

Patriarchy and female career progression: Do women maintain the status quo?

Maryke Lambrechts

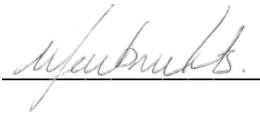
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30 November 2020

## DECLARATION

I declare that this article is my own work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration at the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University. I further declare that I have obtained the necessary authorisation and consent to carry out this research.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Maryke Lambrechts', is written above a horizontal line.

Maryke Lambrechts

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## MOTIVATION OF JOURNAL CHOICE

Journal: Gender and Society Journal  
AJG rating: 3 Star  
Indexed: ISI Basic Social Sciences  
Scopus

This journal focusses on gendered interactions in both society and in organisations, and publishes empirical articles using both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. This journal houses topics such as gender and work, feminist identities and masculinities. The article encompasses all three of these topics and builds on a published article in the journal “Women in Power: Undoing or Redoing the Gendered Organization? (Stainback, Kleiner, & Skaggs, 2016). The research conducted builds on the published article by analysing, through lived experiences, how women have experienced the enforcement of patriarchal principles by another woman and the effect this has on their career progression. Additionally, the research highlights how the participants themselves have internalised and socialised gender roles and inferiority due to patriarchal upbringings, and how they are perpetuating it in their own lives. The research aims to contribute to the building body of research on whether women are in part responsible for the persisting gender inequality in the workplace and largely in society.

This article follows the journal's author guidelines and the student, Maryke Lambrechts, is the sole author of this article.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### PATRIARCHY IN FAMILY AND SOCIETY

A *male's role* in patriarchy is theoretically the main driver of patriarchal principles and practices. It is a social institution in which men are accepted as being superior, where men dominate women and are the leaders in society and the bread winners of the families (T. Adisa, Abdulraheem, & Isiaka, 2019). The patriarchal hierarchy of the family is still very strong today where men have power over women in the household, older men have power over younger men, and where women stand in for the heads of the household when they are ill or away (Gruber & Szoltysek, 2016). These patriarchal practices have been accepted by both sexes as a structural norm in most societies across the world (Gangoli, 2017).

An argument can be made however that one cannot look at patriarchy merely from the viewpoint of the actions of people and the hierarchies of families. The essence of patriarchy lies in the institutional, systematic internalisations of these accepted norms and the effects of these on societies and governments (Kandiyoti, 2016). Furthermore, institutional norms exist which generate gender inequalities and rather than investigating the perceived perpetrator, familial structures, one should rather examine the impacts these systems and institutions have on families. This argument rests on two sides of one coin, and by looking at it from both sides one can venture closer to an understanding of why these patriarchal practices within families and institutions still exist today. Women have been liberalised by society, media and institutions, and yet all parties involved, institutions, families and society still accept and internalise patriarchal principles.

The analogy of the coin can again be used to examine patriarchy as a whole, in that there are two sides, a man's role in the patriarchal system or hierarchy and a woman's role. Both parties play a role in either enforcing and / or accepting the socialised norms dictated by patriarchy. It is therefore important to discuss patriarchy from a woman's role as well.

A *females role* in patriarchy is debated by Lerner (1986), arguably one of the leading writers of patriarchy, who discussed a women's role in the system and pointed to the fact that women have for millennia participated in their own subordination due to the internalisation of their own

inferiority. This is not surprising as research show that the notion that a woman is inferior to a man is as old as what myths are. Myths were created with the man as the primary being and the woman a secondary being; the woman being created for the purpose of the man, not for her own existence or purpose. An example of such a myth is Adam and Eve in the Christian religion, which displays this notion of female inferiority; Adam was made perfect, Eve was made to be a companion for Adam (Ogdoc-Gascon, 2016).

Adding to this notion of interiority, is the argument that a women's inferior identity, imposed on her by patriarchal practices and stories throughout generations, has become the acceptable norm for the woman (Fawole, 2018) and the woman will therefore seek to enforce these internalised patriarchal principles and participate in the subordination of other women (Perez, 2019).

The woman, due to her internalised inferiority, might not be able to see the extent to which she is enforcing these patriarchal principles, or how she is playing a role in perpetuating gender segregation and inequality in her social life as well as in her career. This internalisation of a patriarchal system might also be contributing to a negative psychological state in which the woman feels not worthy of success, socially, or in her career. Additionally, by enforcing these patriarchal principles, she might have a similar psychological effect on other women who look up to her, her daughter or subordinates at work for example. It can be concluded that this internalised inferiority, brought on by patriarchal practices continues to reinforce the patriarchal structure of society as a whole.

A woman's role, as dictated by patriarchal norms, has arguably been socialised throughout many generations, due to the internalisation of their own perceived inferiority, accepting the social structure without questioning the reason or origin.

## SOCIALISATION OF WOMEN

The socialisation of gender roles arguably stems childhood development succumbing to the pressures of family and societal expectations (Molla, 2016). Children are exposed to too many gendered influences at school; boys are strong, girls are soft. Boys must play with machines and strong fantasy characters, and girls play with tea sets, kitchen sets and the fantasy

characters depicted as the damsel in need of rescue. These influences shape the social roles of men and women, which enforces the argument that it is accepted as the norm with very little questioning or investigation. These norms and gender roles ultimately become a factor in their inherent decision-making processes for men and women regarding career choices, familial choices and personal identity choices.

Building on this argument one can further focus on the decision making process of a woman and how the socialisation of her gender role throughout her life into adulthood enforces the pressures she puts on herself, together with the pressures from society, to be a homemaker and take care of children for example (Ebbers & Piper, 2017). It is further noted that the decision to take on these roles will impact on the satisfaction a woman derives from her career and her personal life. Driven mainly by society, assuming the role of sole carer and nurturer gives women the encouragement and empowerment to work only if absolutely necessary. If an alternative is available, for example, a working husband, a woman will commit to one dominant identity, that of carer.

Another perspective around socialisation is that girls usually adopt a more nurturing and harmonious demeanour, whereas boys are more competitive and brash (Lee, Kesebir, & Pillutla, 2016). This socialisation translates into two very different roles that men and women play in society and their organisations. A woman for example is less likely to drive competition in the workplace, not only because her identity will push against it, but society, within the organisation or in her immediate circle, will not easily accept her in this brash competitive role (Lee et al., 2016). Perez (2019) strengthens this argument by noting that a woman is less likely to nominate herself for a promotion or place herself in competition with another person for a position because of her stipulated gender role. Women are expected to be modest and will be intrinsically fearful of the consequences should they not conform to this expectation. The woman will, therefore, dismiss the idea of fighting for a position or a promotion if it means she must compete.

A broader understanding of gender socialisation, outside of the simpler arguments, relying on social and familial pressures only should be considered. The understanding can be build on by arguing that gender socialisation in its purest form of influence stays with a person only until she/he starts experiencing alternative forces from peers, the economy and society (Pearse &

Connell, 2016). Simply stating that the norms linked to different genders during childhood should only be the dominant norm until the person accepts additional influences.

A scenario can be discussed then where a girl child experiences familial influences as to what her role should be in society, however should this girl child be exposed to gender neutral societal logics and business logics, she will shed her childhood socialised gender role and rather internalise the new norms and logics. This argument then suggests that the eventual culprit for the persistence of gender roles both socially and in business is society, and not the familial patriarchy norms that the person grew up with.

These gender roles perpetuated by society today still dictates which role appropriate skills a woman and a man should acquire in order to fit in with their appropriate roles in the workplace. A divide exists between male and female dominated roles, and research has been dedicated to finding the causes for males crossing over to female dominated roles and vice versa (Yavorsky & Dill, 2020). The theoretical base and academic interest in these two polarised worlds of employment signals the intensity of socialised gender roles, whether it stems from only familial norms perpetuated by society or more simply, internalised throughout generations without much deviation.

This section dealt with social and familial patriarchy, however mentions of institutional logics and societies within business have been made throughout the literature. Patriarchal hierarchies and norms should therefore be discussed in more detail to create a holistic understanding of the research currently available regarding the phenomenon of patriarchy.

## PATRIARCHY IN BUSINESS

The *male role* in patriarchy in business starts with a recurring theme throughout the existing research is the perception or notion of the ideal worker (Baker & Brewis, 2019). The ideal worker is an image of an individual who can work long hours, has no family responsibilities and has no domestic interferences. The notion of an ideal worker is built on by including masculine attributes, physical and mental, and these attributes are then deemed as successful or powerful within the organisation (Dashper, 2019).



The ideal worker is furthermore explained as a person who is committed to their organisation without any distractions. This worker will travel when needed, work long hours, and will do everything in their power to ensure the success of the organisation (Kelly, Ammons, Chermack, & Moen, 2010). This strengthens the definition of the ideal worker above, being male, as the man will be able to avail himself for travel and offer his time as he does not have familial responsibilities as a woman does.

In essence, the definition of the ideal worker excludes women. Women have familial responsibilities and homes and children to care for. Additionally, a women's biological makeup excludes her from being seen as an ideal worker (Dashper, 2019; Kelly et al., 2010).

The ideal worker, depicted as masculine (Bierema, 2016) is a concept which arguably originated from early theories of leadership and success, where the data was skewed towards men only. Additionally, data bias as early as the fourth century BC were recorded, when all the successful and influential writers, politicians and scientists were men (Perez, 2019), and history recorded it as such. Given these data biases, it can be understood then why the default structure of humanity is male, and why this default structure has been accepted by society since the birth of human evolution theories. This understanding ties in with the argument that a woman's social inferiority was created generations ago, as far back as myths in certain cultures and religions. It is therefore self-evident, but still essential to stipulate again, that although these societies consist of men and women, both genders are seemingly in equal acceptance of the status quo.

It can be concluded that the ideal worker is directly connected to the patriarchal male image as discussed in societal patriarchy. A person who holds power over another because of their gender, biology and societal role bestowed upon them throughout generations of stories, beliefs, values and theories.

It is reasonable to further conclude then that the ideal worker, created in the image of a man, will force women in the organisation into an identity crisis (Bierema, 2016). If they want to be successful, they must fit the mould of the ideal worker and act more like a man, which in turn creates conflict between their social and work identities.

One of the barriers to success for women, can be said then, lie in the gendered masculine organisation itself. These organisations make it difficult for women to live up to the invisible persistent stereotype of what is needed in an organisation to be successful.

Another concept which is widely researched and used to describe organisations as a whole is the masculine industry and corporate cultures (Moalusi & Jones, 2019). An example of such an industry is the financial industry as researched by Maaranen and Tienari (2020). Their research shows a very clear idea of success, a masculine image of success, and should a woman progress to a position of power, she will not be seen as a real woman, as she would have conformed to the behaviours of the industry and would have become more masculine.

Additionally, organisations see patriarchy as an acceptable ideology which creates male superiority over women regardless of their qualifications, potential or skills (Dlamini & Adams, 2014). Masculine meritocracy is a term discussed by Perez (2019) and Dashper (2019), stating then a man might be considered successful and competent just because he is male. The man requires very little motivation, as compared to a woman, to step into a role in an organisation. The burden of proof therefore lies with the woman to prove that she is skilled enough, strong enough and smart enough to hold a position of power in an organisation. It is understood then that a woman might mould herself into the image of the ideal worker, the male, in order to advance in her career.

It is important again, to consider both sides of the coin when we discuss patriarchy in business. As discussed above, a woman might conform to masculine norms and accept the status quo of the masculine organisation. It is therefore a safe assumption that a woman might perpetuate the same level of patriarchy in an organisation as a man does.

Terms such as Queen bee have been created to describe the *female role* in an organisation with regards to patriarchal masculine norms and values. For women who conform to these typical ideal worker stereotypes, women has to act like men in order to be promoted or to be successful in the organisation (Ellemers, Rink, Derks, & Ryan, 2012). These women distance themselves from their feminine identity so as to increase their career prospects and uplift themselves (Sobczak, 2018). They perpetuate the masculine image of the ideal worker by conforming to the default ideal and in so doing they continue the discrimination against other women rather than working towards gender equality. The ideal worker is modelled around a

masculine hard-working individual, and this idea is not only internalised by entire organisations, but evidently also by women (Baker & Brewis, 2019).

A different argument can be made regarding the Queen bee syndrome. Rather than it be a woman who conform to masculine organisational norms, and changes herself to fit the male image, it is a woman who is protective over her power in the organisation. She sees other women as a threat to her power, a need to hold her position of rare power in a masculine environment, not necessarily a removal from a feminine identity (Smit, 2016). The Queen bee syndrome then revolves around preserving power and manipulating the group either on her level or below her to keep her in power and minimize the progress of other women. This understanding of the Queen bee syndrome does not necessarily depict the woman as a perpetuator of patriarchal principles, she is rather a woman with narcissistic, selfish and jealous tendencies, which then hurts the career progression of other women. In this instance, these negative leadership traits, regardless of the gender of the leader, and regardless of the social and institutional norms, will have a negative effect on any person's career progression, again, regardless of race.

Contradicting the above conclusion, research done by Derks et al (2011) found that women do not enter into organisations as queen bees, this is not an inherited trait and it is not a personality trait. The organisational logics and the masculine organisational culture, which threatened the woman's identity forced her to conform to the behaviours of the organisation. Women will acknowledge that gender inequality exists within their organisation, however, they are reluctant to engage in changing these behaviours due to their own internal beliefs and masculine meritocracy (Dashper, 2019). This research then supports the notion that social identities within organisations, masculine perceptions of success and a threatened female identity creates queen bees in organisations.

The literature regarding the true motivation for the creation of a Queen bee in the organisation is divided, however, the reason for this creation was not the aim for this research paper. This research paper aimed to understand which female patriarchal behaviour had an impact on a woman's career progression, if any, and if the woman was aware of any organisational and social factors contributing to this behaviour.

These sections show that there are many forms of patriarchy, and it can all be grouped in business, society and family. All of these forms of patriarchy can explain why women are less economically active. The psychological disempowerment of a woman in her place of work, her fertility and sexuality and the oppression and exploitation of the conceptual levels of a woman are embedded in patriarchal oppression (Rawat, 2014).

The deeply internalised norms and accepted behaviour driven by patriarchy are evident throughout the literature. As a broad construct, it is the behaviour socialised by both men and women within all patriarchal structures, business, society and family, which aids in the persistence of hierarchical patriarchal structures in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Patriarchy in all its forms can be described as a human behaviour phenomenon, however, human behaviour is driven and motivated by internal and external factors. Some of the literature discussed above alluded to the institutional and social norms which dictates and drives patriarchal behaviours; we will therefore look at the theories underlying these norms and logics according to which patriarchal behaviour is moulded.

## THEORIES UNDERLYING PATRIARCHAL STRUCTURE

Institutional theory, specifically institutional logics and social identity theory can be used to explain the persistence and the impact of the many forms of patriarchy discussed above and why the roles within these structures are so rigid and difficult to change, for both men and women.

## INSTITUTIONAL LOGIC THEORY AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

Institutional logic forms part of institutional theory and comprises of six types of logic: state logic, market logic, family logic, religious logic, corporate logic and professional logic (Lewis, Cardy, & Huang, 2019). These all arise from deeply rooted identities, norms, cultural biases and authority. Human beings make use of these types of inherent logic to inform how they will behave in their personal and professional lives.

Institutional logic influences an organisation at an individual level, which ultimately drives the culture within that organisation (Lewis et al., 2019). It is what shapes and dictates how

individuals within a firm behave in situations or towards other people. If the organisation has a very masculine orientation then the logics of the individuals within that organisation will also be more masculine. The plurality and multiplicity of logics is argued by Skelcher and Smith (2015), supporting the notion of a masculine organisation, by indicating that there are not just one logic driving an organisation or a group, however there will be a dominant one. Depending on the prevailing culture and group preference, that dominant logic could dictate actions and behaviour of people in the group or organisation. Following the argument, should the masculine logics dominate in an organisation, these logics will dictate the level of acceptance and influence of patriarchal principles and therefore gender inequality.

The concept of acquiescence is when a person obeys rules, often reluctantly, but without protest. This concept, in this context, exists because of strong institutional logics, driving the behaviour of individuals, whether it is an inherent or alien behaviour (Järvenpää & Lämsiluoto, 2016). The basis for this concept is that institutional logics creates an identity for an organisation, simplified, the way we do things. Institutional logics therefore drives organisational culture and creates a single organism or identity to which individuals must conform or exit the organisation. It is seen in the literature above that women, obeying their social roles, will not be brass or confrontational, and will therefore accept this single or collective identity and conform, but with protest.

A collective identity is one of the central aspects of institutional logic in an organisational or social environment (Järvenpää & Lämsiluoto, 2016). A collective social identity forms when the majority of a group of people share the same logics and act upon them. This forge shared decision-making patterns and shared beliefs of the group within that specific organisation. This shared identity gives people a sense of belonging and of being valuable within the organisation (Hogg, 2009).

A shared or collective identity can be aligned with institutional or organisational logics. The two concepts resonate with each other. For example, there are different logics in any business environment. An organisation conforms to a certain set of logics, a market conforms to a different set of logics, and more granular, individuals have their own logics which dictates and helps shape behaviour. The theory regarding logics however reasons that logics within an environment can either complement each other, or work against each other (Thornton, 2002).

When different logics work against each other either friction with subsequent change occurs, or, the different logic conforms to that of the group identity (Hogg, 2009). For this proposed research the institutional logic theory and the need for social identity dictate that an individual will either forgo his or her personal logic in order to fit in with the group, or will over time morph his or her different logics into that of the group consensus.

Two possibilities arise from the above-mentioned theoretical concepts. The first possibility is that a woman, socialised from birth to be inferior, carries this inherent logic over to other women in her workplace. In this way she perpetuates gender inequality by not supporting or promoting women to superior positions. This concept is documented in anthropological research where women are the nurturers of social culture and display behaviour which propagates gender inequality. An example is that of teaching their daughters how to be a good wife and how to become a carer first and foremost (Kressel, 1992).

The second possibility is that an organisation with a gendered culture, which depicts the male worker as the embodiment of success, will ultimately contort the natural logics of a woman to comply with those of the group logic of what success is. She then acts upon this organisational concept of the ideal worker as being male thereby aiding in the stagnation of gender inequality in senior management positions by favouring men for promotion.

Internal belief structures and values are social constructs, which often dictate how an individual carries herself/himself in society, and these constructs often have impacts on an organisation and the people in the organisation (Zhao & Wry, 2016). Patriarchy is a social construct which, in its essence, creates gender inequality, and has not been researched sufficiently as a contributor to gender inequality in the workplace (Zhao & Wry, 2016).

From the literature and theory presented the researcher can ascertain that there is an opportunity to research the effects of inherent patriarchal principles and the socialisation of the inferiority of women in the workplace. The literature reviewed clearly states that women carry and perpetuate behaviour which maintains the existing gender inequality status quo in society.

Patriarchy and ideations of success are embedded in organisations where men and women work and in the society in which they live. It can be inferred therefore that women also propagate

this idea of success and gender roles in business, not just in society, and that they could, therefore, be a contributing factor to the stagnating gender inequality in the workplace.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Do the organisational culture and its image of success have an impact on the degree to which a woman will enforce patriarchal principles? If the organisation does not affect how women treat each other, the researcher can conclude that the internalisation of the patriarchal principles derives from the social and familial logics, which then in turn dictates the behaviour regardless of the organisational pressures.

2. Will a woman's inherent logics accept the phenomenon, or can she disregard the norms and institutional pressures which dictate her perceived inferiority? The outcome of this question will indicate an internalisation of the notion, in both the giver and receiver of patriarchal norms. Furthermore, it could allude to the possibility that the receiver might be/become an enforcer of patriarchal norms herself without being aware of it.

3. Do women realise their role in patriarchy, or does she place emphasis on the male role only. Is the women's role in society and in business socialised to such an extent that she does not realise that it is possible for a woman to act and accept behaviour to her own detriment?

## CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### CHOICE OF METHODOLOGY

This study was qualitative in nature. Qualitative research is used to gain understanding regarding human behaviour, social norms and constructs and exploring the complex nature of human beings (Azungah, 2018). Furthermore, there has not been an abundance of research done on the topic of female enforced patriarchy in business. The researcher was therefore confident that the research findings will add something novel to the current conversations regarding patriarchy and gender inequality in the workplace. This research paper therefore had an explorative research design to provide an explicit and deep understanding of the themes and patterns found among women in business who have experienced the effects of female enforced patriarchy on their own career progression. This explorative design was necessary due to the lack of previous research done.

This research paper had a mono method of collecting data, and used only semi-structured interviews to collect data. The researcher's interpretation of what she saw and heard when she conducted an in-depth interview was an integral part of the data which was collected. For this reason, observations, documents and art, which are also acceptable forms of qualitative data collection (Creswell, Hanson, Clark, & Morales, 2007), were not used.

The philosophy for this research paper was interpretivism. Interpretivism is used when language, context, body language and situational factors must be interpreted from a personal perspective in order to derive deeper meaning for the researcher (Black, 2006). Positivism was not suited for this research paper as it sought to explore and understand how women experience the phenomenon of female enforced patriarchy, how they understood it and what the outcome is of that understanding rather than measuring and comparing it. Positivism seeks to find correlations between subjects to test against a pre-constructed framework or theory (Baškarada & Koronios, 2018).

This research paper had an inductive approach, which aimed to collect data relating to a particular phenomenon, with no expectant outcome (Azungah, 2018). The analysis was completely driven by the participants and the researcher had no preconceived ideas, codes or lists to which she would measure or compare the data. Azungah (2018) further notes that a deductive approach aims to collect data for the purpose to test the findings against an existing theory or framework. The objective was to understand the phenomenon of female enforced patriarchy without having any



conceptual models or frameworks to compare the data to and inform the researchers ideas as to what the outcome could have been.

The research strategy was phenomenology. This research strategy sought to give meaning to human experiences and searched for the essence of a lived experience which could not be revealed by standard observations (Sanders, 1982). The researcher chose this strategy because the aim was to create an understanding of an individual's deep lived experience and perceptions of how female enforced patriarchy has impacted either her career progression or psychological wellbeing. The ultimate goal was to create a holistic picture of this phenomenon and create an understanding for the reader (Roberts, 2019). Whittaker (2004) discusses the ontological view when employing phenomenological methods to evaluate data, and highlights the importance of investigating underlying and or hidden motivations for the behaviour observed. She furthermore notes that these behaviours are often hidden or underlying because they are so deeply imbedded in social norms and traditional concepts.

The researcher employed a cross-sectional research design. A cross-sectional design is done at a particular time with a small group of people, instead of a research project done over an extended period of time which is usually conducted with more than one large group of people (Salkind, 2010).

The research was done by conducting semi-structured interviews. This was not only the ideal method of collecting the purest form of data, i.e. true feelings regarding this phenomenon, true perceived impacts and experiences, but also the indicated form of data collection techniques as per the research strategy. Phenomenology prescribes in-depth interviews with a small group of people who have all either lived or shared a similar experience (Creswell et al., 2007).

## PROPOSED RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

### POPULATION

The population for this research project was women either in middle management currently in their careers, or who was at a point in time in middle management. All of these women had experienced the effects of patriarchal principles enforced by a woman in the workplace which, in some form, impacted on their career progression and work life. An existing network of GIBS students formed the initial pool of the research; this included all the PGDip and MBA cohorts. This selection criteria ensured that the women had the perquisite management or career experience as most of the students at GIBS are accomplished and / or moving up in their careers. A short synopsis of the research proposal together with the explicit qualifying criteria was sent to the different cohorts via

social communication platforms. Additionally, a snowball method of sampling was used due to the lack of qualifying participants in the GIBS network. Snowball sampling is often used to locate hard to find participants or participants with very specific criteria (Ligita, Harvey, Wicking, Nurjannah, & Francis, 2019).

#### UNIT OF ANALYSIS

For this research, the unit of analysis was the individual, the woman who experienced this phenomenon. The researcher appreciated the fact that a woman who enforces patriarchal principles at the workplace, might not be forthcoming or honest about her actions. Therefore, the unit of analysis moved to the woman who experienced this phenomenon at the hands of another woman. This unit of analysis gave the researcher the necessary insight and understanding of this phenomenon and its impact.

#### SAMPLING METHOD AND SIZE

The initial population was women studying at GIBS University doing either their PGDip or MBA programmes. However due to the specific qualifiers, the researcher started with very purposive sampling instead of creating a sample from the population (Salkind, 2010). The sample was initially acquired from the GIBS group of women which ensured that the researcher had representation across multiple business sectors, private organisations, multinational organisations and state-owned enterprises.

The sampling method was purposive, non-probability sampling, with snowball sampling. The researcher used non-probability sampling because there is no complete list of women meeting the qualifying criteria. In other words, a specific sample of women were chosen to create a population, instead of the researcher choosing a sample from a bigger sampling frame or population (Salkind, 2010). The participants had specific qualifying criteria which ensured quality data from the interviews, therefore purposive sampling was the indicated method. The researcher qualified participants based on a list of criteria:

- The participant had to be female
- The participant had to have been in middle management at the time or must have been in middle management some time in her life
- Participant must have had experienced the enforcement of patriarchal principles by a woman.
- Participant must have been willing to share in-depth emotions, perceptions and defeats.

These participants were relevant to this research project as they had the lived experience and perception of this phenomenon, as defined by their personal roles and definitions. The researcher was able to create a holistic picture of this phenomenon by analysing the data derived from interviews with these women. The researcher conducted 7 in-depth interviews for this project.

#### MEASUREMENT INSTRUMENT

The measurement instrument for this research project was an existing interview guide, which was adapted from two published papers (T. A. Adisa, Cooke, & Iwowo, 2019; Primecz & Karjalainen, 2019). Both of these papers have done research on women in the workplace, how patriarchy and culture shape their behaviour in the workplace and how it influenced their careers. Interviews were used as a measurement instrument based on the guidelines for its use; interviews are used when the researcher needs information regarding a specific topic, urging people to tell their life story and to explain the phenomenon from their perspective (Gubrium, Holstein, Marvasti, & McKinney, 2012). Following these guidelines, the researcher was confident that the measurement instrument would be adequate in understanding the phenomenon from the experiences and observations of women. The researcher was guided by a constructed set of predetermined open-ended questions; however, these questions only served as a guideline, and the researcher applied no rigidity when the respondents omitted to answer some of the questions, or if the interview took a different direction. The researcher allowed a natural flow to proceed with every participant.

The researcher followed the following guidelines when she conducted the interviews Turner (2010):

- Choose a setting with little distraction which is comfortable for the participant.

Most of the interviews were done over Zoom, however this guideline was still applicable in scheduling a time and date suited to the participant.

- Explain the purpose of the interview and address the terms of confidentiality

The purpose of the interview and the terms of the confidentiality were explained to the participant through a letter of consent, which was signed before the interview started

- Explain the format of the interview and the expected duration

The researcher explained the format of the interview very loosely with each participant and the expected duration. However, in some cases the participants veered off the discussed format, which the researcher embraced and worked around.

- Explain how the participant might get in touch with the researcher afterwards

The contact details of the researcher and her supervisor were on the letter of consent signed before each interview started

- Don't count on memory to remember all the interview data

The researcher used audio and video to record each interview. In some cases, the researcher made notes as well. The video recordings will not be saved as per the confidentiality agreements; the transcriber received only the audio files to work off.

Additional to these guidelines, Turner (2010) further states that creating effective research questions which will allow the researcher to dig deeper into the experiences of participants is crucial. The researcher, therefore, conducted a pilot interview with one of her peers. The researcher was confident that would have eliminated any misunderstandings around questions, made sure that all questions were open-ended without any leading language. The pilot interview was a success, the researcher restructured some of the questions which had leading language, and changed the format of the interviews to promote better flow.

#### DATA GATHERING PROCESS

The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews which prompted information from the participants regarding their lived experiences and understandings of the phenomenon. The researcher interviewed six participants over zoom and one participant face to face. All the interviews, regardless of method, was conducted at a time and in a setting comfortable for the participant. The researcher used the video and voice recording component of Zoom, and a voice recorder for the face to face interview. The researcher also, in some cases, took notes during the interview to ensure overall data capture, which included emotive cues and responses undetectable by the voice recorder. The data was recorded and stored without identifiers which ensured confidentiality.

#### ANALYSIS APPROACH

The researcher outsourced the transcription of the recordings. The transcripts and notes taken during the interview was analysed. The transcripts was quality reviewed against the recordings by the researcher herself.

The analysis of the data has four levels of phenomenological analysis as dictated by the strategy for this research paper. These four levels are laid out by Sanders (1982):

Level 1: The description of the phenomena as revealed by the taped (recorded) interviews. This description encompasses the unique view of each individual regarding the phenomena.

Coding via Atlas-ti was used to draw out the recurrence in each of the participants' transcripts.

Level 2: The identification of themes that emerge from the descriptions in level 1. Themes were identified through the frequency that they occur and the importance thereof in the interviews. The

researcher continued to make use of Atlas-ti to group codes and recognise themes within each participant's transcript.

Level 3: Identify the subjective reflections of the emergent themes. Identifying “noematic” (objective, factual) and “noetic” (subjective feeling and value connected to the noematic). Interpretation of the relationship between these correlations gave the researcher the essence of what the phenomenon is which generated more in-depth understanding.

Level 4: Abstraction of the essences as identified in level 3. At this level, the researcher reflected on the essences and why the phenomenon exists as it does.

Lastly, the researcher looked at all the themes and drew connections between the participants' experiences. This was not done to find correlation or similarities, it was done to create an even deeper understanding of the phenomenon as a whole, from a group perspective, not only an individual perspective.

All the data, recorded and transcribed was stored electronically in a google drive folder. The researcher will transfer all the raw collected data and transcribed data to the university for storage.

#### ENSURING CREDIBILITY – QUALITY CONTROLS

The trustworthiness of data and the credibility thereof is concerned with whether the findings are really about what they appear to be, does the researcher deliver an accurate account of the data, thereby the phenomenon as a whole (Shenton, 2004)

Creswell and Miller (2000) argue that there are two lenses through which a qualitative researcher could ensure the credibility of their study. Lens one is of the researcher herself. The researcher should determine how long is long enough in the field and must ensure that saturation is reached. However, this research study followed a phenomenological strategy. This strategy guided the researcher towards understanding rather than field saturation. The researcher conducted at length interviews until the participant reached saturation. The researcher continued with each interview until the participant had no more to say or started to repeat herself. This was done to ensure credibility of each participants' data.

The second lens was used to ensure the trustworthiness of the data via the participants. Creswell and Miller (2000) state that the researcher must make sure that the final account of all the data truly reflects the participants' perceived realities and experiences. The researcher accomplished this by recording the interviews and she made notes where relevant. The notes were not on what was said; the notes recorded the emotions in the room and over Zoom. These notes ultimately captured the

sense of intent and truthfulness of the interview. Additional to this, the notes recorded the researcher's reflection of what she was feeling and experiencing while she was conducting the interviews. These notes served as the documented subjective view the researcher had regarding the phenomenon. Stating this subjective view or "bracketing" either at the beginning of the research paper or in the findings section builds further credibility (Sanders, 1982).

The notes on implicit cues and recordings on the explicit language aided the researcher in ensuring the trustworthiness of the findings and final account thereof.

## LIMITATIONS

A possible limitation of the chosen research methodology lies in interpreting the data, and the recording of notes while the researcher conducts the interview. The subjective nature of the research strategy and the possible emotional view of the topic might lead to criticism in how the researcher analysed and interprets the findings. In choosing this research topic, the researcher is very cognisant of the fact that some of the participants might not be completely honest or withhold information. The participants were all strong, accomplished women, and it is often difficult to talk about negative forces you allowed to influence your progression in the workplace.

A potential limitation of cross-sectional data is biases that occur in points in time regarding an event, rather than have a constant feeling or perception of a past event (Azungah, 2018). Future research should therefore consider a longitudinal study to gain understanding of the phenomena over several periods of a participant's life.

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- Major headings should be in all caps and centered, while subheadings should have each word capitalized and be aligned left. Both should be in **bold** type.
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- Use up to three authors' names. If there are more than three authors, use first author and et al. (Liu et al. 2017).
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##### Film:

*North by Northwest*, directed by Alfred Hitchcock (1959; Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2000), DVD.

##### TV Episode:

Curtis, Michael and Gregory S. Malins, "The One with the Princess Leia Fantasy," *Friends*, season 3, episode 1, directed by Gail Mancuso, aired September 19, 1996 (Burbank, CA: Warner Home Video, 2003), DVD.

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Springer, Emily. 2019. Bureaucratic tools in (gendered) organizations: Performance metrics and gender advisors in international development. *Gender & Society*. In press.

If you do not know the date of an upcoming publication:

Springer, Emily. Bureaucratic tools in (gendered) organizations: Performance metrics and gender advisors in international development. *Gender & Society*.

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## EXAMPLE OF ARTICLE FROM JOURNAL



### *Police Mothers at home: Police Work and*

### *Danger-Protection Parenting Practices*

*Tricia agocs*

*Debra Langan*

*carrie b. sanDers*

Wilfrid Laurier University, canada

studies of the challenges faced by women in policing have paid little attention to the specific experiences of policewomen who are mothers. guided by critical theorizing on the gendered nature of the police culture and domestic labor, 16 police officer mothers in ontario, canada, were interviewed. our qualitative analyses explore their experiences of the “lion’s share” of domestic labor; the organizational, cultural, and operational features of policing; and the challenges of child care, and examine how these combine to foster particular stresses. in contrast to intensive mothering approaches that rely on the advice of external experts, our participants work to protect children by carefully constructing stories and asking questions that are based on their own on-the-job experiences with dangerous and/or abhorrent situations. as such, they engage in danger-protection parenting practices to prevent their children from becoming victims or offenders. our research extends the theorizing on intensive/extensive mothering practices, builds on the scholarship on policing, and adds to the literature on women in nonstandard occupations. This sociological analysis of police mothers’ experiences and practices underscores the importance of understanding and working to change the social contexts, at work and at home, that compromise the well-being of police mothers and other emergency-response workers.

**Keywords:** policewomen; mothers; parenting; danger; qualitative research

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The occupation of policing has unique organizational (e.g., policies and informal work culture) and operational (frontline experiences) contexts that shape officers' worldviews and practices, both at work and at home. Police organizations are paramilitary in structure, "with rigid rules and a hierarchy governing operations," and they are often inflexible with respect to shift schedules, training, and court requirements (Manning 1978, 23). Research on the occupational culture of police has uncovered the power of the occupation on officers' sense of self, as well as their normative beliefs and attitudes. As Manning notes, the occupational culture of policing prompts officers' "assumptions about everyday life that become the basis for organizational strategies and tactics" (1978, 11). Research on the police has clearly identified cynicism, lack of trust, and need for control as central

assumptions of the occupational culture. They believe that

people cannot be trusted; they are dangerous . . . policemen make the best decisions about guilt or innocence. People who are not controlled will break laws. Policemen can most accurately identify crime and criminals. The major jobs of the policeman are to prevent crime and to enforce laws. (Manning 1978, 12; see also Manning 2003)

These assumptions of the occupational culture, we argue, become internalized and guide police mothers' strategies not only at work but also at home. The operational aspects of police work include responding to critical incidents and intervening in potentially dangerous situations, and situations that are dangerous; for every call for service, an officer never knows with certainty if the situation she/he is entering is, or could become, harmful or lethal. Officers also deal with traumatic situations (e.g., the death of a child) that have long-lasting repercussions.

Although research on policewomen specifically is very limited, studies have described the unique challenges posed by informal processes within police organizations, a hegemonic masculinity that significantly marginalizes women within the police culture (Schulze 2011, 3). how the organizational and operational features of policing combine to impact policewomen's experiences is not well understood. Furthermore, very little research exists on policewomen who are also mothers ("police mothers"), and studies that have been done suggest that these women experience additional challenges

because of social expectations that inevitably come into play once their “mother” identity is known.

This article focuses on how these organizational and operational contexts intersect to impact police mothers’ day-to-day lives and parenting practices in the domestic realm when they are not formally on duty. To ensure a comprehensive analysis, we also attend to how ideologies around, and practices within, the domestic realm combine with these features of policing. As such, our analysis adds to both the literature on women in policing (and possibly other emergency response professions) and the literature on mothering and work by offering new theoretical insights into the worldviews and practices of police mothers. Guided by critical gender analyses of police culture, domestic labor, and mothering, 16 mothers who were police officers participated in intensive interviews that explored the impact of their dual identities and roles.

Our analysis of the data reveals the gendered obligations, emotional complexities, and unique attributes of intensified mothering efforts that characterize their day-to-day lives. Their experiences of mothering are in some ways similar to those of other mothers. They feel torn between the demands of work and home, they are responsible for the majority of domestic labor, and they experience guilt because their paid employment detracts from the time that they would like to spend with their children, thereby frustrating their attempts to live up to the “good mother” ideal. The organizational and operational features of policing further exacerbate the emotional labor that results from these interwoven factors. Their work is demanding and regimented, and as mothers they are marginalized within the organization. In their work, they also routinely deal with situations that involve danger or the risk of danger. In combination, these factors uniquely shape police mothers’ perceptions of, and strategies around, how to protect their children from danger. By laying bare and further theorizing the intensities and complexities of these women’s lives and the impact on mothering, our research can contribute to initiatives aimed at changing institutional policy, police culture, and stress-related issues for police mothers, and potentially other mothers in emergency response professions.

## RESEARCH ON POLICE WOMEN AND POLICE MOTHERS

Although there is very limited research on police mothers, there is a body of literature that provides an important context for understanding policewomen's experiences of the organizational aspects of policing. The vast majority of the studies on policewomen have taken place either in the United States or the United Kingdom, where policing practices, workplace accommodations, and parental leaves are different from those in Canada (Dick and Cassell 2004; Kurtz, Linnemann, and Williams 2012). The research that does exist on policewomen has been largely quantitative in nature—attending to women by treating “gender” as a variable and examining the statistically significant differences between males and females. The few existing qualitative studies of policewomen reveal that female officers experience unique challenges at work in comparison to male officers, challenges that are directly attributable to how their gender identity “fits” within the organizational and cultural contexts of policing (e.g., Rabe-hemp 2008, 2009, 2011). Lastly, there is little research that has explicitly focused on the specific lived experiences of mothers who are policewomen (e.g., Cowan and Bochantin 2009; Holdaway and Parker 1998).

Studies of policewomen have emphasized both the historical and the ongoing hegemonic masculinity of police organizations (Schulze 2011, 3). Within the police culture, both the institution of policing and individual police officers exhibit masculine values that are informal and powerful, impacting the daily lives of policewomen (Martin 1999; Rabe-hemp 2008; Shelley, Morabito, and Tobin-Gurley 2011). Kurtz, Linnemann, and Williams (2012) argued that although policewomen are not limited by formal organizational restrictions, “informal behavior based on gendered images seems to have assumed this function” (257). Policewomen are assessed and identified by how well they can or cannot perform against their male counterparts. Thus, policewomen work within a common understanding of gender difference and construct their own identities in relation to the gendered expectations of their work roles (Dick and Cassell 2004; Rabe-hemp 2008). Research has shown that the police culture positions mothering and policing as incompatible (Cowan and Bochantin 2009; Rabe-hemp 2008). The small number of studies that have looked at policing and parenting have highlighted the importance within the police culture of separating home life from work life, and noted that some participants “believed that if they mentioned that child care commitments made it difficult or impossible to work overtime, or on particular shifts, their colleagues would interpret this as evidence for unsuitability for police employment” (Holdaway and Parker 1998, 53; see also Cowan and

Bochantin 2009; Dick and Jankowicz 2001). Duxbury and Higgins's recent survey of 4,500 Canadian police officers confirmed that these beliefs are widely held within policing (2012, 63), and other studies have linked this situation to high stress levels (Kurtz 2012), role conflict, and the ideal mother/worker paradox for policewomen (Cowan and Bochantin 2009).

## **RESEARCH ON NONSTANDARD EMPLOYMENT**

Nonstandard employment includes work that departs from the “usual” kinds of work, and research often focuses on issues like the precarious nature of work contracts, shift work, unusual schedules, unusual settings for work, and stress (e.g., see Hosking and Western 2008). Although police work is not typically referred to as “nonstandard employment,” the above-noted features of nonstandard work are arguably characteristic of police work with the exception of poor work contracts. Little attention has been paid to the relationship between work and family for members of the nonstandard workforce (Bochantin 2010, 2), and when this relationship has been the focus, studies have centered on “Caucasian, middle class, married, white-collar professionals” (Friedman and Greenhaus 2000; Hochschild 1997; Kirby et al. 2003; McManus et al. 2002; Perlow 1997, 1998; Williams 2000 as noted in Bochantin 2010, 1–2). There are studies that have focused specifically on the gendered nature of women's experiences in nonstandard employment, and many of these have focused on professional workplaces that are characterized by hegemonic masculinity (e.g., Herman, Lewis, and Humbert 2013 on science, engineering, and technology; Porter 2006 on law; Stoddard 1994 on the military). One study that does take into account the domestic realm is that of Bochantin (2010), who researched the family members of public service employees (PSEs)—specifically those in the nonstandard occupations of police officer and firefighter. She explored how the family members of these PSEs “construct meaning regarding the relationship between work and home” (2010, 2) in light of the inherent danger, “dirty work,” and stresses associated with these careers. Her analysis revealed that the employees, their partners, and their children feel the stresses of the nonstandard employment, and she calls for further research on how PSEs and their families handle the relationship between work and family (2010, 2). Herman, Lewis, and Humbert (2013, 476) also identified this gap in the employment literature, noting that scant attention has been paid to “processes of motherhood that supersede gender relations” (see also Barthe, Messing, and Abbas 2011; Gatrell 2013).

When the relationship between motherhood and the workplace has been taken into account, the predominant theme in the literature is that there is a “dissonance between the private worlds of reproduction and the public worlds of organization” (Gatrell 2013, 621). Notably, this literature has focused primarily on how mothers manage in the workplace, often with respect to the tensions that exist between their mothering and paid-work roles. What has been overlooked is an examination of how mothers’ practices at home are affected by the features of nonstandard employment.

## **MOTHERING LITERATURE**

The mothering literature confirms the inherent challenges faced by working mothers (Bianchi 2011; Hays 1996; Johnston and Swanson 2007) who continue to perform a disproportionate amount of “domestic labor” at home (Doucet 2001; Hochschild 1989; Luxton and Corman 2011). Mothers also experience unique stresses related to societal expectations about what it means to be a “good” mother (see Douglas and Michaels 2004), and the lived reality that it is impossible to achieve good mother ideals when working full-time outside and inside the home (Guendouzi 2006; Principe 2014; Wall 2010). They are invested in what Hays (1996) defined as “intensive mothering expectations,” an approach to child rearing that requires that mothers be solely “all-giving and ever available” to their children (Bianchi 2011, 28), and adhere to the advice of experts to avert risks that could be harmful to their children (Lee 2008). When intensive mothering expectations are combined with the pressures of paid work, women experience stress, exhaustion, anxiety, and feelings of guilt (e.g., see Guendouzi 2006, 901; Wall 2010, 253).

Although there is a large body of research on intensive mothering, the relationship between intensive mothering and specific types of paid work has received little attention in the literature, and neither has the impact of nonstandard or nontraditional types of employment for women been considered.<sup>1</sup> Johnston and Swanson’s research (2006, 2007) examined how investments in intensive mothering expectations varied according to the work status of mothers (stay-at-home vs. part-time employed vs. full-time employed) in a variety of occupations.<sup>2</sup> They found that full-time employed mothers “perceive their worker identity to be in constant conflict with their mother role” (2007, 454) and they were “not able to fully realize either” (ibid., 455). These mothers neither separated their employment and mothering identities (ibid., 456) nor privileged one over the

other, and they were in “a state of perpetual disequilibrium in which they [were] ricocheted back and forth between dialectic poles” (ibid.). Johnston and Swanson concluded that even though these mothers talked about trying to meet the demands of both identities, they engaged in “cognitive acrobatics” to manage the tensions between the two (ibid.). Furthermore, employed mothers reframed intensive mothering as being accessible to their children in terms of emotional availability (i.e., other people could take care of their children), whereas at-home mothers constructed being accessible as continual physical presence (ibid., 449).

Christopher (2012) explored how mothers from a wide variety of occupations (similar to those held by the participants in Johnston and Swanson’s research) navigated intensive mothering and worker ideals (78). She found that mothers reframed their intensive mothering and worker identities and that most rejected these ideals and created new scripts around mothering and employment. She coined the phrase “extensive mothering” to capture how mothers were away from their children for long hours due to employment, yet remained the “primary” caregivers in charge, still responsible for the delegation of child care to others (85, 87, 91). The “extensive mothering” narrative rejected the ideal worker discourse and mothers emphasized their own needs and limited their work hours to be with their children (85), thereby assuaging feelings of guilt over being away from their children.

Neither Johnston and Swanson (2006) nor Christopher (2012) examined how emergency response occupations like policing impact mothers’ investments in, or practices of, mothering. Our research builds on the literature by examining the tensions between mothering and policing, both roles being particularly intense because of how they are organized, the expectations associated with each, and the practices that ensue. As such, we extend existing theorizing around mothering, underscoring the tensions and complexities of police mothers’ everyday lives, and potentially the lives of other mothers who work in emergency response occupations.



## METHODS

The research was guided by Charmaz's understanding of constructivist grounded theory (2006), the central goal being to construct theory about "issues of importance in [participants'] lives" (Mills, Bonner, and Francis 2006, 2). This inductive approach to data gathering and data analysis prioritizes the participants' understandings of their experiences, recognizes the reflexivity of the researcher, and allows the researcher to employ relevant theoretical concepts to make sense of the data. The lead researcher (Agocs 2013) held an insider perspective of the institutional and cultural contexts of policing for police mothers through her 10 years as both a civilian employee of a police organization and a mother.

We recruited 16 participants through convenience and snowball sampling. To ensure confidentiality, the participants were asked to suggest potential participants from a number of different police services in Ontario, Canada. For the purposes of the analysis, all identifying personal attributes, such as name, age, rank, years of service, and name of police service, were omitted, and pseudonyms were used. The mothers ranged in age from 26 to 50 years, and their on-the-job experience ranged from 3 to 24 years. They were from various sizes of police services, held various ranks, and had work experiences that included traffic, homicide, sex crimes, fraud, drugs, intelligence, undercover operations, community relations, school liaison, courts, and domestic violence. All had worked in patrol during their careers, and seven of them had experience working in a child sexual assault unit. The majority of the mothers were working a shift rotation schedule that included two shifts (day and afternoon or 12-hour) or three shifts (day, afternoon, and night). Nine of the mothers had one child at the time of their interviews; three of these nine were expecting their second child, and three others were stepparents to two more children. Four mothers had two children and the remaining three women each had three children. At the time of the interviews, 10 mothers had male police officers as spouses, five had nonpolice male spouses, and one was a single mother who shared custody with her male former spouse. To maintain a focus on the impact of the organizational and operational contexts of policing on police mothers at home, in-depth semistructured interviews explored questions such as (1) how does your role as a police officer both benefit and create challenges for your role as a mother? (2) If you compare yourself and your career with mothers who are working in other careers, do you feel that your challenges are unique to your career? and (3) have you created your own strategies to help manage the two roles, and can you provide examples? A participant's response to a question often influenced the order in which

prepared questions were asked and the direction of probing questions. To establish rapport, interviews were conducted at a time and location of the interviewer's choosing, including participants' homes, the lead researcher's home, coffee shops, and private rooms within police headquarters. Interviews lasted approxi-

mately one hour and were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Data collection and analysis were ongoing and the interview guide was altered to reach theoretical saturation (Charmaz 2006). For example, following two preliminary interviews, the research team engaged in line-by-line coding to evaluate the fit between the "initial research interests and [the] emerging data" (Charmaz 2006, 57). This initial analysis identified shared "risk management techniques" used by police mothers with their children. This insight guided the direction of the remaining interviews. Further, a research journal of analytic memos was kept throughout the research process. The team met regularly to collaboratively review and analyze interview transcripts. Following our initial, line-by-line coding, interview transcripts were stored in NVivo10, a qualitative data analysis software program, and were analyzed to identify the most significant and frequent initial codes to sort, synthesize, integrate, and organize theoretical concepts (Charmaz 2006). Once theoretical saturation had been met, we engaged in concept mapping to explore and explicate the "relationships among [the] theoretical categories" and give the research project its "analytic frame" (ibid., 121). using writing as an analytic device, we categorized and recategorized the data to tell an analytical story (Richardson 2000). The emergent analysis revealed the arduous and complex home lives of police mothers that are exacerbated by their occupation as police, the demands of domestic labor, and the unique ways in which their on-the-job experiences inform mothering practices with respect to danger protection. While their parenting reflects some of the tenets of intensive and extensive mothering, their approach is also unique because they use their own experiences with danger to inform how they try to protect their children from danger.

### **The "Lion's Share" of Domestic Labor**

These women, like other mothers who work outside the home, do the "lion's share" (Anne) of the domestic labor, including overall management of the household, cooking, cleaning, finances, child care, and scheduling. It is particularly interesting to note the inequitable distribution of domestic labor performed by policewomen who are married to other police officers. Even though these women have the same rank, pay, and police service as their husbands, they work a "second shift" (hochschild 1989) and shoulder

the bulk of the domestic labor in addition to their paid work.<sup>3</sup> As a result, when they are home, police mothers are often doing household work, rather than using this time to engage with their children. Renee talked about coming home from work to a messy house and her husband who had been home that day on his “day off”:

It is a battle, like keeping the house clean . . . I’m just tired. Like, I just worked ten hours. I do all of the financial, all of the banking, pretty much all the housework; and I still work the same hours as he does . . . the majority of our arguments . . . it’s because I’ve let it build up and I don’t tell him that you need to f-ing do the dishes while I’m at work. I don’t deserve to come home to this!

The “second shift” is exhausting for a mother who is working irregular hours on a shift rotation schedule. Liz said, “I know a regular parent is probably tired coming home from a 9-5 job, but throw in not sleeping or four hours of sleep in three days, and dealing with a screaming baby can make you lose your mind.” Scheduling is one dimension of domestic labor that is particularly challenging because of the irregularities of the shift rotation pattern, which can change, for police officers and the need to work overtime because of the unforeseen demands of a particular case. The fluctuations and rotations in police schedules called for our participants to become “master coordinator[s]” (Kate) or “scheduling queen[s]” (Donna), who work hard to organize their family’s time, activities, and child care around their shift work. Many use remote management strategies to create and update household calendars. During the interview, many women showcased their “digital friend” (Shelley), which contained color-coded, comprehensive, electronic schedules, and they shared strategies, such as setting alarms and pop-up notes, to remind themselves of activities. If they are at work, the women often send reminders home via text: “Don’t forget to do this, don’t forget to do that . . . Pick them up here” (Nicole). Their responsibilities as household scheduler are challenging, labor-intensive, chaotic, and stressful. The women’s efforts in this regard suggest a desire to have intense control over the domestic realm, perhaps to compensate for the lack of control that they experience with respect to work schedules and work assignments. Furthermore, an organized schedule at home supports a mother’s performance at work by limiting family-based distractions.

Police mothers’ experiences of work and home are interwoven in their day-to-day lives, and the demands of each loom large; their home lives are, at

times, interrupted by the demands of their occupation, and their work lives are, at times, interrupted by the needs of their family. Notwithstanding these challenges, the women do manage to attend to the demands of each realm, even though the realms are not entirely separable. Technological developments contribute to this situation of inseparability because people are connecting with one another on a regular basis using communication technologies. Karen noted:

The Blackberry is the worst invention, it totally means you are never away from work, you are always connected, they can always get a hold of you, and in my unit, days off are not days off.

As Karen's quote demonstrates, even when they are scheduled to be off duty, police officers are easily reached by their police service for consultation through smart phone technologies, and these also allow for officers to be unexpectedly called in to work, thus encroaching on their personal time.

### **The Organizational Demands of Policing**

In addition to the inordinate amount of time and energy devoted to domestic labor, the organizational contexts of police work further compromise how, and to what extent, police mothers spend time with their children. Their fluctuating and often unpredictable shift work creates ambiguity for their children. Bonnie noted:

She never knows what I'm doing. So I think, for her, the inconsistency when she was little was hard. So she would ask, "Are you gonna be here at bedtime?" "No." Or, "Are you gonna be here at breakfast?" So each day she could know what I was doing by if I was tucking her in or if I'd be there to get her up. She still has a hard time figuring out 'cause it's not consistent.

Erin similarly described how getting "called out" to a homicide investigation impacted her daughter:

And then when I went to homicide, it was a different story because [I got] called out, especially with fresh cases and . . . [my daughter] unfortunately

. . . kind of learned . . . [that] when a fresh case [came] out, I'm not home for two weeks. . . . She doesn't like it.

Even when their shift work schedule is predictable, participants feel exhausted, inadequate, and guilty. The data suggest that they are influenced by widely shared cultural ideologies around what it means to be a “good mother,” and they work hard with the little time that they have to “be there” for their children both physically and emotionally. In this way, they demonstrate an investment in “intensive mothering” ideologies and practices (hays 1996). They feel that they have no other choice but to “sacrifice” (Pat) sleep, and being tired is “just a way of life” (Anne).<sup>4</sup> Donna stated, “I could be a better parent if I wasn't a cop.” Pat too felt bad about “not being home when she wakes up, or not being home for dinner.” Participants described very dense daily schedules. For example, Donna recounted her bedtime routine the previous evening following a 10-hour day shift, a commute home, and the pick-up of her child from the day care provider:

Like, last night, he was upset because we hadn't had our snuggle time yet on the couch . . . and I am literally tucking him in, laying in bed with him . . . and I'm eating a salad [my dinner] in his bed.

To make matters worse, off-duty, unpaid time is sometimes compromised by training days, mandatory court appearances, and unexpected overtime because of critical incidents. When these demands occur unexpectedly, it is particularly distressing for participants, and sometimes they are taken away from special occasions with their children, characterized by Anne as “the name of the game.” Nicole recalled, “I'll never forget, I planned my daughter's birthday and I got called in. And guests were coming and I said to my husband, “There you go, have a birthday party.” In keeping with “intensive mothering” practices, to compensate for missing time with their children, women try to make sure that when they are together the time spent is extra special, as Vicky indicated:

A couple of times now, I've gone in [to school] and just surprised . . . them and picked them up for lunch . . . they think it's pretty cool.

Several of the mothers also worried about the impact of their work schedules on their children's lives. Anne recalled a time that she shared with her child, "I was on a field trip with the class . . . and one of the little friends said, "I wish my mom was a cop" and my child said, "But then you'd never see your mommy" [puts her hand to her heart].

The mental intrusion of work life into home life also emerged as a concern that made it difficult for women to be fully engaged with their children when they were at home. For example, Karen expressed a desire to "come home and be mentally and physically there," but she felt that her work mind was constantly going. This situation represents an underacknowledged dimension of emotional labor.

### **The Challenges of Child Care**

Finding, scheduling, and organizing child care is particularly challenging and stressful because the women know that, at work, it wouldn't "go over that well when you start to take time for childcare needs" (Pat). Because of the irregularity of shift work and working overtime, institutional child care settings are not an option, and planning requires creative solutions that are tailor-made for each family and that can "fill in the gaps" (Liz) as required. There was often the sense that women felt they were on the brink of disorganization when they discussed child care schedules, and it seemed as if the planning was "just day by day . . . like, I'm okay for Monday and then let's get through Tuesday . . ." (Ali).

Several participants relied on extended family for assistance with child care and these family members were "like a godsend" (Ali); "If you don't have family in the area, you're screwed" (Pat). The unpredictability of their schedules poses serious challenges: "[Try finding someone who will] take care of your one-year-old baby at midnight or four o'clock in the morning, or when you get called out" (Donna). Several of these women felt they had no choice but to hire a nanny "just to make it work" (Karen), a popular but expensive option that is like "another mortgage payment" (Kate). Four of the participants had hired live-in nannies through international agencies and three of the women had nonresidential, local nannies. These participants exhibited a version of "extensive mothering" (Christopher 2012) in that they remained the "primary" caregivers in charge, while delegating child care to family members or live-in nannies. They seemingly settle for this option as a way to "be there" for their children when they cannot physically be there.

Sometimes the participants have an “off-shifting” arrangement with their husbands, meaning that one parent is at home while the other is at work, and they would “juggle [child care] between . . . [them]” (Melissa). Shelley described her arrangement: “When I was going to work, I’d be waiting in the driveway and he’d come home and . . . [I’d say] ‘Supper’s on the table, will you do this, this, this and this?’ . . . and ‘I’ll see you in the morning.’” Melissa said that she did whatever she could to accommodate her police schedule, no matter what it took: “We’d literally leave the car running in the driveway and the next one would go in.” Off-shifting can result in both parents “having time with [the kids], not necessarily time together as a family, but just for coverage” (Erin), and left several women feeling like “single parents” (Renee, Shelley).

When our participants could not entrust the care of their children to immediate or extended family members or live-in nannies, they were forced to involve others in the care of their children. As noted previously, the unpredictable work demands required a flexible home child care provider who would accept their children “super early” (Shelley), at “sporadic” (Melissa) times. Even more challenging for participants is finding someone they could trust with their children. They are extremely cautious when it comes to trusting others because of their immediate experiences with dangerous people and situations. For example, Pat’s work experiences with childhood sexual assault kept her from looking for home day care:

You’re reading all of the molestation cases, you’re seeing all of the stuff that you don’t want to see. So we don’t want to put our daughter in a home day care because I don’t know that I could come to work knowing that grandpa’s coming over to visit . . . I’m not okay with that stuff.

These examples illustrate the challenges that police mothers face with respect to mothering because of the organizational demands of policing and the challenges that are involved in establishing child care, in part complicated by an occupational culture of cynicism. As we describe next, the operational contexts of police work also contribute to police mothers’ worldview and practices, shaping their efforts to protect their children from danger.

## **Protecting Children from Danger**

The scholarly literature notes the general trend in parenting around a heightened concern for risk and an increased practice of surveillance over

children (Rutherford 2011) that has resulted in an expectation for constant supervision of children (Altheide 2002; Katz 2005). For police mothers, these concerns, and practices related to them, are particularly acute because they are exposed to dangerous, gory, sad, frightening, and/or traumatic situations that often have long-term emotional repercussions. It is the combined features of police mothers' lives (i.e., being disconnected from their children because of paid and domestic labor, lacking trust, and having up-close and personal experiences with bad people and what they do) that shape police mothers' fears about what could happen to their children when they are not with them. This situation leads to mothers' particular practices around protecting their children from danger.

Many mothers discussed heightened concerns for their children that are tied to the fact that, as police mothers, they see more, know more, worry more, and warn more. Often these concerns are related to sex crimes. Ali, who has experience in the sex unit, explained:

Everyone I see is a pedophile. . . . We were at the splash pad [and] there was this older man, sitting on a bench and . . . I'm thinking, there's no kid around. I had my phone in my hand 'cuz . . . I'm about to call, [and] then there's grandkids that run up to him. And I think, "I'm horrible."

Bonnie expressed a similar orientation: "You tend to think you can't trust anybody . . . and the whole world is evil." Erin shared the same sentiment: "If the public only knew how many crazies are out there or how many sex offenders are out there, everybody would be paranoid like we are." Police mothers' regular attendance at incidents where children have been victimized yield warning signs that inform how they try to protect their children. These insights around warning signs combine with their feelings of cynicism and mistrust, a worldview that is cultivated within the occupational culture of policing. Repeated exposures to heinous crimes intensify this worldview. Pat said:

I just think it's that repetitive [occurrence]. I think when you see it once, you go, "Oh, yeah, it sometimes happens," but you see it again and again



and again and you go, “Okay, maybe that’s only ten times in this population of [x] hundred thousands, but it’s still ten friggin’ times . . .” [It’s] repetitive, it occurs more than people want to believe that it occurs.

Numerous exposures to crime shape how police mothers construct and employ danger protection strategies at home. Shelley explained: “You’re just so tainted by everything at work that you protect your kids more because you know what’s out there.” In contrast to intensive mothering approaches that rely on the advice of external experts, our participants work to protect children from danger by relying on their own expertise as police officers. They strive to ensure their children’s physical and emotional well-being by carefully managing at home how they verbally account for their work experiences, always with their children’s welfare in mind. Sometimes they feel it is best not to talk with their children about what happened at work, while other times they choose to teach their children how to protect themselves in case they meet the “bad people [that] live amongst us” (Nicole). They describe using “teachable moments” to impart life lessons that are grounded in their experiences on the job, carefully constructing work stories for this purpose. Jess noted, “It’s a hard line knowing what to tell them. You don’t want to make them too scared but you want to make them aware.” For some participants, teachable moments were very specific in nature in that the mothers instructed their children on what to do in specific situations. Shelley explained:

My daughter . . . is . . . [very young] but [I tell her], “Don’t talk to strangers, if you see a vehicle or a car stops and says, ‘Mommy or daddy want you to come,’ don’t ever go, call police. What color is the car? What kind of car does it look like? Just remember those numbers on the back of that car and you tell an adult” . . . I think it’s working because the other day, we were driving and she said to me, “Mommy, there’s a red Jeep . . . remember on the news the other night, there’s a man who the police need to get and he’s driving a red Jeep . . . you need to call police.”

Participants also use investigative training to establish confidence in the safety of their children when they are not in their care. Police mothers learn about their children’s experiences by gathering just “the facts” and making decisions based on those facts. Shelley’s instructions to her child

were “Just tell me what happened—who, where, what, when and why.” Nicole recalled that when her child first started school, she felt like she conducted an “inquest on bathroom time at public school.” When her son came home from school she’d say things like, “how was school today?” and “Did anybody touch you at school today? . . . Oh, where did you go to the bathroom . . . in your little classroom or . . . the big bathroom? . . . how many people were in the big bathroom?”

Another danger protection strategy that many participants employ involves creating steadfast rules that are based on their at-work exposures to crimes or access to criminal records. For example, Melissa, through her work, was aware of a convicted sexual offender on her block, and she banned her children from that end of the street. An overwhelming number of participants discussed two common rules: limited sleepovers and no boy babysitters. These rules have little “wiggle room” (Renee) and the need for them is accepted as an “occupational hazard” (Karen) because such a high proportion of the participants had responded to calls that involved sexual assaults in these kinds of situations. Needing to “know where the kids are” and having “control over them” (Anne) is a common feeling for these mothers. Melissa, for example, described the constant supervision that her surveillance plan for her son will provide: “he’ll have a watch with GPS and a cell phone with GPS . . . and everything will be monitored, the key-strokes on the keyboard, all that stuff, I’ll know everything.”

While protecting their children from danger is a foremost concern, mothers noted the need to “be careful” of frightening their children in the process, as Bonnie expressed:

I think sometimes I’ve made her think there’s a boogeyman at every corner when there really isn’t. . . . You tend to think you can’t trust anybody when you’re a police officer and the whole world is evil, so you try not to transfer that to the kids.

Mothers also construct narratives about what they did at work to protect their children from knowing about the dangerous aspects of their job, aspects that might be frightening and worry the children. They often described their work to their children as “helping people” (Jess, Ali, Nicole) in order to protect them from “knowing that there are people out there that can hurt mommy” (Jess). This approach reflects their efforts to ward off the dangers associated with telling the “real story,” which could

worry, and jeopardize the emotional well-being of, their children. Our participants used secrecy, downplayed events, or lied to protect their children emotionally. Jess recounted, “I was in a fight recently . . . I had stitches and my face was all swollen up. My husband said, ‘We can’t tell her, she’s too young. . . .’ So we [told her], ‘Oh, mommy fell.’”

The complications involved in the mismanagement of an account were evident in Shelley’s example of the time she told her daughter about a work experience:

There was a house that we had to go arrest the one girl’s mom at and . . . I had said [to my daughter], “I was there today, I arrested somebody’s mom.” Now every time we drive by that house [she says], “I remember you were sent to that house and you arrested somebody and she did that really bad thing to that little girl.” So now I don’t talk about anything . . . I don’t want her to think . . . if a house down the street exploded. . . . “Oh, mommy, when you go to work, is that going to happen?”

Another objective that motivated mothers’ filtering of accounts was to protect their children from becoming criminal offenders. According to Anne, “It’s parents that don’t give a shit” that end up with children who are in trouble with the law. Bonnie further explained this concern:

We always see the worst of everything. You see the kids who are assaulting their parents or running away all the time . . . and then your own kid does something wrong and you think, “Oh no, they’re gonna end up like rotten kids!”

Our analysis is that police mothers’ careful censoring, and construction, of the day’s events, for whatever reason, arguably require additional emotional labor. They were very mindful that they had to be “really careful [about] what [they] bring home because [family] absolutely cannot handle hearing about [it]” (Bonnie); [we] . . . must simply “glaze over it” (Ali).

## CONCLUSIONS

While there is a robust literature on the impacts of the organizational structures, the occupational culture, and the operational features of policing, little is known about how these features combine to impact the experiences of policewomen who are mothers. Our study addresses this gap in the literature by providing a critical analysis of the gendered nature of their work and home realms; extending the theorizing on intensive/extensive mothering practices; building on the scholarship on policing; and adding to the literatures on women in nontraditional, and nonstandard, occupations.

Our participants' experiences are profoundly impacted by both the gendered nature of policing and the gendered nature of family life. As we noted previously, even though the representation of women in policing has increased, our study reveals the persistence of a hypermasculine culture within policing. One result is the expectation that officers must prioritize career over family. This situation is particularly stressful for women officers because the gendered division of domestic labor has police mothers shouldering the bulk of the planning, doing, and/or management of housework and child care. Because the organizational structures of policing, like shift work and unexpected overtime, require that police mothers be away from home, they attempt to maximize the quality, rather than the quantity, of their time with the children. Still, the quality of their time at home is compromised because even when they are "off duty" they remain electronically connected to work because of its all-consuming nature. What our study underscores is the persistence of gender inequality in the domestic realm, even though the police mothers are working in a male-dominated profession, often with husbands who are also police officers. This finding runs contrary to a widely held belief that gender inequalities are a "thing of the past," a dominant ideology that persists especially when men and women are in the same occupation.<sup>5</sup> Dominant discourses that perpetuate notions of gender equality obfuscate the power dynamics and the complexities that are at play in mothers' lived experiences. Furthermore, the competing demands of work and home lives are often framed within a "work-life balance" type of rhetoric that implies that the work and home realms are distinct ("work" is separated from "life") and that a harmonious arrangement between the two can be achieved ("balance"). Discourses that convey this message set up a simplistic representation that belies the interwoven and complex nature of police mothers' experiences.

The organizational context of shift work requires that police mothers entrust the care of their children to others. In this respect, they are like other mothers who experience guilt because of their inability to achieve the “good mother” ideal, evidence of the influence of one of the tenets of intensive mothering as outlined by Hays (1996). Nonetheless, in line with Christopher’s notion of extensive mothering (2012), they retain the role of primary caregiver who is in charge, and for whom “being there” can be supported through the delegation of child care to responsible and trusted others. We further these lines of theorizing by situating intensive and extensive mothering practices specifically within the contexts of the policing occupation. Police mothers practice their own brand of intensive and extensive mothering in ways that are specifically tied to, and uniquely informed by, their work as police officers.<sup>6</sup> They have an especially difficult time delegating child care because they experience heightened cynicism and distrust that are fueled by the occupational culture of policing. This skeptical worldview is further reinforced by the operational context of policing that brings police mothers into direct contact with people and situations that are dangerous and/or abhorrent. As such, they experience dangers firsthand and are therefore positioned differently in comparison to mothers whose familiarity with danger is based entirely on secondhand representations of danger (e.g., through media reports or word of mouth). The result is that police mothers’ accentuated efforts to protect their children from danger differ from “risk management” techniques that have traditionally been associated with “intensive mothering” practices (Hays 1996). Indeed, police mothers’ perceptions of risk constitute more than just “an estimate of the likely impact of dangers” (Garland 2003, 50) – their perceptions are grounded in empirical knowledge of dangers they are intimate with through their police work. They know that they cannot prevent danger from happening, because they encounter it routinely. Instead, they mother to protect their children from multiple dangers. They rely on their own expertise as police officers, expertise that has been acquired through their direct experiences with danger, rather than the expertise of external authorities. Thus, the occupational culture and the operational context of policing combine to shape mothering practices in ways that exacerbate the features of intensive and extensive mothering as previously described. Police mothers’ cynicism, distrust, and up-close and personal experiences with danger drive their protection practices in relation to the care of their children. Their experiences on the job are stressful in and of themselves and when they get home they relive and reconstruct what happened for the children’s consumption, navigating a tricky terrain of communication that arguably increases their stress.

An additional contribution of our research is that it builds on the mothering literature by identifying the ambivalence in police mothers' feelings about the impact that their occupation has on their parenting practices. They lament the ways in which their occupation interferes with time that they might spend with their children, and fuels hypervigilance that could be harmful to the children emotionally. At the same time, they also value the ways that their occupation fosters the expertise that they use to protect their children from danger. At first glance, this latter finding may seem to be in keeping with previous research that found mothers justified their paid work by emphasizing its benefits for their children (Hays 1996 as noted in Christopher 2012, 75). But our participants' responses are different. They do not explicitly articulate their danger-protection practices as a benefit of their work; rather, they simultaneously do and do not justify their danger-protection practices. This finding is in keeping with postmodern theorizing in social psychology, which acknowledges that people's experiences and social phenomena in general are not coherent in nature, but wrought with contradiction (Billig 1988). Acknowledging the inherently contradictory nature of their responses challenges simplistic and idealized notions around the experience of mothering, and furthers our understandings about the complexities involved in doing mothering. These complications too often go unnoticed and/or are decontextualized, resulting in the blaming of mothers for not living up to the ideals of work-life balance/separation and "good mother" ideals.

Our research also makes an important contribution to policing scholarship in that it is one of the first theoretically and empirically informed analyses of how the stresses that are endemic to policing specifically impact police mothers. Even though there are growing concerns about the severity of the stresses within policing and the risks these pose for the officers themselves and the publics they serve (e.g., see Duxbury and Higgins 2012; McCarty and Skogan 2013), much of the policing research, and the solutions proffered, have been gender-neutral. Our study signals the need to address factors that put additional strains on police mothers and threaten their efficacy as workers—such as shift work arrangements, domestic labor, and child care. By acknowledging the gender-specific contexts of police work and domestic life that contribute to police mothers' stresses, there is a greater likelihood that the particularities of their situations will be addressed. Admittedly, it is difficult to address the subcultural features of policing that cultivate cynicism and mistrust, and it is arguably even more difficult to change the operational contexts of policing that demand intervention in dangerous situations. Nevertheless, changes in the organizational contexts of policing are possible, and more likely, if critical analyses such as ours are disseminated to police organizations and the wider public.

Our research further contributes to the literature on nonstandard employment. By addressing how these work contexts combine with the specific cultural and operational contexts of policing, we provide insights into a distinctive type of nonstandard employment. Our study also emphasizes what we see to be “nonstandard elements” of our participants’ identities and social location that deserve attention—because of their gender and underrepresentation they are a minority within a male-dominated profession. In addition, our study builds on Bochantin’s (2010) insights into the perspectives and feelings of those who are affected by nonstandard work practices by also examining mothers’ reported parenting practices as these are influenced by the features of nonstandard employment. We predict that our analyses also have relevance for other mothers who work in nonstandard, emergency response types of employment like fire-fighting, rescue, paramedics, and dispatch.

Our study is timely. Increasingly, it is being recognized that police and/ or police organizations need to find ways to operate differently. At police-focused conferences, symposiums, and meetings nowadays, one of the reasons driving discussions around the need for change involves budget cuts, and the costs related to recruiting, training, and retaining women as police officers are part of the budgetary picture.<sup>7</sup> Another reason that is driving “need to change” discussions involves an acknowledgement of the deleterious effects of police stress. There are a growing number of Canadian reports that reveal shocking statistics on rates of suicide for police and other emergency response workers. For example, on July 22, 2014, Global News reported that since May 2014, in approximately a 10-week period, 15 first responders in Canada have taken their lives (<http://globalnews.ca/news/1467094/whats-ontario-doing-to-stop-first-responder-suicides-a-reports-coming/>)—at least six of these were police officers (<http://globalnews.ca/news/1457826/13-first-responders-13-suicides-10-weeks/>). This situation is often attributed to mental illness and/ or posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) that have resulted from the operational contexts of emergency-response work. To best deal with the psychological ramifications experienced by policewomen and other emergency response personnel and their families (the focus of our future research), it is imperative that we interrogate the various dimensions of both their paid work and their time away from paid work. Our study is important because it provides a sociological analysis of police mothers’ experiences that attends to the operational context, the organizational structure and the occupational culture of policing, and the home lives in which police mothers parent and perform domestic labor. In this way, we provide a multifaceted

understanding of how stresses combine, and impinge upon, police mothers. Our research underscores the importance of understanding and working to change the social contexts, at work and at home, that compromise the well-being of police and other emergency- response workers.

## NOTES

Studies of mothers who are entrepreneurs, or “mumpreneurs,” are the most prevalent (e.g., see Duberley and Carrigan 2012; Ekinsmyth 2011).

The mothers in Johnston and Swanson’s (2007) study held the following occupations: teacher, professor, business/office worker, engineer, minister, librarian, dentist/doctor/lawyer, writer/reporter, banking/real estate accounting, waitress, farmer, day care owner/director, hair/beautician, and unspecified.

The finding that policewomen perform the majority of the domestic labor even when their police husbands have the same careers presents an interesting area for future study.

The medical literature is replete with cautions about the dangers of excessive sleepiness on mental health, and this situation for police mothers is concerning, especially in light of the emergency response nature of policing.

On a recent visit to the Ontario Police College, in Aylmer, Ontario, Langan witnessed students being told that in households where both the wife and husband were police officers, domestic labor was equally shared.

Other women who are in similar, higher-risk occupations (e.g., firefighters, paramedics, and other emergency response workers) may experience similar complications at home.

This observation is grounded in our attendance at a number of policing-related events (2010-2014) in Canada and the United States, including the Ontario Association of Law Enforcement Planners symposiums, Ontario Police College Training conference & Ontario Police Video Training Alliance conference, and American Society of Criminology and Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences annual meetings.



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Tricia agocs has a Master of arts in sociology and works in an ontario police service. Her research interests include sociology of the family with particular attention to policing families, sociology of work, police culture, and policing.

Debra Langan is an assistant Professor of criminology at Wilfrid Laurier University, brantford, ontario, canada. she has researched in the areas of violence against women, families and intimate relations, and critical pedagogy. Her most recent publications appear in *Feminist Criminology*, *Applied Linguistics*, and *Mediating Moms: Mothering in Popular Culture*.

carrie b. sanders is an associate Professor of criminology at Wilfrid Laurier University, ontario, canada. she conducts research on policing and technological change, social construction of technology, and qualitative methodologies. Her most recent publications appear in *Policing & Society*, *Canadian Review of Sociology*, and *Sociology*.

# INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

## UNDERSTANDING THE CONTEXT OF THE PARTICIPANT

### Personal:

1. What is your family structure?
  - a. Who raised you?
  - b. Who was head of the household?
  - c. Did your gender influence your role in the family structure?
    - i. How did gender influence your role in the family structure?
  - d. What were their expectations of you, vs that of your brother (if applicable)?
  
2. Did your family structure impact the way you have crafted your own family structure (if applicable)?

### Career:

1. Did you do formal work as a child to support your family financially?
2. What aspirations did you have as a child in terms of your career path?
3. What career choices did you make?
  - a. What informed those choices?
4. What were the difficulties, if any, that prevented succession in your career?
5. What were the propellants that secured succession in your career?
6. What type of organisation do you currently work – very masculine /gender equal?

## UNDERSTANDING PATRIARCHY

1. What do you understand when I say patriarchy?
  - a. Does it exist?

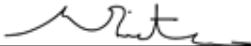
2. Do you think that women have a role in patriarchy?
3. Do you recognise patriarchy in your primary family structure?
4. Do you recognise patriarchy in your current family structure (if applicable)?

#### UNDERSTANDING THE CONTEXT AND PATRIARCHY

1. From what you understand patriarchy to be:
  - a. How did it impact your workplace behaviour?
  - b. How did it impact your workplace performance?
  - c. How did it impact your career choices?
  - d. How did it impact your aspirations?
2. From your understanding of a woman's role in enforcing patriarchal principles:
  - a. How did it impact your workplace behaviour?
  - b. How did it impact your workplace performance?
  - c. How did it impact your career choices?
  - d. How did it impact your aspirations?

# COPYRIGHT DECLARATION

## 22.1 COPYRIGHT DECLARATION FORM

Student details			
Surname:	LAMBRECHTS	Initials: M	
Student number:	18254366		
Email:	18254366@mygibs.co.za		
Phone:	0828276584		
Qualification details			
Degree:	MBA	Year completed:	2020
Title of research:	GIBS Patriarchy and female career progression: Do women maintain the status quo?		
Supervisor:	MICHELE RUITERS		
Supervisor email:	ruitersm@gibs.co.za		
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I hereby assign, transfer and make over to the University of Pretoria my rights of copyright in the submitted work to the extent that it has not already been affected in terms of the contract I entered into at registration. I understand that all rights with regard to the intellectual property of my research, vest in the University who has the right to reproduce, distribute and/or publish the work in any manner it may deem fit.			
Signature: MLambrechts		Date: 30 November 2020	
Supervisor signature: 		Date: 30 November 2020	



# CERTIFICATION OF DATA ANALYSIS SUPPORT FORM



I, Maryke Lambrechts hereby certify that I received outside assistance in the form of a transcriber on my research report: Patriarchy and female career progression: do women maintain the status quo?

Name of transcriber: Eve Armstrong

Email address: audtranscriber@gmail.com

Contact number: 0785896602

Type of assistance: Transcribing only

I hereby declare that all thematic interpretations of the results for my study were completed by myself without outside assistance.

Name of student: Maryke Lambrechts

Student number: 18254366

Student email address: [18254366@mygibs.co.za](mailto:18254366@mygibs.co.za)

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Maryke Lambrechts", written over a horizontal line.

Student signature

30 November 2020

# ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER

## GIBS ETHICAL CLEARANCE APPLICATION FORM 2020

### G. APPROVALS FOR/OF THIS APPLICATION

When the applicant is a student of GIBS, the applicant must please ensure that the supervisor and co-supervisor (where relevant) has signed the form before submission

#### **STUDENT RESEARCHER/APPLICANT:**

29. I affirm that all relevant information has been provided in this form and its attachments and that all statements made are correct.

Student Researcher's Name in capital letters: MARYKE LAMBRECHTS Date: 10 Aug 2020

Supervisor Name in capital letters: MICHELE RUITERS

Date: 10 Aug 2020

Co-supervisor Name in capital letters:

Date: 10 Aug 2020

**Note:** GIBS shall do everything in its power to protect the personal information supplied herein, in accordance to its company privacy policies as well the Protection of Personal Information Act, 2013. Access to all of the above provided personal information is restricted, only employees who need the information to perform a specific job are granted access to this information.

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Approved

**REC comments:**

Date: 17 Aug 2020