ] start with a smaller district and then, to get an [ ] command, you would then be an existing District Commander and come back, into that sort of role, or ..*

SM: *'Cos that's the norm isn't it.*

Leslie: *Usually. Yeah. It is usually what happens, um, or that you'd sat in a National Managers job at Police National Headquarters, and so I KNEW there was a really big push that um, either I .. moved out of [ ] and went to a smaller district command to start with, or I moved to Wellington and worked in that Police National Headquarters space and did a National .. sort of role. Um .. but I didn't wanna do that, I'm absolutely um, committed to home life, um, to um, making sure that .. you know, I'm not absent … that's um, that's hugely important, because there's no point in me having a fantastic, wonderful job, and leaving collateral damage at home and having an unhappy home life.*

SM: *So were, did you feel like you could state that, openly?*

Leslie: *I did. Yeah. Yeah. … and I knew straight away that .. there was concern, that I had limited my options and um, that it was probably perceived that I was dictating my terms as opposed to what's best organisationally or, um, what others thought was better, … (Metropolitan area).*

Attainment of the structurally constituted 'cosmopolitan' / masculine identity through demonstrating the ability and commitment to police 'anywhere' and 'anytime' defines such practices in accordance with heteronormative social power relations both within and outside the workplace that function as critical determinants for the enablement of the unencumbered 'ideal' / masculine worker. Leslie's account constructs geographic mobility as having to move from the district she is currently working in to be a District Commander in another district, or relocate to Police National Headquarters for a lower ranked superintendent's role. Leslie is subjectively positioned by and within the discourse of 'doing time' as geographic mobility, as being at a crucial point in her career whereby the only options available to her in terms of upward progression are to be geographically mobile and relocate, or be constrained to horizontal or downward career options. Leslie is also positioned within this discourse as 'not the 'ideal' worker' due to her personal circumstances as a policewoman-mother with obligations outside the workplace such that her subject position guarantees her as being 'not male'. Her gendered subjectivity is thereby constituted in terms of the precariousness she is experiencing by resisting or 'dictating' to organisational imperatives.

Policewomen's accounts provide understanding for the gendered implications of geographic mobility as a primary structural mechanism for differentiating the 'ideal' / masculine unencumbered worker from those with obligations that prevent them from being mobile. The 'choice' to seek a less optimal progression pathway may therefore be understood as occurring in terms of the disciplinary power of the socio-political masculine rationality of the police organisation as a gendered institution whereby governing practices for progression are distinctly different experiences for those who must consider obligations outside the workplace. The implications of governing practices delineated by the requirement to be geographically mobile are brought into sharp focus at the highest levels of the police organisation whereby margins of opportunity narrow in accordance with the steepness of the police hierarchy as the number of positions at higher levels of the organisation reduces. Navigating such an

economy of opportunity places specific requirements on all individuals in order to compete for access to such levels, however in a gendered institution such as police, this occurs in terms of a system of disparities that function to privilege those whose lived realities reproduce the form of hegemonic masculinity operating at the highest levels of the hierarchy. Access to the opportunities and benefits that high-level positions provide is thereby maintained by and within an inequality regime that delegitimises the aspirations of those whose realities to not reflect the normative patterns of geographic mobility.

7.3 Discourses of Flexible Employment

The most common types of flexible employment options (FEO) under the New Zealand Police policy are formalised arrangements of reduced hours, flexible hours and/or job sharing and working remotely. There are no minimum hours, however any arrangement is required to fit with both the needs of the organisation and the individual seeking FEO. In accordance with FEO policy documents in general, the New Zealand Police FEO policy endeavours to position FEO as a gender-neutral option available to all employees despite the highly gendered organisational context in which the policy operates. The 'gender blindness' of terminologies such as 'flexibility' and 'work-life balance' do little to alter 'common sense' realities that construct and maintain working women as the main users of FEO policies whereby being a 'flexible worker' is routinely linked to being a woman with a young child (Smithson & Stokoe, 2013). Such terminologies conceal a postfeminist, neoliberal agenda in which women's agency in terms of the freely chosen actions of a self-reinventing subject is a simple matter of self-management, rather than a deeply gendered and thereby regulated gendered subjectivity (Gill & Scharff, 2011). Socio-political issues of gender equality are thereby sanitised to reconfigure women's agency in the workplace by and within cultural discourses that require women, not men, to undergo transformation that enables them to 'achieve' balance through flexible employment options.

New Zealand Police currently has a total of 323 or 4.1 percent (F=276; M=47) sworn police members utilising formal FEO policy-provisioned arrangements of which just one is a (woman) commissioned officer and 19 are non-commissioned officers. This data does not include informal FEO arrangements. Informal FEO arrangements

are flexible full-time hours negotiated with individual managers, such as flexibility within a full-time working week to leave work early to pick up children from school / day care and then finishing one's work day at home. In policing organisations in particular, many women are reluctant to seek formal arrangements due to perceptions that their requests will signify weakness and lack of commitment in terms of the masculinist 'ideal' to be able to sacrifice family commitments for work. Women manage such tensions through reliance on informal flexibility arrangements that are often dependent on goodwill negotiations with individual managers (Langan, Sanders, & Agocs, 2017). Many of the senior-ranking policewomen interviewed had utilised both formal and informal FEO arrangements in previous roles as non-commissioned officers, however at commissioned officer level such arrangements were deemed to be untenable for the majority of roles.

Casey: *so it's never, it doesn't stop, so … I'm, I feel privileged that I CAN do that, it's not, and I know that some people think it's a real easy option, it's not. 'Cos it's just, it's basically from six till eleven, non-stop, feeling guilty anyway, not matter what you do and how much you do, … They are the same hours, um, but they're kind of WEIRD because, yeah, you know, there'll be a phone call in amongst the time that really is supposed to be, … and when I say a phone call, there'll be four or five phone calls and, um, I will answer them because I feel guilty that I'm not at the station from 2.30 till five or quarter to five, … (Provincial area).*

FEO in this account is a guilt-laden blurring of the boundaries of full-time work whereby the 'privilege' of working remotely is enacted as a subject position of managing perceptions regarding one's utility as a valuable (citizen)-worker whose alternate reality as a working mother is constituted in terms of a reduced value to the workplace. While FEO may be an organisationally stipulated entitlement for those who require flexible or part-time work arrangements, such alternate realities are marginalised by dominant cultural ideals in the workplace that define the 'ideal' police leader in terms of how full-time commitment, credibility, and competence is typically enacted. The police leader invested in working an FEO arrangement is thereby delimited as being less committed, less professional and enjoying a 'privilege' rather than an entitlement (Silvestri, 2017). Adjusting temporal arrangements so that one's full-time hours are completed during the work day on the basis of an early start-early finish does not enable an alternate subject position. Casey is always-already

constructed by and within the dominant discourse as striving to fulfil the more desirable and valued characteristics of an 'ideal' worker whose commitment is unaffected by obligations outside the workplace.

Casey: *I'm also exploring the six o'clock start, and two or 6.15 till 2.15 day, which he's also supported. And um, and I've spoken to the [ ] here and said, "will that effect, you know, my business for you", and he said he supports that. …*

SM: *So, once you start the 6.15 to 2.15 hours, will you still be doing work at home?*

Casey: *The reality is, probably a little bit because um, but, but probably to be honest what it'll mostly be is answering the phone till five. Being available. I'm sure once we get into a pattern, um, to be able to come home and, yeah it's just, it's just honestly, it's just about wanting to be a hundred percent at work and giving it heaps and FEELING productive without feeling torn. Um, and likewise at home, feeling like I can be a good mum without feeling guilty because I'm not .. at the computer or on the phone, often I'm just you know, 'shh-shh I just need to take this call', … (Provincial area).*

The 'flexibility' to alter the arrangement maintains a subject position regulated by and within organising processes that define the number of hours one must be 'available', where productivity is categorised as 100 percent commitment to 'my business for you', and even full-time hours / commitment is required to be supplemented by attending to work matters while at home. A coexisting discourse of being 'a good mother' is also in play in which the ability to commit to the needs of one's children is able to be met, supposedly without having to navigate the guilt of FEO as the 'easy option' of leaving work earlier than others and then working from home.

Dominant discursive representations of women as mother's in paid employment frame childcare in terms of cultural expectations of mother's as having the ability to invest in meeting their children's needs and position mother's employment as standing in the way of family responsibilities, unless she can find a way to ensure she can put both work and family first and thereby be a 'good mother'. Concurrent with the discourse of being a good working mother is a neoliberal risk rationality that formulates individual responsibility for children's life course outcomes as being dependent upon intensive child-centred mothering, making the 'right' choices regarding options such as early childhood education, and assiduous planning to mitigate any risks posed to children where gaps in caring may occur (Wall, 2013). Contemporary beliefs

regarding such negotiation of career and family life construct mothers as free agents whose 'personal choice' in taking responsibility for being 'good' mothers also enables acceptance of traditional notions of work and family responsibilities as being freely chosen. Such beliefs demonstrate the individualising-totalising power of neoliberalism in terms of women's constrained agency as working mothers, whose individual right to 'choose' balancing family with career is imbued with the responsibility for success or failure, and having to live with such 'realities' (Jacques & Radtke, 2012). Casey's subjective experiences of being a working mother are constituted by and within a governmentality of conflicting gendered discourses whereby being the 'ideal' unencumbered police leader and being 'a good mother', is a subject position of feeling 'torn'. Achieving 'balance' in order to feel productive in both spheres thereby becomes a matter of self-regulating one's conduct to ensure one's sense of self is aligned with the structural aims of the organisation *and* motherhood. This achievement however, occurs as a precarious relation of power whereby structural changes can result in significantly different outcomes for individuals utilising formal or informal FEO arrangements.

SM: *Um, so your flexible, or your informal FEO, um, like*

Casey: *That could be cut at any time.*

SM: *Oh okay, so it's unique to your individual supervisor.*

Casey: *Yeah. Absolutely. So I could, he could leave tomorrow and [ ] could go in there, … Um, and I'd be screwed … and that's life over. Game over. (Provincial area).*

Lee: *because it's so valuable and it's just, it kept me in the job, I probably would've left if someone had said no.*

SM: *No to FEO?*

Lee: *Yeah. I would've done, 'cos it was um, the District Commander we had that time, when I came back the second time .. 'cos it was all agreed, I was coming back after my son [ ], um I thought he was gonna say no 'cos it was a different District Commander, and so had it .. had my debate ready and by that time [ ] was working for [ ] … so she was like, "come and work with me", you know, "you can have the FEO", so it was like .. not that I wanted to leave, but it was like, gotta have a back-up plan. (Metropolitan area).*

Lee's value to the organisation as a working mother hangs in the balance of the difference in perceptions between her current and former male managers. This 'reality' may be understood in terms of how the individualising-totalising power of police as a gendered institution regulates heteronormative social power relations, such as the need to have a 'debate' with a new senior manager regarding one's utility as an 'encumbered' / not 'ideal' worker, as well as a 'back-up plan' for obtaining FEO stability in a different organisation. Lee's gendered subjectivity is formed and transformed in accordance with such disciplinary power whereby her 'choice' to be a working mother comes with the constraints of uncertainty regarding her employment prospects, obscuring any socially constructed pressures on women to be 'good' mothers who take responsibility for negotiating the heteronormative 'truth games' of balancing career with family. Implications for policewomen include being marginalised to a subject position of reduced value whereby heteronormative social power relations constitute gendered assumptions regarding the eligibility of women on FEO for development opportunities due to their divided commitments between work and family.

SM: *So when you were on FEO were you under .. were you told, or given the impression that because you're on FEO, you're not eligible for promotion?*

Lee: *Mmm. … Yeah, it was sort, it was part of a conversation, we were talking about um, where everybody was gonna go and their development and stuff, and I said, "well I don't see myself in [ ] for ever, it's, it's a convenient thing for me at the moment .. and yes I'll get some experience and stuff but, you know, I might want to look at some other things", and they were like, "oh, but you're on FEO, so when that changes maybe you can look at it". … And so some of those others were sort of saying, "oh, you know, we won't feature you in this because .. you're on FEO". (Metropolitan area).*

Lee's desire for advancement while she is working FEO is structurally delegitimised by perceptions regarding her reduced availability as a part-time working mother in comparison with her full-time colleagues. The masculinist proviso that one's value in terms of eligibility for development is commensurate with the ability to demonstrate full-time commitment is also made clear. The implications of being positioned this way are evident in Lee's practice in her next FEO role where she takes individual responsibility for 'juggling' the role requirements with parental

responsibilities, through self-regulation of her availability to work additional hours outside her FEO arrangement.

Lee: *.. after .. [ ] was born .. applied for the um, [ ] … and I was told I could do it FEO and then they, I got it and they decided you couldn't, so I got the [ ] job which was a huge job, and so I ended up just getting exhausted 'cos I was doing, started increasing my days a little bit, not intentionally, just the work load, … Doing the [ ] job was different 'cos it was a busy job, and it didn't work on four days, and so, it was just .. some of those days were really long, but then I did, I was able to juggle it, like .. if my husband was home, then I could stay longer and get some things done, so I guess it's the pressure I probably put on myself. Wanting to do a good job. So, yeah it's the usual sort of thing aye, you stick pressure on yourself and say, "I'm gonna achieve this", "and get it sorted", and .. then feel guilty 'cos I'm not there the next day and set things up so you're, when you're not there and .. (Metropolitan area).*

Lee's account demonstrates the manner in which the modality of power regulated by and within disciplinary technologies such as organising processes functions as bio-power. Lee's gendered subjectivity is constituted in accordance with the requirements of a role that she has accepted in the understanding that it can be done on FEO. However, it is Lee who is required to be increasingly flexible in terms of overworking her FEO arrangement in order to perform the competencies required by the role, rather than any flexibility at the structural level. Such regulatory power is reproduced within and through governmentality at the level of Lee's gendered subjectivity, transformed so as to enable her to maintain a sense of herself as doing 'a good job' while demonstrating her value to the organisation as a worker whose less than 'ideal' subject position does not stand in the way of her competence. Individual responsibility also extends to taking ownership of the external pressures that contribute to her exhaustion and guilt for her four-day working week that in reality represents at the very least, a full-time working week achieved in a four-day period.

Women in senior ranks who are mothers and aspiring to promotional positions face assumptions that they will 'naturally' require FEO once they take up a new role. Such gendered assumptions in policing organisations are formulated in accordance with traditional ideals regarding career and family whereby women get pregnant and leave, resulting in greater organisational investment in men's careers, lack of career

encouragement for women, and the placement of women into stereotypical 'feminised' work roles. Additionally, women who seek to disrupt such social norms are perceived as being 'pushy' (Holdaway & Parker, 1998).

Leslie: *.. and there was, I knew there was discussion around, 'well how is she gonna do that, on FEO', despite the fact that no-one had EVER asked me, if I was gonna work FEO in the role. And um, I can remember being really annoyed at the time at some conversations that .. um, people that I had thought were very good sponsors of mine, um, had with me that said, "this isn't the right role for you, it's not the right time", um, rah-de-dah, um, and you know, I probably ranted and raved a bit then, um ..*

SM: *Do you think they were trying to sort of soften the blow a bit, they knew that .. you were automatically kinda excluded from it because of that assumption? Or ..*

Leslie: *Um .. no, no, more of the fact that, um 'you've got a baby, you need to .. look after'. (Metropolitan area).*

Leslie's account demonstrates the constrained agency of her dual subject position within discourses of being 'a good mother' whose needs are secondary to the needs of her child (Wall, 2013) and organisational discourse that constitutes the 'ideal' worker (Acker, 1990). Heteronormative assumptions regarding women's responsibilities as mothers and the 'logical' allocation of work roles function to regulate the career progression of working mothers. Leslie is thereby positioned as being unsuited to the masculinist ideal of work and automatically relegated to the feminised responsibilities of intensive mothering until her moral 'obligations' to her child are met to the point of being able to commit to work.

The feasibility of FEO roles for women at senior levels of the organisation is understood by women contemplating reduced hours as subject positions of limited options due to what they 'know' about role requirements; the uncertainty of support for FEO; and as being severely restricted to a limited number of strictly eight-hour roles such as where there is no requirement for managing a team while having to balance childcare arrangements. In Casey's experience, such 'realities' culminated in taking a role at a lower rank in order to attain a level of surety in terms being able to work a strictly eight-hour day. Such structural constraints not only define and delimit women's access to roles commensurate with their skills and abilities, but also their earning potential.

SM: *So when you were doing that role, did you perform the role like it had always been done ... or did you do it in some different way? Especially once you become a mum?*

Casey: *Um, oh yeah, I mean, I, I had, I basically had NO time other than the time, there was no time for overtime, whereas prior to that when I was um, pregnant and stuff, you know, I, I put in a lot more time because I didn't have a baby that I had to go home to. Um,*

SM: *So, what sort of hours were you doing?*

Casey: *Oh, so I was doing like eight hours. I was coming in at, oh yeah, I think I dropped [ ] off at ... 7.30 and I'd get into town before 8.30 and then 4.30 I had to be out the door.*

SM: *So, before you had [ ] though, what were the, what were the hours for that role that you were doing? To get the work done.*

Casey: *Um .. I, I, it wasn't, it wasn't all night stuff, but, but it might have been, you know, an hour over, or a couple of hours here, an hour there, just, when I needed to, I could do it. You know, I could do, I could stay and go, "well shit, it's not gonna get done by 4.30 today, I'll need to stay here and maybe grab some dinner". Um, but, yeah, it wasn't, ... it wasn't excessive, and therefore the drop wasn't excessive either.*

SM: *... So you were quite capable of, of um, functioning in the role, in doing what the role required, um as a mum?*

Casey: *Yeah. I thought so. Yeah. Um, you know, it was harder because .. of that relationship, you know, I just, I felt always on shaky ground, never knowing. ...*

SM: *Um, so at what point did you opt to kind of change from that role to something else?*

Casey: *Um, so while I was on maternity leave with [second child] ... and I thought life is gonna be NO better when I go back in. And at that point I heard, not long after that I heard that there was a [ ] role and um, I said, "oh", you know, "I need a, I need a role that's a, almost like the [ ] role that, you know, is, is almost a day job that allows me to be with the kids more", ... and then it was that whole soul-searching, ... obviously it would be a big drop in pay, ... Um, and obviously moving half-way across the country with an [ ] and a [ ] -year old ... um, and it was pretty daunting. ... Um, so yeah, um ..*

It was a [ ] (lower rank) role and I ah, really crapped myself actually. You know, you think that there's not so much pressure on because you're an [ ] and you should nail it, … (Metropolitan area).

The governmentality of masculinist rationalities in terms of performance and competence forms and transforms Casey's gendered subjectivity as she navigates the precariousness of needing a strictly eight-hour day in order to balance work with family. Her 'choice' to opt for another role is therefore a position of constrained agency, constructed by and within discourses of being a 'good mother' and the 'ideal' worker.

Organisational endorsement of FEO at senior levels in police is at odds with the structural realities of role requirements, whereby roles are advertised and/or supported as being FEO compatible, however the actual role requirements of most roles operate as technologies of power that objectivise and regulate the conduct of individuals such that they must transform themselves in order to attain a level of competence in the undertaking of a role.

SM: *So did you use FEO at any point?*

Ash: *I did it for six months, and it was a waste of time, because I still, I did, still was doing a hundred percent of my hours, and getting paid 80 percent. Not getting paid, sorry getting um, equated sick leave, annual leave, all of that .. at the 80 percent. They PAY you up to a hundred percent but all of those other things had been pro-rata'd to 80 percent. So what was the point? Because I was still doing over it, so I .. did it for six months, 'cos I thought, 'oh well, give it a try', and it didn't work. Well not that it, it was sort of um, null and void. I was still doing, I was still doing 40 hours plus a week. … Yeah. I mean I, I could work it .. I supposed, um .. but I was still doing 40 hours a week so I might as well get the … (Metropolitan area).*

Ash was simultaneously enabled and constrained in terms of being supported to undertake a senior role at four eight-hour days per week, however her experience of the role required her to work, at the very least, a full-week in fewer days as well as receiving reduced benefits for doing so. Structural requirements and FEO policy therefore trump any notions of individual 'choice' senior-ranking policewomen may be deemed to have in terms of being able to work FEO and perform the whole job at senior levels of the organisation. Senior-ranking policewomen's accounts demonstrate the manner in which responsibility for the burden of balancing work with family rests

entirely on them, with no meaningful recognition from the organisation in terms of the realities of how such 'balance' is defined and delimited in accordance with a masculinist ideal of work and family. This is further demonstrated in Max's account as a senior manager.

SM: *What sort of FEO options are there for women who are in senior ranks?*

Max: *More or less the same I imagine.*

SM: *Do you know of any, using FEO?*

Max: *I know of those that ah, are on it but ah, probably are working, still working a, a 50, 40-50 hour week. Ah, 'cos they feel they need to and they prob, whether they do or not, I don't know. But if you're on it, you should be on it. Ah, so .. I, I think we have quite a few Inspectors that are doing FEO but probably doing extra hours, taking work home, um … (Metropolitan area).*

Not only is the reality in terms of who is using FEO underestimated (at the time of writing there was only one female Inspector / commissioned officer on a formal FEO arrangement), but also the lived realities for women in senior ranks who are working FEO as either formal or informal arrangements, whether non-commissioned or as commissioned officers. While certain structural conditions are acknowledged in terms of women working FEO whose hours continue to reflect a full-time working week or more, there is no awareness of the narrowly defined subject positions available to women that delimit the 'truth's' that reconfigure policewomen's subjectivities as working mothers, whose value to the organisation occurs as a relation of power that produces and maintains an 'irresolvable conflict' for senior ranking policewoman who are mothers (Silvestri, 2005).

7.3.1 Being a Policewomen-Mother

Taking a break for parental leave imposes limits on women's promotion prospects within the strictly linear organisational career structure of police. Working mothers are less likely to have the same level of support from their partners / husbands to offset the demands of their work roles due to social expectations regarding proper care-giving as the sole responsibility of mothers (Jacques & Radtke, 2012). Accordingly, policewomen-mothers may have less access to the resource of time and a

reduced capacity for being able to work additional hours, unlike most men at senior levels of the organisation. Furthermore, alternative working patterns such as FEO are not commensurate with the career profile of the 'ideal' male police leader who demonstrates commitment, credibility and competence through uninterrupted time-serving (Silvestri, 2005). Policewomen-mothers' experiences of organisational life at senior levels of police may be understood in terms of the aforementioned trade-off between needing stability and aspiring for career progression in accordance with an irresolvable conflict of balancing family commitments with full-time work. Trade-off's occur in terms of forfeiting part-time and flexible working patterns as unrealistic modes of work at senior levels and forfeiting further progression to higher ranks due to common knowledge that such roles require commitment in excess of full-time hours. Such constraints are consistent with the experiences of senior-ranking policewomen in the United Kingdom and Australia whereby taking time out from one's career to have children risks being left behind in terms of eligibility for progression, and utilising 'privileges' such as family-friendly working patterns and roles incurs denigrating judgements that 'the job' is not one's first and foremost priority (Silvestri, 2005; Turnball & Wass, 2015).

Max: *... so you've got your um, parental leave then your FEO and then they, my experience has been they really come back doubting that they can actually take on the full role and responsibility of a .. of a supervisor's position so they don't apply. And I've yet to be significantly successful in pushing people past that barrier. Ah, and then we start to loose, loose them .. ah, in the higher ranks. I mean, our percentage hasn't really changed from roughly 20 percent. (Metropolitan area).*

Max's account demonstrates the manner in which discourses of 'doing time' and 'being a police-women mother' construct women returning from parental leave as being confronted with the masculinist reality of police senior ranks. Policewomen-mothers' gendered subjectivities are thereby constituted by and within social expectations of heteronormativity in terms of having to 'take on the full role and responsibility' of the 'ideal' / masculine police leader together with the responsibilities of being a 'good mother' whose must balance commitment to work with 'proper' caregiving. The 'barrier' to which Max refers may therefore be understood as hegemonic masculinity functioning at higher levels of police to privilege and enable men's realities as being more suited to the rigours of leadership roles. This is further demonstrated in Chris's

account in terms of the perceptions of women aspiring to higher levels as traditionally having to navigate a workplace in which women commissioned officers' subjective investments in heteronormativity are antithetical to that of having a family.

Chris: *now we do have um, females in Inspector ranks, Superintendents, who do have families but, I remember um, maybe a couple of years ago, three years ago, looking at all the senior females, in um New Zealand and there was only one at the time I think, that actually had a family. Because, our job has been, you live for your job, you work it 24/7, how are you meant to have a family, when, when you've got those pressures on you. So it's actually, and I still see it sometimes in, in females who don't have commitments, they can .. do what they want when they want and if they choose to do work between 6 and 10pm, that's all good. We don't have that luxury (laughs). …*

SM: *… I do think it's helpful for people to be able to see up in senior ranks, how it's possible. If all we saw was women without children and single and, and working like men, then you'd say that any other way's not possible.*

Chris: *You would get less .. well, we don't have that many anyway, but .. Yeah, it's certainly is not something to aspire to. I don't, I don't get any aspiration whatsoever from looking at somebody who, who doesn't have any um, any other commitments of family where you ARE tied to it.*

SM: *Yeah, 'cos it's not really, doesn't work into your reality.*

Chris: *How does that fit in with us, you know? We still need, if we want to have families, we should be allowed to have families AND have a career. (Metropolitan area).*

Chris differentiates between subject positions of 'they' who are enabled in terms of being able to work long hours in response to the pressures of working at commissioned officer-level and 'we' who are constrained by being tied to family commitments and may therefore be unwilling to aspire to a career past non-commissioned officer level. Constructing success in senior ranks in this manner allows understanding for the way in which the accomplishments of women, whether or not they are unencumbered by family commitments, are embedded in structural rather than individual characteristics. Succeeding to higher levels of the organisation is accomplished through social action which in police occurs in terms of masculine

rationalities as configurations of practice constituted by and within the male dominant social setting of police senior ranks as a gendered institution in which 'they' who succeed are able to work like their male colleagues. The alternate realities of policewomen-mothers are thereby discursively defined by a masculine rationality that delimits their ability to 'fit' in, other than on the basis of being delegitimised. The dominance of masculine rationality may therefore be viewed as a technology of power, objectivising policewomen's bodies as bearers of children and influencing their conduct at the level of governmentality. Policewomen's gendered subjectivities are formed in accordance with being a reduced economy, such that having both a family and a career at higher levels of the organisation may be seen as incompatible.

The gendered substructure of police senior ranks functions as a social institution that divides women and men by privileging production over reproduction and relegating responsibility for children, child care and other types of caring to the institution of family wherein women are discursively defined as having a central yet subordinate role. Divisions of gender maintained by the abovementioned structural characteristics constitute reproduction as something that is managed outside the workplace (Acker, 1992a). While there may be isolated exceptions to the norm, such divisions maintain the masculine rationalities operating at senior levels of the police organisation, that enable assumptions about which parent becomes the primary care-giver, particularly where policewomen's husbands are also in senior ranks, and even where the husbands rank and role is inferior to the wife's rank and role. Having to 'balance' family and work commitments for women thereby occurs on different terms for women in comparison to men, such as being the 'natural' default position for taking time off work to care for sick children (Holdaway & Parker, 1998). Despite the policy-provisioned legitimacy of parental leave and FEO, the gendered organisational environment of police functions to shape the experiences of women returning from parental leave in terms of having to negotiate a hostile workplace. The implications of such experiences may undermine women's confidence to manage work together with additional responsibilities outside the workplace, as well as their sense of value once they are back in the workplace.

Riley: *when women go, or when anyone goes on an extended period of leave, they have to hand in their phone. So, well .. and that disproportionately affects women who go on parental leave, because it disconnects them from the organisation and if we are trying*

to retain women in the organisation and .. we need them to stay connected and, and you know, remain in contact with their friends and be able to see Bully Board and, you know, be part of our organisation rather than saying, 'well you go away and do that for ..', you know, 12 months, and then you can come back, because then it all becomes .. it's unfamiliar, it's changed, they haven't kept up. … When someone is in the Detectives training programme and they choose to take a period of leave, they are no longer entitled to study and sit the CIB modules. Again, this disproportionately affects women who take time out to have a family. So I said, "what is the difference between women sitting a CIB module and then sitting the CPK? We don't tell them they can't study and they're not allowed to sit the CPK, so why are we telling them that they can't study and sit their CIB modules?"

SM: *Yeah. And was there a logical explanation?*

Riley: *No. Because that's the way it's been. (Metropolitan area).*

SM: *How was it coming back to work after you had [ ]?*

Leslie: *It was weird. Yeah. It was really weird.*

SM: *In what way?*

Leslie: *'Cos you felt like you didn't belong anywhere. Like I initially came back and people were kind of like, 'oh, what can she do?' .. um, and so I remember tidying out .. a bosses office ..*

SM: *And you, had been a [ ] (NCO) before you took maternity leave.*

Leslie: *Yeah. … And um .. yeah, it was really odd because you felt like you didn't belong, in any work groups, it was quite lonely.*

SM: *So was there any, any support of any type for you to transition from being on maternity leave back into work?*

Leslie: *No. In fact .. you know, right up until I arrived in the office, there was no role for me, um .. it was unknown as to what I was gonna do ..*

SM: *That's crazy. How long did you take off?*

Leslie: *10 months. And you still hear the stories about people struggling to get their certifications up-to-date because they're not allowed to enrol in any of the training*

programmes until they're actually back at work and so they're like, well where am I gonna go when I first come back because .. I can't deploy and .. yeah, it's rubbish. Um, that we can't let them have access to their emails and things while they're away and do their online training and .. (Metropolitan area).

Riley and Leslie's accounts construct subject positions of isolation and alienation of policewomen-mothers' from their workplace when taking a career break for parental reasons. The needs of policewomen-mother's, in terms of maintaining a sense of connection with their workplace, retaining the ability to continue one's career development interests, and being able to re-certify and prepare for one's return to work are structurally constrained by the processes and practices of a gendered institution that reduce the economy of policewomen-mothers' reproductive 'responsibilities' as located 'outside' work and limits what is possible upon returning to work. While progress has been made in addressing such organisational practices of isolation and disconnection for policewomen-mothers, implementation may vary by district.

Negotiating a workplace that structurally negates the working patterns women may require in order to 'balance' work and family is a particular concern for policewomen-mothers in rural and provincial areas where FEO options may be unable to be factored into resourcing requirements.

Jamie: *… and then you didn't have places that you could put our females coming back from maternity leave who were wanting FEO to keep them um ..both employed and engaged. Ah .. and .. then the only hours that were available were the PST positions they originally had…and this shift work just didn't work for them, job sharing wasn't going to work due to RAT (resource allocation target) requirements versus people to a position scenario.*

SM: *So what did those women do?*

Jamie: *They left. And I was gutted that we couldn't make it work to keep them . But it, just trying to work through back then, um .. sharing a role, the struggle with that as well, because of the HR component and particularly if any of the women, for example if we put them into one position, how does that work, then what happens if one wants to change their hours and then you go over your RAT ah, we were very cognisant of keeping to our RAT as a district because you have to manage your business. But sometimes it'd come at a cost. So I had .. two women who wanted to job-share, but they*

wanted to work different hours over and above one full RAT because of their financial strains… But their hours weren't conducive to each other. Therefore, we couldn't put them into one position because in essence they were 1.4 which meant we had to hold two positions. Um, and then they, they both basically resigned which was a shame because we lost two very good staff. (Rural area).

The policewomen-mother's in Jamie's account are left with no other option but to resign from police because their minimum-hours preferences did not fit with a job-sharing arrangement in the only non-shift work role available to them. In addition to the aforementioned structural constraints limiting policewomen-mothers', women in rural areas are faced with the compounding effects of resourcing difficulties. The implications of these struggles are evident in the low levels of representation of women in senior ranks in many rural and provincial areas, whereby women are unable to be retained and therefore are not progressing to senior ranks in these areas.

A position of resistance is made available when the structural constraints of the family are disrupted to enable a policewoman-mother to return to work and have childcare and household matters become the primary responsibility of her husband.

Dale: *… um, then took my six months maternity leave. I discussed it with my husband um, … and we talked about having a family, and he said, … I can stay home if, if you like", and which I was quite happy with, you know.*

SM: *… Oh, right, so um, when you had your baby, did he finish work?*

Dale: *Yep. … So he finished work and, … so he was happy just to, stay at home and, and then .. gradually [ ] went to a bit of day care .. as she got a bit older and then she was full time day care by the time she was four or five ..*

SM: *Yeah. What was that like, coming back to work?*

Dale: *Oh it was fantastic. … I came back and it was good getting back to working amongst adults. You know, I loved my baby to bits, but I'm not a stay, I wasn't a stay at home mum, I think I realised that. … I loved being in charge of a section … (Provincial area).*

Dale is discursively repositioned within the institution of family when her husband agrees to give up work and stay at home thereby changing the normative definition of family and allowing her to re-produce an alternate reality as an

unencumbered policewoman-mother returning to her supervisory role. The gendered institution of the workplace remains intact however, as does that of the family, whereby examples of such re-production continues to be an uncommon occurrence. To 'achieve' policewoman-motherhood is to be structurally reconfigured in terms of neoliberalism and positions of constrained agency such that the individual 'choices' women make as autonomous, self-regulating working mothers 'fit' with the masculinist ideals of the police organisation.

Cameron: *(Children born before and after first promotion to rank of Sergeant; no FEO). Yes, I've got to work hard, but I don't see that that's a .. why would that be a .. um .. a barrier, that's my choice to have [ ] children, and if I want it to work, I'll make it work.*

SM: *Yeah. And so who was O/C whanau .. when, you know, when your family was in that demanding stage?*

Cameron: *Yeah, me. Abso(lutely), so I, I, and I still look at that now and think .. ah, the things that .. ah, you do before you go to work, so you know, I'd be up early, ah, and either it would be study in the morning .. or um, you know, you're getting breakfast and tea ready, making the kids lunches, making sure the washing's on .. ah .. ALL of that, and I mean I haven't watched TV .. at night for .. probably 30 well .. 24 years, … I, that's not, yeah, that's not in my world. (Provincial area).*

Cameron's experience of being a full-time working policewoman-mother is discursively produced within and through socio-political institutions of paid work and family as economies in which Cameron's politicised anatomy is subjected to mechanisms of disciplinary power, exercised as relations of docility-utility through her 'choice' to 'make it work'. The extent to which Cameron's daily activities must reach in order to realise the 'truth's' of being a policewoman-mother may be understood as a transformation of the self, such that her 'choice' to be a working mother reflects a level of coherence with the economic utility required of her by the workplace and the family. The notion of motherhood itself as an economic category is also made clear in terms of women being solely responsible for caregiving and 'good' mothering, while men do not feature at all as having any such responsibilities (Jacques & Radtke, 2012). When viewed this way, disciplinary power may be understood as both increasing and diminishing the forces of the body - a mechanism of actions upon actions. Cameron's

utility in the workplace and in the home is a by-product of her subjected and practiced discursive realities, enabling her to 'make it work' in terms of obedience to socio-political regimes of power that function to regulate and maintain the gendered order of both the workplace and family as institutions of power. The masculine rationality of such regimes of power is evident in Cameron's experience of having her boss assume that professional women are still the primary caregivers when working couples have childcare to consider.

Cameron: *... our Detective Senior Sergeant wrote up on the board about a whole lot of people going out of town on an operation, and ... that I would be staying at home and that he would be going, and I lost it, I was REALLY angry. I said to him, "so WHY on earth does HE get to go .. and I have to stay home?" And he said, in front of everybody, he said to me .. "well because [ ] can't cope with the kids and we know that you'll be home with the children .. and so that that makes it easier for everybody if he just goes and then ..", and I was like, "no way. ABSOLUTELY no way. They're the same children. You do not choose". Ah, and so he was really good about that actually, he said .. "oh, you're right, I never thought. Never, ever occurred to me", and he wasn't .. and we talked about it since and he said to me, "I'd never thought about it, I thought I was doing you a favour". ... and ah, and so I went and um .. you know, and I had a great time 'cos I had, like two weeks away and had .. just could do work stuff, ... so I never did my [ ] Qualifying Course, 'cos it was going to be a month away, ... (Provincial area).*

Cameron's accounts demonstrate the manner in which the organising processes of gendered social institutions such as the workplace and the family function to distribute power through the pervasive and inegalitarian ordering of human activities, differentiating women from men in terms of domains of responsibility (Acker, 1992a). While the struggle to resist being subordinated to men's privilege succeeded on this particular occasion, Cameron's subject position is firmly re-established in her experience of being unable to attend a month-long qualifying course whereby the non-reciprocal nature of the economy of motherhood does not afford Cameron the same resource of time outside parental responsibilities that is enabled for her male colleagues. Policewomen-motherhood thereby occurs as the commonly understood patterning of difference and domination that acts to relegate women and privilege men in accordance with the 'truth's' of their gendered subjectivities. This is clearly demonstrated in the

experiences of Glenn whose husband ‘was never part of the equation’ when it came to making the needs of children fit with full-time work commitments.

SM: *And was that you, you were still pretty much running the, the home, O/C whanau as well as ..*

Glenn: *Yeah, pret, yeah. Yeah. And look, like and .. some of that was just me, I just needed to know that at this date and this time that the kids were being looked after, that they'd be picked up and that they weren't stranded somewhere. So if I hadn't organised it .. mmm, I'm not sure that I would've had .. enough trust that my husband would've .. 'cos he's not really an on-time person. (Laughs) … So .. I never relied on him to be the person that picked them up. So, if he was available .. great, but he was never ever part of the equation … never ever .. organised that he would be the person that picked up, it was always an outside person who would be available .. because, within the job you just never know what's gonna happen, but .. Yeah, and no, um .. supervisors, other people .. unless you've been through it, you've .. you have no idea. (Provincial area).*

It is Glenn rather than her husband who is called on to transform herself in terms of her gendered subjectivity, constituted by and within family as a domain of responsibility that differentiates her and her husbands’ respective realities as working parents. Disciplinary power is evident in Glenn’s sense of acknowledgement that ‘some of that was just me’, such that her thoughts and actions are governing practices that form and transform her as a docile obedient subject whose ‘knowledge’ of parental responsibilities is a different experience to that of her husband and male supervisors.

The physical context of the workplace is also experienced in accordance with how organisations function to construct divisions of gender for policewomen-mothers returning to work after parental leave who are still breastfeeding and need work breaks and/or space to feed or express milk for their baby (Payne & James, 2008).

Chris*:* *… um, yeah so I came back to work still fully breastfeeding, um, so this kid had never drunk from a bottle and refused to when I was back at work. Um, like my husband would put milk in a little sipper cup, so I was having to .. close the office door, put my chair up against the door and ex, express during the day, which I absolutely hated, um ..*

SM: *That would've been, felt a bit weird.*

Chris: *Oh, it just felt disgusting you know, and it was like, oh it was awful, and um, yeah after two weeks, I, I just .. yeah, just, just so shouldn't have been making decisions about my career then, but yeah, after two weeks I handed in my resignation. (Metropolitan area).*

Chris's account constructs being a policewoman-mother in terms of returning to a workplace that is unsupportive and devaluing in terms of her needs as a mother who is still breastfeeding. Chris's struggle with being positioned in such a manner is central to her decision to leave policing. It also demonstrates the relevance of physical structure of the workplace and the operation of work in terms of how breastfeeding mothers are rendered highly visible, due to needing to take breaks to express milk and to do so in an appropriate place within their work environment (Payne & James, 2008). This type of increased visibility may also be understood as the symbolic marking or 'othering' of women who are mothers in terms of traditional femininity, such that the gendered organisation of police functions to distance policewomen-mothers from normative socio-cultural notions of what constitutes the 'ideal' masculine / not feminine police officer (Langan, Sanders, & Gouweloos, 2018). An unsupportive organisation that 'others' policewomen-mothers in accordance with traditional social institutions of work and family constitutes the distress women may be experiencing on their return to work as an individual problem rather than a structural issue. Policewomen-mothers are thereby constrained to subject positions within and through institutionalised masculinity to conform with either the masculine / not feminine 'ideal' worker role and to abandon breastfeeding, or the feminine / not masculine 'mother' role to leave work and take care of children's needs (Schulze, 2010). Chris's experience of being unable to renegotiate a return to work that afforded her a sense of belonging and value within her workplace demonstrates the manner in which social institutions constitute relations of power that function to undermine policewomen-mothers in terms of attaining acceptance in the police workplace (Langan, et al., 2018). Chris's decision to claim mothering rather than her career may therefore be understood as being situated by and within heteronormative structural constraints of work, family and motherhood, rather than as an individual choice.

Policewomen-mothers' experiences of the gendered social institutions of work and family characterise gender as constitutive of social relationships, such as the uptake of FEO arrangements predominantly adopted by women and how gender thereby

signifies a relationship of power that acts to maintain the full-time worker status of men as the ideal and therefore more valued worker. Dakota's account demonstrates how assumptions regarding FEO are linked to the reduced status of such working patterns in comparison with full-time working, in terms of being perceived by her colleagues as being incapable or unwilling to prioritise work over family, including taking time off work to care for sick children (Langan, et al., 2017).

Dakota: *Um, but I guess .. I guess what became I guess, clear to me was .. so I was work, yeah, three days a week .. um .. son went into .. um, day care,*

SM: *Was it really three days a week or were you doing five day's work in three days?*

Dakota: *Yeah and like I mean I guess that was why I made the comment that I was still coping with .. you know, what I was doing (laughs) previously, um .. yeah, still keeping on top of it, I mean it wasn't like anybody else needed to .. come in and, and take over and, and do .. a share of, you know, the other two days of the week that I wasn't there, um, yeah. Um .. but I guess you know, for me, managing .. um .. managing having a young child .. um, and especially if .. um .. they got sick, um .. it's funny isn't it, I mean I just kind of look back, it was always me who would respond as opposed to .. um, my husband,*

SM: *Based on .. on whose or what assumption that, it be you?*

Dakota: *I know. And I just um .. and I think .. you know, partly .. um .. .. an assumption that it was gonna be the mum who responded and I was only on, I was FEO so it was .. I don't know .. easier for me. Um .. and probably the other part was, being a mother. (Laughs) You know? Um, you didn't like to see that your, your child's sick and not be there for them. (Provincial area).*

Dakota's account constructs being a policewoman-mother as the embodiment of symbolic femininity such that being a (m)'other' is also a subject position of being distanced from or devalued in terms of the 'ideal' masculine worker who is able to commit fully to the requirements of their policing role (Langan, et al., 2018). Dakota's gendered subjectivity is formed and transformed in accordance with the 'knowledge' that her FEO provision constitutes her as having a reduced economy in the workplace, such that she self-regulates her work practices as a strategy to manage the tension of being perceived as having to be 'carried' in terms of her workload. Managing such

tension also includes forfeiting her work time as the 'natural' option in terms of caring for a sick child, whereby the embodiment of femininity precludes the possibility of such responsibilities of 'good' mothering falling to the 'ideal' masculine worker whose full-time commitment within the workplace holds greater value. The gendered institution of family is also in play as a relation of power that positions Dakota in terms of being a 'good mother' who is solely responsible for proper caregiving and being 'there for' her sick child (Jacques & Radtke, 2012). The implications of the gendered institutions of work and family are such that patterns of disadvantage and advantage constrain women's career development while men are advantaged through the exploitation and control of women's gendered subjectivities as mothers who aspire to furthering their career in police. This is demonstrated in Dakota's experience of being positioned by and within discourses of being a 'good' mother whereby her husband's career represents the masculinist institutions of work and family that simultaneously define and delimit Dakota's prospects in terms of fulfilling her 'personal responsibility' for balancing career and family and having to put her own career on hold.

Dakota: *.. and um, which kind of, you know, kind of shocked me really because it was ah, then probably the first time .. um, I mean always been driven to do, I guess to do well, I never sit anywhere too long if I can, if I can help it, I just need to keep moving and have that, that change, I guess. Um, and I guess I felt that .. I'd had my time of um .. staying home, you know .. um, looking after the kids and that did hamper my career path, it really does, I look back .. um .. yeah, how I was sort of um, yeah .. I guess being ready to be able to, to move on or be looked at ready to move on. Um, it really did happen at .. ah, but anyway so it surprised me, um .. that ah, here I was now ready to go and do something for me and my career. Um, and he wasn't um .. yeah didn't think that I was .. I dunno, probably didn't think I was capable of it but just, yeah. (Provincial area).*

Dakota's account constructs being a policewoman-mother who wishes to progress her career in terms of being constrained by and within discourses of credibility and being a 'good mother'. The organisationally devalued status of being a policewoman-(m)'other' who takes a career break in order to provide childcare and utilises part-time working patterns to 'balance' career and family is a subject position of direct contrast to the 'ideal' masculinist career model of the 'good police officer' whose increased visibility and readiness for progression is achieved through full-time,

uninterrupted commitment to work (Langan, et al., 2018; Silvestri, 2018; Thomas & Davies, 2002). Policewomen-mothers' accounts demonstrate the manner in which the police organisation as a gendered institution functions to position mothers aspiring to senior ranks in accordance with heteronormative social power relations instrumental in the marginalisation of policewomen-mothers as the 'not' of the masculinist 'ideal' of work. The less than optimal feminised progression pathways to which policewomen-mothers are relegated are structurally delegitimised by and within masculinist discourses in police such as credibility, geographic mobility and FEO. The disciplinary power of such discursive 'truth's' function to govern career progression practices in accordance with heteronormative specificity that defines a hegemonic 'ideal' masculine subject / worker and systematically delimits policewomen-mothers through symbolic femininity that regulates their access to development opportunities and progression to higher levels of the organisation.

7.4 Discourses of Male Networking

Male networking is a dominant theme in policewomen's experiences of their workplace as an inequality regime of systematic disparities in terms of women's and men's access to development opportunities and the increased visibility necessary for progression to senior levels of police. Male networks privilege men and masculine rationalities through the control of outcomes such as promotion processes, the value and allocation of work roles, and the enjoyment of work (Acker, 2006; Wajcman, 1999). Also known as the 'old boy network', the 'old boys club', the 'it' crowd and the 'mate's club', male networks function as an exercise of power in terms of being a *"structure of actions brought to bear on possible actions"* (Foucault, 1982, p.789) whereby male networking facilitates, advocates for and legitimises the progression of certain individuals in the workplace while simultaneously constraining and/or excluding that of others. The requisite levels of increased visibility needed to secure the aforementioned masculine values of good reputation, proven credibility and readiness for progression in police are examples of the types of advantages male networking provides. Policewomen's accounts locate male networking as occurring at various levels and workgroups in the police organisation, however Criminal Investigations Branch (CIB) is a specific location within this study for the maintenance and reproduction of advantage

and disadvantage brought about through such networking. Major CIB investigations such as murder enquiries are highly visible within the police organisation as the pinnacle of criminal investigations. To have a critical role in a murder enquiry may be considered to be a crucial factor in terms of being recognised for one's competence, thereby developing the good reputation and increased visibility required to enhance one's career profile for progression to higher levels of police.

Jordan: *But um, there have been times where .. you know, um, when you're gonna do interviews, the guys'll do the .. suspect interviews .. you know, and um, but in [ ] we were so small, you couldn't really afford to have that. It was only when the big homicide came in that they asserted themselves. The sexual violations .. um, serious assaults, we went toe to toe. Absolutely toe to toe, you, you could be part of the suspect, I locked up ah rapists and .. agg robbers and .. serious assaulters, just like all the guys, but murders .. get the boys club.*

SM: *So … women or you in particular, got the less important roles?*

Jordan: *Yeah, like you wouldn't get into suspect roles. You'd end up in general sort of scene or, or exhibits, or something like that. We didn't have family liaison so much then although we did, from time to time have it.*

SM: *Yeah. Did you say boys club?*

Jordan: *Mmm. Yeah, very much so. And that, it was unspoken, and if you confronted about them, they would have no idea what you were talking about. I think it was so .. so much part of what they did and what they lived, it, it, it, it just didn't feel that they were pushing us aside. 'Cos I think they'd be horrified if they felt that they were. (Provincial area).*

Taylor: *I mean, it even goes down to .. um, the way a suspect teams form um .. um .. formalised … I don't know if you know much about homicides but, that's considered the .. team, you know, you wanna be on that team that seen to be the .. best team*

SM: *So the organisation chart reflects some of those um, allegiances as well. Yeah.*

Taylor: *Yeah. So women here .. um .. there's been only .. the last one, the one that, the [ ] enquiry on, that's on at the moment … um, there's, that's the first time a woman has been on a suspects team that I can remember.*

SM: *And who brought about that outcome, or how did that happen, did she ask for it? Or was*

Taylor: *Um, I think it's because I have raised, with [ ] … (Metropolitan area).*

Jordan and Taylor's accounts construct male networking as a 'boys club' operating in the CIB in accordance with a normalisation of institutional practices that regulate the manner in which work is organised in terms of the gendering of investigative roles. The normalised practice of assigning an investigator to a murder suspect and other high-profile interviews to men traditionally occurred as a function of a culturally ascribed gender order that constitutes masculinity in police in terms with men's abilities to use aggression and intimidation in an interview in order to obtain a confession from a suspect. While digital recording of interviews in today's policing organisations mitigates against such unethical interview methods, high profile major crime resolutions significantly increase the visibility of individuals responsible for running the investigation and those who play what are deemed to be 'critical' roles. The gendering of such critical roles legitimises and reproduces a hegemonic masculine ideal enacted within and through 'boys club' practices that ensure men's visibility and subsequent progression in CIB. Jordan's experience demonstrates the disciplinary power of 'boys club' practices that maintain subject positions of advantage and disadvantage whereby the gendering of investigative roles constitutes women as having a reduced value in their workgroup. Women are thereby excluded from roles that give them access to being 'on the best team' and to the type of visibility that helps form the reputation needed for progression in police.

The current representation of women in CIB senior ranks is a specific area of concern for the police organisation and a clear implication of the governing practices of hegemonic masculinity that marginalise and delegitimise women, and some men, in terms of their practices and gendered subjectivities as investigators. While women are generally well represented in CIB workgroups at the level of Detective and Detective Sergeant, women are disproportionality disadvantaged by male networking and very few women progress past this first level of promotion in CIB. Furthermore, women with flexible and part-time working patterns in CIB workgroups may experience a double exclusion in terms of perceptions of having a reduced value to their workgroup. Having to divide commitment between the heteronormative social institutions of work

and family symbolically marks women in terms of traditional femininity whereby being a policewoman-mother working part-time in CIB constitutes such women as 'other' than the masculine 'ideal' of a full-time committed police officer (Langan et al., 2018). The ghettoisation of women to 'feminised' / perceived non-critical roles may therefore be understood as enactments of heteronormative specificity operating with and through the assumption of women's femininity as being 'better suited' to positions of reduced-value in the workplace.

Dakota: *um .. yeah .. and it's probably, you know, the biggest time that I was really disadvantaged as far as any .. career movements, opportunities even for development or going on courses,*

SM: *Because of being on FEO.*

Dakota: *Yeah. … there was nothing, no direct .. um, conversations that were said to me, it was um, obviously what .. was inferred purely because everybody else would be going off doing, doing things, I certainly had a .. um .. yeah .. a manager, a male manager who um .. .. yeah, I mean I refer to it as one of those old school bosses, um, wasn't in the, the men's club .. um,*

SM: *You weren't.*

Dakota: *no, I wasn't a part of that and I was just um, yeah, I mean opportunities to even, interview offenders, it was always the victim, um, you know .. … And I think, I mean, certainly for me .. going into .. um, the CIB .. in [ ], there had never been any females in the CIB, .. prior to me coming along. Um, and there had been people that had been in there for .. for years. (Provincial area).*

Dakota's account constructs male networking as having an 'old school' manager whose practices constitute her as being ineligible for the development opportunities available to her male colleagues, thereby maintaining practices that privilege and reproduce an exclusive 'men's club' in the workplace. The implications for practice are clear in policewomen's experiences of being in CIB workgroups where male networking operates to constrain or exclude them completely from equal participation in the benefits of work that not only develop one's competencies but also foster an enjoyable and comfortable work environment. The following accounts construct male networking as the marginalisation of women as valuable (citizen)-workers in CIB in

terms of how women's enactments of self-surveillance enable them to manage the tension constituted by and within masculinist rationalisations of women's legitimacy in CIB.

Dakota: *as a female just felt really excluded from the team. Yeah. And just wasn't a part of .. um, whether it would be every day .. um, discussions, um or .. um .. .. work-related things that were happening, um to .. I guess um .. .. you know, you can't fulfil the same role that we do, to the same capacity um, because of you know, you're a woman, you know, you're weak .. um, you know, that kind of stuff.*

SM: *How did you deal with that?*

Dakota: *Um, I just .. kept my head down and um, just did what I had to do. Um, I never .. I never confronted it, um, and that's a little bit about, about me 'cos I, yeah, just not that .. sort of person, but it was just easier for me to get on, um, and do my job, because if I did make an issue out of it, then my life probably would've been .. harder. (Provincial area).*

Chris: *Yeah. But then you know, when I first joined the CIB I remember, me um, back um in [ ] saying to um .. the guys on my squad, because there was a REAL boys club, it was just TERRIBLE. It was always the same people, it was the suspects and you know, the, the boys that were the, um [ ] favourite and I remember turning around and saying to them very early on (laughs) on my CIB career and saying, "do you know, I'm not one of those boys. I'm never ever going to be and I don't give a shit". Just do my work and yeah, I don't get recommended for anything. I don't get recognition of anything I do. But do you know I don't really care. It'd be nice to be recognised but I don't, I decided back when I joined, I didn't have to be one of the boys club and I wasn't going to be.*

SM: *So what sort of stuff were the boys club doing?*

Chris: *Oh, you know the favourites that um .. they're the ones that selected for everything, the O/C Suspects, they're put on all the homicides, um .. They're the ones that will interview the people and do all the important things and um .. … it's not so prominent now and I, I'd like to think it's gone. I don't think it is completely but … (Metropolitan area).*

While Dakota and Chris's accounts refer to practices that occurred prior to their progression to senior ranks, and therefore may be seen as evidence to there being no

barriers to women's progression, the disciplinary power of male networking acts to differentiate women and their experiences of progression in terms of disparities in the way women and men 'do time' in CIB. Being excluded from opportunities afforded to the 'favourites' that result in the ability to develop and be recognised for one's competencies equates to a reduced capacity in terms of the timeline and trajectory of one's progression. This reduced capacity is constituted by and within a power-knowledge-subject relationship whereby women's gendered subjectivities are governed by their 'knowledge' that resistance or making an 'issue' out of such disparities is more likely to lead to further isolation within their workgroup. Women's self-discipline for reconfiguring their conduct in the workplace to keep one's 'head down' thereby becomes a technology of power that enables them to continue functioning in that environment albeit in a different capacity for optimising their progression compared with those who are in the 'boys club'. The number of women in CIB senior ranks as at 2018 (Detective Senior Sergeants: F=11; M=84; and Detective Inspectors: F=3; M=45) is a clear implication of such practices (NZ Police Strategic Workforce Planning, March 2018). The possibilities for action defined by male networking that delimit women's access to CIB senior ranks are demonstrated in the following constructions of male networking as something that operates both internally and externally to the workplace whereby men's socialising outside work functions to influence heteronormative social power relations within the police organisation.

Shannon: *getting, it's ok you can be a D/Sergeant, but D/Senior's starting to, you know sort of tap on the ceiling there. So um, and I, that would be my impression still that it's .. yeah, so um ..*

SM: *So it's very much a boys club at that D/Senior level and above.*

Shannon: *Oh shit yeah, oh yeah, God yeah. And um, so um .. AND the same model of person. (Metropolitan area).*

Taylor: *I'm obviously on the career progression framework, I've done my [ ] exam, I've done my [ ] qualification course, I've applied for different roles, so they know now I'm looking for opportunities, um, they gave that position to someone hasn't, who hasn't done his [ ] or his [ ] qualifying course, who didn't have his CPK exam for his [ ] and who wasn't .. he hadn't expressed any interest in doing anything else, so ..*

SM: *What's your understanding of the rationale around that decision?*

Taylor: *Um, I would say a boys network. Um, which around here is particularly um, evident. … in this environment here was what's called a [ ] club, which exists in this district. So if you're not part of this [ ] club, you don't get opportunities to do things, so, it's, it's kind of .. it's kind of like a boys network if you like.*

SM: *Outside of work.*

Taylor: *Yeah. … and for other women .. here who, I talk to they, they don't apply for positions or they don't apply for jobs .. knowing that other people who are in this, whether it's the people themselves or the partners of the people, who are, they just, they will get these opportunities that they don't, so they just don't apply for them. … and you know, we all know that decisions are made, things are discussed ..*

SM: *So that perception of, and the realities of, of how pre-ordained outcomes um, manifest .. discourages women from applying for positions. Do you see it as discouraging men as well? Some men?*

Taylor: *Some men, yeah and they have told me that as well. (Metropolitan area).*

Shannon and Taylor's accounts construct male networking as something that maintains the boundaries of CIB senior ranks in terms of hegemonic masculinity whereby progression is a function of being the 'same model of person' as those already occupying senior ranks. Configurations of practice that constitute the hegemonic masculine ideal of a CIB senior manager privilege men in accordance with subject positions defined by and within a predominantly white, heterosexual, middle-class, socio-political cultural context. Visibility and reputation in terms of demonstrating one's 'fit' with such an ideal occurs as part of a 'boy's network' of socialising outside the workplace where strategic positioning for opportunities is enabled through informal processes. This form of male networking constitutes subject positions of marginalisation and delegitimisation for women who are excluded from this social network as well as that of men who exhibit less popular forms of masculinity, regardless of one's qualifications and readiness for promotion. The disciplinary power of such informal male networking thereby constitutes the gendered subjectivities of qualified women in the 'pipeline' for promotion in terms of practices of opting out of applying for positions and development opportunities that normative practice re-presents as the pre-ordained outcomes of the 'boy's network.

The patterns of advantage and disadvantage constituted within and through male networking are particularly evident at higher levels of the police organisation where there is also a climate of competitive masculinity for a reduced number of desirable opportunities and where applicants may be more or less equivalent in terms of being long-serving, qualified senior managers.

Jesse: *They're getting through on their 'who they know'. ... Yeah, they're getting through on 'who I went to college with' and all the rest of it. There's no doubt about that. (Metropolitan area).*

SM: *So what qualified him for his role?*

Casey: *(sigh) Ah, he was, he was a good friend of, of um, [ ], ah, of [ ], and it, the word was if he got the [ ] then [ ] would be getting a position, ... that [ ] had promised him a [ ] role so when they came up and [ ] was pretty much a done deal, and I actually felt sorry for a few others that I saw were being interviewed, ... It was done deal. In fact when it came out everyone was like, 'yeah, well that's old news', you know, 'we knew that'. Um, as things are well known [ ] there, generally. Ah, so, you know, I, and I don't blame [ ] because loyalty is probably very difficult to come by, at that level ... (Metropolitan area).*

SM: *Do you see um, any sort of, like any of that sort of boys club favouritism going on?*

Lee: *There would be a bit of it, yeah I think you're gonna get that anywhere, whether, whether you label it as boys club, but favouritism probably. You know, people getting jobs because um .. ... way ahead of other people that were probably more qualified, ... So, yeah, so whether you call that a boys club, I'm not sure. ... they talk about um, what's that guy, got the [ ] job down in [ ] ... And um, but he's been mates with [ ] for years, so you're talking about, someone said oh, it's from the boys club and I suppose it is but also the mates club, it's probably a different sort of terminology. (Metropolitan area).*

Jesse, Casey and Lee's accounts construct male networking as a 'mates club' of 'favouritism' operating at higher levels of the organisation to ensure that promotion process outcomes privilege certain individuals over others in terms of allegiances established over the course of one's career in police. This form of male networking exploits formal promotion processes and constitutes subject positions of disadvantage

for those who are excluded from relationships developed within and through informal networks. While not all men enact the form of hegemonic masculinity operating at senior levels of police, women's subject positions of disadvantage are defined in terms of being both objectified by hegemonic masculinity as 'not male' and subjectivised through the requirement to be as good as men, while at the same time being required to *"render irrelevant everything that makes them women"* (Acker, 1990, p.153). The accounts also construct such networking as something that is an inevitable and understandable outcome of the need for loyalty at higher levels of the organisation where functional teams are a key component of successful business outcomes. This is further demonstrated in Cameron's account below where she is subjectively positioned by and within male networking in senior ranks as earning her place in the 'boys network' through 'doing time'. However, this is conditional on her having proven her credibility to achieve the qualities of a 'real worker' who, in the socio-political gendered institution of police senior ranks, is the universal 'individual' and unencumbered male worker.

SM: *Do you see um, those sorts of alliances as, as quite important to, to progressing in this organisation?*

Cameron: *Yeah, that old boys network that sits, yeah definitely, I think it's um .. so I'm in two minds about it as well, I definitely think that it's ah, it exists, I think that .. it's probably at, the higher that I've got, the stronger than ever I believe it exists, um .. but the other part of me um .. also thinks that actually .. ah, at some levels in the Police, you need to be able to get your team to get on and get working and so that's why those things happen. So as much as I understand it, doesn't necessarily mean I like it but I probably understand it better than I have .. previously. But that network .. um .. yeah, is quite strong.*

SM: *... did you or do you feel like you're part of the, of the boys club?*

Cameron: *Um .. not for the first .. 10 to 12 years, but I probably am now. But definitely not at the start, I would've the, think that actually I was left out and excluded .. um, and .. but what happened is ah, for me credibility performance .. ah, became my, you know, like how can you leave her out? (Provincial area).*

Cameron's account constructs male networking as 'that old boys network' operating at higher levels of the police organisation in terms of being a discriminatory

mechanism that contributes to developing teams while at the same time privileging men's progression. Also accounted for is Cameron's experience of being 'in two minds' in accordance with the aforementioned subject positions of being both differentiated by and within male networking. Cameron's gendered subjectivity is thereby reconfigured in accordance with the governing practices of male networking as being rational and necessary, however her experience of having been constrained by such masculine rationalities 'doesn't necessarily mean I like it' in terms of her current position as a masculine subject. The implications of navigating such disequilibrium are demonstrated in policewomen's experiences of being subjectively positioned as silent witnesses to male networking that systematically constrains and guarantees their legitimacy within the hierarchy of police senior ranks.

SM: *So why are there so few women in senior ranks in this area?*

Lindsey: *Um .. there's a old boys club. It's very strong here and you'll never beat it. You'll never beat it. No, very strong. (Provincial area).*

Jesse: *But you know, if you talk to that woman that's just been promoted, like when you're going through you can't say anything, you can't say, "well quite frankly, it's .. they're sexist, ageist", and all the rest of it, because you're, you're trying to track through the organisation. … Well I'm not gonna say, "well, quite frankly ..", "it's a male chauvinist organisation, nice guys and all the rest of it", but you know, "boys games all the time". You know. (Metropolitan area).*

Lindsey and Jesse's accounts construct male networking as an always-already omnipotent 'boys club' that constitutes subject positions of exploitation and control. Women's gendered subjectivities are formed and transformed in terms of a power-knowledge-subject relationship whereby women's legitimacy in senior ranks, as defined by the 'boys club', becomes a condition of having to self-manage one's conduct in terms of bearing witness to patterns of systematic advantage and disadvantage exercised through male networking as 'boys games all the time'. These accounts demonstrate the disciplinary power of a governmentality enacted at the level of women and men's gendered subjectivities to reproduce the socio-political masculine rationality of police as a gendered institution. Understanding the mechanisms of such governmentality is critical in terms of the implementation of organisational initiatives to meet the recommendations of the 2007 Commission of Inquiry. While increasing women's

representation in senior ranks is recognised as being imperative to cultural change, recommendation R51 of the inquiry stipulates the need for the police organisation to provide a safe work environment for female staff (Bazley, 2007). Shifting the balance of representation without adequate understanding of the manner in which the disciplinary power of gendered institutions operates is to risk the wellbeing of female senior managers whose roles include direct confrontation with strongholds of male networking. Senior ranking policewomen's experiences of having to navigate such strongholds is demonstrated in their accounts of male networking as a significant factor in terms of their psychological wellbeing.

Eddy: *The most challenging role I had was going to [ ] .. um, and I think there was a lot of .. contributors to that. Um .. one of them was the old boys club, … um, and it was .. really like they said if you can make it there, you can make it anywhere, … And then when I got there it was .. heinous, because they'd all had a personal pact, not to .. talk to me, or help me, or give me any support .. that if I asked a question, they would answer it, but not give me the full answer, if you know what I mean? So for the first three months, it was dreadful .. …*

Eddy: *… so .. I didn't mind the challenge, it's just .. when I looked behind me .. there was no-one behind me. … the [ ] .. who told me, gave me my brief, to go in and 'sort out the old boys club over there [ ], and get them working and .. be more effective', when I looked behind me at times of need, he just wasn't there. 'Cos he had done his bit by .. putting a woman out there, but that was .. that was it. And even though we talked, we didn't talk about .. strategy or .. …*

Eddy: *… .. but I just thought it was me failing, because that's that .. stuff that I'd put on myself is that I will achieve this, I've just gotta keep at it, just like .. all our careers is you just .. you just keep at it, 'cos I wasn't going to let them .. make me a failure … (Rural area).*

Eddy's account constructs male networking as 'the old boys club' functioning as commonly understood entrenched behaviour at a specific location in the organisation for which she was given a 'brief' to 'sort out'. Also accounted for is Eddy's manager's awareness for the organisational imperative of addressing representation of women in senior ranks in terms of doing 'his bit by .. putting a woman out there'. Eddy's experience of receiving no support from her manager to deal with the predictable level

of backlash she received from the workgroup she was tasked with managing, constitutes a subject position of constraint for Eddy of having to 'just keep at it', while at the same time enabling male networking in terms of a lack of strategy for supporting the required initiatives for change. Furthermore, it is Eddy's gendered subjectivity that is reconfigured in terms of 'achieving' the task set by her manager through extreme self-management so as to not 'let them .. make me a failure'. Despite taking up this management role, Eddy is positioned by and within the heteronormative social power relations of male networking that function to constitute her gendered subjectivity in terms of constrained agency as she navigates the challenging masculinist rationalities of 'old boys club' practices. Merely shifting the balance of women's representation in senior ranks erroneously constitutes representation alone as the catalyst for cultural change and conceals the deeply gendered structural processes and practices that maintain strongholds of 'the old boys club' and the police organisation as a gendered institution. Placing women into the police leadership environment under the assumption that rank equivalence or seniority is commensurate with equal / greater access to social power is demonstrated in Alex's experience of being a newly appointed manager in a traditionally all-male leadership environment.

Alex: *I had the [ ] come and sit down with me and he said .. [ ], you've been arguing in meetings", and I said, "well yeah because things get sprung on you in meetings that actually I don't think are right or we haven't consulted on them, and ah the [ ] said to me, "where do you think the decisions are made?". And I couldn't understand the question to start with and he said, "[ ], you need to consider whether they're made on the golf course or where they're made", and I said, "oh" ... And I said, "actually I think the decisions are probably made on the [ ]". ... So, yep. I do argue in meetings and I get .. you know broadsided in meetings with stuff that they've all had the discussion on the [ ], because all the blokes had gone out [ ] for the weekend together. So, yeah that's where the sort of gender stuff really kicks in because the guys are all hanging out together and while they're doing the social thing they're talking about work as well, and oh what are we going to do about this, what are we going to do about that, and you're not even involved in that conversation.*

SM: *Were you ever invited?*

Alex: *No.*

Alex: *… So yeah, DELIBERATELY undermining and I KNOW he was going behind my back to the [ ] and saying, "[ ] really struggling". And then the [ ] would come to me, "[ ], you're really struggling with this aren't you?" and I'd go, and I REALLY started to think, 'god, am I?' 'Am I struggling and am I missing something?', (Provincial area).*

Alex's account constructs male networking as leadership team decisions being made by male team members outside the workplace as a function of exclusive informal relationships established during social activities that shape heteronormative social power relations within the police organisation. Also accounted for is the manner in which mechanisms of disciplinary power function within and through male networking to constitute Alex's position of constrained agency whereby being argumentative in meetings may also be understood in terms of navigating such relations of power from a position of marginalisation. Alex's experience resonates with that of Eddy in that she recognises the deliberateness of her team's practices to isolate and marginalise her in accordance with heteronormative specificity that signifies women in leadership roles as the 'not' of men / masculine privilege functioning at senior levels of police as a gendered organisation to enable control over organisational outcomes and maintenance of the status quo in terms of governing practices that reproduce hegemonic masculinity. As with Eddy's account, shifting the balance of representation alone in terms of women in senior ranks is a deficient strategy that may result in perceptions that a woman has failed in a particular role. Also of concern is the manner in which men's active undermining of women in leadership functions to constitute policewomen's gendered subjectivities within and through the disciplinary power of male networking such that it is women who are required to self-manage their 'realities' to address the undermining. The practices themselves and those responsible are thereby subsumed within normative understandings of gender order in the masculinist environment of the police hierarchy. The regulatory power of male networking is evident in policewomen's accounts of 'boys clubs' and 'old school' managers in terms of the manner in which such power constitutes women's self-surveillance as strategies for attaining a sense of control within the constraints of heteronormative 'realities'.

Adrian: *Well he, he's very old school as well, um, (whispers) doesn't like females, doesn't like females that talk back, not talk back but you know, you speak your mind, so*

SM: *How did you navigate that?*

Adrian: *Yeah well, in the actually in the end, 'cos it was, it was quite distressing in the end, I actually went to some counselling and it was really about just putting .. the boundaries in, just really not .. letting it concern me too much, and I had a .. I had a [ ] in between .. but you were still involved with him, I mean he's a difficult man, um .. … yeah, um .. he, he, yeah he's interesting but I mean .. again, you just .. I just .. I sort of just moved away a little bit and .. … it just .. it's just uncomfortable, and you just feel like, you're actually getting no traction. (Provincial area).*

Adrian's account clearly demonstrates the disciplinary power of governing practices that maintain male networking as 'old school' attitudes towards women whereby her gendered subjectivity is constituted in terms of having to manage her own conduct in the workplace so as to reduce the level of distress she is experiencing. Adrian's gender is guaranteed by and within a power-knowledge-subject relationship of 'old school' practices whereby being 'other' / not male / not knowing one's 'place' is a subject position of constraint that requires women to navigate hegemonic masculinity as male models of behaviour and identity at senior levels of the police organisation.

7.4.1 Masculine Managerialism

In accordance with policing organisations in Australia and the United Kingdom (Thomas & Davies, 2002; Vickers & Kouzmin, 2001), contemporary business models operating in the New Zealand Police are formulated upon principles of new managerialism that reflect increased levels of political attention on the management of public service organisations. Such principles uphold the legitimacy of management and the primacy of managerial prerogatives to achieve change in terms of greater financial accountability, the development of efficiency measures upon which to judge individual, workgroup and organisational performance, marketisation within and across service providers, and an improved relationship between service providers and customers. Organisational performance measures include the promotion of discourses of equal opportunities, mutual respect and diversity to challenge traditional notions of policing through the formation of new professional / managerial / ethical subjectivities (Thomas & Davies, 2002). The implications of new managerialism as a socio-cultural technology of power become important when considering organisational practices that endeavour to shift the balance of the representation of women in senior ranks on the

basis of ‘all things being equal’ between applicants for development opportunities, but where a female applicant may be preferred on the basis of a diversity initiative. However, the embodiment of managerialism in a male dominant gendered organisation such as police functions to reproduce and valorise the characteristics of the ‘smart macho’ police manager whose legitimacy and progression within the police hierarchy continues to be defined by the ability to demonstrate unquestioning commitment to meeting performance indicators and targets within a highly performance-driven organisation. Diversity in terms of ‘feminised’ managerial styles that reflect greater participation and inclusiveness are thereby eclipsed by managerialism as a masculinist rationality and the tacit understanding that such approaches to building a suitable profile as a police leader are not valued or rewarded (Silvestri, 2007). Such normative understandings within managerial culture sustain a hierarchy in which the language of ‘success’, ‘productivism’ and ‘risk taking’ is equated with instrumentalism and careerism, promoting a form of ‘competitive masculinity’ whereby everything becomes an object of, and for, control (Kerfoot & Knights, 1993).

New managerialism in policing in particular functions to constitute a distinctly masculine, competitive managerial subject, rendered visible through discourses of performativity, competitive presenteesim, docile obedience, and the lone independent individual (Thomas & Davies, 2002). Such discourses constitute the competitive managerial subject in terms of performativity as practices of ruthless competition in the managerial environment to demonstrate efficiency, instrumentality and effective use of resources. Successful performance is characterised by enactments of presenteeism, ensuring high visibility and availability through commitment to long hours, personal sacrifice and constant purposive action to maintain control over oneself and others. The docile and obedient (committed) subject refrains from questioning or challenging managerial practices and represents a gendered (masculine) norm of selfless dedication to police as the ‘ideal’ independent (unencumbered) individual for whom extended work hours are a norm. That women encounter a gendered environment of masculine managerialism at senior levels of police may therefore be understood as the existence and maintenance of power exercised as a structure of practices and beliefs functioning to privilege a hegemonic masculine ideal that in turn governs and is embraced by the new managerial culture of police. Senior-ranking policewomen’s experiences of being perceived as challenging the gendered patterns and masculine culture of the police

managerial environment are constituted by and within discourses of masculine managerialism, such as that of the docile obedient subject whose questioning or challenging behaviour may be viewed as a lack of commitment and loyalty to the organisation. This may also result in policewomen being side-lined or marginalised in terms of their career prospects (Thomas & Davies, 2002). Policewomen's accounts evidence a particular form of managerialism whereby navigating the environment of new managerialism is experienced as an exercise of being an 'active gendering agent', required to negotiate the socio-cultural terrain of both femininity and masculinity in order to demonstrate the appropriate level of obeisance prescribed within the 'mandate' of hegemonic masculinity operating at higher levels of the organisation.

Casey: *if you do something that he doesn't like, he writes you off. It's quite hard to then .. be,*

SM: *Get back in his good books.*

Casey: *Yeah, absolutely. And I've seen it time and again with various people. ... he would pretty much ignore me, cut me out of the loop, and um, I, um, thought to myself, well, do I still have my monthly meetings? Or what's going on?*

Casey: *... and pretty much he said to me, you know, "you can fight it if you want but the [ ][is] looking very closely at", ... and um essentially, if you want to get anywhere in your career, kind of thing. Um, and I was just gobsmacked. I was just, yeah I ended up going to the [ ] ... and they pretty much told me, "you might win a battle but you'll lose a war", if you take him on. ...*

Casey: *... Um, but yeah, the threats were not direct but very clear. ... That, that basically my career would be [ ] if I, if I took him on, around this. And I think it was probably because if I'd taken him on, I might have got another sign off, and then they would [have] done the, but it would have made him look bad. I don't know.*

SM: *... And did, um do you think it was like an unwritten expectation that if you want to be seen as, um, as a favourable employee at this level, you, you know, like you do it for love, for want of a better word.*

Casey: *Oh absolutely. It was, Yeap. Yeap. So, if you wanna go anywhere, you shutup, you do the extra work, and good luck to you. (Metropolitan area).*

Casey's account constructs masculine managerialism as being 'cut out of the loop', 'ignored' and 'written off' by her senior manager for questioning his authority regarding an informal process relating to development opportunities taken up by senior managers. Such opportunities constitute visibility within the organisation in terms of the implicit and unreasonably binding levels of commitment required from aspiring individuals to demonstrate worthiness and gratitude for the opportunity to progress. Casey's ability to 'do the time' in order to maintain a credible level of visibility as an aspiring manager is constrained by and within managerialism as a technology of disciplinary power such that her 'battle' with the inequality regime of performativity and opportunity is lost within a 'war' with masculine managerialism which produces conformity through the silencing of those who challenge the managerial authority of those at higher levels of the organisation. The power-knowledge-subject relationship exercised within and through masculine managerialism thereby constitutes Casey's gendered subjectivity in terms of self-regulating her conduct in the workplace to 'shut up' and 'do the extra work' in the knowledge that her career prospects depend on such levels of commitment and loyalty to the socio-cultural masculine ideals of competitive masculinity that characterise senior levels of police. As a technology of individual domination, masculine managerialism forms and transforms policewomen's gendered subjectivities in terms of a neoliberal governmentality such that what it means to be a valuable (citizen)-worker is reconfigured in terms of what women know to be the correct disposition and level of deference required at senior levels of police. This is further demonstrated in Ash's account as practices of self-discipline and self-regulation whereby Ash assumes personal responsibility for the manner in which she is objectively and subjectively positioned by masculine managerialism.

Ash: *I was actually thinking it was ME. But it's actually not me it's actually him, … Because I didn't TELL anybody, initially, for a long long time. Um, and just felt .. really undervalued, … and .. it's precipitated me looking at leaving the Police. That's the bottom line. Mmm.*

SM: *So when you've got a person like that um, in that position, your options are ..*

Ash: *Very limited. Yeah. Hugely limited. … And he's been undermining me and .. ah, because he is good at some really good things, but he is, … ah devisive, he is um .. he's, yeah, anyway, … and I've never, ever .. the shame of it all is I've never, well first of all*

the shame of it all is I worked for him for many years and I was a top performer. Overnight I've gone from being one of his top performers to not. In his mind.

SM: *... Why do you think that your relationship changed? Having worked with him for ages.*

Ash: *Because I challenged him about something. ... And he didn't like it. Not in a public um arena, I would never do that, but he didn't like it. ... And he subsequently tried to, he's tried to undermine me for [ ], so it's, it's been tough. ... Um, yeah I nearly got, yeah, but I thought, 'you [ ], I, I'm not leaving because of you". (Metropolitan area).*

Ash's account constructs masculine managerialism as that which constitutes her conformity as one of the 'top performers' in her workgroup. Loss of this highly valuable subject position becomes a consequence of challenging her managers' legitimacy in terms of his managerial prerogatives. Ash is thereby subsequently positioned by and within managerialism as 'other' than a conforming masculine / committed subject. Being positioned in this manner generates tension such that challenging a senior manager is objectivised as something that must be controlled and Ash as 'other' becomes a subject of competition in the struggle to secure the 'self' as a masculine managerial subject (Kerfoot & Knights, 1993). Security of the self is achieved in terms of Ash's manager who succeeds in maintaining his legitimacy / the enablement of masculine managerialism through the conquest of marginalising the formerly high level of performativity of the 'other'. The implications of being positioned in this manner are demonstrated at the level of governmentality such that Ash's gendered subjectivity is formed and transformed in accordance with a constrained agency that requires Ash to reinterpret and reshape her individual biography as a valuable (citizen)-worker, in order to adopt the 'correct' mind-set as that of the docile, obedient servant and make the right 'choices' about her future in police.

Policewomen's accounts allow understanding for the complex negotiations of new managerialism being deployed at senior levels of the organisation that obscure the exercise of heteronormative social power relations operating within and though managerialism as the embodiment of competitive masculinity. While being a competitive masculine subject may define managerial eligibility in terms of a gendered 'natural' ascendency for men, such progression is a negotiated and contested domain for

women. Masculine managerialism thereby functions to reinforce perceptions of police leadership as a cultural domain of men in which women represent a threat to the 'natural order', both as women and as leaders of men (Silvestri, 2005). This is demonstrated in MacKenzie's account as she makes sense of her experience of having to weigh the costs of speaking out against a backlash to having been afforded a desirable development opportunity that placed her in a position of authority over a male counterpart with whom she had competed for the role.

MacKenzie: *I got some opportunities in .. [ ] ... six months as a [ ], so I'd been in my role as a [ ] for some time and .. I wanted that experience [ ], so I went .. I applied, and actually .. got it, and that's the first time that I've realised that um .. ah, that there was some underhand behaviour going on in some people, you know, around that, how, in the jealousy, and somebody, so somebody I worked with really closely .. in that area, he didn't get the relieving role for six months, and he actively tried to undermine me, it was just appalling and we actually had .. and I'd never told anyone, I just tried to sort it out myself. And what I learnt about that was I probably shoulda done something sooner .. and just gone to the .. ah, [ ], at the time and said, "this is not good behaviour". It was TERRIBLE behaviour. I would put something out .. and he would actively undermine .. it being successful, so doing an operation or anything like that .. and ah, and he would come in and speak to me really badly in the office and I would just deal with it in my normal way. Actually dealing with it in my normal way wasn't successful, I actually had to have been harder about it. So that was a lesson for me in regards to that.*

SM: *In, in dealing with it in your normal way, what did that entail?*

MacKenzie: *So that was around talking to him and saying, "what's going on?" actually, you know, "why are you being like this? there's no need for it". And he would ... And he would apologise and .. this was in closed office, but then once we were in a public forum .. he would have another go, ...*

SM: *... did you feel like, had you taken a different approach, so rather than your usual reasoned approach, if you had .. sought to go to someone for help, was there anyone available to you?*

MacKenzie: *I think, I think there probably would've been, um but .. I was very mindful that he was mates with the [ ]. Um, and I needed, and I rea, I was really enjoying the*

opportunity, ah and there were some things that we were doing that was really ah .. really cool, you know like it was really great fun. So there, I could put it in a box and think, 'he's only one person'. And, and actually what I learnt was to go round him, … (Provincial area).

MacKenzie's account constructs masculine managerialism as a 'natural order' for a development opportunity that, when challenged or disrupted by a woman, incurs a backlash of objectification exercised within and through managerialism whereby MacKenzie is positioned as 'other' through the targeted undermining of her performance as a manager. Additionally, MacKenzie's participative and inclusive 'femininised' style of management, employed to address the undermining and ensure her performance outcomes are met, is constituted as ineffectual in the masculine managerial environment of police. MacKenzie's subject position of docile obedience is guaranteed by and within masculine managerialism in terms of the power-knowledge-subject relationship experienced by her as a technology of individual domination. As an obedient and disciplined (committed) manager who refrains from challenging in terms of not seeking support, MacKenzie is positioned as having to 'sort it out' herself by having to invest in a masculinist rationality of being 'harder' in order to demonstrate the requisite masculine subjectivity to succeed as a manager. Such individualising power enables the relinquishment of responsibility for gendered outcomes at the structural level to that of the individual worker whose gendered subjectivity is transformed in accordance with the belief that the problem she is facing is 'only one person' rather than a gendered substructure of dominance and subordination.

The risk of seeking support for challenging the operation of masculinity within managerialism is demonstrated in Lindsey's experience as the only female senior manager in her leadership team, positioned by and within masculine managerialism as lacking credibility for speaking up against a male manager.

Lindsey: *about two or three days later one of the [ ], goes and speaks to another male member .. "who does that [ ] think she is? Speaking up about [ ] like that? Who does she think she is? He was fitted up you know. He was fitted up". … this is like .. this is just .. Yeah. One of many .. yeah.*

Lindsey: *And there's all, almost an acceptance of, of this behaviour because then we had a .. [ ] meeting, which obviously I'm on as part of the um .. [ ], and um, he was*

phoning in because we were discussing [ ] and the [ ] … um .. said, "oh, um .. … just to let you know .. you're on speaker phone, um and we've got blah, blah, blah, blah here, so um, just, you know, just in case you .. you know, say something or .. reference something you might regret", and everyone goes 'ha ha ha', including .. you know, it's very senior members there, all male, I thought, 'oh, see', it's, it's just accepted. … you can't change it. I wouldn't, see .. you'd have to be careful with the battles you have too, as I've found out. I'm, I'm a target. Big time. (Provincial area).

Lindsey's account constructs masculine managerialism in terms of relations of power that isolate her as 'other' for challenging the operation of masculinity. Lindsey is discursively constituted by and within the competitive masculine managerial environment as being 'other' than the docile, obedient and therefore committed masculine subject by being objectivised and 'outed' as someone whose lack of loyalty calls her legitimacy as a manager into question. Lindsey's visibility in the workplace is already exaggerated in terms of being the only female manager in her workgroup, however her challenging behaviour has resulted in her becoming further isolated as an 'object' or 'target' of masculine managerialism. Her lack of 'fit' in terms of the masculinist culture of police may be understood as marginalisation by and within managerialism in relation to further progression, such as into a position where she may exert authority over her male counterparts.

7.4.2 Men's Advocacy

Policewomen's accounts construct eligibility for progression to senior ranks as being influenced positively by the advocacy of men in higher ranks, particularly those at executive and senior manager level, occurring on the basis of highly individualised informal practices of sponsorship and professional allegiances. Also known as informal succession planning (Wajcman, 1999), candidates for progression at senior levels of police are selected in terms of their visibility to senior managers and their performance in the organisation.

Pat: *so .. it does seem that .. unless you're on that coat-tail, and you are .. in a certain .. set .. sometimes the road is just a bit .. isn't as straight, as what it could be. (Metropolitan area).*

SM: *Um, ah .. and so the acting up, the secondment into that role, is that a formal process? Where someone, you have to go through a development opportunity process or is it informal?*

Leslie: *Yeah, it's informal. So um .. and you'll know that there's different processes and different practices that can be employed and it's a constant bugbear of people, so um, the opportunity to relieve as the [ ] for [ ] was an informal process, there was no um .. selection process, there was no um, criteria, there was no opportunity for others .. to do it, it was just um, offered to me and, and that was interesting because of course then you feel that um .. that you have to justify to others why as the brand new [ ], you're now the [ ] ahead of the seasoned, experienced [ ]'s and, you know, sometimes you can be like, well .. I don't have to justify that to you 'cos I'm here because .. I can do this job, and other times you felt that, you needed to sort of explain yourself to people um ..*

SM: *Mmm. What kind of situations .. would you feel like you had to explain yourself?*

Leslie: *Um, when there was .. you know, you could sss .. initially sense that there was probably some um .. not angst, but resentment that others hadn't got .. the job. Um .. and because initially, you know, what becomes a short term thing becomes a long term thing and then the opportunities became, you know, what might've been a week, would then become months on end that then became, basically a permanent um .. sort of role, um and so, you know, initially it's, it's not, you know, you don't feel that need to .. ah, because the expectation might've been that, well, you're only here for as long as um, you're in .. um, you, you know, you're being supported to do it, ...*

SM: *... Do you think that um .. those sorts of relationships are helpful though?*

Leslie: *Um .. yeah, well we'd not worked together for .. when [ ] came back to [ ] ... So it had been a long time. Um .. but .. you know again it's um .. .. I mean, you don't advocate for yourself but .. you like to think that people notice what you're doing because of the results that you're getting and .. that other people are noticing as well. (Metropolitan area).*

Pat and Leslie's accounts construct men's advocacy as a mechanism for circumventing formal as well as informal processes and practices for securing valuable development opportunities. While allocation of such opportunities varies in accordance with managers preferences for deciding who should be selected, the

aforementioned organisational performance measures that are a central tenet to new managerialism are also a factor in terms of how women may benefit from men's advocacy in accordance with the organisational performance outcome to increase the representation of women at higher levels of police. Formal processes such as implementing development boards to consider all eligible candidates are used in some districts, however having an alliance with an influential sponsor is a commonly understood practice for securing development opportunities. Those whose progression is enabled by such advocacy are perceived as being on the 'coat tail' of a higher-ranking (often executive-level) sponsor whose influence in terms of their own performativity as a competitive masculine managerial subject carries significant weight due to their rank. Leslie is positioned by and within discourses of new managerialism and credibility as being both legitimised in terms of progression due to her visibility to a high-level manager with whom she has worked before and who has noticed her competence, and delegitimised by the procedural 'bugbear' that ensured her progression over other more experienced contenders who had 'done the time' but were not given the option of applying. In a gendered organisation such as police, such practices risk perceptions of favouritism and for women this incurs as a double negative of being seen to be selected on gender rather than merit. The added risk is being positioned as 'other' by and within the competitive masculine managerial environment as a specific object of conquest such as through undermining practices, due to perceptions of their gendered 'advantage'. This is demonstrated by Leslie's account where she is constrained by having to justify herself to her colleagues in terms of mitigating against their resentment for being clearly favoured over others for her competence and ability to perform in the role. Her attributes and competencies are overshadowed by perceptions of favouritism and misuse of 'processes'. Women's gendered subjectivities are thereby formed and transformed by and within advocacy discourses such that they are required to self-manage their practices in the workplace in order to prove their legitimacy in order to counter negative perceptions regarding their career development as promotion by gender. Such governmentality also includes managing their self-belief in terms of countering notions of favouritism and that they are a deserving contender for their achievement.

MacKenzie: *... he promoted me, and ah, he rang me pretty quick afterwards and .. he was, he's always been a great supporter as well, he was brilliant, but .. I, about .. um .. I don't know, 12 months before that .. when, I think when [ ] had walked up to me and*

said, "do you wanna come to PNHQ and work in ..", and I said, "I never .. want", 'cos this was when the talk was, we need to get more women in the [ ] exec, I said, "I never wanna be promoted because I'm a woman", "if I have an inkling of that .. happening ..", "I will not take the job". (Metropolitan area).

MacKenzie's account constructs men's advocacy in terms of how it may be perceived as a 'tick box' exercise for meeting organisational performance measures to increase the representation of women in higher ranks. MacKenzies self-surveillance in terms of her 'knowledge' of the importance of countering such notions, even to herself, may be understood in terms of how competitive masculinity at higher levels of police is experienced by women as an intensification of the male gaze that shapes the way they feel and act in the workplace. Advocacy is also constructed as something that is conditional whereby refusing to take advantage of the sponsorship of influential managers and development opportunities may result in being viewed as undeserving, ungrateful or lacking commitment.

Max: *... he was the first one that said to me when I was a [ ], and he said, "my job is to help you get to the next level", ... he rang me up one day a couple of years later and said, "there's a, they're advertising the [ ] ... "you need to apply for it". And I said, "nah, nah, I'm not ready for that", you know, you should do five years in this role before you do that and it's a skip too. Ah yeah, skipping one level and he basically, ... he says, "I will write you off if you don't pick up that phone and talk to him. You might not get the job, but I need, you need to actually listen to me and you need to do as I say and if you don't, this is going to be irrecoverable".*

SM: *When [ ] said that um, if you didn't take that opportunity he would write you off, what did you interpret that as meaning?*

Max: *He'd write me off. I'd be dead to 'im. ... that he'd invest his time and energy in someone else. (Provincial area).*

Drew: *... I got an interview for .. the first [ ] job I applied for was here at District .. and .. I had done some um, relieving for six months and reported directly to the [ ], ... So I'd had this wicked opportunity for a decent length of time, to be in that space as well. And got encouraged by a lot of the guys to apply for it. Um .. .. but the closer it got to the interview, ... I actually wasn't in the right head-space. And .. ... it's almost an expectation that you will apply, because we've given you this opportunity and this is the*

return on our investment. And for me that's the wrong reason. … and .. 'yes it's a challenge and you're not in the right space, but .. don't just squander that 'cos what kinda message is that sending .. the [ ], if you thumb your nose and an opportunity and don't even apply'. … So I had this dilemma about do I .. pull out and risk the boss goin' .. "hang on ..", you know, "we're .. we're investing in you, well what's this about?" Or turning up and doing a rat-shit job and making a bit of a dick of myself in front of .. you know, people that I actually wanna .. .. you know .. make an impression on. (Provincial area).

Max and Drew's accounts demonstrate the power-knowledge-subject relationship in terms of men's advocacy or sponsorship to progress in a gendered organisation. Confidence to progress one's career is governed by discursive truths relating to 'doing time' and credibility, as the length of time one must remain in a role and the strict hierarchical levels of rank that one must not 'skip' before progressing. The sponsorship of senior managers re-presents such truths so as to conflict with the way Max and Drew are subjectively positioned by and within the gendered substructure of police, leading to feelings of disequilibrium as they navigate being both enabled and constrained by a governmentality of competitive masculinity at managerial levels of police. The deserving 'ideal' / masculine candidate for a leadership role is one who demonstrates their commitment in terms of managerial potential to the organisation through unquestioning loyalty to honouring the 'investment' bestowed upon them by sponsors. Such a 'return' on investment commonly requires aspiring leaders to accept development opportunities in districts outside of where they live, at personal cost, reproducing a masculine ideology whereby the 'ideal' police leader is geographically mobile, committed, and unencumbered by responsibilities and considerations outside the workplace. Furthermore, offending the sensibilities of sponsors whose subject positions are also defined and delimited by an organisational agenda for cultural reform risks being overlooked for future opportunities whereby the advocacy one once had is now being invested in somebody else. The essential yet conditional bestowment of men's advocacy required for progression at senior levels of police may therefore be considered in terms of discourses of neoliberalism that shape the gendered subjectivities of aspiring policewomen in accordance with a rhetoric of diversity initiatives within new managerialism that espouse autonomy and freedom for all who choose to pursue any role or rank in the hierarchy. Development opportunities for progression to senior

levels of police 'require' or shape entrepreneurial subjectivities as the embodiment of a particular masculine disposition, aside from one's skills and qualifications, whereby the value of a police leader rests upon the willingness of individuals to transform themselves in accordance with 'tick box' performance measures in order to meet the hegemonic masculine ideal of police leadership. However, the disciplinary power of a gendered organisation such as police intervenes to reconfigure women's gendered subjectivities more-so than men's, such that it is women who are required to transform themselves in terms of subject positions of being 'other' / 'not male' through the regulation of their conduct which, while presented as freely chosen actions, occurs in relation to the always-already gendered processes and practices that reproduce the current hegemonic ideologies of police leadership.

Despite the constraints of new managerialism as incorporating forms of masculinity that define meaning in terms of how career progression is delimited by and within the gendered substructure of police, the following accounts construct men's advocacy in terms of highly individualised and uneven practices of certain male managers who actively support equity measures and the notion of cultural change. Also accounted for is the manner in which 'boys club' practices systematically trump organisational performance and cultural reform initiatives such as competency measures that appear to have the potential to re-present progression through 'doing time' as a skills-based capability.

Casey: *And he said, "I want you do drive it like you own it". And I'll NEVER forget that. Like it was basically, 'I trust you, with less than a year's experience', it might've been less than even that, um, as an [ ]. 'I trust you to do this'. And that was SUPER powerful for me. And he was one of the best bosses I've had because .. he didn't have a, he was an [ ] (member of the executive), he didn't have a lot of time, but he would make time if I needed him, and he would leave me alone and trust me to do it. And that was quite powerful, even though I was crapping myself, um, I had to learn very quickly around, you know … Yeah. And he was great and um, yeah I remember thinking, 'wow', you know, great boss. He was one of those people who enabled you. He set the expectation and then he enabled you to do it, and um, yeah. I, I'll never forget that and it was a HUGE learning curve, but that was probably where I learnt the most, was being chucked in the deep end, … (Metropolitan area).*

SM: *Um, in this role, do you feel well supported in terms of um .. what's ahead for you?*

Dakota: *Ah, yes, yeah I do. Um .. yeah, um .. it's interesting, because .. .. (sighs) ah, super, ah, like my supervisor's great. Um, certainly whatever I've gone for, he's supported me, and um, been able to do. I've um .. .. done .. relieving and I guess very much amongst us as a leadership team .. and what we're looking at now is um .. being more flexible, but also just um .. rotating our positions. Um .. but ah, as far as, you know .. and a little bit of um .. my supervisor certainly .. whenever the opportunity arises .. to say, "look [ ]'s", you know, "keen to do some relieving", um .. .. obviously that, that's heard and I'm being given the opportunity, but if he's not around .. um .. and talking like, with the Area Commander, District Commander's, then I kind of feel that it doesn't .. my, you know .. it doesn't, those opportunities I guess I don't get considered .. um .. as much. (Provincial area).*

Taylor: *... it's been the most difficult .. part of my career, this particular part. Um, and even as recently as a couple of months ago, you're talking to people about .. um, being unsupported or um, other people here being given opportunities to do things, which um .. I'm not, or the other women are not, and maybe that's because they're not wanting to, I don't really know their story, but for me, I've, I've been in this role for about, or this .. um, rank for .. about three years, I think, um .. so if you look at the CPK where they've got a five (-year currency), I've got my Inspectors so, obviously they're ex, going, they expect quick movement, otherwise they wouldn't have that time-frame on them. Um, for me, I've applied for um, [ ] secondment opportunities at a um, higher rank and they've all been declined. Yeah. So not getting supported around that. Um, admittedly I haven't got some of them, um, but at the same time I've been told, "well, if you did you wouldn't get released for them anyway". So I've continued applying because I want to show a paper trail for .. all these things. So .. and I just feel um .. ... Yeah. Um, so yeah, if you align it with what's talked about, the, the high performance framework, with what the executive talks continually about um, increasing women in roles and giving them um, advantages, um, there's certainly none of that around here, ...*

Taylor: *... Um I feel like I've, just running out of a bit of steam actually. ... 'Cos you hear about .. what should be happening, and then you see what's not happening and you just think .. 'oh I can't, I .. I can't be bothered'. Which is probably not a good attitude*

but how long do you try and keep .. pushing .. for things, you know, and not .. … (Metropolitan area).

Casey, Dakota and Taylor's accounts construct the advocacy of their individual managers as critical in terms of development opportunities, and contingent on the abilities of that person to influence their development and career progression in a meaningful way. The accounts demonstrate the implications of an over-reliance on individual managers who embrace new managerialism in terms of promoting women to influence cultural reform whereby each of the experiences account for a version of how this may or may not occur as a condition of senior managers' commitment to cultural change. The women are comparative in terms of their eligibility and willingness to progress, however their experiences of men's advocacy for development range from 'super powerful', to not being considered when one's manager is not present at district leadership meetings, to being completely unsupported in comparison with one's male colleagues. Taylor's account clearly demonstrates the implications of such disparities of advantage and disadvantage whereby the currency of her Core Policing Knowledge (CPK) qualification may expire before she is successful in attaining promotion. Such qualifications at commissioned officer level require a significant level of investment in order to study and pass, in one's own time, so as to be eligible to apply for commissioned officer roles and secondment opportunities. Failing to progress inside the required timeframe may incur negative judgement regarding one's commitment and ability while structural inequalities are overlooked, such as in Taylor's experience. Furthermore, senior-ranking policewomen in the pipeline for promotion may become disillusioned and fatigued by sub-optimal initiatives for cultural reform and loose interest in their progression in the police organisation.

7.5 Discourses of Cultural Reform

7.5.1 Women's Advisory Networks

The 2007 Commission of Inquiry into Police Conduct recognised the gendered substructure of New Zealand Police as a source of socio-cultural pressure that may be experienced by higher-ranking policewomen in terms of having to assimilate into rather than challenge the masculine culture of the police workplace. Organisational initiatives aimed at increasing women's representation at higher levels of police, as well as police

in general, require measures to mitigate against such socio-cultural pressures to ensure that *"females in the Police service feel that they belong to the organisation and are fully valued members of that organisation …"* (Bazley, 2007, p.298). In response to recommendations made by the Commission of Inquiry to increase women's representation in police and to provide a safe work environment for women (Bazley, 2007), New Zealand Police established Women's Advisory Networks (WAN) for each district to enable a strategic focus on meeting the recommendations of the inquiry. WAN's meet on a monthly basis in an advisory capacity to table issues for women in the district and seek support from the Executive and the WAN Governance Group in terms of strategy and resources to address such issues. A district WAN is generally led by a senior ranking policewoman as a portfolio, even if this is in addition to her day-to-day business. The WAN is reliant on the voluntary participation of women and men from all levels of the organisation within each district to support strategic implementation, such as organising and facilitating events for women's development, recruitment and retention, as well as raising awareness of the need for diversity and challenging perceptions regarding the requirement to support women's progression in the police organisation. The participation and support from district senior and executive-level personnel is therefore essential in terms of supporting WAN's and leading cultural reform within the workplace. A dominant theme however, in senior-ranking policewomen's experiences of WAN involvement, is a lack of recognition at all levels of the organisation for the socio-cultural pressures that govern women and men's gendered subjectivities in the workplace. Lack of recognition for the profound manner in which gender divisions, produced within and through social institutions such as family and the domestic division of labour, impacts on women and men in the workplace undermines notions of the gender neutrality of new managerialism in the public sector (Connell, 2006). The implementation of WAN's may therefore be understood as creating a sense of 'gender elsewhere' whereby gender neutrality is assumed within and through discourses of new managerialism such that WAN's 'solve' gender division in the workplace. Disparities relating to social power, defined and delimited by gendered processes and structures of the police organisation, are thereby underestimated in terms of how such power, left untouched, continues to operate as disciplinary technologies of a gendered institution in which what it means to be male / female and masculine / feminine governs patterns of advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion.

Dallas: *… until everyone owns it, um .. nothing will change. Because people will just go, well that's the WAN, that's the WAN issue, WAN issue and it marginalises the WAN, um .. and, and doesn't .. um, encourage .. any .. um, sort of .. long-lasting .. organisational change in terms of the culture.*

Dallas: *… there's no buy-in from District Commanders, there's no .. um, requirement, I mean there was a KRA for District Commanders to have a WAN .. 'I have a WAN ..' Wow (laughs) what does that mean? How's that translating to, you know, if um, effecting change on the ground, you're right, it didn't, because there was no structure. Um .. around .. and, and no sort of .. accountability, I think. And, and the critical leadership in districts, were absent .. in the main, from the participation and .. dealing with the .. the issues. Um .. yeah, so I just think it was all wrong, all wrong. Wrong, wrong, wrong. And .. it's terrible just to sit here and bitch about how wrong it was, but ah .. … (Provincial area).*

Dallas's account constructs cultural reform as something that is 'achieved' by individual District Commanders through the appointment of a WAN, however due to a lack of meaningful and 'critical' investment from leaders at all levels within the district, the mechanisms for change and change itself are suboptimal. Also accounted for is the manner in which matters pertaining to women's development, retention and recruitment are categorised by senior managers as 'the WAN issue', as are any strategies that may be required to address such matters. Constructing cultural reform in this manner constitutes disparate subject positions for women and men in terms of power and control over the implementation and support of the WAN as a mechanism for cultural reform. As with many provincial areas, Dallas's district has very low representation of women in senior ranks and in senior manager roles, leading to a reliance on male manager's patronage as the 'meaning-makers' and arbiters of what constitutes cultural reform and the level of resourcing and support a WAN may require. Such reliance in this instance translates to ineffective outcomes and marginalisation of the WAN, and the trivialisation of women's experiences in the workplace and women's voices as knowers of their own realities. Furthermore, the off-loading of women's 'issues' to an under-resourced and unsupported WAN risks implementation failure and confirms perceptions that such initiatives are unnecessary.

The implications of organisational off-loading of responsibility onto WAN's for addressing structural discrimination is experienced by women at the level of individual responsibility for addressing gender inequality by identifying and implementing strategies for the development, retention and recruitment of women.

Riley: *What I've found really interesting in the establishment of the WAN is that a lot of women get involved and they think it is incumbent on them to actually fix the issues. So they can identify the issues and they say well, you know, we'll run this conference or we'll run this recruiting seminar or we'll set up this group to train female recruits to pass the PCT, um, and a lot of the women involve themselves I think fail to appreciate that the WAN is a strategic advisory group. They can identify the issue. They can propose solutions, but then it's responsible to go to District to say, this is the issue, it's not a women's issue, it's a District issue and it's up to the District to resolve it. (Metropolitan area).*

Riley's account constructs cultural change for women as the off-loading of strategy implementation by the District Leadership Team back onto the WAN as an advisory network, to 'fix the issues'. This construction constitutes gender discrimination as something that occurs at, and is resolved at, the individual level rather than that of the organisation. Women are thereby constituted as both the problem and the solution and the gendered substructure of organisational life in police remains untouched. Furthermore, while women's contributions to initiatives for development, retention and recruitment are essential, reliance on such strategies to reconfigure the police workplace to be a more inclusive and safer environment for women ignores the realities of women's individual cultural experiences and sidesteps the manner in which the gendered substructure and culture of police is *"simultaneously inclusive and exclusive, enabling and disabling, and progressive and regressive"* (Silvestri, 2017, p.292). Also accounted for is the absence of active endorsement by the District Leadership Team as influential male leaders in the workplace, thereby maintaining men's subject position as being responsible for productivity and the 'real' business of policing. Such lack of endorsement reinforces the notion of gender discrimination as being located in the past and not in an organisation that is now dedicated to diversity and gender equality (Connell, 2006). Both Dallas and Riley's accounts construct WAN's in terms of how gender and gender discrimination is constituted as being located 'elsewhere' within the organisation itself. Furthermore, that such discrimination

can be ‘solved’ by WAN’s and thereby aligned with the requirement for cultural change as part of the economic production and enterprise of new managerialism in police.

Structural positioning of WAN’s in terms of women’s individual responsibility for addressing gender discrimination in police within a broader neoliberal context allows understanding for the manner in which cultural reform is enacted as a form of governmentality. Women’s gendered subjectivities are thereby reconfigured in terms of their value as a (citizen)-worker to reshape the workplace to be an inclusive and safe environment for women. The entrepreneurial, ‘ideal’ neoliberal worker self-craft’s herself in order to achieve this desired sense of self as a valuable (citizen)-worker whose interests are also aligned with organisational performance outcomes (Adamson, 2017). WAN members willingness to ‘fix the issues’ may therefore be understood as taking individual responsibility and action as ‘ideal’ workers whose moral duty it is to extend themselves toward reconstituting the constraints of their own subject position within a gendered institution, as well as that of all women in police. This is clearly demonstrated in Chris and Glenn’s experiences of being on WAN’s in their districts whereby their accounts trouble the notion of cultural reform as being the responsibility of women, particularly in light of how earlier accounts identify men’s backlash as consequences for speaking out against the operations of masculinity.

Chris: *Yeah, do you know, it's um, the hardest thing I think it is .. and, and what I sort of struggle with, and it's what I struggled with in the [ ] particularly given that it was a purely voluntary thing and yet all these expectations, is that even in the WAN's, all the expectation of doing all this is on those females. Like WE'RE having to put the effort in, WE'RE having to put the extra time and a .. it's not right.*

SM: *You women, you fix it.*

Chris: *Yeah. … So yeah, we're achieving it by putting women in these groups to actually do all the work. I just so disagree with that (laughs). (Metropolitan area).*

Glenn: *when I first came here and there were only one or two women, you ended up on EVERYTHING. And everyone always said, "it's alright, we will give you time, we will give you work time to do this", and you knew that .. I've never, ever been given any work time, because none of your work magically disappears, (inaudible) and yeah, these advisory groups .. and .. I probably nearly burnt out a couple of times by trying to keep*

up with those sorts of .. yeah. So, no. Now it's like, even if it's slightly mentioned .. no. (Provincial area).

Chris and Glenn's accounts construct cultural reform as an organisational imperative that becomes an expected outcome of performance for senior-ranking women who either volunteer or are compelled, as a result of women's low representation, to be involved in their district WAN. Constructing cultural reform in this manner constitutes a subject position for women on WAN's as a heavily loaded, yet voluntary, investment of effort and additional time on top of one's existing workload, to implement organisational initiatives toward addressing gender discrimination, reproduced within and through 'women's work'. Women's 'purely voluntary' actions are thereby reshaped by and within a neoliberal discourse that not only requires women to align their entrepreneurial interests and performance with the economic interests of cultural reform, but to present such self-management and individual transformation as the freely chosen actions of the 'ideal' neoliberal subject. This form of governmentality demonstrates the power-knowledge-subject relationship maintained within and through such discourses of neoliberalism as constituting technologies of the self whereby women's self-regulated 'willingness' to overextend themselves beyond their limits is experienced in terms of a 'struggle' against a subjectively reconfigured moral responsibility for cultural reform. Chris and Glenn's accounts demonstrate the implications of such disciplinary power as something that is 'not right' and that which results in women becoming overburdened with responsibility. The burden for cultural change being women's responsibility has led to policewomen exiting the WAN, however this may also risk invoking judgement regarding one's commitment and value to the organisation as a (citizen)-worker who actively lives the values of police business and leads cultural change.

Being involved in a WAN is constructed in Drew's account in accordance with the coerciveness of such cultural reform initiatives as being the responsibility of women for self-identifying with, and implementing, the ideals of new managerialism to promote diversity and the development, retention and recruitment of women.

SM: *And what about um, at say ground level? Do you, is there a strong interest and strong support from your Sergeants and Constables and .. oh, ok*

Drew: *No.*

SM: *what's that about?*

Drew: *So, I don't know. Um .. to be honest. I think .. I think a part of it, this is only my view, is that if we ask somebody to do something that's a little bit more than their core role, .. some of the feeling I get is that, 'well what's in it for me?' 'and if there's nothing then'*

SM: *What would be an example?*

Drew: *'why would I bother?' Oh well we've asked .. a number of times, we've had different things that we've tried to get going, just around .. supporting buddy systems and mentoring and .. we've, we've targeted some of our more senior women, so the Detectives and stuff, to try and, for two reasons .. .. well mostly, it's around the recruitment and development and, and attraction of staff to CIB as well, 'cos that's a gap for us, we don't have any female .. CIB NCO's, and so it's a little bit about growing their leadership but also helping with the recruitment of other staff and giving them career options and .. role models and .. and it's been bloody impossible. You know, just to get people to wanna give a little bit of discretionary effort. (Provincial area).*

Drew's account constructs women's development, recruitment and retention in the CIB as an area of specific focus for the WAN in terms of implementing mentoring initiatives that may be resolved by the input of women detectives taking on 'a little bit more than their core role' to help develop other women, as well as being an opportunity to develop their own leadership abilities. Constructing cultural reform in this manner constitutes a subject position for women detectives as having a moral responsibility for addressing issues relating to gender inequality in the workplace. Women's active resistance to being positioned in this manner may be understood in terms of how their career progression thus far has been constituted in accordance with having to successfully negotiate the masculinist rationalities of police as a gendered organisation. To question the relevance of women's involvement in the WAN is therefore constructed in terms of a masculine subject, positioned by and within the very 'reality' that is now supposedly being decentred by ideals of new managerialism. What becomes evident in policewomen's experiences that follow are constraints pertaining to technologies of power operating within and through the gendered substructure of police that in Drew's account are concealed by a construction of cultural reform as something that is achievable at the individual level. Women's gendered organisational realities continue

to be defined by socio-cultural pressures functioning to delimit subject positions for women that require them to demonstrate their legitimacy in the workplace through doing time and being as good as men.

Dallas: *people are put off attending because it's the 'WAN', um .. because they don't identify with that, or that they feel, um, that they will be judged, um .. negatively by their peers for attending. So we're trying to break down some of that.*

SM: *And at what level of the organisation is that kind of stigmatisation .. occurring?*

Dallas: *Um .. ... definitely in the CIB, um .. and .. um, so that's at, just Detective rank, … .. D/S, probably not so much, there's a mixture now, 'cos there's been a bit of refreshment there, ah and a lot of supportive .. um .. people have been, you know, promoted. 'Cos yeah, so that's, that's great. (Provincial area).*

Lindsey: *… we've got two, two .. ladies up there and .. one's past her pre-rec and another's about to sit hers .. so .. um .. it's tough for them though. I hear they .. one of them doesn't and won't come to WAN meetings 'cos if she does she gets a hard time, and gets .. dissed, and the other one's strong enough to .. wear that and she's actively involved in it. Um, she went on the Connect course and just got so many tools from that, it would be a shame .. a shame not everyone can go on that … (Provincial area).*

Dallas and Lindsey's accounts construct initiatives for cultural reform as a gendering process that guarantees women's subordination in terms of heteronormative social power relations that position them as 'not male' and therefore lacking legitimacy in the workplace where masculine ideals and men's realities dominate organisational life. As discussed earlier in this analysis, women's legitimacy and progression in the CIB is constituted by and within the constraints of gender whereby access to development opportunities, credibility and reputation occur in accordance with a 'natural order' that privileges men and a hegemonic masculine ideal. Dallas and Lindsey's accounts demonstrate the manner in which women's gendered subjectivities are formed and transformed in accordance with a governmentality that requires them to be active gendering agents in the workplace, such as through practices of non-identification with or involvement in the WAN. Policewomen's self-regulation in terms of navigating the negative perceptions of male colleagues by either opting out of WAN involvement and women's development opportunities, or being 'strong enough to wear' such backlash is the exercise of power occurring in accordance with a total

structure of actions operating within and through the gendered substructure of police that are brought to bear upon the possible actions of individual women in the workplace. Such disciplinary power is further demonstrated in Casey and Eddy's accounts of cultural reform as gendering processes that systematically differentiate women from their male colleagues at all levels of the organisation.

Casey: *often women, when they come out and they're on section, so they're very vulnerable, they want to fit in, so this is, you know, now being on the Women's Advisory Network, understanding why we'll never get, or, or it's very difficult to get section women, having ANYTHING to do with the Women's Network. Because it, it makes them different and it makes them stand out and what they want to do is fit in more than anything and be one of the boys, as it were.*

SM: *So what's your involvement in the WAN?*

Eddy: *Well I got .. when it came out I liked the idea of it, but I .. I was also very cautious of it, because, well I've been my own person .. without any support, um, from anyone, and that's the whole district, ... So um, so I .. I sort of won where I've .. I've got by, by being my own person, .. had the hard struggles and everything else, I was just wary that when you joined one of the those groups you get all that flack. (Rural-Provincial area).*

Casey and Eddy's accounts demonstrate the manner in which socio-culturally mediated gendered subjectivities are made meaningful through sex difference. Women's gendered subjectivities, understood through difference, undergo transformation from the moment they enter the police organisation whereby they assume a police identity that is the same as men. The socio-cultural framework of meaning and identity for police officers is closely linked with images of masculinity, experienced by women as differentiation that contrasts and magnifies assumed behavioural and psychological differences between women and men, ensuring that such stereotypical or 'natural' differences subordinate women as anomalies within the dominant order of masculine ideals that govern police as a traditionally male-centric work culture (Martin & Jurick, 2007). Casey's account constructs the dominant masculine ideal of policing as that which constitutes a subject position of difference and therefore vulnerability for women graduating from police college and entering the police workplace. Women's 'fit' with the masculine ideal is both tenuous and

constrained by and within cultural images commonly available to women in police whereby subject positions of being complicit with and subordinated by hegemonic forms of masculinity in the workplace reconfigure women's gendered subjectivities in terms of reducing their 'difference' in relation to male colleagues as well as their visibility as minority group members. Eddy's account constructs such a 'fit' as credibility in the workplace that is 'won' as a consequence of ongoing struggle, however it is also threatened by cultural reform initiatives that render women more visible, as evidenced by the 'flack' that many women experience when they 'stand out' from the dominant group due to their involvement with the WAN. The degree of awareness of gender inequality in police is constructed in policewomen's accounts as men's ignorance and/or unconscious bias to the necessity of women-centred development initiatives and increased representation of women in police senior ranks. Rather than a movement for cultural change, WAN is constituted as women's work.

SM: *Do you feel like the WAN is well supported um .. more broadly by, you know, more widely in the organisation?*

Dakota: *... I think, you know .. there's still that um .. that culture around, you know, 'it's women's stuff ..' 'why do women have that?', 'why do women get these? Men don't', you know. Um, so there's an ignorance of, of why. And um .. the barriers that women face. And have to deal with. (Provincial area).*

Jordan: *... one of the guys said, "God, have you been to Central?" and I said, "why?" and he says, "there's just more and more of them". And I said, "more and more of what?" And he said, "there's more and more women coming up, I just don't know what's happening in this organisation". I said, "what is UP with you guys? Every time more women come into the organisation, you make it almost like .. it, it's almost .. it's almost like you get testicular shrinkage", You know? And I said um, I said, you know, "have you ever been in a room .. where you walk in and there are about 500 men and there are three women?" "Have you ever been in a room, where people are giving you orders what to do and not ONE of them is a woman?" "Now you turn that around", "You come into this office", "and then it's myself and [ ] and [ ] working and you feel out of place". I said, "now I've felt out of place like that for 30 years of my career", I said, "and I've never allowed it to put me down". You know? I said, "so .. don't tell me about the .. the imbalance". (Rural area).*

Dakota and Jordan understand their male colleagues' response to WAN as privileging women over men in terms of women gaining advantages for progression that are not available to men, rather than as cultural reform. Constructing cultural reform in this manner constitutes a subject position for men as dominant group members unable to see their own gender privilege. The assumption that gender and gender inequality is no longer relevant in today's police organisation due to the apparent disappearance of barriers that formerly prevented women from working in all aspects of policing and at all levels of the hierarchy, is strongly contested in these accounts. The emergence of more women progressing in the organisation where there is an assumption that there are no longer barriers for women, means women's positions are understood as illegitimate. The technologies of power operating within and through the gendered substructure of police as a socio-culturally situated gendered institution that functions to re-present the gender divide of old in terms of a less overt, neoliberal discourse is reproduced. While women's access to senior ranks and higher levels of the police organisation may be viewed as a practice of equality that enables women to be aspiring leaders, such progression represents gendered patterns of advantage and disadvantage that differentiate access to senior ranks. In a gendered institution such as police, where individual achievement and credibility is constituted in terms of the embodiment of hegemonic masculine ideals, disparities between women and men are reformulated to differentiate the terms of progression for the gender neutral 'ideal' worker. The requirement to subscribe to the image of the 'ideal' police worker as the embodiment of men's sexuality and relationships to life outside the workplace continues to reproduce spatial and temporal arrangements of work that maintain a non-neutral workplace and a gendered organisational substructure that marginalises women (Silvestri, 2017). The implications of neoliberal discourses that presume gender neutrality in police are demonstrated in Jamie's account whereby WAN initiatives are constructed as generating 'forest fires' of negativity in the workplace, enacted as the reluctance of women aspiring to progress to seek out the development opportunities generated by the WAN due to the negative perceptions of their male colleagues. In this account, bringing in men who understood the initiative was used as a strategy.

Jamie: *... but one of the biggest things that we found was with the young female constables that were coming through, or the girls, the women that were working on sections as a constable .. they quite often didn't want to reach out because they didn't*

want to be seen to be getting anything different to the guys. Um, and it took quite a bit of work with the [ ] and us to actually say, and bringing on some really strong male role models that were the Senior Sergeant's working around these women and the Sergeants, and we had some really good um, guys and girls on our committee and their sole role was to go back and continually encourage and um, put out any forest fires really quickly if there was some negativity around the Women's Advisory Network just to make sure that those young um, young women that were coming through, our potential leaders, did get a fair chance at things. But equally, encouraging the men to participate which wa .. yeah. … And it was only because they were getting a bit of a hard time from some of the guys and, and that's where we used the influence of those um, well-rounded, well liked, male Senior Sergeants and Sergeants as the role models that actually bring some perspective and balance back to the reasoning as to why we were doing what we were doing. Um, and that seemed to make a bit of a difference … (Provincial area).

Neoliberal discourses that frame gender as a non-problem (Connell, 2006) constitute subject positions for women in terms of a form of governmentality whereby the gendered subjectivities of women working as frontline constables are reconfigured to bring their practice and value as workers into line with the socio-cultural space of the dominant group which, for many provincial areas, consists of workgroups comprising of only one or two women. The power-knowledge-subject relationship is demonstrated in the manner through which women reject such cultural reform initiatives on the basis of the unwanted attention that results from having one's 'difference' guaranteed and/or where the dominant discourse constitutes such initiatives to be unnecessary and producing unfair 'benefits' for women-only, in a seemingly gender-neutral organisation. Such reframing of gender inequality as a non-problem in thereby enacted by both women and men in the organisation as a form of disciplinary power. That such power and control is maintained by and within masculine discourses is evidenced as the need for men's patronage as managers in support of WAN committee members to influence the neoliberal, masculine discourses predominant at all levels of the organisation.

7.5.2 Quotas

The discursive locations from which policewomen speak about women's representation in senior ranks constitute subject positions within both a neoliberal context as well as that of cultural reform. This is demonstrated in policewomen's experiences of current structural solutions to increase the number of women in senior ranks and high-level positions in accordance with the fulfilment of a 'quota'. Such fulfilment is articulated in terms of the irreconcilability of individual achievement and legitimacy to progress and the unmistakeable organisational imperative to shift the balance of women's representation in senior ranks.

Jordan: *.... an Inspector who I know came up and, he was going, he said that [ ] was only going to get her position 'cos she was a woman. And I went, "I can't believe you just SAID that, out loud mate". "I can't even believe that you can think that", 'cos I said, "I've actually, she's actually very capable". He said, "oh I'm not saying that she's not capable, but there is a quota", ... (Rural area).*

Val: *Um .. but now we're starting to hear .. um .. you know, that women are getting jobs because we need to have more women in the roles and .. some of that comes out of, yeah statements made out of, "why", that we need to have women roles and the Commissioner and others saying .. you know, "must have more women in these roles", and being directed to have more women, you know, ... Um .. though what .. happens is that people get appointed to roles and the view is that they may not have been the best applicant. Um, and so because .. because the process is a confidential process, or for the most part .. people only see what they know .. or what they hear, they don't actually know the full story. So .. the conversation often is .. and you know, one I heard quite recently is .. "oh well it must be alright for a bloke because ah, we're about 50 percent now, so it'll be the next appointment at Executive-level will be fair". (Provincial area).*

Jordan and Val's accounts construct cultural reform as a tension between perceptions of a neoliberal, gender-neutral workplace, where appointments are a 'fair' representation of equal opportunities for all, and the implementation of a 'quota' as an equity measure to address structural discrimination of those whose choices in terms of progression are defined and delimited by the gendered substructure of the police organisation. Constructing cultural reform in this manner constitutes contradictory subject positions for women who succeed in being appointed to roles whereby their

legitimacy is contested in terms of their gender, and an assumption that the process was unfair. Structural constraints are subsequently constituted as a non-problem due to the irreconcilability of equity measures within a dominant neoliberal frame of thought that upholds 'fair and transparent', meritocratic appointment processes for all (Connell, 2006). The manner in which this form of governmentality shapes women's gendered subjectivities is demonstrated in policewomen's experiences of their sense of belongingness in their workplace

Ash: *... I think there, there's a real, real quota around women and I don't like it. I find it uncomfortable.*

SM: *... So, what problems do you see with the, the quota of women or, or making um women's representation a quota issue?*

Ash: *Because it's become a quo, it's like making a traffic ticket, you've gotta go out and have a quota, that's the difference. It's how you're ss, you are .. you're selling it and I think that's it's how it's been sold a bit. They're now trying to back track, um, but I think the damage has been done a little bit, particularly with um, the men you know what I mean. Like the, especially if you're a middle-aged white male, you're feeling very undervalued and very um, marginalised.*

SM: *Because it's an, they see it as an unfair process.*

Ash: *Yes, but they don't realise that it's always been .. the middle aged white males club. But I still get where they're coming from. ... So, so you know, I think the women in senior places are there not because they are women, they're there on merit. But the quota thing is, is, has been detrimental to women. (Metropolitan area).*

MacKenzie: *... When I got that role .. everyone said it was only 'cos I was a woman. I was so annoyed. And .. it wasn't. And it was opportune, 'cos nobody else was there, there was nobody qualified, nobody wanted to come in .. so there was all of that, but that wasn't about me being a woman. That was about me being prepared, to have the opportunity given to me because I'd got qualified. And if it had been a man or a woman there, whoever it was .. would've been given that same opportunity. So um, that's the first time that'd happened to me. (Provincial area).*

Morgan: *when I got promoted to [ ], another one of the .. ah, senior male staff .. said to me, "you know you only got that 'cos you're", um .. "cos you're a girl". ... But I didn't*

know if he was joking or if it was real, but .. to be honest [ ], it's the way I took it, I was just like, "ah", "whatever". I'm just as good and if I wasn't a, if I wasn't good I wouldn't have got the job. So .. again, it's about how people take that and .. I'm not one that lets something stand in my way.

SM: *And have you ever seen any of that, sort of preferential promotion-by-gender happen?*

Morgan: *.. No. I .. I never, well I, I don't think that I've ever got promoted because I'm a female. I think I got promoted because I did a bloody good .. I did an excellent job .. at the interview .. and I know that 'cos that's the way I felt, and because I've been on panels and I know what good looks like, so I know how to produce that good. (Provincial area).*

Ash, MacKenzie and Morgan's accounts attend to the problematic positioning of women when cultural reform is constructed as a numerical solution to structural discrimination. Women are required to navigate their position as gendered subjects who resist the implication of 'being a woman' as they manage other peoples' perceptions of their progression as well as their own sense of value as a (citizen)-worker. Ash's understanding of the problematic construction of cultural reform as a 'quota thing' brings into view the constitution of gender equity as a structural measure that has been implemented poorly in terms of being 'sold' by and within a masculine managerial approach of command and control that directs certain outcomes.

Chapter Eight - Conclusion

This research was motivated by my own experiences of navigating the gendered substructure / male construct of the police organisation, as a policewoman, as well as from listening to the commentaries of other policewomen in various ranks and roles, regarding their experiences of how the workplace has changed, and yet stayed the same, in terms of the progression of women. The paucity of scholarship attending to how policewomen's experiences of career progression are shaped within and through institutions of social action such as sexuality, work and family also contributed to the realisation that my position as an insider-researcher was a rare and privileged standpoint from which to give voice to women in police, in terms of their career progression experiences as a hard to reach participant group.

Attending to how policewomen's experiences of 'male construct' interact with the sustainability of career development and promotion practices focused on the manner in which social practices, both within and outside the workplace, define and delimit gendered social power relations that reinforce and contradict the legitimacy of the institutions that make such power relations possible. Analysis of such power relations was enabled through the identification of specific actions (Foucault, 1982), namely the system of differentiations that permit the conditions and outcomes of 'male construct' to operate on the practices of women and men in police; the types of objectives that male construct guarantee in terms of maintenance and reproduction of the organisational hierarchy in police; the structural means by which power relations are brought into being; the forms of institutionalisation that shape the network within which male construct operates; and the degrees of rationalisation that underpin women's strategic navigation of disciplinary technologies. Foucauldian discourse analysis (Willig, 2013) provided the mechanism for establishing how gendered social power relations shape the meanings and 'truths' that define the historical limits of policewomen's discursive positioning and investments in social practices as the complex negotiation of certain versions of 'reality' that legitimise existing power relations and social structures.

Within policewomen's narrative's, certain rules of formation became clear regarding the manner in which the gendered substructure / male construct of police functions to constitute women's gendered subjectivities as a relative point of

convergence whereby their workplace practice, organised within and through heteronormative social power relations, occurs in terms of positions of compliance and resistance relative to the privileging of masculine rationalities. Such privileging is rendered visible through simultaneous operations of structural differentiation / objectification of women as the 'not' of men and the normalisation / subjectification of women in accordance with heteronormativity whereby women are required to negotiate subject positions of reduced social power in terms of career development and promotion processes. Clear narratives were articulated within policewomen's interviews that were broadly grouped in accordance with dominant discourses of credibility – as doing time, reputation, being as good as men and getting ahead of the game; the 'ideal' police leader – as working long hours, balance, extreme over-work, doing time outside work hours, and geographic mobility; flexible employment options – as being a policewoman-mother; male networking – as masculine managerialism, and men's advocacy; and cultural reform – as WAN's and quotas.

The 'ideal' police leader continues to be characterised by and within hegemonic masculinity through material practices at senior levels of the organisation that maintain a masculinist managerial culture. Commitment, stamina, credibility and competitiveness are valued as fundamental attributes of individual managers who are in possession of a full-time, uninterrupted / unencumbered career strategy. Working long hours, anywhere and anytime is a well-known and highly valued structural reality for senior manager's that regulates the practices of women and men through normative technologies of power. Such practices are situated within and through power-knowledge-subject relationships as being at the level of individual 'choice', thereby concealing and enabling gendered structural elements of organising processes and role requirements.

Policewomen's narratives denounce new forms of competitive performativity that require the embodiment of work-life balance as a contested notion of compliance to successfully enacting both masculinity *and* femininity within the masculinist context of police senior management. The masculinist 'ideal' of the unencumbered and fully committed police leader constitutes work-life balance as a feminine / not masculine / constrained subject position for those who must structure working patterns around family commitments. The calculated and assiduously demanding regimes adopted by women endeavouring to 'achieve' work-life balance situate responsibility for any costs

such as loss of time with family and burnout as an individual failing and lack of ability to be a 'good leader' who models a healthy 'balance'.

'Ideal' leaders' stamina for extreme over-work and doing time outside work hours was articulated in policewomen's narratives as being able to do and sacrifice more and that such sacrifice is equated with being highly committed and therefore more suited to the masculine profile of the police leader. Such suitability to the responsibilities or roles at higher levels of police is a condition of increased individual-level reconfiguration of women's gendered subjectivities in accordance with enculturated masculinist patterns of work. Tensions also exist in terms of conflicting expectations and practices of senior managers that simultaneously discourage and necessitate extreme over-work. Self-blame in terms of 'lack' of ability to do and manage time as extreme over-work is a common theme for policewomen whose lived realities may be such that they are unable or unwilling to invest in such a masculine ideal. 'Lack' and saying 'no' are thereby navigated in terms of feminine / not masculine subject positions within normative structural operations of extreme over-work in a gendered organisation such as police.

While women can and do compete successfully at senior and higher levels of the organisation, there is a definitive hegemonic masculine 'ideal', to which all who aspire to such levels of police are held to account. Explicit and implicit rules define and delimit notions of credibility and legitimacy for progression, as well as the maintenance and reproduction of male construct, whereby women must first meet and often exceed the normative / masculine standards of performance in order to be eligible for progression. Such gendered patterns of work are evidenced in policewomen's experiences of having to meet a tick-box ideal for doing time in accordance with a masculinist career model that equates full-time, uninterrupted commitment with credibility and readiness for progression. Women's subject positions of compliance with such structural ordering occur in terms of a modality of control for unequal social power whereby men's access to networking and the ability to give time affords them a more strategic and exclusive career progression pathway. Strategies for women seeking to re-produce social power relations for doing time include early or specialist attainment of qualifications and increasing visibility through high performance in the workplace, in order to circumvent the masculinist constraints of doing time. However, such strategies are more likely to incur backlash and criticism for being 'too light' in terms of the

socio-culturally constructed prescription for credibility. Furthermore, the disciplinary power of doing time as a masculinist ideal is reaffirmed by any sign of lack of credibility in those who fast-track the system and renders them as being 'useless women'. Competing with men must therefore be negotiated from a position compliant with attaining recognition of qualities characterised by masculinist rationalities.

Despite cultural reform initiatives and new managerialism targets to increase diversity and the representation of women, heteronormative social power relations maintained by and within hegemonic masculinity at senior levels of police continue to operate through cultural consent for practices that support the ascendency of men / masculinity and marginalise femininity / non-hegemonic masculinities. Rules of formation that permit the conditions and outcomes of the gendered substructure / male construct of police are particularly notable for policewomen-mothers. Traditional institutional ideals of work and family continue to feature in police as constituting dual and contradictory subject positions for women as valuable (citizen)-worker's and 'good' mother's. As women aspiring to higher levels of the organisation, policewomen-mothers must find a way of putting both work *and* family first or be relegated to accepting 'trade-off's' such as having to sacrifice commitments to family and/or work while structural constraints remain unchanged. 'Options' of flexible and part-time working patterns in order balance work and family become by-products of a neoliberal, post-feminist sensibility whereby 'choosing' such options is at odds with women's tacit understanding for how alternate working patterns are devalued within and through the dominant socio-cultural construction of the 'ideal' police leader.

Somewhat unsurprising therefore, were policewomen's mixed experiences of voluntarism for Women's Advisory Networks and other cultural reform measures for increasing the recruitment, retention and development of women in police. Lack of adequate organisation-wide recognition for socio-cultural pressures that differentiate women and men's experiences of gender division situate gender 'elsewhere', enabling organisational off-loading of women's issues onto WAN's and the fulfilment of quotas. Women are thereby constituted by and within the gendered substructure in terms of being both the problem and the solution, while structural factors remain unacknowledged. While gendered inequality regimes continue to define the limits of policewomen's discursive positioning and subject investments within and outside the workplace, cultural reform initiatives may also continue to be perceived by

policewomen in accordance with their hard-earned masculine subject positions as both welcome and unwelcome measures for bringing about change. That such relations of power are deeply embedded at the socio-cultural level of the organisation rather than constituted 'above' society denotes the importance of understanding the historical formation of power, how such power is enacted and the conditions that may be required to transform and/or vanquish relations of power in order to effect meaningful long-term organisational transformation.

Despite the appearance of a seemingly more gender-neutral and inclusive police organisation, there is a consistent message that male construct trumps alternate working patterns and career progression pathways through the maintenance and reproduction of masculinist ideals for police leaders. Furthermore, initiatives for increasing the representation of women at higher levels of police are experienced as both working for and against women. Consistent with the concerns raised in the 2007 Commission of Inquiry, women continue to be confronted with having to navigate career progression and promotion practices in accordance with over-adapting to male construct rather than risk challenging the status quo. While policewomen's narratives signal the existence of male managers who actively support cultural reform through the decentring of masculinist ideals for career progression, such experiences are highly individualised exceptions to normative practices of compliance and/or resistance. Furthermore, cultural reform initiatives to address gender equality that focus only on women fail to engage and change men, leaving women with the burden of gender equality solutions and continued social pressure. Including men in gender equality work, as gendered beings who participate in gender relations is a critical requirement because men's practices and identities within masculine discourses and culture are intimately tied to gender inequality (Flood & Howson, 2015). A more meaningful and long-term cultural reform initiative should therefore include a new strategy for promotion that includes training for men in police in the normalisation of male construct and the construction of masculinities, in order to recognise and address the way men receive formal and informal benefits from gender inequality, and to reinforce men's selfhood in terms of constructions of gender-equitable masculinities.

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How Policewomen's experiences of 'male construct' interact with sustainability of career development and promotion practices.

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher introduction

My name is Stephanie Mace. I am a Police Constable based in Auckland. I am also a part-time student at Massey University, completing a Psychology Master's thesis. My academic area of interest is the psychology of women in the workplace.

I am interested in New Zealand policewomen's experiences of the New Zealand Police organisational culture, career development and promotion practices, in terms of how policewomen navigate the male-centred characteristics of the police organisation that function to promote and/or constrain women's access to senior ranks, and how policewomen's realities are enacted as a result.

Research project description and invitation

The Police Executive Summary (2013) identifies 'male construct' as an important domain of influence that acts as a barrier to women's development within the police organisation, and to date, 'male construct' has been afforded minimal focus.

'Male construct' in the police organisation refers to the normalisation of workplace practices carried out by both men and women in accordance with men's realities. As the dominant gender in the workplace, particularly at senior ranks and executive level, men's norms comprise the most prevalent belief systems in terms of the way many work roles are performed and modelled. Personal characteristics seen as important for career success are therefore likely to be constructed by men's experiences. For example, many senior ranks and executive level positions place high premiums on individual stamina and the ability to demonstrate excessive levels of commitment through time served to meet the demands of role requirements, often at the expense of personal wellbeing and family commitments.

This letter is an invitation to you to participate in researching the effects of 'male construct' on workplace practices such as promotion processes and career development experiences for women in the police organisation.

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Research aims

In order to understand policewomen's experiences of 'male construct', it is important to identify: (1) what 'male construct' looks like in police; (2) how workplace practices are enacted to privilege the status quo; (3) how alternate workplace practices disrupt male-centred norms; and (4) how workplace practices reflect and support women's advancement and wellbeing as employees.

The research will involve a discourse analysis of interviews with senior policewomen to understand experiences of 'male construct' and how this affects workplace practices, career development and promotion processes. The research is expected to result in an in-depth understanding of women-centred realities, with the aim that such knowledge will be beneficial for positive organisational change.

Participant recruitment.

All New Zealand policewomen at the rank of sergeant and above are eligible to participate in this research however the final participant number will be limited to about 15. As a result, invitations have been sent to a range of senior policewomen in rural, provincial and city police stations and across all the senior ranks. This will provide a representative sample of experiences. It is expected that this number of participant interviews will generate plenty of data for a comprehensive analysis.

What will participation involve?

Research participants will be asked to volunteer about 3 hours' of their time, on three separate occasions. Work time may be utilised, if that is the preference of the participant. The research will involve:

1. a 15-30 minute meeting for the informed consent process. Participants will be provided with a short list of topics to think about before the interview;

2. between 1.5 to 2 hours for a voice recorded interview involving the participant and the researcher; and

3. a 15-30 minute consultation by telephone or email to review the interview transcript.

The interview location will be at a place of the participant's choosing, such as a workplace, home, or anywhere else the participant feels comfortable.

Participation in the research project is strictly voluntary and as such, participants may withdraw from the research at any time.

Participant safety: Referrals to appropriate assistance will be provided should participants experience any physical, psychological, or social discomfort during or after the interview, as a result of talking about experiences in the workplace.

Disclosures of serious misconduct: In the event that, during the research process, a participant discloses an allegation of serious misconduct relating to another police member, or other persons, whether or not a participant wishes to formally report the allegation, the researcher may have a duty to disclose relevant information, to protect the participant or others from harm. All such disclosures will be addressed as a process of consultation between the participant, the researcher and one or both research supervisors (or other such person the participant so wishes) to ensure the most appropriate course of action is implemented.

Privacy and confidentiality

Participants' privacy is protected by both the 2015 Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research and the provisions of the Protected Disclosures Act 2000.

Participants' confidentiality will be protected by:

(1) Use of pseudonyms in interview transcripts and any other written material relating to the research process.

(2) Details of participants' ranks and physical locations within the organisation will be anonymised by generalised reference terms such as 'supervisory-level', 'middle management', 'senior management' or 'executive' level rankings, and 'rural', 'provincial', or 'city' stations.

(3) Documentary, voice recorded and hard drive data will be stored as locked, password protected documents at the researchers' home address. Interview transcripts will be securely destroyed once signed off by participants. Consent forms will be stored in a locked cabinet with research supervisor Dr Leigh Coombes.

(4) Data will be securely destroyed at the completion of the Master's thesis, with the assistance of the Massey University research supervisor. The date for completion is anticipated to be sometime near the end of 2018.

Participant's rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- *decline to answer any particular question;*
- *ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;*
- *withdraw your participation in the research at any time up until the time you sign off your transcript;*
- *ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;*
- *provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;*
- *be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.*

Contact Information

For any questions or further clarification relating to this research project, please contact the researcher or research supervisors:

Researcher
Stephanie Mace
Senior Constable SMD419
PH: 021 191 3178
Email: bbinks@orcon.net.nz or Stephanie.Mace@police.govt.nz

Research Supervisor's

Two research supervisors, one internal and one external to the police organisation, will provide formalised advisory and procedural capabilities to the researcher. Supervision is governed by the standards and responsibilities outlined in the Health Practitioners Competence Assurance Act (HPCA) 2003 and the Code of Ethics for Psychologists Working in Aotearoa New Zealand 2002.

Research Supervisor (Police)

Joshua Tabor
Director Organisational and Employee Development
New Zealand Police
Police National Headquarters
PH: 021 192 1990
Email: Joshua.Tabor@police.govt.nz

Research Supervisor (Massey University)

Dr Leigh Coombes
Senior Lecturer, School of Psychology
Massey University
Palmerston North.
PH: (06) 356 9099 extension 85075
Email: L.Coombes@massey.ac.nz

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 15/68. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 x 83657, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

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How Policewomen's experiences of 'male construct' interact with sustainability of career development and promotion practices.

Preparatory Interview Topics

1. What aspects of the promotion process were helpful to you in attaining your current work role? What aspects were unhelpful? (You may use other work roles as examples).

2. Were the position requirements for your current work role made clear to you when you applied for the role? Were any position requirements expressed indirectly? (You may use other work roles as examples).

3. What types of work roles represent the most ideal position requirements for you and why is that so?

4. What influential occurrences contributed to the way your career path has developed? What influential occurrences disrupted your career path?

5. What individual characteristics are important for a person to be effective in your current work role? What individual characteristics may make a person ineffective? (You may use other work roles as examples).

6. What types of workplace situations (formal and/or informal) cause you to consider your gender as a factor in decision-making processes?

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PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: ..... **Date:** .....

Full Name - printed .....

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AUTHORITY FOR THE RELEASE OF TRANSCRIPTS

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of the interview(s) conducted with me.

I agree that the edited transcript and extracts from this may be used in reports and publications arising from the research.

Signature: ..... **Date:** .....

Full Name - printed .....

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