



“DOING” MASCULINITY IN POLICE WORK: A STUDY OF THE NARRATIVES OF ‘BECOMING’ A POLICE OFFICER IN SWEDEN

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Abstract

Police officer has been conventionally regarded as a masculine occupation, where values such as strength, aggressivity and, bravery are commemorated. In Sweden, a country that is highly regarded for its gender equality status, understanding how police officers navigate gendered expectations is crucial to understand the implications of gender in policing. The aim of this thesis is to understand the role of masculinity in the everyday practices that define a police officer. For this purpose, a process of triangulation combines discourse analysis of the National education plan for police and the three videos from the campaign “Are you ready for a bigger assignment?” [“Är du redo för en större uppgift?”], together with the narrative interviews of six police officers. The findings show that masculinity works as a normative standard in police work and influences narratives and role constructions of crime and justice. Policewomen are excluded through the diffusion of stories about risky situations, discursive gendered boundaries and ‘punishing’ feminine practices.

Keywords: gender and policing, gendered practices, narrative interview, police storytelling, Sweden, subjectivity

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Introduction

Police officers are granted a privileged position of power in society (Bittner, 1990). They have the power to exercise the use of legitimate force and contribute to the 'creation' of what constitutes crime through their everyday practices. Recently criminological research has turned to language and practices as a rich source for analysis (Westmarland 2008, Kurtz and Upton 2017, 2018, Maruna and Liem 2021). Maruna and Liem (2021) pointed out the importance of stories in policing. For instance, police officers rarely witness criminal activities in real-time; instead, it is through the account of a witness or a victim that they form an idea if the said event can be considered a crime or not (Maruna and Liem 2021). On the other hand, Kurtz and Upton (2017, 2018) stated that these stories can reinforce and reproduce gendered and racial stereotypes that are ingrained in police culture. Research into policing has shown that police work is a highly gendered occupation (Westmarland 2008, Kurtz and Upton 2017, 2018, Martin 1999, Connell 2008). Not only because men dominate it but also because masculine values such as physical strength and toughness are celebrated (Crank 2004, Fejes and Haake 2013, Ashlock 2019, Reiner 1985). However, studies have rarely departed from the field of criminology. Narratives about crime have a tremendous impact on crime prevention policies and strategies, as well as, the lives of victims and offenders (Maruna and Liem 2021). Understanding how crime is defined, dealt with and punished is fundamental for analysing the phenomenon of itself (Kurtz and Upton 2017). Furthermore, most studies about police work have been conducted in the US, with few explorations of narratives in other contexts.

Police work in Sweden presents an essential case for analysis for two reasons. First, since 2015, Sweden has moved from a welfare criminal justice system to a more punitive one (Pratt 2008). This shift has emphasised crime prevention and policing as one of its main factors. Consequently, the police force has received significant structural and operational reforms, including centralisation and expansion (Inzunza and Wikström 2020). According to Brottsförebyggande rådet (BRÅ) (2023), the police authorities have increased from 28,000 employees in 2015 to 34,900 in December 2022 and are expected to increase an additional 10,000 new employees by 2024. Second, Sweden has been consistently highly ranked concerning gender equality within International organisations, such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Economic Forum (Hearn et al. 2012). However, some scholars point out a gender equality paradox (Goedecke and Klinth 2021, Tienari et al. 2005, Hearn et al. 2012), in which, despite the prevalence of feminist policies, the job market is one of the most gender divided in Europe (Hearn et al. 2012). This is also the case for police work in which female police officers have reported they are given feminised tasks such as administrative and social care duties. In contrast, male officers attend to the 'crime-fighting' part of police work, such as patrolling and SWAT teams (Bloksgaard et al. 2020, Fejes and Haake 2013). Thus, an analysis of police officers' narratives can shed light on how individuals navigate within a masculine institution in a country that gives primacy to gender equality.

This thesis explores the combination of narrative criminology and "doing" gender perspectives in explaining the macro and micro implications of gendered practices in police work. The analysis of educational material promotional videos and narrative interviews highlighted masculinity's role in narrative building and

the attribution of roles. It also provided insight into how these narratives create boundaries and exclusionary practices that are reproduced.

Aim and Research Question

This research aims to explore the multiple ways in which masculinity influences policing in the Swedish context. In particular, by investigating how individuals 'do' masculinities in police work and exploring the process of 'becoming' a police officer. The research question proposed is the following: What is the role of masculinity in the process of 'becoming' a police officer in Sweden? This enquiry not only focuses on the gendered expectations of the profession but also highlights the personal experience of officers while navigating those expectations.

Literature review

Gender and police culture

In Criminology, feminist theories have contributed to expanding how masculinity, either as a biological or social construct, has been inherently linked to crime. In particular, with the onset, persistence and desistance from criminal activities. Carlsson (2013) pointed out that individuals' lives tend to unfold in an institutionally deliberated way. This unfolding is inherently gendered, with individuals early in life taking up projects of femininity or masculinity (ibid). Heber (2015) used the concept of masculinity to understand how offenders make sense of their offences, desistance and victimhood. However, the same attention has not been given to studying individuals and institutions that fit the norms. Connell (2008) stated that studying the "boys in the box" is crucial as patriarchy can be found in deeply-rooted societal practices.

Masculinity is defined as a socially accepted assumption of what it means to be a man and what language and practices represent 'manliness' at a particular time (Kerfoot and Knights, 1996:86). The research presented by Crank (2004) highlighted the role of masculinity in police work. Crank (2004:230) stated:

"Masculinity is about the kind of work that police should do, how police work should be done, and about men's higher purpose in the maintenance of public order".

Values such as physical strength, independence, control, dominance and the threat of violence are traditionally celebrated by the police force (Martin and Jurick 2007, Ashlock 2019). Quantitative studies indicate that socialisation in police work enhances those values, especially in male officers (Bloksgaard et al. 2020). Masculinities are (re)produced throughout generations of police officers by what Prokos and Padavic (2002) called a 'hidden' curriculum within police academy. Despite formal techniques promoting gender equality, informal techniques guarantee the status quo (Reiner 1985, Kingshott 2013). Prokos and Padavic (2002) mention two ways in which the presence of women can serve as a masculinity definer: First, it establishes what masculinity is not. By providing an opposition, collective identity is fortified. Second, by determining women as inferior, men can elevate masculine values and, consequently, their status. Westmarland (2008) advised against homogenising different police cultures,

referring instead to a plurality of practices and power relations. For instance, while patrolling duties are associated with male officers and desk duties with female officers, management positions tend to be male dominated despite being desk occupations (ibid, Silvestri 2003).

The research of Chan et al. (2010) and Rabe-Hemp (2008) provided valuable insight into how female officers negotiate gender in police work. Rabe-Hemp (2008) showed that female officers see themselves as better at gendered forms of police work, such as care work and communication skills. This can be interpreted in two ways: finding a space to do gender and police work simultaneously or the masculinisation of other forms of police work. In addition, Chan et al. (2010) noticed a gender practice shift throughout an officer's career. While recruits were most worried about performing masculinity in police work rather than performing femininity, mid-career officers started to accept a gendered division of labour "once their identities as police seemed secured". Both researchers use the concept of "doing gender" to highlight that gender is achieved by action rather than nature (West and Zimmerman 2009). "Doing" gender is grounded on poststructural analysis of the process of subject creation and production (Fejes and Haake 2013) – the becoming of the subject. This approach highlights how masculinities are performed by various genders and not exclusively by men (ibid). As Martin (1999:117) puts it:

"When women enter jobs traditionally defined as men's work, they usually implicitly are expected to accept work role definitions and behavioural scripts patterning interactions that are designed for and by men".

These findings support the claim that gender practices are fluid, continuously negotiated, and re-negotiated (Rabe-Hemp 2008, Prokos and Padavic 2002, Fejes and Haake 2013, Kurtz and Upton 2017, 2018). Accepting masculinity as fluid entails two premises: first, norms surrounding masculinity change through time and context. Second, masculinity is not just something that men are or do, but a set of practices that can be emulated and reproduced by any gender at any time. Using this theoretical framework, the thesis allows for questioning gendered assumptions embedded in cultural and categorical structures within policing (Fejes and Haake 2013, Carlsson 2013). Furthermore, "doing" gender does not only analyse how gender is done but also how it can be undone, contributing to practices of power distribution in the criminal justice system (Kurtz and Upton 2017).

Narrative Criminology and police storytelling

Narrative criminology is a recent and expanding field that explores the influence of stories in the lives of individuals, organisations and nations (Maruna and Liem 2021, Kurtz and Upton 2017, 2018). Narrative criminology is a perspective that analyses narratives or 'stories' surrounding crime. For instance, Maruna (2001) studied desistance pathways and observed key patterns in the self-narratives of former offenders. He observed that a narrative of a 'good' inner self was crucial for behavioural change. Other studies have focused on narratives of victimhood and therapy and media constructions of crime (Kurtz and Upton, 2017). Fewer studies have focused on the criminal justice system or policing, despite their importance for understanding the production and maintenance of discriminatory structures (ibid).

Institutions are created through core-stories made concrete by rituals such as award ceremonies, retirement parties, education, and training (Prokos and Padvic 2002, Kurtz and Upton 2017) which fortify organisational values (Martin 1999). Core-stories are essential in identifying 'truths', norms and discursive boundaries by an organisation. Kurtz and Upton (2018) recount that narrative building in police work may have productive and exclusionary outcomes. On the one hand promotes camaraderie, community building and police cultural values, which are necessary for appropriate stress management. Conversely, it reinforces and reproduces gendered and racial stereotypes ingrained in police culture. Their findings showcase two main themes: "war stories" referring to the fictionalisation and sensationalisation of everyday events in police work through humour or risky endeavours. Another typical pattern is the militarisation language using the same terms commonly found in military equipment, training and functions (ibid, Prokos and Padvic 2002, Martin 1999, Rabe-Hemp 2008, Wells 2008). The second theme is the "occupying soldier narrative", in which patrolling areas are referred to as being out of control because of hostile communities (Kurtz and Upton 2018). The narrative results in a fissure between the police force and the community being patrolled, creating a 'us vs them' narrative that only leads to further conflict and marginalisation of vulnerable areas.

Additionally, it builds on the idea that women are physically unfit to deal with such extreme situations (ibid). Dominant stories have the ability to produce meanings within a particular context and suppress alternative stories and narrators in an institution (Kurtz and Upton 2017). This is illustrated in police television shows where the main character is highlighted by their toughness, ruthlessness and bravery connected to their ability to catch the 'bad guys', which consequently exclude women and femininity from police work (Aiello 2014, Rabe-Hemp 2008). Thus, it is vital to notice what stories dominate modern institutions and understand what meanings and exclusions are being (re)produced in society.

Masculinity and police work in Swede

Feminism and women's movements incredibly impacted Swedish society, academia and politics (Hearn et al. 2012, Hansson 2020, Goedecke and Klinth 2021). Masculinity is a much-debated topic in Sweden (ibid). During the 70s, there was an increased interest in the idea of 'individual crisis' (Hansson 2020). Hansson (ibid) argues that the concept of crisis was accepted as a natural process through which men had to go through to grow emotionally and create a new 'Self'. A transformative process that would not only make them into 'good' and 'modern' men but also create a more gender-equal society (Goedecke and Klinth, 2021). Hansson (2020:559) explains that the gender equality project was "[...] framed as a project for men, who should strive for other identities and let go of old patterns". This 'new' masculinity was defined by how well men could handle the demands of a modern, neoliberal Swedish society (ibid, Connell,2008). In particular, it was grounded in the belief that men's participation in domestic chores and child-rearing would overthrow hegemonic masculinity and bring to terms an equal society, equating fatherhood with gender equality (Hearn et al. 2012, Goedecke and Klinth 2021, Hanson 2020).

Some scholars defend that a change in hegemonic masculinity increased equality. According to Platin et al. (2003) policies and discourses on fatherhood have strongly shifted old patterns of hegemonic masculinity. However, critics argue that improving men's participation at home does not challenge gendered practices and structural inequalities (Hearn et al. 2012, Goedecke and Klinth

2021, Connell 2008). Thus, the emergence of a new form of masculinity does not automatically produce gender equality; instead, new forms of masculinity can gain hegemony, and at the same time, reinforce patriarchal patterns and create new exclusionary practices. For instance, in Nordic corporations, Tienari et al., (2005) concluded that management was built on heteronormative core-family and male provider ideals.

Investigations about masculinity in police work in Sweden have pointed out similar issues (Kohlström 2021, Bloksgaard et al. 2020, Fejes and Haake 2013, Andersson 2003). Research (ibid) has shown that despite gender equality discourses, there is a highly gendered labour division in which female police officers occupy social care positions, while male officers attend to violent crimes, SWAT teams and leadership positions (ibid). Gendered positioning is seen as normal. While women are given 'lower' stake tasks, men are given 'higher' stake (riskier) tasks, which are highly regarded (ibid). Police officers' pathways in Sweden display a significant discrepancy between male and female officers that achieve specialisations and higher positions. Kohlström (2021) reported that all women out of five officers were general police officers, in comparison, one woman out of eight officers had a specialised or leadership position. This is mainly due to pregnant officers being given administrative (desk) duties, while their male counterparts continue with everyday work (ibid). Surveys (Bloksgaard et al. 2020) about gender perceptions and police work have shown that despite most disagreeing with gendered labour division, a large percentage agreed that female officers were better at communicating and in situations involving women and children. Male officers also demonstrated more confidence in their gender to handle violent situations, than their female counterparts (Bloksgaard et al. 2020). This is supported by a comparative discourse analysis between elderly care workers and police officers (Fejes and Haake 2013). The interviews positioned care workers as a feminised subject by highlighting that the professional must be inherently caring. On the other hand, police officers discourse surrounding care emphasised a "strong sense of justice" and improvement of society. Furthermore, many male officers emphasised the excitement and exhilaration of the job as a naturally male motivation (ibid).

Methods and Ethical Considerations

Most of the reviewed studies use interviews for the analysis of masculinity in policing (Rabe-Hemp 2008, Chan et al. 2010, Kurtz and Upton 2017, Kohlström 2021, Fejes and Haake 2012), except for Bloksgaard et al. 2020 that opt for a questionnaire and Prokos and Padavic (2002) that performed participatory observation. Considering masculinity, a social construction enacted through language and behaviour, the best course of action to investigate this structure is by considering discourse and practices. To increase the reliability and validity of the research, this study relies on a process of triangulation by drawing on discourse analysis of education and promotional materials and narrative interviews.

Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is a qualitative method that weights the context of the practices and language alongside the constraints defined by power relations (Halperin and Heath 2017). An aspect that has been disregarded in previous research on police

work. Halperin and Heath (2017:335) describe this method as a way to understand "[...] which discourses give legitimacy and meaning to social practices and institutions". Foucault (1972) explored how specific issues are constituted within power relations and maintained by institutions resulting in the formation of subjects. 'Subject' refers to the discursive way through which humans gain a categorical meaning that is continuously (re)produced (ibid). Butler (2004) elaborates on how gender is used as a category that produces expectations and shapes the subject's agency. Thus, using discourse analysis provides the backdrop for the gendered expectations, meanings and practices that police officers in Sweden have to navigate and, ultimately, what kind of subjects they are meant to become.

Data collection

The data chosen for this analysis focus on the education of police officers and the advertisement of police work. Prokos and Padavic (2002:444) mentioned that "[p]olice academies teach the nuts and bolts of being a police officer". In comparison, advertisement campaigns illustrate the image of who is allowed to be a police officer (Aiello 2020). To evaluate education, "Utbildningsplan för Polisprogrammet" (educational plan for the police program) was chosen (see appendix D). The Swedish police authorities publish the program, and it contains specific guidelines for police programs across the country. It specifies what a police officer should learn, theoretical and practical skills and knowledge. It also expands the values and approaches that the recruit needs to uphold. In a way, how an officer should be and behave. Thus, the police program for education presents an important guideline that directs the process of formation (and transformation) of a police officer (Polisen 2022).

The advertisement videos were part of the latest campaign, in 2020, by the Swedish police agency (*Polismyndigheten*) titled "*Är du redo för en större uppgift*" (are you ready for a bigger task) intending to recruit and increase the national police force. Their recent publication makes them an essential source of knowledge of the image, education and identity of future police officers that *Polismyndigheten* has been trying to recruit in recent years. The analysis of this data provided guidelines to draft the interview questions and focus on what themes to pay attention to.

The first video (2:43) accompanies three students in their education as an officer. The second video (1:00) highlights what to expect from the police academy. The third video (0:30) introduces three future police officers. The videos are referenced by their time stamp (appendix D).

Narrative interview

Maruna and Liem (2021) define narrative as the "[...] subjective, temporal representation of a series of events". Narrative is the individual filtration of a particular discourse in the process of creating meaning, identity and belonging as a human being (Maruna and Liem 2021, Kartch 2018, Carlsson 2013). Human beings produce a self-identity through an internalised narrative process of transforming past, present stories and future prospects into one comprehensible account (ibid). Thus, exploring masculinities in officers' self-narratives, reveals the calculated script guiding and governing the self and the organisation's image (Carlsson 2013).

Narrative interview emphasises listening rather than questioning, transforming the roles of "interviewer-interviewee into narrator-listener" (Kartch 2018). The end goal of this type of interview is to give space for the participant to narrate their experiences and afterwards analyse how they are constructed (Kartch 2018, Gadd 2012). Additionally, it is equally crucial to be attentive to what participants re-tell, how they say, and what they choose not to say (Gadd 2012). This method is commonly divided into smaller interviews with the same participant (ibid). However, due to time restraints, this study focuses on one single interview per individual. The starter questions should invite the participant to tell their life story with a broad question concerning the research's interest. The interviews began with a brief introduction to the study, clarifications and a reminder of the right to withdraw from the interview at any moment. Gender and years working as a police officer were requested for background.

The first question was relevant to capture the perception that the individual had of the role of police officers and to start the conversation about the process that brought them to this journey. The second demands a more thorough scrutiny of the individual's personal experience. Thus, while one question focuses on the narrative about the institution of policing to understand the culture behind it, the other refers to the participant's process within that culture. The third question inquired about an overarching narrative of their journey as a police officers (including past, present and prospects) (appendix C).

Prompting questions such as "How does that make you feel?", "Can you tell me more about X?" and "Can you give me an example?" were asked to expand, clarify and explain events deemed relevant for gender performance in police work. Other questions were used to anchor the interview in the aim of the study (appendix C).

The interviews were conducted in English due to my intermediate level of Swedish. This was to guarantee that what was being said was understood and to facilitate the flow of the interview and follow-up questions. As mentioned, all participants had a fluent understanding of English and English proficiency, which does not diminish the results. However, more attention is paid to avoid incorrect interpretations and attribute bias interpretations to certain words. Furthermore, the data is approached by attempting to balance how stories and experiences are told with a deeper analysis of what those might mean, independently if they are 'truth' (Kurtz and Upton 2018).

The coding process followed the five-part model developed by Presser and Sandberg (2015:86, Kurtz and Upton 2018):

- 1) Main narratives are identified, considering how specific themes are narrated, the sequence of events, stereotypical 'characters' produced, and metaphors used.
- 2) The participant's choice of words concerning their agency and what is avoided.
- 3) The genre of the narrative. Defining the meanings of the narrative considering the "dramatic arc and effect";
- 4) Searching for consistency and contradictions in the narrative. The plurality of voices within the same narrative may diverge and contradict each other.
- 5) Consideration of the context in which the story was told. Presser and Sandberg (2015) state that factors like setting, purpose and interviewer influence the story produced.

The interviews were manually transcribed in a device without connection to the internet, having into account behavioural queues such as laughs, pauses and hesitations.

For the coding process, the interviews were briefly scanned, and overarching narratives/themes were drawn. Those narratives were then used to

code the interviews through NVivo. The initial coding was developed from a broader themed narrative to more specified categories or sub-narratives. Finally, narratives that were related to each other were grouped for the purpose of simplifying the data. The findings and their clarifications can be found in the appendix E.

Sample

The sample for this study comprises six participants, composed of female and male officers. The interest group were active police officers that had successfully graduated and were employed by the *Polismyndigheten* in Sweden. No criteria were defined for gender or ethnicity. However, due to the nature of this study, there was a concern for balancing between female and male accounts. The participants' average years in the profession was four years. The participants were approached through snowball sampling. Contacts were obtained from third parties, and upon those interviews, participants were asked if they knew anyone else willing to participate. This sampling technique is sometimes considered unreliable since the participants are not independent and may influence each other contacts (Halperin and Heath 2017). Numerous attempts were employed to avoid this without producing reliable contacts. The interviews were conducted over the telephone and lasted between 45 minutes to 1 hour and 20 minutes.

Ethical considerations

Considering that the research involves sensitive information about participants' opinions and experiences, a request was sent, reviewed and approved by the Ethical Council of Malmö University for the Faculty of Health and Society (appendix B). All recommendations were taken into consideration and rectified. The information letter was translated into Swedish so that participants could fully understand the aim and purpose of the interview (appendix A). It was also included in the information letter that the interview data would be deleted as soon as it was approved and graded. In addition, an e-mail address was created for the purpose of contacting participants. Further recommendations from the ethical council were provided upon the request of telephone interviews, and details in the application were supplemented.

The participants were informed both in written form and verbally about their rights to withdraw their participation or refuse to answer questions at any moment, and their consent was obtained verbally before the interview. The interviews were conducted with a recording device and without any connection to the internet. The recordings and transcriptions were stored in two encrypted USBs. Numbers were used to refer to participants in the transcriptions, and personal details were removed to avoid identification.

Results

The excerpts and narratives selected represent a careful consideration of what is relevant for studying masculinity in a police officer's process of becoming. This section is divided by the methods used. The discourse analysis extracted three themes from the material: physical aptitudes, the prototypical *polisman*, and gender equality (appendix D). The interviews produced four narratives: 'good

guys' stories, masculinities stories, femininity stories and war stories (appendix E).

Discourse analysis

Physical aptitudes. The program provides a few ground pillars that should be taught in all schools (Polisen 2022:6) The theoretical and practical knowledge necessary to conduct the tasks entailed in police work. Practical tasks include handling conflict, first-aids, IT- and communication systems, driving and forensics. Themes related to crime, such as crime-fighting, crime analysis, forensics and handling conflict and criminal behaviour, are referred to numerous times, whereas helping and supporting victims of crime is mentioned once (Polisen 2022:5). The elements considered crucial for police education accentuate physical skills and action-driven tasks and undermine feminised tasks. This is also visible in the videos, some clips illustrate the theoretical part of the education, and more significant emphasis is placed on physical adaptability and endurance, strength and action and danger. These aspects are highlighted through preparation for risky tasks. Kurtz and Utpon (2017:549-553) referred to risky situations as high-tension conflicts and life-threatening occasions. For example, images of police students shooting guns or driving fast in a patrol car and the stories of two female students, one preparing to be able to sustain extremely low temperatures (0:17) and the other practising being able to support a colleague who has been shot (0:59). These situations are described as exhilarating, terrifying and stressful.

Gender equality. All videos contain both men and women, primarily white, and put more emphasis on female characters than male ones. This indicates *Polismyndheten's* desire to appeal to women and increase female presence within the police force. The educational program demonstrates the same undertones. Overall the program is presented in a gender-neutral tone. The notion of gender equality (*jämställdhet*) is mentioned once: "*jämställdhet* between women and men should always be upheld [*iakttas*] and encouraged [*främjas*]" (Polisen 2022:4). However, in any other part of the document mentions that this should be part of the program or how it should be monitored, which questions their willingness to work towards gender equality, or if they believe that they have already achieved it.

The polisman. The first sentence of the national education program reads: "[...] about the education of policeman [*polisman*] [...]". Even though the word *polisman* not being directly discriminatory to officers that identify with other genders, it endorses the image of the classic male police officer and that this program is tailor-made for him. The third video (0:30) exemplifies three potential officers: A dad who is represented in a caring position with his child and his supporting wife in the background. A young man is pictured helping an old lady. The third character is a woman pictured encouraging young women to exercise. All of these characterisations feed into the *polisman* prototype. The man is defined by his fatherhood and his position in a stereotypical white heterosexual core family, equating child-rearing to goodness or at least to the potential of transforming into a 'better' man by becoming a police officer. The young men's representation plays into the stereotypical ideas of protection and victimisation by helping out an older lady, which aligns with masculine values. On the other hand, the future policewoman is characterised by her physical activity, promoting the

notion that for policewomen to be accepted, they must be strong and active, performing masculinity.

Furthermore, the videos also refer to being in a position of transformation into a better, more confident person by undergoing the education and being in a position to have an active impact on society. Two students reported a change: a female student refers to have become more confident by executing activities she could not do previously (0:38), and a male student shares that he developed a better awareness of the strength necessary for the job and for things around him (2:12). Another highlight of the first video (2:43) is the first-time students try out the uniform. A male student cites a 'saying' in the police academy: "[...] one grows more or less five centimetres when using the uniform. Two with the shoes and three because you held yourself so upright" (2:00).

Narratives

Four main narratives were found within the interviews: good guys, parenthood, masculinity, femininity and war. These narratives refer to core stories relevant to community or individual identity concerning policing.

Good guys stories. The 'Good guy' narrative underlines the moments participants referred to themselves or the group as good. All participants perceived themselves as good-hearted people and identified themselves as the 'good guys'. One of the participants borrows the term "*to protect and serve*" from the US police motto. This is mirrored by other officers' expressions and desires, such as the "[...] *possibility to do something good*" or the desire to "[...] *make their [citizens] lives a little better[...]*".

" [...] Swedish police are very, very, very good; we may not be like the typical police that we talked earlier. The brutal and dominant, but we are very good at making Sweden a better place. [...] we use a lot more of these softer methods" (M).

The 'good guy' narrative is described as protective, nurturing, communicative, connected with their feelings and open to improvement. This is narrated in contrast to the 'bad cop' who is 'brutal' and 'dominant'. One of the participants illustrated the connection between these subthemes by recounting the changes he underwent during his time as a police officer.

"[T]he more I work as a police officer you learn how to be smooth. When you meet people you don't want to fight it's easier to talk to people that fight with them, so if you talk to people to do as you want it's much easier for me, for them and for my colleagues. I think the experience [...] makes you somewhat cooler[...]. When I was young [...] I was writing some ticket when they are speeding. You probably want to tell someone they are stupid that they could die, and it sounds a bit harsh and hard. But you want to be respected. [...] Now I am speaking with them and talking and if they don't give me thank you after I leave, after giving them a ticket, I feel that I failed in some way. Because I want them to learn that [they] can't speed [...]. But I wanted them to know that when they need the police, I am there for them" (M).

Not only did he become more patient towards offenders, but his attitude shifted from not just punishment, but teaching and admonishing them through

punishment. The idea of protection merges with the idea of parenthood. While only half of the respondents explicitly referred to having children, five participants elaborated on stories about parenthood or child-rearing. Police officers who mentioned their children reported finding a stronger motivation to protect others from harm, particularly children.

"My biggest motivation was to make sure my [child] have a safer environment later or at least try to what I can to keep [them] safe [...] But I think what keeps me going is that I always know that I've done everything in my power to make the life better for the children" (F).

An officer that was not a parent elaborated on increases in crime brought by lack of parental monitoring, pointing to a particular duty that police officers have of parenting society.

"Because the parents can't put up boundaries and stop and teach them what is right and wrong [...]. They don't have any boundaries. They don't have any elder people, nobody stands up to them. And they get like this feeling they can do whatever they want. There's no one to stand up to them and then they come to us and we have to take, the police has to put down the boundaries and stop them and say this is not ok" (M).

The combination of nurturing and strict and soft but strong gives the parenthood narrative a masculine undertone, emphasised by how women and children are portrayed.

Another subtheme of this narrative is connected to improvement and transformation as a natural process in police work. This transformation is mentioned as something that needs to be developed every day.

"Every day there's something that makes you a better police, a better person; something to learn" (M).

The transformation is often realised through accepting and being connected to one's feelings. Four participants reported being connected with their feelings almost as a requirement for police work: *"You have to talk about your feelings after a hard errand" (F)*. The uniform is also represented as an agent of change from an individual into a collective.

"[...] the uniform that I wear it's always been very special for me. Because it something that you earn. You earned it up to the point where you get it and then you got keep earning it every time. You got to keep proving yourself and keep earning to represent. Because we are representing Sweden as a hole in a lot of ways" (M).

While the previous subtheme alludes to continuous change, few reported that they had to adjust to their occupation when asked if participants had to change anything. The ones that reported a change referred to becoming mentally and physically stronger, losing weight and developing an acute sense of awareness.

Masculinity stories. This narrative explores how masculinity had been described and experienced by the participants. A typical pattern when explaining

masculinity was the differentiation between younger male officers, who tended to be harsher, in comparison to older male officers, who were described as softer. Immaturity is related to aggressivity, arrogance and the need to prove oneself as an officer.

"[...] [T] here is younger men that have this approach [with] each other and to the public that they should be this tough and they should say 'ah! I hit him [...]' they want you to be like this cocky people and my opinion is that... younger men like group they trigger each other you can hear it when you're sitting next to them, and they think it's funny and it's cool to like 'oh I yelled at him [...]" (F).

"I think it's a pretty common feeling for young man specially and when you are put in this kind work, they feel like they have to be super tough and super dominant all the time. Actually, they are like insecure little boys who are trying to be like superman. [...] when I meet the older ones, I think they are much more calm and I think they know what they are capable off. They have experienced so much they don't need to prove anything" (M).

However, a female officer mentioned that the distinction between 'softer' and 'harder' policing demeanours shifted according to the setting: *"some men are like softer to some people like women more and are harder against guys" (F)*. Thus, indicating that the good guy narrative is not a constant behaviour, but a gendered practice.

Participants used 'harsher', 'hard', or 'tough' to describe the traditional masculine values and image of the classical male police officer in Sweden. According to interviews, this image has changed, and gender equality has been increasingly promoted.

"Before you had to be tall, strong, and look a way to be a police officer. But that's not the way now. Now when you look at what you can bring to the table in terms of education, and talking and understanding, different languages that's much more important, we are more equal that way" (M).

Despite that focus, the majority of participants mentioned that gender discrimination was still present in Swedish policing, like *"a special spirit"* and a *"[...] culture that you can't really get rid of" (F)*. Officers recounted multiple occasions in which the policeman category was differentiated from policewoman. Namely, the celebration of strength and action-driven activities and the use of 'locker room talk' or improper comments. One participant reported that during his education to become a police officer, the classic 'tough' image of policing was taken for granted and that other students strongly encouraged physical aptitudes.

"Many of my classmates in school thought the same. Because I was pretty good at like wrestling and shooting and got a lot of positive feedback" (M).

Most male officers reported that their gender, strength and physical abilities communicated authority to others.

"Me as male I think [...] I tend to get a little more built in respect or built in authority. But that's not always because I am man it's also because I am quite large as well. Cuz sometimes with smaller men colleagues its very different" (M).

One male participant commented on jokes as part of an acceptance act. He pointed out that 'locker room talk' was expected in a majorly male environment. The participant categorised one form of language as proper and the other as improper, mainly masculine.

"It's one guy or two guys in every group who, almost have this atmosphere on joking about dicks and gay and how to be in some way [...] Some women participate as much as the men, but I would say if you have two or three women the conversation gets [...], a little less manly I would say it's a bit more proper [...] I would not say that a toxic masculinity or a sexist way in more like a douchbag" (M).

His neutralisation of the harms of this kind of conversation shows that masculinity and exclusionary practices are disregarded and brushed off as inoffensive.

Femininity stories. Stories about femininity refer to narratives surrounding female experience or symbolic references to femininity (children). For instance, participants' illustrations of cases demonstrated a solid tendency to perceive "[...] children, women and elders" as victims. Episodes of domestic violence or gendered violence are heavily referred to, and the only 'crime' in which a woman is the actor is accidental.

"[...] a woman who is at a store with a child, she goes to buying her stuff she walks out and, oh she forgot to pay for the diapers. And for someone who isn't understanding of the laws of Sweden assume that it's shoplifting when in reality the laws in Sweden says that you have to have [done it with intent]" (F).

Policewomen, on the other hand, positioned themselves as the exception, destined to be police officers.

"[...] [I]t was natural to me to just become and work in the Polismyndigheten" (F).

Despite their self-perception, they are still underestimated by their male peers and considered better at communicative tasks.

"But I also have notice very positive aspects that come with being female. It's the communicative parts [...]" (M).

A female participant shared that while it was hard as a woman to get recognised as a police officer, working in a male-dominated environment helped to stand out, in comparison to working in a female-dominated environment where there was much competition. Another female officer pointed out that gendered assumptions allow her to communicate better with suspects.

"So the hard thing is that when there's a lot of women, in my opinion, working and maybe want to evolve and have a career there is more competition [...] when you are with men they don't feel [...] threaten the same way from you. So they might underestimate you [...]" (F).

"[...]I think [that is] why I have been able to talk calmly to the suspect, because they don't feel [...] they have to make themselves big or better than me because they are threaten"(F).

An aspect that was reported as having an impact on female officers' jobs and education was pregnancy. The reference to patrolling as an "actual job" indicates that both genders accept the validation of street-work over desk-work.

"Because when you get pregnant you can't work out on the streets anymore. You have to stay inside, so you are away from [...] your actual job for one and half year. You can really get set back in like, educations and, yeah just to get involved into higher position because of that"(F).

War stories. The final narrative alludes to descriptions of society, environment and work tasks by using extreme adjectives and military jargon. This narrative is also emphasised by the perception of an ever-changing society, with increasingly more people and crime rates.

"[...] [S]ociety is a lot of different too the mass immigration and all of these suburbs to all of the bigger cities has changed and its more people more people who pause who do more crime I would say. Crimes are higher and the ways of how society work have changed a lot"(M).

All participants refer to their work as extremely dangerous and strenuous. One officer used the term "war zone" and other officers described situations as extremely risky and hostile.

"They have like 13 years old and they are holding machine guns that are bigger than themselves [...]"(M).

"Sweden has all these shootings and explosions you almost get a mini task force every time you go out cuz you have to take out all of these fires. These bad situations that happens all the time"(M).

Two male officers described moments of conflict, such as the terrorist attack at *Drottninggatan* in Stockholm and the Russia-Ukraine war, as particularly impactful in their careers. This might suggest that war stories work as a motivational technique for male officers.

"Some worldly events have impacted my career more. The terror attack at Drottninggatan, that was a big one for me"(M).

Discussion

The triangulation of methods highlighted trends in the study that provides valuable insight into the conflict between masculinities in Sweden as a stage and how those masculinities influence policing and the image of what a police officer should be. It also showcased how gender performance is deployed as a mechanism for police work. The research question proposed: what is the role of masculinity in becoming a police officer? The discourse analysis informed the

research of expectations necessary in the process of becoming a police officer, in particular, the drafting of the ideal *polisman* and his characteristics. While narrative interviews highlighted what stories are behind the reproduction of this ideal and how femininity is excluded.

Considering all the parts of the research question, the findings show that becoming a police officer is a transformation conditioned by the institutional expectation of the occupation and, simultaneously, motivated every day by discursive practices of the self and the community. In other words, it is not enough to go to the police academy; one must strive daily to follow the guidelines, values and rituals of *Polismyndgheten* as an organisation. The idea that is promoted is that anyone can join the police academy and undergo the same transformation (video 1:00 and 0:30). Wells (2014) referred to the simple practice of wearing the uniform as the homogenisation of identity, in which the user's self-identity is disregarded and homogenised to represent the institution. The uniform as a transformative agent is showcased in the promotional videos and reinstated in the interviews in which a participant described the uniform as a symbol to represent the nation: "*Because we are representing Sweden as a hole in a lot of ways*". Nagel (1989) elaborated that institutional masculinity is directly connected to nation building.

The findings align with the literature that this transformation, acquired values and performed rituals are not necessarily gender-neutral (Fejes and Haake 2013). As Sweden promoted the idea of *jämställdhet*, masculinity and what it means to be a 'good' man changed (Goedecke and Klinth 2021, Hansson 2020). Instead, a more nurturing and sensitive image of masculinity was cultivated in the Swedish consciousness (ibid). This masculinity combines "[...] strong and masculine and simultaneously caring and soft" (Hansson 2020:560), much in line with the values and behaviour defended by the Swedish police. This type of soft masculinity has much in common with the narrative of the 'good guys' but in an institutional setting. While the father admonishes his children, the police admonish society metaphorically. However, 'softer' techniques do not equate with addressing institutional gendered discrimination (Goedecke and Klinth 2021, Connell 2008). This is blatant in the stories about femininity. The development of the idea of admonishing father remains a masculine construct ingrained in police cultures. Thus, it produces exclusions and devalues feminine practices in police work.

The identity of the 'good guy' is only accomplished through discursive practices in relation to others to form a cohesive narrative (Fejes and Haake 2013, Presser and Sandberg 2015). The narrative of the 'good guy' is constructed in relation to a victim (someone who needs to be saved) and/or the 'bad guys' (someone that needs to be supervised or taken under control). In the interviews, the 'bad guys' took the form of a society "*that has gone mad*", criminals who have taken bad decisions and immature male police officers. In contrast, the officers position themselves in direct opposition to those categories. Civilian women, children and the elderly are referred to and illustrated in the videos as victims. Emphasising that the feminine subject is weak grants an available position for the 'good guy' to intercept and protect. This protection, though, often comes at the expense of women's agency and self-determination (Kurtz and Upton 2017). In addition, it disregards individuals who do not fit the characteristics of the "ideal victim" (Christie 1986). Thus, masculinity in police work influences structural factors of narrative building, like who is considered a victim and a saviour.

Polismyndgheten openly promotes gender equality in the organisation. Part of that effort is visible in the videos that include a higher number of policewomen

rather than men and in participants' responses. The past ten years have seen the number of female officers increasing, but despite that, male officers still make up the majority of the Swedish police force (Polismuseet, 2022). The fact that all women reported dreaming of becoming police officers since childhood shows that women's representation in media may impact changing perceptions about the occupation. Nonetheless, a higher number of female workers is not always directly linked to gender equality (Fejes and Haake 2013). Andersson (2003) mentioned that women accepted in the police academy were aware of masculine norms within the force and played along just enough to avoid being considered 'too feminine'.

Interviews suggest that femininity in police work is excluded in three interconnected ways: the first is realised by stressing risky situations and celebrating physical aptitude. The second by utilising discursive rituals that exclude the feminised subject. The third is by "punishing" policewomen for their feminine experiences, such as pregnancy.

In the educational program, the reference to *polisman* emphasises that police officers should be male and that the program is designed through that bias. Martin (1999:114) stated:

"[t]he very way we characterise jobs in terms of their prototypical content is thus socially constructed on the basis of our common sense understandings of characteristics of the gender of the typical job incumbent".

The bias is found by focusing more on capabilities related to crime-fighting, like close combat, and strategies corresponding to street crime, such as crime mapping, while victim support remains secondary. It emphasises that police-street work is the most meaningful form of police work. The action-driven pictures of police cars highlight this image of chases and shootings in the videos. The supremacy of patrolling as 'real police work' is shared by all participants and remains unproblematised.

Kurtz and Upton (2018) explain that war stories are pivotal in what makes police work masculine. War narratives are told through hypermasculine characteristics of fearlessness against danger (ibid). This asserts that risky situations are not for female subjects. In the interviews, this is done by boosting the happenstance of nearly military events in everyday life and through the paradoxical reference to feminine imagery (children) with military equipment (machine guns). That moments of this narrative are more prevalent in male rather than female officers' answers indicate the importance of war stories in reproducing masculinity. War narratives also increase tensions and apprehension, influencing officers' beliefs and behaviour against civilians (ibid), which was present in the way that officers referred to society as something to protect but simultaneously control.

The previously discussed narratives emphasise strength and practical aptitudes that correspond with the classical image of a male police officer (*polisman*). Physical and mental strength was brought up continually throughout the interviews, as characteristics that are celebrated and respected, not only within the police force but also by civilians. This suggests that the assumptions associated with that image are not developed upon joining the force but even before the academy. Through the re-telling of these stories in policing settings, the image of the *polisman* is distributed and reproduced.

The second aspect of discrimination refers to discursive rituals, part of the 'hidden curriculum' (Prokos and Padavic 2002). These informal teachings can be

expressions, language, behaviour and culture that are part of group belonging (ibid). Responses highlighted moments that happened before and after work (locker room). Language and behaviour, namely referring to male genitalia and homophobic jokes, are in themselves characterised by masculinities (Kingshott 2013, Rabe-Hemp 2008). Gendered boundaries are created through the categorisation of language as improper, male, and proper as female, excluding policewomen and other forms of sexuality and gender expressions from belonging. Even if jokes are adapted when women are around, the necessary change indicates the gendered practices in the police and reinforces the idea that the occupation is catered for heterosexual men.

Contrary to the research of Fejes and Haake (2013), female officers could be included in the daring discourse. However, their inclusion was conditioned by their physical aptitudes and their feminised experiences, such as pregnancy. Additionally, female officers were appreciated for their easiness of communicating rather than any other factor. Policewomen are only included in the *polisman* norm by navigating gender carefully, for example, using their femininity as a tool against masculinity. Pregnancy is a stark feminine experience that 'incapacitates' policewomen from being able to perform or participate in masculinities, as they are perceived as WOMEN police rather than POLICE women (Chan et al. 2010). Consequently, pregnancy disrupts the possibility of women's career development (Kohlström 2021). Not only because it enables them attending training sessions, but also because the desk-work they do while pregnant is considered 'less' than street-work (ibid). This jeopardises female officers' self-image and, consequentially, their mental health (Kingshott 2013).

The three moments of gendered discrimination are realised by producing and reproducing a narrative that continually defines, through language, behaviour and action, that police work is a man's work. In this way, masculinity acts as a definer of what is appropriate for police work in contrast to femininity as victimisation by a society that needs to be parented.

Conclusion and limitations

The aim of this thesis was to understand the role that masculinity played in the process of becoming a police officer in Sweden.

Findings suggest that masculine norms in Sweden have a powerful impact on police work. Multiple gender expressions overlap in the *Polismyndigheten*, the most pronounced ones are the soft (Swedish) masculinity, in contrast to the macho traditional masculinity. Soft policing is characterised by goodness, communication, physical prowess and fatherhood, but also in relation to the categorical boundaries of what femininity is. Femininity is defined by victimisation or weakness and excluded through many discursive practices, such as language and behaviour. Thus, masculinity is crucial for designing narrative and discursive roles in policing.

In addition, the findings show that policewomen bargain femininity and masculinity in order to find belonging. However, feminised experiences, such as pregnancy, are a defining boundary that denies policewomen the possibility of performing masculinity.

Some limitations of this study are relevant to mention. This study included six participants, which does not represent the experience of all police officers in Sweden. However, it highlights considerations of how gender is done and the

implications of masculinity in policing that can be used in future research. The effect of snowball sampling on producing faulty results was considered, and the interviews departed from different clusters of origin, which increases the reliability of the study. Considering qualitative studies, the researcher can influence the research in multiple ways, either by producing leading questions or by applying their values to data analysis. During the interview, care was put into avoiding why or leading questions and, instead, used questions that looked at the participants' lived experiences. Two methods were used to produce the results, and those were compared with previous literature to retain validity.

Research on policing in Sweden is sparse, and researchers have a prolific number of areas to explore. This study hinted at other forms of discrimination in policing, including structural racism and LGBTQ+ experiences, which could be developed further. The research also indicated that the image of *polisman* is constructed before working as a police officer, either in the academy or even before that. Understanding how these values are being reproduced could be beneficial to find ways of how gender is being done in police work and, potentially, how it can be undone.

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Appendices

Appendix A information letter

Form	Information	Appendix 1
Project title: "Doing" masculinity in police work: a study of the narratives of "becoming" a police officer in Sweden.	Date: 17/02/2023	
Study manager: Juliana.holeksa@mau.se Your e-mail Carvalho.filipa.ana@gmail.com	Studying at Malmö University, Faculty of Health and Society, S-205 06 Malmö, Phone +46 40 665 70 00 Education: Criminology Level: Masters	
<p>This is an information letter for participation on research investigating self-narrated experiences by police officers. This research will be conducted by me, Ana Filipa Carvalho, studying Criminology at Malmö University, at the master's level.</p> <p>The purpose of this study is to understand if masculinity (in values and practices) has an impact on the motivation and career of a police officer in Sweden. In other words, the goal with the interview would be to obtain an overview of your professional career and what brought you to it, looking into past, present and future prospects. Ultimately, trying to understand if masculinity played a role in this process.</p> <p>Criminology has investigated crime, but research into the analysis of institutions that deal with crime is lacking. Studies show that crime is not only composed of criminal activities but also by how it is talked about and dealt with. With the recent interest in increasing the police force, this study has the added benefit of offering an understanding on the role of masculinity in established Swedish organizations, such as the police. Studies about police culture and police accounts in Sweden are limited, so this research will offer a window to those experiences, adding to the literature.</p> <p>This study will be made in two parts: In the first part I will review books and other educational material available in the curriculum of police education. I will also review job advertisements for the police force. In the second part of the study, I will interview approximately 6 to 10 police officers and then look for common and dominant themes.</p> <p>The interview will last approximately 30 minutes to 2 hours and will take place in a public space of your choice and will, with your consent, be recorded with an audio recorder, not connected to the internet. The questions will focus on your views of police work and your experiences as an officer. Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you can stop participating at any time. No explanation for ending the participation in this study is necessary.</p> <p>I strive to guarantee confidentiality in the study. The recordings will only be accessible by me and deleted after the end of the project. Upon the publication of my thesis, the people who participated in this study will be unidentifiable and it will not be possible to link the results to individuals. The study will be published on the Malmö University's database DiVA.</p> <p>You are hereby asked to take part in this study. Hereby, are you willing to participate in this study?</p>		

Appendix B Ethical approval



Fakulteten för hälsa och samhälle
Etikrådet

Utlåtande

Datum: 2023-03-03 Diarienummer: STUD 2023/849

Projekt:

"Doing" masculinity in police work: a study of the narratives of "becoming" a police officer in Sweden

Student:

Ana Filipa da Silva Carvalho

Utbildning:

Masterprogrammet Kriminologi

Handledare:

Juliana Holeksa

Föredragande:

Matilda Svensson Chowdhury

Etikrådets utlåtande:

This project is about gendered norms within the policing profession. Point of departure is the current specific situation in Sweden with relatively high gender equality and a political will to increase the police force in numbers.

The Ethics Council find this project to be interesting and only have a few remarks for the student to discuss with her supervisor.

1. The code key must be stored away from the sound files and transcriptions.
2. Since you are planning to interview people who do not have English as first language, we advise you to write the information letter in Swedish. Note that it must be easy to understand and avoid "difficult" language.
3. You write that all material "will be deleted from all devices after a period of nine months". We advise you to destroy it as soon as the thesis has been approved and you have received your grade. This includes all e-mails and so on. To make this easier the Ethics Council propose that you create a specific e-mail address for the project and use only this for all contact with informants and so on. This will make it a lot easier to destroy that type of material.

The Ethics Council wishes good luck with the project.

Matilda Svensson Chowdhury

Ledamot i Etikrådet för studentarbeten vid Fakulteten för hälsa och samhälle/Malmö universitet

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Appendix C Main questions and developing questions

Main questions	Developing questions
What does it mean for you to be a police officer?	What characteristics are important to be a good police officer?
What motivated you to become a police officer?	What motivates you everyday as a police officer?
Can you describe your journey as a police officer?	<p>How/where did it started?</p> <p>What was your experience in the police academy?</p> <p>What were your favourite and less favourite courses?</p> <p>What did you have to change to become a police officer?</p> <p>Have any life-events impacted you career?</p> <p>Where do you see yourself in the future?</p> <p>How has gender impacted your professional career?</p>

Appendix D Discourse analysis results

Material	Link	Themes
<p>“Police students prepare themselves for a bigger assignment” <i>[“Polisstudenterna gör sig redo för en större uppgift”]</i></p>	<p>https://youtu.be/ptmtwE6zYf8 accessed 2023/04/20</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • physical form • action and danger • Increase of self-confidence, being proud of wearing the uniform • transformation
<p>”Police education” <i>[“Polisutbildningen”]</i></p>	<p>https://youtu.be/zde1HT9-jeE accessed 2023/04/20</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Action • danger • power to influence society
<p>“Grow with a bigger assignment” [<i>“Väx med en större uppgift”]</i></p>	<p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jSqZGN4o5i0 accessed 2023/04/20</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • physical strength • women is represented by her strength • man is recognized by being a father • transformation • Becoming something big
<p>” Educational plan for the police program” <i>[“Utbildningsplan för Polisprogrammet”]</i></p>	<p>Polisen (2022) <i>“Utbildningsplan för Polisprogrammet”</i> https://www.hb.se/contentassets/88200d4b1e6f4baa9adcf1a8635c8455/utbildningsplan-polisprogrammet.pdf accessed 2023/04/20</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Polisman • Gender equality • Crime-fighting activities

Appendix E Codes

Name	Description	Files	References
Femininity stories	Narratives about women or femininity	6	40
Good guy stories	Reference to oneself or the group as inherently good	6	46
Bad guys	References to individuals directly against the good guys	5	14
Communication	Moments in which communication in police work is referred	5	24
Feelings	References to moments of sharing their feelings in police work	4	15
Parenthood	Mentions of parenthood or child-rearing	5	29
Police as a natural occupation	Police occupation being described as 'natural'	4	12
Hard questions	Hesitations, silences, mention of questions being hard to answer	4	4
Masculinity stories	Narratives about masculinity in police work	6	54
Masculine values	Moments in which non-explicit masculine values were spotted	6	51
Technologies	Reference to technologies	1	2
metaphor		1	1
Police academy	when stories from the police academy were narrated	3	8
Police culture and police work	Broad category of practices in police work and mentions to police culture	6	102
Recognition what is being studied	Comments made by the participant recognises what is being studied	2	3
War stories	Militarisation of language and emphasis on live-threatening situations	5	18
Changed society	Moments in which a change in society is mentioned	4	14