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Women Policing: A Contemporary Study of Women's Experiences in the Royal Thai Police

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

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Sasiphattra Siriwato

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Abstract

In line with international trends, in Thailand there are significantly fewer women than men who work at the senior level in public service and law enforcement occupations, especially in the police and armed forces. Utilizing the Royal Thai Police (RTP) as a case study, this research aims to identify the opportunities and barriers for promotion that impact women in the RTP and to analyze why few women work at the senior level for both police and administration or office-based work.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to gather information on women's experiences. Thirty-seven intended participants were interviewed. Thirty-four participants are female police officers who work either in the Technical Support Unit or in the Field Operation Unit and another three participants are significant public authority figures who work with the RTP.

Although many participants reported that they feel they have been 'accepted' in the RTP as police officers, there is evidence that they have not been fully accepted in the workplace. 'Acceptance in the workplace' has varied meanings according to which section of the organization those female police officers work within. This research shows that organizational and cultural barriers still exist that limit opportunities for promotion. Theoretical frameworks provided by Butler and Foucault help to provide tools for understanding why this might be the case in this and other case studies. One difficulty that emerged from the research is that having insider status as a researcher in relation to gendered cultural norms has impacted on the level of separation from critical

analysis of the issues being studied, because the researcher is the product of these same gendered cultural norms.

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I also express my gratitude to Dr. Jenny Coleman and Dr. Bethan Greener, my supervisors, for their expert advice, excellent guidance, encouragement and support me in attending both national and international conferences and for the duration of my doctoral study in New Zealand. Thanks for your constructive and valuable comments and suggestions in my thesis. I appreciate the considerable time and effort that both of my supervisors have invested in this work. I would also like to extend my thanks to all staff members of the School of People, Environment and Planning for their kindness, friendliness and support for all the equipment I used during my doctoral study. Thanks to Mary Roberts for managing Graduate Research Fund (GRF) documents and your

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Table of Contents

Abstract ..... **i**

Acknowledgements ..... **i**

Table of Contents ..... **iii**

List of Tables ..... **x**

List of Figures ..... **xi**

List of Pictures ..... **xii**

List of Acronyms ..... **xiii**

Introduction **1**

Aims of thesis 8

Importance of the research 8

Outline of the thesis 12

Chapter One: Gender **14**

Sex and gender distinction 16

Sexual differences 20

Doing gender 21

Performativity 25

Disciplinary regimes 28

Gender in society 31

Gender in Thailand 34

Chapter Two: Literature Review of Gender Discrimination in the Workplace 49

Gender discrimination in the workplace 54

International Conventions 55

National developments 59

Promotion 64

Sexual Harassment 73

Affirmative Action 78

Gender discrimination in male-dominated industries 82

Promotional barriers 91

Sexual harassment in male-dominated occupations 93

Gender discrimination and female police officers 96

Gender Discrimination in policing 100

Promotional barriers against female police officers 109

Sexual harassment and female police officers 117

Chapter Three: Female Police Officers 120

Historical review of female police officers 121

The United States 121

The United Kingdom 126

Japan 130

Policing in Thailand 134

The history of the Royal Thai Police 134

1) The Foundation period (1455 – 1932) 135

2) The Democratization Period (1932 – 1997) 138

3) The Current Period (1998 – present) 139

The Current Structure of the Royal Thai Police 140

The Four Bureaus 144

1) The Police General Hospital 144

2) The Education Bureau 145

3) The Royal Police Cadet Academy 145

4) The Provincial Police Region Division 1 – 9 146

Promotional Structure 150

Female police officers in Thailand 154

1) Historical review of female police officers 155

2) An overview of current levels of female police officers in Thailand 158

Chapter Four: Methodology 160

Feminist Methodologies 161

Methods of data collection 165

Selected Bureaus 170

Participants 172

Ethics Requirements 175

Ethics Approval Process 176

Ethical Considerations 179

Research Process 181

The Interviews 185

Interviewing Questions 186

Interviewing Responses 187

Analyzing Procedures 190

Chapter Five: The Four Bureaus 192

Equity in the workplace 193

Reasons to work in the RTP 194

Female police officers in the workplace 198

1) Acceptance in the RTP 198

2) Sexual harassment in the RTP 201

CEDAW 207

Working at senior levels 211

Opportunities for promotion 212

1) Chance for success and promotion in policing 212

2) Benefits for female police officers to gain promotion 216

Barriers against promotion 218

Chapter Six: Research Analysis 237

Acceptance in the workplace 239

Technical Support Unit 240

Field Operation Unit 244

Acceptance: Reality versus perception 247

Strategies used by female police officers to be accepted in the workplace 248

Opportunities to gain promotion to senior levels 250

Barriers against promotion to senior levels 255

Organizational barriers 255

1) Lack of field experience 255

2) Limited chances to show their work ability 258

3) External appointments 258

Cultural barriers 261

1) The cultural subordination of women 261

2) Male attitudes towards female police officers 271

3) Family 272

Conclusion 273

Conclusion and Recommendations 276

Key Findings 276

Recommendations 280

Critical reflections on research methodology 285

Future areas for research 287

Bibliography 289

Appendices **318**

Appendix A: Ethics Approval: Massey University Human Ethics Committee – Southern B 318

Appendix B: The letter requesting permission to conduct research at the Royal Thai Police (English Version) 319

Appendix C: The letter requesting permission to conduct research at the Royal Thai Police (Thai Version) 322

Appendix D: The letter of approval to conduct research and provide requested information from the Royal Thai Police (translated to English) 325

Appendix E: The letter of approval to conduct research and provide requested information from the Royal Thai Police (Thai Version) 327

Appendix F: Information Sheet (English Version) 329

Appendix G: Information Sheet (Thai Version) 332

Appendix H: Pre-Questionnaire – Demographic information (English Version) 336

Appendix I: Pre-Questionnaire – Demographic information (Thai Version) 337

Appendix J: Participant Consent Form (English Version) 339

Appendix K: Participant Consent Form (Thai Version) 340

Appendix L: The detail of Psychiatry Department of the Bangkok Health Center (English Version) 341

Appendix M: The detail of Psychiatry Department of the Bangkok Health Center (Thai Version) 342

Appendix N: Transcriber's confidentiality Agreement (English Version) 343

Appendix O: Transcriber's confidentiality Agreement (Thai Version) 344

Appendix P: Authority for the release of transcripts (English Version) 345

Appendix Q: Authority for the release of transcripts (Thai Version) 346

Appendix R: Interview Question Guide 347

Appendix S: The map of areas of responsibility for Division 1 – 9 348

Appendix T: The table of the rank and position of police officers in the Royal Thai Police 357

Appendix U: The summary of recommendations for the RTP 358

List of Tables

Table 1: Civil servants by ministry and sex, year 2010 - 2013 6

Table 2: Senior executives by ministry and sex, year 2010 - 2013* 7

Table 2.1: Military occupations in which women in other countries serve 90

Table 3.1: The table of the areas of responsibility of Division 1 - 9 147

Table 3.2: The amount of time that has been required at each position to gain promotion at senior levels 151

Table 3.3: The comparison between the academic position and the police ranking 153

Table 3.4: The number of academic publishing for each position 154

Table 3.5: The number of police in the RTP by rank and sex, year 2012 158

Table 4.1: Participants who have been selected from all criteria 175

Table 5.1: The number of female and male officers who worked at senior levels in the RTP between 2010 and 2012 211

Table 5.2: The number of police officers who worked at senior levels in the four bureaus between 2010 and 2012 212

List of Figures

Figure 1: Women in police forces around the world.....2

Figure 2.1: Number of female and male senior officers and managers in selected countries in North America, Europe, Asia and the Pacific countries.....65

Figure 3.1: The Police Organization Chart 143

Figure 5.1: Reasons that female police officers decided to work at the RTP 195

Figure 5.2: The reported acceptance of female police officers in the RTP.....199

Figure 5.3: Have female police officers faced any sexual harassment in the RTP? 202

Figure 5.4: Any changes in the RTP after Thailand had withdrawn from article 7 of CEDAW in 1995? 208

Figure 5.5: Barriers against promotion 219

Figure 5.6: Is it easy or hard to attend the promotional school? 233

List of Pictures

Picture 3.1: The current Police Insignia of Thailand 140

Picture 3.2: The Provincial Police Region Division 1 - 9 149

List of Acronyms

AAPs	Affirmative Action Programs
APSW	Association for the Promotion of the Status of Women
BPPB	Border Patrol Police Bureau
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CSC	Civil Service Commission
DoD	Department of Defense in the United States of America
DPKO	United Nation Department of Peacekeeping Operations
DVAW	Domestic violence against women
EDB	Education Bureau
EEO	Equal Employment Opportunity
EU	European Union
FPU	Female Formed Police Unit
ILO	International Labour Organization
IR	International Relations
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals

MUHEC	Massey University Human Ethics Committee
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCWA	National Commission on Women's Affairs
NPA	National Police Agency in Japan
OCSC	Office of the Civil Service Commission
OWF	Office of Women's Affairs and Family Development
PGH	Police General Hospital
PPR	Provincial Police Region Division 1 – 9
RPCA	Royal Police Cadet Academy
RTP	Royal Thai Police
SWAT	Special Weapons and Tactics team
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNPOL	United Nations Police
US	United States of America

Introduction

"If a leader is a woman, disaster is bound to happen"

(Kanjere, Thaba, & Teffo, 2011)

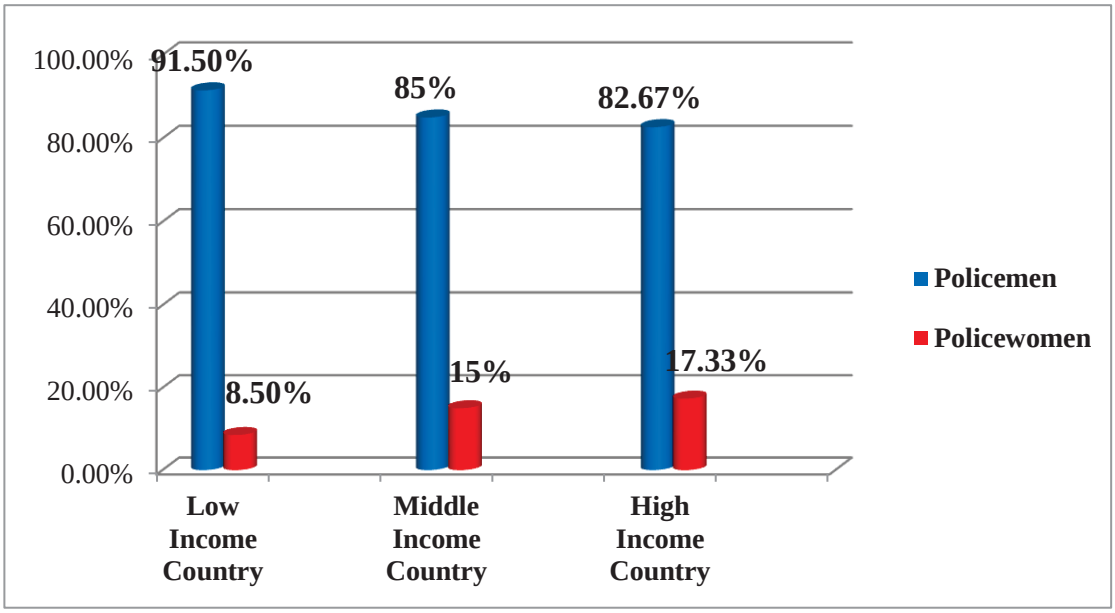
Despite women having been admitted into the police worldwide for over 100 years, the number of female police officers around the world is still low and even lower at senior levels.[1] Klockars (as cited in Langworthy & Travis III, 2003, p. 6) defined police as "institutions or individuals given the general rights to use coercive force by the state within the state's domestic territory". Policing has typically been seen as a man's job because it does require 'male' characteristics such as physical strength, self-reliance and aggression (Appier, 1998; S. E. Martin, 1979, 1980, 1990, 1999; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Milton, 1972; Morris, 1987; Natarajan, 2008; Price, 1985). In part because of this perception that policing is a man's job, police organizations tend to have fewer women than men. Even when comparing police with other male dominated jobs, such as the judiciary, the ratio of females to males is still very low (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2000). Comparative research has therefore suggested that female officers in police organizations face more barriers, such as a lack of support from supervisors and negative attitudes than men do (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2000).

For these reasons, it is perhaps not surprising that a relatively small number of women work in policing. Figure 1 shows the relative number of male and female police officers

[1] In 1910, Alice Stebbins was the first sworn female officer in the United States and in 1921, Clara Walkden was the first sworn female officer in the United Kingdom (Greater Manchester Police, 2010; The Los Angeles Police Department, 2010)

around the world. Among high income countries, there is an average of 17.33 percent of female police officers. In medium income countries and lower income countries, the percentages of female police officers are 15 percent and 8.5 percent respectively. For example, Australia and South Africa have the highest percentage of female police officers at 29.9 percent and 29 percent respectively (United Nations Development Programme & United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2007), while India conversely has the lowest percentage of female police officers in the world at only two percent (United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2009).[2]

Figure 1: Women in police forces around the world



Source: United Nations Development Programme & United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2007

There is debate about whether or not women suit police work because policing is a dangerous occupation, particularly when it comes to crime fighting. However, police work is not only crime fighting, it also involves social work and administration jobs.

[2] The percentage of Indian female police officers only includes female officers who work in the National Police Forces of India. This number does not include Indian female police officers in the Female Formed Police Unit which operates in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation.

Indeed, Mossman and New Zealand Police (2008) have argued that the majority of police work is social work and administration rather than crime fighting. Moreover, since the 1980s, in particular, it has been recognized that crime fighting is multifaceted. To prevent crimes, police must have a good relationship with the community. The term 'community policing' has been used to describe the positive relationship between police and members of the public in order to prevent crimes (Lab, 2003; Roberg, Novak, & Cordner, 2005). Crime rates are related to the interaction between police and public. If they have a good relationship, the crime rate in that area tends to be low. However, if police and the public have a low level of positive interaction, the crime is/can be quite high in that area (Lab, 2003). Thus, the relationship between police and community is very important for preventing crime.

Importantly, some commentators such as August Vollmer (Police Chief of Berkeley, between 1905 and 1932), have claimed that female police officers are important for policing because women foster good relationships between police and the community; research has showed that women are more effective than men in communication and providing service for communities (Horne, 1980). Building relationships with the community is a centrally important police task. Consequently, the rationale that 'policing' relies on 'male' characteristics is not valid and cannot fairly be used to exclude women from this profession as policing encompasses a broad range of tasks.

Moreover, there are several ranges of policing tasks such as patrolling, criminal investigation, traffic and administration. Each policing task requires different skills, and an equity approach would mean that both genders would be able to take up all roles. However, feminist researchers have argued that female police officers may be better

suited to particular police tasks because of their unique abilities and skills as communicators and problem solvers (Lonsway, Michelle, & Spillar, 2002). Likewise, male police officers may not be suited for all active policing tasks. For example, some men may not pass the physical strength test and would prefer administration tasks such as recruitment, training or public relations that do not require any physical strength. In policing, administration tasks comprise around 11 percent of police work in Japan, 10 percent in Canada, 9 percent in the United States, 7 percent in England and Wales and 6 percent in Australia (Bayley, 2005, p. 147). Female police officers without required strength levels still contribute to work in administration which is one important area of policing. Other operational units like the Dog Squad and the Special Weapons And Tactics Team (SWAT) are considered very dangerous work and the assumption has been that these require strongly 'male' characteristics. Incidents such as hostage taking or rescue operations that require certain personal characteristics may be more suitable for men rather than women as a general rule (Dodge, Valcore, & Gomez, 2011), though the feminist position of Lonsway, Michelle and Spillar would dispute this.

In addition to these issues, some female police officers themselves believe they are suited to 'feminized' forms of police work. For example, Rabe-Hemp (2009) found that female police officers believe that they are better than male police officers at performing feminized forms of police work such as responding to victims, community policing, and dealing with children and juveniles. However, she believes that this is because these female police officers themselves hold feminine stereotypes of women, such as women are better caregivers and communicators than males.

The overall, albeit contested, perception that policing is a man's job has had implications for the number of female officers working at senior levels. Few women attain the rank of Chief Superintendent and Commander within policing organizations. Martin and Jurik (2007) and Natarajan (2008) both argue that only a few women work at the senior level in policing institutions around the world; indeed, some countries such as Denmark, Ireland and Portugal do not have any female police officers who work at the senior level. Similarly, in a New Zealand study, Hyman (2000) argued the New Zealand Police should increase the number of female officers who work at the senior level because the highest level that women had achieved at that point in time was Superintendent.

In Thailand, women in general lack opportunities to progress their careers to higher levels. According to the Global Gender Gap Report (World Economic Forum, 2010), Thai women still have less opportunity than men to be legislators, senior officials, and managers in both public and private sector organizations, including the police force. This is in spite of the fact that Thailand acceded to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) on 9 August 1985 (CEDAW in Action in Southeast Asia 2010). Article seven of CEDAW indicates that countries should ensure that women have equal rights to work at all level in the public sectors (The Division for the Advancement of Women, 2010). While the numbers of women who work in the public sector are increasing, and in some public areas now make up greater numbers than men, only a few women progress to senior levels within civil service positions worldwide. Table 1 shows the number of women who work in the public sector is increasing in Thailand while Table 2 compares the number of women and men who work at senior levels in the public sector in Thailand.

Table 1: Civil servants by ministry and sex, year 2010 - 2013

Ministry	2010			2011			2012			2013		
	Male	Female	% Female	Male	Female	% Female	Male	Female	% Female	Male	Female	% Female
Office of the Prime Minister	2,791	3,737	57.25	2,723	3,648	57.26	2,749	3,719	57.50	2,647	3,632	57.84
Ministry of Finance	9,486	20,810	68.69	9,272	20,631	68.99	9,068	20,715	69.55	8,770	20,621	70.16
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	665	897	57.43	621	913	59.52	615	876	58.75	632	903	58.83
Ministry of Tourism and Sports	302	334	52.52	295	336	53.25	291	351	54.67	290	356	55.11
Ministry of Social Development and Human Security	1,053	2,328	68.86	974	2,333	70.55	1,466	3,268	69.03	890	2,304	72.14
Ministry of Agricultures and Cooperatives	21,172	14,498	40.64	20,504	14,730	41.81	19,624	14,939	43.22	19,291	15,151	43.99
Ministry of Transport	8,660	5,673	39.58	8,600	5,654	39.67	8,466	5,619	39.89	8,325	5,571	40.09
Ministry of Natural Resource and Environment	7,613	2,790	26.82	7,446	2,967	28.49	7,261	3,082	29.80	7,041	3,184	31.14
Ministry of Information and Communications Technology	968	979	50.28	1,005	1,016	50.27	978	1,009	50.78	954	1,040	52.16
Ministry of Energy	707	534	43.03	708	554	43.90	712	560	44.03	702	567	44.68
Ministry of Commerce	1,120	2,406	68.24	1,084	2,336	68.30	1,102	2,359	68.16	1,076	2,384	68.90
Ministry of Interior	21,990	18,772	46.05	20,942	18,763	47.26	20,967	19,025	47.57	20,630	19,178	48.18
Ministry of Justice	11,525	5,871	33.75	11,321	5,945	34.43	11,143	5,899	34.61	11,448	5,966	34.26
Ministry of Labour	1,948	4,235	68.49	1,921	4,228	68.76	1,902	4,139	68.52	1,940	4,258	68.70
Ministry of Culture	1,272	2,228	63.66	1,269	2,214	63.57	1,264	2,206	63.57	1,254	2,171	63.39
Ministry of Science and Technology	281	465	62.33	277	466	62.72	275	486	63.86	270	471	63.56
Ministry of Education	1,014	2,610	72.02	971	2,524	72.22	954	2,447	71.95	949	2,404	71.70
Ministry of Public Health	38,014	133,056	77.78	37,510	132,279	77.91	38,152	135,088	77.98	39,712	142,251	78.18
Ministry of Industry	1,599	1,800	52.96	1,546	1,809	53.92	1,526	1,807	54.22	1,488	1,798	54.72

Sources: Office of the Civil Service Commission: Ordinary civil servants in Thailand 2010 – 2013

Table 2: Senior executives by ministry and sex, year 2010 - 2013*

Ministry	2010			2011			2012			2013		
	Male	Female	% Female	Male	Female	% Female	Male	Female	% Female	Male	Female	% Female
Office of the Prime Minister	40	13	24.53	37	14	27.45	42	16	27.59	40	12	23.08
Ministry of Finance	19	19	50.00	23	16	41.03	19	16	45.71	23	13	36.11
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	27	11	28.95	24	8	25.00	30	8	21.05	29	9	23.68
Ministry of Tourism and Sports	5	1	16.67	4	2	33.33	7	2	22.22	7	2	22.22
Ministry of Social Development and Human Security	10	5	33.33	8	5	38.46	15	4	21.05	9	5	35.71
Ministry of Agricultures and Cooperatives	44	11	20.00	44	10	18.52	44	9	16.98	43	12	21.82
Ministry of Transport	26	1	3.70	26	1	3.70	26	2	7.14	23	3	11.54
Ministry of Natural Resource and Environment	27	9	25.00	25	9	26.47	28	7	20.00	29	7	19.44
Ministry of Information and Communications Technology	8	2	20.00	7	3	30.00	6	5	45.45	7	4	36.36
Ministry of Energy	15	1	6.25	11	2	15.38	13	2	13.33	13	2	13.33
Ministry of Commerce	13	15	53.57	13	15	53.57	16	14	46.67	11	17	60.71
Ministry of Interior	28	1	3.45	28	1	3.45	33	1	2.94	31	-	-
Ministry of Justice	29	12	29.27	27	11	28.95	31	9	22.50	28	9	24.32
Ministry of Labour	12	8	40.00	13	7	35.00	14	6	30.00	16	3	15.79
Ministry of Culture	11	3	21.43	10	2	16.67	9	5	35.71	10	4	28.57
Ministry of Science and Technology	7	1	12.50	6	2	25.00	6	3	33.33	4	3	42.86
Ministry of Education	18	6	25.00	13	8	38.10	18	7	28.00	23	6	20.69
Ministry of Public Health	32	4	11.11	27	3	10.00	33	3	8.33	30	4	11.76
Ministry of Industry	24	5	17	25	4	13.79	20	4	16.67	15	7	31.82

Sources: Office of the Civil Service Commission: Ordinary civil servants in Thailand

Notes: * In Thailand, the civil servants have been categorized as class 1 to class 11. In this table, the number of senior executives has been calculated from class 9 to class 11.

In the Royal Thai Police (RTP), there are a small number of sworn female officers, and very few women work at the senior level. While the RTP has a large number of bureaucrats, there are only 15,841 or 7.70 percent of female police officers out of a total of 205,758 police officers in 2012 (Royal Thai Police, 2012). Only 331 females (0.16 percent of female officers) work at the senior level[3] compared to 3,587 men (Royal Thai Police, 2012). These figures suggest that women have diminished chances for work and promotion in the RTP.

Aims of thesis

This thesis aims to identify and analyse the status of women in the RTP. This research will work to identify the opportunities for and barriers against promotion that affect women in this organization and to analyse why only a few women work at senior levels. An inductive approach, where theory emerges from data, will be used in this research and its findings should help to clarify why the RTP still appears to have difficulties in achieving gender balance, particularly with respect to the low numbers of female police officers who work at both lower and higher levels in the RTP.

Importance of the research

Internationally, attempts have been initiated to try to overcome both barriers to the entry of women into policing and to their advancement within policing organizations. The UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) has recently encouraged national police schools in every country to give more opportunities to women to enter policing. They have also called for every nation to increase the number of female police officers,

[3] To be considered as working at the senior levels, police officers have to have the position Superintendent or above and have the rank of Police Colonel or above.

especially the number of female officers at the senior level, in order to address gender equality (United Nations, 2009). This issue of women in policing has become a very important issue to study both for practical purposes in terms of the skill sets and characteristics women bring to bear on their work, and in terms of the broader question of how gender discrimination issues are or are not being advanced.

There are five major reasons why this research is important. Firstly, this research aims to contribute additional knowledge to gender studies about the broader issue of women in the workplace and women who work in non-traditional occupations at both international and national levels, especially in Thailand.

Secondly, this research also aims to contribute additional knowledge to police studies and police officers around the world to facilitate an understanding of female police officers' experiences in relation to achieving advancement in their careers, particularly in Thailand.

Thirdly, there is nobody who has ever done research related to female police officers in Thailand. Neither has the RTP been chosen as a case study before. Therefore, this research should be the first resource for any researchers who would like to do future research related to female police officers in Thailand or policing in Thailand.

Fourthly, there is an explicitly normative purpose of the broader contextualization of this thesis. That is, it is hoped that this work presents women's experiences as police officers in Thailand and their work experiences in the RTP. This study will, therefore, help to improve the status of female police officers in the RTP. This study will also help female police officers at the RTP understand that they are facing the same barriers as

female police officers in other countries, reassuring them that this is not an isolated problem and suggesting options for action. This knowledge may enable female police officers to perform their work better and have less negative experiences in their workplace.

Fifthly, the goal of this research is to explicitly identify the major opportunities for and barriers against female police officers in the RTP. Therefore, the RTP will more fully understand what is ‘good’ or ‘bad’ for female police officers in the current environment, and understand what they can do to improve the status of female police officers in the RTP. For example, the research will show the RTP should be able to find various ways to increase the number of female police officers who work at the senior level once it is recognized that there are few women working in such roles and once barriers to women working at higher levels are identified.

This study will, therefore, raise awareness about the issue of gender discrimination in the RTP. From the outcomes of this thesis, recommendations can then be made if the RTP is concerned about improving the status of female police officers. Therefore, the goals of this thesis can be summarized as follows:

1. Contribute to existing gender studies literature on women and work (particularly on discrimination issues in non-traditional occupations).
2. Contribute knowledge to existing policing studies and gender issue within policing.
3. Provide a source of information about policing in Thailand and female police officers in the RTP.

4. Provide research for female RTP personnel to understand how their experiences can be situated in a broader context to help with advancement in their careers.
5. Identify opportunities and barriers in the case of women in the RTP and provide recommendations for action.

There are some important issues to note before this thesis begins, however, police operations in Thailand are quite different from those in western countries. In the United States, for example, there are two types of police function. The first one is 'line function'. Only sworn police officers work in the line function in order to provide law enforcement tasks for communities. Police tasks in the line function are patrolling, traffic control and investigation. The second type of police function is 'support function'. Police officers who work in this function are non-sworn officers. They have their main duty to support and provide assistance to police officers who work in the line function. The support function includes training and staff development, inspection and internal affairs, research and special projects, public relations and budget (Bartollas & Hahn, 1999). Therefore, only sworn police officers who work in the line function have full arrest powers while non-sworn police officers, who work in the support function, do not (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2013). This is different from Thailand in that all sworn police officers work either in the line or support functions. The distinction between the roles is gender based rather than according to police function. Most sworn female police officers work in the support function while most sworn male police officers work in the line function. This division appears to be made on what is culturally seen as suitable work for each gender.

Before this study begins, therefore, it is helpful to provide one key definition. The term 'police officer' refers to a person who is empowered to enforce laws for preventing

crime and maintaining public order (Police Foundation & Policy Studies Institute, 1996). In this thesis, a 'policewoman' is defined as a female police officer who has been sworn to do all police work the same as a policeman. It also includes those who have been employed by the police organization to do non-enforcement tasks in administration and specialized professions, such as nurses and doctors, as these people are officially police officers. This is because there is no clear distinction between these roles in Thailand.

Outline of the thesis

The Introduction has outlined the importance of research on female police officers, identified the aims of this research and defined the use of the term 'policewomen'. Chapter One provides the theoretical framework that has informed this thesis. It begins with a discussion of feminist perspectives on sex, gender and sexual difference, distinguishing between essentialist and social constructionist positions. Judith Butler's concept of performativity and Michel Foucault's concept of disciplinary regimes are examined. Key concepts to be applied in the case study analysis are highlighted. The chapter closes with a consideration of gender from a Thai cultural perspective. Chapter Two reviews the literature surrounding gender discrimination in the workplace, particularly in promotion and sexual harassment. This chapter also reviews literature on gender discrimination in male-dominated occupations with a particular focus on policing. Chapter Three provides a historical background of female police officers internationally, and in Thailand specially. This chapter also presents the structure of the RTP, the four bureaus that have been selected for this research and the process of gaining promotion. Chapter Four explains the feminist methodologies and methods used in this research. This chapter also outlines the research process and explains the

selection of participants and the four bureaus, the ethics requirements and the procedures used for the interviews.

Chapter Five reports the research findings in the four bureaus: the Police General Hospital (PGH); the Police Education Bureau (EDB); the Royal Police Cadet Academy (RPCA); and the Provincial Police Region Division 1-9 (PPR) in the RTP. Equity in the workplace such as the acceptance in the RTP, sexual harassment in the RTP and CEDAW is described as well as the opportunities for and barriers against their promotion to senior levels. Chapter Six provides an analysis of the research findings. It begins with a critical analysis of how participants in this study constructed understandings of what it meant to be ‘accepted in the workplace’ and relates this to their experiences of opportunities for and barriers against promotion. Chapter Six will also analyze the reason why only a few female police officers work at senior levels and why they are afraid to discuss or talk about sexual harassment in the workplace. Finally, the Conclusion and Recommendations draw conclusions from the analysis of the findings of this study, provides recommendations based on these findings and offers areas for future research.

Chapter One

Gender

Gender became an important topic of study in the twentieth century, especially after the fourth world conference on women which was held in Beijing, China in 1995 when the United Nations announced a focus on the concept of gender rather than women (A. Stone, 2004). In 2000, the United Nations announced its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which consisted of eight goals to be completed by 2015. Gender issues form the basis of several of these goals, and are explicitly addressed in goal number three that states that countries should promote gender equality and empower women (Freedman, 1990).

Feminism is an important theory that uses gender as an analysis. Feminism is concerned that women are oppressed in society and asks how this situation can be remedied. Feminists would like to understand the differences between men and women (Kramer, 2011). Many argue that social factors are a key influence on the different positions of women and men in society, especially the social structures and social attitudes that underline women's position as being less important than men (Andersen & Witham, 2011).

The most prominent strands of feminist theoretical analysis are usually described as liberal feminism (as represented by theorists such as Mary Wollstonecraft, John Struart Mill and Betty Friedan), radical feminism (as represented by theorists such as Gayle Rubin and Kate Millett), socialist feminism (as represented by theorists such as Alison

Jaggar and Juliet Mitchell), and postmodernist feminism (as represented by theorists such as Judith Butler). In brief, liberal feminists argue that women and men should have the same rights and equal opportunities in society. This should happen through social and legal reform (Holmes, 2007). Liberal feminists also focus on gender differences that occur from the different social locations occupied by men and women (Gerstel & Sarkisian, 2006). They argue that if there is some change in society that creates equal opportunities between women and men, then this social change will lead to gender equality (Andersen & Witham, 2011). Liberal feminism is highlighted here because this theory will be applied in this research to help analyze acceptance in the workplace.

This chapter will be divided into six parts. The first part will discuss the meaning of sex and gender. The second part will describe sexual difference according to feminist theoretical perspectives. This part will also discuss essentialism and social constructionism and how these two theories provide different perspectives on sexual difference. The third part explains 'doing gender'. This part discusses how gender is created through social interaction. This section also explores gender differences in the workplace where gender relations are accomplished. The fourth part discusses performativity, a concept developed by Judith Butler, which suggests that people learn their gender through gender norms that come from society and culture. However, sometimes people may choose to 'perform gender' in a way that is not matched to their sex (Butler, 1990). The fifth part discusses the concept of disciplinary regimes from Michel Foucault, an idea that people are born to be male or female but that they learn, through society, how to be masculine or feminine through forms of social discipline and conformity (Foucault, 1995). Performativity and disciplinary regimes are useful frameworks to use in this research in order to understand and explain actions and

behaviors of female police officers based on the expectation of Thai society. The last part will describe gender in society, especially gender roles for women in society. This part will also describe how feminists view gender issues in Thailand.

Sex and gender distinction

The implications of the physical sexual differences between males and females have been debated for centuries. These debates have focused on the existing roles and status of what constitutes ‘male’ and ‘female’. A central concept, which has been debated and contested, is premised on biological determinism, the notion that males are physically stronger and destined to dominate; females are physically weaker and, due to their capacity to reproduce, are destined to become child bearers and child-rearers (Oakley, 2005).

Feminist contributions to these debates make a distinction between *sex* and *gender*. A second wave of feminism in the early 1970s started to introduce the idea of social and cultural construction in relation to sex and gender (Nicholson, 1994). Feminists began to increasingly argue that males and females were different because of social and cultural constructions. Culture is defined as “a pattern of expectations about what are appropriate behavior and beliefs for the members of the society; thus culture provides prescriptions for social behavior” (Andersen & Witham, 2011, p. 28). This means that society and culture determine what appropriate behavior is for men and women and construct beliefs and understandings of gender roles in society. Social and cultural construction then shapes how men and women are: both perception and behavior are captured in the concepts of sex and gender.

Even though second-wave feminism introduced the idea of social and cultural construction, its proponents generally still accepted the premise that women and men are different because of biological differences. Therefore, the term gender was introduced as a supplementary concept to sex. Although the term gender was not viewed as replacing the term sex, gender was conceived in a way that remains linked to biological sex. The term sex seemed to influence the definition of the meaning of gender (Nicholson, 1994).

The terms sex and gender need to be more clearly defined. Robert Stoller defined the terms in his book *Sex and gender* as

> … there are two sexes male and female. To determine sex one must assay the following physical conditions: chromosomes, external genitalia, internal genitalia (eg. uterus, prostate), gonalds, hormonal states and secondary sex characteristics…. One's sex, then is determined by an algebraic sum of all these qualities and, as is obvious, most people fall under one of two separate bell curves, the one of which is called 'male', the other 'female'….
>
> Gender is a term that has psychological and cultural rather than biological connotations; if the proper terms for sex are 'male' and 'female', the corresponding terms for gender are 'masculine' and 'feminine'; these latter may be quite independent of (biological) sex. Gender is the amount of masculinity or femininity found in a person, and, obviously, while there are mixtures of both in many humans, the normal male has a preponderance of masculinity and the normal female a preponderance of femininity. (Stoller, 1968, pp. 9-10)

In brief, the term sex is defined as biological and anatomical differences between men and women that they were born with, such as hormones and genitalia, while the term gender is used to refer to masculine and feminine behaviors and characteristics that depend on social and cultural constructions, such as social position, role and identity (Mikkola, 2008; Money, Hampson, & Hampson, 1955; Oakley, 1985; Rhode, 1990;

Unger, 1979). This means sex was the basis for gender to be socially constructed: that is, masculinity and femininity have been determined by social factors based on sex.

To support the idea that sex played an important role in providing the basis for gender in which society and culture are constructed, Gayle Rubin, arguing from a radical feminist perspective, introduced the expression of sex and gender system as “a set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity and in which these transformed sexual needs are satisfied” (Rubin, 1975, p. 534). This means that women and men have different biological bodies which is the foundation to the way that society and culture are constructed.

Linda Nicholson (1994, p. 81) offered a postmodern feminist analysis to further support this idea by using the analogy that “the body is viewed as a type of rack upon which differing cultural artifacts, specifically those of personality and behavior, are thrown or superimposed”. In other words, Nicholson compared male and female bodies to coat racks to show which sex they belonged to while specific gender behaviors and characteristics (masculine and feminine) were like coats. The coats for females will be hung on the female coat rack while the coats for males will be hung on the male coat rack. Therefore, the coats (gender) that were hung on coat racks (sex) refer to how each society and culture controls or shapes how males and females should behave.

In contrast, Joan Scott (2010) argued that it is gender that provides the meaning of sex. Scott (2010, p. 13) stated that “it is gender that produces meanings for sex and sexual difference, not sex that determines the meanings of gender”. In other words, gender explains how sex and sexual difference have been conceived. Therefore, gender is still a

useful category of analysis for understanding the sexual difference that will be discussed in the next section.

In addition, feminists argue that women experience discrimination or inequality in society not because of sex but because of their gender. The main reason that feminists argue that gender is the key point that makes men and women different is because social and cultural factors control or shape specific behaviors and characteristics (Mikkola, 2008; Rhode, 1990). These social and cultural constructions contribute to the fact that women and men have different skills, behavior and roles in society (Crawford & Unger, 2000). For example, male characteristics are seen as being strong, aggressive and having leadership skills, while women are seen as weak and emotional. Patriarchal societies therefore prefer men to take leadership roles rather than women. Radical feminist analysis explains this point by stating that specific gender behaviors and characteristics are attributed to male and female bodies and this allows men to dominate women in society (Tong, 2009). According to Rubin (1975, p. 177), “the subordination of women can be seen as a product of the relationships by which sex and gender are organized and produced” .

On the other hand, radical-libertarian feminist theorist, Kate Millett (as cited in Tong, 2009) has argued that feminists aim to end sex and gender systems which mean that “a set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity” (Rubin, 1975, p. 159) and are trying to establish a new society where women and men are equal because the sex relationship between males and females is the core for all power relationships. Millett (1971) claimed that

> social caste supersedes all other forms of inegalitarianism: racial, political, or economic, and unless the clinging to male supremacy as a birthright is finally forgone, all systems of oppression will continue to function simply by virtue of their logical and emotional mandate in the primary human situation. (Millett, 1971, pp. 20-21)

This means that in a sex and gender system, men will be leaders while women will be subordinates. To eliminate this inequality in society, gender has to be eliminated. The following section considers the theories that underpin feminist perspectives on the distinction of the terms sex and gender in more detail.

Sexual differences

Feminist theoretical perspectives on sexual difference draw on two modeling theories: essentialism and social constructionism. In feminist theory, essentialism refers to "a pure or original femininity, a female essence, outside the boundaries of the social and thereby untainted (though perhaps repressed) by a patriarchal order" (Fuss, 1989, p. 2). According to Stone (2004, p. 139), essentialists argued that "all women are constituted as women by their possession of wombs , breasts and child-bearing capacity". In other words, for essentialism, women and men are different because of biological differences such as sex organs, chromosomes and sex hormones. Each person will have 23 chromosomal pairs and one pair is the sex chromosomes that determine the sex of each person. A person who has the sex chromosomes consisting of XX will be female while the person who has the sex chromosomes XY will be male (Andersen & Witham, 2011). Moreover, there are some people who have unusual sex chromosomes known as intersex. This refers to any person who has sex chromosomes different from the norm. In other words, a person who may carry both male and female physical characteristics (Andersen & Witham, 2011).

In feminism, social constructionism refers to the idea that women and men are different because of social, cultural, psychological and political explanations (Freedman, 1990). Under the social constructionist theory, males and females are different because of social and cultural factors that shape their behavior and characteristics (Rubin, 1975; Unger, 1979).

Essentialism and social constructionism are diametrically opposed, which means they have different points of view about male and female. On the one hand, essentialism argues that there is a core difference in what constitutes male and female before social construction takes place. Essentialists argue that any essential or natural givens are the starting point to determine social norms (Fuss, 1989). On the other hand, social constructionists argue that the sexual difference between male and female is a result of the effect of social factors, rather than nature. They argue that society and culture shapes how women and men should be or should behave (Fuss, 1989). The contrast between these two positions has sometimes been summed up with the question, "is woman born or made?" (Fuss, 1989, p. 3). Essentialists such as Ernest Jones have argued that "woman is born not made" because they believe that "the natural is repressed by the social", whereas social constructionists such as Simone de Beauvoir have stated that "woman is made not born" because they believe that "the natural is produced by the social" (Fuss, 1989, p. 3). The next section will explain 'doing gender' which is a point of views that asserts that gender is created through social interaction.

Doing gender

Social constructionists aim to not only explain gender differences between women and men in the form of behavior and emotions, but they also aim to explain gender

inequality. In terms of gender differences, men tend to be dominant and women subordinate in many different societies. Women have been taught to be empathetic and take care of others while men have been taught to be competitive. Men are ranked higher than women in society (Lorber, 1994).

Moreover, social constructionists argue that the form of gender always changes through the interaction between each gender. This is the 'doing gender' perspective. According to Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman (2002, p. 13), they define 'doing gender' as "creating differences between girls and boys and women and men, differences that are not natural, essential or biological. Once the differences have been constructed, they are used to reinforce the "essentialness" of gender". This means that gender is not something that will always be fixed to either women or men, biological status or social roles. People build gendered social structures so that women are ranked lower than men in everyday life. Therefore, gender is not an individual trait, but rather it is created through social interaction (Andersen & Witham, 2011; Lorber, 2012). Chan, Doran and Marel (2010, pp. 427-428) also defined doing gender as "being accountable to one's membership in a sex category, that is, actions taken are subject to comment and characterization as being appropriate or inappropriate to being a man or a woman". In other words, there is a 'normative conception' of men and women that people should behave with the awareness that they will be judged based on what seems to be appropriate feminine and masculine behavior. The 'doing gender' perspective is therefore a useful perspective for understanding how the gendered nature of institutions can be changed through agency and interaction. However, failure to do gender appropriately will call individuals (their character and predispositions) rather than institutions to account (West & Zimmerman, 2002).

‘Doing gender’ focuses on the character of gender identity rather than seeing gender as a set of roles in society. The ‘doing gender’ perspective sees gender as a series of behaviors that are created through routine social interaction. For example, the man who opens doors for women or the man who takes the leader role in dancing, are doing gender because their behavior is created through social interactions and gender relations in society (Andersen & Witham, 2011).

In addition, organizations are important places where gender relations are accomplished and gendered culture is produced (Ashcraft, 2006; Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004). In the workplace, the organization’s purpose and the worker’s position influence expectations about how a person should behave or how she or he should act on the job (Ridgeway, 2007). For instance, when women work in a male-dominated organization, they have to perform their job according to gender norms that reproduce gender within that job. This point then creates gender differences in the workplace especially when gender barriers for particular positions, such as managerial positions, begin to break up (Deutsch, 2007). Ashcraft and Mumby (2004) further stated that gender differences between men and women can be seen in the working of organizations where gender differences are perceived and (de)valued within organizational settings. For example, they not that women and men have different approaches to communication techniques when working in organizations:

> women tend to approach communication as a process of building and maintaining relationships. They emphasize equality, responsiveness and support, emotion and personal disclosure, and a tentative or provisional tone. In contrast, men typically view interaction as an instrumental activity. Hence, they stress communication outcomes – like dominance, persuasion, or display of knowledge – and tend toward more abstract, rational, strategic, and assertive tones (Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004, p. 4).

West and Zimmerman (2002) further indicated that if communication techniques are examples of ‘doing gender’, male communication is then an instance of ‘doing dominance’ and female communication is ‘doing deference’. These differences mean that communication techniques that have been used by males and females reflect the relation between dominance and subordination.

Not only are there differences in communication, but leadership styles between women and men in organizations tend to be different. Rosener (1990) described women as being predominantly “transformational” or “interactive” leaders who aim to stimulate participation, share power and information and enhance others’ self-worth. Conversely, men are “transactional” leaders who focus on structural authority and hierarchical control. Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2001) also described the leadership style of women as typically being more democratic or participatory while men were viewed as more autocratic. As women and men have different styles of leadership, Ashcraft and Mumby (2004, p. 7) found that many scholars who study gender differences in organization argue that “dominant professional norms privilege men’s culture”. This then makes it more likely that managerial positions will belong to men.

Gender differences grow out of the different resources to which men and women have access or the different social locations they occupy (Gerstel & Sarkisian, 2006). This point comes to the fundamental question of “whether difference always mean(s) inequality” (Deutsch, 2007, p. 117). West and Zimmerman (2002) argued that the creation of gender supports a system of inequality between men and women because masculine pursuits are given greater value than feminine pursuits in society. Gender inequality is then difficult to change as gender differences still exist (Chan, Doran, &

Marel, 2010). Deutsch (2007, p. 122) therefore uses the phrase “doing gender to refer to social interactions that reproduce gender difference and use the phrase undoing gender to refer to social interaction that reduces gender difference”.

Even though the social constructionists argue that the form of gender can change, the changes do not take place easily because religion, education and mass media still control and enforce how people should behave in society (Lorber, 2012). ‘Doing gender’ is the basis for Judith Butler’s concept of ‘performativity’ which is discussed in the next section.

Performativity

Judith Butler (1990, p. 8) stated in *Gender Trouble* that she agreed with the idea of Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex* that “one is not born a woman but, rather, becomes one”. She argues that people do not choose their gender, but rather they learn through gender norms that shape how they should behave according to their sex. Therefore, there is no necessary connection between a person’s sex and a person’s gender (Butler, 1990). Moreover, Butler (1990) highlighted that although most feminists argue that gender is constructed, she claimed that not only is gender constructed, but so too is sex constructed. She argued that both sexual and gender identity are constructed through actions in everyday life.

The performance of masculinity and femininity can be seen through different societies and across cultures over time. This means that the performance of gender has a variety of behaviors, decisions and styles depending on each society and culture. The performance of gender is also interdependent with the gender performances of other

people as well as other aspects of our identity (Alsop, Fitzsimons, & Lennon, 2002). In other words, a gendered identity is formed from our performance and from other people's performance toward us; and this gender performance still appears as either male or female. As Alsop, Fitzsimons and Lennon (2002, p. 99), point out, in relation to gendered performances, Butler and Foucault agree that "we become subjects from our performances and the performances of others towards us". Butler argued that we perform gender through a script that can be changed over time and that we have a variety of scripts according to society and culture (Alsop, Fitzsimons, & Lennon, 2002). For instance, the gendered performance of a good Catholic mother is different from that of a woman who is a successful actress (Alsop, Fitzsimons, & Lennon, 2002). A good Catholic mother may perform their gender by abstaining from alcohol and wearing tidy clothes to go to church every Sunday while a successful actress may perform her gender by wearing a sexy dress and going out with friends.

However, people are not usually able to construct their gender and sex because their actions are limited because social and cultural factors control people's sex and gender in a way that they have to follow (Tong, 2009). Salin (2002, p. 89) argued based on performativity theory that "when the doctor or nurse declares 'It's a girl/boy!', they are not simply reporting on what they see …, they are actually assigning a sex and gender to a body that can have no existence outside discourse". In other words, people's sex and gender have to fit into these two main categories in society; either male or female. Therefore, the statement of "It's a girl/boy!" is performativity (Salin, 2002).

Performativity is a theoretical concept that describes how people express or perform their gender in society. Butler (1990, p. 173) explained that "acts, gestures and desires

produce the effect of an internal core or substance, but produce this on the surface of the body, through the play of signifying absences that suggest, but never reveal, the organizing principle of identity as a cause". In other words, any acts or gestures produced through the body are performativity. These various acts and gestures also create the idea of gender.

Moreover, performing gender comes with social punishment if people are not following the script that has been constructed by society and culture. According to Butler (1990, p. 178), "gender is a performance with clearly punitive consequences". In other words, individuals learn how to perform their gender in accordance with the norms of their culture. However, there are negative repercussions in society for individuals who refuse to follow and believe the cultural models (Butler, 1990).

Some people who decide to perform their own sex and gender identity in a way that is different from the natural existence, such as homosexuals and hermaphrodites, may not be aware of deliberately disregarding the norms. Returning to the clothes metaphor, Sarah Salin (2002) explains:

> if you decided to ignore the expectations and the constraints imposed by your peers, colleagues, etc. by "putting on a gender", which for some reason would upset those people who have authority over you or whose approval you require, you could not simply reinvent your metaphorical gender wardrobe or acquire an entirely new one (and even if you could do that, you would obviously be limited by what was available in the shops). Rather you would have to alter the clothes you already have in order to signal that you are not wearing them in a "conventional" way – by ripping them or sewing sequins on them or wearing them back to front or upside-down. In other words, your choice of gender is curtailed, as is your choice of subversion – which might make it seem as though, what you are doing is not "choosing" or "subverting" your gender at all (Salin, 2002, p. 50).

This means that people may choose to wear different clothes or behave differently from their existing gender norm. They may decide to have a sex operation or they may be homosexual. However, they are still bound by social norms of the male and female binary.

In their assessment of Butler's work on performativity, Alsop, Fitzsimons and Lennon (2002) further observed that the performance of gender and the relation of power have a connection with each other. Even though there are several ways to perform gender, some groups still have power in society and establish dominant ideals to reinforce how other groups should perform gender (Alsop, Fitzsimons, & Lennon, 2002). For example, men who are husbands typically have more power than women who are wives in society and they reinforce how these women should perform their gender such as by obeying man's orders. This point will be further explained in the following section.

Disciplinary regimes

Philosopher Michel Foucault uses the concept of disciplinary regimes to explain how the behavior of individuals is regulated in this society. Although Foucault was not explicitly concerned with the performance of gender, his theories on the way power is exercised through disciplinary practices of the body and through systems of surveillance, provide useful explanations for the performance of gender. Foucault (1995, p. 138) explained discipline as:

> what was then being formed was a policy of coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures, its behavior. The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it. A "political anatomy" which was also a "mechanics of power", was being born: it defines how one may have a hold over others' bodies, not only so that they may do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed

> and the efficiency that one determines. Thus, discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, “docile” bodies.

This means that Foucault argued that human bodies are “mechanics of power” that is they are part of a political anatomy that determines whether they are male or female. Disciplinary aspects such as gesture and behavior are practiced over “docile bodies”. People may decide to follow normal discipline or they may choose to perform differently. All human bodies, whether male or female, are subject to these disciplinary regimes.

The disciplinary practices produce different behavior and appearances over the body. For femininity, the style of the female figure and clothes change over time and across cultures. For example, women’s magazines run articles on dieting in every issue over the Christmas period before summer is coming. Readers then try to lose weight or visit diet doctors. Dieting therefore, becomes one disciplinary regime that controls the shape of docile bodies (Bartky, 2010).

Disciplinary regimes on behavior and movement also have control over bodies. The female body is more restricted than males in their gesture and movement. For example, when women sit, they have to keep their legs closed, but men do not have to do this. When a man is walking, his hand will swing and point toward the direction he is walking while a woman will keep her arms near her body and her palms against her sides (Bartky, 2010).

Additionally, female faces are more controlled and show less expression. If men are angry, women keep their eyes down, looking at the floor. There are also many more obligations on the behavior and movement of women. For example, if women wear a

low-cut dress, they have to be careful when they are walking and avoid bending in order not to display their breasts (Bartky, 2010). The disciplinary regimes even extend to control over women and men's skin. For femininity, skin should be soft, smooth and hairless (Bartky, 2010). These practices shape all bodies and do not exclude race or class. Women who are working as executives or who are working at McDonalds must buy cosmetics. But they may buy a different brand of cosmetics. The executive may buy her cosmetics at Bergdorf-Goodman whereas the woman working in the hospitality industry may buy her cosmetics at K-Mart and both of them still get the same result (Bartky, 2010).

According to Foucault, the disciplinary regime of femininity is "essentially non-egalitarian and asymmetrical" (Foucault, 1995, p. 222). Parents and teachers are people who have the most influence over the girl's body, such as telling them to smile and sit with their legs together. Mass media also play an important role in influencing images of the female body. Therefore, the disciplinary regime that inscribes masculinity over the male body and femininity over the female body is everywhere and for everyone (Bartky, 2010). Furthermore, women have also been taught through social and cultural factors to be subordinate in society by serving the interests of the dominant group: men. Thus, the discipline teaches women to unquestioningly conform to the inegalitarian system of sexual subordination. However, the disciplinary regimes are less controlled over the female body at present than in the past. Women have more mobility and are not limited to the domestic sphere: women have more liberty and can enter into the workforce (Bartky, 2010). The next section will describe gender in different societies, particularly gender in Thailand.

Gender in society

Each culture and society has a different perspective on gender. There are gender norms in each society that control how males and females should behave. Each sex has different behavior and characteristics ascribed to it that individuals must follow to be considered as gender appropriate. Social and cultural factors will then shape the belief of people as to appropriate behavior of each sex in society (Kramer, 2011). Some societies may see some occupations like police officers as appropriate to men and exclude women from this occupation, while western societies may believe that women can be good police officers like men and therefore allow them to work in policing same as men. Perspectives on gender appropriateness are therefore socially constructed (Kramer, 2011).

The term 'gender role' has been used to identify how social constructs have shaped male and female behavior. According to Andersen and Witham (2011, p. 33), gender role refers to "the expectations for behavior and attitudes that culture defines as appropriate for women and men". Oakley (1985) and Stoller (1968) further clarify the idea of gender roles as referring to how male and female live and behave in a given society. According to Ann Oakley (2005), there are two main areas in which women have to take responsibility in order to fulfill their gender role in society: family and marriage. Housework is a controversial issue because doing housework does not receive any pay which is different from paid 'work'. Oakley (2005, p. 204) underscores this by saying that "(1) Women belong in the family, while men belong at 'work'. (2) Therefore men work, while women do not work. (3) Therefore housework is not a form of work".

Social and cultural factors are key in shaping such appropriate behaviors for women and men. In the Arab world such as Egypt, Malaysia, Indonesia and Saudi Arabia, gender issues are quite serious causes of conflict and Muslim women tend to have significantly lower status and fewer rights in society compared to men (Eft & Russ-Eft, 2005). In Muslim countries, Shari'ah (Islamic law based on the teaching of the Qur'an) is a part of Muslim culture that can be discriminatory and oppressive to women, but in these instance Islamic women cannot deny Shari'ah because it would be seen as denying their identity and their religion (Othman, 2006). According to Sfeir and Chehabi (as cited in Al-Mannai, 2010, p. 84) Muslim women are therefore often "constrained by customs and social attitudes, which limit their access to the world and to a public social life". This level of control can occur in part because Arab countries may continue to be influenced by patriarchal ideas inherited from the Byzantine and Persian empires.

Patriarchy is defined as a "sexual system of power in which the male possesses superior power and economic privilege" (Eisenstein as cited in Andersen & Witham, 2011, p. 399). These patriarchal ideas then have influence through the interpretation and implementation of Islamic law (Eft & Russ-Eft, 2005). For example, the Qur'an describes the role of woman as "a wife who is a source of comfort for her husband" (Al-Mannai, 2010, p. 83). Moreover, in the Arab world, there are still many regulations about marriage, divorce, working, dressing and travelling for women to follow. For example, women cannot travel anywhere for longer than three days, unless they are travelling with their father or brother. According to Awde (as cited in Eft & Russ-Eft, 2005, p. 279), they explained that according to the Prophet,

> 'A woman should not travel a three-day journey unless she is with a mahram (a male who cannot marry that female, such as a brother, father

> or uncle)'. He also said: 'It's not permitted for a woman who believes in God and the Day of judgement to travel on a journey of a day and a night if no respectable male chaperones are with her'.

This means that, from a liberal feminist point of view, Muslim women have fewer rights in society when compared to men. Mernissi (as cited in Othman, 2006, p. 342) further described the position of Muslim women in society as

> it is a position based on their widely held assumption that in Islam a woman is considered secondary and inferior or subordinate to men and therefore men are charged with the religious responsibility of protecting and taking care of her in every way – her basic needs, her life, morality and chastity. Therefore a Muslim wife must be obedient and must not commit nushuz (rebellion of the wife against her Muslim husband's authority).

This statement clearly shows that Muslim women can have a lower status in some Muslim societies than men. Muslim women have increasingly requested that governments modify some of the more stringent Islamic laws, particularly Muslim family laws, in order to give more rights to women. However, changing these laws can be problematic because these changes may oppose the notions of rights and equal legal status of men and women in Islam (Othman, 2006).

Furthermore, women in South and East Asia typically still have much lower status when compared to other regions because of the gender attitudes and preference for sons (Xiaolei, Lu, Dong et al., 2013). In China, for example, Chinese women still have fewer rights than men in contemporary society. This is slowly changing. In 1950, the Marriage Law was passed and allowed women and men to have a more equal relationship, sharing responsibility for family. It was then that the level of education for women began to improve and they could also work. The number of women entering the

workforce today is increasing rapidly (Xiaolei, Lu, Dong et al., 2013). The next section will describe gender in Thailand.

Gender in Thailand

Historically, Thai women have faced less discrimination in society when compared to other women in Southeast Asian nations (Falk, 2010; Hutchings, 2000; Limanonda, 2000; Springer & Gable, 1981). Thai women have similar opportunities to Thai men for employment, promotion and salary because of a high level of access through education and training (Falk, 2010; Hutchings, 2000; Limanonda, 2000). According to the 2012 Global Gender Gap Report (World Economic Forum, 2012), for example, Thailand was ranked first among 135 countries for the number of women who enroll at the tertiary level. More than half of those enrolled in the university are women. Moreover, approximately 64.3 percent of Thai women participated in the workforce in 2010 (International Labour Organization, 2013b). Thai women also have the right to own and manage property and most women manage the money for their family or business. However, most of the time, Thai women are working 'behind the scenes' rather than publicly, not demonstrating that they are the owner and managing money for their business (Springer & Gable, 1981).

There are contested views on the effects of modernization on Thai women's status. On one hand, scholars argued that the reason why Thai women enjoy more freedom than many other Asian nations could be contributed to explicit efforts to engage in a process of modernization. In the past, the gender norm for Thai women was the same as those women in most nations, in that they have the responsibility for looking after the household and family members while men were responsible for earning money for their

family (Kritcharoen, Suwan, & Jirojwong, 2005). However, when Thailand entered the modernization period post 1855, there were five main areas that started to change. The first was increasing social acceptance of women working outside the home. The second was increasing opportunities for women to develop business and industry. The third was increasing educational opportunities for women and their children. The fourth was increases in the cost of living, particularly in the urban areas which meant that families needed extra income. The last point was changing attitudes toward Thai women and increasing acceptance of women working outside the home and their improved status in society (Springer & Gable, 1981). Moreover, since 1974, equal rights for men and women in society have also been guaranteed in the constitution of Thailand (Songsamphan, 2013). All of these points have led to the better status of Thai women in society when compared with many other Southeast Asian nations.

On the other hand, Esterik (2000) has argued that the oppression of Thai women was a result of modernization. In the past, Thai women had higher status and had more power in society, but they lost both. Satha-Anand (as cited in Falk, 2010, p. 112) further argued that after modernization, the legal codes for Thai family law still "considered women to be dependents of their male family members, not free agents". Therefore, "a woman's social status was defined through her husband's position in life (Satha-Anand as cited in Falk, 2010, p. 112). Satha-Anand (as cited in Falk, 2010) gives the example from divorce law that a major reason for divorce in Thailand is infidelity in the case that the wife is unfaithful. On the contrary, infidelity on the part of the husband is not a reason for divorce, instead it is recorded that he "honors another woman as his wife" (Satha-Anand as cited in Falk, 2010, p. 112). This may imply more that the language of

the Thai legal system has not yet changed than the attitudes and behaviors of Thai people.

Scholars have different ideas about modernization, however it cannot be denied that modernization has brought changes. For example, Thai women have higher rates of participation in the labor market, particularly in the export and tourism industries (Falk, 2010). However, overall, Thai women have lower status than men in Thai society compared with other developed nations. In some areas, such as politics, women have been discriminated against and have less chance in employment and promotion when compared with their male colleagues (Hutchings, 2000). Falk (2010) also argued that the areas of politics and religion remain male strongholds in Thai society. This point can be seen clearly from the low number of women participating in politics and Buddhism's ban on women's ordination. For instance, in the 2005 election, the proportion of women elected to work in the lower house was 10.6 per cent which is the highest rate ever in Thailand however, the proportion of women elected to work in the upper house was only 10 per cent. This proportion of women is very low, and below the Asian average at 14 per cent (Falk, 2010, p. 112). Similarly, in the last election in July 2011, a female Prime Minister was elected for the first time. Nevertheless, there are only 13 women in the Thai parliament and 87 men (World Economic Forum, 2011).

Thailand has therefore been described as patriarchal (Pongsapich, 1997; Tannenbaum, 1999) because women are focused on the household and taking care of their children, while men concentrate on power and relationships outside the home. Similarly, under the patriarchal family structure in Thailand, a man plays the leading role in the family and a woman has to obey and show respect to her husband (Xu, Kerley, &

Sirisunyaluck, 2011). This reflects Thailand's long history of customs and culture that continue to influence gender roles. For example, histories of Thailand demonstrates the power of men in either ruling or fighting in order to protect their country from other nations while emphasizing that women had to obey their husband, stay at home, and look after their family during the war (Surinya, 1997). As patriarchy is embedded in Thai society, Thai women have had to "rely on men, fathers or husbands to support and protect families, and hence a dominant gender perception in Thai society has portrayed women as dependent on and subordinate to men" (Thomson & Bhongsvej, 1995, p. 1). Vichit-Vadakan (1993, p. 15) has also described the role of Thai women as "someone who is there to feed, nurture, please, cajoe and humour men" and the role of Thai men as being those "who would provide them with material comforts … security … (and) … safety in return".

Gender scholars in Thailand have two main viewpoints on the status of Thai women. The first viewpoint is that Thai women are "different from, but equal to, men" (Falk, 2010, p. 111). Most Thai upper and middle class women are described in this way. These Thai women work outside the home and also take care of their children and look after their family at the same time "the roles of men and women are seen as complementary rather than competitive" (Falk, 2010, p. 111). The second viewpoint is that Thai women have experienced exploitation for a long time. Lower class women have experienced exploitation in their workplace because they have to work to support their families (Falk, 2010). Even though gender scholars have two different viewpoints on the status of Thai women, these two types of women have been taught the same ideal of womanhood: "Thai women is a dutiful daughter to her parents and upon marriage becomes a caring wife and a self-sacrificing mother" (Falk, 2010, p. 111).

Buddhism is the official religion in Thailand. Social values, a code of ethics and day to day behavior have been influenced by Buddhism. Thai feminists claim that Buddhism teaches the idea of 'hierarchical order' that supports men in superordinate roles while emphasizing that women should undertake subordinate roles in society (Esterik, 2000; Tannenbaum, 1999). According to Thitsa (as cited in Esterik, 2000, p. 67), "Buddhism provides a moral framework for man's hierarchical precedence over women, inasmuch as it sanctions polygyny and all beliefs and practices which devalue the female sex". Thitsa (as cited in Esterik, 2000, p. 67) further indicated that "Buddhists believe that birth as woman indicates bad karma or demerit (*baap*) from past lives". Similarly, many scholars argued that "it is cultural values and the formalized Buddhist institutions that subordinate and exclude women in the ways that are not supported by the Buddhist doctrine" (Falk, 2010, p. 118). Sukanya Huntrakul, another Thai feminist, also argues that because of the teaching of Buddhism, Thai women then have lower status than men and this leads to a lower chance of education for women and less chance of a high paying job (Esterik, 2000).

In Thailand, the ban on women's ordination is the major point for arguing that Buddhism teaches and supports the idea of a hierarchical order. In Thailand, although women cannot be ordained, there are Buddhist nuns (*Mae Chiis*) – "women who, in spite of the social convention, choose to ordain violate cultural norms of gender by abandoning their home lives and renouncing the world" (Falk, 2010, p. 118). However, a Buddhist nuns' role is ambiguous in Thai society. In 2000, the *bhikkhuni* was established. The *bhikkhuni* is a woman who has been ordained the same way as a man (Falk, 2010, p. 118). There have been several efforts to establish the bhikkhuni in Thailand over several years. However, these efforts were not successful. One possible

reason is that the Thai Buddhist nuns are not interested in receiving bhikkhuni ordination (Falk, 2010). In Thailand, there are large groups of bhikkhuni is who received ordination from monastics, who live in foreign countries. However, Thai Buddhism announced an order forbidding any monks from giving full ordination as a monk to women through Buddhism's supreme council (Falk, 2010). Furthermore, in 2004, the National Buddhist Bureau stated that:

> there can never be bhikkhuni ordination in Thailand due to the irretrievable loss in the lineage of Theravada bhikkhuni order and lack of a bhikkhuni preceptor. Bhikkhuni ordination is today performed in Thailand with assistance from monastics from abroad who are outside the Thai Buddhism's control. (Falk, 2010, p. 119)

This point confirms that in Thailand, Buddhism strongly supports the idea of hierarchical order because many scholars argue that if there is an establishment of bhikkhuni ordination in Thailand, it should improve Thai women's social status and opportunities (Falk, 2010).

Thai feminists often use Buddhist texts to support their argument that Buddhism suggests Thai women should be subordinate in society. The example of Buddha's reluctance to ordain women demonstrates to how Buddhism teaches women to have lower status than men in society, or pointing to the *Trai Phum Phra Ruang*[4] which is the popular Buddhist treatise, provides examples of how good wives should be subordinate to their husbands (Esterik, 2000). Buddhism has therefore been used as an ideology to explain women's and men's behavior in Thailand. There are traditionally

[4] The *Trai Phum Phra Ruang* is a cosmological text that was written approximately in 1345. This cosmology is related to urban and rural Thai society through their stories and their paintings in the temple's wall.

gender images for women and men in Thai society to control their behaviors in order to be a ‘good man’ and a ‘good woman’ in the Thai sense.

The gender image of women in Thailand is that of *Kulasatrii* (virtuous woman). Throughout the history of Thailand, Thai women have been seen as mothers whose job it is to look after the house and children. Women have to do all of the domestic duties, have a graceful and pleasant appearance and social manners, and have conservative ideas about sexuality if they are to be considered as Kulasatrii (Taywaditep, Coleman, & Dumronggittigule, 2001). Thai women have also been taught to follow their husbands in order to be good women and not talk about sexual intercourse. There is a contemporary metaphor that has been used to teach women from the past until now that “a man is like the front legs of an elephant while a woman is like its hind legs. When the front legs move forward the hind legs must follow. If one takes a false step, both will suffer, but if they are both in step things will work well” (Barme, 1999, p. 142).

On the other hand, there are two types of male images in Thailand. These images are secular and monastic images. The secular image of men is *Chai Chatrii* (typical masculine features). This is a general image of masculine features such as physical and emotional strength and courage. In Thai culture, the image of Chai Chatrii has also been found in playboy and gangster style behavior in order to show manliness. In other words, to be seen as a powerful man in society, a man should work hard and play hard. Smoking, drinking, gambling, commercial sex, minor wives and corruption are examples of male behavior in Thai society that are used to show their manliness. The other image is a monastic one. In this image of men, one would have to follow Buddhist discipline, which has 227 rules and practices, to be a monk (Taywaditep, Coleman, &

Dumronggittigule, 2001). Many Thai people believe that when men are 20 years old they should go through temporary ordination in order to become a monk because parents can hold on to their child's monk's robe and go to heaven when they die (Daoruang, 2005).

Additionally, in Thailand, there is a preference for sons over daughters. There is a Thai saying: "a son is good because he can continue the family line. He can also lead his parents to heaven because he can be ordained as a monk; to have a daughter is like having a toilet in front of the house" (Surinya, 1997, p. 12). If a daughter has bad manners and does not follow the gender image of *Kulasatrii*, other people will blame or complain that the parents have not taught their daughters properly. This situation is compared to having a toilet in front of the house; that is the smell from the toilet will spread all over. Women's roles are also controlled by culture and religion. Thai women have been taught to accept their roles and status – that is they are under the power of men (Kannasutra, Kampoo, & Kamolnavin, 1979). These roles and status are taught to women from childhood. Girls are taught to cook, sew, take care of their younger brothers and sisters and take care of the house. Boys are trained to help their fathers such as work in the field, collect wood and fix small things in their house (Jongwatana & Manaspaiboon, 1986).

These religious and cultural influences are strongly connected. Theravada Buddhism is the main and the official religion in Thailand. Esterik (2000, p. 65) claimed that "to be Thai is to be Buddhist", although not all people in Thailand are Buddhist: approximately 95 percent are Buddhist (Central Intelligence Agency, 2011). The gender images and the ethical guidelines for Thai people have been reinforced through

sermons, folk tales and rituals of Buddhism (Taywaditep, Coleman, & Dumronggittigule, 2001). Thai men and women have to control their body movements and be very slow in everything they do, and they must *wai*[5] (pay respect) correctly to show respect to older people. They learn these movements through Thai society from childhood. (Esterik, 2000).

As the gender images of women and men in Thai society have been influenced by Buddhism through religious folk tales and sermons, Thai people mostly learn the gender images of women and men from sermons in which the monks often explain the idea of gender images for women and men from their understanding, not from the Buddhist canon. At the same time, religious folk tales describe the gender images of women and men and identify their behaviors in order to show their sins and merits (Esterik, 2000). These points then lead to the idea that Buddhism has a great influence on gender construction in Thailand.

As mentioned earlier, Buddhism reinforces patriarchy through suppression of women and control of women's behaviors. In Thai society, polygamy is acceptable. The gender image of women is that of housewife and for men it is to work hard and play hard. The number of a man's wives and ability to control women in the house highlights the desired male image in Thai culture. If a man did not have wives, he is not a real man, and cannot be described as Chai Chatrii in Thai culture (Loos, 2006). For instance, King Mongkut or Rama IV of Thailand had over 60 wives (Loos, 2006). This point further

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[5] *Wai* is prayer like gesture which is performed with a slight bow. It is widely used in Thailand as a standard greeting and also when apologizing, saying thank you and to show respect. Thai people frequently *Wai* towards a Buddha image when passing by one. If there is a perceived difference in status between two people performing the *Wai*, then it is usually the junior or lower status person who wills *Wai* first. The higher the hands are raised and the deeper the bow, the greater the respect being shown to the recipient of the *Wai*.

illustrates the point that indulging in sexual activities for men demonstrate that they have power and masculinity in Thai society. Whereas women have been taught that they should not talk about sex or participate in sexual activities except when they are married. If women engage in sexual activities without being married, they are labeled 'bad women' (Esterik, 2000). Therefore, these examples show that Buddhism has a great influence through gender image and gender construction in Thailand.

Domestic violence against women (DVAW) is a recent example of how Buddhism has influenced gender norms for Thai women. According to Buddhist tenets, good women should be selfless, nurturing, devoted to their husbands and prepared to make sacrifices for the well-being of their families (Xu, Kerley, & Sirisunyaluck, 2011). In other words, men play a leading role and women play a supportive role in the family under Buddhist doctrine. When Thai women face domestic violence, Buddhism encourages them to keep quiet and be patient because the cause of suffering is karma and being born as women is in itself an instance of bad karma (Ekachai, 2008).

Moreover, Thai culture more generally also has a great influence on gender norms in terms of how women are supposed to behave in a family situation when they are married. There are two main Thai cultural customs that impact on the role of women. The first one is family honor which means Thai women should keep family conflicts or problems within their family. The second is the avoidance of openly expressing feelings. This means that Thai women should not express their feelings about their family to other people (Pinyuchon & Gray, 1997). All of these points influence decisions by Thai women to keep quiet and to not report instances of domestic violence

to the police even if they know that they have the legal right to protect themselves from their husband.

However, there are some mitigating factors with regards to these cultural influences. For example, Limanonda (2000) has argued that, although Buddhism supports the subordination of women in Thai society, Thai women still have a higher position in the family when compared with some other countries. She further argued that the hierarchical order of the relationship between individuals is defined by age, older and younger, and is not defined by sex, male and female.

Also, in Buddhism, children have to show their gratitude to their parents as they give life to children. Only sons are allowed to gain spiritual merit to repay debts of gratitude to their parents. As mentioned before, this option is the monastic image of Thai men. Women cannot repay their debts with this option. Limanonda (2000) argued that even though women are not allowed to gain spiritual merit, it does not mean that women have lower status than men in society. Nevertheless, women are still able to repay their debts of gratitude to their parents in other ways. In Thai culture, daughters are important in the family because they have to look after younger siblings in their family and later they also take care of their elderly parents as daughters have been seen as good companions for elderly parents when compared with sons. Although daughters may get married and have to live in a different place, they still look after their parents by sending some money in order to support their parents. Therefore, this is an option for daughters to repay debts of gratitude to their parents because Buddhism believes that housework is an important job in the family. If a daughter did not take responsibility for all of these

duties, then parents may not be able to meet their daily and spiritual needs in their life (Limanonda, 2000).

Moreover, in Thailand, women do have the right to vote and stand for election as of 1932 when Thailand changed from being an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy (Falk, 2010). Before 1932, well-educated middle-class women called for equality and educational opportunities for women. These women focused on patriarchy and polygamy. They criticized these issues by publishing articles in women's magazines and newspaper (Esterik, 2000). The first article about the inequality of the family law was published in magazines in 1922 (Pongsapich, 1997, p. 21). Well-educated middle-class women wanted the monarchy to pass a monogamy law because the number of broken homes and child prostitutes would decrease. As men were allowed to have more than one wife, these men did not give money to their family and at times they also forced their girls to be prostitutes. In earlier times, polygamy was the crucial issue for Thai women because a law allowed men to remarry even though they were still married with his original wife (Pongsapich, 1997). In response to this public pressure from women, a monogamy law was passed in 1935 (Falk, 2010, p. 113).

Moreover, due to this sort of activism many women's organizations were established in Thailand to help with a range of issues. In 1890, the first women's organization was established in Thailand and later this organization became the Red Cross. However, the first organization with formal registration was the Women's Association of Siam that was established in 1932 (Pongsapich, 1997, p. 21). The main purpose of this organization was "forging unity among women and to operate as a place for higher learning" (Pongsapich, 1997, pp. 21-22). At that time, this organization supported child-

care activities for women who went out to work and provided additional education for women (Satha-Anand, 1999). After that, many women's organizations were established to raise awareness of women's equality such as the Women Lawyers' Association of Thailand, the Gender and Development Research Institute, and the Association of Civil Liberty (Pongsapich, 1997). Furthermore, there was a sharp increase of non-governmental organizations in Thailand from the 1980s to 1990s. These organizations carried out many activities in aiding Thai women such as providing rescue and emergency homes for women and children, shelter for prostitutes escaping from brothels and legal assistance to factory workers (Pongsapich, 1997).

Later, women's movements have become more visible and these women's organizations are divided into two groups: advocacy and welfare-oriented groups. Advocacy groups aim for gender equity and equality in Thailand. They would like to solve women's problems in Thai society and focus on issues such as stop violence against women and the role of women and the constitution. Welfare-oriented groups are organizations that aim to improve women's status in economic, social and political development (Tantiwiramanond, 2007). In addition, women's studies in Thailand emerged out of women's movements as these women became expert in feminism. The development of women's studies in Thailand was contributed to by educated women, academic activists and senior women bureaucrats. Therefore, there are now two universities that teach women's studies for Bachelor and Master's degrees as of 2000 and 2001 respectively (Tantiwiramanond, 2007, p. 200).

At present, Thailand has the Women's Development Plan 2012-2016 (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2012). This plan aims to create gender

equality in Thailand by improving the status of Thai women so that they have equality in the economy, society, politics and education. Some changes have been at work within Thai society over the last few decades. Both women and men work outside the home and increasingly share housework. Nevertheless, the majority of Thai people still believe that women should have overall responsibility for housework and the care of their children (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2011). In addition to this, Thai people still believe that it is very hard to attain equality between men and women in society. For example, leadership positions in politics or business are still held by men as Thai people still believe that leaders should be men. Overall it could be argued that Thai feminists do not believe that inequality is an important issue that needs to be addressed quickly or seen as a priority by the Thai government (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2011).

In summary, this chapter defines the terms sex and gender and identifies how gender is constructed through action in everyday life. This chapter also explains gender differences based on social constructionism that men and women learn through society and culture and how they should behave according to their sex. Performativity explains how men and women perform their gender in society. People perform their gender by following the script that has been written for them in society. If they decide not to follow it, there will be social punishment. Disciplinary regimes also explain how power is exercised over the body. Disciplinary aspects such as gestures and behavior are practiced over the body. Performativity and disciplinary regimes enhance understanding of how women and men should behave in the workplace. These two theories also explain social expectations of gender norms and of gender roles in the workplace, especially in the male-dominated occupations such as the police force. The following

chapter will review literature relating to discrimination in the workplace, particularly in areas such as barriers to promotion and sexual harassment that women often confront in their work.

Chapter Two

Literature Review of Gender Discrimination in the Workplace

"The absence of women from political life and leadership positions undermines democracy and women's empowerment"

(United Nations, 2006).

Although policing is seen as a man's job, women and men can make an equal contribution to policing. Policewomen and men should have gender equality in the workplace. The International Labour Organization (2000, pp. 32-33) defined the term 'gender equality' as:

> Equality between men and women [which] entails the concept that all human beings, both men and women, are free to develop their personal abilities and make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and prejudices. Gender equality means that the different behavior, aspirations and needs of women and men are considered, valued and favored equally. It does not mean that women and men have to become the same, but that their rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female. Gender equity means fairness of treatment for women and men, according to their respective needs. This may include equal treatment or treatment that is different but which is considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, obligations and opportunities.

This means that the number of women and men who are police officers should able to be equal in the workplace and that they should have the same opportunities to gain promotion to senior levels. However, women are often still treated differently from men, particularly in a male-dominated workplace like policing.

There are several areas where women have been treated as having lower status than men in society: such as in the areas of political rights, economy and social welfare. However, this thesis is interested in gender discrimination in the workplace, that is, when women and men are treated differently in the workplace because of their gender. Although there are several types of gender discrimination in the workplace, such as the gender pay gap and welfare, this study will focus on issues to do with promotion and sexual harassment.

In the workplace context, 'discrimination' refers to employers who treat male and female employees differently (Crosby & Stockdale, 2007; Giele & Stebbins, 2003). The term 'gender discrimination' refers to practices whereby employers refuse to hire and promote any person or who treat any person differently because of their gender. For instance, gender discrimination occurs when employers do not hire women for three main reasons: because they are women, are married, or have children (Gregory, 2003, p. 23). In the US, the term sex discrimination has been used instead of gender discrimination. According to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, sex discrimination refers to "an unlawful employment practice for an employer to … fail or refuse to hire or discharge any individual or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions or privileges of employment because of such individual's … sex" ("Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," 1964).

Women's equality is an important issue for states seeking to achieve modernization. In the 1970s, industrialized countries aimed to move to modernization. Key features of modernized states are the reduction of poverty and the improvement of social status

(Giele & Stebbins, 2003). Richer countries rejected the idea that men make better political leaders than women and, in these countries, a higher number of women have been elected to work in parliament compared to poorer countries. It is argued that the effect of economic growth would lead to a change in gender norms and rising numbers of women in parliament (Inglehart, Norris, & Welzel, 2004, p. 6). This means that countries that have strong economic growth will have a higher number of women in parliament than countries that have low economic growth. Indicators of equality, such as school and university attendance and the proportion of women working in the paid labor force, became key criteria for countries to be identified as modern (Giele & Stebbins, 2003).

The number of women who enter the paid, formal workforce has increased gradually. There were approximately 52 percent of women around the world in the workforce between 1990 and 2010 (United Nations, 2010, p. ix). Women's participation in the workforce is lower than 30 percent in Northern Africa and Western Asia; lower than 40 percent in Southern Asia; and lower than 50 percent in the Caribbean and Central America (United Nations, 2010, p. ix). While the number of women in the workforce has increased, the number of men in the workforce has decreased. In the two decades from 1990 to 2010, the number of employed men has gradually decreased from 81 to 77 percent (United Nations, 2010, p. ix).

From the 1990s, women in developed and developing countries started to have the same rights as men in a number of areas through national policies and legislative frameworks (International Labour Organization, 2011, p. xi). However, although there have been many changes in many countries to try to help eliminate inequality for women, women

still face some barriers in the workplace (International Labour Organization, 2011). The International Labour Organization (ILO) reported that women still suffer from gender discrimination in the workplace in areas such as benefits and working conditions, gaining promotion to decision-making positions and salary levels (International Labour Organization, 2011). For instance, in Norway, when women and men work part-time, they receive similar pay. However, when they work full-time, men will earn higher salaries than women (International Labour Organization, 2013a). The ILO further mentioned that gender discrimination is embedded in social practice that cannot simply be removed by legislation (International Labour Organization, 2011).

This chapter will be divided into three parts. The first part examines the literature in regard to gender discrimination in relation to promotion and sexual harassment in the workplace in the United States, the United Kingdom and Japan. The literature focuses on the US and UK as developed countries that are role models for others where men and women have nearly the same rights in the workplace. On the other hand, Japan has the same political background as Thailand: they are both constitutional monarchies and have a complementary unitary democratic political system.[6] Japan and Thailand also have a similar social and cultural context, a context which can be characterized as being historically highly patriarchal. The reason that this research did not choose other Asian countries to study was because the political systems of other Asian countries are arguably too different compared with Thailand. For example, the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore, Sri Lanka and South Korea are republics with varying degrees of democratic

[6] A unitary system refers to a political system where the central government has all governing power. All policy decisions come from the central government to their local or regional government to implement (Hague & Harrop, 2010). For instance, countries like the United Kingdom and France have unitary system.

practices while Laos and Vietnam are communist states (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). Even though Malaysia has some similarities in that it is a constitutional monarchy the same as Japan and Thailand (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015), the different religion factor – in this case Islam – has a significant impact on gender relations that would be difficult to separate out from the study when trying to ascertain institutional restrictions. The difficulty of this case is that the status of Thai and Malaysian women in society is different. In Islam, women have to follow the Sharia and Islamic legislation that control the legal rights and obligations of women. Islamic women then have lower status in society, including in all occupations, when compared to men because of these obligations (Nasir, 2009). This first part focuses on opportunities and barriers that still exist in the workplace that women have to confront in these countries in order to establish common problems met and policies and procedures put into place to respond to gender based concerns.

The second part of the chapter will examine literature in regard to gender discrimination in male-dominated jobs, especially in relation to promotion and sexual harassment. This part explains that women who work in male-dominated occupations often face barriers because the structure of the organization is set up to suit the style of men. The last part will examine literature in regard to gender discrimination particularly in promotional and sexual harassment barriers that exist specifically in policing. This part specifically focuses on gender discrimination that female police officers have faced as they are seen as not suitable to work as police officers because policing requires physical strength. Female police officers then have to face many barriers in policing such as lack of support from male supervisors to gain promotion and facing more sexual harassment when compared to other occupations.

Gender discrimination in the workplace

Gender discrimination in the workplace may happen if employers refuse to employ women (or men) simply because of their gender. Employers in historical times typically preferred to hire men in most occupations rather than women because men were believed to be able to perform their job better (Bagilhole, 2002). Anker (1997) argued that employers preferred to hire men as women were considered to be higher-cost workers for employers because of the higher indirect labor costs associated with women. For instance, women often have higher rates of absenteeism and come to work late more often than men because of family responsibilities. Women also tend to have higher turnover rates compared with men. However, Anker (1997, p. 319) conducted a survey of 423 employers, 2,517 female workers, and 803 male workers who worked in five developing countries (Cyprus, Ghana, India, Mauritius and Sri Lanka). He found that the turnover rate between women and men was the same: women left from companies because of family reasons while men left for new occupations, yet employers still preferred to hire men. As countries have changed their attitudes towards gender and work, many anti-discrimination laws have been passed to try to help provide work equity for women.

This section will describe anti-discrimination laws that have been enacted in order to help prevent gender discrimination in the workplace at both an international and national level. It will then identify why these laws have often failed to prevent gender discrimination. This section therefore explains how promotional barriers and sexual harassment can still exist in the workplace despite such laws. Finally, affirmative action will be discussed.

International Conventions

At the international level, the ILO adopted three conventions on gender equity. The first was the Convention Covering Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value which was adopted in 1951. The second convention, adopted in 1960, was the Convention Concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation developed to ban employment discrimination. In 1969, the third convention, the Convention Concerning Employment Policy, was focused on freedom of employment and the opportunity to work. This policy highlighted that jobs require certain abilities, skills and attributes that are not determined by gender. By 1966, the first two conventions had been ratified by 107 countries and the third convention had been ratified by 70 countries (Halberstam & Defeis, 1987). For Thailand, the third convention was firstly ratified on 26 February, 1969 and the first convention was later ratified on 8 February, 1999 (International Labour Organization, 2015b). However, Thailand has not ratified the Convention Concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation (International Labour Organization, 2015a).

The United Nations then later announced that the decade between 1975 and 1985 was to be known as the United Nations Decade for Women. The United Nations called for changes to improve women's status by encouraging countries to have laws that ensure women's equality in society (Giele & Stebbins, 2003). In this period, many countries were pressured by international organizations to improve the status of women in society. For instance, there was a high demand from service industries in big cities like London, New York, Tokyo and Bangkok. Many women who lived in those big cities then were employed as part-time or full-time workers in boutiques and restaurants which improved their economic status (Giele & Stebbins, 2003).

However, the situation in the third world was different. The status of women in these countries had not improved. Women in these countries lived in rural areas and could be forced off the land even though they had to earn money from this land (Giele & Stebbins, 2003). In 1979, the CEDAW was adopted by the UN General Assembly in order to eliminate gender discrimination (United Nations, 2013d). In the early 1990s, most states signed the CEDAW and committed to removing obstacles to women's equality (Molyneux & Razavi, 2006).

Thailand ratified CEDAW on 9 August 1985 (United Nations, 2015) and it came into effect in Thailand on 8 September 1985 (Thailand's Gender Information Center, 2015). However, in ratifying this convention Thailand was also committing to eliminating discrimination against women in accordance with the principles prescribed by the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand. According to Thailand's Gender Information Center (2015), although Thailand had ratified CEDAW, the Thai government still decided to reject the enforcement of the following articles:

1. Article 7: addressing gender equality in politics and working for government
2. Article 9: addressing granting women equal rights with men to acquire, change or retain their nationality
3. Article 10: addressing gender equality in the field of education
4. Article 11: addressing eliminating gender discrimination in the workplace
5. Article 15: addressing equal rights for men and women under the law
6. Article 16: addressing eliminating discrimination against women in marriage and family life

7. Article 29: addressing means of settlement for disputes concerning the interpretation or application of the convention

As Thailand rejected enforcing seven of the main 16 articles that ensure elimination of gender discrimination in all areas such as politics, education, employment, health and economics, other countries that ratified CEDAW and non – government organizations complained that Thailand was not committed to eliminating discrimination against women (Thailand's Gender Information Center, 2015). In response to this criticism, over time Thailand declared support for six of these seven articles that they had rejected (Thailand's Gender Information Center, 2015). The following are the six articles that Thailand declared the government would now support, along with the dates of these declarations:

1. Article 11 and Article 15: declared support on 30 October 1990
2. Article 9: declared support on 8 September 1992
3. Article 7: declared support on 28 May 1995
4. Article 10: declared support on 26 November 1996
5. Article 16: declared support on 10 April 2012

At present, only Article 29 which is addressing means of settlement for disputes concerning the interpretation or application of the convention, is not ratified by the Thai government (Thailand's Gender Information Center, 2015; United Nations, 2015).

In 1995, the Fourth World Conference of Women was held in Beijing, China. This conference sought to ensure that women would be able to access health care and contraception, have the right to own property and that there would be a move to stop

violence against women. This conference also expanded the idea of gender equality to refer to both men and women as having equal opportunity to work in leadership and at management levels and in productive work. In particular the focus was on providing equal education, job opportunities and equitable salaries because many women had entered the workforce (Giele & Stebbins, 2003). For instance, in global cities like London, the highest portion of the labor force was female, around 40 percent in London and 36 percent outside London (Giele & Stebbins, 2003).

In 2000, there was a five-year review of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action – known as the Beijing +5 which was held in New York. The major point of this meeting was to promote the advancement of women and gender equality (United Nations, 2013a). In 2005, there was a ten-year review of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action known as Beijing +10. A meeting was held in New York to discuss current challenges and to look for strategies for the advancement and empowerment of women and girls by focusing on implementing this idea at the national level (United Nations, 2013b). This was a remarkable time for achieving gender equality. Girls' enrolment in primary and secondary school and the number of women who were gaining access to a higher level of education increased. The number of women who worked in politics also increased. Both international and national women's movements achieved greater success in education, employment and political representation, achievements that have improved women's status in society (Molyneux & Razavi, 2006).

In 2010, there was yet another review of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. This review was, in keeping with its predecessors, known as

Beijing +15. This meeting focused on overcoming the remaining obstacles and new challenges that related to the MDGs (United Nations, 2013c). Promoting gender quality and empowering women and improving maternal health are two out of eight goals in the MDGs that aim to end poverty by 2015 (United Nations, 2013e). The next section will describe the development process used to improve the status of women in the US, UK and Japan.

National developments

At the national level, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed in the US which banned discrimination in the workplace but only applied to private companies (Gregory, 2003). Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 indicated that an employer should not:

> discriminate against any (woman) with respect to (her) compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of (her) … sex, … or to … limit, segregate, or classify (its) employees … in any way which would deprive any (woman) of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect (her) status as an employee, because of (her) sex. ("Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964," 1964, Section 2000e-2)

Therefore, Title VII of this Act played an important role in helping to improve opportunities for women to enter the workforce (Gregory, 2003) until the US government passed the more gender-specific Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Act of 1972 to protect both sexes from discrimination. Importantly, this new Act applied to public organizations and private companies (Bradley & Healy, 2008; Ugelow, 2007).

The United Kingdom and Japan were also pressured to eliminate inequality for women. In the 1970s, an EEO law was passed in the UK because of pressure from the European Community, the European Commission and the European Court of Justice (Bradley &

Healy, 2008). Japan was pressured from international organizations and finally passed a similar law in 1985 (Kawashima, 1995; Lam, 1993). However, Thailand did not have any specific EEO law. In Thailand, the Labour Protection Act B.E. 2541 or 1998 contains general prohibitions on discrimination based upon gender in terms of employment, unless equal treatment is not possible due to the nature of the particular work (International Labour Organization, 2008, p. 56).

All of these anti-discrimination laws appeared to contribute to a decrease in gender discrimination as the number of women who entered the workforce continued to increase every year (Bradley & Healy, 2008; Gregory, 2003). Anti-discrimination laws seem to have an impact on discrimination against women in the workplace, especially with respect to recruitment and conditions of employment. In Japan, for example, companies can not specify sex in job advertisements. For instance, since 1993, Japanese companies have not been able to identify that a job was only open to men. Over time the number of female employees gradually increased (Lam, 1993). Surprisingly, in the US, citizens do not believe that gender discrimination still exists in the workforce. They believe that women have the same opportunities as men in the workplace (Crosby & Stockdale, 2007).

However, despite these gains, women still face many problems in the workplace and discrimination remains (Bagilhole, 2002; DeLaat, 2007; Gregory, 2003). In Japan, for example, women have complained of: companies having no intention of hiring women; not offering equal recruitment opportunities; and excluding women for particular occupations in technical, sales and administrative areas (Lam, 1993). In fact, around 48 percent of companies accepted that they did assign women to ‘women’s jobs’ or work

that fitted with perceived female characteristics (Ministry of Labour, 1993 as cited in Kawashima, 1995).

Even when women have been employed to work they still face many barriers. For instance, the gender pay gap is another barrier against women in the workplace. Women have always received lower pay than men around the world even though they work in the same type of occupation or have the same responsibilities. According to the Yearbook of Labour Statistics (International Labour Office, 2009), the salary of women is lower than men in every country where women and men work in the same job. Although an Equal Pay Act of some form or another was passed in many countries, the gender pay gap still exists. Blau and Ferber (1992) found that, among college graduates, women received an income 34 percent lower than men and among those with high school education, around 40 percent.

A 1994 World Bank study asked why the gender pay gap still existed in the US. They found that approximately one-third of women and men have salary differences because of sex segregation in occupations (World Bank, 1994). Gunderson (1994) claimed that there were three reasons why women earn less than men. First, women and men have different backgrounds and skills. Women often have lower educational qualifications and less work experience than men. Second, gender discrimination still exists. Men and women who have the same responsibilities in the same company still have different salaries. Men still earn more than women. Third, there is a different value placed on occupations. Normally, feminized occupations such as nursing and sales have been seen as requiring lower skills. Therefore, feminized occupations often receive lower salaries than male-dominated occupations. Giele and Stebbins (2003) further indicated that most

companies in the US gave higher salaries to men because men worked in dangerous occupations. Therefore, they deserved to receive higher pay than women who often worked in safe places. Crawford and Unger (2000) argued that women earn less than men because they are less committed to their work. Women often give priority to their family before their work and they are likely to quit jobs more easily than men. Women are also likely to have less education and professional training when compared to men (Crawford & Unger, 2000).

All of these problems show that anti-discrimination laws have failed to completely eliminate gender discrimination in the workplace. In Japan, the EEO law failed because it did not guarantee equal employment for women. The law only required companies to give women the same chances as men – such as in granting them the possibilities of gaining interviews (Bishop, 2005). The EEO law could not eliminate traditional Japanese recruitment practices. Most Japanese companies still had different processes for recruiting men and women (Lam, 1993). Moreover, most companies in Japan still made their recruitment plan based on gender. Approximately 75 percent of Japanese companies still planned the number of men and women that they intended to employ each year (Lam, 1993). To eliminate discrimination against women in Japan, Lam (1993) suggested that companies have to move away from the idea of male occupations and female occupations.

Anti-discrimination laws in the US failed to eliminate gender discrimination in the workplace. The number of women who enter into non-traditional work was still very low in the 1990s. Most women still worked in female occupations like teaching that were generally low paid (Bagilhole, 2002). Rhode and Williams (2007) indicated that in

the US, Title VII failed to eliminate discrimination in the workplace because of three major points: the narrow scope of the law, the gap between policies and practices, and barriers to enforcement.

Firstly, the selective scope of laws has the effect of reinforcing inequality in the workplace for women. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act (1974) only stated that employers cannot refuse to hire women because they are women. However, it did not state anything related to promotion. Title VII did not indicate that employers must allow women to gain promotion to work at the managerial level if these women have met requirements to be a manager (Rhode & Williams, 2007).

Secondly, policies and practices are different. Policies may appear effective in theory. However, in practice, employers often have discussions with lawyers or consultants to minimize the risk of legal liability. For example, companies set up an internal dispute committee to address situations that arise that may be described as discrimination or "misunderstandings" in order to protect the company (Rhode & Williams, 2007).

Lastly, there are complicated processes and it can take a long time and a lot of money to complete the process of suing a company in the case of gender discrimination. Most employees who had been treated unfairly in the workplace were reluctant to fight with companies and finally decided to do nothing. To win this type of case, employees have to provide clear evidence that they have been treated unfairly and it is often very hard to collect that type of evidence. Therefore, most people chose to do nothing to fight for their rights in the workplace (Rhode & Williams, 2007).

To sum up, at the international level, three conventions and the Fourth World Conference of Women have all helped in achieving the goal of gender equity. At a national level, anti-discrimination laws have been passed in many countries to eliminate gender discrimination in the workplace. However, such anti-discrimination laws have failed to remove discrimination entirely. Gender discrimination still remains. Women still face significant barriers in the workplace. The next section will discuss two of these in more detail, that is, promotion and sexual harassment barriers in the workplace.

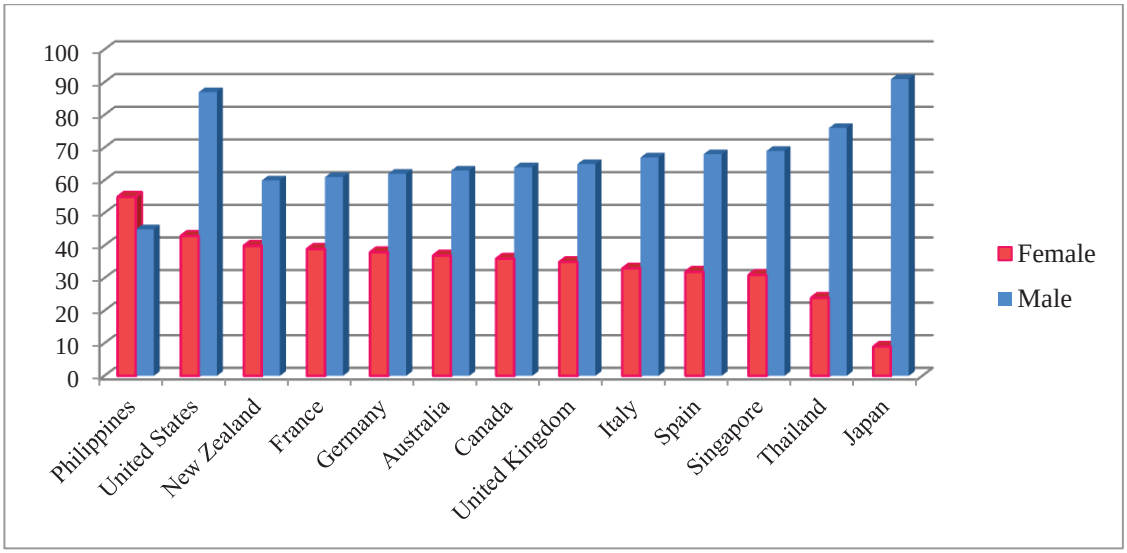
Promotion

Once women enter the workforce, they still often face gender or sex discrimination. In general, men have had better positions and were better paid than women in the workplace. Lorber (1994) used the word 'sex stratification' to describe this situation. Most women work at the lower level while the most senior positions are filled by men. For instance, there are proportionally only a few women who work as legislators, senior officials and managers worldwide (United Nations, 2010).

Even though in developed countries good progress has been made towards gender equality by passing Equal Opportunity laws, the number of men and women who work at senior levels is still not equal (see Figure 2.1). When anti-discrimination laws are passed, gender discrimination in the workplace becomes illegal. Employers cannot refuse to hire or promote women because of gender. However, gender discrimination particularly with regards to promotion, still exists. Gender discrimination against women in promotion occurs when the supervisor makes their decision based on gender rather than merit. For instance, Crawford and Unger (2000, p. 412) found that in a US sample of more than 1,200 women, 40 percent reported that at some time in their lives,

they believed they had been refused promotion or did not receive the appropriate rewards at work because they were women. They also found discrimination against promotion in Australia too. Thirty-seven percent of Australian women reported that they had been discriminated against in terms of promotion (Crawford & Unger, 2000, p. 412).

Figure 2.1: Number of female and male senior officers and managers in selected countries in North America, Europe, Asia and the Pacific countries



Source: The Global Gender Gap Report (as cited in Foucault, 1995)

Even though women are not excluded from working at senior levels, many find it is very hard to gain promotion to the managerial level. The term ‘glass ceiling’ has been used to identify the situation where women have been blocked from advancement in their career (Lorber, 1994). According to the US Department of Labor (1991, p. 1), the term glass ceiling is defined as “artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevent qualified individuals from advancing upward in their organization into management level positions”.

In the European Union, managerial positions are often occupied by men. Although Equal Opportunity Laws have been adopted, the number of women who work in senior level decision making positions is very low and progress to increase the number of women at this level is slow (Bagilhole, 2002). In the Scandinavian countries that have the highest number of women participating in the labor force, and where the equal opportunity policies have been strongly enforced by legislation, there are still fewer women who work at the management level (Bagilhole, 2002). The European Movement in Serbia also conducted research in 2009 and found that women are extremely underrepresented in managerial positions because of the division of workplace labor into masculine and feminine tasks (Spasić, Djurić, & Mršević, 2015).

In Japan, the situation is slightly different. Before the EEO law was passed, Japanese women did not have any chance to gain promotion to work at the higher level. Roberts (1994) claimed that Japanese companies offered promotion for both sexes. However, women were promoted among lower levels so that women only became managers of other women. Companies in Japan saw female employees as 'the smiling receptionist' and women officers who wore uniforms to serve tea and do photocopying in companies (Saso, 1989). The word 'office ladies' was used to refer to these employees.

A two track employment system for Japanese women was established after the EEO law was passed. These two systems are used in companies that have more than five thousand employees. The first track is the management track which provides an opportunity for most women to gain promotion to work at the management level. To be recruited into this track, women have to work overtime and accept that they could be transferred anytime if the company requires. The clerical track is the second one. The

work undertaken in this track is highly routinized and the number of women who gained promotion is also limited. When this system was first introduced, men definitely worked in the management track while women were given a choice to choose between these two systems (Bishop, 2005; Kawashima, 1995; Tipton, 2000). However, only 3.7 percent of women were able to work at the management track (Bishop, 2005).

This is because most women lacked the qualifications to work at the management level. Most Japanese females graduated from junior college which requires three years of study while men graduated from a four-year university (Bishop, 2005). Therefore, most women could not work in the management track and could not gain promotion to work at manager levels. However, the number of women who worked in the management track have increased gradually since 1991 because more women have started to graduate from four-year universities instead of junior colleges and then they were able to work in management (Kawashima, 1995; Tipton, 2000).

Although the number of Japanese women in management increased in the 1990s, the chance of promotion for women was still very low. Only a few women achieved section manager status which is the middle management level in Japan. Allison (1994) stated that there were approximately 40 percent of women in the Japanese labor force. However, only one percent of these women had achieved manager positions. In a more recent study, Tachibanaki and Foster (2010) also studied the promotion of women in Japan. They found that to gain promotion to be a section manager, companies considered three things: employee evaluation, age and length of service, and support from the employees' superiors. This showed that women had to show their colleagues and their supervisors that they could work as well as men and that they were capable of

learning new things. At the same time, women had to endure knowing that even if they worked hard, they would not necessarily gain promotion. Conversely, male employees who did not work well but who worked at the company for a long time could gain promotion because of the seniority system.

The number of women who work at senior levels at their workplace has gradually increased in every country, however, these women are still clustered at the lower management levels. For instance, in Japan, to gain promotion above section manager level, it is much harder for women. Tachibanaki and Foster (2010) found that to be promoted to this level, companies considered employee evaluations, influence of superiors and character. At this level, the influence of supervisors and assessment of character are important. Employees had to have a powerful supervisor to support them, and had to have good leadership characteristics. Therefore, gaining promotion above section manager is very hard for women as supervisors tend to support men. Moreover, there are only 15 women who work at the top position in the 500 largest companies in the US (Fortune Magazine, 2010). In the European Union, only three percent of the higher level positions at the largest public companies which are listed on the stock market, are filled by women (European Commission, 2011).

The main reason that few women work at senior level is in part due to remaining stereotypes about women's roles and abilities (Wellington, Kropf, & Gerkovich, 2003). There remains a perception in society that men and women have different skills and characteristics that are suited to different occupations and roles in society. The stereotype of 'leaders' being men remains. Schein (2001) described the label of manager position in organizations is that 'think manager – think male' because this

position requires male characteristics such as being aggressive, self-confident and competitive. Therefore, attitudinal and organizational prejudices that men are suited to work at professional or manager level rather than women, are a major barrier for advancement.

In addition, there is a level of incongruity between individuals and gender stereotypes that become barriers for promotion. Carli and Eagly (2004, 2007a, 2007b) explained that women who acted like men (aggressive, competent and self-confident) were not accepted as leaders because they lacked female characteristics (not warm, supportive and selfless). Conversely, women who were too feminine (weak, uncertain and ineffectual) would not be considered for advancement because they were lacking masculine traits (not tough, decisive, lack of competence). Normally, women leaders were criticized for their lack of leader qualities that fit the stereotype so they simply were not tough enough. Therefore, the mismatch of stereotypes is one of the promotional barriers that women often face.

However, women who have masculine characteristics tend to be perceived as successful managers. Fagenson and Jackson (as cited in Billing & Alvesson, 2000, p. 146) refer to the research which has shown that "the more 'masculine' characteristics possessed by women, the more likely the women are to be perceived as successful managers and located in powerful corporate positions". This means that women who act like men are not always rejected leaders because they are lacking female characteristics.

Furthermore, another reason why few women work at senior level is that women may lack the ambition to gain promotion. For instance, in Japan, women were really proud to

be wives and mothers. Most Japanese women resigned from their job when they got married or had a child. This practice meant that companies came to believe that if they hired men, they would work for that company until they retired. On the other hand, if they hired women, they would work until they married or had a child. Therefore, this belief and the difficulties around gaining promotion lead to a lack of ambition to gain promotion for women (Roberts, 1994).

Anna Reva (2012) conducted research in Serbia and concluded that there are four reasons why women do not advance in their career. The first reason is that women are the main person who takes responsibility for the household and child care while men have less responsibilities in the household and for child care. Therefore, women have limited time to focus on their work and promotion. Lack of flexible work arrangements is the second reason. As women have to take responsibility for the household and look after their children, women cannot then work outside at any time like men can. The third reason is the stereotypes about traditional roles of men and women. Employers still have a strong belief as to which job is suitable for males or females such as thinking managerial positions belong to men. The last reason is the lower demand for women in the labor market. Most employers still prefer to employ men rather women as women have to take responsibility for their family and may resign later when they get married.

However, there were some women who were able to gain promotion despite the barriers and they could be role models for others to break through the glass ceiling. Nowadays, there are many women who have become leaders of countries, such as the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Germany and Finland and the President of Indonesia and

Brazil. The number of women who work at the senior or manager level has increased in both public and private companies (Wirth, 2001).

Over the past decade, stereotypes of leaders have changed. People have started to reduce their prejudice towards women leaders. The result of a Gallup poll in the US showed that people have started to accept women as leaders.[7] The survey asked participants to answer the question 'if you were taking a new job and had your choice of a boss, would you prefer to work with a boss that is a man or woman?' The result showed that the number of people who prefer to work under women leaders has gradually increased although the number of people who prefer to work under male leaders is still higher (Carroll, 2006).

Women who work in feminized occupations and the public service often have better chances for gaining promotion and to work at the senior level therefore, the public service has become a role model for equal opportunity employment (Wirth, 2001). Similarly, women who work in feminized occupations, which are traditionally dominated by women, such as education, health services, finance and banking, and communications, tend to have more opportunities for gaining promotion (Davison & Burke, 2000). In 1996, more than 50 percent of all financial managers were women in the US (Wirth, 2001, pp. 240-241). In 1999, a survey of European Banks showed that the proportion of women in executive positions increased between 1990 and 1995. Among 47 banks in Europe, the percentage of executive committee positions held by

[7] Gallup has undertaken an annual survey about work and education since 1953. In 2006, the survey was conducted between 7 and 10 August. Gallup used telephone interviews to gather all the data. Participants were American citizens who were 18 years old or above. They were selected randomly from every state in the United States. There were 1,007 participants in this study (Carroll, 2006).

women went from 0.9 percent to 3.4 percent. For instance, at the Paris Bourse (stock exchange), approximately 15 out of 41 directors were women in 1995 (Wirth, 2002, pp. 3-4).

Interestingly, however men working in female-dominated industries tend to gain promotion at a much faster rate than women. Williams (1992, 1995) argued that there was the ‘glass escalator’ which means men tend to ascend faster than women in their career, particularly in feminized occupations. Budig (2002) stated that men tend to monopolize positions of managers and above and they also receive higher pay and other benefits than women. William (1992, 1995) further indicated that men tended to emphasize their male characteristics required for manager positions in the workplace in order to gain promotion. Pullen and Simpson (2009) also pointed out that women have to undoing femininity and reinforcement of masculinity to work in any managerial positions even in the female-dominated occupations. In addition, people still had the perception that leader roles were suited for men rather than women. Therefore men will often gain promotion rather than women regardless of whether or not it is a traditional male or female occupation.

Moreover, when men work in female-dominated occupations such as nursing and teaching, they also have to position themselves as one of the girls by showing their femininity rather than masculinity. Pullen and Simpson (2009) conducted research of men who work in nursing and primary school teaching, traditionally areas that have been seen as feminized work. They found that men have to undoing masculinity and increasing doing femininity to be seen that these men minimize difference from women and be accepted in the workplace. This is similar to women who work in traditional

male occupations such as the police and military in that, women have to act like men to be accepted. This point will be discussed later in this chapter.

Although the Equal Opportunity laws have been passed, women still face barriers to promotion to senior levels because of stereotypes about women's roles and abilities. Employers still have the perception that women and men are suited to different occupations. The stereotypical leader is still a man. Gaining promotion to work at senior levels is one barrier in gender discrimination in the workplace. Women still face other barriers in the workplace. The next section will discuss sexual harassment in the workplace.

Sexual Harassment

Not only are there barriers to promotion that women have to confront in the workplace, but they may also have to confront the issue of sexual harassment. Brownmiller and Alexander (as cited in Giele & Stebbins, 2003) argue that the term sexual harassment was used for the first time in 1974 when clerical employees and other staff at Cornell University started to name this problem. Gregory (2003) claims that Catherine MacKinnon was the first to outline how sexual harassment in the workplace was a major problem for women. MacKinnon (1979) studied and analyzed the problem of sexual harassment in the late 1970s. She found that sexual harassment generally happened in two types of situations. The first occurred when employers offered improved conditions of employment or access to promotion in exchange for sexual favors. The second situation was where employers created a hostile environment in the workplace to interfere with an employee's work in order to force employees to have sexual relations with them.

According to the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2011), sexual harassment means “unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical harassment of a sexual nature”. It also indicated that sexual harassment happened when “submission to such conduct is made either explicitly or implicitly a term or condition of an individual’s employment” (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1990).

There are two main types of sexual harassment. The first one is ‘quid pro quo harassment’ which is when a supervisor refuses employment or any action that related to work because their subordinate rejects their sexual advances. The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity (1990) stated that quid pro quo harassment occurs when “submission or rejection of such conduct by an individual is used as the basis for employment decision affecting such individual”. The second type is ‘hostile environment harassment’. It takes place when verbal or physical harassment has an effect on work performance and may lead to an aggressive environment in the workplace (DeLaat, 2007). Normally, these two types of sexual harassment always happen together (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1990). For example, a supervisor may ask for sexual advances in exchange for some rewards, that is, quid pro quo harassment. After that hostile environment harassment will happen when their subordinate may refuse the sexual advance, and the supervisor may then create some threat that effects the employment status of their subordinate.

Most countries have passed anti-discrimination laws in the workplace. However, sexual harassment still occurs despite these laws. Gregory (2003) argued that most female employees faced sexual harassment in the workplace at some point in their lives. He

also stated that male managers tend to create a hostile environment in the workplace to indirectly force female subordinates to have sexual advance. Gregory further stated that all female employees across all ages, all skin colors and all type of occupations faced sexual harassment in the workplace.

Women still tend to be those who are subject to this particular form of harassment. Mackinnon (1979, p. 4) also stated in her book, *Sexual Harassment of Working Women* that "sexual harassment is seen to be one dynamic which reinforces and expresses women's traditional and inferior role in the labor workplace". McCann's research (2005) further suggests that, in most countries, women employees who work in lower positions or have less power in companies are more likely to become victims. DeLaat (2007) further indicated that at least one-third of female employees who work in the US had experienced sexual harassment. For instance, nearly 50 percent of women workers had experienced verbal sexual harassment such as joking while around 37 percent of female employees had experienced physical harassment such as assault or rape in the US (Frank, Brogan, & Schiffman, 1998). In the UK, approximately 57 percent of female employees faced sexual harassment in the workplace in 1991 (Guardian, 1991). Moreover, Cairns and Wright (as cited in K. V. Cairns, 1997, p. 91) stated that most researchers who worked in the area of sexual harassment often heard this statement or a similar statement to this in cases of sexual harassment: "we were in his room talking and he started to kiss me and more and I wanted him to stop but I just could not say no. I felt terrible and I hated it". Therefore, this demonstrated that they felt obliged because the person was their boss.

In the past, most victims in the US decided either not to report the incidence of sexual harassment immediately to the commission or not to report the situation at all when they faced sexual harassment in the workplace. Most employees were afraid of retaliation or believed that they could solve harassment issues. Therefore, they decided to wait before they reported the situation. Some victims decided not to report sexual harassment because they were embarrassed to disclose all the information (Gregory, 2003). According to Sexual Harassment Support (Okorocha, 2011), 62 percent of victims in Los Angeles, (United States) did not report the situation while in total 31 percent of female employees who suffered sexual discrimination did report it. Gregory (2003) further suggested that victims should quickly report the incidence of harassment when it happens in order to have more chance of winning this case in court. If victims reported this case later, the court may believe that victims agreed to the sexual advance and may not believe in the evidence shown by victims.

The situation of sexual harassment in Asia is much worse than in most Western countries. A study on reactions towards sexual harassment by comparing reactions between Asian (Japanese, and Chinese) and non-Asian (Canadian) people found that Asian people endured more with sexual harassment situations than non-Asian people (Zimbroff, 2007). In Japan, sexual harassment has been very serious issue, though a formal term for sexual harassment did not exist until 1989 (Gee & Norton, 1999; Kazue, 2004). Even when the EEO law was passed in Japan in 1985 to prohibit gender discrimination in the workplace, sexual harassment did not have clear legal enforcement in this law (Zimbroff, 2007). In fact the term sexual harassment appeared for the first time in an annually revised dictionary in 1982 (Hayashi, 1995, p. 45).

The term *Seiteki Iyagarase* (unwelcome sexual advance) was created to describe the action of sexual harassment (Hayashi, 1995, p. 45). Though, in more recent times, Japanese people use the term *Sekuhara* in Japanese language to refer to sexual harassment, which translated literally means sexual harassment (Hayashi, 1995, p. 45). Kazue (2004) also stated that most Japanese women (approximately 59.7 percent) have experienced sexual harassment in the workplace. The forms of sexual harassment included sexual talk, physical touching, pornography, unwelcome sexual advances and rape.

There were several legal cases on sexual harassment during the 1990s in Japan. Gender discrimination in the workplace and sexual harassment are very important issues in Japan as in the workforce, 40 percent of employees or around 22.8 million in the Japanese labor force are women (Nakakubo, 2007). The Fukuoka Sexual Harassment case is the most famous case of sexual harassment that occurred in 1992 in the Fukuoka District Court (Hayashi, 1995). This case was about a female editor who successfully sued her employers and her supervisor for creating a hostile work environment (Hayashi, 1995). Previous to the Fukuoka Sexual Harassment case victims would not have sued their employers and this case has made women more willing to come forward when they are the victims of sexual abuse. Approximately 58 lawsuits about sexual harassment were brought to the court during the 1990s (Gelb, 2000; Nakakubo, 2007) .

In 1991, a law that aimed to eliminate sexual harassment in the workplace in Japan was passed (Kazue, 2004). This law required companies to protect women employees from quid pro quo and hostile environment harassment (Nakakubo, 2007). However, many women still face sexual harassment in the workplace. According to the survey on sexual

harassment in the workplace that was conducted by the Japan Industrial Counselors Association in 2007, approximately 24.1 percent of women had experienced, in verbal form, sexual harassment such as sexual joking and 2.1 percent of women had experienced in physical form, sexual harassment such as unwanted touch and rape (Takaki, Tsutsumi, Fujii et al., 2009).

To reduce sexual harassment, strong and effective sexual harassment policies in companies is recommended (Schneider, Pryor, & Fitzgerald, 2011). Many studies found that women often faced sexual harassment in organizations when the sexual harassment policy was weak. Even if organizations have few complaints, the likelihood is that incidents of sexual harassment are actually high because fewer complaints is usually reflective of weak policy (Fitzgerald, Drasgow, Hulin, Gelfand, & Magley, 1997; Pryor, Giedd, & Williams, 1995; Pryor, LaVite, & Stoller, 1993)

At present, sexual harassment still exists in the workplace in Japan. Sexual harassment illustrates the inequality between men and women in the workplace as often male supervisors use their power to control or interfere with subordinates (Bagilhole, 2002; Gregory, 2003). The next section will discuss literature related to affirmative action – one policy that has been enacted in part to help prevent both gender discrimination and sexual harassment in the workplace.

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action programs (AAPs) are employment policies in the US and other countries that aim to reduce gender discrimination in the workplace. The AAPs started in the US and other countries started to follow by having laws and regulations to reduce

discrimination in the workplace (Harrison, Kravitz, Mayer, Leslie, & Lev-Arey, 2006). These laws and regulations require employers to establish equal opportunity policies in order to provide the same opportunity in the workplace for employees. In 1965, the US government required federal contractors, including the federal civil service in all branches of the US military and in many state and local governments, to take affirmative actions to improve the employment opportunities of demographic groups such as women (Crosby, 2004; Gutman, 2000).

To eliminate gender discrimination in the workplace, Wetchler (2007, p. 9) found that both public and private companies in the US used two methods. The first method is applying EEO policy. This policy has to include statements that (1) gender discrimination is prohibited in companies under US law and that (2) gender discrimination, especially comments and inappropriate conduct, are banned (and detailed examples must be provided within such policies in order to prevent misunderstanding). Companies should also clearly identify that gender discrimination and harassment based on sexual orientation and family status are banned, therefore these policies should further (3) explain why prohibiting gender discrimination is of importance; (4) create an effective complaint process which is designed to guarantee confidentiality of employees who make complaints (in addition to having a designated person take responsibility for dealing with gender discrimination issues); and (5) clearly note that any person whose actions constitute gender discrimination will be dismissed.

The second method is providing training for managers to deal with gender discrimination. Managers and employees should be trained to understand which situations constitute gender discrimination. From this training, employees will know

that companies operate under gender discrimination laws while managers can learn how to identify which actions and comments are inappropriate. Therefore, training may help to reduce gender discrimination in the workplace (Wetchler, 2007, p. 11).

Furthermore, government and companies should work together to eliminate gender discrimination in the workplace in the US. Wetchler (2007, pp. 9-10) suggested that companies should consider complaints about managers when evaluating performance and considering promotion. He also advises that companies should set up either formal or informal mentoring programs to reduce gender discrimination in the workplace. At the same time, governments should play an important role in supporting and promoting gender equality in the workplace.

Bagihole (2002) and Giele and Stebbins (2003) also suggested that governments have to promote gender equality which means men and women should have the same opportunities in the workplace. Delaat (2007, pp. 105-106) further recommended two solutions to eliminate gender discrimination in the workplace. The first solution to the gender inequality issue is that governments should have policy models to eliminate gender inequality. Both public and private organizations then have to follow the models. Furthermore, governments should have special agencies responsible for issuing this order to implement and provide suggestions for gender equity. For example, in the US, the federal government has become the role model on gender equity for other public organizations. The second solution is having an effective policy on gender equity so that both employers and employees know how important gender equity is and how to conduct themselves in the right manner.

The UK and other European countries have quite different methods to solve gender discrimination. The UK and European Governments believe that gender discrimination still exists because some people are disadvantaged with regards to education and job skills. Therefore, the best way to solve this issue is supporting these people to a minimum level of qualifications by providing education and training for job skills (Bradley & Healy, 2008).

To reduce promotional barriers, Iyer (2009) found that organizations in most developed countries often used three methods. The first method was introducing an evaluation program to check whether women and men had the same opportunities in the workplace. Organizations had to check available positions at management levels and the number of women who work at this level. If the number of women who qualified for this position was high, but only a few women worked at this level, organizations then had to eliminate policies that discriminated against women for promotion (Iyer, 2009).

Advertising the procedures and qualifications required for promotion at every new promotion was the second method. Sometimes, women did not get any information about promotion in organizations because they did not have the same access to networks as men did. Therefore, if organizations advertise all procedures, women would then get the information or could prepare themselves for the next promotion round (Iyer, 2009). Crawford and Unger (2000) also suggested that companies should have a clear and specific performance evaluation in order to consider the advancement of employees. If employees meet all the requirements, they then should be able to gain promotion.

The last method was extra-training programmes for women. Women were often refused promotion because of a lack of skills and knowledge. If women had been better trained they would have had more chance of gaining promotion (Iyer, 2009). Examples of this are provided by training programmes for women in common occupations where the number of women is higher than men (B. F. Reskin, 1998; Robinson, Seydel, & Douglass, 1998).

Moreover, there could be more role models and mentors in the workplace. Women who have just entered the workforce may not have any idea about gaining promotion in the workplace as this type of information may not be specified in the employee manual (Yoder, Adams, Grove, & Priest, 1985). Having role models and mentors should increase job satisfaction and success for female workers. Riley and Wrench (1985) did a survey of 171 female attorneys and found that attorneys who have mentors to talk and discuss with were likely to be successful and more satisfied with their occupation than attorneys who did not have mentors. Therefore, role models and mentors should provide good advice and share experiences about how they overcame promotional barriers. The newcomer then will know what kind of situation they have to face and how to deal with it. Such efforts would be particularly helpful for helping to integrate women into male-dominated industries which have particularly strong issues with respect to gender discrimination.

Gender discrimination in male-dominated industries

When women start to work in male-dominated industries, they potentially face additional barriers if the structure of the organization is set up to suit the style of men. This section describes sex segregation that divides men and women into different

occupations and explains problems that women have to face when they work in traditional male occupations. Female soldiers are highlighted in this section to show that how female soldiers face gender discrimination in a male-dominated workplace, which is traditionally a highly patriarchal institution, like the military. This section will further describe and identify promotional barriers and sexual harassment in male-dominated occupations.

Many laws have been passed to eliminate gender discrimination in the workplace and employers cannot refuse to recruit women because of gender. However, sex segregation of occupations is a major facet of gender discrimination in the workplace. For instance, in a US study, Delaat (2007) showed that men and women have been separated into different careers. In the 2000 US population survey, the data showed that the top five occupations for women were listed as: secretary, manager/administrator, cashier, supervisor or salesperson, and nurse while the top five most common occupations for men were manager or administrator, supervisor or salesperson, truck driver, janitor, and carpenter (DeLaat, 2007, p. xiv). Employers have also been influenced by job identification that determines whether a job is suitable for either men or women. If the job fitted into male-traditional occupations, employers then would recruit men rather than women even though they may have to pay higher wages to men (Oppenheimer, 1968).

Practices of gender discrimination in the workforce are often premised upon a belief on the part of employers that women and men have different characteristics that suit them for different occupations. Giele and Stebbins (2003) also pointed out that the aspects of female and male characteristics which are deemed to suit different occupations are

similar in every country. There are traditionally female-labeled occupations and traditionally male-dominated occupations. They further looked into data on sex segregation around the world. They found that women have positive characteristics such as a caring nature, greater honesty and greater skills in household related work that make them become perfect employees in female-labeled occupations. Women also appeared to be more ready to take orders, do repetitive work, accept lower wages, needed less income and had greater interest in working at home. Nevertheless, women seemed to have negative characteristics when it came to working in male-stereotyped occupations such as less physical strength, less ability or interest in math and science, less willingness to travel and face dangerous situations. Therefore, women appeared to suit working in female-type occupations such as sales and clerical work. Even in industrialized countries, most women also work in services and sales (Giele & Stebbins, 2003, pp. 36-37).

Since laws on gender discrimination have been passed, many women have had a chance to enter male-dominated occupations. Sex segregation started to decline when women moved to these male-dominated occupations. The number of women who worked in traditionally male careers has gradually increased (Barreto, Ryan, & Schmitt, 2009; DeLaat, 2007). However, when women work in male-dominated occupations men generally have better positions and rewards than women (B. Reskin & Ross, 1990; Wright, 1997). With regards to the United States, Bagilhole (2002) argues that in the Civil Service (which is labelled as a male-dominated occupation), despite an effective equal opportunity policy, women still feel that gender discrimination against them exists.

The military, in particular, is traditionally a highly patriarchal institution where there is a strong notion of 'combat' that relies on central concepts of 'manhood' and justifications of the superiority of maleness in the social order (Enloe, 1988). In other words, to be a soldier means to have the experience of combat, and combat aims to test a man's masculinity. Therefore, this notion presents stumbling blocks for women to becoming soldiers because "women must be denied access to 'the front', to 'combat' so that men can claim a uniqueness and superiority that will justify their dominant position in the social order" (Enloe, 1988, p. 15). Enloe (1988, p. 15) further stated that "to allow women entrance into the essential core of the military would throw into confusion all men's certainty about their male identity and thus about their claim to privilege in the social order". This means that although women are allowed to work in the military, Enloe was uncertain that they would be fully admitted as soldiers in combat.

And indeed although women have been recruited into the armed forces, many militaries still believe that they have to recruit and deploy women in limited numbers and roles in order to protect the fundamentally masculinized culture of the military. Enloe (2000) suggests that militaries intend to recruit women to no more than a third of the military's manpower. She claims that "principally, militarizers seem to believe that if women cannot be controlled effectively, men's participations in the militarizing enterprise cannot be guaranteed" (Enloe, 2000, p. 294). Both Brian Mitchell (1988) and Martin van Creveld (2001) attempt to prove that there is a lower number of women in military service in general and in combat because the military leaders believe that women cannot fight wars. Feinman (2000) further explained that there are two reason why the armed forces believe that women cannot fight wars. The first reason is that women are so much physically weaker and it does not seem appropriate for women to fight wars. The

second reason is that the culture of the military forces has never allowed females to fight wars.

Moreover, the military makes an effort to recruit women without losing the support from the public who hold restricted notions of proper masculinity or proper femininity and without endangering the military's reputation where men can prove their masculinity. The dominant strategy that has been used to work around these phenomena is that militaries have often recruited women to perform in noncombat duties such as serving in the medical corps, serving in the military police, the military guard units or the military intelligence units in order to preserve the presumably manly aspects of military occupations for men (Enloe, 2007).

The definition of 'combat' then is very important. For instance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which is an intergovernmental military alliance, has defined what constitutes combat and clearly defines where women can or cannot serve alongside men (Enloe, 2007). The US also has a similar understanding of the role of women as NATO. In the 1980s, the US army redefined the term 'combat' to include electricians and carpenters because sometimes electricians and carpenters were called to perform their work at the front. Therefore, women at that time were not allowed to be electricians and carpenters in order to protect them from the dangers of combat (Enloe, 2007, p. 84). In 1994, the Department of Defense (DoD) in the US passed the DoD assignment policy that prohibits

> the assignment of women to any unit below brigade level whose primary mission is to engage in direct ground combat. Direct ground combat is engaging an enemy on the ground with individual or crew served weapons, while being exposed to hostile fire and to a high probability of

> direct physical contact with the hostile force's personnel. (Department of Defense, 2009)

While this policy excludes women from being assigned to combat arms, female members of the armed forces may still find themselves in situations that may require combat action, such as defending themselves or their units if they come under attack. In this situation, women are allowed to fight (Department of Defense, 2009). In 2009, more than 92 percent of specialist positions were open to women in the military forces (Department of Defense, 2009). Before this time however, women were rarely seen in combat. Furthermore, in 2001 the US army later changed the definition of 'combat' to be more specific to give women more chances to work in the military (Enloe, 2007, p. 84). in the impact of this is that the submarine corps, armored divisions, fighter plane squadrons, paratroops, infantry regiments and the U.S. Army's Special Forces are the only areas where women are not allowed to work (Enloe, 2007). Interestingly, Judith Stiehm (2012) who is on a Harvard University panel mentioned that as women are not allowed to be assigned to combat arms, this may be one reason why the number of women in the military is low; certain positions in the armed forces require the experience of combat arms.

The definition of combat changed in 2001 because the US had to send troops to Iraq and Afghanistan. The number of soldiers for crucial jobs, such as bomb disposal and intelligence, were not enough, so, army commanders then had to request more soldiers to work in these areas. Women soldiers then had a chance to prove that they had the same ability as men to work in ground combat (Alvarez, 2009). However, the US military forces still do not allow women to work in ground combat. The Army commander then explained this by saying that "women have been 'attached' to a

combat unit rather than 'assigned'" (Alvarez, 2009). These women soldiers were trained to search women at checkpoints in these areas because of local cultural sensitivities. This assignment is considered to put female soldiers at risk in the same way it does male soldiers (Myers, 2009).

In 2005, CNN, USA Today and Gallup conducted surveys about whether women should serve in ground combat. They found that approximately 44 percent agreed that women should be assigned to ground combat (Putko, 2008, p. 28). However, there are still some opponents who believe that women should be protected from harm and should not be killed (Putko, 2008). Skaine (2011) also interviewed Dr. Peter Lillback who is the President of the Westminster Theological Seminary, about universal morals around women in ground combat. Lillback argued that

> the duty to protect someone who is more vulnerable to harm and hurt by those who are stronger. Generally speaking, in a just war, you do not put your most vulnerable, most unskilled, those most at risk of harm in the place of danger. You put your most well-prepared, strongest and wisest and developed defenders in the place of battle…. (Skaine, 2011, p. 71)

In other words, it is not appropriate to allow women to work in ground combat because women are vulnerable to enemy abuse and atrocity. However, Lillback supports women working in ground combat if there is a shortage of men in ground combat.

In 2009, Captain Ervin R. Stone prepared a report on *Women in Combat: Standardize the Physical Fitness Test*. In this report, he proposed that "allowing women who meet the mental and physical combat requirements of the Marine Corps to serve in any military occupational specialty will ensure the military of the future fulfills the expectations of our nation" (E. R. Stone, 2009, p. 1). This means any female who perform equal to or better than male soldiers in mental and physical combat are able to

work in ground combat with a unified combat standard and proper training. Stone (2009) believes that the Marine Corps should establish the requirement of physical standards for men and women and anyone who passes this requirement should be allowed to work in all fields.

Furthermore, Brownson (2014) conducted research about the equivalency of females in the US Marines Corps, which is one of the toughest and most masculine of all military organizations. Brownson (2014) explained that the term ‘equivalent’ is opposed to the term ‘equal’ to understand “the distinction between the physicality, skills and behaviors both males and females bring to their Marine Corps experience. In other words, even though female marines may not have ‘equal’ strength and endurance to male marines, females can be accepted as ‘equivalent’ when they prove to male peers that they perform competently and professionally in their chosen specialism. In the Marine Corps, both females and males have to pass the required standard of fitness and endurance in their chosen specialism. Normally, most female marines cannot pass tests or perform the physical standards of marine infantry, which is the hardest combat role. Female marines who want to work in the combat arms, like marine infantry, cannot simply be equivalent to male marines, but they must be the physical equals to their male peers. Therefore, at present only a few women are qualified to work in combat arms (Brownson, 2014). The accession of women in the combat arms in the US military forces is approximately one percent or less (King, 2014, p. 385). However, most female marines pass the lower standard of fitness and endurance to work in noncombat specialisms (Brownson, 2014). Brownson’s (2014) research further confirmed that female marines who are able to demonstrate their ability to meet the physical standards and their professional competence have been accepted as equivalent to male marines.

In the US, women soldiers working in ground combat is still a controversial issue. King (2014) indicated that women soldiers should be allowed to work in ground combat in 2016 in the US and some of the combat troops will be all female. In contrast, most countries only allow women soldiers to work in ground combat when their countries are in a state of emergency and there is a shortage of men soldiers (Segal, 1995). Table 2.1 shows the lists of countries that allow women soldiers to work in one or more of the four types of combat (military aircraft, combat ships, ground combat and submarines).

Table 2.1: Military occupations in which women in other countries serve

Occupation	Countries
Military aircraft	Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Israel, India, Japan, Morrocco, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, Portugal, Russia, Singapore, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Taiwan, Turkey, United Kingdom
Combat ships	Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Denmark, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom
Ground combat	Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel (some), the Netherlands (except the marines), New Zealand, Norway, Portugal (except marines and combat divers), Spain, South Africa, South Korea and Sweden. Other nations allow female soldiers to serve in certain Combat Arms positions such as the United Kingdom which allow women to serve in Artillery roles while still excluding them from units with a dedicated Infantry
Submarines	Australia, Canada, Spain, Sweden

Source: Skaine (2001), Women in combat: A reference handbook, Santa Barbara, USA

Feminist activists have played an important role in focusing on the issue of the number and status of women in the military by engaging with the government from both inside and outside. The number of women in the military is gradually increasing (Enloe, 2000). For example, in the US military in 1975, the number of women uniformed personnel was only two percent (Enloe, 2000, p. 280) and was increased to 14 percent

in 2011 (Patten & Parker, 2011). Most women serve in the Air Force – approximately 31 percent of military women are in the Air Force while only 22 percent of men do (Patten & Parker, 2011). In contrast, the number of women is less than men in the Marine Corps – about seven percent of military women are in the Marine Corps compared to 16 percent of men (Patten & Parker, 2011). Even though women soldiers work in different militarizing functions, they still face discrimination in the military. Women who work in a masculinize organization are pushed to the margins. For instance, women soldiers are less likely to be promoted or awarded a pension and have experienced sexual harassment that they have little chance to speak out about (Enloe, 2000). The next section will discuss promotional barriers in such male-dominated occupations.

Promotional barriers

Many theorists have argued that there is a patriarchal system underlying society in general and the labor force in particular. According to Walby (1990 p.20), patriarchy means "a system of social structures and practices in which men dominated, oppress and exploit women". In this system, men have more power than women in society and see themselves as the leader and the head of household while women have secondary roles in both family and the labor force. Maddock (1999) claimed that although society has changed over time, patriarchy still remains. Cockburn (1991) also argued that because of patriarchy when women worked in male-dominated occupations, women could not work at higher level because men believed that they were the boss and women were their subordinates.

Men who work at the senior levels clearly outnumber women in male-dominated industries. Women, who work in these industries, have to have the same or higher qualifications than men to gain promotion. Women have to work harder and longer at lower levels than men to prove that they have the same ability as men to work at senior levels (Bagilhole, 2002). Therefore, gaining promotion to work at senior levels is quite difficult for women. For example, women who work in traditional male-dominated occupations in the EU, UK and USA still cannot break through the glass ceiling (Bagilhole, 2002).

The literature has identified one major point in relation to why only a few women gain promotion to work at senior level in male-dominated occupations. That point is that women may not seem appropriate for leadership roles in the same way as men because to many employers women do not seem to be a natural choice for these roles that are usually occupied by men (Lemm, Dabafy, & Banaji, 2005). As mentioned before, employers may have assumptions about which jobs are suitable for men or women and gender stereotypes can be an important factor when promotions are being considered. Many studies showed that leadership is equated to masculinity. Manager or executive positions have to have a command and control style of leadership that requires male characteristics such as being aggressive, independent, ambitious and unemotional (Bagilhole, 2002; Billing & Alvesson, 2000; Mant, 1983; Marshall, 1984; Powell, 1988; Wajcman, 1996, 1998). Wajcman (2002, p. 262) further explained that management is a job for men because

> managerial work itself is conceptualised as involving constant action, the image is of fire-fighter dealing with constant pressure, doing rather than thinking – ‘action man’. Thus the social construction of management is

> one in which managerial competence is intrinsically linked to qualities attaching to men.

This is a common perception, one which is still firmly held even though more and more women are entering the workforce every day, especially in the male-dominated industries.

However, some research has showed that women and men have the same ability to work at senior levels (Billing & Alvesson, 2000; Marshall, 1984). These studies argued that there was no difference between male and female managers. Both have the same ambition, the same skills, and similar characteristics. Female managers are also good at communication and cooperation, and are less aggressive and more willing to listen when compared to male managers. Therefore, female supervisors had been accepted to be managers among male colleagues in non-traditional occupations as women have the same ability to perform their work tasks as manager same as men (Billing & Alvesson, 2000; Marshall, 1984). Despite such achievements and research showing that men and women are equally capable of fulfilling management roles, there are still many male-dominated workplaces where gender barriers make it difficult for women to advance. This includes the issue of sexual harassment. The next section will describe sexual harassment in male-dominated occupations.

Sexual harassment in male-dominated occupations

Sexual harassment is a very serious problem for women, especially in male-dominated occupations where the majority of employees are men who have more power than women. Stockdale (2005) indicated that sexual harassment is used to maintain masculinity and status differences between men and women. In other words, the objective of sexual harassment is the satisfaction of power needs. In traditional male-

dominated occupations, supervisors often used the fact that men outnumbered women, combined with the power of their higher position to make sexual advances (Kauppinen & Patoluoto, 2005). There are three basic conditions that sexual harassment in male-dominated occupations will happen: (1) men sexually harass women because they are culturally privileged; (2) social mores and practices sanction their right to do so; and (3) organizations do not have adequate protection for victims or appropriately punish harassers (Gruber & Morgan, 2005).

Gruber and Morgan (2005) studied of male dominance in the workplace defining it as a multifaceted concept, consisting of two dimensions: numerical and normative male dominance. Numerical male dominance refers to an organization that is numerically dominated by men or has more men than women employees. In numerically male-dominated organizations, sexual harassment occurred much more often when compared to other types of organizations, and because of its frequency it was a major problem in male-dominated occupations. Berdahl (2007) also undertook surveys on sexual harassment in five organizations where the number of male employees outnumbered female employees in the US. He found that women who worked in male-dominated occupations often faced higher rates of sexual harassment than women who worked in female-dominated jobs. Contrary to expectations, women who acted like men and worked in male-dominated occupations had even higher chances of facing sexual harassment. Women who worked in male-dominated occupations were also often more aware of sexual harassment rather than women who worked in feminized occupations.

Moreover, numerically male-dominated workplaces tend to have cultural norms that support sexual bravado, sexual posturing and the denigration of feminine behavior.

These cultural norms increase the risk of the occurrence of sexual harassment in the workplace (Sbraga & O'Donohue, 2000). Wilson and Thomson (2001) also indicated that in workplaces where men outnumber women, women are likely to face sexual harassment because the presence of women in the workplace reinforced male hegemony and masculinity. They also further indicated that when women enter the workplace, men fear loss of their power and as a result, sexual harassment increasingly occurs.

Normative male-dominated workplaces refer to organizational or occupational culture that reward traditional masculine values such as the devaluation of women, aggression and emotional self-regulation (Gruber & Morgan, 2005). In normative male-dominated workplaces, the incidence of sexual harassment depends on sexist behavior of women in those workplaces. O'Hare and O'Donohue (1998) found that women who perceived sexist attitudes and believed that men and women have been treated unequally were more likely to have experienced sexual harassment. Conversely, women who believe that there is equal treatment for men and women less experienced sexual harassment (Timmerman & Bajema, 2000). Sbraga and O'Donohue's (2000) research shows that such culture is reinforced when men outnumber women.

There are also doubly male-dominated occupations. This label refers to organizations where male employees outnumber female employees and have cultural norms that are very masculinized such as firefighting and policing (Baigent, 2005). Baigent (2005) carried out a qualitative research study among firefighters in the US and found that most female firefighters had been harassed by senior male firefighters, a point which will be further discussed in relation to female police officers. Sexual harassment continues to be a major problem that limits gender equality. It contributes to the inequalities in labor

systems, particularly with respect to promotion and sexual harassment, and confirms that women and men are not equal particularly in male-dominated occupations. The next section will identify gender discrimination in policing.

Gender discrimination and female police officers

Policing has been seen as a "man's world". In the police force, masculine culture dominates and only a small number of female police officers work in the industry. Gender discrimination can occur when women are seen as different from men because of their bodies, and this can easily occur in the case of policing where physical strength is seen as an important characteristic. Traditionally, policing has been seen as suitable for men and not for women in large part because physical strength is required. According to Garcia (2003, p. 337) , "women do not possess the necessary masculine traits of rationality, aggressiveness, bravery, objectivity, suspicion and brutality required of good cops to fight crime and apprehend the enemy". In other words, female police officers are not suited to work in the police force because they cannot perform police tasks that require masculine characteristics.

There is a hegemonic masculinity at work in police organizations. Hegemonic masculinity is the "configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy in patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordinate position of women" (Connell, 1995, p. 77). This hegemonic masculinity is shown through authority, heterosexism, the ability to display force and the subordination of women in the police organization (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). A good example to support this point is the maintenance or confinement of female police officers in areas

historically not defined as “real police work” (Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Moreover, Prokos and Padavic (2002) argued that hegemonic masculinity is a central defining concept of American police culture. There is a hidden curriculum of the police academy in the US. Prokos and Padavic (2002, p. 454) further explained this point that

> the hidden curriculum there taught recruits that dominant masculinity is necessary to performing their duties as cops. Women’s presence at the academy facilitated these lessons by indicating the boundaries surrounding masculinity (accomplished through differentiation) and by highlighting masculinity’s superiority over things not-masculine. Specifically, male students learned that it is acceptable to exclude women, that women are naturally very different from men and thus can be treated differently, then denigrating and objectifying women is commonplace and expected, and they can disregard women in authority.

This means that in the police academy in the US, men were taught to exclude women and women were not be seen as equal to men in policing.

According to the description of female police officers’ work that was outlined between 1910 and 1940, the role of female police officer was:

> indefatigable public servants who engaged almost exclusively in interpersonal, relational work. On a typical workday, their duties demanded a high level of affectivity and empathy, attention to detail and cooperation with others. They specialized in comforting lost children, answering letters of inquiry about missing persons, interviewing female and juvenile victims of crime (especially sex crimes), making referrals to social work agencies, giving advice to parents about troublesome children, handling domestic relations cases and arresting women and girls (Appier, 1998, p. 55).

This means that female police officers were recruited to deal with sex crimes that related to females, girls and social work because women should do this type of work. Appier (1998, p. 55) also observed that in police work, “men are best suited for the detection of crime and the arrest of criminals and women are best suited for the prevention of crime and the protection of women and children”. Therefore, male

officers perform police tasks while female officers perform administrative work or work more related to sex crimes. At present, most female police officers are still working with female and juvenile victims. For instance, Spasić, Djurić and Mršević (2015) conducted interviews with female police officers on discrimination in the workplace in Serbia. They found that few women performed patrol tasks while most of them performed female jobs. One participants reported that

> we are usually given tasks of the "social nature". This means that we are "in charge" when they need arises to talk to a victim of domestic violence or a juvenile, when a family is to be informed about the killing or arrest of its member, but we are not engaged when criminals are being arrested or when chasing a dangerous, armed offender. The chief had for many years avoided assigning us to patrol duties. I remember that a long time ago, when I started working as an inspector, a colleague told me as he was going to make an arrest: "there is no need for you to come with us, we will finish it. I cannot protect you and think whether something's going to happen to you". (Spasić, Djurić, & Mršević, 2015, p. 63)

However, Rabe-Hemp (2009) indicated that female police officers themselves strongly believe that they are better than male officers at performing feminized forms of police work by using their feminine stereotypes such as caregivers and communicators.

Moreover, male police officers often claim that they have to treat women as special because they are weak while female officers claim that they want to have equality the same as men (MacKinnon, 1989). The different way that women are treated constitutes gender discrimination in policing. Furthermore, there are male cultures such as excessive drinking and the display of physical strength similar to other male dominated institutions that prevent women being part of the overall policing culture. Thus, women are given a lower status in cultural attitudes (Young, 1991). Bell (1982) and Natarajan (2008) indicated that gender discrimination is the main reason why the police treat female officers differently. Herrington (1993) further claimed that if women want to

work for a long time as police, they may have to ignore issues or not be as concerned about gender discrimination. Brown (1998) conducted a survey in the Metropolitan Police in the UK and found that it was difficult to believe that there were equal opportunities in the workplace because in most male officers' eyes, women officers were never seen as real police. Although there were some men who felt comfortable working with female police officers and saw these women as real police officers, male police officers still criticized these female officers because they were unable to perform all aspects of police work (Jones, 1986). It then seems very difficult to believe that equal opportunities actually exist in policing. However, it cannot be denied that not only male police officers but also female police officers, including female supervisors treat female officers badly in police organizations. In Serbia, although female police officers worked in the administrative section, they faced discrimination in the workplace through several forms of abuse such as degradation and insult from their female supervisors (Spasić, Djurić, & Mršević, 2015).

The remainder of this section is divided into three parts. The first part identifies four major issues of gender discrimination in policing, namely different entry requirements, gender discrimination starting in the academy, women not being accepted in the police force and women not receiving the same benefits as men. The second part identifies major barriers for women officers in gaining promotion, namely limited number of senior positions, lack of support from supervisors, and family. The third part considers literature relating to sexual harassment in policing.

Gender Discrimination in policing

Traditionally, there are four major issues with respect to gender discrimination in policing. The first issue has been history of the different entry requirements for men and women officers. In the US and the UK, women had to have higher qualifications than men to be recruited into policing. They also had to meet a higher standard to be recruited. Historically, female police officers had to complete college while policemen with only a high school level of education were accepted into the police force (Appier, 1998; Heffernan & Stroup, 1985; Homant, 1983; Horne, 1980; Milton, 1972; Morris, 1987; Price, 1985; Schulz, 1995). At present, the number of female police officers who hold higher educational qualifications is still higher than male officers. For example, a survey that was conducted in the Metropolitan Police in the UK found that when comparing educational level in policing, most female officers hold higher education qualifications than male officers. Approximately 11 percent of women had a university degree while only six percent of men had a degree (Brown, 1998).

The second issue is that gender discrimination often starts from the police academy. For example, in the US, after women and men have passed the practical and written exams, they then have to go to the police academy for training and learn how to be police officers (Belknap, 2007). Separate from the formal curriculum which provides police skills such as first aid and patrolling, there is a hidden curriculum about masculinity in the police academy. The school will teach male recruits how to exclude and treat women differently in policing. According to Prokos and Padavic (2002, p. 454), teachers taught students that

> it is acceptable to exclude women, that women are naturally very different from men and thus can be treated differently that denigrating

> and objectifying women is commonplace and expected, and that they can disregard women in authority. For each of these lessons, male recruits learned accompanying strategies for excluding and antagonizing women, strategies that effectively communicated to women that they were not welcome as equals.

In more recent research, Rabe-Hemp (2008) also found that the police culture was established through police academy and field training experiences. Male police officers tended to keep female police officers outside of the police culture. For example, one female sergeant reported that

> I remember sitting at the academy for some kind of training and I can remember sitting there with some old goat and he was talking about, "I can't believe you know we have all these women here. Some day we are going to have to deal with all this menopausal stuff". (Rabe-Hemp, 2008, p. 257)

In the police academy, both the formal and informal curricula also taught that women and men are different. They tend to teach that policing is a man's job and requires male characteristics (Pike, 1985). There is a perception that feminine characteristics are not suited for patrol tasks and may even destroy the image of the police because they are "weak" and "emotional". Twenty-three years later Rabe-Hemp (2008) still confirmed this point that policing is still being seen as man's work and women are outsiders in the police culture. Male police officers do not want to work with female police officers neither did they want the women officers working together. For example, one female captain police officer said that "well we were all pretty much separated from each other. At that time they didn't want us taking vacations at the same time, didn't want us really on the same shift, they want us kind of spread out" (Rabe-Hemp, 2008, p. 258). The implication is that several women working together could create a challenge to the existing male dominance.

Passing the physical test was another gender discrimination issue. In the academy school, women have to pass the physical test in order to test for fitness and strength. The test required women to do the same number of sit-ups and push-ups as the men (S. E. Martin, 1980, 1990). Women have to pass this test to confirm that they can work in patrol tasks in the US.

Moreover, the police academy taught women to seek for inequality in the physical test in the US. Martin (1980) pointed out that while women often fail the physical test, the teacher is not concerned about making women participate and sometimes they may provide advice on how women who do not want to do the test can seek exemption. Therefore, women often claim a medical exemption to pass this exam. The school further supports women in seeking exemptions in the physical training test. These exemptions thus lead to criticism of female police officers and questions about whether they are properly trained to work in patrol tasks because the men are not sure whether their female co-workers have sought an exemption for the physical test or not (S. E. Martin, 1980). However, women who have sought an exemption argue that strength and fitness alone cannot predict a good performance. Therefore, these women may perform well even though they lack the same relative levels of strength and fitness as their male counterparts (Mossman, Mayhew, Rowe et al., 2008).

Furthermore, in the US, the academy school started to reduce the standard of physical fitness for women who did not want to do patrol tasks later. This test required fewer sits-ups and push-ups (S. E. Martin, 1980). As the school established a special test for female officers they are definitely divided into two types: deprofessionalized police*women* and defeminized *police*women.

Deprofessionalized police*women* means that the female police officer "accepts the men's invitation to function as a nominal equal while actually functioning as a junior partner or assistant and receiving treatment and exemption from work tasks appropriate for a lady" (Jones, 1986, p. 171). This means that female police officers who are deprofessionalized refer to female officers who adopt feminine behavior and are disinterested in their work. In this situation, deprofessionalized women do not want to do the physical examination and seek an exemption. These women believe that the standard for the test is too high and cannot be achieved.

In contrast, defeminized *police*women are identified as liberal feminists. Defeminized *police*women means female police officers who "gain acceptance by being exceptional" (Jones, 1986, p. 171). In this situation, defeminized women try to follow the rules and pass the physical test (S. E. Martin, 1980). These women do not want to seek any physical test exemption. They want to do the physical examination and pass it like other policemen because they believe that if they have ability to pass the test, they can perform as well as men in the patrol tasks. At the same time, if women can pass the physical test, policemen should not claim that women are not suited for patrol tasks because of lack of physical strength.

A third issue of gender discrimination is that female police officers do not receive the same benefits as policemen. Female officers receive lower pay and do not receive employment benefits during pregnancy (Horne, 1980; S. E. Martin, 2005; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Milton, 1972). Female officers have to have higher qualifications to enter the police force, do the same work as policemen and get less pay. Some male officers claim that as they do more dangerous work than female officers they should

receive higher salaries than women who work in the office. However, policemen who do office work still receive higher salaries than women officers. This is gender discrimination as female officers get lower salaries because of their gender.

Moreover, female police officers are not entitled to maternity leave or financial assistance during pregnancy. The 1972 Act in the US only authorizes that women will receive the same benefits as men which means that women are excluded from maternity leave benefits such as financial assistance. The law only assures that female police officers receive the same minimum benefits that are offered to men; the law does not require employers to provide any protection or benefit for pregnant employees (MacKinnon, 1989; C. Martin, 1996; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007). Therefore, female officers did not receive any employment benefits during their pregnancy. Moreover, there is a lack of formal pregnancy policy in the US policing. Rabe-Hemp (2008, p. 260) found in her research that only four out of 12 departments where there are either over 100 sworn officers, or more than 50 officers, or less than 100 sworn officers had a formal pregnancy policy. Some departments have now started to assign pregnant officers to lighter police tasks. However, only big departments that have light duty options for pregnant officers can do so. If pregnant officers work in small departments where there is no scope for lighter tasks, women may be forced to leave or take maternity leave early (around six to eight months) because they are unable to perform the more demanding tasks (S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Mossman, Mayhew, Rowe et al., 2008).

Additionally, at present, female police officers who take maternity leave may be disadvantaged. Dalziel (as cited in Mossman, Mayhew, Rowe et al., 2008, p. 36)

conducted research in the New Zealand Police and found that female police officers who take maternity leave can be disadvantaged because when they return to police work, they may not return to the same level or role that they worked at before. Female police officers who take maternity leave may also negatively affect their promotion as female officers may lose opportunities for promotion or training when they take maternity leave (Adams & Australasian Centre for Policing Research, 2001)

Lastly, women have often not been accepted in the policing workplace. Women who work in male traditional occupations, often have to act and dress like men to be accepted. Maddock (1999) claims that women will not be recognized by men when they work in male-dominated occupations in the first place until they act like men (such as having more aggressive behavior). Similarly, women are in a double bind situation. They have to be tough like men to be accepted but being tough is not compatible with being feminine (Bagilhole, 2002; Bradley & Healy, 2008). If women act like men, they can be heard but they have been seen as challenging the men's sense of their masculine identity. On the other hand, if they act like women, they are not seen as belonging to the industry (Jamieson, 1995). For example, Spencer and Podmore (1986) argued that if women want to be accepted in policing, they have to adopt masculine attributes and values. However, if they did act like men, they would be criticized as not being a real woman and lacking femininity. Therefore, whatever female police officers do or behave, women are always considered as misfits by male officers.

The best solution for this double bind is combining these two characteristics – not being too female and working hard to show male characteristics. Witz and Savage (as cited in Bagilhole, 2002, p. 159) claimed that women "must behave like men to succeed, but

not be men and behave unlike women and yet be woman" which is very hard to do. As a consequence, there are high numbers of women who leave male-dominated industries because there is too much discrimination. Bradley (2008) further argued that women who work in male-dominated jobs feel that men do not want them to work in these organizations and try to make them leave. However, Rabe-Hemp (2009) conducted interviews in the US and found that female police officers at present are successfully combining two characteristics – they are not being too feminine and they are showing male characteristics in their daily work in order to be accepted more fully within the organization.

In policing, however, female police officers have still not always been accepted for work in the area of patrolling. From the male perspective on the acceptance of women in policing, Martin (1990) argued that there are two types of male officers: traditional male officers and moderate and modern male officers. Traditionally, male police officers did not accept women as police officers. They believed that women should be limited to administration and women's work such as dealing with juvenile and female cases and disagreed with the entry of women into patrol work. Traditional male officers believed that a police officer is aggressive. They also feared that if female police officers do well as patrol officers, the meaning of masculinity and femininity may be blurred and masculine identity may be undermined (S. E. Martin, 1980, 1990). However, since the 1972 Act was passed in the US, women officers have been allowed to do patrol tasks and therefore, traditionalists cannot avoid working with women in patrol tasks. Nevertheless they still often treat women as junior partners and often believe that they have to protect women too (Balkin, 1988; Jones, 1986; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Messerschmidt, 1993).

In contrast, some moderate and modern officers have accepted women as police officers. These people would like to see some changes in policing. Moderate and modern male officers believe that a police officer should be less aggressive (S. E. Martin, 1990). Martin (1990) conducted interviews by interviewing more than 70 male police officers. She found that there was a diversity of opinion among male officers when asked whether they have accepted female police officers. The number of traditional male officers decreased while the number of moderate and modern male officers increased.

However, although the number of moderate and modern male officers has increased over the years, they still sometimes agreed with traditional male officers that female police officers should not work as patrol officers. Moderate and modern male officers explained that the term acceptance of female police officers means that they accepted that women work in policing as in any other occupations and it is a fact of life to have women and men present in the workplace. However, women were not being accepted to work as police officers in the full sense of the term (S. E. Martin, 1990). The following statement was an example of one male police officer who was interviewed that he did not accept women as police officers:

> This is a man's job. The majority of women are not capable of handling physical encounters on the street…. Women rely too heavily on their service revolver…. Men have it in their minds that women are going for a free ride…and have no intention of staying on 20 or 30 years…. A woman cannot be refined and be a police officer too. Women give up some of their femininity to work this job. How many women do you know go to work prepared to kill? Women officials have met negative response…. It goes back to home training; how many mothers give orders to fathers? (S. E. Martin, 1990, p. 150)

At the same time, Martin (1990) found that female police officers believed that the acceptance of female police officers by male police officers is based on the individual female officer's performance. A female supervisor further explained that the term acceptance of female police officers referred to "a woman's approach and demeanour" (S. E. Martin, 1990, p. 152). The author stated that female police officers who perform the job very well as it was expected and did not receive complaints for their assignment have been accepted as police officers. However, there were still some female police officers who could not perform their job very well and still have characteristics judged as being too feminine, such as being emotional, and therefore these female officers have not been accepted in the workplace in both males' and females' eyes.

The combination of all of these issues means that women have to work harder than men to be accepted among policemen. Bagilhole (2002) further argued that women had to spend a period of time demonstrating their work ability because men will only accept that women can work at the same level as them when they see actual evidence. Therefore, women have to spend a longer time to show their work ability compared to male colleagues. She also stated that:

> on site you have to prove yourself not only at the beginning of each project, but with every new sub-contractor that works on the job. It was really frustrating because there was a definite element of 'does she knows what she's talking about?' As a woman you have to constantly prove that you're twice as good as everybody else. You have to earn the respect that a male gets automatically. (Bagilhole, 2002, p. 167)

Thus gender discrimination is a major barrier to women being fully accepted in the police force. They have to work very hard and show policemen that they can do as well as them to be accepted (Gruber & Morgan, 2005; Horne, 1980; Mossman, Mayhew,

Rowe et al., 2008). However, regardless of whether they outperform men, they will never achieve an equal status (Natarajan, 2008).

However, Rabe-Hemp (2008) argued that when she did research in the US, she found that female police officers could find acceptance in the workplace via one of three ways. The first way is a violent show of force. Female police officers have to prove to male officers that they can do a job as well as male officers can. For instance, a female police officer who worked in patrolling reported that

> probably the most acceptance was when I was almost killed in a hotel room. I had to use my gun on a 17 year old. I think, you hate to say it that way, but I think officers felt, she can do the job. She did prove that she made it out of this hotel room alive and protected herself. So, I think you can get accepted in a way like that. (Rabe-Hemp, 2008, p. 261)

The second way is achieving a rank that demanded respect. If female police officers work at senior levels and have high ranking, they will be accepted because police officers who have lower rank always pay respect to police officers who have higher ranking. This is the norms of police culture to show respect to officers who have higher ranking (Rabe-Hemp, 2008). The last way is being unique or different from male officers. This is the risky way for female police officers to do it as they have to show that they have excellent skills rather than their male colleagues in order to be visible in male supervisors' eyes (Rabe-Hemp, 2008). Rabe-Hemp (2008) explained that although this way was very risky, the result was excellent as female police officers who had attempted to market themselves as unique were most successful in gaining promotion.

Promotional barriers against female police officers

As noted previously, historically, it was very hard for women to be recruited in male-dominated occupations like policing and once accepted, female police officers faced

promotional barriers in policing. The National Center for Women and Policing (2001) reported that no female police officers in top command or supervisory positions in the US. Milton (1972, p. 40) argued that “it is ironic that so many departments have higher education requirements for women who want to enter policing and then they deny them promotional opportunities open to less educated men”. Rabe-Hemp (2008, p. 258) also indicated that in her research participants described the promotion process as “too much of a pain in the ass to attempt”.

Internationally, there are few women who work at the senior level in policing. In the police organization where there are high levels of masculine culture, female police officers have often been seen as having female characteristics (caring and giving support). This image prohibits female police officers from gaining promotion to work at senior levels which are reserved for male officers (Spasić, Djurić, & Mršević, 2015) . Numerous studies have demonstrated that most women have worked at the lower level and perform administration or office-based jobs rather than work at the senior level (Adams & Australasian Centre for Policing Research, 2001; Belknap, 2007; Boni, Circelli, & Australasian Centre for Policing Research, 2002; Herrington, 1993; C. Martin, 1996; S. E. Martin, 2005; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Miller, 1999; Mossman, Mayhew, Rowe et al., 2008; Young, 1991). Women officers also progress more slowly in policing than male officers.

The literature has identified three major barriers for female police officers seeking to gain promotion. The first major barrier to promotion is the limited number of senior positions available for female police officers. Policing often has limited positions for women. Although female police officers have passed the promotion exam already, they

may not gain promotion until there are positions available (Milton, 1972; Young, 1991). For instance, in Serbia, female police officers may have to wait until a higher position currently held by a female police officer comes available. Female officers can then apply for promotion (Spasić, Djurić, & Mršević, 2015). Therefore, policemen may be promoted to work at the senior level before women. As a result, the number of female police officers who work at the senior level is much lower than that of men.

Seniority and ranking (police hierarchy) may also become additional barriers for female police officers. To gain promotion, seniority and experiences are important factors considered by supervisors. In Japan and the US, female police officers may not be able to gain promotion if they are not the highest senior person in those departments (Ames, 1981; Brown, 1998; Heffernan & Stroup, 1985; Horne, 1980; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007). At the same time, ranking may make it more difficult to gain promotion because there is no ranking available for a certain level of officers (Guyot, 1979; Natarajan, 2008). Ranking may also create much more limited promotional numbers. For instance, in Japan, there is a limited number of positions available for each rank (Ames, 1981). Therefore, to gain promotion, supervisors not only consider officers based on merit, but they also consider based on ranking, seniority and experience (Ames, 1981). If the police organization in question does not have space for a particular ranking, officers may not be able to gain promotion.

The second major barrier is the lack of support from supervisors. Most supervisors are men and may prefer to consider men for promotion. Bagilhole (2002) argued that this is the case because they work in male-dominated occupations and would like to keep working in this style rather than feminizing what they do. He used the word

‘homosociability’ of men to describe this situation. The term homosociability refers to when men “prefer to select men like themselves” and “they use the dominance of the male career model to assist with this” (Bagilhole, 2002, p. 184) In addition, men usually have more support and encouragement to gain promotion compared with women. While supervisors support men to gain promotion, they support women to work as their subordinates, women are often undertaking office based work which has less chance to gain promotion (Bagilhole, 2002).

Most supervisors are men and many have negative attitudes toward female police officers. According to research published in the 1980s by the Policy Studies Institute on the Metropolitan Police in London, “women faced substantial prejudice within the police force” and this prejudice acted as a promotional barrier which explained why women gain promotion more slowly than men (Morris, 1987, p. 146). More recently Boni, Circelli and Australasian Centre for Policing Research (2002) argued that negative attitudes from male colleagues and supervisors have been shown to have great influence on women’s decisions pertaining to seeking promotion. Additionally, Wexler and Quinn (as cited in Boni, Circelli, & Australasian Centre for Policing Research, 2002, p. 2) found that women are the most concerned about negative attitudes within the department when they want to be a Sergeant.

Male supervisors have to change their gender perception that female police officers cannot perform patrol tasks because they believe that women are emotional and have less physical strength (Boni, Circelli, & Australasian Centre for Policing Research, 2002). Jones (1986, p. 149) also conducted a survey asking respondents for a true or false response to the following statement: “Policewomen do not have the physical

strength that is required for police duties". Approximately 46 percent of men and 20 percent of women believed that this statement was true. Overall, this highlights that to achieve equal opportunities to gain promotion, the gender perception from male supervisors who make decisions regarding promotions needs to change (Metcalfe & Dick, 2007).

Lack of support is also evidenced through female police officers being excluded from the senior level because they lack field experience. Male supervisors often assigned women under their direction to work in areas where they could not gain important skills for promotion (Bagilhole, 2002). For instance, to gain promotion in policing, female police officers have to perform patrol tasks (S. E. Martin, 1990). This is one important requirement to be considered for promotion. Supervisors play an important role in allocating jobs to both male and female officers. However, they do not accept that women can perform all police tasks as well as men. Therefore, they do not allow female police officer to do dangerous tasks such as patrol tasks. Supervisors will often only assign female police officers to do administration or office-based work (Balkin, 1988; Brown & Campbell, 1991; Jones, 1986; S. E. Martin, 2005; Metcalfe & Dick, 2007). Spasić, Djurić and Mršević (2015) conducted interviews on discrimination in policing in Serbia and found that female police officers were often assigned administrative tasks, that is, they were set to work as typists or secretaries. More than 70 percent of police officers who engaged in administrative duties were women (Spasić, Djurić, & Mršević, 2015, p. 63). These points make it difficult for female police officers to gain a wide range of experience; consequently they do not meet requirements to work at the senior level.

Furthermore, female police officers lack opportunities to be involved in other activities with supervisors. Most supervisors are male and often participate in activities with other male officers in men's clubs, playing golf or male culture type activities such as excessive drinking. However, traditionally women are not likely to join these clubs or participate in any extra activities after work. Therefore, they lack opportunities to talk with supervisors in order to get to know them better (Adams & Australasian Centre for Policing Research, 2001, p. 38). Supervisors then do not think about female police officers when they consider the promotion list. Simpson (as cited in Adams & Australasian Centre for Policing Research, 2001, p. 38) compared the attitudes and beliefs of women in gender balanced organizations to the attitudes and beliefs of women in male-dominated organizations. Simpson (as cited in Adams & Australasian Centre for Policing Research, 2001, p. 38) found that the latter has less than 15 percent of women in management positions and found that all women said that men's clubs are a great barrier to gaining promotion. In contrast, male officers did not believe that men's clubs are a barrier to gaining promotion. In addition, supervisors sometimes completely ignore female police officers and are only interested in working with male officers (Natarajan, 2008). As a consequence, female police officers feel upset and discouraged about performing their job well.

A third major barrier to promotion is family. Many studies show that when women had children, they had been seen as not suitable to work at senior level (Crompton & Le Feuvre, 1992; Crompton & Sanderson, 1990; Davidson & Cooper, 1992). For instance, in the UK married women were seen as inappropriate for work at senior levels. However, married men will be considered for promotion (Bagilhole, 2002).

In policing, female police officers are reluctant to sit the promotion examination because of their family. Female police officers give priority to family first and police work second while men who are married give priority to police work first and have their wives to look after their family (Jones, 1986; Metcalfe & Dick, 2007). For example, female police officers often decide not to join the training school for advancement or take the promotion exam because to join the training school, they may have to go to another city and leave their family while they prepare for their promotion exam. (S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007). Rabe-Hemp (2008) also argued that family and child-care issues play a more important role for women in deciding whether they should gain promotion than they do for men . In the US, female police officers do not want to gain promotion because women are the main person to have responsibility for their child. It is very difficult for them to work shift work like policing and take responsibility for their child at the same time. Therefore, most female police officers prefer to stay in the current position to perform the same assignment and work in the same shift rather than change the time for shift work in order to be promoted (Rabe-Hemp, 2008). In Serbia, approximately 40 percent of female police officers including officers who were promoted, showed little or no interest in gaining promotion to higher positions because of family obligations and child care (Spasić, Djurić, & Mršević, 2015, p. 66). Bagilhole (2002) further argued that female police officers who have families often resign from their work. Therefore, there are not many women left at the workplace. There are then only limited numbers of women available for selection and promotion to senior levels.

On the contrary, men typically give their priority to their work rather than their family. Therefore, they may have better progress in their career than women (Jones, 1986; Natarajan, 2008). According to Martin and Jurik (2007), to be good police, officers have

to give priority to their work rather than their family. Female police officers are more likely to focus on their family rather than work. They are then seen as not good police officers and are consequently not promoted to work at the senior level.

In addition, female police officers may not want to gain promotion because they are happy with their position and salary. They may receive a higher salary than other women in other careers and therefore do not feel the need to take the promotion exam (Horne, 1980). Lack of support from supervisors and gendered work culture may also be another reason that female police officers do not want to take the promotion exam. Female police officers may feel that there are many barriers for them to confront. If they work at the senior level, they may have to face even more barriers than now.

There are few female police officers who gain promotion and work at the senior level. Moreover, if they have been promoted, male officers do not necessarily accept them. Policemen who work under female supervisors often use language that is not proper with their female supervisors, showing that they do not respect them (S. E. Martin, 1990; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007). This problem then means female supervisors have to work much harder to be accepted. At the same time, some female supervisors do not feel confident working at the senior level. These women believe that female supervisors should only supervise female police officers. As they grew up in the traditional family where men are leaders and women are followers, they lack the confidence to supervise male officers (Horne, 1980).

Sexual harassment and female police officers

Sexual harassment happens in policing in part because it has been seen as a man's job and male officers are the majority. Male officers may act aggressively to fellow female police officers and may take part in activities that constitute sexual harassment (Gruber & Morgan, 2005; Gutek & Morash, 1982; Remmington, 1981). Brown (1998) argued that police women are more likely to face sexual harassment from male police officers than civilian women. When male and female police officers have to work together sexual harassment may occur. In policing, this tends to happen most in patrol departments where women and men work together closely most of the working day. In contrast, there is a higher number of women than men who work in administrative work. The sexual harassment rate is therefore low when compared to the patrol department. In the administrative department, there are more supervisors to check closely on sexual harassment while in patrol work, women and men work together and this is unsupervised work. Therefore, the patrol department has a higher rate of sexual harassment than administrative work (Brown, 1998).

Female police officers face the possibility of sexual harassment at every level (Brown, 1998; Chaiyavej & Morash, 2008; S. E. Martin, 1990; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2007; Wexler & Logan, 1983). Female police officers of every age may be confronted with sexist language such as dirty jokes, rude language and comments on their appearance. Some male officers may gamble with their male co-workers as to who will be the first person to sleep with a new policewoman on the job (Brown, 1998; Chaiyavej & Morash, 2008; Gutek & Morash, 1982; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007). A policewoman also claimed that she heard six officers suggest that "if you sleep with someone, you are slut; if you are not, you are a dyke" (Wexler & Logan,

1983, p. 49). This form of sexual harassment creates major problems for female police officers. Policewomen may then separate themselves from male co-workers in order to avoid such occurrences. Gutek and Morash (1982) further claimed that in policing, female police officers are often confronted with sexual harassment. Therefore, most female officers may then decide to resign from policing. Sexual harassment could be one reason why female police officers decide to resign in policing and that is why there are few female officers left to work in policing. Therefore, this factor may in turn result in few female police officers gaining promotion to work at senior levels.

Non-verbal forms of sexual harassment, such as unwanted touching, exist but are in the minority. If such instances occur they are more likely to be a result of male supervisors using their position and power to force female police officers to agree to sexual activities. They may be either direct or indirect supervisors over these female officers (Chaiyavej & Morash, 2009; Gutek & Morash, 1982; Wexler & Logan, 1983).

However, there are some women who are happy to use their femininity with their supervisor to gain promotion. These female police officers may fit into the deprofessionalization category. They may not perform police work well and may complain when have to do some tasks that they do not want to do such as patrol tasks. Therefore, they tend to use their femininity with their supervisor to gain promotion (S. E. Martin, 1990).

Overall, this chapter focuses on gender discrimination in relation to promotion and sexual harassment in the workplace in the US, UK and Japan. These three countries have been chosen in this research because these countries are developed country

examples that could be seen as role models for other countries. In the UK and the US gender equity in the workplace between men and women has improved significantly over time. Japan is arguably less equitable but it provides a comparator as a developed country located in Asia which has a similar political background to Thailand. That is, they both have: constitutional monarchies; unitary democratic political system; and they have traditionally been highly patriarchal societies. These case studies and the literature in general suggest that, although on paper female police officers have the same opportunities as men to work in the police, they do not always have the same opportunities as men to gain promotion. Female police officers therefore still work at the lower level and find it quite hard to be promoted to the senior level. They then decide to resign instead of continue working in the police force. It is not insignificant that the number of female police officers who resign from police organizations is very high (Belknap, 2007; Mossman, Mayhew, Rowe et al., 2008). The next chapter will provide an overview of women in the police force internationally and then detail the structure of the RTP and how female police officers are promoted in this organization.

Chapter Three

Female Police Officers

In the past, people believed that the main duty for police was crime fighting and that officers have to provide service to citizens 24 hours a day, not knowing when they would be confronted with dangerous situations. Morris (1987, p. 144) therefore suggests that police work has traditionally been seen as "a masculine pursuit: the imagery reinforced by the media is of the armed man of action fighting crime and criminal". However, police work is not just crime fighting, there are many other additional duties to perform such as preventing crime and handling female and juvenile cases. These duties may be particularly suited to women rather than men and as this has increasingly been recognized this has helped support arguments about the suitability of female police officers (Appier, 1998).

This chapter addresses the following questions: Why did police organizations start to recruit female officers? What tasks and duties women do in policing? And have female officers been allowed to work in the same roles as male police officers or not? The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section provides an overview of female police officers in the United States, the United Kingdom and Japan. The historical review focuses on the US and UK because these countries are developed countries which recruited female officers particularly early. In the second section, the historical and current situation of female police officers in Thailand and the structure of the RTP are described.

Historical review of female police officers

The United States

Alice Stebbins Wells was the first female police officer imbued with the power of arrest in the United States. She was sworn in by the city of Los Angeles on September 12, 1910 (Belknap, 2007; S. E. Martin, 1980; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Natarajan, 2008; Schulz, 1995; The Los Angeles Police Department, 2010). In this period, female officers were hired to do social work which is part of police work. Female police officers from this time on were typically assigned to deal with any crimes related to women and juveniles (Roberg, Novak, & Cordner, 2005). The attitude within the police force at the time was that women would be better than men at handling existing problems related to the social work aspects of policing. Police work not only involves crime fighting but also includes building a good relationship with the public (especially in community policing roles) in order to save people's lives, protect property and maintain peace and security. Female officers have been seen as better suited to work with people in these roles due to better communication skills compared to men (Belknap, 2007; Bell, 1982). This is one reason why police organizations began to more actively recruit women. From 1910, female police officers were hired to work in many departments and cities (Hutzel, 1933). However, these numbers remained low when compared to men. For example, in 1925, there were 417 female police officers working in 210 cities and the number of female police officers did not increase over the next few decades (Owings, 1925). According to a survey of police departments in the nation's largest cities in 1967, there were 1,792 female police officers, or less than two percent, of police officers operating in the US (Berkeley, 1969).

From 1910 until the 1950s, these female officers were mainly assigned to do social work tasks such as dealing with juvenile and female criminality, missing persons, interviewing victims of sex crimes and family problems, and doing administration jobs. They also had their own separate department and rank structure from that of the male officers (Appier, 1998; Brown & Campbell, 1991; Horne, 1980; S. E. Martin, 1980; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Natarajan, 2008; President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Adminsitration of Justice, 1967; Sullivan, 1979).

In the 1950s, some American police organizations allowed women to take responsibility for investigations that related to women and juveniles. During this time, there was a debate over whether women should be allowed to do the same police work as male officers. Martin (1980) points out that policemen feared that female officers would take over their jobs and destroy the public's image of the police. Male officers doubted the physical strength of women, their emotions, and their ability to work as police officers. Many male officers then believed that female officers were not suited to perform police tasks. However, in the 1950s, many female police officers did not want to replace men, they only wanted to work in supportive roles to help perform some jobs that women could do better than men such as dealing with children and women (Mossman, Mayhew, Rowe et al., 2008; Natarajan, 2008; Remmington, 1981; Schulz, 1995). According to Appier (1998, p. 56), when Alice Stebbins Wells gave her first speech about women in policing four decades earlier, she insisted that

> we should understand thoroughly that the policewoman is not going to take the place of the policeman. She is not going to antagonize him in any way or to displace him. She is not going to do any work that the policeman can do well or better, but to do those things he should not be expected to do but which he now does the best he can.

Moreover, when Alice Stebbins Wells was first appointed a female police officer in the United States, her role was clearly defined as a supportive role to male officers. The following is evidence of this from the article of 1914:

> The institution of policewomen is not intended to displace that of policemen in any way. Their work is merely supplementary. The policewomen have the same authority as the policeman; she can arrest people; but it is not her business to drag drunkards to the police station, to trap a burglar, or direct traffic. That is a man's work. The women's work is chiefly preventive. She must prevent people from breaking the law, rather than catch them. (Darwin, 1914, p.1371 cited in Mossman, Mayhew, Rowe et al., 2008, p. 20)

This meant that the major role for female police officers was clearly defined as a supportive role while male police officers performed the tasks of 'real policing'. Similarly, female police officers at that time felt their role was different from male officers. For example, Remmington (1981, p. 161), asked female police officers in the United States whether they felt that being a police officer was the same for them as it was for men. Eighty-five percent of female police officers reported that their roles in policing were not the same. Fourteen years later, their roles still differed and female police officers said they did not want to replace men. Schulz (1995) indicated that female police officers chose not to carry firearms, although they were permitted to, because they did not view themselves as female versions of policemen. These two points confirm that female police officers at this time did not want to replace men. They only wanted to work in supportive roles in policing.

Therefore, leadership roles still belonged to men in all police tasks because women were just starting to enter policing. Historically, female police officers faced many barriers in police organizations. They were not allowed to work at night or perform patrol tasks and received a lower salary than men. Roberg, Novak and Cordner (2005) indicated that

during the 1950s, female officers' skills could be useful for police work that related to female and juveniles but, they argued that women were not suited to general police work.

In addition, female officers had limited opportunity for promotion. Although women's skills were valuable to some activities and units, particularly female and juvenile units, all women did not have opportunities to be the head of the unit. Wilson and McLaren (1963) claimed that women were good for administration jobs but also expressly argued that they were not suited to be the head of departmental units because they were 'emotional' and could not deal with stress very well under pressure. Female police officers were just not considered suitable for management or senior management positions.

As noted prior, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act was passed in the United States in 1964. This Act prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, religion, and national origin (S. E. Martin, 1980, 1990, 2005; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Natarajan, 2008). However, this Act did not cover public employees, including police officers. Therefore, female officers had to negotiate on an individual basis and prove their ability to perform the same work to the same standard as male officers, and their supervisors were the people who made this decision. Eight years later, the amendments to the 1964 Act passed to cover public employees and to approve the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Act which would allow female police officers to be assigned to all police work (Belknap & Shelley, 1992; Grennan, 1987; S. E. Martin, 1980, 1990, 2005; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Natarajan, 2008).

There were two major changes in policing after the amendments to the 1964 Act were passed in 1972. Firstly, the minimum height requirement, which was a major barrier for female officers, was changed in order to increase the number of female officers. Before 1972, both women and men were required to meet the same standard minimum height requirement of 5 feet, 8 inches. This height requirement limited the number of women who were eligible to enter the police force. However, after the adoption of the 1972 Act, the height requirement for women was reduced to 5 feet, 5 inches (Horne, 1980; Jones, 1986; S. E. Martin, 1980, 2005; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007). To support this height requirement, scholars argued that there was no evidence to confirm that police officers, who had been at least 5 feet, 8 inches will work more effectively than others (Horne, 1980; S. E. Martin, 2005; Milton, 1972; Morris, 1987; White & Bloch, 1975). Therefore, female police officers who were either short or tall should have the same ability to perform the job. The minimum height requirement then should no longer exist. Even though this change aimed to increase the number of female officers, the number of female police officers was still low. By 1986, only 9 percent of officers working in metropolitan police departments were female[8](S. E. Martin, 1990).

The second change was that women were officially allowed to do the same police work as male officers. Both male and female officers were allowed to undertake the same tasks and had the same responsibilities. Female officers then had the same chance to perform patrol tasks and the women's department no longer existed. Around 87 female officers were assigned to patrol work in the large cities that served a population of over 50,000 in 1979 (Roberg, Novak, & Cordner, 2005). The number of women who were

[8] Metropolitan police departments refer to those serving 50,000 people or more.

assigned to patrol work then increased rapidly. In 1986, approximately 98 percent of departments were assigning women to patrol work (Roberg, Novak, & Cordner, 2005).

After these changes, the number of female police officers increased, however numbers are still low compared to male officers. According to the International Association of Chiefs of Police (Horne, 2006), the number of female officers has increased since 1998 and women now have opportunities for advancement. However, there are still only a few female police officers who work in the Special Weapons And Tactics (SWAT) teams. The SWAT teams have been seen as hyper-masculine which is described as "want to be a warrior attitude that builds camaraderie around special weapons and war stories" (Dodge, Valcore, & Gomez, 2011, p. 703). According to the National Tactical Officers Association (Dodge, Valcore, & Gomez, 2011), there were only 17 female officers who registered as tactical officers worldwide. One of the reasons why only a few women work in the SWAT teams may be because SWAT teams require strong levels of physical strength that may discourage women from applying. For instance, the FBI SWAT is tested for running ability, pull-ups and firearm proficiency. Candidates also have to perform several tasks such as clearing rooms, dragging dummies, maneuvering combat courses, and shooting (Dodge, Valcore, & Gomez, 2011). Similar tests exist in the United Kingdom. The next section presents a historical review of female police officers in the United Kingdom.

The United Kingdom

The United Kingdom recruited female police officers after the United States. In 1914, two women were appointed to keep looking for suspicious persons and the Women's Police Volunteers Organization was established in London to train women volunteers in

order to perform patrol tasks (Salter, Watson, & Norton, 2008). One year later, the Women's Police Volunteers Organization changed their name to the Women's Police Service and the Voluntary Women Patrols were established. These two organizations worked to provide security for working class women (Salter, Watson, & Norton, 2008).

In the UK, the Police Act originally only accepted men to be police but this was altered in 1916 to allow women to be appointed. However, female police officers were not allowed to be sworn police officers (Salter, Watson, & Norton, 2008). In 1917, Grace Costin became the first non-sworn female police officer in the UK. She was trained to do general police work and by 1919, 110 female officers were assigned to do police work in the metropolitan police (Salter, Watson, & Norton, 2008, p. 10). Women had to work in pairs as patrol officers, with two male officers following them from 6 to 10 yards to help in the case of emergency (Salter, Watson, & Norton, 2008). Female officers did not receive the power of arrest until 1922 (Natarajan, 2008).

Regulations for female police officers to identify the status and the duties for female officers were passed in October 1931. There was no regulation about recruitment of female officers and many people in the UK at the time still believed that policing was a man's job (Salter, Watson, & Norton, 2008). At that time, female officers were therefore assigned duties similar to female police officers in the US: mainly dealing with juvenile and female victims (Natarajan, 2008). However, female officers in the UK were also allowed to be assigned patrol work (Salter, Watson, & Norton, 2008). In the 1930s, more women were recruited to be police officers because:

> the growing realization in recent years that police work is, in a certain measure, social work, and that in it there exist problems which can be handled better by women than by men, has led to the employment of

> women in many police departments throughout the country. (The Policewoman's Handbook, 1932 cited in Carrier, 1988, p. xvii)

Moreover, during World War II, there was a high demand for people in law enforcement occupations as men were shipped off to war. The number of female police officers increased sharply. In March 1942, the number of female officers went from 226 regular officers to 2,800 regular and auxiliary officers. By the end of the war, there were 3,700 auxiliary female officers and 400 regular female officers (Salter, Watson, & Norton, 2008, p. 17).

Although the number of female officers was increasing, only 47 out of 158 local authorities had female police officers. Therefore, there was an order to recruit women to be police officers at all local authorities in 1945 (Carrier, 1988, p. xviii). In 1955, there was only one woman who had the rank of chief inspector despite the recruitment of approximately 500 female officers (Young, 1991, p. 203). From 1955 to 1975, female police officers still worked at lower levels, with only one or two officers having attained senior rank. For instance, in 1975, there was only one female who had the rank of superintendent and two female officers who had the rank of chief inspectors among 3,500 female police officers (Young, 1991, p. 203).

In the mid 1970s, the police structure in the UK was similar to the US. Female officers had their own department, rank structure, and promotion list (Natarajan, 2008; Salter, Watson, & Norton, 2008). Female police officers in the UK also faced similar problems with respect to equal employment for women. They were confronted with barriers and limited opportunities, such as gender discrimination, resistance from male officers, the nature of police work given to them, and lack of promotion, in the traditional male-dominated force. There were two major problems. The first was lack of promotion. The

number of female officers was very low and even lower at the senior level because supervisors tended to promote male officers (Young, 1991). For instance, in 1984, a Police Committee report on the Metropolitan Police stated that there were 227 Superintendents, only two Superintendents were women; and only four women were Chief Superintendents out of 211. There was only one woman Commander out of 57 (Young, 1991, p. 203).

The second problem was the nature of police work. Female officers were not given the same chances to perform their occupation like male officers especially patrol work. Before 1975, male and female officers had separate rankings and structure. Female police officers at this time worked in the Policewomen's Department and worked on cases involving women or juveniles (Sullivan, 1979). Female officers were not allowed to work at night unlike the male officers. This restriction remained in place until the mid 1980s (Jones, 1986). Jones (1986) argued that female police officers wanted to perform the same duties as male officers. The highest rank female police officers could attain was the attain rank of Superintendent no matter how good they were and how many higher vacancies were available for Chief Superintendents. Female police officers were not able to be considered for positions above Superintendent (Sullivan, 1979).

The Sex Discrimination Act was passed in 1975 in order to help eliminate discrimination against women. However, female police officers still continued to face gender discrimination in relation to promotion opportunities (Brown, 1998). The Equal Pay Act and maternity leave were also introduced in 1975. These Acts helped to increase the number of female police officers and provided the legal basis for female

officers to be assigned to the same work as men (Coffey, Brown, & Savage, 1992; Natarajan, 2008; Schulz, 1995).

Japan

Japan appointed 63 sworn female police officers for the first time on 18 March 1946 (Majumdar, 2015, p. 148; Segrave, 2014, p. 209). Japan appointed female police officers 36 years after the US and 32 years after the UK. Such female police officers did not have uniforms until the regulation for women police officers uniform was adopted and enforced throughout Japan on May 1947 (Majumdar, 2015, p. 148). This regulation might have some affect on the interest of being female police officers among women as the number of female police officers in Japan gradually increase after this regulation was adopted.

In 1947, the total number of female police officers in Japan was originally around 1,173. They worked across 31 Prefectures including Metropolitan Police Department in Tokyo as of October 1947 (Majumdar, 2015, p. 148). Six years later, there were around 1,200 female police officers, or approximately three percent of the total number of police officers (Segrave, 2014, p. 209). Significantly, in 1973 the number of female police officers was still low at around three percent (Segrave, 2014, p. 209).

At present, the National Police Agency (NPA) in Japan still has low numbers of female police officers. On April 2012, there were only 6.8 percent of female police officers in Japan (The Japan Times, 2013). The NPA has plans to increase the number of female police officers to 10 percent of the total police force by April 2023 (The Japan Times, 2013). What is interesting is that although more than 1,000 female officers were newly

recruited in 2002, more than 400 female officers have decided to resign every year since 2006 (The Japan Times, 2013). Nearly half of female police officers who were in their late 20s to early 30s decided to resign because of difficulties in achieving a work-life balance when they get married and have children (The Japan Times, 2013).It seems as if the existence of a patriarchal type of family system is a major reason why these female police officers who were in their late 20s to early 30s decided to resign. In the 1988 edition of the *Dictionary of Sociology* (*Shakaigaku Jiten*, Kobundo) in the Japanese language, it defined patriarchal family as

> a form of the family in which the male who heads it controls or manages the family members. The oldest son generally inherits control over the family members, family property and the authority to lead the ceremonies held to worship family ancestors. This leadership right is manifested as absolute authority, and the family members personally submit to and obey the patriarch. This is a model sanctified by tradition, and to the extent that no other limitations from other authorities are in place, the patriarch is entitled to freely exercise his authority. The patriarchal system existed in ancient and medieval Europe and Japan … The patriarchal system supported by the Meiji Civil Code prescribed the family system upheld by feudal society. This code legally protected the system in which a male line of descent was used to continue a family business and maintain family property and the family line, and the position of head of the family and household was passed on from the patriarch to the oldest son. After World War II, however, patriarchy is steadily disappearing with the emergence of the modern family and the dissolution of the old *ie* (household) system. (Kaku, 2013, p. 8)

This means that before World War II, men were considered leaders while women were subordinate and had to obey their husband in the households. In this period of time, there were no female police officers. However, after World War II (1945), female police officers were recruited and the 1988 edition of the *Dictionary of Sociology* (*Shakaigaku Jiten*, Kobundo) mentions that “patriarchy is steadily disappearing” (Kaku, 2013, p. 8). Nevertheless, this statement is not entirely true. Patriarchy is still alive in Japan as a form of “modern patriarchy” (Kaku, 2013, p. 82).

A modern patriarchy comes with “the concept of the good wife and wise mother” (Kaku, 2013, p. 82). This means that in this system, “men handle productive labor and women handle reproductive labor” (Kaku, 2013, p. 82). In other words, men are working outside where production takes place while women work at home where reproduction takes place. Kaku (2013) further stated that in a Japanese household, the reason for the wife’s existence in the family was only to give birth. Women also have to obey their husband and their mother-in-law. The only thing that makes these women accept this idea is the devotion to their children. As modern patriarchy demands a high level of household labor, therefore, female police officers who are married resign.

Although more women have entered the workforce since the industrialization period in Japan, the patriarchal system still plays an important role in determining whether women were to be reserved for work in reproductive labor or to be allowed to participate in productive labor. Kaku (2013) found that in Japan, areas where there are high levels of the population who are young and unmarried tend to have higher rates of female labor force participation. In addition, Kaku (2013) also observed that women who live in urban areas only work in reproductive labor while women who live in regional areas work in both productive and reproductive labor. Correlatively, as there are low numbers of female police officers in Japan, most female police officers work in the large cities.

Female and male police officers in Japan had the same training and salaries (Segrave, 2014). However, although they have been trained together as police officers, female police officers have traditionally not been allowed to do certain assignments that senior male police officers believed they could not handle: such as working after midnight,

stopping street fights and arresting armed robbers (Majumdar, 2015; Segrave, 2014). Majumdar (2015) further states that female police officers were also not allowed to perform motorcycle patrol duties as male officers do until very recently.

As a result of this, female police officers in Japan often work in the traffic division, or as detectives or in handling consultations about domestic violence and stalking (Japan Subculture Research Center, 2012). Moreover, there are recent cases of male police officers acting lewdly toward teenage girls as well as sexual harassment problems being reported by female police officers. These cases give the NPA a bad image in the public eye (Japan Subculture Research Center, 2012). The Japan Times (2013) further reported that, because of this, the NPA is aiming to increase the number of female police officers working with female and juvenile victims of crime at police stations and police boxes in evenings and on public holidays. At the same time, the NPA wants to increase number of female officers working in the criminal investigation and security divisions in order to make inroads into areas that have been seen as male-dominated.

The situation in the US and the UK is very different to the situation of female police officers in Japan and Thailand while the situation in Japan is quite similar. The remainder of this chapter discusses the history and the structure of policing in Thailand, following with a discussion about promotion and a brief history of women in policing in Thailand.

Policing in Thailand

This following discussion of policing in Thailand is divided into five parts. The first part presents an historical review of the RTP from the past until present. The second provides an overview of the structure of the RTP. This part will explain how the RTP has divided up police work into different departments. The third part will explain the four bureaus that were selected for this research. These four bureaus are the Police General Hospital, the Education Bureau, the Royal Police Cadet Academy and the Provincial Police Region Division 1- 9. This part will also explain why this research only focuses on these four bureaus and describes the duties and responsibilities of each bureau. The fourth part describes promotional structure for police officers in the RTP. This part explains major qualifications that have been required for promotion in each bureau. The last part will present a historical review and the current situation of female police officers in Thailand.

The history of the Royal Thai Police

The RTP was established in 1455. There have been many modifications in order to improve the force to fit with the developing environment and circumstances. However, despite these changes, the main purpose of members of the RTP has always been to serve the Thai nation and Thai citizens efficiently as a "public peace security officer" (Royal Thai Police, 2007, p. 22). The RTP originally worked under various Thai monarchs who recognized the value of the police force and indeed in today's Thai monarchs continue to be generous to police officers. For instance, the current King and Queen, King Bhumibol and Queen Sirikit, often visit rural areas to talk to those working in border patrol police camps, parachuting police units and police stations. They provide necessary items for living such as food and medicine to police officers in order to

encourage performance of police officers in rural areas (Royal Thai Police, 2007). Moreover, if the Thai monarchs hear of a lack of equipment that may become an obstacle to good police performance, they will provide the items from their own personal resources (Royal Thai Police, 2007). This relationship has been an important ongoing thread throughout the RTP's history.

The history of the RTP can be divided into three major periods which are: the foundation period, the democratization period, and the current period. In each period, the RTP has undertaken changes to make the RTP more stable and responsible. The next section will describe the significant changes that happened during these periods.

1) The Foundation period (1455 – 1932)

The foundation period was divided into four important phases. The first was the establishment of the police service in 1455. During this time, the role of police officer was inherited, and you could only become an officer if your ancestors were loyal to the nation, religion and monarchy. The police service in this period of time was directly under the monarchy (Royal Thai Police, 2007). This happened in the Ayudhaya period, during the reign of King Borom Trailokanart. Before this time, the military forces and the civil service had worked together to promote security (Royal Thai Police, 2007). However, King Borom Trailokanart later decided to reorganize this system by separating military forces and civil service from each other. The Chief of the Military (*Samuha Kalahome*) became the leader of the military forces while the Prime Minister *(Samuha Nayok)* became the leader of the civil services (Royal Thai Police, 2007). In

1455, King Borom Trailokanart then established the police service, and the chief of police had the same power as other existing ministers (Royal Thai Police, 2007).

The second phase was during the time of King Mongkut or Rama IV in the Rattanakosin period. This phase is largely seen as the starting point of police service stabilization. During this time, the structure of the RTP was based on advice from the British army. The structure of the Thai Police Force was developed in response to a surge in urban crime that occurred in Bangkok from 1857 to 1862. However, the Police Service at that time could not handle all crimes proficiently. As a result, King Rama IV decided to appoint a British citizen (Captain Samuel Joseph Bird Ames) to design the structure of the Thai Police Force, later named the Police Constable Unit, so that it would be a modern police service the same as in Singapore and India. Captain Ames became the first Commissioner General of the Police Constable Unit. This unit hired private police (usually of the Malay or Indian descent) and called them constables. Their main duty was to provide security to the inner Metropolitan area (Royal Thai Police, 2007).

The third phase was in the reign of King Chulalongkorn or Rama V. This was the time for police service consolidation. King Rama V ordered Captain Ames to develop and modernize the Police Service and announced 53 articles of the Metropolitan Act in 1875, to establish a police code of conduct and to formalize the recruitment process for the Police Service (Royal Thai Police, 2007). A year later, King Rama V established the Provincial Police (*Tam Ruad Phu Thorn*) in the form of Military Police (*Ta Harn Police*) in order to maintain peace and security in the rural areas. Police officers in this unit had to work as police officers and soldiers at the same time. The name of this unit

was later changed to Local Patrol Department (*Krom Kong Tra Wein Hua Muang*) to suit their duties (Royal Thai Police, 2007).

The Royal Police Cadet Academy, the Patrol Department (*Krom Pon Tra Wein*) and the Provincial Police Unit (*Krom Tam Ruad Phu Thorn*) were also established in this phase. On April 19, 1902, King Rama V then granted his permission to establish the Royal Police Cadet Academy (Royal Thai Police, 2007). Two years later, King Rama V also established the Patrol Department (*Krom Pon Tra Wein*) and appointed the British national, M. Erik ST. J. Lawson to be a director. After being a director, Erik established a special unit that worked in a similar manner to the Investigation Unit in the Patrol Department in London. Similarly, Major General Phraya Vasuthep, who was a former Danish army officer, was appointed by King Rama V to be a director of the Provincial Police Unit (*Krom Tam Ruad Phu Thorn*) that was established in 1913 (Royal Thai Police, 2007).

On October 13, 1915, King Rama VI decided to join the Patrol Department (*Krom Pon Tra Wein*) and the Provincial Police Unit (*Krom Tam Ruad Phu Thorn*) together and to create the Provincial Police and Police Patrol Department (*Krom Tam Ruad Phu Thorn Lae Krom Pon Tra Wein*) that came under the Ministry of Interior (Royal Thai Police, 2007, 2011). October 13, of every year then became Thai Police Day. In 1932, the name of the police service was changed from the Provincial Police and Police Patrol Department to the Royal Thai Police (Royal Thai Police, 2011).

2) The Democratization Period (1932 – 1997)

Thailand changed from an absolute monarchy to a democracy on June 24, 1932 (Royal Thai Police, 2011). The RTP was divided into four major divisions to serve all areas:

1. Office attached to the Commissioner General. There are six divisions under this office: finance division, foreign affairs division, registration division, central administration division, crime suppression division and education division.
2. Metropolitan Police Bureau
3. Provincial Police Region
4. Special Branch. There are three divisions under this unit: investigation center, patrol and special operations division, and regional forensic science.

After changing the internal structure in the RTP, there were 30 further restructurings in order to develop the RTP as a modern organization able to provide the required service for citizens (Royal Thai Police, 2013). In 1996, the RTP was divided into the following 20 units (Royal Thai Police, 2013):

- Office of the Secretary
- Finance Division
- Foreign Affairs Division
- Crime Control Division
- Research Division
- Office of Personnel
- Office of the Inspector-General
- Office of Immigration
- Office of the Head of Doctor
- Office of Quartermaster
- Office of Forensic Science
- Border Patrol Police Bureau
- Metropolitan Police Bureau
- Narcotics Suppression Bureau
- Central Investigation Bureau
- Education Bureau

- Office of Metropolitan Police
- Office of Development and Budget
- Royal Police Cadet Academy
- Provincial Police Region 1 - 9

3) The Current Period (1998 – present)

The Thai Constitution of 1997 then altered the structure of the RTP to follow the example of a Japanese police force because (i) Thailand and Japan have the same political system that is a constitutional monarchy (ii) Thailand and Japan are single state countries (iii) Thailand and Japan have central and regional levels of government (iv) after World War II, the United States supported Japan to have a regional police unit, however this unit failed to work. Japan then changed their structure to the current structure that combined their work between central and regional levels of government, and this model was viewed as particularly appropriate for Thailand to follow (Royal Thai Police, 2013). On October 17, 1998, the RTP moved from the Ministry of Interior to the office of the Prime Minister. This change was designed to provide full power to the Commissioner General of the RTP, with only the Prime Minister being able to give orders (Royal Thai Police, 2011). Since this major change, the RTP has experienced only minor changes. The current police structure will be discussed in the next section.

Picture 3.1: The current Police Insignia of Thailand

Source: The Royal Thai Police

The Current Structure of the Royal Thai Police

According to the Royal Thai Police Organization Decree 2005, the RTP is divided into two major wings: the Office attached to the Commissioner General and the Bureaus (Royal Thai Police, 2007). Approximately 2,702 police officers work under the Office attached to the Commissioner General (Royal Thai Police, 2007). In this office, there are 15 divisions and 3 group positions under the Commissioner General (see Figure 3.1). These three group positions are the Office of General Staff and Strategy, the Internal Audit Division, and the International Law Enforcement Academy. The following are 15 divisions under the Office attached to the Commissioner General:

- Office of the Secretary
- Budget Division

- Finance Division
- Foreign Affairs Division
- Crime Control and Planning Division
- Traffic and Civil Service Planning Division
- Research and Development Division
- Operation Center
- Office of Royal Thai Police Policy Making Board
- Police Aviation Division
- Personnel Division
- Quartermaster's Division
- Disciplinary Division
- Public Relations Division
- Welfare Division

In contrast, the Bureau is larger and has more police officers. Under the Bureau, there are 24 bureaus in the RTP (see figure 3.1). These 24 bureaus are also divided into 3 major groups; Local Police Bureaus, Special Task Bureaus and Technical Support Bureaus. The following are the list of 24 bureaus:

1) Local Police Bureaus consists of the following 10 bureaus:

- Metropolitan Police Bureau
- Provincial Police Region 1
- Provincial Police Region 2
- Provincial Police Region 3
- Provincial Police Region 4
- Provincial Police Region 5
- Provincial Police Region 6
- Provincial Police Region 7
- Provincial Police Region 8
- Provincial Police Region 9

2) Special Task Bureaus consists of the following 5 following bureaus:

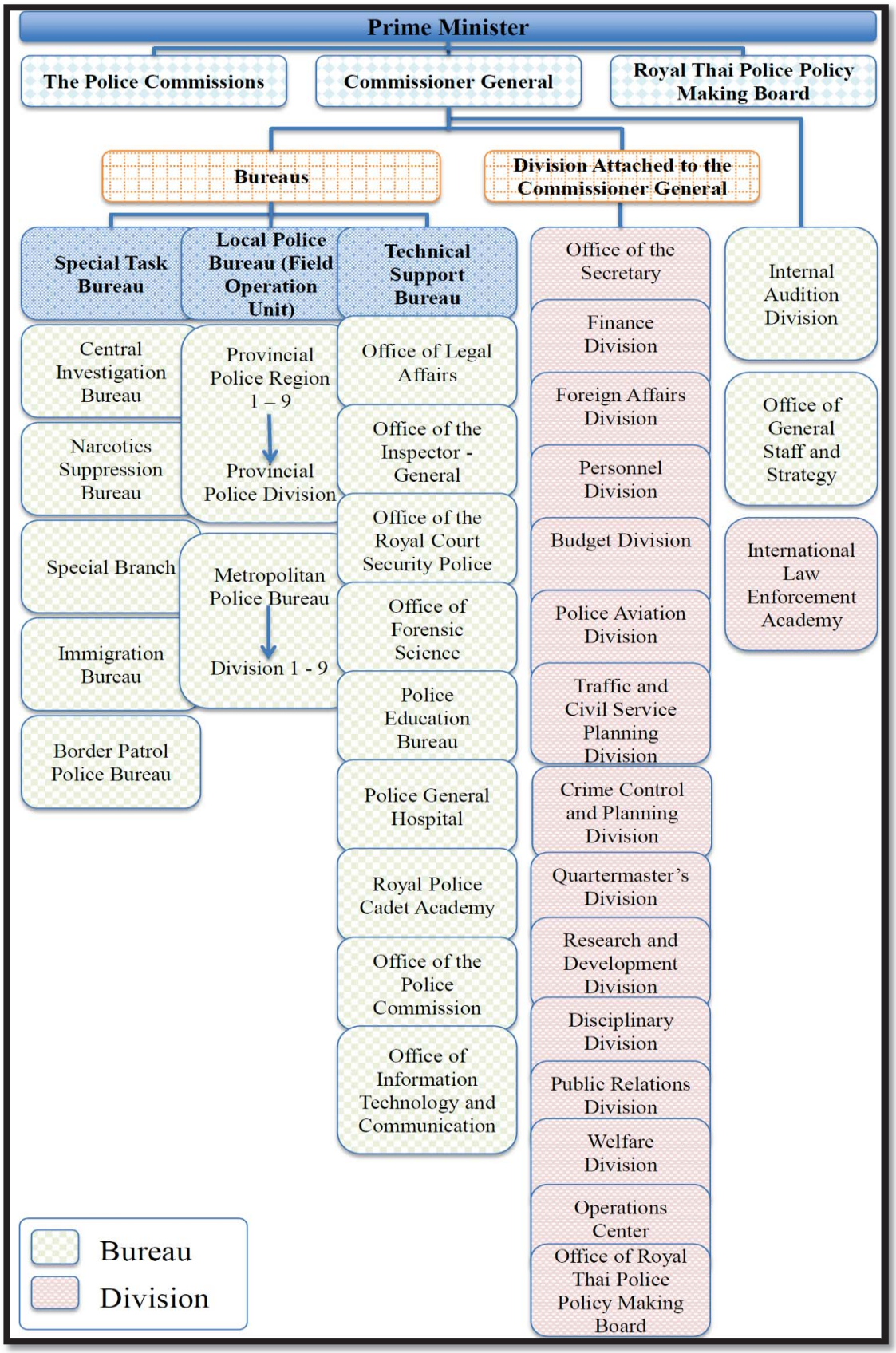
- Central Investigation Bureau
- Narcotics Suppression Bureau
- Special Branch
- Immigration Bureau
- Border Patrol Police Bureau

3) Technical Support Bureaus consists of the following 9 bureaus:

- Office of the Inspector – General
- Office of Legal Affairs
- Royal Police Cadet Academy
- Office of Forensic Science
- Office of the Police Commission
- Police Education Bureau
- Office of the Royal Court Security Police
- Police General Hospital
- Office of Information Technology and Communication

The main duties of police officers in these 3 major groups are very different from each other. The main duty for police officers who work under the Local Police Bureaus is crime prevention. Most police officers who work in these bureaus are men. The Special Task Bureau is also comprised mainly of men because police officers have to be trained at the Royal Police Cadet Academy. In contrast, under the Technical Support Bureau and the 15 divisions, police officers work as supportive officers and most of their jobs are dealing with documents and administration. Most female police officers and some male police officers who did not graduate from the Royal Police Cadet Academy work in these bureaus and divisions.

Figure 3.1: The Police Organization Chart



Source: The Royal Thai Police

The Four Bureaus

The RTP is a large organization. It is not feasible for the research to focus on all divisions and bureaus to analyze the position of female police officers (see Chapter 4). The current research focuses on four bureaus: the Police General Hospital, the Education Bureau, the Royal Police Cadet Academy and the Provincial Police Region Division 1 – 9. Only the Provincial Police Region Division 1 – 9 is from the Local Police Bureau (the Field Operation Unit) while the other three have been categorized as Technical Support Units. The following sections are descriptions of each selected department.

1) The Police General Hospital

Approximately 1,765 police officers work at the Police General Hospital (PGH) (Royal Thai Police, 2007, p. 138). This bureau is part of the Technical Support Unit. There are four major sections in this bureau. The first one is the General Staff division. Their main duties are administration, finance, accounting, budgeting materials and cooperating with or supporting other bureaus in the RTP. The second section comprises the Police Nursing College. This College takes responsibility for producing and developing the appropriate number of nurses to fit with the demand from the RTP. They also recruit local police officers and train them in first aid. The third section is the Institute of Forensic Medicine. This Institute's main duties are in forensic testing, conducting autopsies and evidence inspection. Furthermore, they undertake research based on medical science and forensic medicine on the human body and parts of the body. They also have to provide comment and consultation on forensic medicine, and provide forensic medicine training to police officers or outsiders. The last section is the

Information Technology Center. This Center takes responsibility for the provision and operation of information technology and communication in the Police General Hospital. Similar to other hospitals, there are many other small sections such as pediatric, dental, radiology and orthopedic (Royal Thai Police, 2007).

2) The Education Bureau

The Education Bureau (EDB) is another bureau in the Technical Support Unit. There are around 459 police officers in this bureau (Royal Thai Police, 2007, p. 135). The Education Bureau takes responsibility for conducting the recruitment exams for all positions in the RTP and makes sure that all examinations have been set to the same standard. They also have to provide all training courses for police officers at every level, especially for commissioned officers. There are five major divisions under the Education Bureau: The General Staff and Education Standard Division, the Admission Division, the Information Technology Center, the Central Training Center and the Institute of Police Administration Development (The Education Bureau, 2012).

3) The Royal Police Cadet Academy

The Royal Police Cadet Academy (RPCA) is also in the Technical Support Unit. The RPCA is the only institution that provides undergraduate and postgraduate level study in the RTP. This Academy is the main institution that provides formal policing education for police cadets who are able to provide support and help citizens with their full knowledge of police work and police administration by understanding the legal system that relates to their field work. The RPCA takes responsibility for educating police cadets under the police cadet curriculum which regularly has some changes to fit

with social expectations. The course takes four years and is divided into three parts: academic, training and extra-curricular. Not only is knowledge of police work and police administration taught in the academy, but suitable characteristics are also taught to police cadets who will be appointed to the Commissioned Sub-inspector role in the future (Royal Thai Police, 2007).

In addition, the RPCA also has another four training courses for police officers. These courses take around four months. The following are four additional training courses:

1. A course for police trainees with a university degree
2. A course for police trainees who have a degree in Political Science, Law and Public Administration
3. A course for non-commissioned police officers with a university degree who transfer to a commissioned field
4. A course for police senior sergeant major and police sergeant major who are appointed to be commissioned police officers

4) The Provincial Police Region Division 1 – 9

The Provincial Police Region (PPR) consists of nine bureaus. Each division takes responsibility for many provinces that have been divided into similar sized areas. Picture 3.2 shows the area each division is responsible for (see the detail of the areas of responsibility of Division 1 - 9 in Appendix S). In 2007, the ratio of one police officer to residents was different in each division with approximately 221 inhabitants between the areas that have the highest (Division 3) and lowest (Division 8) proportion of population. Table 3.1 shows the areas of responsibility of Division 1 – 9. Division 3 has

the highest proportion of residents with approximately 545 inhabitants to one police officer while Division 8 has the lowest proportion of residents, around 334 inhabitants to one police officer (Royal Thai Police, 2007, p. 78).

Table 3.1: The table of the areas of responsibility of Division 1 - 9

Division	Number of Provinces	Areas of responsibility (Sq.kms)	Ratio of one police officer to residents
1	9	22,898	408
2	8	36,503	497
3	8	83,626	545
4	12	85,635	507
5	8	85,852	356
6	9	83,792	441
7	8	46,059	405
8	7	42,395	334
9*	4	-	-
Bangkok	1	1,670	1,264

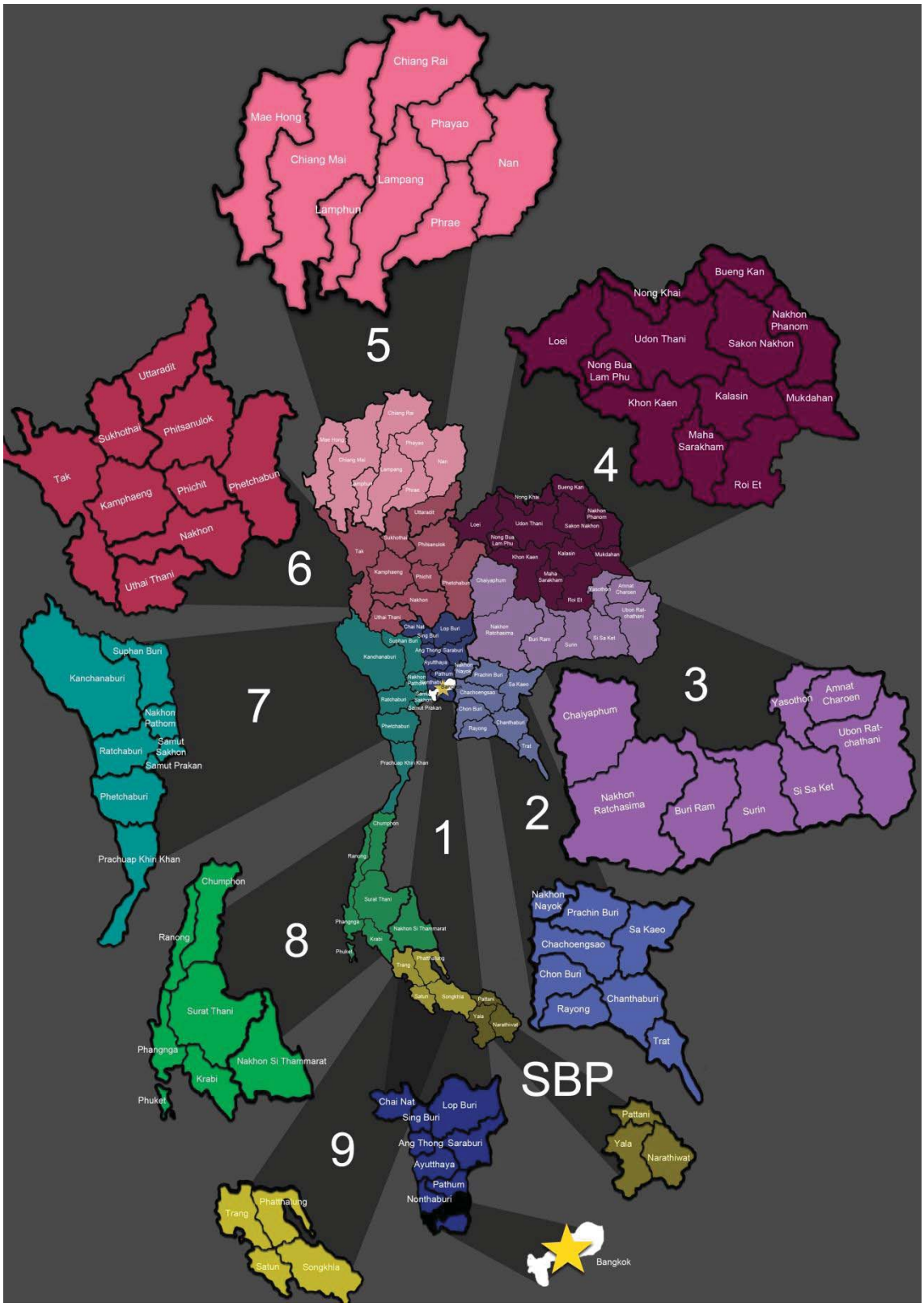
* the data for Division 9 is not available because the three Southern Border Provinces have been responsible for the Southern Border Provinces Police Operation Center since 2008.

Source: The Royal Thai Police (2007), Pi Tak Sun Ti rat (Royal Thai Police), Bangkok, Thailand

Only Bangkok and the three lowest Southern provinces are not covered by Division 1 – 9. The Metropolitan Police Bureau (MPB) is responsible for Bangkok while the Southern Border Provinces Police Operation Center has been responsible for the three lowest Southern provinces (Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat). Previously, these three provinces had been the responsibility of Division 9. However, many serious security problems have emerged in these provinces since 2002. Therefore, the Royal Thai Police Organization Decree 2008 announced the establishment of the Southern Border

Provinces Police Operation Center which would specifically be responsible for these areas (The Southern Border Provinces Police Operation Center, 2012).

Picture 3.2: The Provincial Police Region Division 1 - 9



Source: The Royal Thai Police (2007)

Promotional Structure

To gain promotion in the RTP, female and male police officers have to meet all the qualification requirements in the promotional regulations. There are three major qualifications that have been required for promotion to work at senior levels (from the ranking of Police Colonel to the ranking of Police General). The first qualification is education. Police officers have to have graduated from the RPCA or have a Bachelor degree in either Law, Political Science, Public Administration or in specialized areas such as medicine (The Police Commission, 2011a). The second qualification is attending promotional school. Police officers are required to attend promotional school before they can attain the rank of Superintendent or Commander (see the table of the rank and position of police officers in the RTP in Appendix T). The third qualification is the amount of time that has been worked in each position and the amount of time spent working in the RTP overall. Table 3.2 shows the amount of time that is required to gain promotion to work at senior levels. To gain promotion, each position requires a set amount of time that police officers have worked at each position (The Police Commission, 2011a). For example, police officers who would like to be promoted to the rank of Police Colonel need to have worked for at least three years in the position of Deputy Superintendent and to have worked in the RTP for at least 15 years to be eligible for promotion to work at senior levels.

Table 3.2: The amount of time that has been required at each position to gain promotion at senior levels

Position	Ranking	The amount of time that has been required	
		at each position (Years)	to work in the RTP (Years)
Assistant Commissioner General promoted to Deputy Commissioner General	Police Lieutenant General	1	-
Commissioner promoted to Assistant Commissioner General	Police Lieutenant General	1	-
Deputy Commissioner promoted to Commissioner	Police Major General	2	28
Commander promoted to Deputy Commissioner	Police Major General	3	26
Deputy Commander promoted to Commander	Police Colonel	4	23
Superintendent promoted to Deputy Commander	Police Colonel	4	19
Deputy Superintendent promoted to Superintendent	Police Lieutenant	3	15

Source: The Police Commission for Rules and Procedures to appoint and transfer police officers from the rank of Deputy Inspector to Deputy Commissioner General B.C.2554 (2011)

However, this requirement no longer applies for police officers who work in the PGH because of the low numbers of police officers who specialize as doctors and nurses. There are only a small number of police officers who specialize as doctors and nurses in the PGH. The requirement for the amount of time that has been worked in the RTP has, in effect become a barrier for police officers in the PGH to gain promotion to work at senior levels. As a result, most police officers have decided to work in other organizations because of lack of advancement in this career and, consequently, the number of officers who work in the PGH is much smaller. Police officers who specialize as doctors and nurses are required to study for at least six years while others only have to study for four years to have a Bachelor Degree. Therefore, the RTP decided to stop using this requirement for police officers who worked in the PGH in order to give them a chance to advance in their career and to keep these officers content to continue with their work at the PGH (The Police Commission, 2011a).

Furthermore, there are some specific qualifications that have been required within each bureau to gain promotion. Any bureau where police officers have to be specialized in that area are further required having some specific qualification to gain promotion. For example, police officers who worked at the RPCA are required to produce an appropriate number of quality research outputs such as publishing their research and attending seminars. There are several bureaus where specific qualifications to gain promotion are required.[9]

[9] This research will only focus on specific qualifications that have been required for the PGH and the RPCA.

In the PGH, police officers are also required to produce quality research in their specialized areas or complete postgraduate study to be experts in that area to gain promotion. Police officers are required to publish at least one piece of quality research either in the *Journal of Medicine* or any publication that has been listed in the Thai Index Medicus or MEDLINE (formerly Index Medicus) to gain promotion in the PGH (The Police Commission, 2011b).

For the RPCA, police officers who are lecturers are also required to have academic positions such as Professor, Associated Professor, Senior Lecturer and Lecturer along with their police ranking. Table 3.3 shows the comparison between academic position and the police ranking. The senior level in the RPCA starts from police officers who are designated Senior Lecturer and have the rank of Police Colonel.

Table 3.3: The comparison between the academic position and the police ranking

Academic Position	Police Ranking
Professor	Police Major General and above
Associated Professor	Police Colonel
Senior lecturer	Police Lieutenant and Police Colonel

At each academic position, officers are also required to produce some quality research every year. The number of research outputs depends on the academic position. Table 3.4 shows the number of research outputs that are required at each position per year. The required number of publications at each position differs. Police officers have to publish in at least one category of publishing each year (The Police Commission, 2012). Therefore, police officers who would like to gain promotion to senior level in the RPCA have to publish their research to meet academic qualifications and also have to meet the

three major qualifications that have been mentioned earlier, especially the time requirements.

Table 3.4: The number of academic publishing for each position

Academic Position	Publishing			
	International Journal	National Journal	Books	Conference Publishing
Professor	1	-	2	2
Associated Professor	-	2	2	2
Senior lecturer	-	1	1	2

This section has described how police officers in each bureau gain promotion at senior levels in the RTP. Each bureau is governed by the same regulations that specify the procedure for granting the promotions. The regulations cover level of education, attending promotional school and the amount of time that has been worked at each position. The PGH and RPCA are two bureaus that require more specific qualifications. With such issues about promotion in mind, the next section describes female police officers in Thailand.

Female police officers in Thailand

The RTP is an organization that is heavily dominated by men. There are only 7.70 percent of female police officers out of a total of 205,758 police officers. Only 331 females work at the senior level compared to 3,587 men (Royal Thai Police, 2012). Most female police officers are assigned to work in so called “women’s work”, such as administration or in specialized occupations, such as nurses, doctors, and lecturers (Kachacupt, 2008). If they have been assigned to police work, they often work in the criminal and traffic areas, which are not considered as important when compared to other departments (Kachacupt, 2008).

This section is divided into two parts. The first part gives a historical review of female police officers and the second part provides an overview of female police officers in Thailand.

1) Historical review of female police officers

The RTP recruited its first female police officer in 1961 to help male police officers deal with women's issues (Research Division of Royal Thai Police, 1966). The RTP established the Commission of Regulations to train female police officers; recruits were given the rank of Police Constable – the lowest rank in the forces. In 1961, the Commissioner then decided to use the same training course for both male and female police officers; however they were still trained separately. This was the first time that female officers were recruited in the RTP. At the same time, the Central Training Center in the RTP was still not sure which training would be the most suitable for female officers (Research Division of Royal Thai Police, 1966).

The 1960s were a trial period to hire female officers in order to consider whether the RTP should seek to recruit more female officers or not. The first group of female police officers were assigned to work as traffic police for kindergarten schools, and the Traffic Division had the responsibility of training these officers (Research Division of Royal Thai Police, 1966).

According to the Decree of the Salary Scale, the Qualification Requirements, Background Knowledge, Selection Process, Examination Process, Acceptance as a Government Officer, Salary Raises, Appointments, and the Resignation of the Police (volume four), women who would like to apply to be police officers had to have the

same qualifications as male officers. However, this Decree indicated two different requirements for female police officers. The first was minimum height. Women had to be at least 150 centimeters tall, while men had to be 180 centimeters. The second requirement was that women had to be single to apply for policing while men could be single or married (Research Division of Royal Thai Police, 1966).

A written exam and interview were required. Women had to take the written exam in four areas: Thai language; English language; social studies (including geography, history, basic law, public administration and ethics); and general knowledge. Only women who passed the exam with a total mark of over 50 percent were permitted to have an interview. There were 114 people who passed the interviewing exam. However, the RTP had only 26 positions available for female officers. Therefore, they hired the 26 women who got the highest score in the exam (Research Division of Royal Thai Police, 1966).

Following this application exam, the 26 successful candidates had three months training in 14 areas: Criminal Law, Criminal Procedure, Acts in Thailand, Police Regulations relevant to a case, Police Regulations not relevant to a case, Trafficking, The Practice of Crime Suppression, Children and Juveniles, First Aid, Public Relations, Investigations, Martial Arts, Police Training and The Use of Firearms. After these women had been trained, they had to pass a final exam in every area to become female police officers. Although all 26 women passed, one of them resigned. Therefore, on 7 June 1962, 25 women became the first group of sworn female police officers and had the power of

arrest the same as male officers in Thailand. They each had the rank of Police Constable[10] (Research Division of Royal Thai Police, 1966).

After 1962, the RTP started to recruit more female police officers. Until 1986 there was a high demand from the National Commission on Women's Affairs (NCWA) and the Association for the Promotion of the Status of Women (APSW) to increase the status of women in Thailand. The RTP then started to recruit more female officers when these organizations suggested the RTP do so to help deal with juvenile and women victims in police stations (Kachacupt, 2008). In 2008, only 158 police stations in Bangkok had female police officers who worked specifically with women and children (Kachacupt, 2008, p. 220). The RTP therefore decided to run a pilot project for two years to increase the number of female police officers. The RTP sent at least one woman officer to work as an inspector and investigator in cases involving women at selected police stations. This project was successful and the RTP decided to expand this program to cover more police stations in Bangkok and other provinces (Kachacupt, 2008). Nevertheless, most female officers worked in Bangkok rather than in provincial areas. Thailand had 73 provinces[11] at that time but only 77 police stations out of 1,359 provincial police stations had female officers (Kachacupt, 2008, p. 220).

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[10] According to the Police Act of 2004, the Rank of Police Constable was cancelled. Female police officers who were recruited after January 2004, have the rank of Police Lance Corporal ("Pra Rat Cha Banyat Tam Rude B.E. 2547 (The Police Act of 2004)," 2004).

[11] Thailand has 77 provinces in 2011. Three provinces, namely Nong Bua Lam Phu, Amnat Charoen and Sa Kaeo were established in 1993 ("Pra Rat Cha Banyat Jad Tang Jungwhad Amnat Charoen (The Act of Establising Amnat Charoen Province)," 1993; "Pra Rat Cha Banyat Jad Tang Jungwhad Nong Bua Lam Phu (The Act of Establising Nong Bua Lam Phu Province)," 1993; "Pra Rat Cha Banyat Jad Tang Jungwhad Sa Kaeo (The Act of Establising Sa Kaeo Province)," 1993) and the 77th province, Bueng Kan was set on 11 March 2011 due to an increase in population ("Pra Rat Cha Banyat Jad Tang Jungwhad Bueng Kan (The Act of Establising Bueng Kan Province)," 2011).

2) An overview of current levels of female police officers in Thailand

The number of female police officers is very low in Thailand. There are only 15,841 female police officers in Thailand (Royal Thai Police, 2010). Table 3.5 shows that most female officers work at lower levels rather than at the higher levels. Only 331 female officers have attained senior ranks while there are 3,587 men (Royal Thai Police, 2012). To be considered as senior, police officers have to rank as Police Colonel or higher. The reason for this being considered a senior rank is that police officers who rank at this level are noted in the Thai newspapers when they are promoted from this level onwards.

Table 3.5: The number of police in the RTP by rank and sex, year 2012

Level	Ranking	Male	Female
Commissioned	Police General	15	-
	Police Lieutenant General	63	-
	Police Major General	404	10
	Police Colonel	3,105	321
	Police Lieutenant Colonel	12,379	2,108
	Police Major	2,910	506
	Police Captain	4,707	734
	Police Lieutenant	5,630	938
	Police Sub-Lieutenant	36,016	2,451
Non-commissioned	Police Senior Sergeant Major	80,533	4,417
	Police Sergeant Major	11,833	553
	Police Sergeant Major	10,624	864
	Police Corporal	8,287	2,420
	Police Lance Corporal	3,411	518

Source: The Royal Thai Police

Three major organizations in Thailand (the Women Lawyers' Association of Thailand, the Friends of Women Associations, and the Association for Civil Liberty of Thailand) and women leaders in government agencies with a focus on empowering women have worked together to identify major obstacles for equal opportunities in promotion. They found that female police officers were perceived to be not well suited to perform police work in the traditional police environment the same as male officers (Kachacupt, 2008). In other words, gender stereotypes of women such as being considered emotional and weak made male officers believe that female officers could not perform police tasks to the required standard, and that they are not suited to being leaders, especially in the male-dominated workplace like the RTP (Kachacupt, 2008).

Martin and Jurik (2007) claim that female police officers around the world all face similar barriers in police organizations, namely gender discrimination in the workplace. Female police officers in Thailand therefore appear to face the same barriers that are part of police culture more generally when they start working in police organizations. The next chapter will outline the research process and will describe the selection of participants in the four bureaus.

Chapter Four

Methodology

Feminist research methodologies focus on supporting research that can lead to social change or any action that could provide benefit or more value to women (DeVault, 1996). This research uses feminist methodologies in order to ensure respect for, and acknowledgement of women's experiences.

This chapter will be divided into eight parts. The first part will identify feminist methodologies that were used in this research. This part also explains why a qualitative method was chosen in this research. The second part will further explain the qualitative method that was used in this research. The third section then explains why each bureau was selected to be the main focus in this study. In this research, there are four bureaus: the Police General Hospital, the Education Bureau, the Royal Police Cadet Academy, and the Provincial Police Region Division 1-9 that were selected to be studied. The fourth part looks at the issue of participants and explains how participants were selected. Ethical considerations are the topic of the fifth section. This section identifies major issues on disclosing information related to ethical consideration and explains the ethics approval process according to Massey University's Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluation involving Human Participants. The sixth part identifies the research process that described and explained the way that this research was conducted. The seventh section describes the interview questions and responses. This section clarifies the technique of self-disclosure that the researcher used during

interviews to make participants feel easier about talking and sharing their experiences. The kind of information from participants that was or was not used in this research is explained in this section. The last part is the methods of analysis used in the current study. This part explains how the researcher analyzed data from interviews based on grounded theory.

Feminist Methodologies

Feminist scholarship aims to understand the unequal gender hierarchies that have ensured that men are dominant while women are subordinate, as well as investigating other hierarchies of power that exist in all societies. Therefore, feminist scholars seek to change unequal power situations in society (Tickner, 2006). Feminist methodology then has a central focus on gender inequality. In society, women and men have different social positions because of power differentials. As gender differences exist in society, gender differences then construct personal experiences and the belief that men are dominant while women are subordinate in society (Hammersley, 1992). Feminist scholars believe that women experience different forms of oppression and discrimination in society. They also believe that women have been traditionally overlooked in society (Burns & Chantler, 2011). DeVault (1996, p. 31) also indicated that “feminism is a movement, and a set of beliefs that problematize gender inequality. Feminists believe that women have been subordinated through men's greater power, variously expressed in different arenas”.

In addition, a common assumption for feminist research is that women’s lives are in and of themselves important subjects as well as being important subjects for research (Reinharz, 1992). Reinharz (1992, p. 248) further explains this point by stating that

> making the invisible visible, bringing the margin to the center, rendering the trivial important, putting the spotlight on women as competent actors, understanding women as subjects in their own right rather than objects for men – all continue to be elements of feminist research.

As feminist scholars value women's lives and concerns and work to support changes that will improve women's status in society, Tickner (2006, p. 25) indicated that "an important commitment of feminist methodology is that knowledge must be built and analyzed in a way that can be used by women to change whatever oppressive conditions they face". Therefore, women's experiences are the main focus for feminist researchers to understand women and supporting changes in society. Moreover, DeVault (1996) stated that women can learn and improve their status through knowledge of other women's experiences. As women have experienced similar forms of oppression and discrimination, "woman" is "a powerful and unifying category in which women's experiences could be interrogated and analyzed, and through which social relations could be made explicit" (Burns & Chantler, 2011, p. 71). Therefore, feminist research methodologies focus on understanding the world through the eyes and experiences of oppressed women and applying the vision and knowledge of oppressed women to social activism and social change (Brooks, 2007, p. 53). DeVault (1996, pp. 32-34) also argued that feminist research tends to seek methodologies that: shift the focus of practice from men's concerns in order to reveal the locations and perspectives of women; minimize harm and control in the research process; and support research of value to women, leading to social change or action beneficial to women.

Feminist scholars may choose to use feminist standpoints to understand how knowledge of gender is interrelated with women's experiences and the realities of gender. Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002, p. 60) define 'feminist standpoint' as "a way of taking

women's experience as fundamental to knowledge of political relations between women and men (of which people may or may not be aware)". This means that feminist researchers discover some knowledge from a feminist standpoint wherever women live in unequal gendered social relationships. Therefore, the validity of women's experiences is a foundation for feminist research, Millen (1997, p. 7.2) suggests that

> women, as an oppressed class, have the ability not only to frame their own experiences of oppression but to see the oppressors – and therefore the world in general – *more* clearly. It is a response to the patriarchal statement that feminine or female experience is an invalid basis for knowledge, by positing that it is in fact a *more* valid basis for knowledge because it gives access to a wider conception of truth via the insight into the oppressor.

This means that women's experiences as the oppressed provide some important knowledge that have emerged through their struggle against oppression (men). Stanley and Wise (as cited in Hammersley, 1992, p. 188) also argued that "feminism insisted that personal experiences could not be invalidated or rejected, because if something was felt then it was, and if it was felt it was absolutely real for the women feeling and experiencing it". Hooks (1986) further suggests that women's experiences are valid for feminism because it has some common resistance to all forms of oppression, not because they share the same experiences. By researching women's experiences, researchers validate their life experiences. In this research, the experience of women who work in traditional male occupations is valid and should be an important point to study because other women may have similar experiences.

However, differences do exist between women's experiences even though women share the same oppression. Letherby (2003, p. 57) argued that

> there is a common material reality that all women share which is characterized by inequality, exploitation and oppression, but women are not all oppressed in the same way. It is therefore important to recognize that while oppression is common, the forms it takes are conditioned by race, age, sexuality and other structural, historical and geographical differences between women.

This means that female police officers from every country may share the same or similar experiences of gender discrimination in the workplace. However, female police officers in Thailand may also have had some different experiences from other female police officers in other countries because of Thai culture.

Moreover, feminist scholars validate women's experiences as a form of knowledge to be interrogated (Joan W. Scott, 1992). This means feminist researchers should understand women's experiences and use these experiences to develop theory and method. In other words, feminist researchers have to understand women's experiences such as experiences from the women's movement by using these experiences to develop their method and theory in the research rather than try to fit women's actions into a framework outside their experiences (Driscoll & McFarland, 1989). One way to validate women's experiences is qualitative research that involves in-depth contact between researcher and the people being studied in order to access people's experiences (Driscoll & McFarland, 1989). This study therefore uses methodologies that allow the presentation of women's voices and women's experiences.

This work not only draws on the work of feminists who are interested in studying about women and gender relation in domestic society, but it also draws on the work of feminist International Relations (IR) scholars who are interested in the interactions of gender and other power relations in global politics. According to Ackerly and True (2006, p. 259), feminist IR scholars use a theoretical method which is "a method that is

not specific to any particular question, set of questions, or theory". In other words, for feminists, "a feminist method could conceivably be used to discipline the field" (Ackerly & True, 2006, p. 259) while for feminist IR scholars, the method that they use "cannot conceivably discipline" (Ackerly & True, 2006, p. 259). This means the method that feminist IR scholars use can provide a critical lens to study all fields.

Furthermore, Ackerly, Stern and True argue (2006, p. 4) that "the distinctiveness of feminist methodologies inside and outside IR lies in their reflexivity, which encourages the researcher to re-interrogate continually her own scholarship". This means that the researcher changes the understanding of the topic throughout the study. Self-reflexivity is therefore fundamentally important for feminist IR scholars over and above any specific methods. This point is related to this research because the understanding of the topic by the researcher herself was changed throughout this process of researching and learning. The next section describes methods that were used to collect data in this research.

Methods of data collection

This research initially planned to use both quantitative and qualitative methods. However, due to data limitation, only qualitative data was used. Originally, the quantitative method was designed to gather all statistical data on female police officers who had worked at a senior level in the past 20 years in order to determine the trend of women's employment in the RTP. This information would have helped to analyze the data of female police officers working each year since 1990. The intention was that the number and proportion of female police officers in senior levels for each year would be calculated. This statistical data should have further demonstrated whether there had

been any changes in the RTP after Thailand declared support for article seven of CEDAW on November 1995.[12]

The lack of statistical data in the past 20 years provided by the Thai government was a problem that arose early in this research. The statistical data on police officers that exists does not include sex-disaggregated data. The Thai government did not have any policy to include sex-disaggregated statistics until 2002 when the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security was established ("Pra Rat Cha Banyat Prabprung Kratuang Tabuang Krom (The Act Amending Ministry, Sub-ministry and Department B.E. 2545)," 2002). The Office of Women's Affairs and Family Development (OWF)[13] was also established at the same time in order to take responsibility and publish policies about women. The Thai government then started to push all public agencies to collect sex-disaggregated data. The office of the Civil Service Commission (OCSC), who has responsibility for collecting and reporting on all statistical data from the Thai civil service, started recording sex-disaggregated data the first time in 2004 and it was only available from 2007 (Office of The Civil Service Commission, 2012). Similarly, the RTP could not provide statistical data on female police officers in the past 20 years as they did not collect any sex-disaggregated data. Only the name lists of all police officers from 2010 - 2012 were available. Therefore, the researcher could not collect sex-disaggregated data on female police officers in the past 20 years as originally intended.

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[12] As article seven of CEDAW indicates that countries should ensure that women have equal rights to work at all public levels, the RTP then should have some changes to ensure the equal status of female police officers.

[13] The Office of Women's Affairs and Family Development (OWF) was established in 2002. It is an office that works under the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security. The OWF has four missions to achieve: (1) support and promote women's potential and gender equality in Thai society by publishing policies related to women; (2) support international agreements and cooperation; (3) promote and support women's rights under the law; and (4) research and develop knowledge to promote women's potential and gender equality (Office of Women's Affairs And Family Development, 2014).

The statistical data that is available from both the OCSC and the RTP was therefore not sufficient to be considered as the primary data and could not determine the trend of women's employment in the RTP. The OCSC only provides statistical data on male and female police officers who work at the senior levels (to be considered as working at senior levels, police officers have the rank of the Police Major General and above). However, this research focuses on police officers who work at the senior levels (to be considered as working at senior levels, police officers have the rank of Police Colonel and above). Therefore, the statistical data that is provided by the OCSC is not sufficient for this research to determine the trend of women's employment in the RTP because the OCSC and this research categorization of police officers who work at the senior levels are different. The reason that this research considers police officers who have the rank of the Police Colonel and above to be senior levels is because only promotions at this level and above are reported by Thai newspapers.

Due to these constraints, the researcher decided to use the available statistical data as secondary data to support information gathered from interviewing instead of for determining the trend of women's employment in the RTP. Therefore, interviewing is the main method used in this study to gather all compulsory data.

For the qualitative methods, semi-structured interviews were conducted. The semi-structured interview, which is a qualitative method, is an interview whereby some questions are listed as a guide for the interviewee and interviewer. However, interviewers still have the freedom to add or delete questions (Bloor & Wood, 2006; Carley-Baxter, 2008). The semi-structured interviews were therefore intended to provide more detailed information in order to identify both opportunities and barriers

related to promotion that impact on women in the RTP, and to analyze why only a few female police officers work at senior levels for both police and administration or office-based work.

In this research, the RTP is an institution of hegemonic masculinity because it has historically been 'owned' by men. There is also a particular form of masculinity in this institution that later has become the norm which has influenced the RTP's agendas, politics and policies. Women are a minority and have been treated differently in the RTP because of gendered practices. According to Kronsell (Kronsell, 2006, p. 121), to get more detail on "how gendered practices are actually carried out within institutions as well as of how gendered identities are constructed" in the institutions of hegemonic masculinity, the interview is the best method to gather all of this information.

In order to gather information about personal experiences, a qualitative method has been chosen for the primary data collection. There are two main reasons why qualitative methods are well suited to this research. The first reason is that the qualitative method is good for collecting data on participants' experiences. The best way to finding out about people is interviewing. Shipman (as cited in Oakley, 1981, p. 32) argued "if you want an answer, ask a question…. The asking of questions is the main source of social scientific information about everyday behavior". Conducting semi-structured interviews is a research method that allows the researcher to determine how to collect data through open-ended questions which allows the interviewee to respond from their experiences and with their own words rather than the words of the researcher (Reinharz, 1992). Graham (1984) indicated that the semi-structured interview is the main method that feminists use to collect data from participants about their life experiences. Geiger (1986,

p. 335) further stated that the interview is an approach that allows the researcher to discover “the social experiences of silenced women”. In this case, female police officers can potentially qualify as silenced women.

Furthermore, the interviewing technique also allows the interviewer to access “the private, the emotional and the subjective” reality of interviewees lived experiences (Letherby, 2003, p. 85). Although participants have been asked the same question, their responses may be similar or be quite different. These responses then illustrate the value of individual life experiences in creating a more comprehensive picture of a theme (Reinharz, 1992).

In addition, the open-ended interview provides opportunities to the researcher to explore theory from the participants’ experiences. Sociologists Glaser and Strauss (1967) found that the grounded theory has been used to analyze data from open-ended interviews. In this thesis, an inductive theory or grounded theory has also been used to analyze data. Grounded theory is based on the premise that theory should derive from the results. In this study, theory also comes from the result as to why only few female police officers work at senior levels.

Finally, to reinforce a point made previously, Mason (2002) argued that the interview can be chosen as a method when data to answer research questions is not available in other forms. The only way to collect data is by asking, talking and listening about peoples’ experiences. In this case, the existing research, documents and statistical data are not available. There is no sex-disaggregated data available in the RTP, except recent data over a two to three year because the RTP does not have a policy of collecting sex-

disaggregated data. There is also no existing research or documents related to opportunities for and barriers against promotion among female police officers in the RTP. There are no analytical documents that relate to the percentage of women and men gaining promotion in each round and no report on the number of cases of sexual harassment that happen each year plus chance to point out the value of this research is therefore generating knowledge and information in an area where such information is scarce.

The next section will describe the major reasons as to why these four bureaus were selected: the Police General Hospital, the Education Bureau, The Royal Police Cadet Academy and the Provincial Police Region Division 1 – 9.

Selected Bureaus

As mentioned in Chapter 3, this research focuses on four bureaus: the Police General Hospital, the Education Bureau, The Royal Police Cadet Academy and the Provincial Police Region Division 1 – 9. Three of these bureaus are categories in the Technical Support Units. The major reason that these three bureaus were selected rather than other bureaus in the Technical Support Unit is because these three bureaus have the highest number of female police officers who work at the senior levels. Of the four chosen bureaus, only the Provincial Police Region Division 1 – 9 is categorized in the Field Operation Unit. The reason that the Provincial Police Region Division 1-9 was selected is because this is one bureau where female police officers have to perform traditional police tasks. The following paragraph outlines the specific reasons why these four bureaus have been selected.

The first bureau is the Police General Hospital (PGH). In this bureau, the number of female police officers who work at the senior levels is higher than other bureaus. The main reason for focusing on this bureau is because police officers who work at this hospital are also doctors and nurses. These officers are only assigned to hospital work and never to any 'police' duties in the form of patrolling or even police paperwork tasks. However, they are officially police officers according to the RTP definitions. All employees who work at this hospital have the same rank as police officers. The method for gaining promotion is also similar to other police officers. In the PGH, there are many female police officers who work there, especially as nurses. Employees who work at the police or military hospital in other countries do not consider themselves as police or military officers. The PGH is then a unique bureau and very interesting to study.

The second bureau is the Education Bureau (EDB). The main duty of this bureau is administration. Female police officers who work at the EDB are assigned to do only administrative tasks that have been seen as 'women's work'. Women are traditionally seen as more suitable to do this work than men in Thailand. Most police officers who work at the EDB, then, are women. The central reason that this bureau has been selected is because this bureau has been seen as a 'woman's bureau'.

The Royal Police Cadet Academy (RPCA) is the third bureau. The core reason that this has been selected for this research is that police officers have to be assigned to police work and perform well in order to be able to work at the RPCA. Therefore, officers who work at this academy have to be highly experienced in frontline policing or have worked in the Local Police Bureau. If police officers do not have significant experience in frontline policing, they have to be teaching in the area in which they are the

specialists. For example, most female police officers who work at the RPCA often graduated in Law and have some experience as lawyers before joining the police. Thus, police officers either work at the field operation unit or become specialists in Law.

The last bureau is the Provincial Police Region (PPR). The central reason for choosing this bureau is because their main duty is crime prevention. This means female police officers who work in these bureaus have to perform all police work that is usually referred to as a 'man's job'. Therefore, female police officers who work in these bureaus mostly work with male police officers and compete with male officers to gain promotion. At the same time, police officers at this bureau are also assigned to administration work. Female police officers who work at this bureau are assigned to perform police tasks such as investigation and being inspectors when they have lower ranking and positions. In contrast, when female police officers are promoted to a higher ranking and to positions such as at Police Lieutenant Colonel and above, they are often assigned to perform administrative jobs rather than police work.

Participants

This research planned to recruit approximately 40 participants who were sworn and non-sworn female police officers. All intended participants had to work in either the Provincial Police Region, the Police Education Bureau, the Police General Hospital, or the Royal Police Cadet Academy. In addition to meeting the department criterion, they also had to meet one of the following criteria:

1). Ex-senior female police officers who have retired within the last five years;

2). Current senior police[14];

3). Women who have not been able to achieve promotion to the senior level. These women will be identified by the rank of police lieutenant colonel. They also had to work as a Deputy Superintendent for at least 6 years and still did not receive promotion; and

4). Significant public authority figures who work with the RTP. These women are not employed by the Thai government and are external civilian advisors.

The researcher planned to interview a total of nine participants from each bureau; three participants who fit one of the three categories. The total number of intended participants was 36 participants. The other four participants would have been significant public authority figures. The total number of participants then would have been 40 participants.

However, this plan of selected participants changed as the research progressed, as it became clear that there were not enough female police officers in each category for each bureau. Most ex-senior female police officers who have retired within the last five years worked at the PGH and only one person worked in the EDB. The PRCA and the PPR did not have any female police officers who have worked at senior levels and have been retired within the last five year. Thus, only 12 participants met the selection criteria (and only came from the PGH and the EDB).

[14] As noted previously, senior level in this research refers to policewomen who work at police colonel position or higher. The reason for this is that policewomen who are in this category are noted in Thai newspapers when they are promoted from this level onwards.

Moreover, the number of participants also changed. There were three main reasons why the researcher could not follow the original plan. The first reason is that there were no female police officers in the EDB who had worked at the Deputy Superintendent level for at least six years and had still not received promotion. All female police officers were able to gain promotion at the time when they met all qualifications for promotion. The researcher also planned to interview female police officers who could not gain promotion from other departments. However, there were only a few female police officers who fitted this criterion and they did not consent to participate. The second reason is that only the PGH had high numbers of female police officers who currently worked at the senior level. The researcher then decided to interview four rather than three current female police officers who work at the senior levels. The last reason for changes to recruit participants was that there were only three significant public authority figures who worked with the RTP. After the researcher discussed the issue with many police officers, three public authority figures were recommended and were interested. These three people were Supensri Puengkongsung who is head of the supportive gender equality department of Women and Men Progressive Movement Foundation; Thanawadee Tajean who is the President of Friends of Women Organization in Thailand; and a female senior officer who works in the Office of Women's Affairs and Family Development (OWF). Two of these three women gave their explicit permission to be named and to have their work details recorded in this thesis.

In summary, there were 37 participants in total. The group comprises 12 participants for criteria one, ex-senior female police officers who have retired within the last five years; 13 participants for the second criterion, female police officers who are currently senior police officers; 9 participants for the third criterion, female police officers who have not

been able to achieve promotion to the senior level; and 3 participants who meet the criterion of being a significant public authority figure who works with the RTP. Table 4.1 shows the total number of participants from all criteria. The next section will identify major issues relating to ethical consideration for conducting this research.

Table 4.1: Participants who have been selected from all criteria

Criteria	Bureaus				Other Agency	Total
	PGH	EDB	RPCA	PPR		
Ex-senior officers	11	1	-	-	-	12
Current senior officers	4	3	3	3	-	13
Could not gain promotion	3	-	3	3	-	9
Public authority figure	-	-	-	-	3	3
Total						37

Ethics Requirements

This section is divided into two parts. The first part is the ethics approval process which was formulated in line with feminist methodology. The second part is ethical considerations. In this part, there are two major ethical considerations that impacted this research: participants feeling uncomfortable disclosing their name and position, and participants feeling uncomfortable about discussing any barriers to gain promotion as they were still employed by the RTP.

Ethics Approval Process

Massey University's Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluation involving Human Participants requires any research that involves human participants to obtain Human Ethics approval before the research is carried out. For this study, the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC) required the researcher to submit a screening questionnaire followed by a full application. During that time, the MUHEC required the researcher to provide the information sheets that explained the reason the participants had been chosen in each category. Similarly, the MUHEC was also concerned that to request their personal contact details such as phone number and email address from the database of the RTP had the potential for violating privacy rights. However, phone numbers and email addresses of all police officers are provided to the public in the RTP website and so this point then should not violate their privacy rights. The MUHEC also asked the researcher to provide the details of a Psychiatry Department that is not in the PGH for participants in the case that participants may feel any regret after discussing about their life's experiences that related to sexual harassment in the workplace and do not want the RTP to know about this situation in case it may effect to their work opportunities later. Therefore, the researcher decided to provide the details of Psychiatry Department of the Bangkok Health Center instead of the details of Psychiatry Department of the PGH. The application was finally approved by the committee on December 16, 2010 (see copy of MUHEC full application approval in Appendix A).

For this study, the participation of interviewees was on a voluntary basis. Potential participants were provided with an information sheet explaining the research in Thai language which is their first language (see a copy of information sheet in Appendix F

for the English version and Appendix G for the Thai version). All participants were informed of their rights to refuse to participate, to decline to answer any given questions, and to stop participating at any time before they signed the release of the transcript. The researcher also explained the objective of this study and assured participants that their personal information would be kept strictly confidential and used only in this study. They were also informed that the results of the study would be published in the final PhD thesis, including on the Massey University website, conference papers and journal articles.

Participants who decided to take part were asked to sign the informed consent form (see a copy of a blank participant consent form in Appendix J for the English version and Appendix K for the Thai version). Only people who agreed to participate in this study were interviewed. The semi-structured interviews were digitally recorded unless participants wanted to give some information off the record. Some participants were not happy to have the interview recorded. In these cases, the researcher took detailed notes during the interview which was not digitally recorded.

As disclosure of personal information about sexual harassment could potentially be of harm to participants, the contact details of the Psychiatry Department of the Bangkok Health Center were also provided to participants after the interview was conducted (see a copy of the contact details of the Psychiatry Department of the Bangkok Health Center in Appendix L for English version and Appendix M for Thai version). Participants were informed that if they felt personally uncomfortable about any aspect of the discussion, they could make an appointment with a doctor in the Bangkok Health Center. The Bangkok Health Center was selected because it is independent from the RTP. This

meant that participants could visit a doctor without worrying that their supervisor would receive any report about this appointment, which might have some indirect effect on their employment.

All recorded information was transcribed by a professional transcriber who had agreed to keep all information confidential and had signed the transcriber confidentiality agreement form (see a copy of a transcriber's confidentiality agreement in Appendix N for the English version and Appendix O for the Thai version). Written notes from unrecorded interviews were transcribed by the researcher. All transcripts were sent to the relevant participants to read. All participants were required to sign the form of the authority for release of transcripts in order to allow the researcher to use that information in the research (see a copy of a blank authority for release of transcripts in Appendix P for the English version and Appendix Q for the Thai version). If participants did not want the researcher to use any sentences in the transcript, they had the right to delete those sentences.

After the interview, the researcher asked participants whether or not they were happy to disclose their name in the research. Participants were required to write down in the informed consent form that they allowed the researcher to disclose their name in the thesis. However, three participants requested to see the written research findings before publishing. The researcher sent the section of the research findings that disclosed their name and their responses for them to read. The research findings were not finalized until these participants were happy with the use of their name. In addition, this was the last stage in which participants were able to withdraw from this study if they felt unhappy to participate. Once participants had signed the release of the transcript, they

were not able to withdraw from this study. The following section presents ethical considerations.

Ethical Considerations

There were two major issues on disclosing information in this research related to ethical considerations that have to be addressed. The first one was participants might feel uncomfortable disclosing their name and position because the results of the project might affect the status of their employment. To minimize this, the researcher did not identify participants' names unless they had given their consent for this. Moreover, when writing up the research findings, aggregate profiles were used based on the 'composite narratives' method. In this method, all information was gathered together along with the results and research findings and reported on a group basis.

The second issue was that participants may feel uncomfortable when asked to honestly discuss any barriers to promotion because they were still employed by the RTP and may not feel confident that all information given would be kept confidential and secure. To deal with this situation, the researcher kept in contact with participants to ensure that they felt happy with all the information that would be included in the research and that all information was being kept securely.

In addition, Thai culture may have had some impact on the willingness of participants to disclose their experiences. In Thai culture, it is difficult for employees to make a complaint about their work, their supervisors or their workplace. Thai people prefer to continue to perform their job and follow orders and often agree with their supervisor rather than providing a different opinion that may be opposite from that of their

supervisors. Similarly, Thai women are not likely to disclose some experiences such as sexual harassment and bullying because in Thai culture, to be considered as good women, Thai women should not talk about or discuss sex. Participants then may decide not to honestly discuss their experience.

However, the researcher has an insider status which means “the researcher is part of the topic being investigated” (Sherry, 2008, p. 433) . In other words, the researcher shares an identity, language and experiential base with the study participants. For this case, the researcher is female and is a Thai national (same as participants) and conducts research in Thailand. The researcher knows Thai culture well and understands their feelings. Similarly, the insider status provides more opportunities for a researcher to be accepted more rapidly by participants because the participants are able to be more open with a researcher who has similar background or is a member of the same community. Therefore, the researcher may gather data in a greater depth (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Dwyer and Buckle (2009, p. 58) further indicated that as having an insider status:

> participants might be more willing to share their experiences because there is an assumption of understand and an assumption of shared distinctiveness; it is as if they feel, “You are one of us and it is us versus them (those on the outside who do not understand)”.

The researcher also tried to build up a relationship with participants to gain trust and rapport to make participants feel comfortable talking about and discussing their experiences. These factors then advantaged the researcher as the researcher then knew how to ask questions indirectly about sexual harassment and bullying when talking with participants and got them to disclose their experiences. Sherry (2008) also indicated that insider researchers gain trust from participants more than outsider researchers.

Therefore, insider researchers seem to gain access to people and resources easier than outsider researchers. The following section presents the research process.

Research Process

The research started by processing the MUHEC full application as mentioned in a previous outline. Once ethical approval had been granted by MUHEC, there were eight major steps in the research procedure for collecting data in this project.

The first step was receiving permission from the RTP to do research and conduct the interviews with female police officers. The first initial contact with the RTP was made on June 1, 2011 by sending the letter to the office of Commissioner of the RTP to request permission to do research related to the RTP. The letter requesting statistical data and the name list of female police officers who fit each criterion was also sent at the same time. In addition, the information sheet was attached with the letter to provide all information about this research to the RTP (see copy of the letter requesting permission to conduct research at the RTP in Appendix B for English version and Appendix C for Thai version). The permission to allow research to be conducted in the RTP was granted on June 7, 2011. Police Lieutenant General Ammarin Akarawong who was the Assistant Commissioner-General at that time signed for the permission and ordered the PGH, the EDB, the RPCA and the PPR to cooperate with the researcher to provide all the information that was required (see copy of the letter approving the research and requesting that the RTP provide the requested information in Appendix D for translation to English version and Appendix E for Thai version).

The second step was to gather all data and employment history of intended participants from the RTP. These four bureaus contacted the researcher to discuss and confirm what information the researcher had requested from the RTP and what information would be made available to the researcher. All of these bureaus confirmed that they did not have any statistical data for the past 20 years on female police officers because they did not keep any statistical data divided by gender. Only the employment history of female police officers who fit these required criteria could be provided. The names and contact details of potential participants was provided to the researcher along with employment history.[15] This stage took around seven months to gather all the required information because some police officers who initially provided this information to the researcher then moved to work at another place. The researcher then had to wait until the new officer had been assigned to do this job.

Selecting intended participants was the third step. After the name lists of female police officers who met one of the four criteria had been provided with the employment history, the researcher then started to select potential participants from the number of years of experience in that position. Participants, who worked at these positions longest, were the first to be selected as potential participants.

The fourth step was making appointments with potential participants. Once intended participants had been chosen, they were contacted by the researcher to explain the research information. If potential participants agreed to participate, the researcher then

[15] In Thailand, contact detail such as telephone number and email is available online from the Royal Thai Police website. Thai citizens allow accessing this website and searching for telephone number or email of all officers. Therefore, gaining contact details of participants was legal and did not violate their rights.

made appointments with participants to provide all the information about this project both verbally and in writing. The information sheet was given to participants at this stage. The pre-questionnaire with the demographic information was also given to intended participants to complete before conducting interviews (see a copy of pre-questionnaire in Appendix H for English version and Appendix I for Thai version). Therefore, the researcher knew some background information about participants before interviewing them. After finishing the research discussion and ensuring that participants had understood all the details and their rights, the researcher made interview times for those participants who had agreed to participate in this research.

At this stage, the major obstacle met was that most participants did not know about permission granted to conduct this research. Only police officers who worked at the Personnel Division in that bureau knew about this research. Some participants then hesitated to participate until they saw the permission document from the RTP and their bureau. Participants were then generally happy to participate. To overcome this obstacle, the researcher used the method of relational groundwork. According to Jennifer Platt (as cited in Adler & Adler, 2003), researchers should interview peers of participants with whom they had already established relationships. Robert Burgess (as cited in Adler & Adler, 2003) further suggested that researchers should develop a relationship with participants in order to gain access to interested groups. Therefore, the researcher developed relationship with participants and asked to be introduced to their friends who were potential participants. As a result, participants felt happy and confident to participate in this research. Interestingly, most participants were used to the survey method, rather than the interview method, because most research conducted in

Thailand uses the survey method to collect data. Therefore, some participants felt uncomfortable and not confident about being interviewed.

However, participants who were significant public authority figures or from the EDB and the RPCA immediately understood the research methods and the way the research was to be conducted. They were easier to communicate with and more interested in becoming participants when compared with participants in other bureaus. In contrast, female police officers who work at the PPR were hesitant to participate even after the permission document from the RTP and their bureaus had been provided. The researcher had to ask intended participants from this bureau who had already been interviewed to introduce the researcher to other potential participants in order to make them feel safe and encourage them to participate. Most of the participants in this bureau also refused to participate because they were anxious about giving an interview and feared that it would affect their work. The researcher also provided the list of questions to participants before conducting interviews to make participants feel more comfortable participating.

For the PGH, the researcher used a different method to make contacting participants easier. This bureau was the last bureau through which the researcher contacted participants. The researcher sent the requested permission letter to the Commissioner Office of the PGH to ask to interview potential participants (the information sheet was attached). The Commissioner Office of the PGH forwarded the letter to all participants with a copy of the information sheet to confirm that the researcher had been allowed to conduct the research. Participants felt comfortable discussing the project and did not have any hesitation about participating.

Conducting interviews was the fifth step. The participants were interviewed for an average of 30 to 60 minutes at their offices during work time or at a location and time that was suitable for them. Most interviews were conducted at the offices of the participants. Before conducting interviews, participants were asked to sign the consent forms. The interviews were conducted with the awareness of ethical considerations (as outlined in the previous section). The sixth and seventh steps were transcribing the interviews and gaining sign-off of the transcripts by the interviewees as explained in the ethics approval process section.

The final major step in the research process was analyzing the data. The method used to analyze data will be explained later in this chapter. Following completion of the research and examination process, the interview recordings will be sent to participants who requested their recording back. All other recordings will then be disposed of. As agreed in the ethics consent process, all data relating to the research will be destroyed after five years. The next section presents the interviewing questions and responses.

The Interviews

There were three major reasons why interviewing was selected as a method in this research. The first reason was that participants would be able to explain and share their working experiences in relation to promotion opportunities in the RTP. The second reason was so that common themes could be identified within the interviews that could provide insights for the research question. The last reason was that interviewing would provide more in-depth information. With interviewing, the researcher would be able to ask participants follow up responses seeking more details about their experiences.

In this research, induction theory or grounded theory was used to analyze data from interviews. Strauss and Corbin (1998, p. 13) stated that the purposes of grounded theory are to "build rather than test theory and to identify, develop, and relate the concepts that are the building blocks of theory". In others words, common themes are identified through interviewing in order to build theory. The following section outlines the interview questions used in this research and the interview process that was followed.

Interviewing Questions

The interview started with a brief social talk to make participants feel comfortable talking before the recorder was turned on. When participants felt less anxiety, the researcher started to explain the outline of the interview and the rights of participants to turn off the recorder at any time for participants who allowed the interview to be recorded. Permission to turn on the recorder was asked before recording started.

The questions were open-ended to allow participants to explain their answers and share their life experiences. The interview question guide was used as an outline for interviewing in order to confirm that the researcher covered similar details of major opportunities and barriers of each participant (see copy of the interview question guide in Appendix R). Moreover, the semi-structured interview approach allowed the participants to have a chance to raise any issues related to their life experiences for discussion during interviews if the researcher did not have any thoughts about that particular area. The participants then had some control over the outline of the interviews (Letherby, 2003).

Within feminist research, the use of the technique of self-disclosure during the interview is important. This technique helps to create the value of trust and openness between interviewer and interviewees (Reinharz, 1992). Researchers Bristow and Esper (1988) found that interviewees feared sharing their ideas. However, after the researcher started to share her own experiences, the interviewees felt better about talking and sharing their experiences. For this research, the researcher answered the questions that had been asked by the participants. Exchanging and discussing information from the researcher's experiences and other participants' experiences was also used to create reciprocity and rapport.

Interviewing Responses

During the interviews, most participants talked and explained all necessary information that related to the questions. Participants felt more comfortable to speak and share their experiences when the recorder was turned off. While interviewing, the researcher kept asking questions related to the details and experiences of participants to make participants explain their answers with more details. However, some participants still felt anxiety and thought about their answer before they spoke during the interview. Sometimes, when participants felt uncomfortable and looked like they did not want to answer, the researcher moved to another question in the interview question guide to keep the interview going.

In addition, some participants shared their experiences and provided more details that they had at first been reluctant to share. However, they did not want the researcher to use this information in the research. That information then could not be used in this research. On the other hand, after the recorder was turned off, most participants

continued talking and explained some of the points that arose from the interview. Participants were asked permission to use the information that was collected off-the-record. If participants gave permission, this information was then used in this research. Nevertheless, participants still had the final chance to check the transcripts and had the right to delete any sentences including sentences from off-the-record that participants did not want the researcher to use in this project.

However, some participants were reluctant to discuss some issues such as sexual harassment and promotional issues even though they understood the ethical process and that their name would be anonymous (unless they gave permission to disclose their name). According to Becker and Geer (as cited in Adler & Adler, 2003, p. 153), "frequently, people do not tell an interviewer all things he might know. This may be because they do not want to, feeling that to speak of some particular subject would be impolitic, impolite or insensitive".

Furthermore, Adler and Adler (2003) argued that there are spectrums of reluctance in responding to questions during interviews. They identified five categories: secretive respondents, sensitive respondents, the advantaged, the disadvantaged and nonwary respondents. The participants who were reluctant to respond in this research were in the categories of sensitive respondents and the advantaged. First, sensitive respondents means participants did not want to talk about some sensitive topics and they were reluctant to answer. For this study, some participants hesitated to discuss sexual harassment or to tell a story that they had heard about it. Second, the advantaged refers to groups of people who have power in society and wealth and are therefore difficult to interview such as celebrities and employees of particular organizations. Some

participants in this research fitted into this category as they work under the Thai government and are not necessarily able to convey their true thoughts and feelings as they have to keep the good image of the RTP.

To overcome this problem, the researcher used the technique of self-disclosure in order to make participants feel better about telling their story. With this technique, the researcher shares some experiences or some information with participants first. After using this technique, the researcher found that participants felt better about sharing their own story and did not feel as reluctant to respond to questions. In addition, the researcher emphasized the ethical process and confirmed that their personal information would be anonymous; assuring them that nobody could access their information except the researcher. Therefore, participants had less fear and felt happy to share their experiences.

In addition, there are two reasons why few direct quotes are used in reporting the results in this research. The first reason is that most participants reported the same situation or reason. For example, all the participants who work at the RPCA reported the same situation about sexual harassment similar to what they have heard happens in the RPCA. Therefore, the researcher decided to group all similar answers together. The second reason is that some of the participants felt more comfortable to say or explain more after the recording was turned off. However, they did not allow the researcher to use their responses in this research. Therefore, the researcher could only use few strong direct quotes from interviewing.

Analyzing Procedures

As noted earlier, grounded theory was used as the main method to analyze the research findings. Glaser and Strauss (1967) identified three stages for analyzing data of grounded theory: (1) develop categories which illuminate the data; (2) saturate these categories with many appropriate cases in order to demonstrate their relevance; and (3) develop these categories into more general analytic frameworks with relevance outside the setting.

In brief, these three stages were used to analyze data in this research. The first step was reviewing the information. At this stage, after the transcripts were signed off by interviewees, the researcher read through all transcripts along with any notes from the interviews. The second stage was analyzing information. The researcher started to read through each transcript and identified the similarities and differences of answers from each participant to each question. Similar themes were identified in order to answer opportunities for and barriers against promotion among female police officers.

As feminist research methodologies focus on improving women's status in society, gender analysis was also used in this research to analyze data from interviews because all gender and development work which involves promoting equality between women and men is commonly based on gender analysis. Gender analysis is analysis that

> explores and highlights the relationship of women and men in society, and the inequalities in those relationships, by asking: Who does that? Who has what? Who decides? How? Who gains? Who loses? When we pose these questions, we also ask: Which men? Which women? … It looks at how power relations within the household interrelate with those at the international, state, market, and community level. (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 1999, p. 18)

In other words, gender analysis is used to explain the unequal relationship between men and women. In society, women and men are assigned to different tasks and responsibilities according to their sex. Men's tasks and responsibilities are often seen to be more important than women's tasks and responsibilities as men often have higher power in society when compared to women (March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhyay, 1999). Because of this unequal relationship, gender analysis was used.

The last stage is comparison. This stage started to compare the similar themes that arose from each question. The similar themes found at this stage lead to the structure of presenting the description of research findings from each bureau in Chapter Five while the comparison and analyzing data will be presented in Chapter Six. Both chapters also include the responses of the significant public figures within each theme.

The next chapter will present research findings in the four bureaus: PGH, EDB, RPCA and PPR under the theme of equity in the workplace and opportunity and barriers in the workplace.

Chapter Five

The Four Bureaus

This chapter presents the research findings from interviews. The four bureaus discussed in this chapter are the Police General Hospital (PGH), the Education Bureau (EDB), the Royal Police Cadet Academy (RPCA) and the Provincial Police Region Division 1-9 (PPR). The first three bureaus are part of the overarching Technical Support Bureau. Participants who worked in these bureaus have similar work experiences. In contrast, the PPR is part of the Field Operation Unit. Participants from this bureau had quite different experiences in the workplace from the other three bureaus. Female police officers who worked in this bureau often worked with male officers and there were greater difficulties in gaining promotion compared with other bureaus. Through investigating these shared and differing experiences, opportunities for and barriers against promotion that impact on female police officers in the RTP can be identified and reasons why only few women worked at senior levels can be analyzed.

Alongside the primary data of interviews, statistical and pre-questionnaire data are also discussed in the research findings. This chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section addresses issues of equity in the workplace among female police officers who have worked in these four bureaus. Specifically, this section reports on why the participants joined the police force, whether they believe they have been accepted in the workplace and whether these women have seen any changes in the RTP after Thailand had declared support for article seven of CEDAW. The second section focusses

specifically on opportunities for female police officers to gain promotion and work at senior levels, and barriers against promotion.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter Four, this research will only mention the names of participants who expressly allowed the researcher to disclose their name. There were 24 participants who did not want to disclose their names. Therefore, the researcher will link all participants together regardless of bureaus and each participant will be identified by a number, such as P1 and P2, in order to protect their anonymity.

Equity in the workplace

This section presents the responses to the three main questions in the interview regarding equity in the workplace for female police officers, especially in relation to gender discrimination and sexual harassment in the RTP. The first question asks the participants to give their reasons for deciding to work at the RTP. The second question focuses on their experiences of acceptance within the police force, and the last question asks them to identify whether any changes in their workplace have occurred since article seven of CEDAW was adopted.

It has been clearly established that when women work in a male-dominated occupation particularly policing, they often face gender discrimination in the workplace. The review of literature in Chapter Two also suggested female police officers may face discrimination and sexual harassment in the workplace. The current research found that female police officers who worked in the PPR commonly reported that they faced

discrimination and had not been accepted[16] in the workplace as police officers. However, in contrast, most female police officers who worked at the other three bureaus stated that they did not face any discrimination and had been 'accepted' in the RTP as police officers.

Interestingly, all participants from the four bureaus reported similar experiences in relation to sexual harassment in the workplace, in that they stated they had never experienced physical harassment in their workplace, and that they had never felt uncomfortable working with male officers. Some participants in the PPR did report some instances of verbal harassment from their male colleagues. However, the women reported that such comments were made in a joking way and so these comments had been taken as jokes by the women, rather than as serious threats. Therefore, the female police officers in the sample reported that they did not feel uncomfortable working with male officers in the PPR.

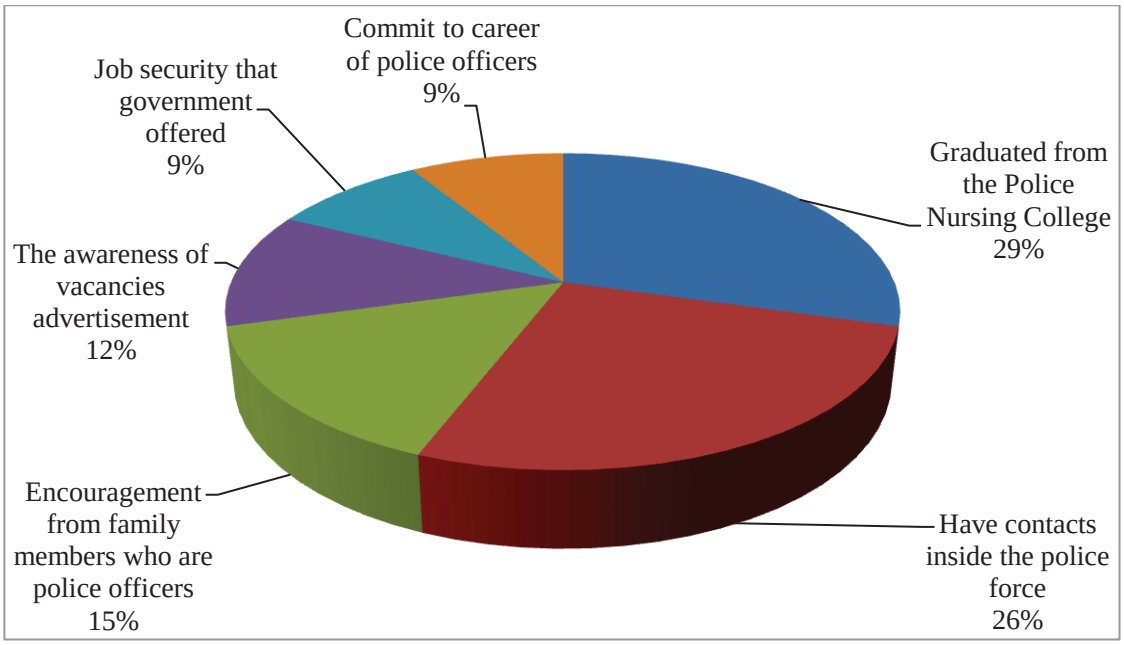
Reasons to work in the RTP

Participants employed in all four bureaus identified six major reasons for their decisions to work as police officers (see figure 5.1). The most common reason (29 percent) was that female officers graduated from the Police Nursing College. As they had already joined the police force through the College, they subsequently decided to work at the RTP. Although, some participants who stated this reason may not have wanted to be

[16] The word 'accepted' here refers to the situation that male police officers are as happy to work with female police officers as colleagues as with male officers. Male police officers agree that both male and female police officers have the same ability to work at the same standard in police work. In other words, male police officers are happy to work with female police officers particularly on police tasks such as patrolling. The use of this concept is elaborated further in footnote 17 in the section on female police officers in the workplace.

police officers in the first place, after they finished their study they decided to continue work at the PGH.

Figure 5.1: Reasons that female police officers decided to work at the RTP



Source: This figure was designed by the author

For example, a female police officer, Police Colonel Sumon, who is now retired, initially wanted to be a nurse, but had difficulty passing all the exams required at several schools. Finally, a relative suggested that she should take the nurse assistant entry exam at the Nursing College in the PGH and she later graduated as a nurse assistant which also gave her police officer status. However, she then retook the nursing entry exam at the Siriraj Hospital. This time she passed the exam and decided to take leave for further study. Once her nursing study was completed, to keep her career status as a police officer, she then went back to work as a nurse at the PGH.

Participant P4 also had a similar story. She stated that she passed the entrance exam for nursing at the Siriraj Hospital and the PGH. However, not only did she pass but she also

attained the highest score on the entrance exam at the PGH. Therefore, she decided to study at the PGH rather than the Siriraj Hospital. After she finished her study, she then continued to work at the PGH.

Even though some participants graduated from this College as nurses, some female police officers transferred to work in the other bureaus in order to gain promotion while others stayed at the PGH. For instance, participants P1 and P11 who are currently working at the senior levels at the RTP graduated from the Police Nursing College. After graduating, they worked at the PGH. However, these participants reported that they felt that at the PGH it was quite hard to gain promotion compared with other bureaus. Thus they decided to move to the other bureaus.

The second reason (26 percent) for deciding to work as a police officer was that these women had contacts inside the police force that provided information about vacancies. In other words, these women felt that having inside information may have provided more chances for them to get a job. For example, Police Colonel Aorawan Pankaew stated that one of her senior officers who worked at the RTP called her and told her that there was an examination to recruit police officers and persuaded her to take the police exam. This was similar to the story from Police Lieutenant Colonel Chamaiporn Yuwanon, who also stated that Police Major General Suntorn Saikwan, who was a friend of her father, persuaded her to work at the RTP as a lecturer because at that time the RTP announced that they were recruiting lecturers to be police officers. Another participant, P4, also stated that one of her friends worked at the RTP and asked her to transfer to the RTP. She spent around two years managing this transfer.

The third most popular reason (15 percent) for deciding to work as a police officer was encouragement from family members who had already worked in the RTP. For example, participants P3, P20 and P24 said that their fathers were police officers and their families would like them to be police officers like their fathers. Therefore, they decided to work at the RTP.

The fourth reason for deciding to work as a police officer was the awareness of vacancy advertisements (12 percent). For instance, Police Lieutenant Colonel Suree Darachai stated that she saw the vacancies advertised from the RTP to recruit more police officers. She met all the requirements and decided to take the exam.

The fifth reason (9 percent) for deciding to work as a police officer was the job security that the government offered. Job security for Thai citizens can be gained by passing an exam organized by the Official of the Civil Service Commission (OCSC) to work in public agencies. If a candidate passes the exam, the OCSC will decide which position in the public agencies suits their qualifications, but there is no guarantee that the OCSC will allocate any individual to an agency of their choice. All participants who gave this reason did not want to be police officers in the first instance. However, if the police force has some vacant positions for administrative work, the RTP may ask for some more staff through the OCSC. This is what had happened to participants P16 and P17. They stated that their families wanted them to work in a government agency in order to have job security in their career. Thus, they decided to take the OCSC exam. After they passed the exam, the RTP requested some officers from the OCSC to work at the RTP in specialized areas such as accounting. These participants then went on to work at the RTP as police officers.

The sixth reason (9 percent) was specifically wanting a career in the police force. Female police officers who reported this reason had to pass the RTP's exam when the RTP announced vacancies through advertisements; these women then trained to become police officers. For example, participant P22 stated that her dream was to be a police officer. As she could not attend the RPCA because she was female, she then decided to study in the Faculty of Law in order to meet the required qualification from the RTP and take the exam. The RTP only allows people who have graduated either from the Faculty of Law or the Faculty of Political Science to take the exam to be a police officer. While slightly more direct, this path for women into the police is similar to the path to policing via gaining a nursing degree through the Nursing College in the PGH.

Female police officers in the workplace

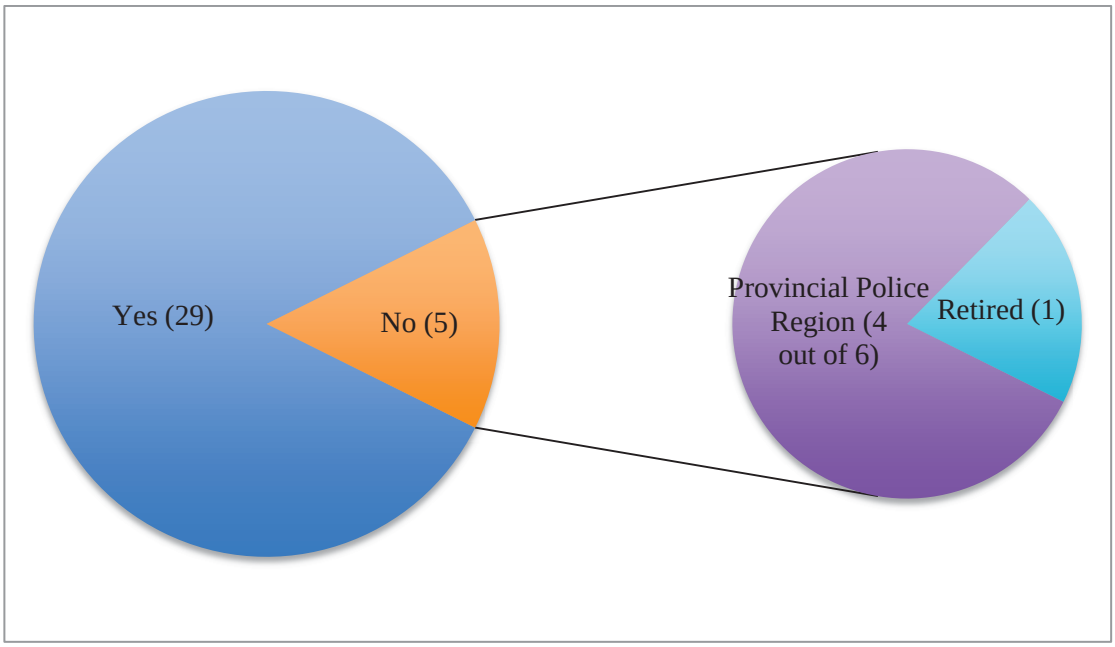
In this section, participants' responses have been divided into two areas. The first area is acceptance in the workplace. This section reports female police officers' perceptions of their acceptance in the RTP. The second area is sexual harassment in the RTP.

1) Acceptance in the RTP

Most female police officers who worked in the four bureaus reported they had been accepted[17] in the workplace although for different reasons (see Figure 5.2).

[17] The term 'accepted' in the workplace here is additional information to footnote 16. The concept is used here also signify to acceptance at management or senior level that female and male police officers are allowed to perform the same task in the RTP and that supervisors assign similar work to both male and female officers based on their performance, not gender. For example, if supervisors assign both male and female police officers to perform patrol tasks, this situation assumes that female police officer have been 'accepted' in the RTP. In contrast, if supervisors assign male officer to perform police tasks but female officer to administrative tasks, this situation assumes that female police officers have not been 'accepted' in the workplace.

Figure 5.2: The reported acceptance of female police officers in the RTP



Source: This figure was designed by the author

Approximately 29 participants said that they had been accepted in the RTP as police officers the same as male police officers. For instance, Police Colonel Aorawan reported that she was trained by the Border Patrol Police Bureau (BPPB) and the RPCA to learn how to use weapons and how to behave as a police officer to be accepted in the RTP in the male police officers' views. Therefore, she did not have any problems with being accepted in the workplace. Similarly, for Police Lieutenant Colonel Suree, she did not have any problems about being accepted in the RTP because she was in the first group of female police officers that were recruited by the BPPB to do accounting. She felt that the male police officers took good care of her and really welcomed her to work as a police officer because most male officers did not like to do accounting work. This was the first time female police officers were recruited by the BPPB. Although women were treated well, they were actually seen as weak and emotional and this treatment from

colleagues and supervisors was then different from how male police officers were treated.

Participant P8 had a different experience. She reported that she had been accepted in the workplace because there are a high number of female police officers who worked at the lower levels. Participants P19 and P20 had different experiences again. They stated that when they started to work at the RTP, there were only one or two female police officers in their bureaus. Nevertheless, male officers had still accepted them as police officers because female police officers had the ability to work to the same standard as male officers because they worked in the EDB where administration is the major task.

Conversely, five participants reported that they had not been accepted in the RTP as police officers. Four out of these five participants had worked in the PPR. Three participants reported the same reason that they have to work very hard to make male police officers accept their work and then be accepted as police officers. Participant P4 further reported that she estimated that probably just over half of female officers will be accepted in the RTP because male officers did not want female officers to be in leadership roles. In relation to workplace acceptance for women, a senior representative from the Office of Women's Affairs and Family Development (OWF) who was interviewed stated that young Thai people and Thai people who have graduated from universities in foreign countries are now accepting women in leadership roles, but Thai people over 40 still tend to not accept women in the leadership roles.

Police Lieutenant Colonel Pojjanee Suntarakej and Police Colonel Maliwan Tawmhao further explained that in 1976, when they started to work at the RTP, female police

officers were not allowed to have the same police rankings as male officers. In other words, male and female police officers have been treated differently in the RTP, even though they have performed the same work. For this reason, these two participants reported that they had not been accepted in the workplace. Although, most of the participants who currently work at senior levels had experienced this unequal ranking treatment in the RTP, 22 out of 25 senior female police officers still believed that they have been accepted in the workplace. The rule about not having police ranks for female police officers has now changed. At present, female police officers who work at the RTP are able to have the same police ranking as male officers.

In addition, in her interview, Thanawadee Tajean who is the President of Friends of Women Organization in Thailand stated that in Thailand women have not been accepted in the workplace even though they have higher qualifications than men. She maintained that women still have to work at lower levels and further emphasized that especially female police officers often face discrimination in the workplace because male officers always say that “this job is not suited for women”. Therefore, these reasons may lead to the lack of acceptance of female officers in the RTP.

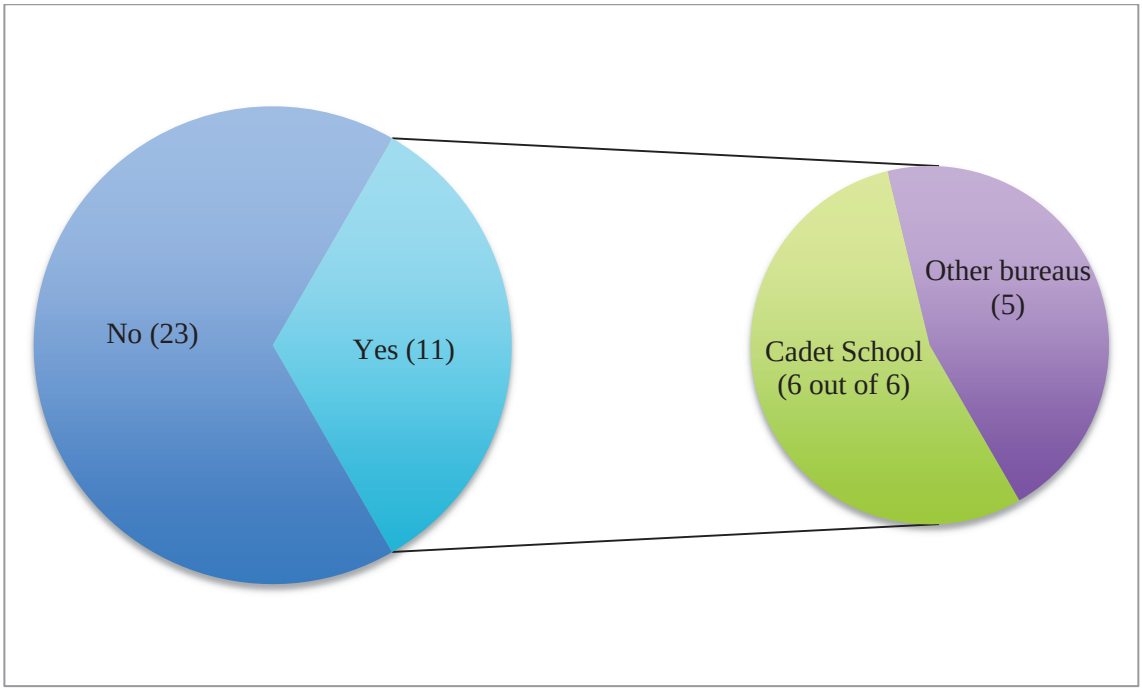
2) Sexual harassment in the RTP

Sexual harassment in the workplace is another problem well documented in the literature that female police officers often face. Participants were asked whether they had faced any sexual harassment themselves and/or had they met anyone or heard about any sexual harassment in their workplace. However, none of the female police officers

in these four bureaus said they felt uncomfortable working with men and verbal and physical harassment in the workplace was not perceived as a major problem.

The three bureaus which are the PGH, EDB and PPR reported in the same direction that there were few incidents involving sexual harassment in the RTP (see Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3: Have female police officers faced any sexual harassment in the RTP?



Source: This figure was designed by the author

In the EDB, sexual harassment appears to have occurred less when compared to other bureaus as no female police officers interviewed reported having heard of experiences of any type of sexual harassment in the workplace. For the PGH and the PPR, 20 out of 24 of the participants reported that they had never heard of or experienced sexual harassment. For instance, participant P2 reported that her supervisors evaluate her and police officers who worked under him each year as to whether both male and female police officers behave correctly when they perform their duty according to section 83(8)

of the Civil Service Act of 2009 in order to consider salary increases and promotion. This includes sexual misconduct and harassment. Section 83(8) in the Civil Service Act states that:

> A civil servant must not commit any of the following prohibitions: (1) to not make false report to the supervising official; … (8) to not commit acts which amount to a sexual violation or harassment as prescribed by Civil Service Commission (CSC) Regulation. ("Pra Rat Cha Banyat Ra Beab Kha Rat Cha Karn Pon La Roen B.E. 2552 (Civil Service Act of 2009)," 2009)

Section 83 (8) is further defined by the Civil Service Commission (CSC) Regulation of Sexual Harassment of 2010, section two:

> Any civil servant who commits any of the following actions to other civil servants or colleagues against his or her will or causes nuisance, whether such action is committed inside or outside of official workplace, such civil servant is deemed to commit a sexual harassment according to the section 83(8) of the Civil Service Act of 2009
>
> 3) Any action involving physical contact in a sexual manner such as kissing, hugging or touching any part of body;
> 4) Speaking in a sexual manner such as criticizing others' bodies, teasing or talking impolitely;
> 5) Any action of a sexual manner such as looking at other people's bodies, and making any signs or symbols of a sexual nature;
> 6) Communicating in any way that implies a sexual manner such as displaying of pornographic material, sending letters, sending messages or any other form of communication containing sexual references or material;
> 7) Any behavior of a sexual nature against others' will or causes nuisance.
>
> ("Kot Kor Por Wa Duai Karn Kra Tum Karn Un Pen Karn Lung La Meard Reu Kuk Kam Tang Pet B.E. 2553 (The Civil Service Commission Regulation of Sexual Harassment of 2010)," 2010)

The categories covered in this Regulation should prevent sexual harassment in the workplace. At the same time, section 85(7) in the Civil Service Act of 2009 which supports section 83(8) is the regulation which mandates the punishments for such behaviors. Section 85(7) states that:

> Disciplinary breaches of the following description are gross breaches of discipline: (1) wrongfully performing or refraining to perform official duties in order to cause severe detriment to any person or dishonestly performing or refraining to perform official duties; … (7) refraining from or committing any act not in compliance with section 82 or in violation of a prohibition under section 83 causing severe detriment to the government service; …. ("Pra Rat Cha Banyat Ra Beab Kha Rat Cha Karn Pon La Roen B.E. 2552 (Civil Service Act of 2009)," 2009)

Although, all supervisors in the RTP have to evaluate the police officers who work under them to ensure discipline is maintained, no participants from other bureaus mentioned this evaluation. This may be because the supervisors at the other bureaus did not pay as much attention to these aspects in the annual evaluations. Therefore, sexual harassment was not seen to be a problem in the PGH. Police Colonel Aorawan also stated that when she has formal meetings with her subordinate police officers, she often discusses appropriate behavior in the workplace, including sexual harassment in the meetings with all police officers. Thus, most officers were very aware of harassment issues and no female officers made any reference to such harassment.

It has to be noted here that there are two main issues related to Thai culture that may have affected these answers about sexual harassment. The first issue is that sexual harassment issues are rarely discussed or talked about with other people in Thai culture. Thai women feel shy about disclosing their personal stories and therefore they tend to keep it secret. However, Thanawadee mentioned that Thai women will call women's organizations to tell about sexual harassment when they have resigned from their workplace because they feel too shy to let other people know that they have been harassed.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter Two, Asian people are more likely to endure sexual harassment than Western people and Asian people do not tend to report sexual

harassment (Zimbroff, 2007). Therefore, when participants reported that they had not heard about or experienced any sexual harassment themselves, this may not have been the truth as they may have wanted to keep their story secret. This point may assume that there is a level of under-reporting of sexual harassment rather than a non-existence of sexual harassment. One senior representative who works in the OWF also indicated that even though several incidents of sexual harassment in the workplace are known to exist, “there are few people who report about sexual harassment”. Therefore, sexual harassment in the workplace has not been seen as a serious issue in Thailand as it is very hard to learn about the cases of sexual harassment in the workplace. Most Thai people then assume that there is no sexual harassment.

The second issue is that Thai people do not know much about the definition of the term sexual harassment and behaviors that have been identified as sexual harassment. In Thailand, the law preventing sexual harassment in the workplace was introduced in 1998 for the first time ("Pra rat Cha Banyat Kum Krong Rang Ngan B.E. 2541 (Labour Protection Act of 1998)," 1998). However, they did not define the term sexual harassment. According to section 16 in the Labour Protection Act of 1998 ("Pra rat Cha Banyat Kum Krong Rang Ngan B.E. 2541 (Labour Protection Act of 1998)," 1998, p. 9), it only stated that “An employer or a person who is a chief, supervisor or inspector shall be prohibited from performing an act of sexual harassment against an employee who is a woman or a child.” Although, the latest Labour Protection Act was announced in 2008, the Act only updates to protect male employees from sexual harassment ("Pra rat Cha Banyat Kum Krong Rang Ngan B.E. 2551 (Labour Protection Act of 2008)," 2008). The term sexual harassment still has not been defined.

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, for public agencies, the OCSC has announced in section 83(8) of the Civil Service Act of 2009 and section 2 of the CSC Regulation of Sexual Harassment of 2010 what actions are considered as sexual harassment ("Kot Kor Por Wa Duai Karn Kra Tum Karn Un Pen Karn Lung La Meard Reu Kuk Kam Tang Pet B.E. 2553 (The Civil Service Commission Regulation of Sexual Harassment of 2010)," 2010; "Pra Rat Cha Banyat Ra Beab Kha Rat Cha Karn Pon La Roen B.E. 2552 (Civil Service Act of 2009)," 2009) . This means if any officers do any action that has been listed in this Regulation, they will be punished because of sexual harassment. However, this Regulation has not been widely promoted. Therefore, participants may not be sure whether actions that they have faced would be called sexual harassment. For example, one senior representative who works in the OWF reported that Thai women might not know whether they had been harassed or not as sometimes their colleagues or supervisors just ‘tease’ or ‘joke’ with them.

However, there were five participants who worked in these two bureaus who stated that they had heard about sexual harassment in their workplace. Three participants, Police Lieutenant Colonel Chamaiporn, and participants P18 and 23, each stated that they had heard their supervisors make jokes of a sexual nature. The other two participants had heard about physical harassment, like unwanted touching. Police Major General Ratchanee and participant P10, who worked at the PGH, reported that they had heard that some female officers had agreed to have sex with their supervisor in order to gain promotion.

At the RPCA, all participants had heard about physical harassment that happened in this bureau in 2007. All six participants reported the same story that one female officer had

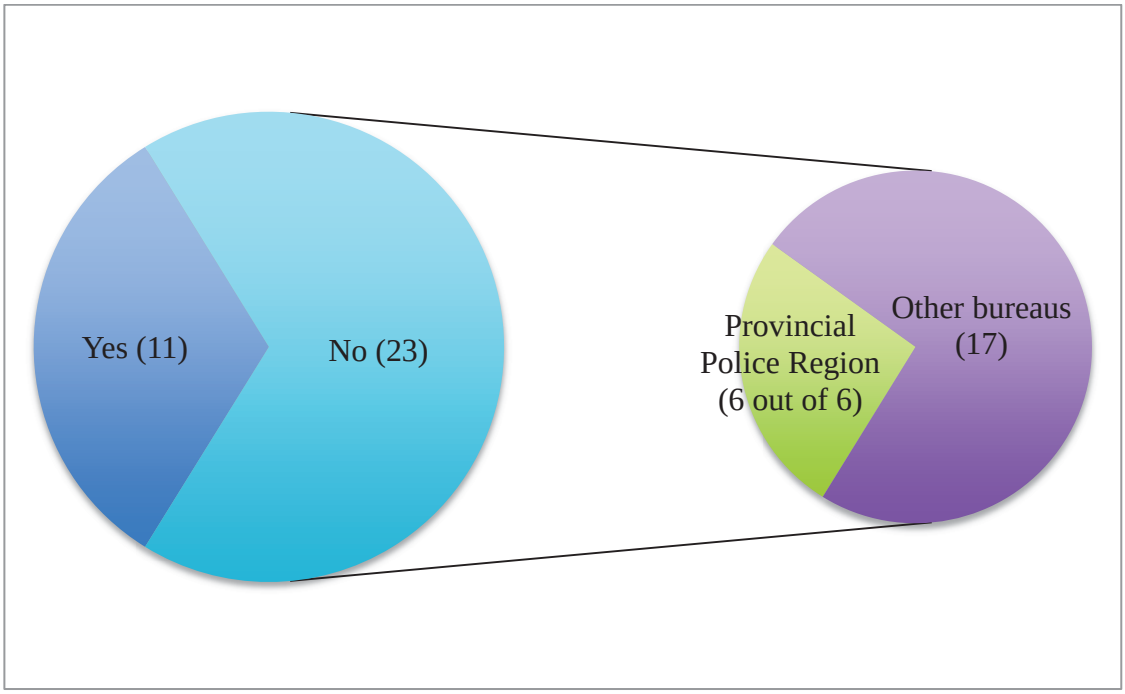
been harassed by her supervisor in the past. This officer went to report her story to a higher supervisor and she requested to move to another bureau. However, no participants had heard of any recent cases of sexual harassment. The next section will present the results about CEDAW and whether there have been any changes in the women's workplace experiences since the acceptance of article seven of CEDAW.

CEDAW

In 1995, Thailand declared support for article seven of CEDAW, which indicates that countries should ensure that women have equal rights to work at all public levels (The Division for the Advancement of Women, 2010). However, the number of female police officers who work at senior level is still very low. Therefore, the perception of whether female police officers have seen any changes in the RTP to support female officers to work at senior levels is an important area to consider in order to know whether Thailand is following article seven of CEDAW.

The question was asked, whether after Thailand had declared support for article seven of CEDAW on November 1995, had there been any changes in the Royal Thai Police? Approximately 11 participants who worked in the three bureaus of the Technical Support Bureaus have seen some changes (see Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: Any changes in the RTP after Thailand had withdrawn from article 7 of CEDAW in 1995?



Source: This figure was designed by the author

A major change reported was that positions are now available at more senior levels for female officers, including the ranking of Police Major General. Female officers then gained promotion to senior levels. For instance, five participants reported that they had seen more female police officers gain promotion to work at senior levels especially in the PGH. Two or more female officers gained promotion to work at senior levels each year and had the ranking at Police Major General.

Surprisingly, in the PGH where the number of female police officers who worked at senior levels is the highest when compared with the other bureaus, only seven female officers had seen these changes. There is only one female police officer, Police Lieutenant Colonel Pojjanee Suntarakej who worked at the position of the Commissioner of the PGH. This is the highest position for female police officers in the

history of the RTP. At the same time, there are many female officers who have ranked above the Police Major General when compared with other bureaus. Therefore, this number of participants is remarkable because 11 female officers who worked in the PGH stated that they have not seen any changes after 1995.

On the contrary, 23 female officers who worked at the four selected bureaus, especially in the PPR, had not seen any changes since Thailand declared support for article seven of CEDAW in 1995. All six participants who worked at the PPR had not seen any changes in support for female officers to work at senior levels in the RTP. For example, Police Colonel Aorawan and participant P3 reported that after 1995, only a few female officers were promoted to work at senior levels in this bureau. The other participants such as P4 and P21 also stated that, even though Thailand had declared support for article seven of CEDAW, female officers had still not gained promotion to work at senior levels. Participant P9 further reported that in practice, being a police officer[18] was still seen as men's work. Therefore, male officers tended to have higher chances of gaining promotion because male officers had been accepted as leaders more than female officers.

For the other three bureaus, 12 participants reported that they had not seen any changes. The main reason was because there were only a few female officers who gained promotion to work at senior levels in the RTP. For example, Police Lieutenant Colonel Veerawan reported that she did not see any changes after 1995 because female officers

[18] As mentioned earlier in the Introduction and the Chapter Three that male and female officers who work in the administration also have been called police officers, however, when talking about police officers in general in the RTP, most officers define the term police officer as a person who is empowered to enforce laws for preventing crime and maintaining public order.

still had fewer chances to gain promotion when compared to male officers. Participant P20 also stated that although the RTP employed more female officers, only a few female officers gained promotion to work at senior levels. She therefore did not perceive that there had been changes after 1995.

The other five participants also stated that they had not seen any changes immediately after 1995. However, participants had seen some changes five or more years later. One participant, Participant P24 reported that she had seen some changes in 2000 when the first female police officers had the rank of Police Major General in 2002 after the Thai army allowed female officers to have the rank of Police Major General in 2000. Participant P5 also stated that she had seen some changes in 2005 when there was the first female police officer who had the rank of Police Major General at the Police Nursing College. Participant P18 further stated that she had seen some changes in 2012 when the first female officer who worked as a nurse gained promotion to the rank of Police Major General.

Furthermore, Supensri Phungkogsung who is the head of the supportive gender equality department of the Women and Men Progressive Movement Foundation stated that although Thailand had supported article seven of CEDAW, women still cannot gain promotion to work at manager level because of sex segregation, especially in male-dominated occupations. For instance, being in the police force has been seen as a traditional male occupation and manager positions (and above) belong to men. Therefore, there were no immediate positive changes for women to be promoted to work at senior levels after 1995 in the RTP.

Working at senior levels

Within the RTP, women are disproportionately concentrated at the lower levels, particularly in areas considered male jobs such as active policing. This situation means that sex-segregation still exists in the RTP despite the acceptance of CEDAW principles. As Table 5.1 shows there were only a few female police officers who worked at senior levels in the RTP. The number of male officers who worked at senior levels was significantly higher than female officers. The highest ranking female officers achieved were the rank of Police Major General. The number of female officers who had this rank was proportionally much lower than male officers.

Table 5.1: The number of female and male officers who worked at senior levels in the RTP between 2010 and 2012

Ranking	2010		2011		2012	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Police General	13	0	13	0	15	0
Police Lieutenant General	64	0	64	0	65	0
Police Major General	443	6	432	7	416	10
Police Colonel	2,608	255	3,391	326	3,229	327

Source: Adapted from the RTP telephone directory between 2010 and 2012

Table 5.2 shows the number of female officers who worked at senior levels in the four bureaus. Only a few female police officers worked at senior levels in the PPR, especially when compared with the number of male officers. Only the PGH that is female-dominated bureau had a high number of female officers who worked at the senior level when compared with male officers. However, the top position in the PGH was still held by a male officer. The following section reports on interview responses related to identifying opportunities for and barriers against promotion to work at senior levels.

Table 5.2: The number of police officers who worked at senior levels in the four bureaus between 2010 and 2012

Bureaus	2010		2011		2012	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Police General Hospital	85	144	70	159	86	143
Education Bureau	43	19	42	25	48	19
Royal Police Cadet Academy	92	14	91	15	93	13
Provincial Police Region Division 1-9	2003	8	2004	7	2005	6

Source: Adapted from the RTP telephone directory between 2010 and 2012

Opportunities for promotion

This section is divided into two parts. The first part is the chance for success and promotion in policing among female police officers. This part outlines whether participants believe that they have the same or different chances to succeed and to gain promotion in policing. The second part presents the possibility of benefits for female police officers in the RTP.

1) Chance for success and promotion in policing

Participants were asked do they think that male and female police officers are the same or different, such as the ability to work at the same standard as male police officers and having the same success in careers and do female police officers have the same chance as male police officers to advance in their career? Around 53 percent of female police officers who worked in the four bureaus did not believe that female officers experience problems with promotion. These participants reported that female police officers have the same chance as men to succeed in this career and to gain promotion but that chances depended on what bureau they worked in. For example, participant P2 emphasized that she has never had any problems with promotion. When her qualifications were met to gain promotion, she was then promoted.

When asked these two questions, there were two major reasons why these female officers stated that men and women are equal. The first reason was that both male and female police officers gain promotion under the same regulations. Therefore, male and female officers have the same chance to succeed and to gain promotion. For instance, participant P12 reported that both female and male police officers have the same chance of success because both male and female officers were required to meet the same qualification in order to be eligible to consider gaining promotion.

Moreover, the EDB should be a good example to confirm this point that men and women have equal chances to gain promotion. All female police officers who worked in this bureau reported that they did not experience any problems with promotion. The important evidence should be all female officers were promoted when they had met all qualifications in the promotional regulation.

The second reason is that in the PGH and the RPCA, to gain promotion officers have to be approved by a committee because these two bureaus require specialized knowledge. Officers in the PGH are required to be specialized medical practitioners (doctors and nurses) while officers in the RPCA are required to be specialized academics. Both men and women then have to prepare documents to show their ability to work in their areas to be approved for promotion. Male and female officers then should have equal opportunities to advance in the RTP. For example, Police Major General Ratchanee stated that officers in the PGH had to conduct research in order to show their supervisors that they were specialized in their area. Sometimes they also had to attend seminars or do research with other officers in order to gain promotion.

In addition, Supensri stated that in the RTP most female officers worked in the Technical Support Bureaus. In these bureaus, physical strength was not required. Therefore, female officers who worked in the PGH, the EDB and the RPCA should have successful careers as police officers and experience less problems with promotion when compared with female officers who worked in the Field Operation Unit.

Additionally, participants were further asked if it is easier to gain promotion if they do 'feminine' work. Most participants (68 percent) reported that it is not easier to gain promotion as supervisors consider promotion between female and female police officers based on their work performance. Moreover, around 25 percent of female officers who worked at the three bureaus in the Technical Support Bureaus where most police officers are female stated they were very happy to compete with women rather than with men to gain promotion because supervisors consider work performance. For instance, Police Lieutenant Colonel Veerawan reported that she felt happy to compete with female officers in order to gain promotion. She also stated that when women compete with women for promotion, the supervisor was more likely to consider promotion based on their work record rather than on the relationship between supervisors and police officers.

On the other hand, 47 percent of participants reported that male and female officers did not have the same chance of success to gain promotion, especially in the PPR (five out of six participants agreed on this issue). For example, Police Lieutenant Colonel Suree stated that when female and male officers who started their work at the RTP in the same year were compared, it clearly showed that male officers gained promotion faster than female officers. Moreover, participants further explained that even though the same

regulation for promotion is applied to both female and male officers, female officers have less chance than men to gain promotion and to be successful police officers because male officers have more choice to move to other bureaus. Female officers only have a chance to move to work in the other Technical Support Unit. Thus, men will have more chance to move to other bureaus where there are available positions to gain promotion and be promoted faster than women. For instance, there were eight participants who reported that male officers had more chances than female officers to work in many bureaus. In some bureaus, they required officers to have prior experience in that area. However, female officers did not have a chance to work in that area. Therefore, they did not have any prior experience and could not work in that bureau. This employment restriction meant that male officers had more chance of working in many bureaus and could gain promotion faster than female officers.

Furthermore, participant P9 emphasized that she believed that female officers have been treated like second class citizens in the RTP because when considered for promotion, men will be considered before women. Participant P4 also stated that male officers will be considered before females for promotion as being a police officer is still seen as a man's job.

It is worth noting here that a quarter of participants who reported that male and female officers have unequal chances of gaining promotion in these four bureaus were retired officers. In the past, female officers were not allowed to have the rank of Police Major General. Therefore, most retired officers strongly believed that female and male officers had unequal chances of gaining promotion. This rule was later changed in 2005, and

Police Lieutenant Colonel Pojjanee Suntarakej became the first female officer who had the rank of Police Major General.

Moreover, Thanawadee reported that female and male police officers did not have the same chance to gain promotion because of Thai culture, in particular, the cultural imperative to be ‘good women’ meant that female officers should not have close relationships with male officers. Thanawadee and Supensri further agreed that when compared with male officers, female officers definitely had less chance to gain promotion to work at senior levels.

2) Benefits for female police officers to gain promotion

Participants were asked whether being female in the RTP has provided any *benefits* for them in terms of promotion. Approximately 56 percent of participants reported that being female in the RTP did not provide any benefits for them to gain promotion. For instance, Police Lieutenant Colonel Pojjanee reported that male and female officers have equal chances of gaining promotion in the RTP. Therefore, being a female officer in the RTP did not provide any benefits to gaining promotion.

However, this question may be too complicated for participants to clarify what it means to be female in the RTP. Out of the 44 percent who did feel that being female helped to gain promotion, more than three quarters stated the reason was that female officers are better at undertaking administrative work because they show greater attention to detail

(in Thai language, participants used the word *La Aied Aon* to describe this action[19]) in their work. For instance, eight participants from the four bureaus reported that supervisors trusted them to do work that related to documents and administrative work because female officers were more detailed in their work than male officers.

Moreover, male supervisors are also kind to and supportive of female officers (in Thai language, participants used the word of *Jai Dee* to describe this emotion[20]). Participants claimed that supervisors do not complain about female officers as often as they do about male officers and willingly provide useful advice to female officers. For instance, Police Colonel Aorawan and participants P18 and P19 stated that their supervisors were very kind and friendly to female officers and not to male officers. When they had problems related to their work, their supervisors also provided some advice compared to supervisors often blaming male officers before giving advice. Nevertheless, no female officers answered that being female provided benefits for promotion.

Additionally, female police officers who worked at the PGH, the RPCA and the PPR mentioned that female officers have to act like men to be accepted by male officers. For example, six participants suggested that when female police officers worked at the RTP, they should change their characteristics to be like men in order to be accepted as police officers and to be respected by male officers who worked under them. This may be one reason why being female officers in the RTP did not provide any benefit for promotion.

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[19] *La Aied Aon* in Thai language refers to any action that tends to show their concentration in even of small detail.

[20] Generous or *Jai Dee* in Thai language means any action that tends to show their friendly and great support to other people.

In contrast, female officers who work in the EDB had a different opinion. Participants stated that female officers do not need to have male characteristics to be accepted as police officers. Female officers who act very feminine are also accepted in this bureau. The major reason that this bureau does not require male characteristics is because their main duty is administrative work which has been seen as women's work.

Barriers against promotion

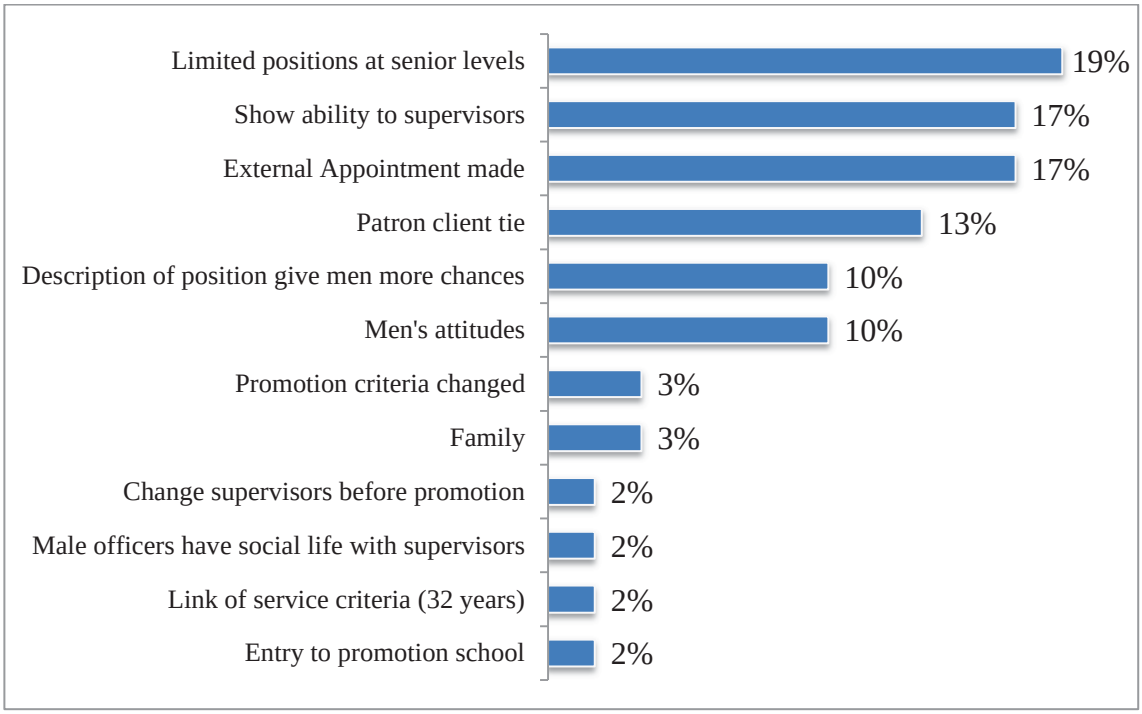
There were only 35 percent of participants who reported that gaining promotion to work at senior levels was not hard for them. These participants were female police officers who had only worked in the PGH, the EDB and the RPCA. The reason that these participants reported that gaining promotion is quite easy is because in these three bureaus, most officers were women and gaining promotion was based on work performance that was very transparent when compared to other bureaus where other factors had an influence. For example, Police Colonel Duangsamorn Weawipat and participants P19 and P20 stated that male officers do not want to work in bureaus that have too many female officers. Therefore, competition to gain promotion between female officers makes it easier compared to bureaus that have high numbers of male officers. Supervisors also considered work performance and achievements when promoting officers in bureaus where most officers were women. Gaining promotion in these bureaus then was not difficult.

Moreover, Police Colonel Amnuai Maotab and participant P7 further stated that the promotional regulations were often changed. The RTP changed the regulations so that it would be easier to gain promotion than in the past. When female police officers had met

all requirements that were required in the promotional regulation, they were then promoted to a higher level. Therefore, they felt that gaining promotion was not hard.

On the contrary, approximately 65 percent of participants reported that gaining promotion to work at senior levels was very hard, especially in the PPR where all participants stated that promotion was very hard. There are 12 major reasons why gaining promotion to work at senior levels was very hard (see Figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5: Barriers against promotion



Source: This figure was designed by the author

The first barrier is limited positions at senior levels. The number of positions at senior levels is very limited. Only a few officers – male or female – could then gain promotion to work at senior levels. For example, participants P6, P17 and P18 further reported that there were few positions at senior levels and even less at the rank of Police Major General. For example, there were only five positions at the rank of Police Major

General in the RPCA. Moreover, participant P9 reported that male officers had more chance to gain promotion at senior level when compared to female officers because being a police officer is seen as a man's job. Therefore, only few female officers gained promotion to work at senior level. Participant P17 also stated that supervisors often provided the reason that this person was "appropriate" to this higher position in order to promote younger male officers or male officers.

However, one participant disagreed that the number of positions at senior levels is very limited. Participant P4 reported that the number of senior positions is very high but that the number of female police officers who met all qualifications to gain promotion was very low. Therefore, only a few female police officers could qualify to gain promotion to work at senior levels.

The second barrier is that female officers lacked chances to show their work ability to their supervisors. Most supervisors will accept female police officers when they showed that their work was excellent and they could work same as male officers. However, supervisors often asked male officers to take responsibility for most of the work, the exception being administrative work. Therefore, female officers often lacked opportunities to show their ability to perform the same work to the same standard as male officers to their supervisors. For instance, participants P17, P20 and P23 reported that female officers had to work very hard to show their ability to their supervisors. Even though female officers may have some abilities, getting access to supervisors to show them their work was not always easy because female officers did not have the same chances as the male officers to work with supervisors because of Thai cultural beliefs that men and women should not have too close a relationship in the workplace.

The third barrier is that male police officers who worked in the other bureaus often moved to this bureau to gain promotion. Most male officers often moved to work in other bureaus that have available positions in the higher level, especially in bureaus where most officers were women such as the EDB and the PPR. For male officers, gaining promotion in bureaus in which most officers are female was much easier. For example, Police Lieutenant Colonel Pojjanee stated that

> for the administration department in the PGH, there is no regulation that a person who is able to gain promotion to have a position at Superintendent level, has to work in the PGH. This means that any police officers who meet all criteria to gain promotion, are able to gain promotion at the level of Superintendent in the administration department. Therefore, I saw many police officers who worked outside the PGH come to gain promotion at Superintendent level in the administration department in the PGH.

Similarly, Police Colonel Aorawan, Police Lieutenant Colonel Chamaiporn and participant P3 who worked in the other bureaus also reported that male officers from other bureaus often moved to their bureaus to work at senior levels.

Supervisors usually preferred to promote male officers to work at senior levels. Female officers had to wait until they became the senior person at this position or work at this position for a long time and then be promoted. Police Lieutenant Colonel Chamaiporn further stated that most female officers had to wait at least 10 years or more to be promoted to a higher position while male officers met the qualifications in three or four years.

It is worth noting here that although female officers were not promoted to work in managerial positions, they still have to work as managers because some male officers who have just been moved to work at bureaus did not have any prior knowledge about

the work. Therefore, female officers had to take responsibility while the new male manager was upskilling. For instance, Police Lieutenant Colonel Chamaiporn and participant P17 reported that male officers who moved to their bureaus in order to gain promotion did not have any knowledge about that kind of administrative work. Therefore, they had to work as a manager anyway, even though their positions were under these male officers.

Patron-client ties are the fourth barrier. A patron-client tie at this point means the description of the closed relationships between Thai politicians and military and police. Politicians like support from military and police in order to work together to achieve government policy when they are Ministers. At the same time, to gain some support and build strong relationships, politicians help and support military or police officers to gain promotion. Therefore, when these officers work at senior levels, politicians can in turn receive support from these officers to use their power to changes in government policy (Chaloemtiarana, 2007).

When considering the promotion of officers, patron-client ties were significant as politicians had the power to influence which officers should be promoted. Male officers who knew politicians gained promotion faster than officers who did not know any politicians. Most male officers who had worked with higher ranked supervisors also had higher chances to gain promotion. Patron-client ties then became a barrier for female police officers because they did not tend to have very good relationships with senior supervisors and politicians. Female officers also concentrated on their work rather than making connections like other male officers did. For example, eight participants reported that gaining promotion was quite hard. Police officers had to have very good

connections with either the highest ranking supervisors or politicians to support themselves when the RTP considered them for promotion. If officers did not have any connection, then it was very hard to gain promotion after they met all the requirements. Thanawadee further stated that most female officers could not gain promotion because they lacked a connection with higher supervisors or politicians. Female officers did not tend to go out after work with supervisors and did not try to make connections with politicians as they spent their working hours working and after work hours with their family.

The fifth barrier was the criteria for the position that provided more opportunities for men to gain promotion. To gain promotion to each position, the RTP had promotional regulations that required some qualifications for each position and work experience in that area, also taken into account was the number of years that officers had worked in the RTP and the amount of time that officers had worked at this position. The criteria for the position did not indicate that only male officers could be promoted. However, most positions often required work experience in that area or bureau. Therefore, in some areas, such as crime prevention that required officers to do patrol work, they did not allow female officers to work as patrol police. Female officers then could not gain promotion in the crime prevention department. For instance, four out of six participants reported that in the PPR, female officers were only eligible to gain promotion in the General Staff Division because the promotional regulation required work experience in patrol work. This is the reason why female officers could only gain promotion in the General Staff Division because administrative work did not require work experiences in patrol work. Male officers therefore have a higher chance of gaining promotion in many divisions.

It is worth noting here that there was some misunderstanding about the criteria for the position to gain promotion. Police Lieutenant Colonel Chamaiporn reported that some positions in crime prevention identified that “this position is only for male police officers, female officer could not gain promotion to this position”. However, no position in both the Technical Support Bureaus and the Field Operation Unit in the RTP specifies “this position is only for male officers”. Only the work experience in that area, such as investigation or patrol, is required to gain promotion. This requirement may have contributed to Police Lieutenant Colonel Chamaiporn’s misunderstanding about this point; as mentioned earlier female officers are not allowed to work in crime prevention and therefore they cannot gain promotion in the crime prevention area. Female officers are only allowed to work in an administration area.

Males’ attitudes towards female officers are the sixth barrier. Most supervisors are men and their attitude affected the consideration of promotion. Based on sexist assumptions, supervisors often believed that female officers were not suitable for managerial or supervisory positions. For example, Police Lieutenant Colonel Chamaiporn reported that male supervisors always believed that female officers were not appropriate as supervisors or in rural areas because female officers were emotional and had to look after their family after working hours. Therefore, male supervisors tended to promote male officers to be supervisors. Moreover, positions in rural areas usually go to male officers even when it is administrative work. Participant P16 relayed her experience of one male supervisor who had a negative attitude toward female police officers and had said in a meeting to consider promotions that “I do not want this woman to gain promotion because she was talkative and I would feel uncomfortable working with her”.

Police Colonel Aorawan also stated that male attitudes are a major barrier for gaining promotion. She said that

> if male and female police officers have the same knowledge and ability to gain promotion to work at senior levels such as working at Deputy Commander, male supervisors will decide to support male police officers to gain promotion rather than female because male supervisors feel more comfortable working with male police officers.

In addition, even though most female police officers worked in female-dominated bureaus, they still believed that males' attitudes were a major barrier for them to gain promotion. For example, participant P24 reported that

> when I worked in the RTP, gaining promotion depended on supervisors who were male. They considered male officers rather than female officers. Therefore, it was very hard for female police officers to gain promotion to work at senior levels particularly to attain position at Deputy Commander and above. That was why I had worked at Superintendent level for 15 years.

Similarly, participant P15 also reported that to gain promotion to work at Superintendent level was very hard for her even though she worked in the administrative bureau because male police officers were always the first person to be considered for promotion by male supervisors.

Supensri reported that male attitudes toward female police officers meant that female officers had less chance to gain promotion. In the RTP, most supervisors were men and they had the power to decide which job should be assigned to female officers. With respect to any work that seemed to be dangerous, such as patrol work, male supervisors would not allow female officers to undertake such tasks. Therefore, most female officers had administrative work experience rather than police work. This point also led to the criteria of the position barrier that became one obstacle that meant female officers

could not gain promotion. Supensri also stated that male officers still had strong beliefs that leadership positions should belong to men. That is the reason why supervisors tended to support and promote male officers to work at senior levels rather than female officers.

However, participant P9 had different ideas about male attitudes towards female police officers. She reported that male supervisors believed that male police officers who work in the Field Operation Unit are more important than police officers who work in the Technical Support Units and therefore they should be considered for promotion before police officers who work in the Technical Support Units. Participant P9 stated that

> when considering promotions, male supervisors preferred to support police officers who worked in the Field Operation Unit that most of the officers were men. Male supervisors also support men to move to other bureaus to gain promotion especially in the bureaus that are seen as doing 'feminine work'. Therefore, female police officers could not gain promotion to work at senior levels.

Additionally, participants had been asked whether having a male supervisor affected their chance to gain promotion. Fifty-nine of the participants reported that having a male supervisor did not have any effect on their promotion. There were two reasons why male supervisors did not have any effect on gain promotion. The first reason was female officers worked very well in administration when compared with male officers, especially in the EDB that the main duty for this bureau was the administrative work. For example, participant P20 stated that in the EDB, most officers were women who worked better than men in administration. When considering promotion, supervisors will look at their work performance instead of connections. Therefore, male supervisors did not have any effect on her ability to gain promotion. The second reason was that when female officers met all the requirements, they then gained promotion especially in

the PGH and the RPCA. For instance, Participant P13 stated that female officers had to prepare themselves to meet the requirements then they could gain promotion. Thus, having a male supervisor did not have any effect on opportunities to gain promotion.

However, forty-one percent of participants reported that male supervisors did affect their ability to gain promotion, especially in the PPR where most officers were men. In the PPR, five out of six participants strongly stated that male supervisors had some effect on their ability to gain promotion because male supervisors often talked to and male officers and understood them well as opposed to female officers. Therefore, male supervisors tended to support male officers for promotion rather than female officers. For example, Police Lieutenant Colonel Suree and participant P4 reported that male supervisors had good relationships with male officers. When supervisors and officers were men, they found it easy to communicate and helped each other.

The seventh barrier was that the structure of promotion was changed too often. Although some groups of participants stated that the changing of promotional regulations made it easier to gain promotion, the other group of participants felt that changing too often made it very hard to follow. Police officers also had to do more work to fulfill the required qualification such as preparing more academic reports in specialized areas. For example, participant P7 reported that because the promotional regulation was changed every year, it was time consuming and ultimately exhausting to prepare for promotion year after year.

Family is the eighth reason. Women in Thai society have to take responsibility to look after their family and their parents. Female police officers then had to go back to their

home to look after their family while male officers often go out with supervisors after working hours. Some female officers also gave priority to their family rather than their work. Therefore, some officers could not focus too much on any potential promotion. For instance, participant P10 and P16 reported that “women give priority to their family and their children first, working comes second, while men give priority to their work”. Similarly, Police Lieutenant Colonel Chamaiporn Yuwanon said that “female police officers who get married are responsible for their family. They have to take and pick up their children from school. Therefore, they could not pay attention to police work all the time like male police officers”. Participants P16 and P17 also reported that family was one of their obstacles to gaining promotion because they had to look after their family and their children after working hours. Participant P 17 further stated that “as I had to look after family, I decided to work in the bureaus where police officers did not have to work after hours and there was no requirement to work in rural areas”.

Supensri and one senior representative who work in the OWF also stated that family is one obstacle for women to gaining promotion to senior level. Supensri stated that

> women have to leave from office at 4 or 5 o’clock in the evening while men still work at the office and may go for drinks and have dinner with their colleague and their supervisors. Women also have less chance to improve their skills when compared with men because women do not want to go to other provinces to learn new skills for 3 or 4 days as they have to take responsibility for looking after their family and their children. Therefore, most women who are successful in gaining promotion at senior levels are single.

One senior representative who works in the OWF also said that

> women have to take responsibility for their family and their children. They decide to give priority to their family first and work second. Therefore, women choose their family instead of being successful in their working career. For example, if there is a meeting in another province or rural area, women decided not to join this meeting because they have to

> leave their family and nobody can look after their children while they are away. Therefore, this situation means women have less chance of success in their career.

However, participant P8 reported that she decided to give priority to her work rather than her family. She was successful in her work and currently has the rank of Police Major General. Nevertheless, she regretted that she decided to choose her work rather than her family. Participant P8 stated that

> I think differently from other people. When I started out as a female police officer, I decided to give priority to my work while other female officers gave priority to their families and being a good mother. For me, I have gone so far with this decision. If I had a chance to change this, I may decide to give priority to my family.

This point may reflect an idea of the role of women in Thai society that woman is the primary person who looks after their family and their children.

The ninth barrier was changing supervisors before promotion. Supervisors were changed every year. When new supervisors came to work at bureaus, supervisors often preferred to work with male officers rather than female officers. Therefore, female officers may lose their chance to demonstrate their work ability to new supervisors and lose their chances of promotion. For example, Police Colonel Duangsamorn who worked at the PGH stated that she had submitted her work in order to show that she was specialized in her area. Her work was lost during a change of supervisors. The new supervisor then did not see her work. Finally, she had to redo her work in order to gain promotion.

The tenth barrier was that female officers could not socialize with supervisors after working hours in the same ways as male officers did. This is contrary to the customs of Thai culture. There were two reasons why female officers could not socialize after

hours. The first reason related to gendered aspects of Thai culture. In Thailand, women and men in the workplace should not have very close relationships especially between male supervisors and female workers. Moreover, women who drink alcohol are seen as 'bad women' in Thai culture. For example, Participant P2 reported that female officers did not have the same opportunities as male officers to socialize with supervisors after working hours as they did not want to be seen as bad women. In contrast, male officers often had socialized with supervisors after working hours. They then had very good relationships and gained support from supervisors to gain promotion. The second reason was family. As mentioned before female police officers gave priority to their family rather than working. They then want to spend their time with their family instead of their supervisors after working hours.

Socialization with supervisors after working hours is also connected with patron-client ties barrier. As female police officers lacked the chance to socialize with male supervisors after working hours, this means that female officers also lost the chance to know and meet Thai politicians as most of the time, supervisors are the people who introduce their subordinate police officers to Thai politicians in order to gain support from Thai politicians and ultimately to gain promotion.

The eleventh barrier was the amount of time as police officers that was required to be qualified to gain promotion to work at senior level. As mentioned earlier in Chapter Three, one major qualification required to gain promotion was the amount of time that police officers had worked in the RTP. The amount of time varied at each position. At this point, female and male officers were different. Most male officers studied at the RPCA and later worked at the RTP. The amount of time working counted since they

studied. Conversely, most female officers graduated from university. The amount of time working started when they started work at the RTP. This meant that male officers had four years more working time in the RTP than female officers. For instance, Participant P23 reported that she could not gain promotion to the rank of Police Major General because the promotional regulations required that police officers have to work in the RTP for at least 23 years to have the rank of Police Major General. Participant P23 further stated she worked at the RTP after she graduated from university. When she started working at the RTP, she was 26 years old. To have 23 years work experience to gain promotion, she would have been 49 years old before being eligible for the rank of Police Major General. In contrast, male officers studied in the RPCA from19 years of age. This meant male officers were eligible for the rank of Police Major General when they were 42 years old. Therefore, male officers were qualified to gain promotion before female officers by at least four years. This factor also meant male officers could gain promotion to work at senior levels faster than female officers.

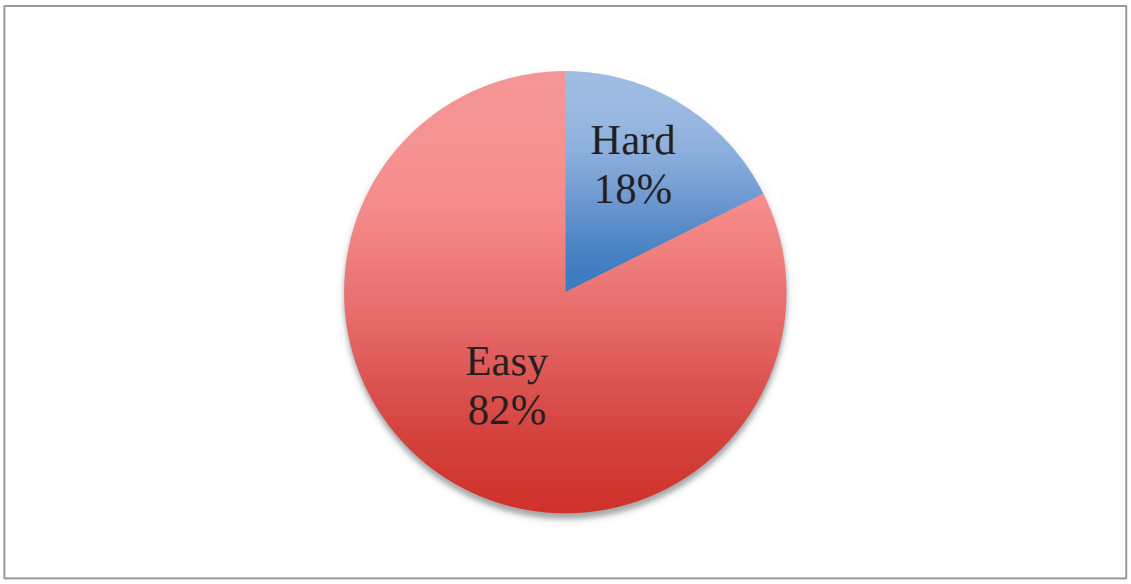
However, as mentioned in Chapter Three, this requirement no longer applies for police officers who work in the PGH because of the lack of specialized officers. According to The Police Commission for Rules and Procedures to appoint and transfer police officers from the rank of Deputy Inspector to Deputy Commissioner General B.C.2554 (The Police Commission, 2011a), many officers decided to resign and go to work for the other organizations for their advancement of their career. The amount of time that police officers are required to work in the RTP is one of many barriers. The RTP also believes that this requirement is a barrier to gain promotion not only for female officers but also male officers. Therefore, the RTP decided to remove this requirement from promotional regulation for police officers who worked in the PGH and started to use it in October

2011 (The Police Commission, 2011a). Nevertheless, as this requirement has just changed, some participants still do not know about this change. For example, Participant P23 who is currently working at the PGH had no idea about this change and she still reported that the amount of time served as a police officer required for promotion was one of the major barriers for her in gaining promotion.

The last barrier is attending promotional school. To gain promotion, the RTP required police officers to go to school to train and gain more knowledge before promotion. Only two percent of participants felt that attending school was an obstacle to gaining promotion. For instance, Participant P24 reported that she did not want to attend promotional school to gain promotion because it was a waste of time as she was a doctor and very busy. She further stated that promotional school often taught participants about working as a manager. However, she did not want to work as a manager or in executive positions. Therefore, she did not feel that attending promotional school would be useful for her.

In addition, all participants were further asked if it is hard or easy to attend the promotional school. Figure 5.6 showed that more than 80 percent of participants reported that it was very easy to attend promotional school. For example, participants who worked in the EDB reported that it was very easy to attend the school because the EDB was the bureau who took responsibility for the promotional school. Therefore, all officers in this bureau will attend the promotional school when they met the requirements. Participants who had worked in the PGH and the PPR stated that attending the school was not hard because when police officers met all the requirements, they could then attend the promotional school.

Figure 5.6: Is it easy or hard to attend the promotional school?



Source: This figure was designed by the author

However, 18 percent of participants reported that attending the promotional school was hard because female officers had to wait longer to attend the school when compared with male officers. For instance, Police Lieutenant Colonel Chamaiporn and participant P3 reported that there was a high level of competition to attend the promotional school. Female officers had less chance to attend the school and had to wait longer when compared with male officers because the supervisor was the person who considered whether they should attend the school in each year. Police Lieutenant Colonel Chamaiporn further stated that normally police officers had to work at Deputy Superintendent level for two years to be qualified to attend the school. However, female officers often had to wait longer than normal. From her experience, female officers had to wait for at least four years before supervisors considered whether they could attend the school.

Interestingly, attending the promotional school is only one criterion for gaining promotion. Attending the promotional school therefore did not mean that police officers would definitely gain promotion. Most female police officers were able to join the promotional school. However, they faced other barriers to gaining promotion. For instance, Police Lieutenant Colonel Pojjanee reported that “even though I attended the promotional school, I still had to wait for several years to gain promotion to work at Commander level because my supervisor promoted male officers rather than me”.

It is worth noting here that even though female officers were working in bureaus that were seen as undertaking feminine work, it was not easy for female officers to gain promotion when compared with other bureaus. Female officers still faced barriers to gaining promotion. For example, Police Lieutenant Colonel Pojjanee and participant P9 reported that supervisors still considered male officers first for promotion. Participant P5 also stated that some male officers moved to work in these bureaus to gain promotion at senior levels as it was easier to compete with female officers.

Additionally, whether having female officers who worked at senior levels as role models or mentors to provide some suggestions about promotion, would be very useful was also asked of the participants. More than 75 percent of participants reported that having some female officers who were successful in gaining promotion to provide some advice would be very helpful for them to prepare themselves for promotion. For instance, 18 participants reported that having a female officer role model would be a very good idea because this officer could provide some advice and give them support to gain promotion. Female police officers often lacked a person who could give advice about promotion. This situation was different from male officers who often had male

supervisors who gave advice and supported them for promotion. Therefore, male officers were supported in their endeavor to gain promotion unlike female officers.

To summarize, policing in Thailand is very interesting as all officers who either work in the administrative work or police work have been called police officers. They wear the same uniform, are promoted under the same regulations and have the same ranking system regardless of bureaus and their main duty. This is different from other countries that use the term police officer to identify officers who do police work and the term civilian officer to identify officers who work in administration. Although the word police officer has been used to identify all officers, female officers who worked in the Technical Support Bureaus and the Operation Unit have had different experiences in the workplace. Female police officers who worked in the Technical Support Bureaus did not experience gender discrimination in the workplace as they had been accepted as police officers in the same way as male officers in the RTP. However, participants who worked in the PPR significantly reported having faced gender discrimination in the RTP especially for promotion. Participants clearly reported that it was very hard to gain promotion in the PPR because there were greater difficulties in competing with male officers to gain promotion when compared with other bureaus.

Moreover, even though female police officers worked in the PPR where most male officers worked and their main duty was crime prevention, female officers were only assigned to work on the administrative work rather than police work. This point then leads to the question, are female officers really accepted in the RTP as police officers as they have not been assigned to work on crime prevention like male officers. Only administrative work and investigation are allowed for female officers regardless of

bureaus. This point will be further discussed in the next chapter. Chapter Six will analyze research findings with a critical analysis of how participants understand what it means to be accepted in the workplace and their experiences of opportunities for and barriers against promotion.

Chapter Six

Research Analysis

The findings presented in the previous chapter confirm that gender discrimination in the workplace still exists within the RTP at the present time. This case confirms that there are only a few women who work in management or senior management levels. This thesis presents the RTP as a case study of a male-dominated occupation that has a strong gender hierarchy in order to show what factors prevent female police officers gaining advancement in their career. As noted in Chapter One, the four theoretical perspectives brought to this analysis are social constructionism, performativity, disciplinary regimes and liberal feminist theory.

First, social constructionism is a theoretical framework based on the premise that women and men are different because of social, cultural and psychological factors rather than nature (Freedman, 1990). This means social and cultural factors shape how women and men should be and should behave in society (Fuss, 1989). Second, performativity is a theoretical concept that seeks to explain the ways people express or perform gender in society. The performing of gender has a variety of behaviors, decisions and styles depending on each society and culture. People are performing their gender through a script that can be changed over time (Butler, 1990). The performing of gender is also influenced by social prescriptions of masculinity and femininity. In this respect, gender is normative and there are consequences for individuals for the ways in which gender is performed (Butler, 1990). These two theoretical frameworks are used to

explain how a prescribed gender role still controls how women and men should behave in Thai society.

Third, the concept of disciplinary regimes as developed by Michel Foucault is based on the argument that people are born to be male and female but they learn through society, how to be masculine and feminine and how the behavior of individuals is regulated in society. Disciplinary regimes explain the way power is exercised through disciplinary practices of the body (Foucault, 1995). The disciplinary practices produce different behavior and appearance and control movement over the body (Bartky, 2010). This concept is used to clarify how gesture and behavior of individuals are controlled in society. There are also different behaviors and movement of the body in each culture. This is especially applicable in Thai culture where the female body is restricted.

Fourth, liberal feminist theory is based on the assumption that men and women share a common humanity and therefore everyone should have the same rights in society. A liberal feminist agenda supports equal opportunities and rights for women and men in society by reforming the system through legislation (Holmes, 2007). Liberal feminism aims to free women from oppression of gender roles that treat women as lower than men in society. It is further argued that historical patterns of male domination have influenced gender roles in society (Tong, 2009). Gender roles have been based on socially constructed ideas about male and female characteristics which, in turn, are used to provide a rationale for gender roles within the workplace (Tong, 2009). This theory is used in this chapter to convey understanding of the situation that female police officers want to have equal opportunities same as male officers to perform police tasks.

There are four sections in this chapter. The first section analyzes meanings of the term ‘acceptance’ in the workplace by using the RTP as a case study. This section explores whether women have been accepted in this example of a traditional male workplace and what the expectations are of those women and what roles they need to play to be accepted. The second section examines the opportunities for promotion to senior levels. This section explains why the CEDAW is an important Convention that has helped to improve the status of female police officers in the RTP through the changes in the police regulations. The third section clarifies barriers against promotion to senior levels that women experience in policing. There are two major barriers, organizational and cultural, that block female police officers from advancing in their careers. The last section is the conclusion. This part discusses what have been analyzed in this chapter.

Acceptance in the workplace

In the case study, most (85 percent) female police officers reported that they had been ‘accepted’ in the workplace. All participants who reported this worked in the Technical Support Unit which is the PGH, EDB and RPCA. In contrast, the other 15 percent of participants reported that they had not been accepted in the workplace. Most of these participants worked in the Field Operation Unit like the PPR. The contradictory basis of what constitutes acceptance in the workplace is the focus of this section which is divided into four parts. The first and second parts focus on Technical Support Unit and Field Operation Unit. These parts explain how female police officers in each unit understand the term ‘acceptance in the workplace’ and why most of them reported that they have been or have not been accepted in the workplace. The third part is an analysis showing that female police officers have actually not been accepted in the workplace.

The last part analyzes strategies used by female police officers to be accepted in the workplace.

Technical Support Unit

As discussed in Chapter Three, in the RTP, there are two different types of work: technical support and field operation duties. In the Technical Support Unit, most officers are women and their main duties are administrative jobs such as managing documents and filing papers. Therefore, these female police officers do not need to have the same physical strength as male officers who work in the Field Operation Unit.

This situation is quite different from what has been found in the comparative policing literature. Most researchers in this field undertook research on female police officers in western countries where it is held that female and male officers are equal and should be assigned to do the same jobs regardless of their sex (S. E. Martin, 1979, 1980, 1990; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Natarajan, 2008). Non-sworn officers do administrative jobs and sworn officers perform traditional front line police tasks in western countries whilst in the current case study sworn female police officers have the choice to perform either in the Technical Support Unit or the Field Operation Unit in Thailand. The idea of a policing unit like the 'Technical Support Unit' in Thailand that uses sworn police officers does not even exist in western police forces. It is therefore difficult to suggest that these countries even have the same understanding of what it is to be a police officer as in Thailand a police officer may never undertake frontline policing duties.

In Thailand, female police officers who choose to work in the Technical Support Unit have therefore been 'accepted in the workplace' as administrative jobs have

traditionally been seen as a woman's job. According to the literature, the term deprofessionalized police*women* could suitably be used to refer to those female police officers who choose to work in the Technical Support Unit. Traditionally, these female officers wanted to work in the department that has been seen as 'suitable' for women. They did not want to perform every policing task that may be asked of male officers. It can also be said that these female officers are 'doing gender' as they consider women to be essentially different from men and they do not want to perform the same tasks as male police officers. In this research, many female police officers interviewed in the current study believed that, because they are women, they should be assigned to do tasks that are not arduous or reliant on physical strength like male officers, or in fact that they should have some exceptions made for them. For instance, participant P11 reported that she is very happy to work in the EDB as their main duties are administrative tasks that have been seen as suitable for women.

The concept of acceptance in the workplace among these female police officers is therefore based on the fact that sex segregation still exists in Thai society. A perception in society that men and women have different skills and characteristics suited to different occupations (Wellington, Kropf, & Gerkovich, 2003). Because of this perception, administrative work then has been seen as suitable for women rather than men – this work is, therefore, still strongly gendered in Thai society as it is seen as appropriate for women but not for men.

These stereotypes of women's roles and abilities lead to the related point that female and male police officers in Thailand are assigned to different tasks. As noted, most female police officers work under the Technical Support Unit where most male police

officers do not want to work (because the major task in the Technical Support Unit is administrative work). For example, Police Lieutenant Colonel Chamaiporn said that "male police officers believed that female officers can work only for typewriter". Therefore, from some of the participants' points of view, male officers believe that they (men) are best suited to perform traditional front line police tasks and that they themselves are not suited to work in the administration side of the police force.

Based on theories of social constructionism, Butler's arguments about performativity provide a useful explanatory framework for the disjuncture between reported acceptance of female police officers in the RTP and on-going practices of gender discrimination. The majority of female police officers conform to their prescribed gender roles by performing behaviours and characteristics ascribed to women which are suited to particular occupational tasks. Most participants (82 percent) decided to work in the Technical Support Unit that is suited to their gender roles rather than the Field Operation Unit that is suited to men. In other words, female police officers choose to perform their gender roles through the 'script' that has been written by Thai society that lays out societal norms about which job is suited to their gender. Gendered social and cultural norms determine which jobs are suited for men and which jobs are suited for women. These female police officers simply follow the rules of society by 'choosing' the job that is suited to their gender though this notion of 'choice' is more restrictive than they themselves may be aware.

Adherence to dominant gender norms underlies why 85 percent of participants reported that they have been accepted in the workplace. For these women, 'acceptance in the workplace' signified never having been bullied by their colleagues and being allowed

opportunities for participation in extra projects by their supervisors. This understanding of what constitutes ‘acceptance’ means that these officers believe that female police officers should be treated and given the same opportunities as male officers to join in extra projects. If any female police officers have never been assigned to participate in extra projects, or if they have been assigned to do less work by male supervisors, then this means that these officers have not been accepted in the workplace. Adherence to gender norms means that these female officers have learnt through organizational culture and through the development of their own understanding that this potentially narrow type of gendered action embodies what ‘acceptance in the workplace’ means for them.

However, Police Lieutenant Colonel Pojjanee Suntarakej who worked in the position of Commissioner of the PGH reported that she was not accepted in the workplace as there was an unequal treatment between male and female police officers because of their gender. At that time female and male police officers had not even had the same ranking when they commenced their career. Based on theories of performativity, Butler argued that social and cultural constructs shape opportunities available to individuals. In this case, the RTP treated women and men unequally by giving them different ranks. For Police Lieutenant Colonel Pojjanee, her gender is performed in a subordinate role in the workplace. Therefore, her view is that the gender norm is that female police officers are not accepted in the workplace because women recruits enter the police force at a lower rank than male recruits do. Although the ranking system was later changed to ensure that men and women start at the same level, Police Lieutenant Colonel Pojjanee still believes that female officers have not been accepted as equals in the workplace. The

next section explains how participants who work in the Field Operation Unit reported on acceptance in the workplace.

Field Operation Unit

In the Field Operation Unit, the majority of officers are men and only a few women work in this unit. There are two types of tasks: administrative tasks such as managing documents and filing papers, and front line police tasks such as patrolling and apprehending criminals. All women are only assigned to work in administrative tasks, and are not allowed to perform front line police tasks. Because male and female police officers are assigned to perform different tasks, five participants reported that they have not been accepted in the workplace.

These five participants define the term 'acceptance in the workplace' as a situation whereby male and female have been assigned to perform the same tasks and have the same responsibilities. This definition is in line with a liberal feminist understanding of 'acceptance in the workplace place'. A liberal feminist definition of being accepted in the workplace means both male and female police officers should be assigned to perform the same tasks without regard to sex.

From a liberal feminist perspective, these five participants are defeminized *police*women. They want to be accepted as police officers and to be assigned to perform the same tasks as male officers. They also want to be accepted by male supervisors and their colleagues because they can perform all police tasks as well as male officers. These participants are also 'undoing gender' because they resist discriminatory treatment in the RTP because of gender. Morash and Haarr (2012) further stated that

female police officers who are categorized as defeminized *police*women are doing masculinity and conformity to a male police subculture. For instance, these female officers do not want to be protected by male colleagues in volatile situations. Therefore, when these participants were not assigned to perform police tasks, they strongly believed that they had not been accepted in the workplace.

An understanding of acceptance in the workplace based on the liberal feminist perspective is similar to the understanding of acceptance in the workplace found in the literature review. Martin (1990) stated that female police officers have not been accepted to perform police tasks, especially patrolling. She further argued that traditional and modern male officers believe that female police officers should only work in administration and women's work such as dealing with juveniles. According to the female participants, male police officers agreed that for female police officers work opportunities should be restricted to working only in administration in the RTP.

In the RTP, female police officers who work in the Field Operation Unit have not been assigned to perform police tasks such as patrolling and apprehending criminals. This is despite the statement in the Constitution of the Thai Kingdom B.E. 2550 ("Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E.2550," 2007, p. 12), section 30 that states that "men and women shall enjoy equal rights". This means that women and men should be treated equally in the workplace. Moreover, the RTP has never had any regulations that indicate that female police officers are not allowed to perform police tasks. However, male supervisors are the persons who do not assign female officers to perform police tasks and only assign them to perform administrative tasks. This means that male supervisors' thinking is still based on cultural norms for gender rather than on notions of equity in

the workforce. This impacts on the type of work they see as the most suitable for each gender. Because of this, five participants who work in the PPR feel that they have not been accepted in the workplace. They have officially been employed to undertake certain tasks, but have never in fact been permitted to do these tasks.

Theories of performativity are also useful in understanding the six participants who chose to perform their gender roles different from the script given to them. These six participants chose to work in the PPR despite the fact that it has been seen as suitable for men rather than women. There are two reasons why they chose to perform their gender roles in a different way. Firstly, these participants consciously wanted to work in police tasks that have been seen as 'real police work' such as patrolling and crime fighting and that is why they chose to work in the Field Operation Unit. In doing so, they made a conscious decision not to follow social and cultural constructions of policing as a man's job that is not suitable for women. Within this analytic framework, these participants not being accepted in the workplace could be understood as punishment because they chose to do work that is not considered suitable for their gender.

The second reason these participants chose to perform their gender roles differently by choosing to work in the Field Operation Unit is because they wanted to live with their families who live in rural areas. As noted in Chapter One, according to Buddhist religion, daughters have to look after and take care of their elderly parents. To be good daughter is a prescribed role in Thai society. These women then decided to follow this prescribed role by working in the PPR in order to live and work in a rural area to look after their family. However, if seeing this situation based on performativity perspective,

these six female police officers are not following their prescribed gender roles that which type of work should be the most suitable for female. This means that these participants chose to follow their prescribed roles to be good daughter, but decided not to follow prescribed gender roles on type of work that have been seen as suitable for women by choosing to work in occupational tasks that are suited for them. This means that female police officers still feel constrained by prescribed gender roles - to be a good daughter - and that plays an important role in their decision making on their type of work. The next section will explain why female police officers have not been accepted in the workplace.

Acceptance: Reality versus perception

Female police officers who worked in the Technical Support Unit reported that they have been accepted in the workplace because the environment in this workplace makes them feel they are accepted in the RTP as most of officers who work in this unit are women and everyone has been treated equally in their eyes. However, in the Technical Support Unit, their main duty is administrative tasks. Both women and men then perform similar administrative tasks and there are not any police officers performing different types of tasks in this unit. Therefore, female police officers in this unit believe that they have been accepted in the workplace because everyone performs the same tasks. For example, Participant 20 reported that both male and female police officers who work in the Technical Support Unit have been treated equally. She feels all officers definitely have been accepted in the workplace because every officer is assigned to do administrative tasks and promotion is based on their work performance. However, it seems, unlike in Field Operation Unit, these female officers did not *know* that they were

being treated differently from their male colleagues as this unit only has a few male officers.

This point supports the notion that these female police officers have not been accepted in the workplace. As mentioned earlier these female police officers have gender norms that govern their understanding that ‘acceptance in the workplace’ means they have opportunities to join extra projects. Most participants who worked in the Technical Support Unit feel that male and female officers have the same opportunities to join extra project because the Technical Support Unit is a female-dominated workplace. However, there is clear evidence to show that even though male and female police officers have the same chance to join extra projects, male police officers still have higher chance to gain promotion to senior levels. For instance, participant P9 reported that male supervisors still supported male officers for promotion even though she feels that she has the same opportunities as these men to undertake extra projects in the Technical Support unit. The next section explains strategies that female police officers have used to try to be accepted in the workplace.

Strategies used by female police officers to be accepted in the workplace

To be ‘accepted in the workplace’ by male colleague and male supervisors in all units, female police officers employed two major strategies. The first strategy is that female officers worked very hard to show male officers that they were able to perform their work as well as men. Many researchers found that women have to work harder to be accepted in the male-dominated workplace (Gruber & Morgan, 2005; Horne, 1980; Mossman, Mayhew, Rowe et al., 2008). Bagilhole (2002) further argued that female officers had to spend a period of time to show their work ability because male officers

will only accept female police officers when they have seen that these female police officers have the same ability to work at the same standard as them. This idea is also confirmed by participants in this research. There are five participants who reported that they have to work harder than men to be accepted. This situation draws attention to the normative aspects of performativity. In the RTP, there is gender norm that exists about being accepted in the workplace. If female police officers want to be accepted in the workplace, they have to recast themselves as not bound by gender to make male supervisors and their colleagues accept them.

The second strategy employed by female police officers to be accepted in the workplace and to advance their career is to act like men. Many researchers also found that women will not be accepted in the male-dominated workplace until they act or behave like men (Bagilhole, 2002; Bradley & Healy, 2008; Maddock, 1999; Spencer & Podmore, 1986). Fagenson and Jacson (1993, as cited in Billing & Alvesson, 2000, p. 146) also argued that "the more 'masculine' characteristics possessed by women, the more likely the women are to be perceived as successful managers and located in powerful corporate positions". This means that female police officers who act or behave like men tend to be accepted in the workplace and have higher chances of gaining promotion to senior levels when compared to female police officers who act or behave in a way that is too feminine.

Moreover, Deutsch (2007, p. 115) argued that when female work in male-dominated occupations, "they are constrained to perform that job according to gendered norms, which then reproduces gender within that job". This means that to be accepted as female police officers, women have to act like men because the positions they occupy require

masculine behaviour. In the current research, seven participants in all four bureaus reported that if female police officers act or behave like men through behaviour such as using a strong voice to talk, they will be accepted in the workplace more than female officers who act and behave in a feminine manner. When analysed from a performativity framework, female police officers have been forced indirectly from organizational constraints to perform their gender in a masculine style to be accepted in the workplace. Normative gender for male police officers requires them to be strong and not emotional. It therefore follows that female officers who work in policing should perform their gender in a masculine style to show that they are strong like men and not emotional like other women. Butler (1990) argued that gender performance depends on the performances of others towards us. This means that if female officers want to be accepted by male officers, they have to adjust their performance of gender to conform to what is deemed to be an appropriate masculine style. To be considered as appropriate in masculine style, Bagilhole stated that female police officers should work hard to show that they have male characteristics while at other times when not working, female police officers should show that they still have femininity (Bagilhole, 2002).

Opportunities to gain promotion to senior levels

There are two key points that provide opportunities for female police officers to gain promotion to senior levels. The first point is adoption of article seven of CEDAW. This section explains that after Thailand declared support for article seven of CEDAW, there were many changes in the RTP that lead to opportunities to gain promotion. The second point is having the Technical Support Unit in the RTP. There is an argument that female police officers have more chance to gain promotion to senior levels now that they have

the Technical Support Unit as male officers do not want to work in the Technical Support Unit because this unit has not been seen as ‘real police work’.

The first key point is the adoption of article seven of CEDAW. In 1995, Thailand declared support for article seven of CEDAW, which indicates that countries should ensure that women have equal rights to work at all public levels (The Division for the Advancement of Women, 2010). This means that in Thailand, women should have equal rights to men to work at all levels of government including senior levels. Even though Thailand has to follow article seven of CEDAW, most participants have not seen any changes at this time, only 11 participants have seen some changes. Changing the structure in the RTP may require a long time to process and some rules may need to change to support or give more opportunities for women to gain promotion and work at senior levels. This point is supported by five participants who reported that they did not see any changes immediately that gave more chances to women to gain promotion to work at senior levels, but 10 or 15 years later they started to see some changes in the RTP that gave more chances to women to gain promotion. Changes in the RTP are also in line with the liberal feminist perspective that women should have the same chances to gain promotion as male officers through the changes in police regulations that were required by CEDAW.

There are more positions available at senior levels and more women work at senior levels than there were 20 years ago. In the PGH, there have been some changes to promotion regulations. These changes make promotion easier for both male and female and provide more chances for female police officers to work at senior levels. A good example is Police Lieutenant Colonel Pojjanee Suntarakej who worked at the position

of the Commissioner of the PGH in 2005. This is the highest position that had been achieved by female police officers in the history of the RTP. She is also the first female police officer to have the rank of Police Lieutenant Colonel. Moreover, in 2012, four out of 18 available positions at the rank of Police Major General in the PGH had been held by female police officers the highest number of senior positions held by women in the RTP. Similarly, participant P18 reported that in 2012, this was the first time that a female police officer who performed her job as a nurse had a rank of Police Major General.

Supensri stated that since Thailand ratified CEDAW, women have been more accepted in the workplace. She also stated that

> In Thailand, there is the National Human Rights Commission Act B.E. 2542 (1999). This Act indicates that companies should consider having the same proportion of women and men who work in their company. Only some occupations can specify that this position is only for a man or a woman. For occupations that cannot specify gender, women and men have to compete. Not only is it in policing that women and men have to perform their work depending on their gender roles, all ministries do that too. Gender roles play an important role in Thai society. Managers are always men. Policing and being a soldiers is a 'man's job'. However, there have been some changes in the past 10 years since Thailand ratified the CEDAW. There have also been some changes in regulations to recruit more women and women have been 'accepted' in the workplace.

This point illustrates how CEDAW became one of the most important laws that led the RTP to change some rules and structures to give female police officers the same chances of promotion and work at senior levels that their male counterparts have.

The second key point is having the Technical Support Unit in the RTP does provide female police officers with more chances to gain promotion. As noted in Chapter Five sworn female police officers who work in the Technical Support Unit did not perceive

any difficulty in gaining promotion and felt confident that they would have the same chance for success in their career as their male officers. To gain promotion in this unit, including to a senior level, supervisors make considerations based on work performance. Using theories of performativity, these female police officers decided to follow gender roles in society by working in the Technical Support Unit that had been seen as having suitable duties for women. In many cases, supervisors have to decide between female candidates for promotion because most officers in this unit are women. Supervisors, therefore, consider promotion based on their work performance rather than gender. Even though a few men who worked in the Technical Support Unit gained promotion faster, female police officers in that unit still believed that they have equal opportunity to gain promotion because they see that there are some female officers who are able to gain promotion each year.

As the major tasks in the Technical Support Unit are administrative, female police officers who work in this unit face fewer barriers to gaining promotion when compared to the Field Operation Unit. Significantly, participants reported that the Technical Support Unit only has a few men working there because male police officers do not like to perform administrative tasks but prefer to work in the Field Operation Unit that has been seen as ‘real police work’. Therefore, male police officers work in this unit for a short time and then move to the Field Operation Unit. Some male police officers do not want to move to the Technical Support Unit because there are too many women working there. A good example is participant P17 who reported that “in the RPCA, if any police cadets have the lowest score point from the examination, they have to come to work at the PGH where no male police officers want to work”. This point confirms that male police officers do not want to work in the Technical Support Unit which

makes it more likely the female police officers who work in this unit will have a higher chance of gaining promotion when compared with other units.

However, some participants reported that although they worked on administrative tasks (seen as women's work), it was still hard for them to gain promotion. While this is undoubtedly the experience of some women, if we analyze the number of female police officers who worked at senior level on promotional lists from 2010 to 2013, it can clearly be seen that female police officers who work in the Technical Support Unit have more chance to gain promotion when compared to female police officers who work in the Field Operation Unit (Thaipolice Plus Newspaper, 2014a, 2014b). For instance, in the EDB, these documents confirm that there are no female officers who met the criteria who have not been able to achieve promotion to senior levels.

Globally, it is unusual to have sworn police officers perform administrative tasks. In Thailand, however, sworn police officers have to work in the Technical Support Unit by performing administrative tasks. This unit is preferred by female police officers in the RTP because there is less gender discrimination and this workplace has been seen as suitable for women. Participants who work in this unit did not feel any gender discrimination. This unit provides good opportunities for female police officers which leads them to believe that they have been treated equally and have the same opportunity to gain promotion in the male-dominated workplace as male officers. Therefore, the RTP can 'use' this unit to claim that the RTP has high number of female police officers and support male and female police officers have the same chance to gain promotion to work in senior levels.

However, female police officers who work in the Technical Support Unit in the RTP may not have the same status as police officer from other countries as these officers have never been trained to and have performed the same police tasks as female police officers in other countries. For example, if the UN asked the RTP to send female police officers to work in UNPOL or the Female Formed Police Unit (FPU), the RTP could not send any female police officers to these units as female police officers in the RTP have never performed any frontline or executive police tasks (such as patrolling and arrest).

Barriers against promotion to senior levels

There are two major types of barriers that block women from gaining promotion to work at senior levels: organizational and cultural barriers. This section will be divided into two parts. The first section identifies organizational barriers which are lack of field experience, lack of opportunity to show their work and external appointments made. The second section discusses cultural barriers: the cultural subordination of women, male attitudes towards female police officers, and family.

Organizational barriers

The three main organizational barriers that block female police officers from advancing in their careers are lack of field experience, lack of opportunities to demonstrate their capability and external appointments. Each of these will be discussed in this section.

1) Lack of field experience

To gain promotion to work at senior levels in the PPR, field experience is required. This is a general requirement to gain promotion to work at senior levels. If police officers did

not have field experience, they could only gain promotion in the General Staff Division (where administrative tasks are the main duties). On the contrary, if police officers had field experience, they could gain promotion in any division including the General Staff Division. Therefore, male police officers who had field experience had more chance than female officers to gain promotion to work at senior levels. Martin (1990) also argued that, internationally to gain promotion, female police officers have to perform police tasks such as patrolling and this is one important requirement to be considered for advancement in a career. Bagilhole (2002) further stated that internationally supervisors often assign female police officers to perform administrative tasks rather than police tasks. Therefore, female officers cannot gain promotion to work at senior levels because of lack of field experience. This point is also similar to what has been found in much of the literature, that is because of a lack of field experience, female police officers do not then meet all the requirements for gaining promotion to senior levels (Balkin, 1988; Brown & Campbell, 1991; Jones, 1986; S. E. Martin, 2005; Metcalfe & Dick, 2007). Although there are female police officers who work in the PPR, they are only assigned to perform police tasks, at lower levels and they therefore could not meet all the criteria that required field work experience at a higher level. For instance, Police Lieutenant Colonel Chamaiporn reported that "for women, the highest police position that allows female police officers to perform police tasks is Inspector, after that supervisors assign them to do administrative work".

The assignment of administrative work to female police officers is evidence of disciplinary regimes and normative constructions of femininity at work. Based on the disciplinary regimes, a woman's body is expected to be very slim when compared to man's body. This provides an image for peoples understanding that women are weak

while men are strong. At the same time, Thai media also provides images and ideas of women as weak to society and that man has to protect woman. These images and ideas have contributed to the decisions of male supervisors in assigning female officers administrative tasks and male officers police tasks as police tasks require physical strength. Female police officers, therefore, have not been able to gain promotion because they lack field experience.

In addition, as male supervisors only assign male police officers to perform police tasks, female police officers then lose any chance to meet politicians. This is an additional patron client tie barrier. As noted previously, to gain promotion in the RTP, when you meet all requirements to gain promotion, police officers also have to have strong support from either supervisors or politicians in order to gain promotion. In Thailand, politicians play an important role in supporting officers for promotion to senior levels as the RTP works under the office of the Prime Minister. Therefore, for example, the Deputy Prime Minister who takes responsibility for the Interior has the power to support police officers for promotion to senior levels. When female police officers do not have the same chance as male officers to become acquainted with politicians, they then do not have any person to support them for promotion. A good example is the case of Police Lieutenant Colonel Pojjanee Suntarakej. She was the first female police officer to have a rank of Police Major General because she had support from the Thai politician, Sanoh Thienthong, who was Minister of Interior at that time.

Moreover, family may be able to support female police officers to become acquainted with politicians, for instance if their father or grandfather were senior police officers and have very good relationship with politicians. However, there are only a few female

police officers who have family members as police officer. Therefore, supervisors are the most likely person to introduce female officers to politicians to gain promotion.

2) Limited chances to show their work ability

When supervisors do not know whether or not female police officers have the ability to work at the same standard as men, they do not then support female police officers for promotion, especially promotion at senior levels. As discussed earlier, internationally most supervisors will only accept female police officers who showed that their work was excellent and that they could work as well as male officers. However, in this case study, supervisors often asked male officers to take responsibility for most of the work, except administrative work. According to social constructionism theory, stereotypes about women's roles and abilities also evolve because there is a perception in society that men and women have different skills and characteristics that are suited to different occupations and roles in society (Dupré, 1990; Wellington, Kropf, & Gerkovich, 2003). Underlying this was supervisors adherence to gender norms of appropriate male and female tasks. Similarly, when new supervisors move from other sections or bureaus they often assign work to male officers rather than female officers. This perpetuates the cycle of female officers not being given the opportunity to demonstrate their work abilities to supervisors.

3) External appointments

Male supervisors often promoted male police officers from other units or bureaus to work at managerial or senior positions in the Technical Support Unit or in the administrative task of the Field Operation Unit. The reason that an external appointment

was made was because male supervisors still believe that managerial or senior positions belong to males rather than females.

There are also gender norms in the RTP that dictate that senior positions should belong to men as they can make clear and sharp decisions compared to women. Based on social constructionism theory, male supervisors' gender norms create their understanding that female police officers are not suited to be managers or work in senior positions. They therefore support men rather than women for promotion. At the same time, female police officers also accept these gender norms that dictate that they have to work at lower levels and it is very hard for them to work at senior levels. Many studies also found that most female police officers worked at the lower level and perform administration duties rather than work at senior levels (Adams & Australasian Centre for Policing Research, 2001; Belknap, 2007; Boni, Circelli, & Australasian Centre for Policing Research, 2002; Horne, 1980; C. Martin, 1996; S. E. Martin, 2005; S. E. Martin & Jurik, 2007; Mossman, Mayhew, Rowe et al., 2008).

In the female-dominated areas like the Technical Support Unit, male supervisors also prefer to support male officers rather than female officers because they (men) believe that manager or senior positions belong to men not women. Ridgeway and Correll (2004) further argued that there is a perception of superior male competence that creates biases in the workplace that disadvantages females even when they work in feminized areas. A good example to confirm that male supervisors prefer to support men for promotion to senior levels is in the Technical Support Unit. This unit has the most female employees and has been seen as a woman's unit however, the Commissioner position and, the Deputy Commissioner of the EDB and the RPCA are men. This

situation clearly shows that women are systematically overlooked when considering promotion in the RTP, especially in the Technical Support Unit where field experience is not even required.

Furthermore, there is a perception in Thai society that women are not suitable for leadership roles. Male supervisors also have this perception and believe that women should not gain promotion to work at managerial or executive positions. In order to support male police officers for promotion, several participants reported that male supervisors tended to use the word ‘appropriate’ as a good reason for them to support men and for blocking female police officers from gaining promotion. Male supervisors did not consider promotion based on work performance nor did they look through position descriptions. Rather, they just wanted to support male officers for promotion and provided the excuse to female police officers that “she is not appropriate to gain promotion”. This is a very effective strategy for refusing female police officers for promotion as they do not know what actions or behaviors are considered as appropriate. Therefore, it is very hard for female police officers to argue with male supervisors that they are appropriate for promotion. For instance, Participant P17 reported that supervisors often stated that this person was ‘appropriate’ to this higher position in order to promote younger male officers instead of senior female officers. Participant P6 also stated that her supervisor said that “she is not appropriate to gain promotion to work at senior levels”. Therefore, the police force, which has been seen as a man’s job, has a culture of choosing men for leadership roles rather than women, which is in turn reflected in the statistics which show that few women gain promotion to senior levels.

Cultural barriers

There are three cultural barriers that block female police officers from gaining promotion to senior levels: the cultural subordination of women, male attitudes towards female police officers, and family. Each of these will be discussed in this section.

1) The cultural subordination of women

In the RTP, female police officers tended to report that they did not feel there was gender discrimination in the workplace. Yet Thailand has been described as a patriarchal society (Pongsapich, 1997; Tannenbaum, 1999) that has distinct gender differences and roles in society. Within patriarchal societies, men are dominant while women are subordinate (Lorber, 1994). Social and cultural factors construct gender roles in Thailand by giving leader or more senior positions to men and subordinate positions to women.

It is therefore possible that female police officers have simply accepted the prevailing social and cultural constraints that suggest that they are subordinate in society. As discussed in Chapter One, Buddhism teaches the idea of 'hierarchical order' that supports men for the superordinate while supporting women for subordinate roles in society (Esterik, 2000; Tannenbaum, 1999). Women therefore do not feel discriminated against when they have to wait longer to gain promotion to work at senior levels when compared with men because women have been taught to be subordinate in society. Most female police officers accept these social and cultural constraints. Therefore, it is not surprising that in this research, most participants reported that they did not feel gender discrimination was a factor preventing their promotion as they believe that police is a

man's job and female police officers have to wait until they have worked in a position for many years (at least 10 years), before they are therefore able to gain promotion. For example, participant P9 reported that she did not feel any discrimination when male officers gained promotion before her even though they had the same qualifications. She said that, as she is a woman, she can wait to gain promotion later and let men gain promotion before her.

Furthermore, women are subordinate in the workplace because of gender. Acker (2006, p. 180) argued that

> the answers to questions about how women's subordination or secondary status in working life is perpetuated is that gender is embedded in ordinary organizational processes and that inequalities are reproduced as the mundane work of the 'gendered' organization is carried out.

In this case, there is a fundamental belief in gender differences and that female and male police officers have different physical capacities and skills in the RTP. At the same time, police officers still believe that "the domination of a masculine order in policing is not seen as arbitrary, because the mythic vision of police as crime fighters help construct the perception that biological differences lead naturally to the sexual division of labor" (Chan, Doran, & Marel, 2010, p. 426). This belief then creates gender inequality in the RTP. A good example to support this point is that female police officers are not allowed to perform the same police tasks as male police officers even though female officers have worked as police officers since 1961. Therefore, female police officers have been treated as secondary citizens in the RTP.

Female police officers also lack networking opportunities because they have to follow normalizing discipline. In Thailand, Buddhism also teaches women and men how they

should behave in society. The gender image in Thailand for women can be understood in terms of Foucault's concept of disciplinary regimes. Gestures and behavior are controlled. Therefore, women and men should not have close relationships, particularly between female and male supervisors, and women should not drink alcohol socially with colleagues (Taywaditep, Coleman, & Dumronggittigule, 2001). As most female police officers lack access to networking opportunities, especially female officers who work in the PPR, they are unable to build close relationships with their supervisors. Unlike male officers, who have a social life that involves drinking with supervisors after working hours and therefore the opportunity to develop a very close relationship with these supervisors.

Male officers always have more chance to have a close relationship with their male supervisors when compared to female officers and this point leads to the problem that male supervisors therefore tend to support male officers rather than female officers for promotion. Male officers can have very close relationships with male supervisors as they not only work together, but they also have social activities together after working hours. For example, they have the chance to go to men's clubs together or do some male activities such as play golf or attend after work drinking events. A lot of the literature also indicated that male police officers internationally have more opportunities to participate in extra social activities with their male supervisors after working hours. Female police officers therefore lost any chance to have a close relationship with male supervisors in order to gain support from them for promotion (Adams & Australasian Centre for Policing Research, 2001; Boni, Circelli, & Australasian Centre for Policing Research, 2002; Metcalfe & Dick, 2007). The relationship between male supervisors

and male officers is often very good, therefore male supervisors often prefer to support male officers rather than female officers for promotion.

For female officers who do not participate in social activities with male supervisors after working hours, developing close, personal relationships with their supervisors is not possible. Most female police officers go home after work to look after their family. In Thailand, disciplinary regimes also control the behavior of women in society, in that women should not go out at night time and participate in social activities with male supervisors. Therefore, female police officers lack networking opportunities and also lack support from male supervisors for gaining promotion because supervisors do not have very close relationships with them.

However, seventeen participants who worked in the Technical Support Unit reported that, although they did not have a chance to participate in social activities with supervisors after working hours, they still gained promotion as supervisors considering promotion based their judgment on work performance, not gender. These female police officers believed that they have equity in promotion because they work in female-dominated areas. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that gaining promotion in the Technical Support Unit is based on work performance rather than gender because male supervisors have few males working for them therefore they predominately choose female candidates. If there were more male officers working there, these female officers may have seen a difference in the way male supervisors treated men and women when they considered promotion of male and female candidates.

Sexual harassment is another problem. Most participants (68 percent) reported that they did not face any physical sexual harassment such as touching. However, as noted previously, lack of reporting of sexual harassment does not necessarily mean that sexual harassment does not occur in the RTP. The most important point here is that there is no bureau or department that has responsibility for the management of sexual harassment in the workplace in the RTP or a place that female police officers can go to talk and discuss sexual harassment issues. Female police officers may not know what action is called sexual harassment and do not know who they can talk to about it. Moreover, there are no strict regulations as to what actions are considered as sexual harassment. Therefore, female officers lack knowledge about sexual harassment.

There are two reasons related to cultural constraints that need to be explained in order to understand why most participants reported that there is no sexual harassment in the RTP: the notion that participants may not actually know whether they have been harassed or not, and fear to talk or discuss about sexual harassment. Firstly, Thai women often did not know whether they had been harassed or not. As previously mentioned, in Thailand women still lack knowledge and awareness of sexual harassment. For Thai women, sexual harassment means a situation whereby a man may force a woman to have sexual intercourse or may touch her body against her will. In the RTP, there is no department or division to take responsibility for sexual harassment. Therefore, it is very hard for female police officers to decide what action is defined as sexual harassment. Female police officers then believe that most verbal and physical actions are not sexual harassment because male officers always use the word “teasing” to explain their action. The term ‘teasing’ is defined as “a behavior designed to provoke a target through the use of playful commentary on something relevant to the target. This

provocation can be verbal (a cutting remark) or physical (an embarrassing gesture)" (Baumeister & Vohs, 2007, p. 969).

Participants use the word "teasing" to explain situations that internationally may be defined as "sexual harassment". Teasing in this context means trying to make fun or joking with their colleagues but this can include using 'bad words' and touching. For example, Participant P11 reported that there was some teasing and dirty talk in her department. Teasing for her can mean some touches but overall it seems like male colleagues want to 'play' with her. Therefore, she did not feel that she has been harassed through this teasing. However, sometimes teasing can constitute sexual harassment. When male officers touch female officers' arms or hands when female officers do not want it, this is actually called sexual harassment even though they may think that this action is teasing between male and female police officers.

This situation is also a cultural constraint which prevents identification of which behavior and actions are in fact sexual harassment. Most of the time, Thai women try to believe that these actions are teasing as they do not want to report them and feel shame later when their male colleagues say that he just wanted to tease or play with them. Finally, women have been seen as in the wrong, thinking too much and making other people in the workplace feel uncomfortable about talking with them.

Teasing is an action that is considered as sexual harassment because it can "contain elements of humor and insult and can function as either play or punishment or both" (Alberts, 1992, p. 186). However, the content of teasing in oral communication is often insulting and can have sexual innuendos. Also the mix of 'fun' and insult elements in

teasing occur to varied degrees. Therefore, teasing is perceived as sexual harassment. Tangri, Burt and Johnson (1982, p. 42) also did a survey of federal employees in the US. The total participants were 20,083: 10,644 were women; and 9,439 were men. Tangri et al. found that less than half of men considered that sexual teasing and jokes from co-workers was sexual harassment, but that such actions from supervisors was not sexual harassment. Conversely, more women than men believed that sexual teasing and jokes from both supervisors and co-workers was sexual harassment.

Secondly, Thai women may fear to talk about or discuss sexual harassment. In the RTP, there is the regulation which is the CSC Regulation of Sexual Harassment of 2010 to protect police officers from sexual harassment in the workplace even though the term sexual harassment still has not been defined. As mentioned earlier in Chapter Five in the CSC Regulation of Sexual harassment of 2010 does describe what actions are considered as sexual harassment, so this regulation should be able to guarantee the safety of female police officers in the workplace from harassers. Similarly, participants who worked in the PGH also reported that all supervisors have to evaluate the police officers who work under them as to whether they behave appropriately towards other police officers or not. This annual evaluation should be another way to protect female police officers in the RTP from sexual harassment.

However, there is cultural constraint that prevents female police officers from reporting when sexual harassment has happened. This cultural constraint restricts talk about sex in Thai society as it is taboo. Female police officers therefore fear reporting that they have been harassed. Supensri also explained that most Thai women do not feel confident to talk about or discuss that they have been harassed in the workplace because of Thai

culture. Most of them will keep quiet, and there are still some people who do not know that they have rights in the workplace. Zimbroff (2007) also found that Asian people endure sexual harassment situations more than non-Asian people. Thai people may be a good example that confirms the research findings of Zimbroff as Thai people may endure sexual harassment because they do not want to talk about it. Buddhism also teaches that to be a good woman, they should not talk about sex, unless they are married. This may be one reason why women remain quiet when they have been harassed. However, it cannot be denied that Buddhism also teaches in the five precepts[21] that Buddhists should abstain from taking the life of living. This means that men should not do any violent action to or take the life of any living beings. Therefore, men should not do any violent action to women including sexual harassment.

To be a good woman in Thailand, she should not talk about sex. Thanawadee also mentioned that after Thai women resigned from their workplace, they then called women's organizations to tell their stories about sexual harassment and to ask for some help in dealing with this issue. This reinforces the claim that Thai women may fear discussing sexual harassment in the workplace when they are still working there because they may feel too ashamed to let other people know that they have been harassed. These women will wait until they have resigned and do not have any more contact with any of the people in that workplace to report about sexual harassment or they may decide to resign to escape sexual harassment in this workplace. This is the cultural norm in relation to reporting sexual harassment in the workplace in Thailand.

[21] The five precepts is the major part of the Buddhist practices to become more self-disciplined. Observing the precepts is a way to gain mastery of the mind. At the same time, the idea of such precepts is to avoid harmful ways of behaving and speaking.

Unfortunately, when women are generally reluctant to report sexual harassment incidents, both women and organizations face many serious consequences. For example, the consequences to women who fear to report sexual harassment are health problems, performance problems, relationship problems and career problems while the consequences to organizations where there are underreporting sexual harassment incidents are high turn-over employees, lost organizational reputation and costly lawsuits (Peirce, Rosen, & Hiller, 1997). Despite these negative outcomes, there is effectively a culture of silence. Cairns (1997, p. 92) argued that the causes of women's silence are that:

> if, all our attempts to educate women about harassment and to establish accessible, non-punitive procedures to deal with it when it occurs, women continue to have trouble applying the term harassment to their own experiences, and if, even when they do label their experience correctly, they do not use the means available to them to combat harassment, then we must consider the probability that we still have not fully understood the nature of harassment and of women's responses to it.

This means when women do not feel certain that they have been harassed or that they were not to blame for the harassment, then they still will not report their problems as sexual harassment, even when system are available for them to do so.

Similarly, Peirce, Rosen and Hiller (1997, pp. 232-234) surveyed women who worked in a variety of managerial position in the US and found that there are two reasons why women decided not reporting sexual harassment incidents. The first reason is that women fear long-term damage to their career in their current organization. Most women who participated in this study agreed that reporting sexual harassment incidents are very harmful to their career. The second reason is that there are problems with company reporting policies and procedures on sexual harassment incidents. Over 40 percent of

participants in this study reported that they did not know about complaint policies and procedures on sexual harassment incidents and they also questioned the fairness of sexual harassment investigation and the length of time it would take.

Thus, even if this cultural constraint on talking about sexual harassment were lifted, there is still likely to be a problem on lack of reporting on sexual harassment in the workplace in Thailand, as in other countries. In the RTP, female police officers still did not clearly understand that what actions should be called as sexual harassment. This may be one point that makes female police officers fear to report sexual harassment incidents. At the same time, there is no unit or department that has responsibility for preventing sexual harassment in the workplace. When a female police officer was harassed by their male supervisor, they did not know who to talk or discuss about this situation. Therefore, this lack of system or unit with responsibility adds to the cultural constraint that makes female police officers decide not to report sexual harassment occurrences.

Moreover, supervisors can often be the person who uses their power to harass female officers who work under them. Thanawadee explained that “supervisors are a major problem in Thailand. They tend to use their power to force or harass women in the workplace”. A woman does not know how to manage this sexual harassment situation because if they reported it to senior supervisors, male supervisors will explain that they did not do anything and there is no evidence to confirm that these women have been harassed. Therefore, women will decide to resign from that workplace because of shame from this situation. The reporting of the current research is supported by research that found that male supervisors often use their positions and power to force female police

officers to agree to sexual activities with them (Chaiyavej & Morash, 2009; Gutek & Morash, 1982; Wexler & Logan, 1983).

In addition, it is very hard in Thailand to sue some people for sexual harassment because male colleagues or supervisors will explain that they just wanted to play or joke with this woman, and finally the case will end with a verdict that those involved simply misunderstood the term sexual harassment. This result has the effect of making women feel reluctant about reporting sexual harassment in the workplace. For example, five participants did report that they had faced some verbal harassment from their male colleagues or male supervisors. However, they did not report this to senior supervisors because they knew that male officers would likely trivialize the incident. This situation means female police officers are seen as in the wrong while male officers are seen as having done nothing wrong in people's eyes.

2) Male attitudes towards female police officers

Male attitudes are another barrier for female police officers seeking promotion to senior levels. According to the literature, Morris (1987) and Boni, Circelli and Australasian Centre for Policing Research (2002) argued that female police officers face prejudice in the police force from male supervisors and this prejudice is one barrier that helps explain why female officers could not gain promotion. As male supervisors have negative attitudes towards female police officers, they then do not support female police officers for promotion. Martin (1990) also argued that female police officers often lack support from their supervisors which acts as a further barrier to promotion to senior levels.

Although 82 percent of participants reported that male attitudes are not their major barrier to gaining promotion as they work in the Technical Support Unit which has been seen as women's work, other evidence suggests that male supervisors still prefer to support male police officers to work at senior levels. The top senior positions such as Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner in the Technical Support Unit still belong to male officers. This point illustrates that male supervisors still prefer to support male officers rather than female officers for the top senior positions including in the Technical Support Unit which is the one unit that is most likely to have female leadership.

3) Family

Family is a cultural barrier that prevents female police officers from gaining promotion. The gender image in Thailand for women is *Kulasatrii* which provides the idea that women are the primary person who looks after all the domestic duties and cares for the children. In contrast, men focus on their work. Family then becomes one barrier for promotion of female police officers as they have to give first priority to their family and work second. Most of the time, for example, they do not join in public meetings or work meetings that are held in rural areas or in other provinces because of family commitments. According to the general literature, this is not specifically a Thai issue as women in many countries often give priority to their family before their work (Crawford & Unger, 2000). This is in contrast to male police officers who give priority to their work and have their wives look after their family and their children (Metcalfe & Dick, 2007). This research also confirms that family is one barrier to gaining promotion. As mentioned earlier female police officers may choose to work in the Field Operation

Unit because they want to live with their family in the rural area. This point clearly shows that female police officers give priority to their family first and work second. Also because these females have to choose to work in the PPR to live with their family, these female officers then have less chance to gain promotion, as in the PPR which is under the Field Operation Unit, male officers have higher chances than female officers of gaining promotion. Therefore, male police officers have more chance of gaining promotion because family can act as a barrier for women but not for men.

Conclusion

In summary, being a police officer in Thailand is different from being a police officer in other countries. In Thailand, there are two different types of work. On one hand, in the Technical Support Unit, administrative tasks such as managing documents are the main duties. On the other hand, frontline police tasks such as patrolling and administrative tasks are the main duties in the Field Operation Unit. All sworn police officers have the right to choose to perform either in the Technical Support Unit or in the Field Operation Unit. However, no matter which unit female police officers choose to perform in, they are only allowed to perform administrative tasks.

Female police officers who worked in the Technical Support Unit reported that they have been accepted in the workplace because in that working environment most officers are women; there are only a few men and all officers have been treated equally in their eyes. These female officers have gender norms which have led to the understanding that ‘acceptance in the workplace’ means they have been treated equally and have equal chances to join in extra projects. However, although female police officers have the same chances as male officers to join in extra projects, male supervisors still support

male officers to gain promotion. This means that female police officers have not been accepted in the workplace because if they had been accepted in the workplace, they should have the same chance as male officers to gain promotion.

In contrast, female police officers who worked in the Field Operation Unit have reported that they have not been accepted in the workplace because in that working environment the male supervisors gave male officers more chances to join in extra projects and they have been treated unequally, as female and male officers have been assigned to perform different tasks. These female police officers choose to work in this unit because they did not want to follow social and culture constructions of policing as a man's job and they want to perform police tasks, even though they also chose to follow the prescribed gender role to be a good daughter by choosing to work and live in rural areas with their family. This point also leads to family becoming a barrier against promotion for these women. If these participants decide to follow gender roles by working in the Technical Support Unit, they may have higher chance to gain promotion to senior levels when compared to female police officers who work in the Field Operation Unit because female police officers who worked in the Field Operation Unit are only be able to gain promotion in the General Staff Division (where administrative tasks are the main duties) while female police officers who worked in the Technical Support Unit are able to gain promotion in any division.

This thesis has demonstrated that sex-segregation still exists in Thailand. There is still perception in Thai society that certain occupations are suited to men and women. Administrative work is strongly gendered in Thailand as it is seen as appropriate work for women, while frontline police work is seen as appropriate work for men. The RTP is

still categorized as a traditional police force in that most officers still believe that policing is a man's job. There is a strong evidence to prove that gender differences still exist in the RTP because most female police officers believe that male and female police officers have differences in physical capacities and skills. This point also shows that gender inequality is difficult to change because it is more than 54 years ago that sworn female police officers were appointed to work as police officers, but they are still not allowed to perform patrol tasks. In contrast, police organizations in other western countries such as the US and UK shifted to models where female police officers have more a larger role in policing, in part because in taking on community policing they seek to treat police officers as workers, not as women and men (Morash & Haarr, 2012).

Barriers against promotion to senior levels for female officers, which are supported by a cultural belief that men are dominant while women are subordinate, is another problem for female police officers. In Thai society, there is still the perception that managerial roles should belong to men because men have the characteristics to be manager. There is a clear evidence to support this point. Although administrative tasks have been seen as women's work, male police officers still gain promotion to senior levels in the Technical Support Unit. The next chapter draws conclusions from the findings of this research. Recommendations based on these conclusions will also be provided.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This thesis aimed to identify and analyse the status of women in the RTP. This research has identified opportunities for and barriers against promotion that affect female police officers in the RTP. To this end the study has analyzed why there are only few female police officers working at senior levels. This conclusion and recommendations section will be divided into four parts. The first part highlights the key major findings of this thesis that identify what opportunities for and barriers against promotion exist and answer why there are still only a few senior female police officers. The second part offers recommendations to improve the status of women police officers. The third part offers some critical reflections on the research methodology in particular, difficulties of analyzing data as an insider researcher. The last part points to areas that require further research.

Key Findings

This research strongly confirms that the number of women who work at senior levels is very low in the male-dominated occupations in Thailand as it is in other countries even though the RTP changed regulations according to article seven of CEDAW to provide more opportunities for women to gain promotion to senior levels. At the moment, gender equality is one of eight goals of MDGs that have to be achieved by 2015 and many public and private international organizations are therefore trying to resolve this issue. Similarly, the United Nation (UN) is an international organization that has had problems with low numbers of women working at managerial or senior positions in peace and security. Therefore, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution

1325 on women, peace and security in 2000 in order to achieve gender equality by increasing the number of women at all levels of peacekeeping, peacemaking, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction (Willett, 2010). In other words, Resolution 1325 promotes equal representation of women within the UN peacekeeping by increasing the number of women in military and police contingents (Dharmapuri, 2013). However, Resolution 1325 has not yet successfully increased the number of women. Less than 4 percent of UN peacekeepers globally were women in March 2013 (Dharmapuri, 2013). This means that the UN faces similar barriers to the RTP to increasing the number of women who work at managerial positions.

The major barrier that Resolution 1325 could not overcome and thus increase the number of women in managerial positions in its peace and security section is the missing data on female uniformed personnel. The UN has not developed strategies aimed at consistently increasing the number of uniformed women because there is insufficient statistical data available to determine trends in the number of female peacekeepers in UN operations. This is largely because the UN only started to collect sex-disaggregated data in 2000. A second reason is that national militaries' statistical data such as *Military Balance* produced by the International Institute for Strategic Studies do not include sex-disaggregated statistics on national armed forces. The UN therefore does not know the number of women who work in the national armed forces in each country. The last reason is that only few countries collect statistical data of female participation in their national forces (Dharmapuri, 2013, pp. 16-17). This is similar to the case of the RTP as there are also no available statistical data of sex-disaggregated numbers in the RTP, and so it is difficult to determine the trends in women's employment in the RTP. Unfortunately, the lack of comprehensive data may

be one reason why the RTP do not examine why there are only a few female police officers working at senior levels and do not adopt strategies that could create acceptance and the same promotion opportunities as men.

To increase the number of women in international peace and security, Dharmapuri (2013) suggests that male attitudes toward women which are one of the cultural barriers are very important. In Dharmapuri's research, she interviewed men who were military and political advisors, senior level officers at the UN, former force commanders and chiefs of staff of mission. These men reported that "they support the goals of gender equality in peacekeeping and in their individual work with peacekeeping missions" (Dharmapuri, 2013, p. 17). This is very important as these men were leaders in military and politics and have the power to support women to gain promotion and to promote the goals of the UN system. Gaining powerful support is one strategy that could be used to increase the number of female police officers who work at senior levels. This research only focuses on women's experiences in the RTP. Male supervisors are therefore not the main target of the research. The attitudes of male senior police chief have not been questioned in this research. However, participants reported that male supervisors' attitudes towards female police officers were one of the barriers for them when seeking to gain promotion to work at senior levels, so it is possible that the organizational culture of the RTP has not yet adapted to incorporate acceptance of women in all police roles.

As male attitudes towards women are very important in order to increase the number of women in international peace and security, former secretary-general Kofi Annan also called for the engagement of men to promote gender equality in society. Annan said that

> Men, through their roles in the home, the community and at the national level, have the potential to bring about change in attitudes, roles, relationships and access to resources and decision making which are critical for equality between women and men…. Men should therefore be actively involved in developing and implementing legislation and policies to foster gender equality, and in providing role models to promote gender equality in the family, the workplace and in society at large. (Economic and Social Council, 2003, p. 13)

For the RTP, if male police officers change their attitudes to support gender equality, the number of female police officers who work in the RTP should also increase; the number of female police officers who work at senior levels should also increase, especially if the support for gender equality is truly reflected in the operation and policies of each department.

The current research also confirms that not only lack of comprehensive sex-segregated statistical data and male attitudes towards female police officers are major barriers to gain promotion to senior levels but also there are still many barriers such as lack of field experience, lack of chances to show their work ability, external appointments being made, the cultural subordination of women, and the needs of family that impeded success in career and acceptance in the RTP. This research has demonstrated that the result of these barriers is that female police officers have not been ‘accepted’ in the workplace. ‘Acceptance’ in the workplace in this thesis refers to the situation where male and female police officers are assigned to perform the same tasks. However, in the RTP, there are feminized departments where major duties are seen as women’s work or that women are the most suitable persons to perform these tasks, such as administrative task. There is also significance in the difference in definitions of police officer. In Thailand, the term police officer in Thailand has been defined differently from other countries such as the US and UK. In the RTP, the term police officer refers to sworn police officers who perform either administrative or police tasks. Female police officers

therefore work in the feminized department that is called as the Technical Support Unit in the RTP. Female police officers in this study defined themselves as better than male officers at the most feminized forms of work such as administrative work, however, these female police officers still have not been accepted in the workplace because male supervisors still give more chances to male officers to do extra projects.

This research also demonstrates the extent to which the RTP is a police organization that is highly masculinized; this is particularly evident through the division of labor that assigns female police officers to perform their work related to feminized department such as administration while assigning male officers to perform police tasks such as patrolling. Such behaviors clearly show that female police officers have not been accepted in the workplace and consequently face barriers to gaining promotion.

Recommendations

There are eight major recommendations to improve the status of female police officers and to reduce barriers against promotion to the senior levels that impact women in the RTP. The following are six major recommendations:

1) **Record annual sex-segregated statistical data of police officers divided by rank**. Although the OCSC and the Thai government started to keep statistical data of sex-disaggregated in 2004, it is still very hard to get this kind of data on the number of police officers even since 2004. The RTP therefore should keep recording sex-disaggregated statistics of their staff by themselves in order to determine trends in the number of female police officers working in different areas and ranks. The lack of comprehensive statistical data makes it very difficult for the

RTP and future researchers to determine trends in the number of female police officers and to plan. If this comprehensive data is available and the number of female police officers is low or very low, the RTP can create and action policies to increase the number of female police officers, especially at the senior levels.

2) **Establish a women's advisory board.** The New Zealand Police are using this strategy to recruit more women especially in the senior positions. There are around five female police officers who work on this advisory board in New Zealand. The main role for this advisory board is to help female police officers focus on gaining promotion to senior levels and address what might be obstacles that holding them back from gaining senior levels ("Initiatives to promote the women in blue," 2014). The RTP may use this strategy same as New Zealand Police to increase the number of female police officers who work at senior levels.

3) **Change male attitudes towards female police officers by supporting gender equality in the RTP.** As mentioned earlier, Dharmapuri (2013) suggested that to increase the number of female peacekeepers in the UN, particularly at senior levels, positive attitudes towards women were very important as male supervisors are important in supporting these women to gain promotion to work at senior level. As the female police officers who have been interviewed in this research reported that negative attitudes towards female police officers are one barrier to gaining promotion, increasing acceptance of gender equality within all sections of the RTP and employing leaders of sections who endorse this and equity policies is an important step for change.

The RTP should have policies to support gender equity happening in the RTP. To change male attitudes towards female police officers, male and female police cadets

have to learn about gender issues in the RPCA and both male and female police cadets should be trained together to the same standard. Therefore, male police officers know that female police officers have the ability to work at the same standard as them and do not have negative attitudes towards female police officers. When these male officers become supervisors in the future, they will support female police officers for promotion to work at senior levels.

For current senior male police officers, the RTP should organize seminars to provide knowledge about gender equity in order to change any negative attitudes towards female officers. Male police officers therefore know that the RTP would like to increase the number of female police officers in the RTP and support the organizational goal by supporting female police officers for promotion, especially to senior levels.

4) **Create the requirement for police officers to have prior work experience in the department in which they are seeking a higher-ranked position.** To gain promotion, the RTP should require a certain amount of time working in the department where police officers would like to gain promotion. As female police officers who interviewed in this thesis reported many male police officers gain promotion in the administrative division without prior knowledge of the work in that administration. Consequently female police officers then have to take responsibility for all work, including the manager's work. Therefore, the RTP should require that if police officers would like to gain promotion in any department, they should have work experience in those departments before they are able to gain promotion. This point should also prevent the external appointment

situation which many of the women considered overruled their chances of promotion despite their greater experience.

5) **Initiate mentors for female police officers.** Mentors combine informal instruction in professional practice with affective support. They will also act as a role model to offer insight into on how they "made it" in the organization. In the case of the RTP, mentors could be one or two female police officers who act as a mentor and provide advice as to why and how these female officers gain promotion to work at senior levels. At the same time, mentors could support and encourage female officers who have recently commenced their careers at the RTP or have worked there for a while in order to explain unwritten rules and acknowledge their disappointments and triumphs. Similarly, having mentors should help female police officers to understand male-dominated organization like the RTP that women have to face many barriers when compared to men.

6) **Create network opportunities for female police officers.** From the interviews, it shows clearly that female police officers lack networking opportunities while male officers have very good networking opportunities with their colleagues and supervisors. The RTP should create some seminars, conferences or activities that allow female and male officers to interact in a friendly formal situation. These networking opportunities are important as they allow women to have opportunities to socialize with male officers in a manner consistent with the social expectations of Thai culture.

7) **Ensure that supervisors complete annual evaluations to check whether male police officers behave appropriately towards female police officers to prevent sexual harassment.** When interviewing participants who have worked in the PGH,

they reported that there is no sexual harassment in the PGH because there is an evaluation every year by supervisors to ensure that male police officers are behaving appropriately towards female police officers. In contrast, no participants from other bureaus mentioned about this evaluation. This should be one strategy that the PGH uses to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace. If other bureaus strongly ensure that every supervisor has to complete annual evaluations to check whether male police officers are behaving appropriately towards female police officers every year, this strategy should help to prevent sexual harassment in the RTP.

8) **Establish a unit or department to deal with sexual harassment.** The role of the unit would be to ensure that police officers are aware of sexual harassment issues, knowing what action should be called sexual harassment and that take it very seriously. Over time, a cultural shift would occur in the RTP making sexual harassment unacceptable. Female police officers would therefore feel confident to work in the RTP as they would be less likely to encounter or never encounter sexual harassment in their workplace in the future.

However, having a unit or department to deal with sexual harassment is not enough to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace. Based on Weeks (2005) research on sexual harassment in the workplace in New Zealand 11 recommendations that have been made to effectively prevent sexual harassment in the workplace. The following are seven recommendations are endorsed as relevant to the RTP:

1. *Sexual harassment policies and procedures should be effectively communicated to all staff*. Every police officer should have a copy of sexual harassment policies.

2. *Immediate manager should not be the suitable contact person for sexually harassed employees*. To preserve the integrity of the procedure, police officers should complain to another person who is not their immediate supervisor if they have been harassed.
3. *Clarity around timeframes between the initial complaint and resolution should be instituted*. An investigation about the complaint should take place as fast as possible or within four weeks.
4. *Education to raise awareness of sexual harassment is vital*. If police officers do not understand what sexual harassment is, well-develop policies and procedures will be ineffective.
5. *Regular evaluation of policy implementation should take place*.
6. *Supervisors should be targeted for sexual harassment prevention training and education and encouraged to implement robust policies at work*.
7. *A phone number should be set up for employees to speak to a contact person while remaining completely anonymous.* This option should allow police officers to reveal as much or little information related to sexual harassment as they wish.

Critical reflections on research methodology

There are both advantages and disadvantages to being an insider researcher. On the one hand, as an insider, the researcher holds much information and is familiar with the context that is being studied. This can make it easier for the researcher to make the participants feel comfortable talking and sharing their stories in their native language. At the same time, the researcher also builds up a relationship with participants to gain trust and rapport with them in order to be able to discuss their experiences, especially in relation to sexual harassment in this case. Further, because of insider status, the

researcher is also familiar with the issue of discrimination in the workplace and Thai culture.

On the other hand, being an insider can create difficulties with analysis. Within Thai culture, there is a lack of critical distance and perspective to critique because the researcher has an insider status she shares the characteristics, roles and experiences of the Thai culture and its a prescribed gender role for Thai woman. The researcher has grown up in Thailand and is familiar with the issue. The researcher has therefore had gender norms that have been learning through Thai society which reinforces the way of thinking and living. This point makes the researcher lack critical separation from outsider status, even though the researcher has lived outside of Thai culture for a number of years in “western” countries and had intellectual engagement with the material under study. For instance, the researcher did not have a sense in the first place that teasing is one type of action that should be called as sexual harassment. Teasing for Thai people seems like joking between friends rather than insulting someone in a way that should be perceived as sexual harassment. Therefore, when the researcher had to analyze information on sexual harassment issues, it has very hard for the researcher to see this point differently. To analyze the sexual harassment issue, the researcher could not criticize Thai culture by saying that teasing is perceived as sexual harassment because of being part of the Thai community. This meant that the researcher did not feel that teasing is one type of action that should be called as sexual harassment.

In addition, as the researcher is familiar with the issue if discrimination in the workplace and Thai culture, this point can also be a barrier to analysis as she shares the perception of what is normal in Thai culture. The researcher therefore could not see and read

situations differently from cultural conventions. Even if the researcher tried to imagine how interpretations would change if gender was replaced by another variable, it is still very difficult for the researcher to see clearly how gender conventions could be different for Thai culture. For example, when the researcher heard from participants that they have been accepted in the workplace for the first time, the researcher agreed with their response. She agreed with participants that if male supervisors had assigned them to do some extra project, it meant that the male supervisors accepted and trusted the female police officer. If male supervisors had not accepted this female police officer, they would not assign any extra projects for her to do. However, when considering this issue more clearly and deeply, the researcher has started to see that male supervisors assign extra projects for both male and female police officers to do, and prefer to assign extra projects to male officers. This example can be seen clearly in the PPR. Also female officers who worked in the Technical Support Unit did not have much chance to see if male supervisors assigned their extra projects to male officers, as in their unit most officers were female. Therefore, overall female police officers have not been accepted in the workplace. The next section presents future areas for research.

Future areas for research

This research contributes to improving the status of women in the police force or other male-dominated occupations. This research only focuses on female police officers' experiences in promotion and sexual harassment in the RTP. Future research should survey how people think about or the level of trust in their ability of women in leadership roles, especially, in the police force or the military. The level of trust of the ability of women in leadership roles should help to improve the status of women in Thailand as there are few women who work in managerial positions in Thailand

especially in the public sector. If Thai people have high level of trust in the ability of women in leadership roles, then male supervisors in the public section including the RTP, may not feel hesitant to support women for promotion.

Moreover, as mentioned earlier that this research only focuses on women's experiences in the RTP, further studies should interview male police officers in order to understand what male supervisors look for to support either male or female police officers for promotion and whether male supervisors support female police officers to work at senior levels as support from male supervisors is important for female officers to gain promotion. Similarly, future research could include interviews with male police officers who have not been able to achieve promotion to senior levels, in order to compare the major barriers to gaining promotion. Further research is also needed to compare the RTP with policing in other countries such as Japan.

In addition, this research only interested in female police officers who gained promotion to work at the senior levels. Further studies should incorporate the issue of promotion of female inspectors as the RTP has started to assign women to work in this area. In the future, doing research on promotional barriers for female inspectors should be very interesting because the numbers of female police officers who have worked as an inspector are increasing every year. Moreover, the first group of female police cadets (67 female police officers) just graduated from the RPCA on February 1, 2013 (Dailynews, 2013). Thus, future research should assess whether these female police officers have the same opportunities as their male counterparts.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethics Approval: Massey University Human Ethics Committee – Southern B

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

16 December 2010

Sasiphattra Siriwato
Court Room 6/451 Ferguson Street
PALMERSTON NORTH

Dear Sasiphattra

Re: HEC: Southern B Application – 10/56
Women policing: A contemporary study of women's experiences in the Royal Thai Police

Thank you for your letter dated 13 December 2010.

On behalf of the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B I am pleased to advise you that the ethics of your application are now approved. Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, reapproval must be requested.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

Dr Karl Pajo, Chair
Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B

cc Dr Jenny Coleman
School of People, Environment & Planning
PN331

Dr Bethan Greener
School of People, Environment & Planning
PN331

Mrs Mary Roberts, Secretary to HoS
School of People, Environment & Planning
PN331

Massey University Human Ethics Committee
Accredited by the Health Research Council

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

Research Ethics Office, Massey University, Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand
T +64 6 350 5573 +64 6 350 5575 F +64 6 350 5622
E humanethics@massey.ac.nz animalethics@massey.ac.nz gtc@massey.ac.nz
www.massey.ac.nz

Appendix B: The letter requesting permission to conduct research at the Royal Thai Police (English Version)

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

Sasiphattra Siriwato
School of People, Environment and Planning,
Massey University, Private Bag 11222
Palmerston North, 4422
New Zealand

Office of Commissioner of the Royal Thai Police
Building 1 Level 6, the Royal Thai Police
Rama I road, Wangmai, Pratumwan
Bangkok 10330, Thailand

1 June 2011

SUBJECT: Letter to request permission to conduct research in the Royal Thai Police and request statistical data and employment history of police officers from the Royal Thai Police database

To The Commissioner of the Royal Thai Police

My name is Sasiphattra Siriwato. I am PhD candidate and this research is conducted in partial fulfillment for the Doctor of Philosophy (Women's Studies) degree at Massey University, Turitea Campus, Palmerston North, New Zealand. My research project is entitled: Women Policing: A Contemporary Study of women's experiences in the Royal Thai Police.

The goal of the research is to investigate policing as a career option for women. This study aims to identify and analyse the status of women in the Royal Thai Police. Both the opportunities for and barriers against promotion that impact women in the Thai Royal Police will be identified and the researcher will analyse why only a few women work at senior levels. Statistical data of policewomen who have been employed by the Royal Thai Police in the past 20 years will be gathered in order to determine the trend of policewomen. Semi-structured interviews will also be conducted to support and promote information on women's experiences within the Royal Thai Police.

This research will recruit policewomen from the Royal Thai Police to be participants by selecting from these four criteria;

1) Ex-senior policewomen who retired within the last 5 years
2) Current senior police (senior level in this research refers to policewomen who work at police colonel position and higher)
3) Women who have worked in the police lieutenant colonel position for at least 8 years and have still not achieved promotion to more senior levels
4) Significant public authority figures who work with the Royal Thai Police

Appendix B: The letter requesting permission to conduct research at the Royal Thai Police (English Version) [Continued]

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

There will be approximately 40 participants who will be involved in this research. These 40 participants have to meet one of four criteria and work / have worked in either a Provincial Police Region, a Police Education Bureau, a Police General Hospital or the Royal Police Cadet Academy. The process of recruitment of potential participants is identified in the information sheet that has been attached to this letter. With all of this information, I should be able to clarify the opportunities for and barriers against promotion and answer whether these have changed in this time period.

To complete this research, the name of the Royal Thai Police will be identified in the final thesis and research findings. However, names and positions of participants will not be identified, unless they have given their consent for this. This research will identify both opportunities for and barriers against promotion which may subsequently be used for promotion procedures. When the thesis is completed, a copy of research findings and recommendations will be sent to the Royal Thai Police.

Therefore, I would like to request permission to conduct the research and request statistical data of policewomen in the Royal Thai Police in the past 20 years and the limited employment history of women officers in order to recruit participants for this study from the Royal Thai Police database. The following are all information that will be requested from database of the Royal Thai Police:

1. The total number of policewomen in the Royal Thai Police since 1990
2. The total number of policewomen who have worked at police colonel position or higher each year since 1990
3. The total number of policewomen in these four departments: Provincial Police Region; Police Education Bureau; Police General Hospital; and Royal Police Cadet Academy since 1990
4. Names, positions, ages and contact details of policewomen who have worked at police colonel position or higher in these four departments: Provincial Police Region; Police Education Bureau; Police General Hospital; and Royal Police Cadet Academy
5. Names, positions, ages and contact details of policewomen who have rank as a police lieutenant colonel for at least 8 years and have worked in any these four departments: Provincial Police Region; Police Education Bureau; Police General Hospital; and Royal Police Cadet
6. Names, positions, ages and contact details of policewomen who worked at senior levels in these four departments: Provincial Police Region; Police Education Bureau; Police General Hospital; and Royal Police Cadet and have been retired within the last 5 years

Te Kunenga
ki Pūrehuroa

School of People, Environment & Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 **F** +64 6 350 5737 **www.pep.massey.ac.nz**

Appendix B: The letter requesting permission to conduct research at the Royal Thai Police (English Version) [Continued]

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
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The statistical data from numbers one to three will be used to determine trends relating to women police officers in the Royal Thai Police in the past 20 years. The more detailed information requested in numbers four to six will be used to recruit participants for this research.

I am looking forward to hear from you regarding this request for permission to conduct the research and for information from the database of the Royal Thai Police and thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Yours Faithfully,

Sasiphattra. Siriwato.

Sasiphattra Siriwato

Te Kunenga
ki Pūrehuroa

School of People, Environment & Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 F +64 6 350 5737 www.pep.massey.ac.nz

Appendix C: The letter requesting permission to conduct research at the Royal Thai Police (Thai Version)

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คำร้องขออนุญาตทำวิจัยและใช้ฐานข้อมูลของสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ

School of People, Environment and Planning,
Massey University, Private Bag 11222
Palmerston North, 4422
New Zealand

สำนักงานผู้บัญชาการตำรวจแห่งชาติ
อาคาร 1 ชั้น 6 สำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ
ถนนพระราม 1 แขวงวังใหม่ เขตปทุมวัน
กรุงเทพฯ 10330

วันที่ 1 มิถุนายน 2554

เรื่อง ขออนุญาตทำการวิจัยและสัมภาษณ์ตำรวจหญิงในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ และขอใช้ฐานข้อมูลของสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ

เรียน ผู้บัญชาการสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ

ข้าพเจ้า นางสาว ศศิภัทรา ศิริวาโท รหัสประจำตัว 09203296 นักศึกษาระดับปริญญาเอก สาขา Women's Studies คณะ People, Environment and Planning มหาวิทยาลัย Massey วิทยาเขต Turitea, Palmerston North, New Zealand กำลังจัดทำโครงงานทางวิจัย เรื่อง "ตำรวจหญิง: การศึกษาประสบการ์ณของผู้หญิงในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ" เพื่อบรรลุตามข้อกำหนดของหลักสูตรดุษฎีบัณฑิต โดยมีผู้ช่วยศาสตราจารย์ Jenny Coleman และผู้ช่วยศาสตราจารย์ Bethan Grenner เป็นอาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา

งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้มีเป้าหมายที่จะศึกษาเรื่องของตำรวจหญิงที่ทำงานในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ การศึกษาในครั้งนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์ที่จะระบุและวิเคราะห์สถานภาพของตำรวจหญิงในประเทศไทย โดยจะทำการศึกษาโอกาสและอุปสรรคที่มีผลกระทบต่อตำรวจหญิง และจะทำการศึกษาและวิเคราะห์ว่าเพราะสาเหตุใดจึงมีตำรวจหญิงเพียงไม่กี่คนที่สามารถเลื่อนขั้นขึ้นไปทำงานในระดับอาวุโสได้ โดยจะทำการวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลทางสถิติของตำรวจหญิงที่ทำงานในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ ในช่วงระยะเวลา 20 ปีที่ผ่านมา เพื่อที่จะทราบถึงแนวโน้มของตำรวจหญิงในแต่ละปี และศึกษาเรื่องของตำแหน่งต่างๆที่ตำรวจหญิงได้รับ และมีการขอสัมภาษณ์ตำรวจหญิงเพื่อเป็นข้อมูลในการสนับสนุนเรื่องประสบการณ์ของการเป็นตำรวจหญิงในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ โดยจะทำการคัดเลือกผู้เข้าร่วมที่เป็นตำรวจหญิงจากสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ ที่มีคุณสมบัติตรงตามข้อใดข้อหนึ่งของเงื่อนไขเหล่านี้

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

School of People, Environment & Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 **F** +64 6 350 5737 **www.pep.massey.ac.nz**

Appendix C: The letter requesting permission to conduct research at the Royal Thai Police (Thai Version) [Continued]

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1. ตำรวจหญิงที่เกษียณอายุไปแล้วไม่เกิน 5 ปี และมียศตั้งแต่ พ.ต.อ. ขึ้นไป
2. ตำรวจหญิงที่ปัจจุบันนี้มียศตั้งแต่ พ.ต.อ. ขึ้นไป
3. พันตำรวจโทหญิงที่ติดยศ พ.ต.ท. มาอย่างน้อย 8 ปีแล้ว และยังไม่ได้เลื่อนตำแหน่งขึ้นเป็น พ.ต.อ.
4. บุคคลที่มีชื่อเสียงและเป็นที่รู้จักในสังคมที่ทำงานร่วมกับสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ

งานวิจัยนี้ต้องการผู้เข้าร่วมประมาณ 40 คน ซึ่งต้องมีคุณสมบัติตรงตามข้อใดข้อหนึ่งในเงื่อนไขข้างต้น และต้องปัจจุบันต้องทำงานอยู่ในหน่วยงานตำรวจภูธรภาค 1-9, กองบัญชาการศึกษา, โรงพยาบาลตำรวจ และโรงเรียนนายร้อยตำรวจ รายละเอียดของงานวิจัยและขั้นตอนทั้งหมดในการคัดเลือกตำรวจหญิงเพื่อที่จะมาสัมภาษณ์ได้มีการระบุไว้ในเอกสารชี้แจงการวิจัยที่ได้แนบมาพร้อมกับจดหมายฉบับนี้

ผู้ทำวิจัยเชื่อว่า ข้อมูลทั้งหมดนี้จะทำให้ผู้วิจัยสามารถอธิบายและวิเคราะห์ทั้งโอกาสและอุปสรรคสำหรับการเลื่อนตำแหน่งไปทำงานในระดับอาวุโส หรือตั้งแต่ยศ พ.ต.อ. ขึ้นไปของตำรวจหญิง และตอบคำถามได้ว่าสถานภาพของตำรวจหญิงมีการเปลี่ยนแปลงไปในทิศทางใดผู้วิจัยต้องการเรียนให้ทราบว่า ชื่อของสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติจะถูกระบุไว้ในรูปเล่มสมบูรณ์ของงานวิจัย และในส่วนของผลสรุปของงานวิจัย แต่ว่าชื่อและตำแหน่งของผู้เข้าร่วมในการศึกษาครั้งนี้จะไม่มีการเปิดเผยไม่ว่าจะเป็นรูปเล่มสมบูรณ์ของงานวิจัยหรือในส่วนของผลสรุป นอกจากว่าผู้เข้าร่วมจะอนุญาตให้เปิดเผยชื่อและตำแหน่งได้ นอกจากนี้งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ต้องการที่จะนำเสนอทั้งโอกาสและอุปสรรคที่อาจจะไม่เหมาะสมหรือมีผลกระทบต่อสถานภาพของตำรวจหญิงในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ ดังนั้นเมื่องานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ได้ทำเสร็จสิ้นลงไปแล้ว ผู้วิจัยจะทำการคัดลอกผลสรุปและคำแนะนำของการศึกษาในครั้งนี้ส่งให้กับผู้บัญชาการตำรวจแห่งชาติ

ซึ่งในการทำการศึกษาเรื่องนี้ จำเป็นต้องขอความอนุเคราะห์ขออนุญาตทำการศึกษาในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ และขอทำการสัมภาษณ์ตำรวจหญิงที่อยู่ภายใต้อำนาจของในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ และขออนุญาตใช้ฐานข้อมูลของสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ ในการหาข้อมูลของตำรวจหญิง เพื่อทำการคัดเลือกผู้เข้าร่วมในงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ โดยอยากจะขอความอนุเคราะห์ในการขอข้อมูลดังต่อไปนี้

1. จำนวนตำรวจหญิงทั้งหมดในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ ตั้งแต่ปีพ.ศ. 2533 โดยแยกรายละเอียดเป็นรายปี
2. จำนวนตำรวจหญิงที่มียศตั้งแต่ พ.ต.อ.ขึ้นไป ในแต่ละปี โดยขอข้อมูลเริ่มจากปีพ.ศ. 2533
3. จำนวนตำรวจหญิงทั้งหมดที่ทำงานในสี่หน่วยงานนี้ คือ โรงเรียนนายร้อยตำรวจ โรงพยาบาลตำรวจ กองบัญชาการศึกษาสำนักงานตำรวจ และตำรวจภูธรภาค 1-9 โดยขอข้อมูลเริ่มจากปีพ.ศ. 2533 และแยกรายละเอียดเป็นรายปี

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

School of People, Environment & Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 F +64 6 350 5737 www.pep.massey.ac.nz

Appendix C: The letter requesting permission to conduct research at the Royal Thai Police (Thai Version) [Continued]

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

4. ขอทราบชื่อ ตำแหน่ง อายุ และเบอร์โทรศัพท์หรืออีเมล์ที่สามารถติดต่อได้ของตำรวจหญิงที่มียศตั้งแต่ พ.ต.อ. ขึ้นไป และทำงานอยู่ในสี่หน่วยงานนี้ คือ โรงเรียนนายร้อยตำรวจ โรงพยาบาลตำรวจ กองบัญชาการศึกษาสำนักงานตำรวจ และตำรวจภูธรภาค 1-9
5. ขอทราบชื่อ ตำแหน่ง อายุ และเบอร์โทรศัพท์หรืออีเมล์ที่สามารถติดต่อได้ของตำรวจหญิงที่มียศ พ.ต.ท. และยังมียศ พ.ต.ท. อยู่เป็นเวลาแปดปีขึ้นไป และทำงานอยู่ในสี่หน่วยงานนี้ คือ โรงเรียนนายร้อยตำรวจ โรงพยาบาลตำรวจ กองบัญชาการศึกษาสำนักงานตำรวจ และตำรวจภูธรภาค 1-9
6. ขอทราบชื่อ ตำแหน่ง อายุ และเบอร์โทรศัพท์หรืออีเมล์ที่สามารถติดต่อได้ของตำรวจหญิงที่มียศตั้งแต่ พ.ต.อ. ขึ้นไป และเพิ่งเกษียณอายุราชการไปไม่เกินห้าปี และก่อนเกษียณได้ทำงานอยู่ในสี่หน่วยงานนี้ คือ โรงเรียนนายร้อยตำรวจ โรงพยาบาลตำรวจ กองบัญชาการศึกษาสำนักงานตำรวจ และตำรวจภูธรภาค 1-9

ข้อมูลที่ขอไว้ข้างต้นนี้จะถูกนำไปใช้ในงานวิจัยสองส่วนคือ ข้อมูลเชิงสถิติที่ขอไว้ในข้อที่หนึ่งถึงข้อที่สามจะถูกนำไปใช้เพื่อวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลทางสถิติของตำรวจหญิงที่ทำงานในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติในช่วงระยะเวลา 20 ปีที่ผ่านมา และข้อมูลที่ขอรายละเอียดของตำรวจหญิงในข้อที่สี่ถึงข้อที่หกจะถูกนำไปใช้ในการคัดเลือกผู้ที่สามารถเข้าร่วมในงานวิจัยครั้งนี้ได้

ผู้วิจัยจึงใคร่ขอความอนุเคราะห์ในการอนุญาติให้ทำการศึกษา และสัมภาษณ์ตำรวจหญิงในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติและอนุญาติให้เปิดเผยข้อมูลเหล่านี้จากฐานข้อมูลของสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ

จึงเรียนมาเพื่อโปรดพิจารณาและแจ้งผลการพิจารณาให้ทราบด้วย จะขอบพระคุณยิ่ง

ขอแสดงความนับถือ

ศศิภัทรา ศิริวาโท

(นางสาว ศศิภัทรา ศิริวาโท)

โทร + 64 21 265 5748

ไปรษณีย์อิเล็กทรอนิกส์ Sasiphattra.Siriwato.1@uni.massey.ac.nz

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

School of People, Environment & Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 F +64 6 350 5737 www.pep.massey.ac.nz

Appendix D: The letter of approval to conduct research and provide requested information from the Royal Thai Police (translated to English)

Tel: 0 2205 1238

NO: 0001.21/1901 6 June 2011

SUBJECT: Permission to conduct research in the Royal Thai Police and request to use database of the Royal Thai Police

To The Assistant Commissioner-General

1. Background

Sasiphattra Siriwato is PhD candidate in Women's Studies, School of People, Environment and Planning at Massey University, Turitea Campus, Palmerston North, New Zealand. She sent a letter to request information in order to conduct research in Women Policing: A Contemporary study of women's experiences in the Royal Thai Police. The following are all information that she required from the database:

1.1 The total number of policewomen in the Royal Thai Police since 1990

1.2 The total number of policewomen who have worked in police colonel positions or higher each year since 1990

1.3 The total number of policewomen in these four departments: Provincial Police Region; Police Education Bureau; Police General Hospital; and Royal Police Cadet Academy since 1990

1.4 Names, positions, ages and contact details of policewomen who have worked in police colonel positions or higher in these four departments: Provincial Police Region; Police Education Bureau; Police General Hospital; and Royal Police Cadet Academy

1.5 Names, positions, ages and contact details of policewomen who have been ranked as a police lieutenant colonel for at least eight years and have worked in any these four departments: Provincial Police Region; Police Education Bureau; Police General Hospital; and Royal Police Cadet

1.6 Names, positions, ages and contact details of policewomen who worked at senior levels in these four departments: Provincial Police Region; Police Education Bureau; Police General Hospital; and Royal Police Cadet and have retired within the last five years

2. Fact

2.1 Office of Police Strategy received the police document number 0009.01/254 on June 2, 2011 requesting permission to return the police document that is related to Sasiphattra Siriwato to the Personnel Division as required for use of database of the Royal Thai Police.

2.2 Personnel Division has the police document number 0009.01/389 on June 3, 2011 requesting permission to return the police document that is related to Sasiphattra

Appendix D: The letter of approval to conduct research and provide requested information from the Royal Thai Police (translated to English) [Continued]

Siriwato to the Office of the Secretary in order to obtain permission from the Commissioner of the Royal Thai Police because Sasiphattra Siriwato is conducting research in the Royal Thai Police and interviewing female police officers in the Royal Thai Police and this information will be disclosed publicly. Therefore, the Commissioner of the Royal Thai Police has to give permission to conduct research in the Royal Thai Police and permission to the Royal Police Cadet Academy, the Education Bureau, the General Police Hospital and the Provincial Police Region Division 1-9 to provide all information.

3. Considerations
   The following are the required actions:
   3.1 The Commissioner of the Royal Thai Police should have an order to Personnel Division to work together with Sasiphattra Siriwato in order to provide information that related to 1.1, 1.2 and 1.6
   3.2 The Commissioner of the Royal Thai Police should have an order to the Royal Police Cadet Academy, the Education Bureau, the General Police Hospital and the Provincial Police Region Division 1-9 to work with Sasiphattra Siriwato in order to provide information that related to 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5

4. Recommendation
   The Commissioner of the Royal Thai Police should make an order as mentioned in considerations or make known any other opinion. Please make an order to proceed.

Police Colonel Sudthinad Sud yord
Deputy Superintendent (Acting) of Office of the Secretary

Proceeding as for the considerations

Police Lieutenant General Aummarin Aukkarawong
The Assistant Commissioner-General (Acing) of the Commissioner-General of the Royal Thai Police)
7 June 2011

Appendix E: The letter of approval to conduct research and provide requested information from the Royal Thai Police (Thai Version)

สง.ผู้ช่วย ผบ.ตร.(บร22)
เลขรับที่ 315
วันที่ - 6 มิ.ย. 2554
เวลา 15-30 น.

สำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ
เลขรับ 21989
วันที่ - 6 มิ.ย. 2554
เวลา 13.30

บันทึกข้อความ

ส่วนราชการ สลก.ตร. โทร. ๐ ๒๒๐๕ ๑๒๓๘

ที่ ๐๐๐๑.๒๑/๓๙๐๑ วันที่ ๖ มิถุนายน ๒๕๕๔

เรื่อง ขออนุญาตทำการวิจัยและสัมภาษณ์ตำรวจหญิงในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ และขอใช้ฐานข้อมูลของสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ

สำนักงานเลขานุการกรมตำรวจ
สำนักงานเลขานุการผู้ช่วย ผบ.ตร.(บร22)
เลขรับ 117
วันที่ - 6 มิ.ย. 2554
เวลา 14.16 น.

ฝ่ายสารบรรณ สำนักงานปลัดกระทรวงกลาโหม
เลขรับ 01502
วันที่ - 6 มิ.ย. 2554
เวลา 14.00

เรียน ผู้ช่วย ผบ.ตร.(บร ๒๒)

๑. เรื่องเดิม

น.ส.ศศิภัทรา ศิริวาโท นักศึกษาระดับปริญญาเอก สาขา Women's Studies คณะ People, Environment and Planning มหาวิทยาลัย Massey วิทยาเขต Turitea, Palmerston North, New Zealand ได้มีหนังสือ ลง ๑ มิ.ย.๕๔ ขอความอนุเคราะห์ข้อมูลในการทำวิจัยเรื่อง "ตำรวจหญิง : การศึกษาประสบการณ์ของผู้หญิงในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ" ดังต่อไปนี้ (เอกสาร ๑)

๑.๑ จำนวนตำรวจหญิงทั้งหมดใน ตร. ตั้งแต่ปี พ.ศ.๒๕๓๓ โดยแยกรายละเอียดเป็นรายปี

๑.๒ จำนวนตำรวจหญิงที่มียศตั้งแต่ พ.ต.อ.ขึ้นไป ในแต่ละปี โดยขอข้อมูลเริ่มจากปี พ.ศ.๒๕๓๓

๑.๓ จำนวนตำรวจหญิงทั้งหมดที่ทำงานใน ๔ หน่วยงานนี้ คือ รร.นรต., รพ.ตร., บช.ศ และ ภ.๑ – ๙ โดยขอข้อมูลเริ่มจากปี พ.ศ. ๒๕๓๓ และแยกรายละเอียดเป็นรายปี

๑.๔ ขอทราบชื่อ ตำแหน่ง อายุ และเบอร์โทรศัพท์หรืออีเมล์ที่สามารถติดต่อได้ของตำรวจหญิงที่มียศตั้งแต่ พ.ต.อ.ขึ้นไป และทำงานอยู่ใน ๔ หน่วยงาน คือ รร.นรต., รพ.ตร., บช.ศ. และ ภ.๑ - ๙

๑.๕ ขอทราบชื่อ ตำแหน่ง อายุ เบอร์โทรศัพท์หรืออีเมล์ที่สามารถติดต่อได้ของตำรวจหญิงที่มียศ พ.ต.ท. และยังมียศ พ.ต.ท. อยู่เป็นเวลาแปดปีขึ้นไป และทำงานอยู่ใน ๔ หน่วยงาน คือ รร.นรต., รพ.ตร., บช.ศ. และ ภ.๑ – ๙

๑.๖ ขอทราบชื่อ ตำแหน่ง อายุ เบอร์โทรศัพท์หรืออีเมล์ที่สามารถติดต่อได้ของตำรวจหญิงที่มียศ พ.ต.อ. และเพิ่งเกษียณอายุราชการไปไม่เกินห้าปี และก่อนเกษียณได้ทำงานอยู่ใน ๔ หน่วยงาน คือ รร.นรต., รพ.ตร., บช.ศ. และ ภ.๑ - ๙

๒. ข้อเท็จจริง

๒.๑ สยศ.ตร. ได้มีหนังสือ ที่ ๐๐๐๗.๐๑/๒๕๔ ลง ๒ มิ.ย.๕๔ ขอส่งคืนหนังสือราชการของ น.ส.ศศิภัทรา ศิริวาโท ฉบับดังกล่าว โดยตรวจสอบแล้วเห็นว่า ควรส่งให้ สกพ. เนื่องจากมีฐานข้อมูลที่ใช้ในการทำวิจัย (เอกสาร ๒)

๒.๒ สกพ. ได้มีหนังสือ ที่ ๐๐๐๓.๐๑/๓๘๙ ลง ๓ มิ.ย.๕๔ ขอส่งคืนหนังสือราชการ ของ น.ส.ศศิภัทรา ศิริวาโท ฉบับดังกล่าว โดยตรวจสอบแล้วเห็นว่า สลก.ตร. ควรขอรับนโยบายจาก ตร. เนื่องจากมีประเด็นในเรื่องของการขออนุญาตให้ทำการศึกษา และสัมภาษณ์ตำรวจหญิงใน ตร. รวมทั้งการเปิดเผยข้อมูลจากการศึกษาต่อบุคคลภายนอก ซึ่งควรได้รับการอนุญาตจาก ตร. ก่อน พร้อมทั้งข้อมูลที่ผู้ขอต้องการส่วนใหญ่อยู่ในความรับผิดชอบของหลายหน่วยงาน เช่น รร.นรต., บช.ศ., รพ.ตร., และ ภ.๑ – ๙ (เอกสาร ๓)

๓. จึงพิจารณา...

Appendix E: The letter approving to conduct research and provide requested information from the Royal Thai Police (Thai Version) [Continued]

๒

๓. ข้อพิจารณา

เห็นควรดำเนินการ ดังนี้

๓.๑ มอบหมายให้ สกพ. พิจารณาดำเนินการตามอำนาจหน้าที่ ตามข้อ ๑.๑, ๑.๒ และ ๑.๖ โดยให้ประสานการปฏิบัติกับ น.ส.ศศิภัทรา ศิริวาโท โดยตรง

๓.๒ มอบหมายให้ รร.นรต., รพ.ตร., บช.ศ. และ ภ.๑ - ๙ พิจารณาดำเนินการตามอำนาจหน้าที่ ตามข้อ ๑.๓, ๑.๔ และ ๑.๕ โดยให้ประสานการปฏิบัติกับ น.ส.ศศิภัทรา ศิริวาโท โดยตรง

๔. ข้อเสนอ

จึงเรียนมาเพื่อโปรดพิจารณาตามข้อ ๓ หรือเห็นสมควรประการใด ขอได้โปรดสั่งการเพื่อจะได้ดำเนินการต่อไป

พ.ต.อ.

(สุทธินาท สุดยอด)

รอง ผบก.ฯ ปรห.ลก.ตร.

ดำเนินการตามเสนอข้อ ๓

พล.ต.ท.

(อมรินทร์ อัครวงษ์)

ผู้ช่วย ผบ.ตร.ปรห.ผบ.ตร.

มิ.ย. ๕๔

Appendix F: Information Sheet (English Version)

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

Women Policing: A Contemporary Study of women's experiences in the Royal Thai Police

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher Introduction

My name is Sasiphattra Siriwato. This research is being conducted in partial fulfillment for the Doctor of Philosophy (Women's Studies) degree at Massey University, Turitea Campus, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

My research project is entitled: Women Policing: A Contemporary Study of women's experiences in the Royal Thai Police.

Project Description and Invitation

Thai women often face progression obstacles in their chosen careers. In particular, Thai women do not have many opportunities to work as legislators, senior officials and managers in both public and private organizations. Although women may have the same qualifications as men, or indeed they may have better qualifications than men, they still may not be able to progress to senior levels.

This research examines the Royal Thai Police as a case study of women in the workplace in Thailand. At present, there are only 6.25 percent women police officers and only 0.12 percent work at senior levels. These figures seem to suggest that women have diminished chances for work and promotion in the Royal Thai Police. This is despite the fact that Thailand signed to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), article 7 of which calls for countries to ensure that women have the same rights and opportunities as men to work in all public roles.

This thesis aims to identify and analyze the status of women in the Royal Thai Police. This research will, therefore, work to identify the opportunities for and barriers against promotion that impact women in this organization and to analyze why only a few women work at senior levels.

In this research, I will gather statistical data of policewomen over the past 20 years to determine the trend of women's employment in the Royal Thai Police by analyzing the data of women working each year since 1990. The number and proportion of women in senior levels of policing for each year will be calculated. At the same time, I will also conduct a number of in-depth interviews to get more detailed information on women's experiences in the Royal Thai Police. Ex-senior policewomen, senior policewomen, politicians and significant public figures that work with the Royal Thai Police will be interviewed. Of particular interest is the experience of policewomen who have worked in the position of Police Lieutenant Colonel for 8 years or more, but who have not achieved promotion to more senior levels.

To complete this research, the name of the Royal Thai Police will be identified in the final thesis and research findings. However, names and positions of participants will not be identified, unless you have

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School of People, Environment & Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 **F** +64 6 350 5737 **www.pep.massey.ac.nz**

Appendix F: Information Sheet (English Version) [Continued]

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

given your consent for this. This research will identify both opportunities for and barriers **against** promotion which may subsequently be of use for promotion procedure. When the thesis is completed, a copy of the research findings and recommendations will be sent to the Commissioner of the Royal Thai Police.

Participants can access the summary of the project findings from the Massey Library. Also, if participants wish to receive the result of this research by mail or email attachment, please include your contact details on the consent form, which will be returned to me. If you are women officers who have worked in the Royal Thai Police and are interested in this research, please become part of our study in order to improve women's status in the Royal Thai Police in the future.

Participants and Project Procedure

Information identifying women officers in the Royal Thai Police has been supplied by the Royal Thai Police in order to recruit potential participants. If you have received this information sheet, this means you fit the required criteria to be a participant in this research. If you agree to participate, I will contact you to make an appointment to discuss this. You will be asked to sign the consent form. A pre-questionnaire will be given to you to answer all questions. I will then make a new appointment with you to conduct an interview at a location and time that is suitable for you. The whole session will take about 60 minutes. The interview will be recorded and the tape will be transcribed by professional transcriber who will have signed a confidentiality agreement not to disclose, retain or copy information. All tapes and documents will be kept in a locked file and locked cabinet for 5 years and be destroyed by supervisors

After interviews have been conducted, if this reflection has caused you to feel personally uncomfortable about any aspect of the discussion, you may like to make an appointment with doctor in **the Psychiatry Department of the Bangkok Health Center which is an option independent from the Royal Thai Police**. Contact details of these facilities will be provided to you after interviews have been held.

Project Contacts

Below are contact details of my supervisors and myself. Please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor if you have any questions about this project.

Researcher: Sasiphattra Siriwato

Address School of People, Environment and Planning,
Massey University, Private Bag 11222
Palmerston North, 4422
New Zealand

Tel +64 6 3569099 extn 2931

Mobile +64 21 265 5748

Email Sasiphattra.Siriwato.1@uni.massey.ac.nz

Appendix F: Information Sheet (English Version) [Continued]

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

Note: Participants will be given the contact number in Thailand when I stay in Thailand to conduct research.

Supervisor: Dr. Jenny Coleman

Address School of People, Environment and Planning,

Massey University, Private Bag 11222

Palmerston North, 4422

New Zealand

Tel +64 6 3569099 extn 7880

Email J.D.Coleman@massey.ac.nz

Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 10/56. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Karl Pajo, Chair, Massey University, Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 04 801 5799 x 6929, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Appendix G: Information Sheet (Thai Version)

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

ตำรวจหญิง: การศึกษาประสบการณ์ของผู้หญิงในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ

เอกสารชี้แจงการวิจัย

รายละเอียดของผู้วิจัย

ข้าพเจ้า นางสาว ศศิภัทรา ศิริวาโท เป็นผู้รับผิดชอบโครงงานนี้ งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาในระดับดุษฎีบัณฑิต สาขา การศึกษาเรื่องของผู้หญิง (Women's Studies) ของมหาวิทยาลัย Massey University วิทยาเขต Turitea เมือง Palmerston North ประเทศ New Zealand

ชื่อเรื่องวิจัย ตำรวจหญิง: การศึกษาประสบการณ์ของผู้หญิงในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ

รายละเอียดของโครงการ

ในภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ ผู้หญิงไทยถือได้ว่ามีการพบเจอปัญหาน้อยที่สุดในเรื่องของการเลือกปฏิบัติในสถานที่ทำงาน เพราะว่าผู้หญิงไทยมีโอกาสที่ดีมากกว่าประเทศอื่นๆในการเลือกทำงานในอาชีพต่างๆ แต่ประเทศไทยยังคงมีปัญหาในเรื่องของการเลื่อนตำแหน่ง โดยเฉพาะในการเลื่อนตำแหน่งขึ้นเป็นข้าราชการระดับสูง และผู้บริหาร ทั้งในองค์กรของภาครัฐและเอกชน ถึงแม้ว่าผู้หญิงจะมีคุณสมบัติเหมือนกันกับผู้ชาย หรืออาจจะมีคุณสมบัติที่เพียบพร้อมมากกว่า ก็ยังไม่สามารถเลื่อนตำแหน่งขึ้นไปทำงานในระดับผู้บริหารได้

งานวิจัยนี้ได้เลือกทำการศึกษาสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติสำหรับเป็นกรณีศึกษาเพื่อทำวิจัยเรื่องของประสบการณ์ของผู้หญิงในสถานที่ทำงาน ปัจจุบันนี้สำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติมีตำตรวจหญิงเพียง 6.25% จากจำนวนตำรวจ และมีตำรวจหญิงเพียง 0.12% เท่านั้น ที่จัดได้ว่าเป็นข้าราชการระดับสูง (สำหรับงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ ข้าราชการตำรวจระดับสูงเริ่มนับจากตำรวจหญิงที่มียศตั้งแต่ พ.ต.อ. ขึ้นไป) ตัวเลขสถิตินี้ชี้ให้เห็นว่าผู้หญิงมีโอกาสที่จะได้เข้าทำงานและได้รับการเลื่อนตำแหน่งค่อนข้างยากในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ ซึ่ง

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School of People, Environment & Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 **F** +64 6 350 5737 **www.pep.massey.ac.nz**

Appendix G: Information Sheet (Thai Version) [Continued]

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

เรื่องนี้ก่อนข้างที่จะขัดกับข้อเท็จจริงที่ประเทศไทยได้ทำภาคยานุวัติของอนุสัญญาว่าด้วยการขจัดการเลือกปฏิบัติต่อสตรีในทุกรูปแบบ (CEDAW) ซึ่งข้อที่ 7 ของอนุสัญญานี้ได้ระบุไว้ว่า ประเทศสมาชิกจะต้องใช้มาตราการที่เหมาะสมเพื่อให้ผู้หญิงเข้ารับตำแหน่งราชการ และปฏิบัติราชการในทุกๆระดับของรัฐบาล

งานวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อระบุและวิเคราะห์สถานภาพของผู้หญิงไทยในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ โดยจะทำการศึกษาอย่างละเอียดเพื่อระบุถึงโอกาสและอุปสรรคในการเลื่อนตำแหน่งที่ส่งผลกระทบถึงตำรวจหญิงในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ และเพื่อวิเคราะห์หาสาเหตุว่าทำไมตำรวจหญิงที่มียศตั้งแต่ พ.ต.อ. ขึ้นไปถึงมีจำนวนน้อยในสำนักงงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ

สำหรับงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ ผู้วิจัยจะทำการรวบรวมสถิติข้อมูลของตำรวจหญิงในระยะเวลา 20 ปีที่ผ่านมา เพื่อแสดงจำนวนของตำตรวจหญิงทั้งหมด และตำรวจหญิงที่มียศตั้งแต่ พ.ต.อ. ขึ้นไป ที่ทำงานในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ เพื่อที่จะทราบถึงแนวโน้มของตำรวจหญิงในแต่ละปี และศึกษาเรื่องของตำแหน่งต่างๆที่ตำรวจหญิงได้รับ ขณะเดียวกันผู้วิจัยจะดำเนินการทำวิจัยโดยการสัมภาษณ์แบบเจาะลึก เพื่อเก็บข้อมูลเรื่องประสบการณ์ของตำรวจหญิงในสถานที่ทำงาน โดยจะทำการสัมภาษณ์ตำรวจหญิงที่มียศตั้งแต่ พ.ต.อ. ขึ้นไป และเกษียณอายุแล้ว, ตำรวจหญิงที่ปัจจุบันนี้มียศตั้งแต่ พ.ต.อ. ขึ้นไป, พันตำรวจโทหญิงที่ติดยศ พ.ต.ท. มาอย่างน้อย 8 ปีแล้ว และยังไม่ได้เลื่อนตำแหน่งขึ้นเป็น พ.ต.อ. และ บุคคลที่มีชื่อเสียงและเป็นที่รู้จักในสังคมที่ทำงานร่วมกับสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ

ผู้วิจัยต้องขอชี้แจงตรงนี้ว่า ชื่อของสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติจะถูกระบุไว้ในรูปเล่มสมบูรณ์ของงานวิจัย และในส่วนของผลสรุปของงานวิจัย แต่ว่าชื่อและตำแหน่งของผู้เข้าร่วมในการศึกษาครั้งนี้จะไม่มีการเปิดเผยไม่ว่าจะเป็นรูปเล่มสมบูรณ์ของงานวิจัยหรือในส่วนของผลสรุป นอกจากว่าผู้เข้าร่วมจะอนุญาตให้เปิดเผยชื่อและตำแหน่งได้ และในอนาคตผลงานวิจัยนี้อาจจะมีการตีพิมพ์ในวารสาร และมีการนำเสนอในที่ประชุมต่างๆ แต่จะมีการรายงานข้อมูลที่เป็นเพียงภาพรวมเท่านั้น

นอกจากนี้งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ต้องการที่จะนำเสนอทั้งโอกาสและอุปสรรคที่อาจจะไม่เหมาะสมหรือมีผลกระทบต่อสถานภาพของตำรวจหญิงในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ ดังนั้นเมื่องานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ได้ทำเสร็จลุล่วงไปแล้ว ผู้วิจัยจะทำการคัดลอกผลสรุปและคำแนะนำของการศึกษาในครั้งนี้ส่งให้กับผู้บัญชาการตำรวจแห่งชาติ

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

School of People, Environment & Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 F +64 6 350 5737 www.pep.massey.ac.nz

Appendix G: Information Sheet (Thai Version) [Continued]

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

การติดต่อเพิ่มเติม

ด้านล่างนี้คือรายละเอียดของข้าพเจ้า และอาจารย์ผู้รับผิดชอบงานวิจัยนี้ ถ้าหากมีข้อสงสัยใดๆเกี่ยวกับงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ โปรดอย่าลังเลที่จะติดต่อข้าพเจ้าหรืออาจารย์ผู้รับผิดชอบ

ชื่อผู้วิจัย ศศิภัทรา ศิริวาโท

ที่อยู่ School of People, Environment and Planning,
Massey University, Private Bag 11222
Palmerston North, 4422
New Zealand

โทรศัพท์ +64 6 3569099 extn 2931

มือถือ +64 21 265 5748

อีเมล์ Sasiphattra.Siriwato.1@uni.massey.ac.nz

อาจารย์ผู้รับผิดชอบ Dr. Jenny Coleman

ที่อยู่ School of People, Environment and Planning,
Massey University, Private Bag 11222
Palmerston North, 4422
New Zealand

โทรศัพท์ +64 6 3569099 extn 7880

อีเมล์ J.D.Coleman@massey.ac.nz

คำสั่งอนุมัติของคณะกรรมการด้านจริยธรรม

โครงการนี้ได้รับการตรวจสอบและอนุมัติจาก คณะกรรมการจริยธรรมของมหาวิทยาลัย Massey University: ทางภาคใต้ ตอน B ใบสมัครเลขที่ 10 / 56 ถ้าหากว่าคุณมีความกังวลเกี่ยวกับขั้นตอนในการดำเนินการวิจัยชิ้นนี้ กรุณาติดต่อ

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School of People, Environment & Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 **F** +64 6 350 5737 **www.pep.massey.ac.nz**

Appendix G: Information Sheet (Thai Version) [Continued]

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

ศาสตราจารย์ Karl Pajo ซึ่งเป็นประธานคณะกรรมการจริยธรรมของมหาวิทยา Massey University: ทางภาคใต้ตอน B ได้ทางโทรศัพท์ ที่เบอร์ +64 4 801-5799 ต่อ 6929 หรือติดต่อทางอีเมล์ humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

School of People, Environment & Planning
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 **F** +64 6 350 5737 **www.pep.massey.ac.nz**

Appendix H: Pre-Questionnaire – Demographic information (English Version)

Pre-Questionnaire

Name …….. Surname …….

Date of Birth ……

What is your highest qualification and major area? ……

Year started to work in police ……

Which department was your first department? .....

What is your current department and current position? …….

How long have you worked in the current department?.....

……..

Which departments have you worked before the current one?……

……..

How can you become policewomen? Through police exam / specific qualification / special entry/ other (such as father or husband are policemen before)……..

…….

Have you known any person who works in the Royal Thai Police before you apply for police application? Yes/No who do you know and which position?

.....

What is your career objective? ……..

……

……

……

Appendix I: Pre-Questionnaire – Demographic information (Thai Version)

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

คำถามก่อนการสัมภาษณ์

ชื่อ ..... นามสกุล .....

วันเดือนปีเกิด ..... อายุ ..... ปี

วุฒิการศึกษาสูงสุด และสาขาวิชาเอกที่เรียน .....

.....

คุณเริ่มทำงานในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติปีแรกเมื่อไร .....

คุณเริ่มทำงานในหน่วยงานใดเป็นหน่วยงานแรก .....

ปัจจุบันนี้หรือก่อนเกษียณคุณทำงานอยู่ในหน่วยงานใด และ มีตำแหน่งหน้าที่ความรับผิดชอบ

อย่างไร

.....

.....

คุณทำงานอยู่ในหน่วยงานนี้นานเท่าไร .....

คุณทำงานอยู่ในหน่วยงานใดก่อนที่จะย้ายเข้ามาทำงานในหน่วยงานปัจจุบัน

.....

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T +64 6 350 4343 F +64 6 350 5737 www.pep.massey.ac.nz

Appendix I: Pre-Questionnaire – Demographic information (Thai Version) [Continued]

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คุณเข้ามาเป็นตำรวจหญิงได้อย่างไร สอบเข้าบรรจุเป็นข้าราชการตำรวจ / มีคุณสมบัติเฉพาะ /

ได้รับการยกเว้น / อื่นๆ .....

คุณรู้จักข้าราชการตำรวจหรือมีญาติที่เป็นตำรวจ หรือไม่ ก่อนที่คุณจะเข้ามาเป็นตำรวจ

รู้จัก / ไม่รู้จัก ถ้าหากรู้จัก โปรดระบุชื่อ .....

ความสัมพันธ์กับคุณ .....

คุณมีจุดมุ่งหมายในการทำงานอย่างไร

.....

.....

.....

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Appendix J: Participant Consent Form (English Version)

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Women Policing: A Contemporary Study of women's experiences in the Royal Thai Police

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM – INDIVIDUAL

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

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

I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.

I wish/do not wish to have data placed in an official archive.

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

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

Full Name - printed .....

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Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 **F** +64 6 350 5737 **www.pep.massey.ac.nz**

Appendix K: Participant Consent Form (Thai Version)

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ตำรวจหญิง: การศึกษาประสบการณ์ของผู้หญิงในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ

หนังสือแสดงเจตนายินยอมด้วยความสมัครใจในการเข้าร่วมงานวิจัย – เฉพาะบุคคล

ข้าพเจ้าได้อ่านเอกสารชี้แจงการวิจัย และได้รับคำอธิบายจากผู้วิจัยถึงวัตถุประสงค์ของการวิจัย วิธีการวิจัย และประโยชน์ที่จะเกิดขึ้นจากการวิจัยอย่าละเอียด และมีความเข้าใจดีแล้ว ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจว่าข้าพเจ้าสามารถตอบคำถามตามความพึงพอใจของข้าพเจ้า และข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจว่า ข้าพเจ้าสามารถถามคำถามเพิ่มเติมเมื่อใดก็ได้

ข้าพเจ้า ยอมรับ / ไม่ยอมรับ ที่จะให้มีการบันทึกเสียงในระหว่างที่ให้สัมภาษณ์

ข้าพเจ้า ต้องการ / ไม่ต้องการ ให้มีการส่งข้อมูลการบันทึกเสียงคืนมาที่ข้าพเจ้า

ข้าพเจ้า ต้องการ / ไม่ต้องการ ให้ข้อมูลถูกเก็บไว้อย่างเป็นทางการ

ข้าพเจ้ายอมรับที่จะเป็นผู้เข้าร่วมในงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ภายใต้เงื่อนไขที่กำหนดไว้ในเอกสารชี้แจงการวิจัย

ลงชื่อ ..... **วันที่** .....

ชื่อและนามสกุล .....

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Appendix L: The detail of Psychiatry Department of the Bangkok Health Center (English Version)

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The Contact Detail of the Psychiatry Department of the Bangkok Health Center

The following are the contact details for the Bangkok Health Center Division:

- Unit 1: Bangkok Health Center Division 3 Bang Sue
  Phone 02-587 0618 extension 121
- Unit 2: Bangkok Health Center Division 4 Din Dang
  Phone 02- 246 1591 extension 23
- Unit 3: Bangkok Health Center Division 21 Wat That Thong
  Phone 02 - 391 6028 extension 22
- Unit 4: Bangkok Health Center Division 23 See Phra Ya
  Phone 02 - 236 4055
- Unit 5: Bangkok Health Center Division 24 Bang Kaen
  Phone 02 - 579 1342
- Unit 6: Bangkok Health Center Division 33 Wat Hong Rattana Ram
  Phone 02 - 472 4799 extension 111

All divisions are open Monday to Friday from 8am to 12pm, except public holidays.

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Appendix M: The detail of Psychiatry Department of the Bangkok Health Center (Thai Version)

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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<u>คลินิกสุขภาพจิต สำนักอนามัยกรุงเทพมหานคร</u>

ด้านล่างนี้คือรายละเอียดของคลินิกสุขภาพจิต

- หน่วยที่ 1 : ศูนย์บริการสาธารณสุข 3 บางซื่อ
  โทรศัพท์ 02- 587 0618 ต่อ 121
- หน่วยที่ 2 : ศูนย์บริการสาธารณสุข 4 ดินแดง
  โทรศัพท์ 02- 246 1591 ต่อ 23
- หน่วยที่ 3 : ศูนย์บริการสาธารณสุข 21 วัดธาตุทอง
  โทรศัพท์ 02 - 391 6028 ต่อ 22
- หน่วยที่ 4 : ศูนย์บริการสาธารณสุข 23 สี่พระยา
  โทรศัพท์ 02 - 236 4055
- หน่วยที่ 5 : ศูนย์บริการสาธารณสุข 24 บางเขน
  โทรศัพท์ 02 - 579 1342
- หน่วยที่ 6 : ศูนย์บริการสาธารณสุข 33 วัดหงส์รัตนาราม
  โทรศัพท์ 02 - 472 4799 ต่อ 111

ศูนย์บริการสาธารณสุขเปิดให้บริการทุกวันราชการ เวลา **8.00-12.00** น.

Te Kunenga
ki Pūrehuroa

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Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 **F** +64 6 350 5737 **www.pep.massey.ac.nz**

Appendix N: Transcriber's confidentiality Agreement (English Version)

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
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TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

Women Policing: A Contemporary Study of women's experiences in the Royal Thai Police

TRANSCRIBER'S CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I ..... (Full Name - printed) agree to transcribe the recordings provided to me.

I agree to keep confidential all the information provided to me.

I will not make any copies of the transcripts or keep any record of them, other than those required for the project.

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

Full Name - printed .....

Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa

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T +64 6 350 4343 **F** +64 6 350 5737 **www.pep.massey.ac.nz**

Appendix O: Transcriber's confidentiality Agreement (Thai Version)

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TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

ตำรวจหญิง: การศึกษาประสบการณ์ของผู้หญิงในสำนักงานตำรวจแห่งชาติ

หนังสือแสดงเจตนายินยอมที่จะเก็บข้อมูลในงานวิจัยเป็นความลับสำหรับผู้ถอดบทความจากบทสัมภาษณ์

ข้าพเจ้า (ชื่อ และนามสกุล) …… ..... …..…… ตกลง

ที่จะถอดบทความจากไฟล์ที่ได้บันทึกคำสัมภาษณ์ไว้

ข้าพเจ้าตกลงที่จะเก็บข้อมูลทั้งหมดที่เกี่ยวข้องกับงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ที่ข้าพเจ้าได้รับรู้ไว้เป็นความลับ

ข้าพเจ้าจะไม่ทำการคัดลอกการถอดข้อมูลหรือเก็บการบันทึกบทสัมภาษณ์ทั้งหมดหรือบางส่วนไว้

นอกเหนือจากที่จำเป็นสำหรับงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้

ลงชื่อ ..... **วันที่** .....

ชื่อและนามสกุล .....

Te Kunenga
ki Pūrehuroa

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Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 **F** +64 6 350 5737 **www.pep.massey.ac.nz**

Appendix P: Authority for the release of transcripts (English Version)

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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TE KURA PŪKENGA TANGATA

Women Policing: A Contemporary Study of women's experiences in the Royal Thai Police

AUTHORITY FOR THE RELEASE OF TRANSCRIPTS

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

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

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

Full Name - printed .....

Te Kunenga
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Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 **F** +64 6 350 5737 **www.pep.massey.ac.nz**

Appendix Q: Authority for the release of transcripts (Thai Version)

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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หนังสือขออนุญาตเปิดเผยการถอดความในการให้สัมภาษณ์ในงานวิจัย

ข้าพเจ้ายืนยันว่า ข้าพเจ้าได้อ่านและแก้ไขการถอดความจากการคำให้สัมภาษณ์ของข้าพเจ้า

ข้าพเจ้าตกลงอนุญาตให้การถอดความจากการให้สัมภาษณ์ที่ได้รับการแก้ไขแล้ว สามารถนำไปใช้ในรายงานและสื่อสิ่งพิมพ์ต่างๆที่เกิดขึ้นจากงานวิจัย

ลงชื่อ ..... **วันที่** .....

ชื่อและนามสกุล .....

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Appendix R: Interview Question Guide

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Women Policing: A Contemporary Study of women's experiences in the Royal Thai Police

INTERVIEW QUESTION GUIDE

- Questions on the status of women in the Royal Thai Police
  - Why did you join the police?
  - Have policewomen been accepted in your workplace?
  - After Thailand had withdrawn from article 7 of CEDAW on November 1995, have there been any changes in the Royal Thai Police?
- Questions on opportunities and barriers for promotion
  - Has being female in the Royal Thai Police provided of any benefits for you for promotion?
  - Do you think that policemen and policewomen are the same or different, such as the ability to work well as police officers and the same success in careers? Why?
  - Do policewomen have the same chance as policemen to advance in their career?
  - How hard is it to gain promotion to work at the senior level?
  - What do you think are major barriers to gain promotion? What affect does go to school for gaining promotion?
  - Most supervisors are men. Does this affect you?
  - Do you think that women role models are important or not?
  - Is it easier to gain promotion if you do 'feminine' work?
  - When possible do you think is the highest you can achieve?
- Questions on sexual harassment
  - Do you feel uncomfortable working with men?
  - Have you heard about or experienced any verbal or physical harassment?
  - If you heard or experienced any harassment, what did you do?

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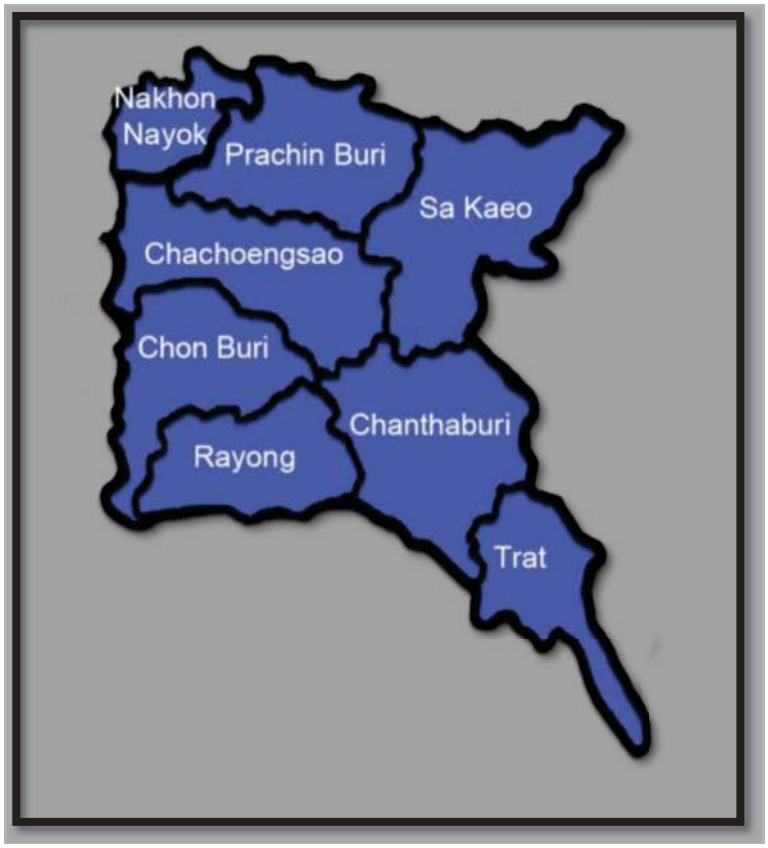
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North 4442, New Zealand.
T +64 6 350 4343 **F** +64 6 350 5737 **www.pep.massey.ac.nz**

Appendix S: The map of areas of responsibility for Division 1 – 9

Division 1 is responsible for the Central part of Thailand and has nine provinces under their responsibility. The following are the list of provinces:

- Chai Nat
- Nonthaburi
- Pathum Thani
- Lop Buri
- Samutprakan
- Sing Buri
- Phra Nakorn Si Ayutthaya
- Ang Thong
- Saraburi

Appendix S: The map of areas of responsibility for Division 1 - 9 (Continued)



Division 2 is responsible for the Eastern part of Thailand and consists of eight provinces. The following are the list of provinces:

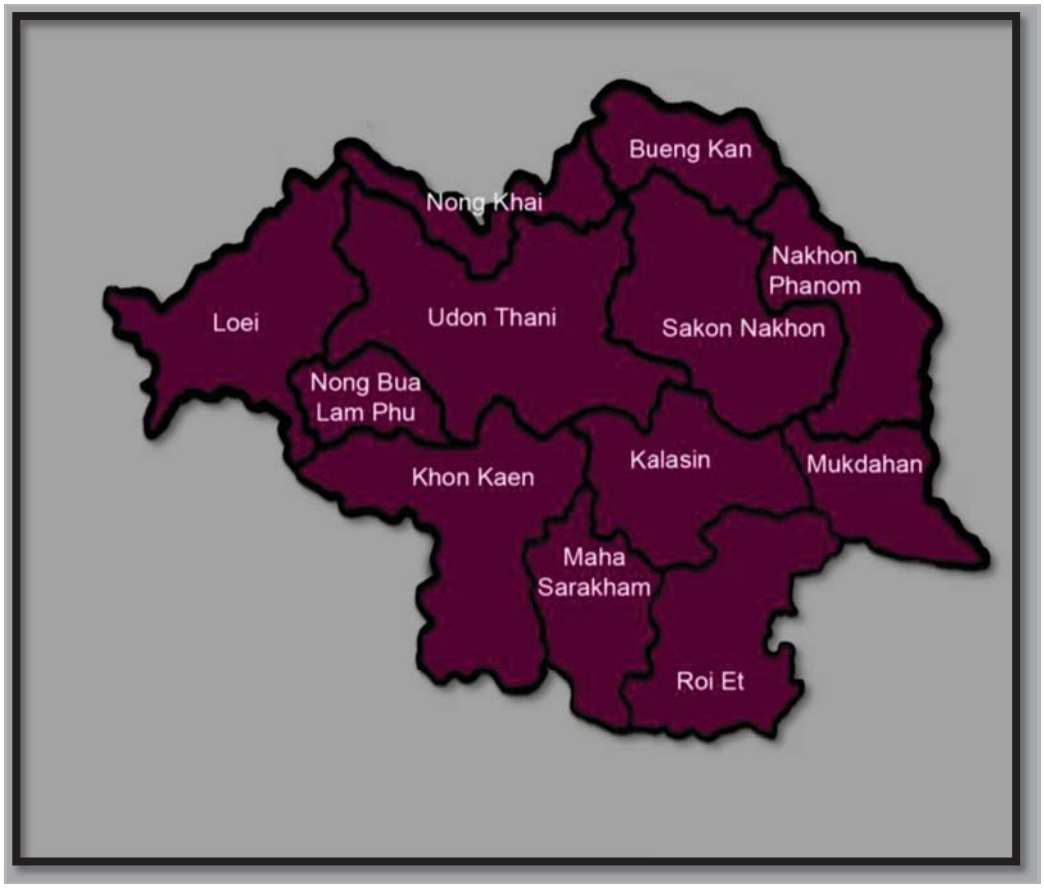
- Chantaburi
- Chachoengsao
- Chon Buri
- Trat
- Nakhon Nayok
- Prachin Buri
- Rayong
- Se Kaeo

Appendix S: The map of areas of responsibility for Division 1 - 9 (Continued)

Division 3 is in charge of the lower North-Eastern part and consists of eight provinces. The following are the list of provinces:

- Chaiyaphum
- Nakhon Ratchasima
- Buri Ram
- Yasothon
- Si Sa Ket
- Surin
- Amnat Charoen
- Ubon Ratchathani

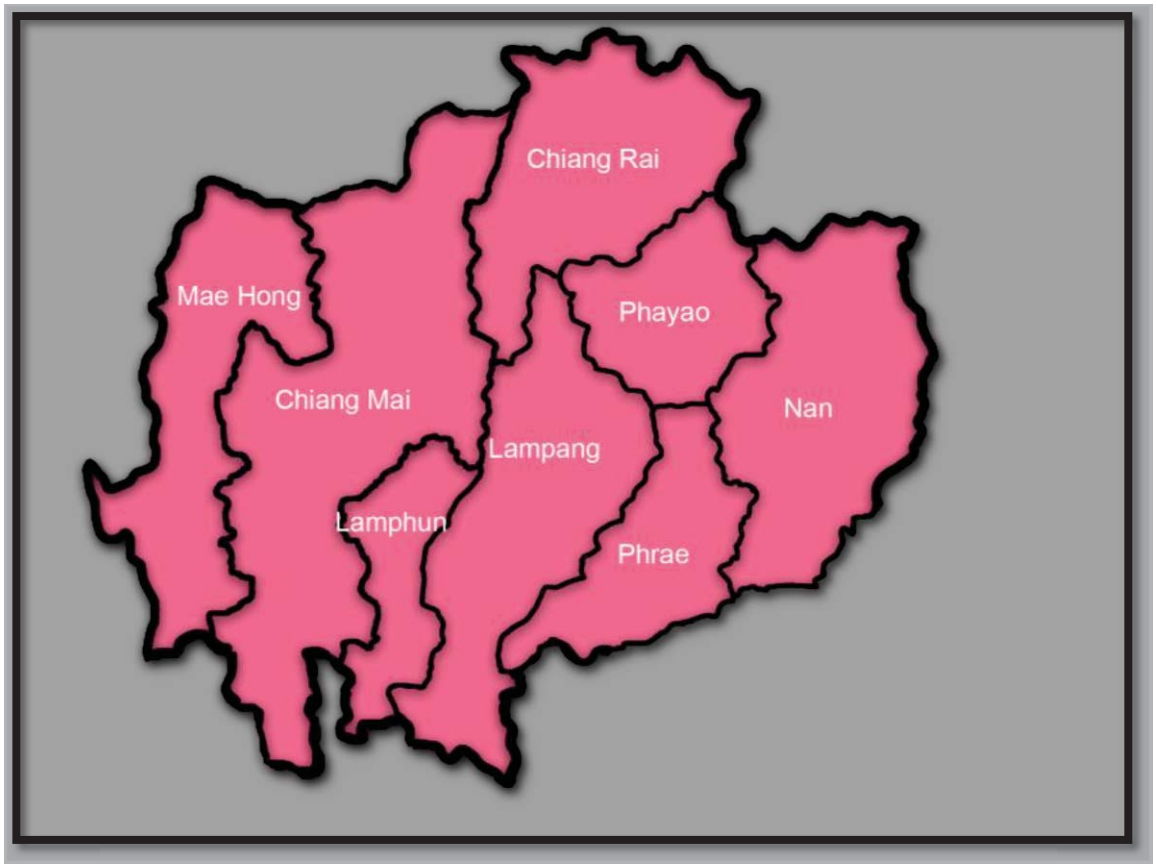
Appendix S: The map of areas of responsibility for Division 1 - 9 (Continued)



Division 4 is in charge of the 12 provinces in the upper North-Eastern part of Thailand. The following are the list of provinces:

- Kalasin
- Khon Kaen
- Nakhon Phanom
- Maha Sarakham
- Mukdahan
- Roi Et
- Leoi
- Sakon Nakhon
- Nong Khai
- Bueng Kan
- Nong Bua Lam Phu
- Udon Thani

Appendix S: The map of areas of responsibility for Division 1 - 9 (Continued)



The eight provinces in the upper Northern part are responsible by Division 5. The following are the list of provinces:

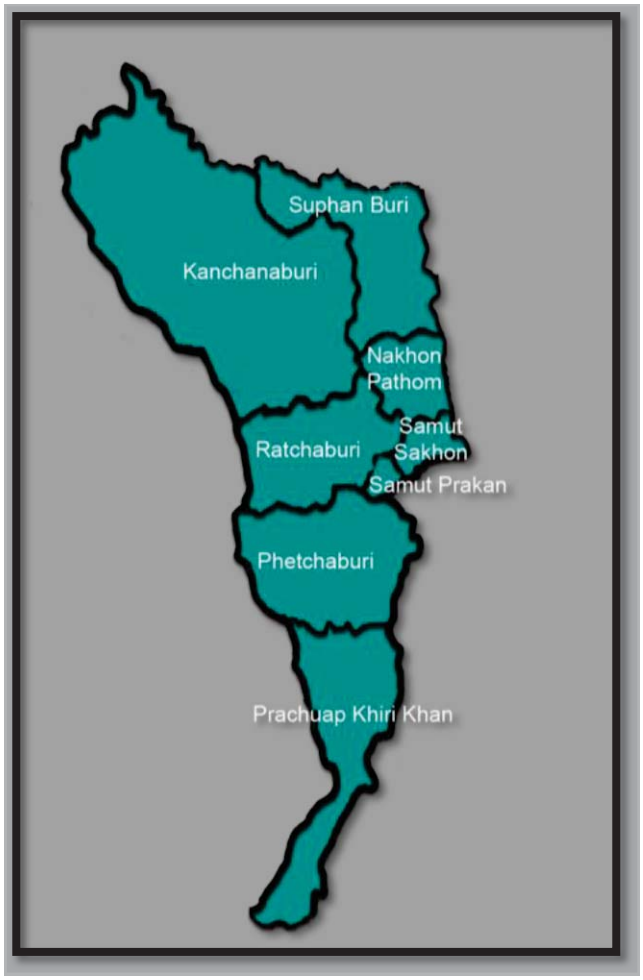
- Chiang Rai
- Chiang Mai
- Nan
- Phayao
- Phrae
- Mae Hong Son
- Lampang
- Lamphun

Appendix S: The map of areas of responsibility for Division 1 - 9 (Continued)

Division 6 is responsible for the other nine provinces in the lower Northern part of Thailand. The following are the list of provinces:

- Kamphaeng Phet
- Tak
- Nakhon Sawan
- Phichit
- Phitsanulok
- Petchboon
- Sukhothai
- Uttradit
- Uthai Thani

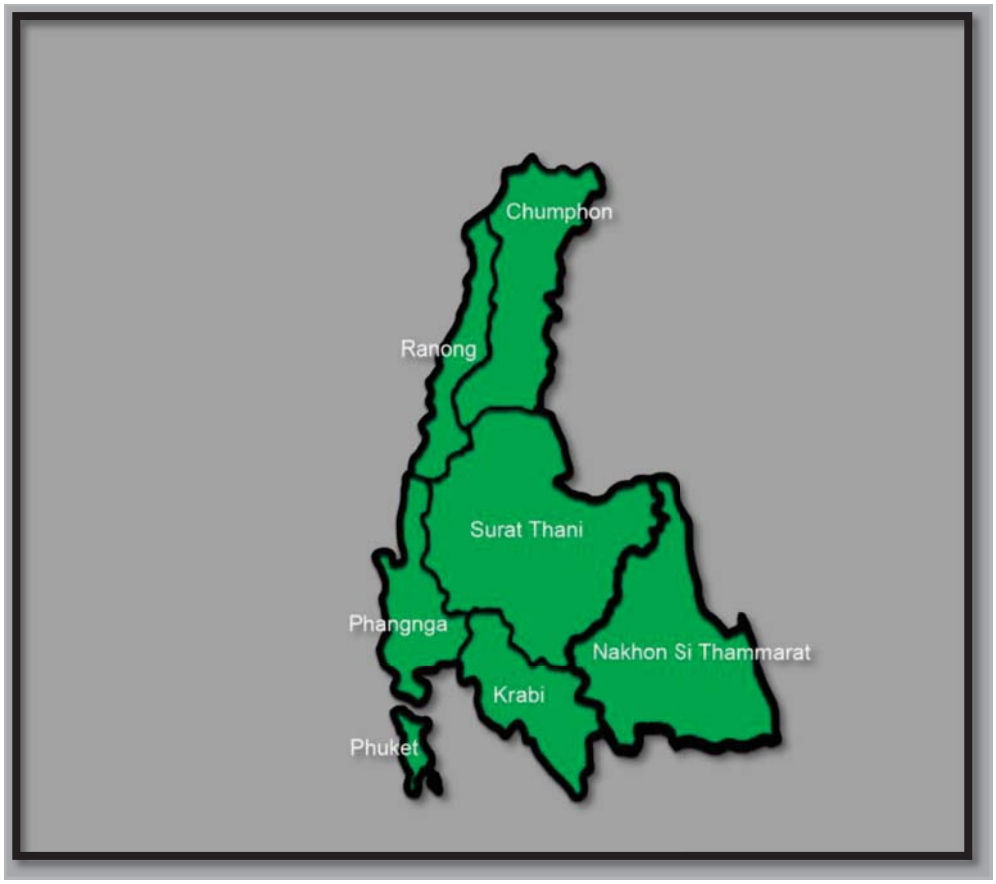
Appendix S: The map of areas of responsibility for Division 1 - 9 (Continued)



Division 7 is responsible for the Central part of Thailand and shares border with Division 1. There are eight provinces which have been responsible by Division 7. The following are the list of provinces:

- Kanchanaburi
- Nakhon Pathom
- Phetchaburi
- Prachuab Khiri Khan
- Ratchaburi
- Samut Songkhram
- Samut Sakhon
- Suphan Buri

Appendix S: The map of areas of responsibility for Division 1 - 9 (Continued)



Division 8 is responsible seven provinces in the upper Southern provinces. The following are the list of provinces:

- Chumphon
- Surat Thani
- Nakhon Si Thammarat
- Rayong
- Pang-Nga
- Phuket
- Krabi

Appendix S: The map of areas of responsibility for Division 1 - 9 (Continued)

The other four provinces in the lower Southern part of Thailand have been responsible by Division 9. The following are the list of provinces:

- Songkhla
- Trang
- Satun
- Phatthalung

Appendix T: The table of the rank and position of police officers in the Royal Thai Police

Ranking	Positions
Police General	Commissioner General Deputy Commissioner General
Police Lieutenant General	Assistant Commissioner General Commissioner (3 years)
Police Major General	Deputy Commissioner (2 years) Commander (3 years)
Police Colonel	Deputy Commander (4 years) Superintendent (3 years)
Police Lieutenant Colonel	Deputy Superintendent (3 years)
Police Major	Inspector (3 years)
Police Captain	Inspector (2 years) Deputy Inspector (2 years)
Police Lieutenant	Deputy Inspector (3 years)
Police Sub-Lieutenant	Deputy Inspector (3 years)

Appendix U: The summary of recommendations for the RTP

Recommendations

The following are eight major recommendations to the RTP to improve the status of female police officers and to reduce barriers against promotion to senior levels:

1. Record annual sex-segregated statistical data of police officers divided by rank
2. Establish a women's advisory board
3. Change male attitudes towards female police officers by supporting gender equality in the RTP
4. Create the requirement for police officers to have prior work experience in the department in which they are seeking a higher-ranked position
5. Initiate mentors for female police officers
6. Create network opportunities for female police officers
7. Ensure that supervisors complete annual evaluations to check whether male police officers behave appropriately towards female police officers to prevent sexual harassment
8. Establish a unit or department to deal with sexual harassment