HE'S "DISTRESSED"/SHE'S "OPPRESSED":
POLICE, PSYCHOLOGY, AND THE PATRIARCHY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of a feminist postmodern deconstruction is to reveal the gender ideology and hidden political context embedded within the language of the text. This research project applies this methodology to a body of selected texts concerning women and men in policing as contained in The Journal of Police Science and Administration. This journal is representative of the type and focus of traditional empirical studies on police officers. The deconstruction of these texts reveals how the lives of women and men are inadequately theorized or described in traditional empirical psychology, as feminist criticisms of psychology have noted. Also revealed is the establishment of police psychology as an adjunct of policing and together they convey the masculine as normative. In this way, psychology and policing adhere to the dominant discourse of patriarchy that marginalizes women's transforming contributions to both these fields. This analysis indicates how using the perspectives of feminist postmodernism can help design and implement research that achieves an emancipatory psychology. In turn, the results of this study influence recommendations for counselling psychology.
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"Never doubt that a small group of dedicated citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has."

Margaret Mead

To "The Gals"
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to examine psychological research on women and men in policing using critical theory and feminist postmodern discourse analysis. Through this approach, I illustrate how traditional empirical psychology inadequately theorizes and describes the lives of police officers. I challenge police psychology researchers to incorporate feminist principles into their research designs with the aim of improving the lives of policewomen and policemen and the lives of their families.

Feminism and Psychology

One of feminism's main criticisms of traditional psychology is that it purports to be an empirical science with an underlying assumption that it is objective and value-free, unrelated to politics, or power and transcendent over culture and time (Harding, 1987; Weedon, 1987). Feminist psychology, entwined as it is with a political movement, does not pretend to be a separate, apolitical, value-free enterprise, but clearly states its goals to be an emancipatory project, advocating change to the oppressive power relations in a patriarchal society where women's interests are subordinated to the interests of men (Lather, 1991; Weedon). A feminist psychology, in its theory and research methodology, seeks changes in policies, practices, and institutional structures that will benefit women, correct injustices, and end women's unequal social position (Lather; Worell & Etaugh, 1994).
Traditional empirical psychology acts contrary to the emancipatory goals of feminism when it claims to explain human behavior while failing to understand or describe accurately the lives of women and the social conditions under which they live (Weisstein, 1968). Because psychology looks for "inner traits" within individuals and not social context, historical, social, and institutional forces are treated as incidental to behavior (Kahn & Yoder, 1989; Weisstein). By leaving out the social context, individual psychology leaves out the social institutions that push women and men into different and unequal roles, and focuses on the differences between men and women rather than on "how male-centered discourses and institutions transform male-female difference into a female disadvantage" (Bem, 1993, p. 233).

Feminist criticisms of existing mainstream theories and empirical methodologies point out how they obscure the politics of gender, as well as the politics of race and class, thereby supporting elitist, privileged attitudes and practices that uphold the structural status quo, and leave the lives of the oppressed unchanged (Bem, 1993; Jayaratne & Stewart, 1991; Lather, 1991).

In contrast to traditional psychology, the social construction of gender is central to feminist research (Lather, 1991; Weisstein, 1968). The link between gender and power emerges from this focus, revealing power relations in all aspects of life "from the sexual division of labor and the social organization of procreation to the internalized norms of femininity by which we live" (Weedon, 1987, p. 2). Feminist research into the psychology of women names and describes the patriarchal structure of our society and reveals that
women's subordinate status in society is based on unequal distribution of power rather than on women's deficiencies (Weedon; Worell & Etaugh, 1994). Feminists in psychology, restricted by traditional psychology's adherence to scientific principles, have sought ways to develop theory that includes an analysis of the subject (individual) and the social structure (Fonow & Cook, 1991).

An attempt to bridge the social context and the individual in feminist psychology has resulted in the development of woman-centred theory and research designs that focus on the lived experience of women and girls (Worell, 1990; Worell & Etaugh, 1994). Although issues of importance to women's lives such as rape, sexual harassment, gender roles, and so on have been targeted (Worell & Etaugh), these approaches are criticized as not being enough to fulfill a feminist agenda (Fine & Gordon, 1989). First of all, it has been difficult for feminists in psychology to challenge the politics of patriarchy within hierarchical and patriarchal middle-class educational institutions where they are marginalized within white, male-dominated psychology departments. As a result, feminist women's psychology, although it is published and taught alongside traditional psychology, has had little impact on traditional pedagogy or its paradigms. Even though feminist psychology is flourishing in academia and is taught in well-attended courses, in the meantime, "mainstream psychological research remains basically unchanged" (Fine & Gordon, p. 148).

Second, significant developments within feminist psychology are often appropriated by mainstream psychology, relocating the issues involved within the individual as psychopathology (Fine &
Gordon, 1989; Kitzinger, 1990). Furthermore, a woman-centred approach, stemming out of the white, middle-class feminist movement, tends to ignore differences of class or race between groups of women, and instead, treats all women as a monolithic group (Squire, 1990). Consequently, a woman-centred psychology within academia, although it may correct psychology's neglect of women's lives, without an analysis of gender, power, race, or class, can legitimize the individualism and conservatism of psychology. Rather than improving women's lives, it can act as an obstacle to change (Fine & Gordon; Worell, 1990) and to "unwittingly serve the interests of those in power" (Bem, 1993, p. 234).

Many feminists assert that, instead of reproducing the principles of psychology and colluding in the power structure that perpetuates them (Fine & Gordon, 1989; Squire, 1990), what needs to happen in psychology is a critical questioning of the fundamental principles of psychological research, its epistemology, methodology, and politics (Fine & Gordon; Harding, 1987). To develop an alternate approach to woman-centred psychology and traditional psychology, and to develop theory that includes the social context, feminist researchers have turned to other disciplines that have incorporated the principles of postmodernism and deconstruction into their studies to challenge the orthodoxy of empirical science (Gavey, 1989; Holloway, 1989).

**Psychological Research and Policewomen**

The construct of gender is as central to policewomen, as it is to feminism. It is central to women's inclusion into the occupation of policing, to women's performance evaluations on the job, and to
social science research into their lives. Gender and the experience of women in policing have always been linked. Although women have been doing police work since the early 1900s, they were segregated from policemen in separate bureaus (Appier, 1992; Heidensohn, 1992). Not until the early 1970s did the integration of women into the main body of police forces in Canada, Britain, and the United States take place as a result of civil rights legislation. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police first recruited and trained women in 1975, following a recommendation from the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (Linden, 1985). After initial integration, women made up only 1% of police officers in Canada, while today about 14% of officers are women. Of this number, about 12% are crowded in the lowest ranks of police forces, about 2% among non-commissioned officers and only 1% in the superior officer ranks (Statistics Canada, 1994).

A number of sociological and psychological studies were done in the late 1970s and early 1980s on women breaking into police work (Linden & Minch, 1984; Martin, 1980; Remmington, 1981; Wexler & Logan, 1983). These all described the considerable obstacles policewomen faced to being accepted as officers. The history of women in policing parallels women's struggles to be accepted into the general labor force, particularly into a male-dominated occupation, and specifically into one of society's institutions of social control (Berg & Budnick, 1986; Heidensohn, 1992; Jones, 1986).

Psychology began its relationship with the occupation of policing back in the 1950s, before women were integrated into
Police forces. American police were the first to use psychologists and psychiatrists as consultants in matters of police officer selection and criminal investigations. By the late 1960s, police departments actually hired in-house psychologists to train and educate officers concerning human behavior, for example, in order to improve police response in situations such as crowd control (Chandler, 1990). These services expanded to become direct psychological services to police agencies and their officers. Starting in 1968, the Los Angeles police department employed Martin Reiser as the first psychologist in a law-enforcement agency on a full-time basis (Scrivner & Kurke, 1995).

The development of police psychology coincided with the expansion of knowledge and research into occupational stress in the 1970s, while at the same time several critical historical and legal incidents in policing spotlighted the stressful impact of police work on its officers. During this period, key psychologists in the field published books and articles about their experience and research on stress and police. For example, Kroes' analysis of job stress in policing was published in 1976 with a second edition released in 1985. He gained his expertise and basis for his research while a psychologist for the Los Angeles Police Department and the head of stress research at the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health. A second example is Stratton's (1984) Police Passages that offers a descriptive psychological profile of police applicants, their "passages" through police life, and finally a summation of the stresses police officers experience and the effect on the lives of
their family members. Stratton had been in-house psychologist for the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department.

Scholarly research on police in the past focused on police demographics in the 1930s and police conduct toward the public in the 1950s. In the 1970s, research on police studied the anxiety produced in police officers from conflicting demands of the occupation. The most recent theme of stress and police work is founded on the underlying premise that police are a unified group (Hatting, Engel, & Russo, 1983). Although there are other psychological constructs examined in the literature, such as occupational identity and police personality, the focus on stress is remarkably consistent as a subject of psychological study on police officers up to present day (Brown & Campbell, 1994). Most current police stress research published is British (Brown & Fielding, 1993; Hart, Wearing, & Headey, 1995). Although most of the literature on police stress in the United States and Canada was published in the 1980s, stress and coping of police officers continues to be a focus of research interest (Beehr, Johnson, & Nieva, 1995).

As women entered police forces following legislated integration in the 1970s, it was not surprising that policewomen's occupational stress would be empirically examined following the established pattern of police research. However, the empirical methodology and findings for policewomen differ significantly from that of policemen. Although the research on policemen follows a "job" model (Brewer, 1991), the findings on policewomen's stress are "genderized" with the result that the most significant stressor for women does not appear to be the work itself, as it is for men,
but the strain of breaking and entering into a male-dominated occupation and the experience of male resistance in the police environment (e.g., gender discrimination and sexual harassment (Brown, 1993; Feinman, 1986; Martin, 1978, 1980; Poole & Pogrebin, 1988). Apparently, the most significant stressors for policewomen are stressors that are associated with women's minority status (Wexler & Logan, 1983).

The actual work related stress has not been identified in the research because the hostility of policewomen's male co-workers "has been so substantial that other stressors recede in comparison" (Wexler & Logan, 1983, p. 52). As a result, the literature does not give us a full picture of the impact of policing on women, compared with the stress research on men.

The contrast in the research findings between men and women in policing illustrates most poignantly the feminist critique of traditional psychology and empirical science, that such research hides "the politics of gender," obscuring the oppression of women into individualized psychopathology and framing status and power differences as examples of sex difference (Bem, 1993; Lather, 1991; Worell, 1990). Research into policewomen inadvertently allows the politics of gender to reveal findings that reflect the inherent sexism, occupational discrimination, and organizational gender politics of the patriarchal workplace. This highlights the feminist critique of psychology that there is not adequate theory or methodology to explain the reality of women's lives, and that empirical research that omits an analysis of policewomen's
experience of gender oppression and discrimination fails feminist goals for the emancipation of women.

A feminist postmodern discourse analysis of a significant body of empirical psychological literature on policing would be useful to reveal how issues of power, gender, race, and politics have been individualized into the stress discourse, and how this discourse originated, whose benefit it serves, and how it may fail to improve the lives of both men and women police officers.

In the following pages, I discuss the source of the texts used in this study and how I selected the particular texts used for analysis. I review a sample of four of these articles. I provide a review of research on policewomen and other relevant literature that contributes to the deconstruction of the articles.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology of deconstruction and the theoretical background to postmodern feminism. Chapter 4 provides an historical, legal, and cultural context to police stress and the establishment of police psychology. The results of the deconstruction of the selected texts is contained in Chapter 5. Further contextualization of the texts along with my conclusions and recommendations for research and for counselling psychology are given in Chapter 6.
CHAPTER TWO
THE SOURCE OF THE TEXTS

The Journal of Police Science and Administration

The source of police literature or texts for this feminist postmodern discourse analysis is the Journal of Police Science and Administration (hereafter referred to as "the journal"). It has the most extensive collection of psychological research on police from the United States, Britain, and Canada. A reader of this one journal is exposed to an integral portrait of male and female police officers as they appear in empirical psychological research. The journal contains many articles concerning stress and stress-related studies of both men and women in policing. Another feature of this journal important to a critical analysis is the juxtaposition of articles on policewomen and policemen, giving the reader an opportunity to compare these texts.

The journal is published quarterly by the International Association of Chiefs of Police, a non-profit organization based in Arlington, Virginia. It started publication in 1974 and appears to have ceased publication at the end of 1990. Its editorial board and consultants consisted of people who were connected with either the law, law enforcement, or criminology. Some notable names on its editorial consultant panel in 1990 are Daryl Gates, at the time police chief of Los Angeles, California; Anthony Bouza, then chief of police in Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Charles Steinmetz of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.
Although the journal no longer publishes, other publications recognize its significance for psychology and policing and its extensive collection of research (Brewer, Wilson, & Braithwaite, 1995). The journal contains an ample representative sample of police stress research that has not been superseded by more recent studies on stress (Brown & Campbell, 1994).

Selection of the Articles

I surveyed the journal for articles published between 1980 and 1990 inclusively and selected articles that fit at least one of the following criteria: (a) they contained research on a particular psychological construct such as stress or personality, or (b) they were articles dealing with policewomen, or (c) they were written by a psychologist. The search resulted in 36 articles as shown in Table 1.

From these 36 articles, I chose to eliminate articles that did not specifically touch on the individual psychology or lived experience of men and women in policing. This selection, although sometimes arbitrary, followed a pattern of eliminating any articles that compared police to other occupations, or focused on the physiological outcome of stress (including suicide), or concerned career choice or recruiting selection. I set aside psychological studies that pertain to police work (e.g., training, performance, community attitudes, police attitudes to rape). I also removed any studies on police families or police wives.

This selection process left me with 16 articles. From these, I separated out the articles concerning stress of which there were 7, leaving 9 remaining articles. All but one (i.e., Adlam, 1982) of the 9
articles focus on policewomen, either as a separate group or combined with policemen, as shown in Table 1.

From both groups of articles, I selected two articles from each that seemed to me representative of the criticisms of empirical research as described in my introduction. The empirical literature on police has been criticized by several authors for being poorly designed with poor construct definitions, and for being methodologically flawed with unsupportable overgeneralizations (Brown & Campbell, 1994; Brewer, Wilson, & Braithwaite, 1995).

Review of Four Key Articles

The four illustrative articles I have selected to review are highly relevant to a feminist discourse analysis. First of all, they reflect the empirical psychological tradition of researching inner traits to understand individuals; and, second, they offer a comparison of research between men and women on the same construct, in this case, the police personality and stress.

The police personality is central to the first two articles. In the first article, Adlam (1982), a social psychologist from Britain, surveyed over 200 officers, mainly inspectors and chief inspectors attending courses at an English police college in order to identify the impact of the police occupation on personality. Although not stated, it is very clear the respondents were men only. Adlam's findings support previous empirical research, cited in the article, that men in policing experience a change in their personality stemming from their work experiences. For example, there is an "emotional hardening" that takes place over the years, a development of a "protective shell" resulting from the exposure to disturbing
incidents of police work, such as witnessing victims of traffic accidents, assault, or murder. Police officers find they become cynical and suspicious of the public they serve. Other changes include the development of conservative attitudes to societal change and to men's and women's roles and an adherence to the norms of the police subculture. Police officers find that these changes are often accompanied by a sense of dissatisfaction for the people they have become. These findings are similar to those in police stress research—the repercussions of police work and stress have a negative impact on officers.

The second article by Berg and Budnick (1986) is an examination of policewomen's personality and illustrates how research on policewomen becomes "genderized." Instead of experiencing a "hardening" as men do, policewomen experience "defeminization." Defeminization is defined as women officers' adoption of a "pseudo-masculinity" in order to compete with and emulate male officers. It is portrayed as an individual decision women make in order to advance their careers. If women "decide" to remain feminine, they limit their careers. Although this article is not an empirical study, the authors use other research on which to base their conclusions. They call for more comprehensive research into the extent of or the ramifications from defeminization and how it affects women's ability to carry out their duties. At the same time, the authors ask for a re-evaluation of how law enforcement agencies perceive women officers.

By comparing these articles, one can conclude that a police personality in men is developed by the impact of police work on
officers over time. Policewomen, instead of developing a personality of their own, must emulate, adapt or reject the established "police personality" (based on a male standard) and experience the resulting consequences. It seems that a policewoman who emulates the male standard, according to these articles, may face the loss of her sexual identity.

The next two articles I reviewed are surveys of stress in policing, the first on women and the second a comprehensive survey of the empirical literature on police stress. Wexler and Logan (1983) interviewed 25 women officers from a large, metropolitan police force in California over a 9-month period in 1980. By identifying sources of stress elicited from the qualitative interviews, Wexler and Logan were able to divide stressors into five categories: external stressors, organizational stressors, task-related stressors, personal stressors, and female-related stressors. The most significant stressor that affected the highest number of participants was the experience of harassment and hostility from male co-workers not only on the job but in training as well. The most significant task-related stressor was the exposure to people's troubles and tragedies that women found "hardened" them. Even this stressor has different implications for women than for men because women experience acting cynical and tough as contrary to their stereotypical female socialization. They question their femininity, wondering if women are supposed to act this way. This may be the "defeminization" process referred to in Berg and Budnick's (1986) work. Wexler and Logan conclude that although 19 different stressors were classified in their study, the most common ones are
related to women's gender. "Even some of those sources of stress found in studies of male officers (media, training, promotional opportunities, and inadequate equipment) took on a different meaning for women officers" (p. 52). The stress of policing, already singled out for men as high, is increasingly so for women because of the actions of their male counterparts.

Stress and policing is comprehensively documented in the empirical literature summarized in Farmer's (1990) survey. He classifies research on police stress into five categories: outcome studies, process studies, intrinsic factors studies, managerial studies, and clinical studies. All together there are 72 articles summarized that are published in a variety of journals. The majority were published in 1985 through 1987. Of these, only five are specifically about women.

Farmer (1990) demonstrates that the literature on policemen and women overwhelmingly points to police work as stressful. "Much of the existing literature supports the conclusions that there is stress inherent in either the job itself, or the people who perform the job, or both" (p. 216). He concludes with a call for better and more comprehensive empirical research into police and stress. The survey identifies either intrinsic, individual factors that lead to stress (under which women's experience in police is categorized) or external factors such as management that contribute to stress.

The four articles on policewomen all suggest that being female is an additional stressor for women, either because they must cope with male reactions, or because they must prove themselves as police officers. The findings in these articles illustrate and
support the previously stated criticisms of research on policewomen (Brewer, 1991), and feminist criticisms of research on women's lives. The social context, although acknowledged for women, has not been adequately theorized or described in this body of work.

Empirical studies comparing policewomen with policemen have been criticized for their underlying assumptions that women are by nature unsuited for an occupation that is violent and dangerous (Coffey & Brown, 1992; Morash & Greene, 1986). Generally, the literature has overlooked women as officers doing police work (Brewer, 1991).

A Review of Feminist Literature on Policewomen

In contrast to the traditional research, feminist research into the lives of policewomen reveals the complexity of their lives interacting with the social context. In these comprehensive surveys on policewomen's lives, the researchers readily place policewomen in an historical, legal, and gender context in order to discuss their experiences.

Women breaking into policing after legislated integration is the attention of Susan Martin's (1980) study as she examines the organizational barriers facing policewomen. Using a sociological approach, Martin includes a discussion on sexuality in the organization with a section on sexual harassment. Although I find her analysis limited in its scope, as an initial framing of policewomen within a non-traditional occupation, it is a comprehensive document for its time. Certainly, as background
reading, it would have been readily available to researchers during the 1980s.

Following in Martin's (1980) path is an anthropological study by Remmington (1981) who also examines policewomen within the culture of the police occupation. She identifies policewomen as a "sexually stratified group" (p. 187), that are acculturated into policing but not accepted and who have little impact on the dominant culture. She also feels compelled to provide an explanation for policemen's behavior towards women in policing. Like Martin, she analyzes and explains men as a group while studying women. For feminist researchers on policewomen, it is an inseparable task.

A more unusual approach to the study of women in policing is Hunt's (1984) sociological investigation of her own experience as participant observer in a police force and her negotiation with gender as she gained the confidence of male police officers. Her eloquent account of these experiences illustrates the construction of masculinity and femininity in relation to each other. She concludes that her phenomenological approach allows for the possibility that "some women in nontraditional occupations resist role encapsulation and actively negotiate new definitions of masculinity and femininity" (p. 293) in a way that traditional paradigms (where gender is a fact rather than an ongoing accomplishment) cannot capture. Hunt also adds her explanation of policemen's resistance to policewomen, attributing it to men's need to preserve their masculinity. Although a unique, intelligent, and readable approach to an analysis of gender, like Martin (1980) and
Remmington (1981), Hunt does not link the construction of gender with the maintenance of power.

An exceptional work, albeit too recent to have had any influence on the selected texts for analysis, is Heidensohn's (1992) sociological analysis of the role of women in law enforcement. Like the previously mentioned studies, this one also situates policewomen in an historical, political, and organizational context but advances contextualization one more layer by linking gender with social control and the male oppression of women. From this analysis, she concludes that feminist research restricts women to a role as victims and has not yet included a focus on women sharing in roles of social control. She posits that a focus on policewomen for feminist research could challenge societal notions of gendered power relations and wonders what social control would look like if the hold of masculine dominance were broken.

Other research contributed to my knowledge of policewomen's genderized experience. For example, sexual harassment and other forms of sexual attention are a chronic and pervasive problem for policewomen (Brown & Campbell, 1993; Linden, 1985; Martin, 1980; Poole & Pogrebin, 1988). Women pay a price by being isolated within the occupation (Martin). Other adverse effects on women officers include greater stress, more sick leave, and reduced work performance (Brown & Campbell; Poole & Pogrebin). In Canada, Linden found that 74% of females who had left the Royal Canadian Mounted Police reported having experienced discrimination or harassment from other members, especially in the form of non-
acceptance of female officers (either individual women or women as a group), sexual harassment, and discrimination by supervisors.

Like women in other non-traditional occupations, women in policing experience considerable discrimination (Brown & Campbell, 1993; Gruber & Bjorn, 1982; Gutek, 1993; Mansfield, Koch, Henderson, Vicary, Cohn, & Young, 1991). In this research, organizational discrimination through departmental procedures are described that can affect policewomen's integration and satisfaction with their work. For example, policewomen face both horizontal and lateral job segregation because they cluster disproportionately in units such as child protection work leaving "crime fighting" units to the men (Brown & Campbell).

As part of my conclusions, I utilize Williams' (1989) research on gender and work that describes and analyzes the experience of women in the United States Marine Corps and men in the occupation of nursing. Although about women Marines, this study is useful to researching policewomen because of its focus on gender construction contextualized within feminist psychology. It is a model for any exploration of women's experience in a male-dominated non-traditional occupation. In Chapter 6, I discuss Williams' findings as an example of feminist usage of discourse analysis.

These studies just cited and described provide a contrast to the quality and type of research carried out by male researchers on policemen that does not equally contextualize nor analyze policemen's experience in relation to gender or to power. Even sociological studies on policemen, although they acknowledge and
describe a "macho cop culture" (Reiner, 1985), "its existence has been rather more readily justified (sic) than properly explained (sic)" (Heidensohn, 1992, p. 13). Heidensohn roundly criticizes her male colleagues for underestimating the significance of gender in their analyses of the police occupation. In Chapter 5, my deconstruction of psychology's approach to gender and policemen echoes Heidensohn's observations.

Other relevant literature

Other literature relevant to this critical analysis was used as a way of illustrating what has been omitted from the police psychology discourse. I have not remained within the bounds of psychology but have used background information that is transdisciplinary. For example, I use literature on the sociology of gender in organizations because it portrays women in policing as part of women in the labor force in general. This literature describes the organizational hierarchical structures where women work that steadily segregates and continues to suppress any rise to the challenge of complete gender equality and integration (Kanter, 1977; Hearn, Sheppard, Tancred-Sheriff, & Burrell, 1989; Martin, 1992; Reskin & Roos, 1990; Walby, 1988).

Other literature that is significant to this critical analysis are histories of police psychology (Brewer & Wilson, 1995; Kurke & Scrivner, 1995). They have provided me with accounts of the formation of police psychology and its connection with stress. Newton's (1995) deconstruction of the stress discourse gave me a fundamental guide to my deconstruction of the seven articles on stress. His work comprehensively and convincingly ties the pre-
eminence of the stress discourse to historical, political, and cultural forces in our society. Deconstruction is the methodology used to reveal what has been overlooked in the reading of texts and to examine the relationship between texts (Dant, 1991; Weedon, 1987).

Although there is an acknowledgement of "the possibility that some aspects of the police stress issue might be socially constructed for certain political purposes" and that certain parties in the police/psychology field may benefit from this (Brown & Campbell, 1994, p. 5), I have not yet found a published analysis of the connection of police stress research and the production of knowledge to the power structures that support it. Instead, researchers call for more comprehensive and improved research into stress for the benefit of the police community, often in order to provide better stress services (Brown & Campbell; Brewer & Wilson, 1995; Farmer, 1990).

Using the principles of feminist postmodern theory to deconstruct the 16 articles from The Journal of Police Science and Administration and using the literature just described, I contextualize within history, the law, and politics the stress discourse in policing. In the next chapter, I examine the theory of feminism and postmodernism in relation to the methodology of deconstruction.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Feminism and Postmodernism

Feminists in many academic disciplines have turned to postmodernism because of the challenge it poses to traditional empirical science. In psychology, postmodernist theory offers feminists a way of interrelating the individual (subject) and the social context. Postmodernism emerged out of philosophy developed by European writers such as Foucault (1980) and Lacan (1977). "Post" refers to the historical time following the modern period that is demarcated by the Enlightenment of the 18th century, a time that produced values such as humanism, secularism, progress, the triumph of reason, and self-determination. These values are seen to be eroding in the "post-modern" period as the limitations and pitfalls of reason, science, and liberal-humanism (i.e., humans can change and master their world) are being exposed. Historical events such as the atomic bomb, the Holocaust, and the war in Vietnam, have helped bring about the decline of confidence in the liberal-humanist discourses of Western society and their claim to universal truths for all humankind (Lather, 1991; Weedon, 1987).

Postmodernism rejects any possibilities of absolute truth discovered objectively (Rosenau, 1992; Weedon, 1987). Postmodernists view modern social science as a dominant discourse constructed within a certain social and historical period in a manner that maintains a power structure (Lather, 1991; Weedon).
In this vein, logical positivist research that seeks universal truths in an external, fixed reality by independent, objective researchers can hide the underlying assumptions and hidden goals of what could very well be a significant political agenda (Kitzinger, 1990).

Although there are some incompatibilities, the feminist challenge to the social sciences has much in common with postmodern theory (Gavey, 1989). Feminist critiques across many disciplines have challenged traditional scientific inquiry by illustrating the ways values enter into all scientific enterprises, and have rejected the assumption of scientific knowledge-seeking as unaffected by culture, history, political interests and goals, or the experience and social values of researchers (Bem, 1993; Harding, 1987; Worell & Etaugh, 1994). Feminist analyses have exposed the biases and distortions inherent in the production of knowledge or "truth" (Fonow & Cook, 1991).

The feminist position insists that values enter into the scientific endeavor in all stages of research; first by the theories selected, including the selection of sexist and elitist research topics that excludes research of central importance to women (Jayaratne & Stewart, 1991); then by the choice of research topic and the methods of research, including selection of male-only subjects (Jayaratne & Stewart; Worell, 1990).

Feminist criticisms point out that researchers are members of society with their own social location and background who bring their particular orientation to their research (Harding, 1987; Kitzinger, 1990; Phoenix, 1990). What researchers choose to study and the frames of reference they use to structure their issues of
research focus are "often products of their individual interests and dominant social constructions of important issues" (Phoenix, p. 91). For example, funding agencies that are connected to socio-political concerns decide what projects are "socially relevant" and, therefore, eligible for funding. Moreover, this issue of who defines social problems is not generally revealed in psychological research (Worell, 1990). Other androcentric biases show up in mainstream research in the use of male only subjects, in the overgeneralization of findings to women from such research, and the absence of research of central importance to women (Jayaratne & Stewart, 1991).

These criticisms cast doubt on the positivist view that science discovers preexisting facts and that the scientific method can effectively safeguard against the intrusion of values and biases into the production of knowledge. An alternative view is emerging which sees science as embedded in the history, politics, and culture of society. In this view, psychology, like all science, is a cultural institution and a social activity subject to external influences as well as internal regulation (Maracek, 1989, p. 369).

The theory of discourse is central to postmodernist philosophy. Discourses are located in and structured by what Foucault (1980) calls a discursive field. The social structures of our institutions, our political systems, the church, the family, our law and education systems, even the media are all located in their particular discursive fields and produce their own discourse in the form of texts. Postmodern writers like Foucault and Lacan (1977) suggest meaning is constructed within language. Language is actually the place where knowledge is created, framed, and disseminated in
discourses that are embedded in a specific historical, political, and social contexts. Postmodernism provides the link between language, the subject (the individual), meaning, knowledge, and power by making known through critical theory how power that is politically, socially, and historically specific, constructs and legitimates knowledge (Weedon, 1987).

Weedon (1987) contends that "meanings do not exist prior to their articulation in language and language is not an abstract system, but is always socially and historically located in discourses" (p. 41). Discourses compete with each other for dominance, some justifying and reproducing the status quo, while others challenge the dominant discourses although they are likely to be marginalized and dismissed by the dominant discourses as irrelevant or even bad (Weedon).

Discourse and Feminist Research

Postmodernism's focus on the link between knowledge and power allows "feminists ways to work within and yet challenge dominant discourses" (Lather, 1991, p. 39). For feminists, the attempt to understand power in all its forms is of central importance (Weedon, 1987), with an eye to alter the oppressive gender relations that subjugate women (Gavey, 1989). The discourse of empirical science and its claim to truth for all humanity is one that feminists view as oppressive to women. Feminist postmodernism challenges the underlying assumptions of positivist social science, and through analysis of language attempts to understand existing power relations as revealed in text or "discourse" with a purpose in mind of identifying power structures
and offering strategies for change (Gavey, 1989). Through postmodern critical theory, feminists can analyze language, power, and knowledge to address "questions of how social power is exercised and how social relations of gender, class and race might be transformed (Weedon, 1987, p. 20). For feminists in psychology, postmodernism offers an opportunity to contextualize the complexity of women's experience and to reveal and analyze the patriarchal power structures that continue to oppress women (Gavey; Weedon).

Postmodern philosophy allows feminist researchers to develop theory and methodology that accomplishes many of the goals of feminism. By connecting language and discourse, knowledge and power, postmodernism permits feminists to theorize the oppression of women by naming and describing the way patriarchy allows for the dominance of women (Lather, 1991; Weedon, 1987). Moreover, feminist theory is needed to develop "ways of understanding social and cultural practices which throw light on how gender power relations are constituted, reproduced and contested" (Weedon, p. vii). Feminist inquiry into gender inevitably leads to an inquiry into power and into how people resist power (Weisstein, 1968). An oppressed group is not interested in a search for so-called "truth," but is seeking knowledge about power and forces that oppress as a means to asserting their rights to know about themselves, to empower themselves, and to change those forces or power dynamics (Dant, 1991; Harding, 1987).

Feminist research refuses to respect psychology's boundaries, bringing in knowledge and concepts from other disciplines that
provide strong and viable critical perspectives needed to challenge the power and self-protectiveness of traditional psychology. Bringing in knowledge and learning from other disciplines effectively reduces psychology's claim to be the "ultimate source of knowledge about the human subject" (Squire, 1990, p. 12) and its claim to universality and timelessness. In order to fully develop an inclusive, comprehensive, and contextualized feminist psychology, feminist researchers have also turned to alternate methodologies and theories that have been utilized in other disciplines and are tied to the revolution in knowledge production in the social sciences (Gavey, 1989; Holloway, 1989; Squire).

The valuing of women's experience is seen as essential to feminist research. Through the experience of gender oppression, women's knowledge is different from that of men, not because of sex differences but because women's situation within patriarchal gender relations creates a unique type of insight and a particular perception of the world that can penetrate underlying gender relations in a social context (Dant, 1991; Fonow & Cook, 1991). Feminist research that utilizes women's experience that has been devalued within patriarchy (Dant), not only supports an emancipatory psychology but also acts as a consciousness-raising experience by exposing previously hidden and unnamed behavior in our society such as sexual harassment and violence against women.

Finding postmodernism politically useful, feminists have introduced postmodernism methodology such as deconstruction into their studies in order to challenge the orthodoxy of empirical science, to develop theory and methodology that embraces feminist
goals with an aim to ultimately transform individual psychology and its approach to the human subject (Squire, 1990; Weedon, 1987).

It is important to feminist politics that theory is needed as a part of the transforming of both the social relations of knowledge production and the type of knowledge produced. To do so requires that we tackle the fundamental questions of how and where knowledge is produced and by whom, and of what counts as knowledge. It also requires a transformation of the structures which determine how knowledge is disseminated. Purpose is to develop new strategies which would better serve feminist interests (Weedon, 1987, p. 7).

Methodology of Deconstruction

The goals of a postmodern feminist discourse analysis are woven together with the methodology of deconstruction. The purpose of deconstruction is to bring into the open how power, politics, and the construction of knowledge are linked (Lather, 1991). Deconstruction reveals how knowledge is produced in discourses, who benefits from it, and who may be oppressed by it, and how it can be challenged through the creation of alternative discourses (Haggis, 1990; Lather; Weedon, 1987).

Liberal-humanism remains the dominant discourse in Western societies and is upheld by existing power relations. The sites of liberal-humanist discourse are texts that are disseminated within discursive fields such as law, medicine, and education, while other discourses are marginalized or excluded. Feminism, a marginalized discourse, is a movement that wants to resist and to subvert institutional patriarchal power. Deconstruction of patriarchal discourses is one way of achieving this goal. Deconstruction of texts across academic disciplines exposes patriarchal values and
interests that underlie social theory and allows feminists to link together in strength to weaken patriarchal power and knowledge construction (Weedon, 1987).

Feminist postmodernism uses deconstruction to develop feminist theory that can generate "new theoretical perspectives from which the dominant can be criticized and new possibilities envisaged" (Weedon, 1987, p. 6). Feminist theory seeks inclusion of frames of reference such as gender, class, race, and power, that are overlooked in mainstream discourse, in order to achieve emancipatory goals. A feminist postmodern deconstruction of texts to reveal these omissions is "the first stage in the production of alternate forms of knowledge" (Weedon, p. 111) with the aim of transforming existing power relations, especially the patriarchal relations of men and women (Lather, 1991; Weedon).

Although there are no specific recipes or formulas for a deconstruction methodology, generally, it involves the careful reading of texts "to discern patterns of meaning, contradictions and inconsistencies" (Gavey, 1989, p. 467) with the aim of exposing or deconstructing the "dominant" discourse (Weedon, 1987; Lather, 1991). Language, as a signifier of discourse, instead of reflecting "truth," encodes the purposes and power structures of the discourse and obscures the historical, cultural, economic, and gendered context in which the discourse is produced (Weedon). Meaning in discourse is always political and is located in texts and in their relation to other texts. Based on the works of Jacques Derrida (1977), deconstruction locates hierarchical oppositions in language, such as woman/man or nature/culture, to determine the side of the
duality that is defined negatively in relation to the other side. In patriarchal discourse, "the nature and social role of women are defined in relation to a norm which is 'male'" (Weedon, p. 2). A feminist deconstruction intends to expose the hierarchy of gender as well as that of class and race, by making visible "hegemonic meaning systems to produce counter-hegemonic knowledge, knowledge intended to challenge dominant meaning systems" (Lather, p. 129). Meanings have implications for existing social relations, contesting them, reaffirming them, or leaving them intact (Weedon).

Deconstruction of the Texts

Through a feminist postmodern deconstruction of 16 selected articles pertaining to police and psychology in the *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, I identified the power relations in the texts and the purposes they serve. The articles selected are listed in Table 1 in the Appendix. Through this analysis I intended to challenge the dominant discourse of police psychology and create an alternative discourse embodying feminist goals and perceptions. From a feminist standpoint, I propose that women's experiences in the texts of the journal have not yet been adequately described, identified, or included, and that this omission is the result of a series of exclusionary practices operating at various levels within police research; that these exclusionary practices have their basis in patriarchal gender relations supported by institutional power in education, police and politics; and, that this power is disseminated and reinforced within the dominant discourse of the texts (Haggis, 1990).
With these assumptions in mind, using the goals of feminist postmodernism, I deconstructed these texts asking the following questions grouped under three general categories, selected because they carry out the goals of this feminist analysis. The first group of questions pertain to how the texts omit significant and relevant information and perspectives from other disciplines. They are: What knowledge is suppressed in these texts that might empower, inform, and emancipate women (Dant, 1991; Harding, 1987)? What texts from other disciplines are omitted that could help provide a more comprehensive and contextualized background to research on police lives (Squire, 1990)?

The second group of questions help uncover the social forces that produced the texts. They are: What is the social, political, historical, and institutional context of the texts (Weedon, 1987)? Who benefits from the discourse in the texts, who is oppressed by it, and who would be challenged by a feminist postmodern deconstruction of the discourse (Haggis, 1990; Lather, 1991; Weedon)? What social and cultural practices do the texts support and how do they relate to the way patriarchal gender relations are carried out (Weedon)?

The final group of questions intend to illustrate the way the texts are examples of research criticized by feminists. They are: How do the texts support patriarchal gender relations that allow for the dominance of women (Lather, 1991; Weedon, 1987)? How can women's experience expose underlying assumptions in these texts? How can women's experience inform and expand upon the findings in the texts? What unnamed or hidden behaviors may be revealed by the
inclusion of women's experience (Dant; Fonow & Cook, 1991)? What implications would a feminist critical analysis of the texts have on research into police lives in the future (Morawski, 1994)?

**Reflexivity**

Reflexivity is used by feminists to "reflect upon, examine critically, and explore analytically the nature of the research process" (Fonow & Cook, 1991, p. 3). It is akin to the consciousness-raising of the feminist movement, revealing personal experience and its relation to the political. Feminist researchers consider their own experience valuable to the research process, not just the experience of the women they research (Holloway, 1989). Because the consciousness of oppression can lead to creative and fruitful insight into phenomena that may be hidden by the traditional research process, feminist researchers bring an informed presence to a critical analysis of traditional research (Fonow & Cook). Reflexivity allows them to explore how their own experience, identity, and societal position influence the social and political implications of a reading (Weedon, 1987). Reflexivity reveals how these influences operate in the stages and production of feminist research (Morawski, 1994).

In this analysis, my background as a feminist student in counselling psychology, as a white, middle-class single mother, as a child growing up in a police family, and as a researcher for a book on police stress provide an informed and provocative reading of the texts. I use self-reflexivity as part of this analysis to examine the emotional and intellectual impact of my marginalization as a feminist student in a traditional counselling psychology program.
This experience was compounded by department upheaval over a series of threatening letters targeting feminist women, both staff and students. The process of self-reflection allowed me to weave the impact of this experience into the analysis, and how it has affected this research topic, my student life, my feminism, and my relationship to the counselling profession.

In the next chapter, I discuss the historical, legal and political context of the establishment of police stress and its significance to the deconstruction of the seven selected articles on stress.
CHAPTER FOUR
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF POLICE STRESS

In order for an ideology or theory to take hold, according to the sociology of knowledge in the postmodern era (Dant, 1991), there must be a conducive political climate. It took significant historical and legal developments in the United States and Canada to provide an agreeable political climate in policing that welcomed the ideology of the stress discourse. An examination of the roots of the stress discourse and the social context in which it flourished allows us to see the interaction of institutions and ideology, and politics and power in the creation of the discourse and how it is reproduced and marketed through academic and popular forums (Dant, 1991; Parker, 1992). In this section, I relate how political and social change in police forces and in the communities in which they operate corresponded with the development of the police stress discourse.

History and Politics of Police Reform

The political, historical, cultural, and legal context in which police operate affects police behavior and conduct as well as the methodology and parameters of police work. For example, incidents of police brutality and misconduct occur when there is a political system tolerant of such behavior. When the political climate shifts, as it has over time in the United States and Canada, the authority of the police is challenged in the political and legal arena as laws, events, and public attitudes combine together to provide the winds of change. In the United States in the 1930s, for example, the way
police obtained confessions from prisoners, a method commonly called the "third degree," became unacceptable and criticized as akin to torture in the courts and political assemblies. Under political pressure, the police altered their interrogation practices from one of physical force to psychological pressure. Their methodology came under further attack, especially in the 1960s, when politics and police reform reached a critical stage. Between the 30s and the 60s, police had operated in a fairly tranquil political atmosphere (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993).

During the civil rights movement of the 1960s, American police conduct came under intense attack by the public and politicians, as brutality to Afro-Americans and to civil rights protestors, both white and black, was visibly displayed in the media. The public demanded civilian reviews of police conduct, no longer trusting police to investigate themselves. Distrust of the police to monitor their own behavior was further fueled in the 60s by police corruption scandals, such as the revelations of rampant greed and graft in the New York Police Department, exposed by Frank Serpico during the public hearings of the Kraft commission (Reese, 1995). The American Supreme Court continued attacks on police authority and made a number of landmark decisions that created new laws governing police procedures, especially in reference to the rights of those under arrest and in police custody (Kenney, 1989; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993).

All of these events conspired together to create a demand for police reform and police accountability. The police themselves fought against these demands, viewing such attacks as depriving
them of the unquestionable authority to fight crime. They retaliated by warning the public of crime-ridden streets if police hands were tied. Coincidentally, a real rise in serious crime was underway adding force to police scare tactics and lending credence to conservative arguments that gave precedence to the rights of victims (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993).

As the events and politics of the 1960s shone a spotlight on injustices in the criminal justice system and its institutions, the demand for reform led to the establishment of police commissions, and the funding of research on policing. The outcome of this attention led to recommendations for changes in law enforcement (Kenney, 1989; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). Demands for change and for police reform fell into three general categories.

The first reform strategy attacked the personnel standards of police forces at the time. Police were criticized for being "uneducated, racist, lower middle-class males who flouted the law and opposed all social change" (Kenney, 1989, p. 273). Pressure was applied to police forces to improve current practices in supervision and training, and to recruit different kinds of people into police work.

The second reform strategy involved changing the organization of policing. This led to attempts to decentralize the chain of command in police forces, replacing the paramilitary model with team policing and enhancing the decision-making authority of frontline officers (Kenney, 1989).

The third reform strategy called for changing the environment in which the police operate. Community-based policing, which is
currently prevalent, emerged from this reform strategy. It allows police to move beyond the role of crime-fighting and responding to calls, to one of problem-solving within the community, freeing police to determine their own priorities (Kenney, 1989).

Police Reform and the Integration of Policewomen

The first and third reforms affect the issue of women in policing in several ways. First of all, historically and currently, the entry of women into policing has been associated with political and legal reform strategies. When women first entered the police occupation in the early 1900s, it was on the crest of a reform wave that demanded women's participation in agencies of social control and welfare (Appier, 1992; Feinman, 1986; Heidensohn, 1992). Women's "special nature," derived from the qualities associated with motherhood, claimed to be needed to deal with girls and women in ways "that were beyond the interest or ability of men..." (Feinman, p. 79). Reformers sought access for women's employment in law enforcement agencies to effect social change (Heidensohn; Lord, 1986).

Eventually, the push for women in policing became a contest about the nature of police work and which gender was best suited to perform and carry out police duties. This development occurred because reformers who supported women in policing also demanded changes in police methods, preferring a model of crime-prevention. By associating crime prevention with the entry of women, police work became divided into gender-linked roles, a crime-fighting, punishment, and arrest model in which only men could operate; and a
crime prevention model, somewhat like social work that better suited women's nature (Appier, 1992).

Police administrators, who were intent on maintaining control over the direction of police reform, were kept silent about the role of women until the crime control model of policing emerged as dominant in the 1930s and 40s, growing out of the FBI image of crime-fighting, embellished by J. Edgar Hoover. Hoover's success in rounding up celebrated criminals increased the image of police as soldiers locked in a war against crime. He helped pull law enforcement's image out of a malaise, when most metropolitan police forces were riddled with corruption and unethical politics from the Prohibition era. Law enforcement not only looked respectable under Hoover, it gained an air of professionalism with the FBI's elite corps of agents in three-piece suits using the latest scientific technology for crime detection. Crime control became identified with crime fighting and affixed to masculine characteristics such as bravery, physical strength, and aggression, thereby preserving male supremacy in policing and ensuring that women would remain in a secondary, and at that time, very segregated role (Appier, 1992; Feinman, 1986).

Echoes of this history are heard in the current story of women's integration into policing that took place in the early 1970s. Pressure for police to reform hiring practices so they were more responsive and representative of the public they served, led to the inclusion of women and minorities (Heidensohn, 1992; Lord, 1986), but it still took legislative change in the U.S. and Canada for police forces to admit women to general patrol. Canadian police forces
recruited women in 1973, however the Royal Canadian Mounted Police resisted change until 1975, following a recommendation for the training and recruitment of women in the RCMP from the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (Linden, 1985). Estimates are that women now make up less than 20% of officers serving in North America with numbers varying from region to region.

Reforms of policing and the entry of women is connected with socially constructed meanings about gender and the respective characteristics and abilities of women and men. Women are supposed to have "special qualities" that are needed to make policing more humane and less brutal than it has been, hence the logic of their inclusion into policing. However, when women entered policing on supposedly equal terms as men, as they did after equal rights legislation, they were expected to perform equally to men and take on equivalent work. This leads to what is called the same/difference debate about women's employment equality, a debate aroused when women enter previously segregated employment territory traditionally occupied by men (Bacchi, 1990).

The debate centres on the purportedly inherent gender-related qualities of women and men and the suitability of those characteristics for employment, generally revolving around a male standard to which women differ or conform. In the past, in order to enter the workplace, women have appealed to the "difference" side of the debate, as in policing, when women's gender-related qualities were put forth as necessary to deal with women and girls. However, when women demand integration, they have had to switch to the "sameness" side of the debate that asserts women's equal capacity
to men to work, to learn, and to carry out the tasks of labour and of paid employment. At this juncture, the debate of women's "sameness" is often used to argue that women must not expect exceptional or special treatment even for their biological role if they want workplace equality (Bacchi, 1990; Cockburn, 1991). This argument is pertinent to women's equality because it takes place not just in academic circles, but also in courts of law. The same/difference debate affects research on policewomen because so much of it concentrates on women's gender and their ability to adapt to policing (Brewer, 1991).

**Policewomen and Occupational Segregation**

The integration of women in policing as a result of reforms also demonstrates what happens when women enter a non-traditional occupation, what Heidensohn calls (1992) a "highly instructive tale" (p. 42) about the sexual division of labour (Jones, 1986). When women enter policing and crime fighting is the predominant mode of policing, the sexual division of labour plays its hand. Policing becomes divided into gender-linked tasks, with crime control carrying the higher status, linked as it is to the male stereotype and because society has traditionally assigned responsibility to men for the exercise of authority and the ability to use force (Ott, 1989). Crime prevention, the task supposedly more suited for women's characteristics, is assigned a lesser status. This kind of division occurs in other occupations that have been traditionally male, what Cockburn (1988) calls the "social process of gendering " (p. 37), where "gender tends to rub off on the jobs" people do (p. 38).
What happens in policing is part of a pattern of occupational segregation by sex that is a marked and pervasive in our North American society (Cockburn, 1988; Reskin & Roos, 1990), with women and men tending to "cluster in separate industries, separate occupations, different departments, and different rooms" (Cockburn, p. 29). For example, the division of labor is based on the traditional split of women into the private sphere with men dominating the public sphere. In the private sphere, women's skills have been associated with labors of love such as childcare and homemaking and identified with notions of "womanhood" (Mills, 1989). Because women's work in this sphere has been associated with caring for others, women often end up in occupations that utilize their traditional skills whereas men, with supposed gender characteristics of physical strength, technical competence, and intellectual abilities, more easily dominate the work field, including both white-collar and blue-collar work forces (Cockburn, 1988; Rafter & Stanko, 1982; Reskin & Roos, 1990).

The introduction of women to a previously segregated work arena threatens men's benefits and privilege (Cockburn, 1988). The previously male-dominated occupation is no longer seen as a status occupation for men and it quickly loses its former prestige (Lips, 1988). Men become disenchanted and move out into other related specialties or into other occupations with more chance for advancement. The tendency within organizations then is for "any movement by women...to be countered by a movement of men out of the sphere contaminated by women" (Cockburn, p. 33). Some occupations that used to be male-dominated have, by this process,
become "feminized" such as clerical work, telegraph and telephone operating, waiters in the food-service industry, public school teaching, clothing and textile industry, and bank telling. (Cockburn; Reskin & Roos, 1990).

When women enter these workplaces, the process of gendering creates new subdivisions within the occupation in order for men to retain male supremacy and even separation from women (Cockburn, 1991). Brown and Campbell (1993), in their study of 42 police forces in England and Wales, found that women disproportionately cluster in training and community relations units as well as child protection work and vice squads. Lower proportions of women are found in "crime fighting" units such as specialized squads dealing with stolen vehicles, crime intelligence, and burglary or fraud investigations. Brown and Campbell support Jones' (1986) earlier finding that women are more likely to be deployed to "inside" work or safer beats compared to men. They are also assigned to more traditionally female policing tasks such as dealing with women offenders or female victims of crime as opposed to dealing with violent male offenders or quelling public disorder. Departmental procedures allow women to be assigned traditional female duties such as accompanying women prisoners or acting as decoys for muggers and rapists, and although these are admirable police responsibilities, women are often pulled off regular duties to carry these out.

Women are least likely to be found in traffic, security, emergency response teams, or marine and air divisions. Any unit that includes the operation of specialized equipment such as boats,
motorcycles, or exceptional weaponry tend to exclude women. Policewomen sometimes call these units "the boys with the toys," revealing awareness of their exclusion (Brown, 1993). These findings are echoed by Walker's (1993) report on several Canadian police forces. A higher percentage of women compared to men in Canadian police forces are assigned to patrol and other line units, such as support services like community relations, crime prevention, and school liaison. Despite what looks like women's integration, police forces maintain male dominance and the priority of crime fighting as men's work, through the gender segregation of labour and by the "gendering" of the tasks of police work.

One other effect of associating police reform with women's integration is the linking of policewomen with the concept of "cleaning up" police forces and policemen. In the gender division of characteristics, women's nature is supposedly superior to men's nature, tied up as it is with the love and care of home, hearth, and children, whereas masculinity is associated with the dirty and corrupt world of politics, violence, and money. In police work "sex, violence and corruption can be seen as masculine and therefore opposed to service work, non-violence, and non-corrupt behavior that are seen as feminine" (Hunt, 1990, p. 10). Thus, policewomen are not seen as "regular" or "real" police by male officers and by police administration, but anomalies bringing with them change and reform to the tough, "realistic" masculine world of policing (Hunt).

Policing and Psychology

Around the time these reform strategies and the entry of women in policing were taking place, events transpired to connect
psychology with police reform. Traditionally, police work and police personnel have not been of interest to psychologists until the U.S. Presidential commission on law enforcement in 1967. The commission's recommendations included the establishment of policies to eliminate the "disturbed" officer and to find the most competent and best-suited candidate for police work to protect citizens from crime and civil disturbances, which were both on the rise (Reese, 1995; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). Other recommendations led to legislation that mandated police departments to provide Employee Assistance Programs (EAPs) for troubled officers. Funding that emerged from the commission's recommendations also fueled the establishment of police psychology by offering aid to police departments and other criminal justice institutions to hire mental health professionals through the now defunct Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) (Reese, 1995).

Alongside the politics of police reform and pressure from the outside in the 1960s, inside police departments the ground reverberated with highly publicized incidents, what Reese (1995) describes as "catalysts" in the development of police psychology. These incidents were representative of "those that drew police psychologists into law enforcement agencies" (Reese, p. 37) and "highlighted the need for the expertise of mental health professionals in police work...(p. 37)." The most notable incident is well-known because of its novelization in The Onion Field (Wambaugh, 1973), which was also made into a feature film. The incident involved the shooting of a police officer in 1963 near a Los Angeles onion field after he and his partner had been captured by
two criminals. The surviving officer is portrayed as traumatized emotionally, not only by the death of his partner and his own escape, but also by several prolonged and tortuous court trials he endured. He was also stigmatized by fellow officers and his police department for "allowing" his partner to get shot, because he had surrendered his gun to the hostage-takers.

Another incident in 1965 described by Reese (1995) involved two white California Highway Patrolmen arresting a black male who had given them chase to the Watts area of Los Angeles. The force used to subdue the resisting man triggered the Watts riot, the worst in a U.S. city to that time. In contrast to the onion field occurrence, Reese describes this incident as illustrating the "need for psychologists to train officers in interpersonal crisis management, social psychology, crowd control, and other topics that would favorably influence police officers' behavior in dealing with the public." (p. 37). Both these incidents are seen by Reese (1995) as needing the guidance of psychology to alter behavior of police officers within the police department, either for treatment after a crisis, as in the onion field incident, or for training of officers in highly charged situations with the public.

Police departments in the late 1960s were also faced with the arrival of "vicarious liability" lawsuits in which organizations, including managers and supervisors, were held responsible for the improper actions of their employees. Police were being sued for negligence in the areas of hiring, training, selection, retention, supervision, and promotion (Chandler, 1990).
The U.S. Supreme Court propelled police reform forward in a series of benchmark legal decisions in the 1960s and early 1970s "that radically affected traditionally held concepts about how law enforcement was to be done" (Lord, 1986, p. 84). The Supreme Court challenged traditional police procedures that ignored civilians' civil rights such as arbitrary arrest, physical abuse, and random search and seizures that "triggered movement from punitive authoritarianism to a more humanist orientation in policing" (Lord, p. 85).

In 1968, prompted by the combined impact of the Watts and onion field incidents, the Los Angeles police department decided to hire Dr. Martin Reiser, the first psychologist secured by a police department on a full-time basis (Reese, 1995; Scrivner & Kurke, 1995). Reiser himself cites the Watts riot as the reason for his hiring, but contributing factors were the political and legal events already described. Reiser became the trailblazer for mental health professionals in police forces, establishing programs of counselling and therapy for officers and their families, as well as consulting with police about hostage negotiations, police policies, and crime-solving. He became known as the "father of police psychology" (Reese).

Other notable police psychologists were Dr. John Stratton with the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department. A prolific writer, he "helped add numerous meaningful articles to the then-scant literature on police psychology" (Reese, 1995, p. 40). William Kroes (1985), who first published his analysis of job stress in policing in 1976, gained his expertise and basis for his research while a
psychologist for the Los Angeles Police Department. He had previously served as head of stress research at the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, an organization that sponsored research and conferences on stress (Reese, 1995).

In the early 70s, the blending of police and psychology continued as police officers who obtained psychological training returned to their police forces as professionals in providing mental health services. Their experience as police officers was believed to give them an added dimension to treating officers, such as firsthand knowledge of the police personality and experience with police work, crime, and the criminal justice system (Reese, 1995).

**Boston Police Stress Program**

The concept that police officers could gain trust with other officers in a way that professional psychologists could not was the basis of the formation of the Boston Police Stress Program, one of the earliest in-house programs for police officers that used a volunteer peer counselling approach. It is also in Boston where the origins of the police stress discourse, police psychology, and my association with this topic intersected. The Boston Police Stress Program played a significant role in establishing and promoting the connection of police work with stress and the need for an accessible treatment program for officers (Chandler, 1990; Reese, 1995).

Boston police had one of the earliest police-associated EAPs, an in-house program for police officers with alcohol abuse problems, modeled after Alcoholics Anonymous and eventually managed full-time by a Boston patrolman. Boston's police EAP was operating even prior to the 1967 presidential commission's
recommendations for the establishment of EAPs for police. Up to the late 1960s, alcohol education and the alcoholic employee had been the major focus of these programs. However, fearing that the title of the Alcohol-Abuse Counseling Group might make some individuals reluctant to seek help, two of its founders, Joe Ravino and Ed Donovan, expanded the program in 1973 to include any personal problem regardless of its nature or extent (Chandler, 1990; Reese, 1995).

With its name changed, the Boston Police Stress Program continued to serve alcoholic officers, while expanding the program to address the many other problems police officers were having. Even alcohol addiction was beginning to be attributed to stress by this time, so the program's focus on stress was consistent for all its services. Although Kroes, Stratton, and Reiser were enormously influential in joining police psychology with the stress discourse, Donovan's approach gained considerable media attention nationally. He gained an international reputation through the International Law Enforcement Stress Association (ILESA) that he founded, as well as publishing the Police Stress magazine. Other law enforcement agencies sought his advice for establishing their own programs, including Canadian police. San Francisco followed Boston in 1983 with its own in-house stress unit and by 1986, "the major police departments in the United States had some form of stress unit, or some other means of helping officers cope with personal and occupational problems" (Reese, 1995, p. 35).

Donovan describes his efforts to establish the stress unit in the face of opposition from within the police force, including the
administration, the union and even police chaplains, along with discussing his own recovery from alcoholism and his experience of stress as a police officer in his biography, *The Shattered Badge* (Kankewitt, 1986). As the program gained trust and its peer counselling approach began to break the barriers that prevented police officers from getting help, suspicions of the program's intentions abated. One of the more successful features of the program was its location, a small house on old hospital grounds, away from police stations or headquarters, where officers were assured of privacy and confidentiality when using the service.

**The Police Stress Discourse**

Combined with the work and publications of the professional psychologists, Donovan and the Boston police stress program all helped to establish the stress discourse in police psychology. Furthermore, the credibility of the stress discourse for police was firmly cemented when Donovan established a personal and professional relationship with Hans Selye, the "father" of stress. In his biography, Donovan describes meeting Selye in Montreal for the first time in 1978. Eventually, they developed an easy friendship, sharing conversations on the phone. Selye even invited Donovan to speak at the 2nd International Symposium on Stress in Monaco in 1979, sponsored by Selye's International Institute of Stress. With Hans Selye lending the weight of his reputation to the legitimacy of stress and police work, the stress discourse excited the attention of police psychologists and mental health professionals. The topic of stress in policing "drew sustained interest" from psychologists, and as they published more and more research on stress and police,
more police administrators employed clinical psychologists to treat officers for stress (Reese, 1995).

In this historical and legal context, the *Journal of Police Science and Administration* published articles on stress and policing. I have a selected seven articles on stress from the journal out of the 16 articles my search produced, as shown in Table 1. In the next chapter, after a short summary of each article, I provide a critical analysis using the method of deconstruction of the language of the texts. I follow this with a feminist analysis of the nine articles (except for one) about policewomen.
CHAPTER 5
THE DECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXTS

Summary of the Selected Articles on Stress

Out of the selected 16 articles from the journal, 7 articles deal directly with stress. They are a sample of the stress research in police psychology and represent the type of research that assisted the development and legitimization of the stress discourse.

Out of the 7 articles, four are empirical studies of police, three are surveys of the stress literature, and one is simply an essay concerning police stress. Of the four empirical articles, two concentrate specifically on policewomen and stress. I describe the article, give a brief overview of each and the author/s background at the time of publication, before proceeding to the actual deconstruction of the articles in the next section of this paper.

I have juxtaposed the first two articles here because they provide an interesting contrast in the direction of police stress and because the second article illustrates how police stress research proliferated during the 1980s. They are both surveys of the empirical literature on stress, published nine years apart. Police stress: The empirical evidence, by W. Clinton Terry, III (1981), surveys the significant body of work done on police stress in the 1970s. Terry is an American professor in sociology and criminal justice who has carried out research on issues of police stress, the social organization of police special operations units, and criminal justice education. In this article, he emphasizes the highly conflicted findings about police stress and criticizes the flawed
empirical methodology. As a result, he questions the "police stress hypothesis" (i.e., that police work is inherently stressful, Malloy & Mays, 1984) stating that there is not a strong body of evidence to show police work has seriously harmful psychological consequences for its officers.

At the outset, Terry (1981) questions the evidence on police stress, arguing that while there is no doubt police officers encounter stressful situations, it is not certain "whether police work is as stressful and/or dangerous as is commonly thought" (p. 61). His purpose is to "place this argument into a broader perspective by focusing upon potentially more critical questions" (p. 61). He does not necessarily challenge the need for therapeutic programs for police, nor discredit completely the stress research to date.

The second survey, Clinical and managerial implications of stress research on the police (Farmer, 1990), summarizes and categorizes stress research from 1980 to 1987. Farmer concludes that there is a "vast amount of literature on the topic of police and stress" (p. 206). He only used the most pertinent articles in his review, leaving him with over 70 pieces of literature, which were organized into five categorical tables.

Farmer (1990), a former professor of criminal justice and public management, has an Ed. D. in psychology and has written articles on police, and books on stress and stress management. He is described as active in providing psychologically-related services to police and other criminal justice organizations. The five categories begin with outcome studies, research that seeks a causal
relationship between police work and its impact on officers. Here we find studies on post-traumatic stress reactions and elements of crime-fighting police work, such as shootings, undercover work, and narcotics investigations and their correlation with the physiological outcome of stress such as alcohol addiction, burnout, and coronary heart disease.

Another category, process studies, lists research on the individual characteristics interacting with police work. Topics concern the relationship of police stress and women officers, police self-image, relationships to spouses, patterns of alcohol use, and coping patterns of officers.

Intrinsic factors are studies about the qualities of both the work and the work organization that can contribute to the individual's stress experience. Under this category, we find articles highlighting administrative stresses such as departmental politics and lack of resources, the effects of shift work, and frustrations with the courts.

Under managerial studies aimed at police department management, the articles describe the need for intervention in the form of psychological stress programs, EAPs (employee assistance programs), and other health interventions.

Finally, under clinical studies, research on interventions such as family counselling or health and wellness interventions are listed. Farmer concludes with a list of clinical interventions for police officers recommended by the research, such as stress inoculation training, relaxation training, marital and family communication skills, programs for specific trauma such as
shootings, fitness programs, peer support groups, and wellness programs. For management, interventions recommended are the establishment of improved officer and administrator training, stress training, and police psychological services.

Farmer confirms the police stress hypothesis, supporting the causal connection between police occupational stress and adverse effects on police officers and their families. Although he acknowledges the need for managerial cooperation to assist officers, his conclusions support individualized stress interventions, placing the onus on the individual officer to reduce his or her stress. He also calls for more research using controlled experiments to deal with "the stress present in the lives of our nation's police " (p. 216).

Stress and police personnel (Territo & Vetter, 1981) was published in the same year as Terry's (1981) article. Territo is a professor in criminal justice and a senior officer in an American sheriff's department. A former police detective and police trainer, he has written books on police administration. Vetter is also a professor in criminal justice as well as a clinical psychologist and former chair of a major university's psychology department. He has written books and articles on psychopathology and criminology. This article is not original research but a survey of empirical work leading to a call for stress interventions. In contrast to Terry, Territo and Vetter uphold the causal link of police stress to the mental, physical, and emotional health of police officers (considered to be male) and their families and they strongly promote managerial interventions for stress. Although the article has the appearance
and tone of an empirical study, the authors are only using citations from stress studies from the 1970s, or at times, using their own anecdotal evidence.

A pleasant find in this largely American dominated research is an intriguing article by Francis Graf (1986) who is an experienced police officer with a master's degree in counselling psychology from the University of Victoria. His study explores the relationship between co-worker support among police officers and the occupational stress they experience. The research apparently confirms the relationship between the number of supportive persons in an officer's life with a decrease in perceived occupational stress. Graf also provides participants' comments written on the back of their questionnaires, revealing that officers (presumed male) have deep distrust of one another, casting doubt on the perceived occupational brotherhood of police, and that they have concerns about their ability to handle work problems, hassles, or changes. Graf observes that the comments contrast with the stereotypical image of confidence and control male police officers try to uphold.

Stearns and Moore (1990) in *Job burnout in the RCMP: Preliminary findings* use the term "burnout " as an alternate term for stress. Definitions of both terms are similar "in that both are tied to a predominantly psychological level of analysis" (Handy, 1988, p. 353). Gerry Stearns is a former RCMP officer, who was completing her doctoral degree in psychology, researching stress and burnout and its application to policing. She was conducting stress research on a national sample of the RCMP in Canada at the time of
Robert Moore is a professor of psychology at the University of Regina and has published articles on police stress. In this empirical study, the researchers sampled 225 members of the RCMP in Saskatchewan, making painstaking efforts to include a significant number of policewomen. Their findings conclude that overall, women in police work suffer greater work stress than policemen. More specifically, on various burnout scales, female officers experience more depersonalization, more burnout, and emotional exhaustion and less job satisfaction from their role as police officers with increasing years on the force, compared with men. The authors call for research into factors in the RCMP work environment to account for higher burnout scores for female officers, and they conclude that female officers are "more at risk for burnout and its negative effects on physical and mental health" (p. 192). They support the development of psychological stress programs for the police.

Wexler and Logan (1983) in Sources of Stress Among Women Police Officers is the first article in our collection on stress and policing to solely focus on women. Judie Wexler is a professor of sociology who studies women in police work, whereas Deana Logan is a psychologist studying law. They note right at the start that most studies of police stress have focused on policemen, probably due to integration of policewomen not taking place until the mid 70s, and because of the small number of policewomen who enter police forces. They use a qualitative approach in this empirical study of policewomen, consisting of in-depth interviews with 25 women officers in a California metropolitan police force over a
nine-month period in 1980. The study intended to examine stress among women police officers and to compare results with what has been reported for men.

The authors found that although men and women share similar stressors in policing, policewomen experience stressors unique to them because of their gender. Although the authors do not label it as such, the comments of women from the interviews captured the sexism, discrimination, and sexual harassment that policewomen experience in the police force, and reflect the depth of male antipathy to women in policing. Women face a range of male behavior from overt hostility to teasing based on female gender stereotypes. The authors note that improvements in attitudes to women have taken place in police forces over time, but the stress women experience is an ongoing part of police culture and hard to combat. Women officers experience the stress of isolation and defensiveness.

Pendergrass and Ostrove (1984) in *A survey of stress in women in policing* empirically examined the stress of men and women in policing, and conclude that women officers and women civilian employees of police suffer more stress than male officers. Virginia Pendergrass is a psychologist in stress management for a U.S. police department, delivering psychological services to police families and consulting with police departments on police selection, training, and work conditions. Nancy Ostrove is a psychologist, researcher, and consultant to police departments as well as private sector organizations and government departments. The authors conclude with a call for better stress research that would separate
out factors of age, employee status, and response bias that results from the limited number of women police.

Assumptions in the Police Stress Discourse

Five assumptions from Newton's (1995) deconstruction of stress research are adapted to an analysis of the seven selected articles from the Journal of Police Science and Administration. The fifth assumption on gender issues in police stress research and its two secondary assumptions are in the next section because I go beyond a deconstruction of stress according to Newton (1995) and use feminist criticisms of psychological research as it applies to police stress. I present evidence from the articles to illustrate how each assumption is revealed in the texts, then follow up with a discussion about the results and how they correspond to the research questions.

Assumption 1: Police Work Causes Stress

Handy (1995) in Newton's book 'Managing' stress: Emotion and power at work describes how the medical/biological roots of the stress discourse present a model where "stress is seen as the product of an interaction between individual needs and resources and the various demands, constraints, and facilitators within the individual's immediate environment" (p. 87). However, organizations as well as individuals show "symptoms" of stress. For example, organizations may exhibit stress symptoms such as chronic absenteeism, strikes, or poor performance. To be consistent with the dominant stress discourse, the psychological research on police stress would assume that the work itself is stressful, that it detrimentally affects individual police officers both mentally and
physically, and that stress management interventions are the appropriate treatment.

Overwhelmingly, the authors of the articles on stress (Farmer, 1990; Graf, 1986; Pendergrass & Ostrove, 1984; Stearns & Moore, 1990; Territo & Vetter, 1981; Terry, 1981; Wexler & Logan, 1983) accept the assumption that not only is police work inherently stressful but that it is assumed to be an occupation with one of the highest stress levels in our society. Only one researcher, Terry, openly challenges this assumption to whom Graf gives a nod and researches the relationship between perceived social support and perceived job stress, creating the possibility of finding stress not in the job or the individual but within the relationships of the organization. The findings on women and stress (Pendergrass & Ostrove; Wexler & Logan) reveal the influence of the context on women's stress and inadvertently expose the falsity of assumption that police work is inherently stressful, however, they do not directly challenge that assumption and are content to couch gender discrimination and harassment within the language of the stress discourse.

The assumption of police stress is based on an image of police work as dangerous and precarious, crime-fighting, and risky. Graf (1986) begins his article with "police officers are involved in potentially life-threatening, violent, and emotionally charged situations" (p. 178). Territo and Vetter (1981) boldly state that "police work is highly stressful, since it is one of the few occupations where an employee is asked continually to face physical dangers and put his or her life on the line at any time" (p. 195).
Police stress is presented as universal and ubiquitous among police. Farmer (1990) says "the existing literature supports the conclusions that there is stress inherent in either the job itself, or the people who perform the job or both" (p. 216). Stearns and Moore (1990) published in the same year as Farmer, also support the police stress hypothesis, citing findings that "suggest that stress is a frequent and pervasive aspect of the lives of police officers" (p. 184). Territo and Vetter, who harbour no doubts at all about the causal link of stress to policing, conclude from their survey of relevant empirical literature that indeed, police stress is a universal phenomenon found in police departments across geographic and cultural locations.

Terry (1981), the only author questioning the police stress hypothesis in the selected texts, supports his reasons for doing so by pointing out the contradictory findings in the empirical research, and that the outcomes of research on the high suicide and divorce rate among police are "fraught with many problems" (p. 69). He urges caution against attributing stress to elements of police work when other directions are overlooked, and warns that "much of the literature on police stress focuses upon the existence of certain physiological ailments that are thought to result from stress, when, in fact, the correlation is between the existence of certain work conditions and these physiological problems" (p. 71). Although he does acknowledge that police officers are affected by stress, in their health and in their personal lives, and that police officers encounter stressful situations, what is uncertain, however, is "whether police work is as stressful and/or dangerous as is
commonly thought" (p. 61). Nevertheless, Terry does not entirely dismiss police stress but states that his goal is "to place this argument into a broader perspective by focusing upon potentially more critical questions" (p. 61). He recommends splitting the research on police stress into a division that would concentrate on physiological consequences of police work and another division that would analyze working conditions of police and their relationship to police stress. He concludes "without this most basic information, studies of the effects of police stress will remain shrouded in uncertainty" (p. 72).

Graf (1986) attempts to apply Terry's (1981) recommendations by not seeking causation in the work itself, but in the relationship of social support and perceived job stress. However, his motive for research is aimed at finding ways of ameliorating work stress, not questioning its assumptions. He equates policing with occupations, such as air traffic controllers, supervisors, and physicians, all of whom have been studied in psychological research as high stress occupations, thereby affirming police work as an exceptionally stressful occupation.

The most extensive survey of police stress among the articles (Farmer, 1990) lends considerable weight to the causal link between police work and stress. From the empirical evidence, Farmer states "that there is a case to be made for the occupational correlates of stress and police work" (p. 210). Although he criticizes the lack of clarity in the definitions of stress, the lack of research on individual responses to stress, and the problems of stress
measurement, he reasserts that stress is intrinsic to the police occupation.

Pendergrass and Ostrove (1984) also uphold the notion of stress, and by comparing the stress of policewomen with policemen, they maintain the assumption that stress is found in either the work or in the individual. However, because they are studying women, they move towards contextualization when they acknowledge that organizational factors affect policewomen's stress, and they compare their experience to that of women in other non-traditional occupations.

Wexler and Logan (1983) fall into a similar pattern when they compare male and female officers' stress. On the one hand, they support the concept of police stress by the very nature of their research; but on the other hand, when comparing their empirical findings with research on policemen, results challenge the assumptions in the police stress discourse. Their findings showed that the most significant stressors for policewomen stem from the attitudes and behaviors of policemen. "Even some of those sources of stress found in studies of male officers...took on a different meaning for women officers" (p. 52). The work itself was experienced as less dangerous by policewomen compared with policemen perhaps because women rely more on verbal techniques and will negotiate rather than attempt to subdue by force. Whether the work itself is stressful is seriously questioned by women officers in these interviews (Wexler & Logan). The empirical findings such as these remain within the stress discourse and provide no analysis or theory for women's experience, leaving it
individualized and decontextualized, although the findings do raise questions that could lead to such an analysis.

Assumption 2: The Subject is Decontextualized

Newton's (1995) deconstruction illustrates how the stress discourse centres on the individual whereas workplace reform or societal change is peripheral. The subject in the stress discourse has no history, no political context, and is not part of a group, a gender, or a class. Stress is a process based on naturalism and biology, chiefly originating within the individual, and how the individual appraises and copes with stress is the focus of research and treatment. Stress is an inevitable part of living and the individual can only adjust by developing more appropriate responses to life's stress, thereby leaving the responsibility with the individual for his or her well-being, overlooking strategies of organizational reform or change. In this discourse, the individual is exalted while downplaying the economic, organizational, and occupational context of stress, and the power relations of gender and race, labour and management.

Four articles in the police stress literature perpetuate the individualization of the stress discourse by focusing on the need for individual treatment for police stress (Farmer, 1990; Graf, 1986; Stearns & Moore, 1990; Territo & Vetter, 1981). Although one article recognizes women as a group (Stearns & Moore) and another looks at research on the relationships within police forces rather than individual officers (Graf), neither of these articles successfully depart from the individual as a focus of further research, or as a subject for counselling or other interventions.
This maintains a focus on individual adjustment of police officers, while the social context is marginalized if not omitted.

Individualization is evident in Farmer's (1990) conclusions as he extensively summarizes the clinical implications for stress intervention that range from stress inoculation techniques to total wellness programming. Indeed, he promotes any proactive activities "that organizations and even individuals themselves can do to help prevent victimization..." (Farmer, p. 216). The idea of police officer as victim of stress, is a highly individualized way of framing the problem, one initiated by pioneer police psychologists such as Kroes (1976) who entitled his book Society's victim - the police: An analysis of job stress in policing. Police are pictured as at the mercy of their occupations, with few coping devices except what could be provided by a psychologist or mental health professional who will rescue the victim from the persecutions of an indifferent public, unsupportive spouses, and the tragedy and violence of the work.

In contrast, Terry (1981) questions the individualization of the stress hypothesis in police officers, and recommends that future research examine working conditions in police organizations. This broadens the focus of police stress from the individual to the group, looking at not only organizational factors but also relationship factors that can affect occupational stress and perceived job satisfaction. The only other articles that follow in this vein are the stress studies on policewomen (Pendergrass & Ostrove, 1984; Wexler & Logan, 1983), which treat women as a group that suffer from organizational factors of stress and, in particular, the effects
of men's behavior on policewomen (Wexler & Logan). By seeing women as a group within policing, stress is connected to organizational problems that cannot be overcome by the individual alone. Pointedly, neither article concludes with the need for individual stress intervention.

Assumption 3: The Stress Discourse Helps Management

Newton (1995) illustrates how "the stress discourse and stress management practices are generally consistent with manufacturing employee consent" (p. 60). Because stress management practices are designed to create the "stress-fit" individual who will not suffer mental and physical ill-health, a stress-fit worker will be a productive worker. The stress discourse and its practitioners appear to support the power relations of the workplace and "gloss over" the inequalities of power reflected in existing social structures, laying the blame on the individual. Consequently, the stress discourse links work performance and personal well-being, making it seem that individual interventions are beneficial to the worker, whereas organizational change receives minimal attention. Stress treatment fulfills management goals and is not an intervention interested in an individual's own empowerment or self-actualization. Stress programs within the workplace, in this manner, become a coercive tool of management for employees to become responsible for corporate performance.

All of the stress articles give the appearance of being interested and concerned with the lives of police officers, either the men alone, men and women together, or women alone. There could be a strong case made for the humanitarian motives of the authors
toward the participants of their research. However, even in articles that I found to be neutral towards management goals, an element of coercion or an agenda to support police administration rather than individual officers was apparent. The only article where I could not find direct evidence for this assumption in the discourse was the RCMP study by Stearns and Moore (1990). The authors express interest in exploring occupational factors that lead to stress, especially the higher burnout scores they found for female RCMP, rather than seeking problems within the officers themselves. However, the implications of their study clearly support the continuing growth of psychological services for individual officers, rather than for organizational change. Another concern is the source of funding for this research. Stearns at the time of writing, was conducting stress research on a national sample of RCMP officers and it is clear from their research design that they had the cooperation of RCMP management to conduct research within the ranks of recruits and veterans and on RCMP premises. I suspect the RCMP would not allow national surveys of their officers unless they were invested in the research outcomes. As well, Stearns and Moore, in their conclusions, state that their intentions are to provide useful information on Canadian police officers for the development of programs for the police in general and specifically RCMP psychological services.

Graf (1986) maintains the appearance of neutrality or even being pro-officer, especially as he discloses rarely revealed feelings of male officers about their own adequacy. However, management's interests could be served by Graf's proposal for
intervention "which would reduce the officer's level of cynicism towards the department as a whole" (p. 184). He also suggests management would benefit from his proposal by capitalizing "on one of the most valuable assets any police department has: the personal resources the individual members bring with them to the workplace" (p. 185). Although these recommendations are under the guise of help and support for the individual officer, Graf seems to be appealing to management needs as a way of promoting counselling strategies.

The next two articles (Farmer, 1990; Territo & Vetter, 1981) are more blatant in serving organizational needs in the posture of assisting the individual officer. Even the three authors' professional backgrounds suggest connection with management goals. Territo has been a senior police officer and is connected to police administration and police personnel in his work whereas Vetter is a psychologist with the criminal justice system. Farmer's credentials combine a background in management with his training as a psychologist who provides psychologically-related services to police and other criminal justice organizations.

Territo and Vetter (1981), far from compassionate, describe the stressed or "troubled" officer as similar to a health professional, who is "of no use to the public or to the profession if the officer does not seek treatment (p. 201). Even police officers' marital difficulties are seen as an administrative problem, requiring extensive management-controlled intervention, such as spousal training and marital counselling. The authors urge close cooperation between administration and officers as a means of making
these programs more effective. They conclude that "in the final analysis, the police officer, his family, and the organization will be the beneficiaries" (p. 207).

Farmer continues in this vein, in his recommendations and implications that connect psychological services for officers with the goals of police administration and the aims and purposes of policing. He states:

Research conducted on the police has demonstrated that there are specific occupationally-related stressors which have the possibility of creating an adverse impact upon the officer, his family, and even the ability of the police organization to carry out its mission (p. 215).

The studies that include women (Pendergrass & Ostrove, 1984; Stearns & Moore, 1990; Wexler & Logan, 1983), by remaining focused on the stressed officer, could leave the impression that women are problematic for management. By suffering from greater stress or burnout rates than men, as all their studies indicate on various scales, it could appear to management that women cannot handle the demands of the job. Although Wexler and Logan attribute women's stress to the attitudes and behaviors of men on a police force, by failing to provide an organizational framework (such as women in non-traditionals or women and sexual harassment), the problem remains one of interpersonal relationships, a psychological issue rather than personnel behavior that management is responsible for. Nevertheless, Wexler and Logan, who are both in academia with no apparent connection to police forces, have successfully located a problem of "stress" within male behavior to women, a start at identifying problems common to women in organizations, such as
sexual harassment and gender discrimination. Neither Pendergrass and Ostrove nor Wexler and Logan conclude with the need for individual stress intervention.

Terry (1981), of course, clearly places responsibility for stress on organizational reform, working conditions, and relationships between officers and administrators. By avoiding the usual recommendations for individual stress intervention, he does not supply a readily applicable answer to management but challenges police forces to become more humane and provide greater work satisfaction for its officers. Terry does not include women in his appeal, but by proposing "organizational reform," he takes a bolder step than the studies on women and police stress have dared. It is noteworthy that Terry is the only sociologist, other than Wexler, both of whom address contextual matters in individual psychology.

Assumption 4: Police Stress Fits With Empiricism

Newton (1995) ties the emergence of the stress discourse with the philosophical underpinnings of empiricism and its association with determining cause. Stress research emanated from the laboratory, from physiology and experimental psychology, which was concerned with military interests and task performance. Stress research became a minor industry due to the way in which individualism and apoliticism co-operated with the main assumptions of organizational psychology and personnel management practice. Within the discourse, the workplace is considered as merely a source of stressors that requires little further analysis. Thus, research questions are narrow, reductionistic, and involve
individual differences in stress appraisal and coping ability rather than organizational issues and collective experience.

It is quite noticeable that Terry's (1981) caution to other researchers about police stress (to direct attention to organizational reform rather than individual stress), has been ignored by psychologists. Citing published stress research, Terry illustrates that even though there is evidence that officers are affected adversely by working conditions and not just by the tasks of policing, researchers continue to place emphasis for remedial measures on stress interventions rather than organizational change. "Organizational reform, therefore, seems to have taken a back seat to other alternatives..." (p. 72).

Terry (1981) specifically recommends research that analyzes the effects of differing work conditions upon the personnel involved, as well as the relationships between officers and administrators, police administrators and community leaders, and the social mechanisms that individuals use to reduce stress. He acknowledges that such research "will be difficult, time consuming, and expensive, particularly since the sort of information desired cannot be articulated from the laboratory, as is the case with stress research that depends upon changes in an individual's physiological state as a measure of stress" (p. 73). He notes that such research has to take place in the field, with observations and in-depth interviews. I would add that information culled from such research may be uncomfortable to police administration, if not in fact making them liable for occupational stress.
Terry (1981) is also the only researcher in these articles to acknowledge class as a variable, observing that certain ailments are associated with working class conditions, not just occupational stress, and that the social class most police officers have traditionally originated from is the working class.

Nine years later, Farmer's (1991) survey indicates that psychologists have almost completely overlooked Terry's recommendations. For example, even though Farmer remarks on the lack of acceptable definitions describing the stress phenomenon and criticizes the inadequacy of some of the empirical literature's methodology, he supports the concept of individualized stress responses, and firmly concludes that policing itself is stressful. He is strongly on the side of more research into "the stress present in the lives of our nation's police" (p. 216). Indeed, Farmer's survey alone maintains and dispenses the credibility of the police stress phenomenon by his categorization of the sheer number of research articles on police stress. One can conclude that something must be stressful in policing because so many experts are looking into it.

Stearns and Moore (1990) acknowledge organizational stressors, particularly for women as a group, but these are peripheral to the stress phenomenon that requires individual intervention and psychological services. The authors also call for "more and better" empirical research, especially for Canadian police forces. Graf (1986), in spite of his attempts to veer from researching individual officers to examining their relationships within police departments, remains entrenched in the stress discourse by his recommendations for counselling.
Wexler and Logan (1983) provide a significant contrast to the stress studies on men because their qualitative research using in-depth interviews of policewomen reveals "stressors" relating to work conditions and work relationships that are endemic to women working in a non-traditional occupation. By using comments and quotes from the interviews, policewomen reveal their experience of the hostility and prejudiced behavior of male colleagues. The authors also point out that managerial and administrative reform affects women's lives rather than individual treatment. They describe how supervisors participated in discrimination against women, but this type of harassment ceased when management developed official policies about women in policing. This article is an example of what can be learned when the research design examines the lives of participants. However, the authors fail to contextualize or provide an analysis of women's experience, and thus the text remains within the dominant stress discourse.

Pendergrass and Ostrove's (1984) research suffers the same problem when they compare male and female stress. The results indicate higher stress for female officers without any contextualization as to why. I discuss this further in the section on assumptions about gender.

Territo and Vetter (1981) deserve some special attention because their article, although it gives the appearance of being a thoughtful, empirically-based analysis of police stress, is really an opinion piece, using anecdotal information, and dated stress research to promote stress counselling services to police personnel. Using empiricism and an authoritative voice to support
unsubstantiated claims, the authors are allowed to disseminate what are sexist assumptions and male prejudice. Scientific empiricism lends itself to this type of article, hiding male bias and allowing assumptions of causation under the guise of truth. This article is discussed in detail under the next section, a gender analysis of the stress articles.

Non-empirical articles (Farmer, 1990; Territo & Vetter, 1981; Terry, 1981) have already been discussed. The empirical articles, with the exception of Wexler and Logan (1984), ignore the workplace other than as a source of stressors and maintains a narrow focus in its design and questions asked. Graf (1986), Pendergrass and Ostrove (1984), and Stearns and Moore (1990) all use easily distributable questionnaires and burnout or stress scales in their research. Pendergrass and Ostrove focus on comparing men and women's stress and Stearns and Moore are mainly interested in finding out if Canadian police suffer the same stress as American police. To sum up, they are repeating already established research on stress to see if the results are replicated within a chosen target group, either policewomen or Canadian police. Graf at least asks a question that focuses on information on relationships within police departments. He also provided participants with an opportunity to give open ended responses, as well as completing standardized questionnaires. From these responses, new insights were gained and new directions for future research developed on relationships within police forces.

Wexler and Logan (1984) are the only researchers who, although remaining within the narrow focus on sources of stress,
use a more complex research design. They conducted a qualitative study, using in-depth, unstructured interviews, 2 to 3 hours in length, on 25 policewomen over a 9-month period. Additionally, they formed a group on stress for male and female officers from which they gathered secondary and supplementary information for their research. These techniques supplied them a wealth of quotable material revealing the extent of male behavior towards policewomen. Policewomen were given an opportunity to share their lived experience of service in policing. Based on these results, future research can be developed to look at sexual harassment and organizational discrimination involving policewomen.

The quality of this research contrasts sharply with the other stress articles and illustrates how the additional factor of gender enriches our knowledge of the context of police officers' lives. We learn about stress, its source, its causations, and its effects, grounded in a gendered employment context. Further analysis of the stress articles in relation to gender continues in the next section.

Assumption 5: The Stress Articles Marginalize Policewomen

The 7 articles on stress marginalize policewomen in three ways that I discuss in this section, giving examples from the texts to support each point. I derived this assumption using a feminist analysis as discussed in Chapter 1.

"Police officers" are Men

The stress literature suppresses the overwhelming masculinity of the police force through the hidden, even well-disguised assumption, that "police officer" is synonymous with policeman, and police work is carried out predominantly by men.
Unless the articles on stress specifically include women, as in the RCMP study (Stearns & Moore, 1990), or in studies on women (Pendergrass & Ostrove, 1984; Wexler & Logan, 1983), this unstated assumption is common to the stress articles.

Either gender is never mentioned (Graf, 1986; Terry, 1980), or there is an occasional acknowledgement that women exist in policing, as in Territo and Vetter's (1981) curious attempt to include women in their observations that "Police work...is one of the few occupations where an employee is asked continually to face physical dangers and to put his or her (italics mine) life on the line at any time" (p. 195). However, in the rest of the article, inclusion is forgotten, especially in the authors' discussion of police marriages where police officers are really "men" and spouses are obviously "wives." The authors also cite research studies on alcoholism and suicide in policing that do not reveal gender and are assumed to concern all police officers.

Farmer (1990) lists studies on policewomen in his categorizations and mentions policewomen specifically in his conclusions but obscures gender by referring to police with non-gendered language such as individual, officer, person, or spouse. Then he slips in his summary and conclusions by stating "stressors have an adverse impact on an officer and his (italics mine) family" (p. 215).

Stearns and Moore (1990) in a refreshing attitude, pointedly include women with men in their study, going to great lengths to gather as many women participants as possible, both serving members and female recruits. Although they describe how they
acquired their female sample, they indirectly acknowledge women's minority status in policing. One of their conclusions acknowledges the lesser time women have been able to serve as officers compared to men and admits that this fact affected research outcomes.

It is no accident that the articles including or exclusively focusing on policewomen are authored by women researchers (Stearns and Moore are a male/female team), whereas male authors [even Farmer (1990) who included articles on policewomen in his categories] assume the masculinity of police officers.

Stress Research is Unfavorable to Women

Newton (1990) writes that the "stressed" subject needs a gender in order to be meaningful, but gender issues in the stress research have been marginalized. Much of the empirical literature on occupational stress either ignores women altogether, or studies them only in comparison to men. Because coping is highly specific both to the individual and the context, empirical findings on either men or women cannot be generalized to either gender. Compared with men, women appear to be less adequate in coping with stress. Women appear disempowered and the ways women cope collectively are overlooked (Banyard & Graham-Bermann, 1993). Handy (1988) explains that the occupational stress literature produces these results because of theoretical and methodological problems due to assumptions that omit the relationship and interaction of the individual and the social context. Women's experience of stress in the workplace is directly related to the predominance of male attitudes, values, and behaviors; and, therefore, is tacitly different from men's experience. Stress studies, consequently, need to take
into account the broader issues of power, distress, and emotional observances and regulations along with the politics surrounding the gendered nature of organizations.

Articles that offer research on women and stress (Farmer, 1990; Pendergrass & Ostrove, 1984; Stearns & Moore, 1990; Wexler & Logan, 1983) contain some of these problems. First of all, women when compared with men, fall short on most stress and coping scales. Pendergrass and Ostrove, when comparing men and women, report higher stress levels for women. Female RCMP officers were found to be more at risk for burnout and its negative effects on physical and mental health (Stearns & Moore). Farmer makes note of the "the stress of being a female officer" (p. 210). Wexler and Logan, even though their research is women-centred, base their findings on comparisons with stress studies on men. Policewomen, in this article, appear to need more help than men, require more intervention, and are at risk for not only more stress-related illness but also for ineffectiveness on the job. Pendergrass and Ostrove repeat this in their comparison of stress between men and women in policing, that women suffer greater stress, leaving the results open to interpretation that women are not able to perform effectively over a long period of time.

When women are excluded or ignored in stress research, the gender "norm" is male. Research findings on males are assumed to generalize to other men and women. For example, results from studies of male police officers are generalized to all police officers, male and female. As a result, gender differences in stress research are overlooked. If Graf (1986) had examined women in
policing with his research, his findings might have been significantly different. I speculate that much of what Graf has discovered in his survey is a sample of the quality of relationships that men in patriarchal organizations have with each other; that is, competitive, untrusting, and non-supportive, particularly when sharing feelings that could be judged as "weak" or feminine. For example, one male officer replies "I don't wish to show any signs of weakness as this may be detrimental to one's career. In other words, look strong, be in control, and act strong, even if you may be quite scared and even insecure" (p. 184). Graf observes that several respondents "indicated in their comments that they felt they could not openly seek support for fear of being viewed as weak or being ridiculed by other members" (p. 184).

If women officers had responded, Graf (1986) may have found that women are not as reluctant as men to seek help. Research indicates that women consistently have more positive attitudes toward psychological help than men. They are more open to sharing problems, to recognizing a personal need for help, and are not as likely to feel stigmatized by seeking professional help (Johnson, 1988). To support this, Robertson and Fitzgerald (1992) found that traditional masculine attitudes are negatively related to men's willingness to seek professional psychological help.

Stress Research Omits the Context of Women's Experience

Handy's (1988) criticisms of gender in the burnout literature are applicable to the articles on stress because they omit the gendered nature of the police organization, and ignore issues such as power, emotions, and the politics of gender in organizations,
leaving women's experience decontextualized. Wexler and Logan (1984), although carrying out a significant piece of work to the benefit of policewomen, fail to contextualize or theorize women's experience in a feminist framework, and conclude with explanations of policemen's resistance to policewomen that remain within the discourse of individual psychology and stress. They propose male officers "scapegoat" female officers as a way of dealing with the stress and pressure of policing:

As crime and public awareness of it increases, the police are called upon to do more and more. This is stressful and exhausting: scapegoating provides one more outlet for the negative feelings and the frustration of not being able to meet expectations. Finally, uncertainty about women's physical abilities has added stress for the men (p. 52).

By trying to explain reasons for male behavior as occupationally grounded in police work, Wexler and Logan (1984) leave out the possibility of theorizing explanations for policewomen's experience within the broader picture of women in the work force. As a result, they miss the opportunity to name and contextualize women's experience as sexual harassment and gender discrimination, allowing provision for legal and ethical repercussions within police forces who are responsible for the organizational climate. Instead, they leave the focus of research on the shoulders of individual women in policing and the group experience that has the greatest opportunity of providing impetus for organizational reform, is left unacknowledged, if not ignored. Male behavior is explained away in the stress discourse rather than labeled within a political context of organizational sexism and
discrimination. Even Pendergrass and Ostrove (1983) place policewomen within the larger context of women working in a non-traditional occupation.

Stearns and Moore (1990) acknowledged women's minority position on the police force and went to considerable length to recruit women officers for a comparative study. Even so, they were not able to reach statistical significance in their data analysis. However, they do not explain women's greater stress level as due to working within a highly traditional masculine-dominated institutions, but suggest further research into the working environment of the RCMP to explore the high levels of burnout among women officers. Further research along this vein may be useful in understanding policewomen, and perhaps reveal unsatisfactory working conditions, but by remaining within the language of the stress discourse, it continues to disguise gender discrimination and sexual harassment within psychological terminology. Without such an analysis, women's experience is de-politicized and issues of power, male violence, and sexual harassment go unnamed.

Farmer (1990) also stays within the individualized, decontextualized focus of the stress discourse. Although Terry (1981) does not acknowledge the existence of policewomen, his study offers the hope of contextualizing the subject within organizations, revealing men's and women's lived experience and work conditions in a way that could lead to organizational reform. However, his suggestions need a feminist framework, such as the sociology of gender in organizations, in order for them to be empowering to women officers. Like the gender neutrality of the
"individual" or "officer" in policing, the organization itself is seen as unrelated to the politics of power and gender and is assumed to be neutral.

Territo and Vetter's (1981) article deserves special attention because of the way these authors present their opinions veiled as empirically-based truths. When I deconstructed this text, hidden within the language of stress and psychology, I found its distinct political agenda to promote the authors' stress counselling services to police personnel.

The authors' gender-biased politics are curiously exposed in an explanation they provide after citing police suicide statistics. The authors, fearing perhaps that they have made men look bad or weak, attempt to explain or justify these high rates of suicide by adding an apologia for male behavior:

Neither study proves that the police officer is any more prone to choose his profession because of its opportunities to express aggression than anyone else in society. The rising suicide and homicide rates for nonpolice persons should attest to that. Furthermore, since women have become more violent in terms of crime, homicide, and suicide, we know that we are dealing with a more general trend than a masculine assertion or aggression conflict (Territo & Vetter, 1981, p. 200).

In the next paragraph, the authors find causation for police suicides in police marriages. "By far and away the most upsetting problem for the suicidal police officers is his marriage" (p. 200), yet this claim is not substantiated by citations. The juxtaposition of these two references to wives and suicide and to women becoming more violent (as well as men) lead to a pattern of blaming women for men's problems or using women to minimize the significance of
the male gender in empirical studies. The authors go on to describe police marriages.

Assumptions of police marital discord are based on negative stereotypes of wives, moreover, the responsibility for marital breakdown is placed firmly on police wives' shoulders. The authors' male bias is apparent in this statement on domestic strife in a police family: "Infidelity on the part of the officer or spouse is a common source of domestic discord...where the wife finds out about her husband's extramarital affairs, confronts him and threatens to leave him, he usually undergoes severe depression and attitudinal and personality changes, which can result in serious problems for him both on and off the job" (Territo & Vetter, 1981, p. 204). A police marital scenario described by the authors is based not on empirical work, but on second hand anecdotal stories. "Marital problems may also result when the officer's wife believes that she has outgrown her husband and her social station as a police officer's wife" (p. 204). It is unclear what the authors are implying by this statement or on what assumptions they are founding this problem. Certainly, a similar scenario describing policemen causing marital difficulties is missing. In this analysis, the authors are revealed as participating in making outrageous sexist assumptions, exposing their misogyny and masculine bias.

Territo and Vetter (1981) go on to make intervention recommendations that are based on assumptions upholding the structure of the patriarchal family. They describe the man in the police family as a "victim" of a difficult work life, needing support from his wife. Consequently, Territo and Vetter (1981) assume
there is a need to manage the lives of police officers and even that of their families. "Treatment" for wives to help them understand their husbands' work is promoted in the form of spousal awareness programs, such as ride-alongs and trainings to become familiar with a gun. Presumably, these programs increase the chances of a "successful" marriage, benefit both husband and wife, and meet the needs of the organization for contented police officers who are understood at home. They focus on the problems of the male, as an officer or husband, and blame women for marital problems meanwhile seeking their support for treatment. By using empiricism and an authoritative voice to lend credence to their unsubstantiated claims, the authors support and reinforce male hegemony in the public and the private sphere.

In Chapter 6, I explore the overlooked knowledge, viewpoints, and theory located in the margins of the police stress discourse, followed by my conclusions and recommendations. But first I contextualize and analyze from a feminist viewpoint the group of nine articles selected for deconstruction as shown in Table 1.

**Historical and Legal Context of Articles on Policewomen**

In the 1980s, the years in which the selected nine articles were produced, police forces were under pressure to include women officers and to reform their practices. For example, the Los Angeles police department was issued a 1981 legal decree to increase the numbers of women hired onto the force, ordered because of the continued resistance to the recruitment and promotion of women (Los Angeles, 1993). Significant resistance to women also existed
in Canadian police forces along with substantial systemic barriers to policewomen's hiring, retention, and promotion (Walker, 1993).

Although women still remained a small minority within police forces at the end of the 1970s (about or under 5%), their numbers had actually doubled since civil rights legislation of the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1970s, women and minorities entered policing at a time when police forces were expanding to meet the rising crime rate and population growth, but as the 1980s approached, police departments, faced with budget constraints, were putting freezes on hiring (Heidensohn, 1989). The 1980s were also a period of conservative politics (under Reagan in the USA, Mulroney in Canada, and Thatcher in Britain). In this reactionary atmosphere, the backlash against women's rights and feminism was forming to encumber women's expansion in the public field (Faludi, 1991). When juxtaposing these events, it is possible to assume that police departments, seeing more women in the ranks than ever before, and seeing competition increase for cherished recruitment spots and promotion opportunities, may have taken advantage of the shifting political tide to undermine policewomen's abilities and inhibit their advancement.

Deconstruction of Nine Selected Articles

The articles I analyzed were published in this political climate. Prior to this, in the 1970s, most research on policewomen focused on performance evaluation, and with few exceptions, women were found to be as effective as men in carrying out their police duties (Heidensohn, 1992). In the 1980s, policewomen were more visible but were facing increasing male resistance to their presence.
This change is reflected in the nine articles selected for deconstruction that all (except for one), concern policewomen.

I have divided the nine articles into four groups for analysis. The first group concerns the "police personality" (four articles), the second concerns the acceptance of policewomen (two articles), and the third involve the comparison of male and female officer attitudes towards women in policing (two articles). The last grouping looks at factors affecting women remaining in policing (one article).

First, I reviewed all the articles for the words in the title of each, searching the language for the underlying ideology encoded within. My first observation concerned the subject "women" and "men" in policing and how they are constructed in the language of the titles. In the article solely about men (Adlam, 1982), the title reflected some of the assumptions found in the police stress literature, that police officers are assumed to be men, that police work causes psychological consequences, and that the subject "men" are decontextualized and have no history, class, race, or gender. In seven of the articles, the subject "policewomen" are featured in the title. Only Bahn's (1984) title uses no gender. The subject "police" in his title refers to both men and women in the body of the article.

The word "policewomen" is juxtaposed with the following word or phrases: "non-traditional role assumption" (Kennedy & Homant, 1981); "defeminization and the traditional police personality" (Berg & Budnick, 1986); "men's stereotypic perceptions" (Lord, 1986); "concerns of male officers" (Weisheit, 1988); "policemen don't like" (Balkin, 1988); "factors
affecting....remaining in policing" (Poole & Pogrebin, 1988); and, "myths and realities" (Bell, 1982). This language used in association with "policewomen" conveys difference, or opposition, or divergence that contribute to an overall effect of distinguishing policewomen as an anomaly within the career of policing.

The articles on policewomen published in the journal may very well reflect how the traditional police establishment views policewomen. They appeal to the beliefs and attitudes of the male-dominated power structure of the criminal justice system as well as the police who uphold the image of policing and to whom the entrance of women may be seen as a threat to that image. Because these articles appear in a journal that is read by police organizations, and the professions and occupations that serve police (such as psychologists and people in criminal justice), I assume that this readership has concerns and questions about policewomen for which they need assurance. These articles may be attempts to answer their concerns.

Academic disciplines such as psychology, also a male-dominated occupation, can be seen as complying with this construction of women as "other." The authors maintain a view of women (with some exceptions) as a problem to be solved, a "myth" to be replaced with cold hard facts. Psychology and other disciplines cooperate with police in preserving the gender hierarchy status quo and perpetuating traditional gender ideology.

In the first grouping of articles on the police personality is one article concerned solely with policemen (Adlam, 1982). Adlam, a social psychologist and lecturer at a British police college, has
apparently not been informed that women are also police officers. He uses male-centred language to support the construct of a "police personality" that is formed in young men during training and after years of police service. The qualities he associates with this personality are authoritarian and are based on stereotypical masculine characteristics. Adlam remains uncritical of these changes in policemen that can include becoming bigoted, intolerant, punitive, cynical, and manipulative. He describes the police personality and its attendant qualities in order to provide officers with "self-knowledge," so they may minimize the effects of these changes within the police force and in the community at large. Adlam benignly accepts the police culture and the police organization in which officers develop their police personality, and although he acknowledges the negative effects of the police personality on police officers' individual lives and the lives of their families, he expresses little concern about this.

The next article (Bahn, 1984), also non-empirical, concerns "occupational identity" in police, and like the police stress discourse, locates the cause of stress or in this case "strain" within the occupation. Bahn, a psychological and organizational consultant to American police forces and law enforcement agencies, attributes "strain" in the formation of a strong and coherent police identity to the entry of a new population into policing such as women and minorities. As he ponders the effects of affirmative action, Bahn poses the disturbing thought that a "general adulterating effect on police identity" (p. 393) has gone unnoticed. A dictionary definition of adulterating means "to change to a worse
state by mixing" and "to contaminate with base matter" (Patterson, 1990, p. 7). Bahn seems to apply that the "strain" on police personalities stems from the mixing of the races.

Bahn (1984) continues his skeptical approach to police integration when referring to women officers. Although he reiterates conclusions as found elsewhere in the journal articles, that policewomen perform their duties as effectively as policemen, Bahn remains unsettled because "there are stylistic differences that are significant" (p. 393). Using anecdotal data, he asserts that "female police officers are less likely to take initiative in starting a police action, for example, making vehicle stops, than male counterparts" (p. 393). He continues in this vein, commenting on the changes women bring to policing:

A police chief in a midwestern city reported (although requesting anonymity) that when the officers in his department were given the option of not carrying their weapons during off duty hours by filing for permission, only 18% of male officers filed, while 71% of the female officers did so. While it is easy to understand, and even sympathize with the decisions of females not to carry guns during off duty hours, it does alter one of the key aspects of police identity. If, in fact, female police officers confine their occupational identity to working hours, this development could well vitiate the effects of more traditional police socialization (p. 393).

One does not have to steeped in the methodology of deconstruction to see the political, classist, racist, and sexist bias evident in these statements, couched in the language of empiricism, housed in a journal that represents the interests of the establishment. Bahn represents the concerns and fears of the "White
Male System" (Schaef, 1987, p. 5), forced by historical, cultural, and legislative change to admit people who traditionally have been disempowered in our society. Bahn's prejudice is clear. He is concerned for the adulteration of police identity and resulting public diminution of the police occupation as a result of integration. As a consultant to law enforcement agencies, he effectively serves their interests by colluding in the support of a White Male standard from which others deviate. By preserving the status quo, Bahn preserves his privileged authority as well.

The next article on the police personality (Berg & Budnick, 1986) pathologizes individual women in policing when they behave in accordance with the constrictions of the occupational culture. Women in policing face a double bind to either behave like men in order to be seen as competent although they are viewed as compromising their femininity, or if they are seen to remain "feminine" they garner male approval but undermine their acceptance as officers. Although Berg and Budnick, a sociologist and a criminologist, acknowledge some of the context of women in policing that contributes to "defeminization," they leave the onus on women to overcome the supposedly detrimental side-effects:

Unlike men, female recruits are faced with several serious decisions. First, they must decide whether they desire to accept the traditional subordinate role of females in policing, and in so doing limit their potential career status. Second, female recruits must decide whether they are willing to adopt various masculine characteristics which will allow them to pursue more extensive law enforcement careers (including supervisory and command positions). Finally, females in law enforcement must decide whether they desire to pursue a police career at all. At virtually any point in the law
enforcement career process, female (as well as males) may leave policing and enter alternative occupations (p. 317).

Berg and Budnick (1986) provide a convenient chart, consisting of labeled rectangles and a maze of broken and solid lines with arrows directed to a box entitled "To Other Careers," (p. 318), meant to illustrate ways female defeminization may shorten women's careers in law enforcement.

According to Berg and Budnick (1986), who do not cite any sources, not only do women face "defeminization" in the career of policing, they may "enter law enforcement already predisposed to conducting themselves in a masculine manner (that is, defeminized prior to entering law enforcement). Other women, however, enter the field of law enforcement without any predisposition toward defeminization" (p. 317). Berg and Budnick call for empirical research to explore the extent and ramifications of defeminization because of its possible negative impact on policing, the police organization, and the necessary standardization of personnel behavior.

This focus pathologizes and problematizes women's presence in policing without looking at the organizational dynamics of a male-dominated occupation that create problems for women. This focus on women successfully diverts attention away from the behavior of men in the police organization and how women are affected. The status quo is left unchallenged. Women remain a problem to the goals and purposes of policing, instead of the organization having a problem in accommodating women. As well, the common experience of women in non-traditional occupations is
overlooked as a source of information for how traditionally masculine organizations act when women are admitted. To highlight the male bias inherent in this article, I can only ask in what context the "demasculinization" of men would take place. Reversing the gendered language reveals the absurdity and discriminatory bias of this line of inquiry.

Unlike the authors in the three preceding articles, Kennedy, a sociologist, and Homant, a psychologist, acknowledge the controversy in the literature about the existence of a "police personality." They suggest that the police personality may in fact be the result of the behavioral requirements of the police role. However, they remain true to the direction of psychological discourse by viewing the police personality in light of certain "drastic changes," such as the admittance of women to policing. Despite a decade of research on policewomen, to Kennedy and Homant (1981) policewomen are a mystery. "Unfortunately, social scientists, government officials, and police administrators knew very little about the capabilities of policewomen and virtually nothing about their personalities" (p. 348).

These authors base their research on two theories about women who enter non-traditional occupations; one centers on deviance of women from their femininity, and the second is grounded in women choosing a non-traditional occupation because it is enriching, interesting, and rewarding. One pathologizes women as "deviant" and the other is empowering to women. The purpose of the research question was to answer what types of women enter policework, either deviant women or women seeking enrichment.
Kennedy and Homant (1981) researched this question by comparing policewomen to nurses. Their findings need to be interpreted within an analysis of women in a non-traditional occupation. Instead, their conclusions are founded on stereotypical views of women. The differences in the power structure and the occupational context of women working in a traditionally masculine occupation compared to women working in a traditionally feminine occupation are completely overlooked. For example, one conclusion "indicated that the policewomen might not be as well adjusted as the nurses at least from the perspective of fitting into traditional roles" (Kennedy & Homant, 1981, p. 354).

Even within the discourse of positivist empiricism, these male authors feel free to make an editorial remark that reveals their male bias and discriminatory attitudes. Drawing a conclusion from one of their results, Kennedy and Homant (1981) breathe a sigh of relief. "While we do not wish to go too far in interpreting nonsignificant or null results, at least it can be concluded that policewomen do not represent the vanguard of the women's liberation movement" (p. 352). As they continue to focus on policewomen, their concern is directed to the "quality of American law enforcement" that remains to be determined (p. 354). The authors worry that if policewomen are low on femininity and have incorporated masculine interests, then the question remains "as to whether or not a so-called masculine policewomen would be as effective in reducing violence as has been previously hoped" (p. 354). Policewomen remain in a double bind within the discourse of this article. If they are effective police officers, that is, they have
adopted the values and mores of the organization (and are not women's "libbers"), then they may not contribute to the reform of policing that the presence of women is supposed to achieve. This could be seen as yet another way of saying that women do not belong in policing.

Two articles that explore the issues of the myths and realities of women in policing were written 6 years apart (Balkin, 1988; Bell, 1982). They are similar in content because they explain the problem of the acceptance of policewomen, although the topic is approached in different ways. Notably, both authors are men. Balkin is a psychologist and Bell a sociologist. Both articles are written as essays about women that is supported by published research, and are not original research studies. Both authors write favorably about policewomen and are critical of the lack of acceptance for women in policing. They both place policewomen within an historical context, actually giving women a tradition in policing that dates back to the 19th century and outlines the political struggle for women to be integrated into policing.

It appears that both Bell (1982) and Balkin (1988) are writing from a pro-woman perspective. Both justify and support women in policing. They use literature that substantiates policewomen's effectiveness. Although these articles are favorable to women, they do not challenge the gender ideology of policing or of psychology that presents women as secondary or the "other" to men.

For one thing, they both remain within the discourse that individualizes systemic problems. Bell (1982) labels the behaviors of men that block women's acceptance within policing and chastises
the "obsession of researchers" in addressing the competence of policewomen as "detrimental to women as well as to the police profession" (p. 119). He appears to be supportive of women in policing by suggesting that if we only clear away the myths that are generated and perpetuated by males in policing regarding women's limitations, then we would recognize women's contributions to policing. Yet this reduces the solution to one of simply overcoming stereotypes. Consequently, he avoids challenging the police organization from making any changes, and instead places the problems of policewomen's acceptance within the interpersonal relationships of male and females without looking systemic power and gender discrimination.

Balkin's (1988) article diverges from Bell's (1982) by using a psychological explanation for men's negative beliefs about women in policing, and for the persistence of myths and beliefs about women's inferiority in policing. Using interpersonal theory, he explains that men are threatened with the entrance of women into this previously all-male occupation because their gender identity is tied to their occupation. By doing so and remaining within psychological discourse, Balkin, like Bell, overlooks needed systemic change and thereby preserves the gender status quo, although he does provide an explanation for prejudice against policewomen that directs responsibility toward policemen and the masculine culture.

As a solution, Balkin (1988) does not offer counselling or psychological change for men, which is surprising considering he is a psychotherapist. Instead he proposes that change will come from a new generation of policemen who enter policing without the
psychological baggage of current police officers because the culture in which these beliefs circulate would have changed. Both Bell and Balkin are optimistic in their solutions because we know from more recent literature that systemic discrimination against women in policing continues today (Brown & Campbell, 1993; Los Angeles, 1993; Walker, 1993).

Because these two articles do outline the plight of women in policing and on Bell's (1982) part, because he names the problem as discrimination, their solutions are undoubtedly reassuring to the political powers in policing because no organizational change is required. Major organizations do not have to provide systemic alterations when the culture provides the solutions, or the myths dissipate over time, leaving police forces free to focus on crime (as suggested by Bell) rather than re-organization and the development of egalitarian gender and racial policies.

In this way, Bell (1982) and Balkin (1988) uphold the gender status quo. They do not recognize the societal efforts of women in society to gain equality as a political struggle that requires participation from all levels of society. They place the struggle either within the workplace of policing (Bell) or within the social learning of individual men (Balkin) so that the common struggle of women in other non-traditional occupations is overlooked, and the contributions of feminism and accompanying political struggle is unrecognized. These authors do not understand what women's experiences are and cannot provide guidance to policewomen. They can only reassure police forces that they do not have to take any form of responsibility for the behavior of their men or for the
experience of their women in uniform. Despite these conclusions, I believe there is a sincere attempt on these writers' parts, to promote women's participation in policing and to see women favorably, based on their attribution of responsibility to policemen for the perpetuation of prejudice and myths about policewomen.

Poole and Pogrebin (1988) are both male authors who are academic professors in criminal justice. Refreshingly, they place policewomen within the context of women in organizations using Kanter's (1977) work. They recognize and label acts of hostility and discrimination against women, acknowledging that women are affected by such behavior. They outline the social and organizational barriers to women in policing and appreciate the efforts of women who have to prove themselves continually. These researchers take a liberal feminist research approach that examines women's experience empirically and acknowledges the context of women in a male-dominated occupation, yet they remain focused on women's disadvantages in policing, without challenging the structures that provide and maintain those disadvantages. Even after giving evidence of the discrimination and harassment women in policing receive on a personal as well as systemic level, these authors frame their questions based on the assumption that it is up to women to overcome these obstacles. Their focus remains on the different individual styles or work orientations women officers develop to cope with these "factors."

The authors tacitly accept the working conditions of women in policing, making the context peripheral to the research rather than central to it. Their approach lends itself to the outrageous
conclusion that barriers to women in policing "may actually serve to sustain the intrinsic challenge to meet the demands and to persevere throughout the stages of their police career" (p. 55). This statement is similar to the adage that women have to work twice as hard to be seen to be half as good as a man. Such an attitude trivializes the obstacles women face and the cost women pay to adapt to policing.

On a positive note, this is the only article I examined that reported women's enjoyment of police work, an aspect of policewomen that is invisible in the other articles. "One factor that does seem to rank consistently among the most important in the decisions of women to continue their law enforcement careers is the challenge and excitement of police work" (Poole & Pogrebin, 1988, p. 52).

The final two articles (Lord, 1986; Weisheit, 1987) concern the comparison of men and women in policing. Weisheit, a professor in criminal justice, acknowledges the systemic barriers to women in policing, especially policemen's attitudes to policewomen, but he wonders if these attitudes are symptomatic of urban police since rural police have not been subjected to similar research. He thereby places the cause of discrimination and sexism against women within a particular police force, rather than seeing the universality of discrimination against women throughout all aspects of society.

In order to tap this phenomenon of attitudes to policewomen, the author has developed an instrument called the LADYCOPS Scale. I can hardly articulate my contemptuous reaction to this title. What the scale probably measures are policemen's sexist and misogynist attitudes to women. For example, Weisheit (1987) found that
policemen believe that women receive preferential treatment in policing, in assignment, and in promotion. Weisheit concludes from this that men respond to other policemen as individuals but to women as a member of the female sex. What he has captured are the typical gender perceptions and stereotypes that men hold of women, where men see that any sharing of the power difference between men and women is tantamount to women gaining an unfair advantage. Weisheit, alarmed on behalf of policemen and their reactions that his scale has unearthed, surmises that men in policing may lose morale with the advent of affirmative action.

What Weisheit (1987) has empirically discovered but failed to contextualize are attitudes and beliefs that men hold toward women not only in police forces but in society in general. Women's experience of discrimination and sexism are well-documented but Weisheit does not include this analysis in his male-biased empirical study. As a result, Weisheit offers us nothing new here in the way of information or in the way of solutions to discrimination and prejudice to women in a non-traditional occupation. Instead he perpetuates stereotypes of policewomen and reinforces policemen's discriminatory attitudes by empirically validating prejudice.

I have left this article by Lord (1986) for my final analysis because as research, it approaches some of the possibilities of achieving feminist goals and presenting women not only in a positive light but with possibilities for systemic change and emancipatory action. A former police officer, Lord holds a doctorate in human behavior and is an instructor and lecturer at an American university and an urban police academy. In contrast to the previous articles in
the journal concerning policewomen, Lord uses specific language and data that places women's experience in policing within a legal, historical, and occupational context in a way that does not problematize women. Instead, men are considered part of the dilemma for women officers, as is the organization of policing. As a result, she poses research questions that incorporate the experience of policewomen within the attitudes, beliefs, and experiences of men and women in the larger society.

Lord (1986) documents at length the historical, legal, and cultural context of policing, its operation within a democracy, the plurality of police roles in modern society and changing social conditions that affect policing. She recognizes policing's gender context as a masculine, male-dominated occupation, and its male supremacy supported by media images of police. Consequently, she analyzes the behavior of women officers as attempts to meet peer group norms whereas males maintain the advantage in police work in physiological characteristics, socialization, and in social acceptance.

Lord (1986) also places women's entry into policing within the story of women's entry into the work force in general. Therefore, she can acknowledge the context of gender stereotypes that women encounter within themselves as well as within the workplace and clearly places responsibility for women's acceptance at the feet of the organization:

Related research suggests that women, given the proper training and a supportive organizational climate, can be as effective and efficient as male officers in the patrol
function. It is when women are denied access to organizational resources and adequate supportive training methodologies, that the specter of failure and incompetence becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy (p. 86).

By recognizing the gender context of the police organization, she can point out the roots of resistance to women that are grounded in "socially conceived stereotypes of women" (Lord, 1986, p. 85). Rather than supporting women as a "problem" for men in policing, for their morale, or for their fears that women would not back them up in a dangerous situation, she labels these behaviors as stemming from sexist stereotypes, based on men's fears of sharing traditional power and dominance.

Lord (1986) summarizes her attitude when she states, "Ultimately, if the police are to render professional and effective services to the community, then the occupation itself must become an environment within which the individual officer, male and female, can work with health and personal satisfaction" (p. 86).

Although Lord (1986) exemplifies the possibilities for woman-centred, contextualized research, her analysis of her research is constrained within the discourse of empirical science, thus limiting her interpretations of women's responses to research questions. This leaves her analysis incomplete. Although she thoroughly contextualizes policewomen's work lives, she has not contextually analyzed women's responses to research questions. Instead, she takes their responses at face value and the results are confusing. Expressing this herself, she says "that one confounding piece of data that the existing literature and research could not account for at this time, and that was the women respondents.....perceived
themselves as more stereotypically 'women' than stereotypically 'women officers.' This data could illustrate women officers' rejection of the traditional stereotypes of the mannish, horsefaced, dykish police matron" (p. 90).

Another surprise for Lord was "that women police officers differentiated themselves as a group from their fellow women and that their perception of women in general were not substantially different from those of male officers" (p. 90). In the next section, I explain how a feminist postmodern analysis of these responses demystifies these responses. Although Lord (1986) brings us closer to the ideals of a feminist research project, she cannot provide us with a more complete story of women's experiences in policing while remaining within the discourse of empiricism.

In this next chapter, I return to the police stress discourse to provide further contextualization of the seven articles on police stress. In particular, I bring onto the page knowledge from other discourses to inform the police stress discourse. Most significant are texts that portray the overwhelming masculinity of the police that has been kept hidden in the police stress discourse.
CHAPTER 6
OMISSIONS FROM THE POLICE STRESS DISCOURSE

Feminist psychologists have emphasized the importance of researching the lives of women in ways that represent their experience more completely (Firth-Cozens & West, 1990). This is most evident when we look at research on women's lives in the workplace. Prior to the efforts of feminist researchers and activists, research in the workplace ignored the context of gender, treating work as if it took place in gender-neutral organizations. As a result, gender issues for women in the workplace were kept hidden as private and personal matters just like issues of sexuality in the private domain such as rape, incest, and wife-battering were kept hidden (Burrell & Hearn, 1989; Stanko, 1988). With the efforts of feminists, components of sexuality in the workplace such as sexism and gender discrimination against women have become subjects of study in feminist research (Burrell & Hearn; Collinson & Collinson, 1989; DiTomaso, 1989; Gutek 1989; Kanter, 1977; Lips, 1988; Sheppard, 1989; Stanko).

For instance, Kanter's (1977) pioneer work on women and organizations illustrated the way women became managerial "tokens" and that many of the apparent differences in women's style of leadership and organizational behavior could be traced to this precarious position and their lack of power relative to men. Further studies of women's work experiences have revealed the pervasiveness of gender inequality in the workplace and the forces that maintain it (Burrell & Hearn, 1989; Gutek, 1989; Hearn,
When the context of women's work lives is in place, the issue of sexual harassment as part of the gender politics of male dominance and control has been allowed to surface (Collinson & Collinson, 1989; DiTomaso, 1989; Gutek, 1989; Stanko, 1988). The impact of gender discrimination and sexual harassment went unrecognized and overlooked in traditional research as significant life events for women (Hamilton, Alagna, King, & Lloyd, 1987), however, recently, women's reactions to harassment and gender discrimination have been linked to stress (Crull, 1991).

**Stress and Women**

Stress, therefore, for women in the workplace and its effect on psychological health cannot be researched without contextualizing its occurrence within the larger gender politics of society where male dominance and control is interwoven with organizational and hierarchical power structures (DiTomaso, 1989; Gutek, 1989; Stanko, 1988). Consequently, conclusions have been made that women face "quantitatively and qualitatively different sources of work-related stress than men" (Long & Kahn, 1993, p. vii). This is significantly so for women working in non-traditional fields.

What feminist research has revealed for women in the workplace differs markedly from the selected journal articles on police stress in which male behavior is attributed solely to the stress of the occupation. It seems that policewomen have a "gendered" experience of stress that involves the organizational politics of gender, whereas men's experience is not gendered, nor
politicized, but is indeed, simply a reflection of the occupation or career.

The experience of men as a gender would add a whole new dimension to the psychological construct of stress and policing and it is this knowledge that is suppressed or overlooked in the journal texts. Including aspects of the male gender role would provide a more comprehensive and contextualized background to research on police lives. Even Terry's (1981) article fails to pinpoint the masculine gender as problematic for stress, although he acknowledges the context of policemen's experience. Consequently, the context of gender, that police officers are male, is missing and the psychological and social significance of the masculinity of policing and its possible impact on stress is lost. Ironically, psychologists did not have to go out of their discipline to find readily available empirical research that describes the negative impact of traditionally socialized masculinity on psychological well-being (Sharpe & Heppner, 1991). However, gender issues for men and for women remain a marginalized topic in traditional psychology; and, therefore, are ignored in the journal articles on stress.

If the stress discourse added gender to its empirical research, there are numerous examples of how the male gender role and its attendant conflicts affect men psychologically and physically and could contribute significantly to men's experience of stress. 

**Men, Masculinity, and Psychological Health**

O’Neil (1981, 1986) has researched how the masculine socialization process is a primary cause of men's physical and
emotional difficulties. For example, traditional masculine norms and values, such as those of the "masculine mystique," can prohibit men from expressing vulnerability and giving up control. Characteristics such as competition, power, and control can affect men in their careers. When men use work to verify their masculinity, they generate work pressure and tension. Other research shows how characteristics of the male gender role such as a need to be independent and self-reliant, a need to maintain power over others, resorting to violence if necessary, and a need to remain superior to women can all contribute to stress when men's adequacy, either physical or intellectual is threatened through performance failures or in relationships with women (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987).

Sidney Jourard (1971) connected emotional and physical health to a person's willingness to self-disclose to others, to know themselves, and risk being known. The traditional masculine gender role that requires men to be self-reliant, objective, and emotionally inexpressive, has been empirically linked to an unwillingness to self-disclose and to an inability to express tender, intimate feelings, and a need to hide personal aspects of themselves (Lavine & Lombardo, 1984; Morgan, 1976; Snell, Beck, Flowers, & Warren, 1988; Stokes, Childs, & Fuehrer, 1981; Winstead, Derlega, & Wong, 1984). In Jourard's estimate, men are at high risk for illness related to their gender role.

Men who are trying to live up to the expectations of the male gender role find that self-disclosure about emotional vulnerability, uncertainty, or fear, does not protect their image of self-reliance, self-assurance, and independence (Stokes, Fuehrer, & Childs, 1981).
Not only may men who identify strongly with a masculine gender role orientation experience stress but they are often less willing to seek help than women or men who are not so male gender role identified. Because the masculine gender role contains needs for competition and self-reliance, and behaviors such as restrictive emotionality and restricted affectionate behavior, seeking assistance is in conflict with the male role. It follows that men may not seek support or counselling, even at the risk of health debilitation or home or work failure (Good, Dell, & Mintz, 1989; Nadler, Maler, & Friedman, 1984; Stokes, Fuehrer, & Childs).

Emotions, therefore, get in the way of living up to the male gender role. In the workplace, for example, this is played out in work relationships that are more directed at task completion than relationship maintenance. But if men do not express their emotions at work, they may take them home and express them inappropriately with family members. Other men use food, alcohol, and drugs to sedate themselves and reduce work tension (O'Neil, 1981, 1986).

Although O'Neil (1981, 1986) describes men as inexpressive and men in the workplace as emotionally restrained or devoid of emotion, Hearn's (1993) deconstruction of emotions in organizations challenges this view of men and men in the workplace. He contends that men and organizations are constructed as "unemotional" relative to women both in conventional wisdom and in traditional organizational and academic discourse. Instead, men can be deconstructed to be just as emotional as women, and organizations can be deconstructed to be as emotional as non-organizational arenas. Newton (1995) also challenges the view that
the workplace is emotion-less describing "how the definition of stress represents a rather narrow perspective on emotion, and how stress needs to be seen in relation to differing tacit codes of emotional restraint within private, public, and organizational settings" (p. 2).

First of all, emotions are social and ideological constructs that have to be understood within their context, especially within the social construction of gender. In the context of patriarchy, for example, organizations are constructed as instrumental in nature, separated off from the category of emotions. Instead, organizations can be crawling with all sorts of emotion but in its current construction, these are kept hidden (Hearn, 1993).

If we look at organizations as places that not only reinforce the construction of masculinity, but also as places that reinforce the construction of emotions in relation to masculinity, being in an organization is an emotional experience. For example, patriarchal organizations reproduce dominance over women, and of some men over others. Within such a structure, men have competitive relationships with each other, the highest prize being success, achievement, or winning over others. Men's relationships with each other may be made up of various forms of fear; fear of losing in competition, fear of loss, fear of being dominated, or dominating too much, and destroying group solidarity. Powerful men within organizations are distant from the emotional labour of the organization. They control the emotional labour of women and less powerful men, who may manage the emotions of others, such as members of the public (Hearn, 1993).
Men with power appear to be in control of their emotions. They maintain "self-control." Dominance over women is taken for granted, and therefore, less valued. Women in male-dominated organizations may experience a deadening of their emotions while it is possible to construct men as too emotional, even out of control, especially when it comes to anger, sexuality, and violence. Men's relations with each other are also affected by other oppressions such as economic class, age, and race/ethnicity (Hearn, 1993).

If we look at how this applies to the organization of police forces, we find that as symbols not only of masculinity but of power and control and the use of force, police departments reinforce masculinity in the men who enter them, a process which has an impact on women police. Following Hearn's analysis then, police forces are emotional arenas for men and for women.

Policing and the Masculine Gender Context

The masculine supremacy of the police occupation is maintained by the assertion that the primary purpose of policing is crime-fighting, by the preservation of a paramilitary style of organization and traditions, by the maintenance of a competitive hierarchy, and by the tacit support of a machismo subculture based on the suppression of women. If we examine each of these areas, providing material that is left out of the stress discourse, we find all these factors collude to maintain and perpetuate the manufacture of "stress." Psychology, by upholding the assumptions of gender and policing, fails to name, protest, or alter what contributes to stress.

Policing as an occupation is inextricably and overwhelmingly identified with masculinity. Police work is considered to be one of
the most stereotypically masculine occupations, entwined as it is with crime-fighting. Policing seems to require qualities society traditionally assigns to men, such as physical strength, courage, and aggressiveness (Bouza, 1990; Brewer, 1991; Lord, 1986; Ott, 1989; Remmington, 1981; Wexler & Logan, 1983). Policing's tasks and equipment and its military-style organization are embedded in a male-centred history and tradition, complete with uniforms and insignia, and heroic legends and myths (Adlam, 1982; Bouza; Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1989a).

Police forces alone do not have to promote this image since so much of it is captured in the popular media such as movies, novels, and television. Fictional police departments and the police heroes who populate them convey a tough, macho world. Actors who star in police roles, usually detectives with a renegade style, are cool and calm, taciturn or glib, either "John Wayne" or "Clint Eastwood" types (Wexler & Logan, 1983). The innovative television series, Hill Street Blues, depicted a gritty world filled with men of unique character, fighting crime in a grimy city filled with unpleasant wrong-doers, whereas the more recent series, NYPD Blue, continues the genre. Women, with the odd exception, play stereotypical roles to the males. The instruments of police work, handcuffs, patrol cars, and guns, and the symbols of the uniform and the badge, contribute to the imagery of masculinity in the media (Bouza, 1990; Wexler, 1985; Wexler & Logan).

Police work, in the police stress discourse is reduced to being the major factor in the stress of officers. Notably, the crime-fighting aspect of policing, based on facing physical danger and
precarious situations involving criminal activity, takes predominance over other roles in police work that are generally not portrayed in the popular media. By going outside the discourse of police psychology and examining texts on police organizations, an argument can be found to show that the crime-fighting aspect of policing, an image promoted not only by the media but by the police themselves, is largely mythological. It is even possible to declare that police do not really prevent crime or "fight" crime in the sense of reducing its occurrence or making communities safe (Bayley, 1994; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993).

Police crime commissions in the late 1960s and 1970s persistently revealed through research that the primary strategies adopted by modern police have little or no effect on crime, and repeated research and analysis has consistently failed to find any connection between the size of a police force and crime rates. In reality, police have little control over crime (Bayley, 1994). This should not be a surprise to thoughtful people, when social conditions that produce crime, such as unemployment, race relations, and education, are outside of the control of the police, as well as outside of the control of the criminal justice system as a whole (Bayley; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). Still, the police continue to assert themselves as society's best defense against crime and continually press for more resources and personnel to protect communities. Demythologizing this crime-fighting role is not something police welcome when they rely on public confidence to operate (Bayley).
The Police Role

If policing is largely ineffective in preventing crime, then what do the police do? Analysts of the police role reveal an occupation that is much more ambiguous in its tasks and roles than simply crime-fighting (Bayley, 1994; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). Unlike the clear mission of the crime-fighter, the police have a more complex mandate that must be carried out in accordance with shifting rules and laws applied in a democratic society. Police actually operate far from the ideals that established the modern police force while taking their cues on an ad hoc basis from politicians and others (Bayley).

Without clear guidelines other than a general mandate to manage public order non-violently and reduce if not eliminate crime (a mandate impossible to achieve), police rely on measurable outcomes to support their effectiveness and justify requests for budget increases. The most quantifiable result of police activity are numbers of arrests. Law enforcement then becomes the primary business of police because its the easiest to tally, although other police activities may help solve community problems (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993).

The police stress discourse is based on an assumption that the primary business of police work is law enforcement, but this does not stand up to examination. What takes up most of police time is not easily measurable with only about 25% involving crime. Police patrol takes up the largest chunk of police work, and most of that is in response to a request from a member of the public. The majority of police work is directed at civil order and providing general
assistance. In cities, over 90% of patrol work is generated by dispatch. This involves responding to family disputes, neighbourhood disturbances, teenagers making trouble, and so on (Bayley, 1994).

Most crime police are called to solve is distinctly minor, and violent crime (homicide, forcible rape, aggravated assault, robbery) is only 12% of total serious crime. Most crimes officers attend occurred hours before their arrival with the perpetrator long gone. Although crimes police are called to are not unimportant, especially to the victims involved, they are a far cry from the senseless violence and mayhem that newspapers and television lead the public to expect (Bayley). "Contrary to what one normally sees on television, most patrol work is boring, whether it involves restoring order or providing services" (p. 21). Patrol officers, responding to dispatched calls from the public, spend a lot of time waiting for something to happen and most incidents to which they respond are routine and undramatic.

After patrol work, criminal investigation is the next largest task, carried out by detectives who are usually not in uniform and have more flexible hours than those on patrol. Detectives in large police departments are often assigned to specialty units such as homicide, robbery, vice, commercial crime, narcotics, auto theft, or burglary. Again, most criminal investigators respond to crime called in by the public.

The third biggest area is traffic control carried out by patrol officers who often act in highly discretionary ways, making on-the-spot decisions about giving a ticket or a warning. The public is more
likely to come into contact with police through the enforcement of traffic laws, than in any incident dealing with crime. In our mobile society, traffic accidents kill or injure people and damage property much more than crime does. When the public refers to the police, most likely it is the patrol officer on the city street or highway that comes to mind. (Bayley, 1994).

Other operational units are very small, designed to support patrol, criminal investigation, and traffic regulation in specialized ways. The most well-known special units are the dog squad, and the special weapons and tactics team (emergency response teams) that handle hostage takings, barricaded suspects, and other critical incidents. Amongst all these units, there is much overlap in assignment and performance of tasks (Bayley, 1994).

Basing the assumption of police stress on crime-fighting is very misleading and detracts from sources of stress that are more difficult to treat with simplistic stress management techniques. For example, although police officers go to work as if to war, most will be keeping the peace in non-forceful ways. And the places where they may need to keep the peace the most are often surroundings where police have little control, that are often dark, dingy, and even dangerous, amongst "life's refugees, uneducated, poor, unemployed, victims and victimizers" (Bayley, 1994, p. 25). Police maintain "an uneasy relationship with the people at the bottom of our society" (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993, p. 239), and often see themselves as performing society's dirty work (Van Maanen, 1973) or what Bouza calls (1990) "charnel house cleaner for society's ills" (p. 236).
What makes policing dangerous is the nature of the danger police officers encounter. Police face risk "from the deliberate acts of other human beings" (Bayley, 1994 p. 71). As well, the police uniform is a target for retaliation from the public (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). Officers may spend most of their time in routine patrol work but they may, at any instant, be "catapulted instantly into the depths of people's private lives" (Bayley, p. 24). "Patrol officers can never forget that at any moment the boredom of a long shift can be shattered by a call that can be harrowing, traumatic, dangerous, and life threatening" (Bayley, p. 25).

Although policing at times can be dangerous and stressful, it is not necessarily the most dangerous occupation (statistically looking at deaths on the job, Bayley, 1994). There is no doubt that police officers repeatedly face situations any one of which a person in the normal course of living would find deeply distressing and disturbing (Stratton, 1984). The trauma of police officers to the more tragic incidents they witness involving other humans is well-documented (Adlam, 1982; Alkus & Padesky, 1983; Bouza, 1990; Machell, 1989; Stratton; Terry, 1981). However, much of that stress has been attended to by critical incident teams. Officers no longer have to suffer such traumas without support (Scrivner & Kurke, 1995).

What can be an unacknowledged source of stress for male officers in policing is the distance between their occupational expectations and the reality of police work itself. Many men who enter policing may be looking for a culturally-sanctioned opportunity to exercise the use of force and to face danger, perhaps
having a chance at heroics. Police departments that rest their status on the crime-fighting model, may tacitly encourage officers to believe that enforcing laws is the true purpose of policing. This leaves officers open to disillusionment when they find themselves spending very little of their time in crime-fighting, and are required to perform far less glorious tasks. Such disappointment can lead to cynicism, dissatisfaction, and an alienated attitude that is reflected in the treatment of the public (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993).

The Police Organization

The paramilitary structure of most police forces contributes to the image of policing as exclusively connected to crime-fighting and the protection of the public from wrongdoers. Although the military and police have the use of force in common, the parallel ends there. The police officer, unlike the soldier generally works alone or in pairs and is a member of a police department that interacts with the public it serves. The police hierarchy based on a paramilitary model is incongruent with the task of policing where the front-line officer, who carries out the majority of police work and has the most discretion in performing these tasks, is laden with the most rules and regulations while carrying the least authority.

In the military model, decision-making starts at the top of the hierarchy and works its way down through the chain-of-command. Front-line officers with the lowest rank defer to the most authority, yet they are left with enormous decision-making discretion where they "make instant and complex decisions in unpredictable circumstances" (Bayley, 1994, p. 64). Unlike the
soldier, the patrol officer often works alone. The system of command and control solves this problem by developing excessive rules, commands, and directions to guide officers. Often, this leaves front-line officers feeling unprotected when performing their tasks in fear of breaking some rule. If officers do make errors, the military-style organization often closes rank and protects the department, leaving the working officer at fault (Bayley; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993).

This "tighten discipline, punish individuals" (Bayley, 1994, p. 65) form of correcting mistakes or solving problems leads to an assembly of officers who become cautious about taking initiative or responsibility for their actions. They also tend to see management as oppressive and quixotic, so that officers have a "blue-collar" adversarial labor relationship with management rather than a professional status and working conditions. The front-line officers close up against management to protect their own. Police forces, therefore, do not deal with mistakes in ways that assist their individual officers or supervisory personnel or in ways that would lead to improved training and supervision (Bayley; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). "In sum, the traditional discipline centered management system, given the highly discretionary nature of police work, is a fig leaf that not only conceals but poisons" (Bayley, p. 65).

Divisions in the paramilitary police hierarchy are not accounted for very well in the police stress discourse, where police officers are lumped together as homogeneous. Patrol officers, supervisory sergeants, detectives, and senior officers all experience organizational factors and work factors that are different for each
position on the police hierarchy. Detectives are privileged. Senior officers, unlike patrol officers or detectives, enjoy considerable status within and without the police organization. They are supported by subordinates and colleagues while working under more relaxed conditions and deadlines where they can routinely review and revise their decisions. They have the most status while needing less discretion and autonomy (Bayley, 1994).

In contrast, front-line police officers do not command the respect or status in the police hierarchy. Unlike other occupations such as law, medicine, and teaching where those who have the greatest practical responsibility have recognized professional and informal social standings, in policing those with the greatest responsibility have the least education, the lowest pay, and the least social status (Bayley, 1994). The front-line officers who have the greatest responsibility and represent the police department most publicly is the majority of police officers (about 75%), most of whom will stay at this rank for most of their careers (Bayley; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). Yet, they maintain the lowest status in the police force, a fact that could very well contribute to officer "stress" in the form of disillusion, disappointment, cynicism, and pessimism.

The Occupational Subculture

In the masculinized, paramilitary model, male supremacy is perpetuated in an occupational subculture where anything identified as masculine has prestige and status, whereas anything identified as feminine does not (Young, 1991). Hunt (1990) describes policing as an organization clearly divided along gender lines where a police
officer's masculinity is defined through gender-related themes. She portrays this culture as a "symbolic universe permeated with gender meanings" (p. 294). These factors combine to create a masculine police mythology, or a masculine "mystique," with which the police occupational personality is identified. For example, 'real' police work such as crime-fighting and street patrol is associated exclusively with masculine skills and characteristics, while "inside work" is associated with the domestic domain and feminine characteristics (Hunt, 1984). Consequently, "inside" assignments or "desk-jobs," considered to be non-police work are not generally liked by police who prefer the action of working in the field (Kroes, 1985).

Another example of this theme are the division of attributes to "the 'inside man' who may appear naive, trusting and caring, while the 'real' cop is suspicious, cynical, and maintains an emotional distance from the people he polices" (Hunt, 1984, p. 288). The priority and respect that is allocated to male categories and symbols creates dogma that keeps police structures as "male cultural preserves" (Young, 1991, p. 192).

Police officers become enculturated during training as recruits, where they are a world unto themselves. They are taught to identify with a police tradition that presents itself as an exclusive and elite group, separated from the rest of society by shared experiences, secret codes, and private language, and enhanced by paramilitary uniforms, and police equipment (Bahn, 1984; Bouza, 1990; Sewell, 1985; Stratton, 1984; Van Maanen, 1973).

Like other male-dominated fields such as contact sports or the military, policing places an emphasis on conflict and competition,
war and winning (Lord, 1986; Young, 1991). Physical acts of courage are given status and prestige in what constitutes a "cult of masculinity" wrapped up in a "male mystique" (Young). In this machismo world, recruits often train like football players, lifting weights and running. They are trained in self-defense and the use of weapons, including the disabling and killing of people with their own hands. "No matter how many warnings may be issued by superiors about limitations on the use of force, no matter how much talk about policing as a profession, police training continually reminds recruits that coercive power is a central feature of police life" (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993, p. 95).

The social context of the subculture is permeated with gender stereotypes, creating an identification of police work with a subculture of males in the prime of life where qualities such as bravery and strength holds predominance (Niederhoffer, 1967). Cultural attitudes stress drinking and physical courage as a test of manliness, while violence holds glamour. Conversation is often sexual in content, sprinkled with humour that often objectifies women, while general conversation can centre on sports, cars, drinking, and sex (Brewer, 1991).

In the police subculture, members (and at this point, all references concern male officers), tend to have similar outlooks based on conservatism and a distrust of women and society's minorities (Brewer, 1991; Niederhoffer, 1968). The subculture supposedly helps produce a group solidarity and cohesiveness among policemen (Remmington, 1981), but it certainly reinforces attitudes which stress manliness (Brewer). Like an all male club (Jacobs,
1987), anyone who selects to work within the role of police officer must exhibit the qualities of this masculine stereotype to fit into the police culture (Wexler, 1985). This leads to policing as attracting or creating individuals who perpetuate similar characteristics, often seen as a police identity or stereotype (Bouza, 1990). In this world, policewomen do not fit the bill.

The police subculture leads to discrimination and non-acceptance against those who do not fit the white male norm or the police stereotype. Even men suffer. In Linden's (1985) survey of attrition among members of the RCMP, he found that 56% of males who left the force report discrimination and harassment from fellow officers and from supervisors, attributed to their unwillingness to participate in off-duty activities with other members, or if they belong to another discriminated minority such as French-Canadians. Perhaps this is the phenomenon Graf (1986) uncovered in his research. Discrimination within and separateness from the rest of society can contribute to police being isolated in their occupation. Police officers come to feel separate from the rest of society, first by police enculturation, then by the nature of their work, and finally by the attitudes of the public toward police in general (Bouza, 1990; Kroes, 1985; Martin, 1989b; Niederhoffer, 1967; Reiner, 1985; Remmington, 1981; Sewell, 1985). Disliked by a large segment of society, police learn to become suspicious and defensive towards a public viewed as prejudiced and hostile (Alkus & Padesky, 1983; Kroes, 1985). A gap develops between the police and the public, widened by police suspiciousness and cynicism that is often interpreted by the public as police putting themselves at a
distance (Sewell, 1985; Van Maanen, 1973). Ostracized by what they do, the demands of the job further force police into a police oriented life-style limiting their ability to relate to others outside of the law enforcement profession (Stratton, 1984).

The police world has been described by those who have worked in it as a "secretive internal culture" and a "hermetically sealed society" that is encrusted by codes of silence, obedience, and loyalty, which its members are under immense pressure to maintain (Bouza, 1990). This sealed society encapsulates an atmosphere of suspicion and distrustfulness, cynicism, and skepticism, in a world inaccessible to the public view (Adlam, 1982; Bouza; Kroes, 1985, Martin, 1989a; Sewell, 1985).

As officers turn to each other and become more isolated from the community, a cohesive occupational group is formed, protected by what has been coined a "blue wall," (Bouza, 1990; Martin, 1989a; Sewell, 1985), which closes out anyone who is perceived as an outsider and defends a "powerful self-reinforcing culture that impinges strongly on its members" (Bouza, p. 44). The culture of policing based on the features of the police role--danger, authority, and the mandate to use coercive force--support and perpetuate the internal solidarity of the police brotherhood. "Most police feel comfortable and socialize mainly with other cops" (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993, p. 116). Feeling they are only understood or accepted within their occupation, police officers turn more and more to their peers for friendship and support, and end up heavily enmeshed in the police subculture, further limiting their friendships and relationships in the non-police world (Bahn, 1984; Kroes, 1985).
Eventually, this way of life spills over to spouse and children so that officers and their families tend to lead isolated, separated lives (Stratton, 1984).

What has been described are the many factors in policing that could contribute to an officer's "stress" but once uncovered from the blanket diagnosis of "stress," reveal a range of social conditions that unless named and understood, cannot be changed. Most significant of the factors is the overwhelming masculinity of the police occupation. The expectations, characteristics, emotions, and behaviors that accompany the quality of masculinity permeate the police culture and the police task. They blend together to affect both men and women in policing. In the next chapter, I bring together the findings of this research paper from which I draw conclusions about psychological research and counselling in policing.
Conclusions on the Police Stress Discourse

The stress discourse gradually gained acceptance within the police, according to the historical, legal, and political context I have provided. However, instead of encouraging an emancipatory or liberating practice for men or women in policing as perhaps it was intended to do, the stress discourse upholds established powers in policing and does not necessarily lead to improvement in the lives of police officers.

It followed that when the stress discourse in general gained legitimacy within psychology along with the concept of police stress, the establishment of police psychology was almost guaranteed. This was so because application of the stress theory requires experts capable of both diagnosis and treatment (Newton, 1995). In the police stress discourse, many of those experts are psychologists. As psychology sold its services to the police, police psychology emerged from a relatively unknown field to a "recognized speciality within psychology, with roots firmly planted in the criminal justice system" (Scrivner & Kurke, 1995, p. 41). Within police psychology, stress continues to be the central focus of psychological research and therapeutic treatment of officers. However, I argue and Newton's (1995) work supports me that psychology within the stress discourse instead of being a healing practice or a force for change in people's lives, is a "subjugatory rather than a liberatory device" (Newton, p. 118).
Ironically, the introduction of the stress discourse into policing was initially empowering to police officers. As a diagnosis, stress permitted police officers to have problems in a way that was non-threatening to their superiors. Certainly, a "distressed" officer was more acceptable to police management than an alcoholic or a mentally ill officer. A stress diagnosis came with interventive measures such as stress management techniques that were non-stigmatizing to either officers needing help or to police forces providing help. The police stress discourse also allowed for the establishment in the 1980s of critical incident debriefing teams to deal with the most imperative incidents in policing, such as officers who use their guns in the line of duty, officers who are injured or who witness traumatic events, hostage-taking situations, and so on (Bohl, 1995).

Prior to the recognition of police stress and the establishment of in-house psychological services in police forces, police officers were assumed to cope with highly disturbing situations because they were trained to do so and because they became immune to trauma after encountering so much of it as part of their work. Any officers that appeared to suffer severe stress reactions like civilians were considered unusual and perhaps inappropriate for police work (Bohl, 1995). As a result, police forces were reluctant to admit to any problems their officers were having. The stress discourse because it was popular and disseminated widely in society (as described by Newton, 1995) may have helped reduce the political opposition of the police bureaucracy to providing help for officers.
The stress discourse also provided a convenient solution for police forces that were called upon with increasing frequency to be accountable for the actions of their officers. For example, a legal principle was established in 1978 in the United States that an agency as well as an individual employee may be held liable if a person's civil rights had been violated by the customs, or usage of that agency. In the 80s and into the 90s, this legal precedent allowed citizens to sue police forces for the actions of their officers. Police forces had to create or encode policies and directives that changed how officers were trained and how they carried out their duties. The stress discourse with its promise of improved task performance, became appealing to the needs of police. For example, therapeutic measures provided by stress management techniques allowed police to satisfy the courts that they were providing assistance to their troubled officers (Chandler, 1990; Newton, 1995). Essentially, the stress discourse legitimized the need for support and assistance to officers at a time when the police establishment was being challenged to be more effective, efficient, and equitable in carrying out the objectives of the community (Bayley, 1994).

Police forces also found the stress discourse acceptable because it was consistent with the goals of management. Stress management was seen as not only beneficial to the individual but to the company or organization as well. Stress management advocated improvement of the individual, not through humanistic concepts such as self-actualization or personal autonomy but through good coping and peak performance (Newton, 1995). Police psychologists support
police management in many ways by developing interventions that will "improve human performance in the workplace" (Scrivner & Kurke, 1995, p. 24), and by sharing goals with management to "enhance police personnel workplace readiness by determining the best fits for people, and by task, organizational and team restructuring" (p. 24).

Police psychology today assists police management in these areas: (a) individual functioning of police personnel, mainly in the area of stress on the individual and his or her family; (b) selection and retention of police personnel (e.g., fitness for duty examinations); (c) maximization of police effectiveness organizationally (rules and procedures of management), and (d) operationally (police work such as criminal investigations) (Scrivner & Kurke, 1995). Police psychology has organizations, publications, and affiliations with the American Psychological Association and the International Association of Chiefs of Police (the publishers of the Journal of Police Science and Administration).

The stress discourse may have been originally helpful for officers, but the stress discourse today has considerable limitations that are not necessarily beneficial to police lives. Notably, the stress discourse has become a means of social control of employees. Newton (1995) reveals the power politics of the stress discourse in his deconstruction, where what appears to be of assistance to the individual employee is ladened with an element of coercion for the individual to meet organizational needs. Fineman (1993) supports Newton's thesis when he describes how a goal of stress counselling is managing emotions. When such counselling is
promoted by management, it can be a form of control of the employee to assist the organization to function smoothly while achieving its goals. Stress management techniques may prevent any challenge to the power of the organization and may actually involve "collective denial of difficulties and threats within the workplace" (Newton, p. 144).

The most central limitation of the police stress discourse is its assumptions concerning gender. From my deconstruction of the texts containing research on police stress, it is assumed that police work is germane for policemen and gender is invisible. For policewomen, gender is all that is visible. The police stress discourse contributes to an essentialist view of gender, that women and men's experience in policing differ significantly and have few similarities, and most importantly, hides inequalities of gender in the workplace. Consequently, the discourse of police stress adheres to and upholds traditional gender ideology within the dominant power structure of policing, thereby co-operating in the preservation of the masculine dominance of police work.

By supporting rather than challenging, police stress perpetuates the assumed requirement of stereotypical forms of masculinity to fulfill the police role, an image that denies women a legitimate place in the police occupation. It also reinforces a central assumption about the nature of policing, that violence and crime are predominant aspects of police work. In this way, the police stress discourse, by reproducing the power structures and ideology of masculine dominance, helps maintain the very conditions that produce stress.
Challenging police psychology to pay attention to these issues would be as difficult as instigating police reform or achieving gender balance in psychology. The fundamental outcome of the police stress discourse has been the merging of psychology with the goals and ideology of policing. Police psychology is incorporated now into the bureaucracy, hierarchy, and organization of policing. In fact, police psychologists assist and participate in law enforcement. Reiser, one of the first police psychologists, predicted this when he said that over time, the perceived distance between the psychologist and the policeman [my italics] will diminish (Reese, 1995).

Reflections of the power and dissemination of the stress discourse in connection with policing can be found in the media. Police psychologists now appear in film and television dramas as central figures akin to fictional police detectives. One example is the 1996 British crime drama Cracker featuring a corpulent police psychologist who not only counsels officers and their wives but interrogates criminal suspects using psychological techniques that he also uses to provide clues at crime scenes. Another example is the motion picture Basic Instinct that featured a female police psychologist who not only was essential to the unfolding of the plot but was having a love affair with a detective (Michael Douglas) who she was also counselling. These examples may not reflect the reality of actual police psychologists but they do reflect the public image of the association of psychological services with the police occupation.
It found it intriguing that the blending of the stress discourse and police occurred while police forces were undergoing significant reforms in ideology and practice as a result of political pressure and legislated change. The history of these reforms and the entry of women in connection to them was discussed in Chapter 4. To reiterate, policewomen were seen as necessary to a police reform mandate. Based on essentialist notions of gender, women were thought to provide an ameliorating effect transforming police from an authoritarian, punitive force to a more humanitarian, non-coercive one.

What was being challenged then, was the type of masculinity associated with police, one based on brutality, power and control. Heidensohn (1992) describes it as a masculinity entwined with social order and social control and an entitlement to enforce both with violence. Williams (1989) connects masculinity with violence and the suppression of women. According to Heidensohn (1992) social control is a gender-linked concept throughout our society, and although women may be "granted franchises on it" (p. 99), men are least likely to give up control over other males where strength and size are so important.

I am supposing based on my research, that instead of "stress" police experience distress emanating from challenges to both their individual and collective constructions of masculinity. The inclusion of policewomen, for example, was accompanied by assumptions, based on essentialist notions of gender, that women have superior skills at practicing non-coercive authority. As women were integrated into policing, reform measures were asking men to
alter their practices of violence and control. Both police reform and policewomen challenged policing's masculine-making supremacy and threatened individual policemen's masculine identity. Heidensohn (1992) claims that in police forces, it is men "who are the true prisoners of gender" (p. 99) because it is they "who in significant numbers, have joined an occupation believing, or in which they come to believe, that strength, size, and force are vital, only to find that this is not so" (p. 99). When I discuss Williams (1989) in the next section, this supposition will become more apparent.

I also speculate that distressed male police officers are suffering from isolation and lack of support, an outcome of the stereotype of masculinity enforced within the police organization and culture. Graf's (1986) study somewhat uncovers the unsupportive quality of relationships among males in one police department. Terry (1981) warns research needs to examine the quality of relationships among police officers. It may be that at least some policemen (like policewomen) find the police culture oppressive and alienating.

Research on policewomen, as evident in the literature of their experience, reveal this lack of quality in relationships among police. They experience the culture as violent, as misogynist, as discriminating and oppressive. It is a culture that does not discourage violence against women including rape (Brown & Campbell, 1993). Nor does it discourage violence between men but accepts it. The police culture upholds the kinds of practices that individual officers are sworn to suppress.
Conclusions on Nine Articles and Policewomen

What is revealed in my deconstruction of the articles on policewomen is the way empirical research perpetuates mystification of gender politics within the police organization. For example, research that uses qualitative interview methods may assume that personal accounts of individuals are an expression of the "real" subject. By failing to critically analyze women's accounts of their lives, they "contribute to the idea that women are the problem, an exception to the norm" (Holloway, 1989, p. 132).

A feminist postmodern framework, instead, views women as constructing their experience within the dominant discourse of our society in order to maintain coherence and consistency in their narratives that corresponds with a unified subject in Western discourse. In our society, the dominant discourse denies the existence of discrimination and oppression. As a result, by positioning themselves in these discourses, women can refuse to admit sexism. Because women who have been raised in a sexist society tend to suppress the contradictory character of their experience, unless deconstructed within a feminist praxis, the contradictions and multiplicities contained in their narratives are obscured (Holloway, 1989).

Consciousness is not an unmediated product of experience, because meaning intervenes, and meaning is not neutral. It has a history within power relations. When someone gives an account of her experience, some meanings are more anxiety-provoking or ego-threatening than others, and through defence mechanisms, they can
be avoided. An analysis of accounts that does not acknowledge this...can only produce knowledge that is a product of those repressions (Holloway, 1989, p. 45).

We have seen these principles operating in some of the articles reviewed where taking experience at face value confuses the researcher (Lord, 1986), or allows Kennedy and Homant (1981) to conclude that policewomen are not feminists. Once contextualized, women's responses need to be examined for meaning in ways that reveal the ideology of gender and women.

Postmodernism offers a theory and method for analyzing discourse that would be useful in feminist research on policewomen's lives. I discuss a method of contextualizing gender and follow that with a review of a study on women in the Marines (Williams, 1989). Although it remains within the discourse of psychology, Williams's research, based on a feminist approach to psychology, gives us a model of what has been achieved to contextualize women's experience in a male-dominated, non-traditional occupation.

Gilbert (1994) suggests three strategies for putting gender into studies of context. The first strategy searches the language of a text for the underlying gender ideology of the dominant discourse. The ideology is found embedded in the language used to describe research participants and in the language that explains the observed behavior of participants. A researcher who understands this can make visible the inconsistencies within the dominant discourse and reveal issues of power and gender that the language hides.

A second strategy for putting gender into context involves viewing gender as an interpersonal process rather than a static
characteristic. As a societally based construction, gender is not only internalized by individuals but is encouraged and rewarded when played out in interpersonal interactions, especially in power dynamics between men and women (Deaux & Major, 1987).

A third strategy for researchers is to analyze texts to reveal how gender operates as a structure as in, for example, the sexual division of labor. "Persistent, highly visible dynamics in the culture reflect the power of gender as organizer and structure" (Gilbert, 1994, p. 548).

Using all three strategies, Gilbert (1994) suggests developing a transformative research of language, process, and structure that moves us away from an analysis of the individual to the conception and development of theory that includes both the individual and the culturally defined environment of the individual. "Individuals are embedded in and constrained in their actions by social relations and social locations and this needs to be the focus of studies from a gender perspective" (Gilbert, p. 555). In psychology, this would mean a shift from the individual as the focus of analysis to the individual in the social context, where individual action is a product of interrelatedness. Dyads and groups would become the unit of analysis rather than the current pre-eminence of the individual (Gergen, 1989; Peplau & Conrad, 1989; Potter & Wetherell; 1987).

Object Relations and Women in Nontraditional Occupations

A current model for contextualized research that was constructed from a feminist perspective and is relevant to a study on the lives of policewomen is Williams' (1989) research on women in the United States Marine Corps and men in nursing. She describes
how women negotiate their gender in this highly masculinized occupation, and offers a contextualized psychology of men. Using the feminist psychoanalytic theory of object relations (Chodorow, 1978), Williams (1989) also explains the psychology of men and women in relation to occupational segregation.

Object relations is a term that captures the psychoanalytic process of human psychological development that begins at birth. Through this process, the child develops a representation of its mother's image, called an "object" so that for both men and women, the earliest experience of attachment and identification are with a woman. Object relations theory shows how our family arrangements in which women assume responsibility for child care while men are distant parents have profound effects on the adult personality (Chodorow, 1978; Firth-Cozens & West, 1990; Rubin, 1982; Williams, 1993). As a result, it is hypothesized that men and women develop different personality structures and different emotional needs (Chodorow, 1978; Rubin). These differences traditionally provided men and women with characteristics that prepare them for separate life tasks, men in the capitalist world of production and women in the world of reproduction (Rubin). Within the workplace, object relations helps explain men's need to oppress women, their resistance to women in non-traditional occupations, and their need to uphold occupational segregation.

The theory of object relations shows how occupational sex segregation fulfills a powerful psychological need for men. Men not only shore up their masculine gender identity through their occupation, but work is an arena in which they can distance
themselves from femininity, where they go to great lengths to distinguish their role from whatever women do. Any penetration of women into their proving ground, threatens this psychological safety. The more highly identified with masculinity the occupation is, the more likely it will fulfill men's psychological needs and therefore will be highly resistant to the entry of women (Williams, 1989). This can explain policemen's persistence in viewing women as inappropriate to policing despite evidence and years of experience to the contrary.

Like the Marines in Williams' (1989) study, policing is an occupation where men can achieve a strong masculine gender identity within an image and subculture that places a high value on masculine characteristics while being antithetical to anything feminine. Policing, like the military, will be resistant to the integration of women whose differences cannot be absorbed without altering the culture, a process that would make the occupation less appealing to men because its psychological purpose would be diminished. Not only does object relations explain men's gender identity in relation to work and to women, it also reveals how women negotiate their gender identity within a masculine occupation like the Marines (and this would apply to policing).

In object relations, the female gender identity is not ruptured like the male gender identity by the break from the mother, so women do not have to "prove" or "achieve" their gender identity (Williams, 1989). When women enter an all-male occupation like policing or the Marine Corps, they find that anything feminine is not valued, including qualities associated with women. They must
struggle for acceptance in the occupation and maintain their self-worth by proving their competence as an asset to the occupation while also being seen as feminine. Therefore, women in these occupations are presented with a conflict. They must take pride in their work and maintain their self-esteem and positive self-regard as women in an occupational culture that disparages women and does not want them there. This is the work of "doing gender," negotiating one's gender and one's sense of self in different contexts that call up different behaviors, qualities, and experiences, depending on the situation (Kaschak, 1992; West & Fenstermaker, 1993).

Williams' (1989) analysis of women in the military suggests that women are left with ambivalence about their own femininity. How women resolve this dilemma is reflected in the accounts they give of themselves that if taken at face value would leave the reader open to other conclusions (Williams). For example, women split the double bind of being in the military into two accounts. First, they "individualize" their problems by admitting to the discrimination in the military; but argue that individual women, on their own merits, can surmount such discrimination. They may disparage women who complain of unequal treatment or who do not overcome the barriers. Second, women construct themselves as exceptions to the rule that "women are incompetent but I am not." Those who leave are seen as not being able to "take the heat" and, therefore, did not have what it takes to make it in this tough world in the first place. In this way, women resolve the contradiction between the organization's negative evaluation of femininity and women's own positive sense of self worth (Williams, 1989).
Women who use this strategy tend to avoid feminism. They can accommodate themselves to restrictive policies and discriminatory tactics in the workplace without diminishing their own abilities and sense of individual prowess, and at the same time, stay opposed to unequal treatment. This strategy minimizes the reduction of their self-esteem and maintains a favorable view of their own gender identity allowing women to have some power in a male-dominated occupation and to accept promotions and advancement. It is only when women become politically aware and in some way begin to challenge the unequal treatment of the workplace that their ability to stay in the occupation and tolerate the culture is seriously undermined. This explains a high attrition rate for women in both the Marines and policing.

A similar construction of gender by policewomen has been observed by several researchers (Brewer, 1991; Jacobs, 1987; Martin, 1978; Wexler, 1985). Although women in general also construct their gender within a patriarchal society, it is within such hypermasculine work environments such as policing or the military, that this construction is more apparent (Williams, 1989).

Although Williams' (1989) study brings us closer to what is possible in a critical social science, it remains within psychological discourse and consequently has limitations. Object relations, as one among psychological theories, obscures the "existence of differing power relations which privilege men" (Segal, 1987, p. 143). Object relations is only one possibility for the construction of male gender identity. Other constructions result from the pervasive ideology and social practices of male dominance in the culture. Rather than
from any internal psychic dynamic in men, men's violence towards women emerges from social practices that confer authority and privilege to men in relation to women. As well, object relations only pays lip service to the complexities of social relations and is an essentialist construction of gender difference, disregarding the similarities between men and women.

Recommendations for Research

What Williams (1989) has given us is an example of comprehensive research that not only reveals women's experiences but tangentially reveals men's experience as well. They cannot be separated. A comprehensive model like this while identifying women's contributions and assets, reveals the unacceptable practices of male hegemony, exposing the acts and behaviors of male domination that oppress women, if not other men as well.

What is called upon for those researching women in a non-traditional occupation are critical social sciences that turn to "turn critical thought into emancipatory action" (Lather, p. 109). A critical emancipatory research project on policemen or women should "better challenge the relations of dominance" (Lather, 1991, xv) and can help break the silence about oppressive practices revealed in analyses of police officers' experience. For example, research could combine the object relations approach with a stress on existing social relations and practices in order to understand the connection between sex and violence in men's behavior (Segal, 1987).

The current psychology of police and stress are not likely to lead to accomplishing any of the goals mentioned. Newton (1995) describes the stress discourse as not necessarily concerned with
either the welfare or the empowerment of the individual. Stress is not just about the individual and "her coping patterns, but can reflect power relations between men and women, employer and employee, superior and subordinate..." (Newton, 1995, p. 2).

One of the criticisms feminists have of academic psychology is its inability to reflect women's lived experiences. Although woman-centred empirical research on stress does uncover some very useful and dramatic information and insight into policewomen's lives (e.g. Lord, 1986; Wexler & Logan, 1983), the researchers fail to name what it is they are witnessing in terms that could lead to change. They act as silent witnesses to act after act of abuse without comment when what they are narrating is a story of violence against women situated within a major patriarchal institution that ostensibly protects members of society. The researchers, constrained within the parameters of an empirical article, can only offer generalized recommendations and sentimental hope that "significant changes" will eliminate barriers to women in policing" (Lord, p. 91). These conclusions do not validate the experiences described in the articles nor do they offer any incentive for institutions to alter policies.

I conclude that traditional research, even woman-centered research, cannot take into account the structural nature of gender oppression. In psychological research, the sociological and political are separated from the psychological, depoliticizing the issues involved (Kitzinger, 1990). There is no critiquing of the institutional context in which these unacceptable and intolerable practices take place (Bem, 1993). By not naming it as harassment,
oppression, or violence, researchers unwittingly collude with its occurrence and unwittingly support the institutions that perpetuate violence against women.

It has been the purpose of this paper to show how psychology and other disciplines, by remaining within the traditional discourse of empirical science, obscure the politics of dominant discourses. When police are being called upon to practice the evolving goals of our society, that of inclusion, fairness, equality, and justice, psychology that serves police also needs to include these goals. Psychology cannot do so when its methods and theory remain within the dominant discourse. This thesis challenges police psychology to become an emancipatory project by turning to feminism and feminist practices of research, particularly within a postmodern approach.

Recommendations for Counselling

My deconstruction of the psychological research on police and the impact on its officers has implications for how we view the experience of policing. A feminist deconstruction recognizes the impact of the social context on police officers and that gender is a social construction and not a biologically-based reality. With the view of empowering both women and men in policing, psychology needs to be informed of the comprehensive framework in which police officers live their lives in order for counsellors to design and implement effective preventive treatment and counselling programs.

Counsellors need to recognize, understand, and appreciate the historical, cultural, and political forces at work on police officers' lives. Feminist therapy recognizes "the central importance of gender and of the deeply embedded gender stereotypes that
circumscribe and limit the potential of men as well as women" (Meth & Pasick, 1990, p. vii). One of the goals of treatment then from a feminist perspective "is to liberate men from the bondage of dysfunctional sex role prescriptions" (Meth & Pasick, 1990, p. vii).

It is not enough to look at gender roles, we must also look at societal enfranchisement of power and domination, physical violence and the oppression of women rather than "treating" men for their socialization. A counselling agenda, rather than supporting an oppressive gender ideology within police, should empower policemen and policewomen, within their context and co-operate in feminist goals of stopping violence against women and among men.

Limitations

The first limitation of this study is drawing my conclusions from only a small selection of texts in police psychology that represents a limited focus on the experience of police officers. As well, the journal from which the texts were selected has ceased publication and is no longer distributed.

The second limitation of this study is that the historical, legal and cultural context in which the texts were published has not remained static. Since the articles or texts were published, policing has undergone changes in organization, in procedures, and in the integration of women and minorities. Psychology has also undergone change. Feminism, postmodernism, and other influences may be making a difference in the quality of research in psychology. However, the articles I selected have been found in references of more current publications on stress. This indicates the continuing
influence these articles have on the direction of current research and the production of knowledge on police stress.

Another limitation of a feminist approach to critical analysis is its association with postmodernism. One of the critical limitations of a postmodern critical analysis of texts is the relativity of its conclusions. With no external or fixed reality, any discourse is equal to another in its meaning and interpretation. A feminist discourse, then, is as valid or invalid in its meaning as the dominant discourse (Weedon, 1987). Feminists counter this implication with the feminist standpoint that advocates a "privileged" vantage point of oppressed or subjugated individuals for understanding social experience. Women's historical and social position in patriarchy provides the potential for a fuller and more accurate interpretation of deconstruction (Maracek, 1989). Policewomen have a marginalized position within policing and qualify to have a more complex understanding of their experience. The articles on policewomen, although limited, reveal this complexity. As a feminist student in counselling psychology, I too am positioned on the margins, giving me a privileged view of women's experiences and I do not pretend to be objective, or apolitical.

A final limitation concerns feminist postmodernism and its location within Western society. Although postmodernism may critique gender bias in texts, it cannot claim to be free of the values, politics, and social relations of the society it criticizes (Haggis, 1990). Feminist methodology, however, does not deny the influence of values and biases on research and instead fosters the
exploration and discussion of the researcher's position. A limitation that is a result of my societal privilege in Western culture, is a lack of analysis of class and race within the deconstruction of the texts. I am limited in my experience with these issues both personally, politically, and academically, and I did not attempt to include them into the thesis. The oppression I am most familiar with in my studies and in my personal experience is that of gender whereas I have benefitted from societal oppression of people of color and of working class. My omission means that those issues remain invisible as they are in the dominant discourses.

What a feminist emancipatory research should be is a "quest for more empowering ways of knowing" (Lather, 1991). The policewomen I met, particularly from the United States, at the Vancouver conference were very empowered. They discussed strategies of resistance to sexual harassment, to institutional discrimination, to male resistance to change. They were collectively politicized and individually proud of their achievements and their role in policing.

One of the main criticisms feminism has of psychology is that it upholds the structural status quo and supports elitist, privileged attitudes and practices while obscuring the politics of gender, race, and class. I can conclude that police psychology, far from being a liberating practice, assures its own power and privilege when it supports the power and privilege of the police.
References


Table 1
Results of Literature Search from The Journal of Police Science and Administration, 1980 - 1990

Articles Concerning Stress and Police

Articles Concerning Policewomen or Police Personality

Articles Remaining After Selection


Appendix 1

Reflections

"Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God"
Susan B. Anthony

My motivation to do this project emerged out of my involvement in political activism on the UBC campus to seek justice for particular acts of oppression that were taking place in the departments of counselling psychology and political science. My experience of these occurrences and the university, media, and government response to them have altered my feminist attitudes and outlook on psychology, on education, on counselling, and on our society in general. By engaging in a feminist struggle on campus, I became keenly aware on a more personal level the extent of systemic gender and race oppression in our political systems and our institutions and how few recourses there are for women to seek redress.

I also became acquainted with like-minded feminist women students. Not only did we join in collective action to fight systemic and individual acts of discrimination but we also shared intellectual ideas challenging the accepted discourse in counselling psychology and other disciplines. With their support and intellectual stimulation, I became acquainted with feminist postmodernism and the methods of deconstruction. I tore up my original proposal to research the lived experience of policewomen and altered my research to incorporate (what were to me) new ideas into a feminist project.
My exposure to the concept of police stress (the central topic of this thesis) took place in 1985 when my partner at the time was writing *The Shattered Badge* (Kankewitt, 1987). In the 1980s, most police forces in Canada and the United States were acknowledging the impact of police work on their officers in only a limited way. As I have documented, the stress discourse created an avenue for police forces to recognize the effect of traumatic aspects of police work and provide support for their officers instead of the threat of dismissal or career stagnation.

As part of my work with my partner's book, I interviewed mostly male police officers and a few female officers in Boston and at a Vancouver police stress conference in 1987. The officers revealed not only their concern with traumatic events but also the impact of abusive practices within the hierarchy of police and within the police community. Some of these abuses started in training when recruits were encouraged to shun and even torment other recruits who were considered unfit or unworthy of a police uniform, a practice tacitly supported by officers in charge of training. Other stories concerned officers who received no understanding or support for their reactions to traumatic events on the job and, indeed faced ridicule or contempt for exhibiting any sign of weakness. I was listening to a depiction of a police culture that was abusive, nonsupportive, competitive, and even violent.

My encounter with police stress granted me a structure and a language in which to explore the impact of my own police family of origin and an opportunity to contextualize my parents' lives. During this process, I chose to study counselling psychology. When I
initially entered graduate school, I tried to find the reflection of my experiences with police within the articulated, published texts of the stress discourse but I was disappointed. However, as I turned my attention to research on policewomen, and after I attended a policewomen's convention, I gained a more complete understanding and comprehensive analysis of the experience of both women and men in policing.

Around the same time, in my graduate program, I was gathering an analysis of patriarchal power and women's oppression that was affecting me personally, politically, and professionally. I was moving from a liberal, cultural feminism to a more radical position as a result of my academic experience. I found my research, my political involvement on campus, and my practice as a counsellor inspiring each other to become what Lather (1991) calls a "transformative praxis" (p. 12). I took notes for my political involvement from the policewomen's conference where women shared their experience of organized feminist activism against discrimination and harassment within police forces. When I wrote about sexual harassment and discrimination of women in non-traditional occupations, I found myself experiencing the same psychological impact as described in the literature, such as disillusionment with our society and its institutions, or feelings like depression, anxiety, and withdrawal. I questioned "harassment" as a term because it was hardly adequate to me for what are multi-layered, collective, institutionalized, and legalized forms of oppressing women. In counselling, I took words I was learning from my group's collective struggle to capture our experience in language
and used them as interventions with clients in groups. Language and experience worked together to become an act of empowerment. In research, I knew my ability to be objective in an empirical project was over (I had not yet abandoned researching policewomen's lives). It was no longer "those" women over there but "us" here, now.

Despite my convictions, I was apprehensive to move to a critical analysis of police research. Because feminist postmodern deconstruction reveals the underlying politics of a text where women are experiencing discrimination, it could be dismissed as the work of another feminist with a political axe to grind. I was fearful of being marginalized more than I already was, and being accused that a feminist doing a "political" piece is not doing "real" research. It took some soul searching and consulting with other feminist women to make my a decision.

Consequently, I experienced a great deal of anxiety doing this project. I was unceasingly mindful of the power structure of the university where I was studying and its anti-feminist backlash politics that have affected my life professionally and personally, and the lives of women students that were friends. As I wrote with this awareness, I grew deeper in understanding about the power of language to construct our reality and the power of language to threaten oppressive institutions and practices. What we say and what we omit have just as much importance.

Despite my fears, I found this postmodern deconstruction interesting to carry out because it convinced me that language constructs our reality and that the hidden dimensions of power, politics, gender, and race, are obscured within a dominant discourse
and can be revealed though deconstruction. I am learning how language has constructed my own experience and that I can create a liberating discourse rather than a constricted one. What this thesis has required of me is a paradigm shift.

In undergraduate psychology texts, there used to be pictures that could be seen in two different ways and were supposed to teach us something about perception. One picture contained either a wine goblet (in white) or two faces in profile (in black) looking at each other. Another picture contained either a beautiful young woman or an old crone, depending on how you viewed the drawing. Working with this thesis was like looking at one of these pictures. While I was learning the language and concepts of postmodernism and a critical feminism, my reality remained constructed by Western rational thought, logical empiricism, and cultural feminism. At times, I focused on one picture or another and had to float back and forth to determine what viewpoint I was writing from. Writing the thesis became a form of consciousness-raising.

I often felt reduced to a rudimentary level of understanding and a primitive mode of expressing myself as if I were a person in a foreign country learning a new language. It was a humbling and often frustrating process. Previously cherished notions and desired goals became shattered, or fragmented, and often I was tempted to abandon this project altogether. This thesis and my introduction to the concepts of feminist postmodernism along with my experience of oppression within this university have all conspired together to overturn my previously constructed self-concept. I would ask myself if participating in a thesis in counselling psychology did not
actually support the perpetuation of women's oppression. I found myself questioning my ability to empower other women as a counsellor when I have learned a discourse that disempowers. In what ways am I participating in the continued oppression of women? I asked myself how we could develop empowering or liberating practices of counselling while operating within oppression.

I have not developed the answers yet to these questions. As a consciousness-raising process, it is enough that I have formed the questions. What I find hopeful is the ability of a critical postmodern feminist project in psychology to name what is oppressive to women and to other members of society in order to develop ways to protest and change what is unacceptable treatment. If it is within language that we construct reality, then the language needs to reflect our experience. Too many abuses have been disguised and left unchanged in the euphemistic dominant discourses of individual psychology.

Eventually, I expect research in the postmodern to further the emancipatory goals of feminism. Now that I have completed this project, I see the possibilities of creating not only an understanding and a language that identifies the power structures of our society, but also a theory and a practice that "resists and subverts institutional patriarchal power" (Weedon, 1987, p. 127).