

---

# Vertical Mobility, the "Glass Ceiling" and Gender Discrimination: Perceptions of Female Police Officers

Danijela Spasić  
Marta Tomić  
Ivana Radovanović

University of Criminal Investigation and Police Studies, Belgrade

## Article Information•

Review Article • UDC: 351.74-052:305

Volume: 21, Issue: 1, pages: 223-241

Received: January 24, 2024 • Accepted: February 20, 2024

<https://doi.org/10.51738/Kpolisa2024.21.1r.223str>

## Author Note

Danijela Spasić  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9432-5188>

Marta Tomić  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1023-2895>

Ivana Radovanović  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3555-5140>

We have no known conflict of interest to disclose.

Corresponding author: Danijela Spasić

E-mail: [danijela.spasic@kpu.edu.rs](mailto:danijela.spasic@kpu.edu.rs)

---

• Cite (APA): Spasić, D., Tomić, M., & Radovanović, I. (2024). Vertical Mobility, the "Glass Ceiling" and Gender Discrimination: Perceptions of Female Police Officers, *Kultura polisa*, 21(1), 223-241, <https://doi.org/10.51738/Kpolisa2024.21.1r.223str>



© 2024 by the authors. This article is an open-access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

## **Apstract**

In Serbia women are still discriminated against in all aspects of their public and private lives. The security system, especially police, bears the consequences of structural inequalities. Our research deals with the position of women working in police units. The aim of the research was to define the identities of policewomen in Serbia through their perception of vertical advancement and exposure to gender discrimination. The research will be based on qualitative approach – interviews with women police officers. The sample will consist of 40 respondents from different police units, selected using the snowball method. Qualitative results indicated the presence certain doses of gender stereotypes in women, but also their impression that they are not completely professionally accepted by colleagues. The results indicate a structural gender segregation and marginalization, which is reflected in the imprisonment of women in narrow circle of administrative and auxiliary police work. The findings of this study will represent an important argument in the development and improvement of gender-sensitive regulation in the police, protection against discrimination and in the projection of its personnel structure and career advancement of employees under equal conditions.

*Keywords:* women police officers, Serbia, the glass ceiling, vertical advancement, gender discrimination

## **Vertical Mobility, the "Glass Ceiling" and Gender Discrimination: Perceptions of Female Police Officers**

### **Introduction**

Many authors rightly point out a divided perception of security. Namely, this concept cannot be narrowly and one-sidedly defined as freedom from threats, fear, and physical violence, as it also includes moral, ideological, and normative elements (see more: Bjelajac, 2016). Integration and vertical mobility of women within dominantly male professions, which includes the police profession, are part of the wider problem of gender inequality in the labour market and gender inequality at the level of global society (Silvestri, 2017; Witz, 2004; Butler et al., 2003; Fleming & Lafferty, 2002; Garcia, 2003; Brown, 2007). The position of women within male professions is less favorable, i.e. they achieve a lower professional achievement and that it is difficult to fit into the framework of male professions such as the police profession (Reva, 2012). Despite solid evidence that women and men are equally capable of performing police work (Silvestri, 2017; Martin & Jurik, 1996), widespread prejudices and practices in the selection of candidates for police work contribute to maintaining a low proportion of women in the police profession (Kakar, 2002; Brown, 2007; Fleming & Lafferty, 2002; Miller et al., 2003; Stojanović & Kesada, 2010; Kolin, 2009; Tomić & Spasić, 2010; Spasić et al., 2015; Spasić & Radovanović, 2019).

Many men in the police still maintain a very negative attitude towards female police officers in the performance of their duties, considering that they are physically incapable, insufficiently aggressive, too emotional, mentally weak, excessively naive, and finally, unable to gain the trust of citizens (Janković et al., 2020; Silvestri, 2017; Kakar, 2002), although crime suppression policy (see more: Bjelajac, 2015) excludes gender stereotypes and male supremacy. Women in the police achieve professional success and climb the vertical ladder. However, the glass ceiling still exists in the police on the way to senior management positions, and as such, exists exclusively for women.

Many of the obstacles that prevent vertical mobility are based on the social perception of the role of women that assigns them a biological role, which in the dominantly masculine police profession practically means that they are assigned auxiliary and administrative jobs (Brent, 2008).

The mechanisms of the glass ceiling can be various – uncertainty of the superior's assessment, unjustified fear of competition that is imposed based on the principles of nepotism or other self-interested motives, prolonged waiting for obtaining the appropriate professional rank, decision-making based on unclear criteria when selecting candidates for a higher management position, etc. Studies based on the oral testimonies of women who have felt the effects of these mechanisms show how demotivating and negative its impact is. (Essig & Soparnot, 2019; David & Woodward, 1998; Enwise Expert Group, 2003).

In the academic literature there are three basic directions in which the authors use this term. The first direction uses the term glass ceiling to explain the lack or absence of women in the upper management echelons of organizations, analyzing its effects on management positions, top management, management hierarchies and income distribution (Benschop & Brouns, 2009; Cotter et al., 2001). The glass ceiling in organizations represents inequalities that are of gender or racial origin, and which: cannot be explained by other professional characteristics for advancement required by the employer; are greater at higher levels of resources (earnings, power); are reflected in the chances of promotion to higher levels regardless of the proportion of employees, and which; are increased during the career (Babic & Hansez, 2021; Cohen et al., 2020). Another current of researchers analyzes the perception of individuals and groups about the existence of the glass ceiling. These authors believe that women are actually aware of the existence of the glass ceiling and manage their career and expectations related to it accordingly, that is, they form a perception of fear of advancement (Kim & Starks, 2016). The third group of researchers does not use the glass ceiling as a central term to explain the problem of gender inequality in professional

advancement, but uses it cautiously and mainly through research conclusions, so, for example, with the help of Bourdieu's concept of habitus and field, in one study they explain how women use habitus socially desirable man in order to break through the glass ceiling (Benschop & Brouns, 2009).

### **Women in the Serbian Police: Always a Woman, never a Colleague in "All Boys Club"**

Research of gender inequality in professions in Serbia (Kolin, 2009; Tomić, 2019; Blagojević, 2006; Babović, 2010; Spasić, 2011; Reva, 2012) indicate that the position of women in key aspects such as promotion and salary is less favorable than on men. Some of the most important problems faced by employed women are obstacles in advancing to management positions in companies, lower pay for the same or jobs of equal value, compared to men (Zorić et al., 2008; Babović, 2010). In Serbia, the mass influx of women into the uniformed police began after 2000. Currently, there are very few uniformed, high-ranking women in the police force, they mostly do administrative work. When it comes to career development, they systematically focus on stagnant jobs because prestigious jobs generally require working outside normal working hours, frequent trips and long absences from home, which is an obstacle to maintaining a balance between family and profession (Deljkić et al., 2023).

Research on the integration and career advancement of women in the police in Serbia (Tomić, 2019), showed that women are aware of their position, but they justify it due to the adopted values of the patriarchal culture. They give priority to the safety and protection they receive at work, and on the other hand, they do not have enough resources to change their professional and personal position in society. They are, "naturally" mothers and housewives, so if they want to improve professionally, they have to coordinate their obligations so that neither family nor work suffers. But it's not just men who are gender insensitive, it's also women, because they tend to blame themselves for their non-advancement in the police career.

## Research methodology

Current research will be based on interviews with women – police officers within the framework of a qualitative approach to the research problem, as semi-structured, that is, semi-standardized, directed in accordance with defined thematic entities. The aim of the research was to define the identities of female police officers through their subjective perception of vertical advancement and exposure to gender discrimination. Women make up 1/3 of the employees, but the percentage in managerial positions stagnates or decreases proportionally. Therefore, it is important to recognize the key factors that shape their perception of the police as a "system of (un)equal opportunities" and attitudes about the "glass ceiling" as obstacle in the integration and vertical mobility of women.

The key research questions that this study should answer are: 1) Did female police officers encounter obstacles during the recruitment process?, 2) What duties are entrusted to them within the police unit? and 3) What challenges and limitations do they face in the process of advancement in the police? The answers of the respondents should enable the verification of the validity of the basic hypothesis of this research: Professional integration and vertical mobility of women in the police services covered by the research, under the influence of gender inequality acting from the social, organizational and individual levels, are extremely unfavorable.

### *Participants*

Research was conducted from May to August 2022 on a sample of 40 policewomen. Twenty-five participants had graduated from the four-year Police Academy while 10 of them had finished the Higher School of Internal Affairs, five participants graduated from another university. The length of their professional experience ranged from 2 to 25 years. According to the types of jobs they perform, 25 participants were uniformed police officers while 15 performed law enforcement operative and administrative jobs; likewise, 20

participants were employed in the Police Directorate; 20 were employed in the Criminal Justice Police and administrative offices.

### *Data collection*

The greatest challenge in the course of forming the sample was finding participants in rural and middle-sized police stations and making contact with them. The first contacts were with the women from town police agencies on the basis of personal acquaintances and files from the Police Academy that helped the researchers to make an initial list and later use the "snowball sampling" method. The research was conducted through direct interviews in the canteens of police stations, restaurants, parks, participants' offices and other suitable places. Although the duration of the interviews varied from 30 min to 2h, the average duration was 1h. During each interview, notes were taken, and each interview was taped with the subject's consent. These were coded using an opened-ended approach. After the first reading, tags corresponding to relevant research issues were placed on the transcriptions by hand.

We analyzed the data from the research on three levels – social, organizational and individual. The social level is a field in which women have a subordinate position in the patriarchal one, i.e. dominantly male culture. From the social level, pressure is exerted first through the mechanism of socialization (from the primary family and, later, the professional environment), and then through the mechanisms of discrimination, professional exclusion (negative integration) and segregation in the labour market. At the organizational level in the police, we analyzed gender relations, the current scheme of the gender regime, as well as the effects and mechanisms of the glass ceiling.

We adopted "Glass ceiling" and gender regime as adaptable concepts in relation to the research context with reference to the authors David & Woodward (1998); Benschop & Brouns (2009); Koenig et al., (2011). At the level of a woman as an individual, the influence of the mechanism of "dual" careers – family and business, seems extremely difficult both for professional integration and for

advancement within the police structure. Through interviews we tried to look at three levels of perception of the interviewees:

- Perception of the fairness of the division of household duties (individual level),
- Perception of different treatment at work (organizational, collective),
- Perception of advancement, motivation and future in the police (social).

## Results

Due to the scope of the work and the size of the sample, we will present the key and common findings as answers to the research questions and as results of testing the hypothesis.

### *Perception of the fairness of the division of household duties*

Sanja (30 years old, married, has one child, Police Academy, 6 years of work experience): *I prefer to finish household chores myself. Men's repairs and other things are done by the husband. For a while, I was alone with a one-and-a-half-year-old child whom I took to kindergarten every morning. After work I pick up the child, we go home. And I really struggled and it was hard for me.*

Milena (36 years old, married, has one child, Police Academy, police officer, 12 years of work experience): *Family obligations are something that is taken for granted for a woman. Family should come first, then everything else. Mostly all the housework and work around the child falls on me. I married a typical Balkan man. In our country, there are no strict classical divisions, but it is known what a woman does and what a man does.*

Vesna (30 years old, married, no children, master of law, police inspector, 5 years of work experience): *I have been married for two years, but we still have no children. My husband is a colleague, but he works at the MUP headquarters. As for household chores, I have learned to do everything and it is not difficult for me. Sometimes my*

*husband helps me with something. It's neither too hard work nor too much for me. I mean, what else would I be doing?*

Sara (53 years old, married, has one child, Higher School of Internal Affairs, police inspector, 18 years of work experience): *In my family, the division of labour is such that I do all the household chores, except for buying groceries. As a woman, I feel good in my own skin. I am a wife and mother first, and then a police officer. So my priority is family, and only then work, and in that sense I never felt threatened.*

#### *Perception of differential treatment at work*

Gordana (49 years old, married, has one child, Higher School of Internal Affairs, police officer, 25 years of work experience): *My first job was in the office. Mostly women work there, our boss was a man.. When I finished college, I worked in the fraud and counterfeiting department. At that time there were very few women, especially in the criminal administration. When I started working, I was the only woman. Today, the entire department has about 100 inspectors and 8 female inspectors.*

Maria (39 years old, married, has one child, analyst, 13 years of work experience, mid-level management position): *I wanted a real police job. But it wasn't until I started working in the office that I realized that I wanted it wrong. Because I am a woman and I would not be able to manage both family and work. It takes a lot of effort to achieve being an operational police officer. House, shifts, children, family. It would take a lot of mental and physical investment to achieve that... I'm a general crime analyst. The work is interesting, dynamic, but analytics in the police has always been secondary. The analytical service is mostly a female collective.*

Lena (49 years old, married, has two children, graduate special education teacher, police inspector, 25 years of work experience): *When I finished the course for police officers, I started working at the Voždovac police station. And I start as a police officer on the street. Then I worked as a shift leader and was in a position to coordinate work, direct people to the field. My colleagues were suspicious, but I*

*managed well and fit in. I was the first female shift leader at Voždovac. I worked there for two years. During that period, we worked in 4 shifts. Then I received an invitation for the position of deputy head of the shift in the Operations Center, where my faculty would be recognized. I accepted it, I came here and was the first woman, the deputy head of the shift.*

#### *Perception of advancement, motivation and future in the police*

Ivana (33 years old, married, no children, Faculty of Economics, analyst, 6 years of work experience): *Men progress more easily in operational jobs. And women's years of seniority are subtracted from pregnancy and maternity leave, so they don't have an annual performance evaluation. Men are much freer in interpersonal relationships, which are needed to change the workplace and to advance, than women. Men can definitely be exposed to a lot more stress than women without just realizing it. They are definitely emotionally and mentally stronger than women.*

Zorica (37 years old, married, has one child, graduate special education teacher, police inspector, 10 years of work experience): *When I talk about women who start working in the police, I think that they primarily want to solve an existential issue, and that they are not ambitious in professionally, to be operational workers, field policemen. I think that women are generally oriented towards safe, government work, they are assigned without problems to logistics and administrative services. There are few women who like and want to work in uniform, or as police inspectors. It seems to me that a bigger problem is the fact that one is promoted in the police through connections, connections and protection are the ballast of the police.*

Jelena (34 years old, married, no children, Higher School of Internal Affairs, police inspector, 10 years of work experience): *Women in management positions are mostly emotional. They are basically not ambitious in the sense that they like to be the boss, they would rather sit in an office, not have a responsible job and know that they will go home without the worries that come with a high office. I think that*

*women make it difficult for themselves to progress and professional affirmation because they are not dedicated to work, because security is more important to them, and because they do not have the qualities of a leader, they are more emotional and softer, and on the other hand, they are hindered by family and children. Furthermore, women come to the police to get married. In this way, they solve another existential question because here it is easier to find a husband, a partner, they are surrounded by men.*

## **Analysis and discussion**

The markedly masculine gender regime in the police, traditionally maintained by a police culture that does not recognize women's equality in the performance of police work, affects the assignment of newly arrived young women to administrative jobs or mixed patrols, and the structure of the leadership staff, which is predominantly male, creates a masculinity climate in which the professional affirmation of women in the police is repeatedly limited (Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2005; Rabe-Hemp, 2009; Spasić et al., 2015; Janković et al., 2020).

Understanding the factors that influence the professional stagnation and marginalization of women in the police from their personal perspective, this research showed that they are restrained from the social, institutional and personal field by maintaining the dominant position of men, to which they submit without of active resistance (Dick & Jankowitz, 2001; Harrington, 2002; Bacik & Drew, 2006; Rabe-Hemp, 2009). Their marginalized position, segregation and covert discrimination by men in the police, and men in private life, has a cause in gender socialization, learned patterns of behavior and accepted stereotypes. They give priority to the safety and protection they receive at work, and on the other hand, they do not have enough resources to change their professional and personal position in society (Spasić et al., 2015; Deljković et al., 2023). The men who surround them are completely gender insensitive, because they do not see their overload (Balkin, 1988). They are, "naturally" mothers and housewives, so if they want to improve professionally, they simply have

to balance their obligations so that neither family nor work suffers (Bacik & Drew, 2006).

At the social level, there are three basic negative mechanisms that prevent women from professional affirmation: gender division of labour, patriarchal socialization and the dominance of masculinity (Walby, 1990; Connel, 2005; Burdie, 2001; Godenzi, 1999; Brown, 2007). We also used the scheme of researchers Chan, Doran and Marel (Chan et al., 2010) to show how women behave in accordance with assigned gender roles in the police (doing gender) (Balkin, 1988; Butler et al., 2003; Spasić, 2011) based on the fact that a woman is burdened with work and family care, that the "dual career" factor makes it difficult and slows down her professional affirmation (Kakar, 2002; Reva, 2012).

Within the division of jobs in the police, women are assigned jobs that are typically female (administration, administrative jobs, juvenile delinquency jobs, counter jobs, etc.). In this way, we observe that the division of labour in the police organization follows the division of labour in the labour market (Garcia 2003; Reva, 2012; Janković et al., 2020). This phenomenon indicates a stubborn process of job segregation in the police organization, which is under the influence of social gender inequalities in the labour market and under the influence of the internal structure of the police organization, which is predominantly male (Deutsch, 2007).

The behaviors of women employed in the police, which are gender conditioned, i.e. their occupation of gender-preferred roles, is the manifestation of the ability to play culturally prescribed stereotypes, which is extremely noticeable in the police profession because they are in a male-dominated profession (Rabe-Hemp 2009; Tomić & Spasić, 2010; Silvestri 2017). This turned out to be true in this research, because all the respondents are part of a male-dominated collective. A smaller number of respondents said that they do not behave in a typical female way, but that women in the police are expected to behave and work differently from men (Paoline & Terrill, 2004). It can be concluded that this practice is a kind of established way of reproducing cultural patterns and stereotypes in the

police, justifying the gender division of work and roles in the police and in society (Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2005). While self-expressing gender, the women in the study described themselves and their colleagues through a set of behaviors and traits that range from more empathy in working with citizens and colleagues to better communication with them, compared to fellow police officers (Harrington, 2002).

In this way, they defined a feminized version of police work, and differentiated themselves from their male colleagues, emphasizing that they too can do police work, but in a different way. In conclusion, female police officers occupy a certain position in a male-dominated organization, which is lower and subordinate, but which is at the same time unique because it combines a typically male profession and typically female traits.

## **Conclusion**

The career advancement of women in the Serbian police is not only influenced by factors such as police structures, norms, etc., but also by their personal experiences and the roles they perform simultaneously, i.e. the dual role in professional and family life. The conflict arises due to the conflict of different fields in which these roles are promoted (problem in the hierarchy of different motives, such as success, power, prestige, money, on the one hand, and sacrifice for children and family, on the other), and due to the impossibility of giving priority to one of them, in order to resolve the tension in that way.

There is a double standard for women in the police profession: they are criticized for being passive, timid, but equally condemned for being "too aggressive" or "too masculine", which means they are not "feminine" enough. Women are really caught in a double bind, often losing, no matter which way they go. In such circumstances, a system of professional and personal relationships is created at the workplace characterized by the dominance of men through sheer numbers, and is reflected in decision-making systems of authority, heterosexism, subjugation of women, as well as possible demonstrations of force.

Indirect gender discrimination in the Serbian police exists, because seemingly neutral norms, criteria and practices that are directly related to the admission and assignment of women according to the lines of work in certain services, make it impossible (on the basis of gender) for women as a group to achieve their full professional and personal potential, thus which will prove that they are equal with men, but they do not get an institutional opportunity for it.

## References

- Babic, A. & Hansez, I. (2021). The glass ceiling for women managers: antecedents and consequences for work-family interface and well-being at work. *Frontiers in Psychology* 12: 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.618250>
- Babović, M. (2010). *Rodne ekonomske nejednakosti u komparativnoj perspektivi: Evropska unija i Srbija* [Gender economic inequalities in a comparative perspective: European Union and Serbia]. Sociološko udruženje Srbije i Crne Gore, Institut za sociološka istraživanja Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu i SeConS – Grupa za razvojnu inicijativu.
- Bacik, I. & Drew, E. (2006). Struggling with juggling: Gender and work/life balance in the legal professions. *Women's Studies International Forum* 29(2): 136–146.
- Balkin, J. (1988). Why policemen don't like policewomen. *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 16(1): 29–38
- Benschop, Y. & Brouns, M. (2009). The trouble with the glass ceiling. Critical reflections on a famous concept. *4 th International Critical Management Studies Conference. The Intersection of critical management research and organizational practice.*
- Bjelajac, Ž. (2015). *Politika suzbijanja kriminaliteta* [Crime Suppression Policy]. Pravni fakultet za privredu i pravosuđe u Novom Sadu.

- Bjelajac, Ž. (2016). Sektorski pristup bezbednosti – analitički okvir kompleksne bezbednosne dinamike [Sectoral approach to security – analytical framework of complex security dynamics]. *Kultura polisa*, 13(31): 303–315.
- Blagojević, M. (2006). *Rodni barometar – društveni položaj i kvalitet života žena i muškaraca*. [Gender barometer - social position and quality of life of women and men]. Ažin.
- Brent, S. (2008). *Female participation in the police promotion process: are women competing for promotion in numbers proportionate to their statistical representation in policing?* Department of Political Science. The University of Western Ontario.
- Brown, J. (2007). From cult of masculinity to smart macho: gender perspectives on police occupational culture. Police occupational culture, New debates and directions. *Sociology of crime, law and deviance* 8: 205-226.
- Bourdieu, P. (2001). *Masculine Domination*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Butler, E., Winfree, T., & Newbold, G. (2003). Policing and gender: Male and female perspectives among member of the NZ police. *Police Quarterly* 6(3): 298-329.
- Chan, J., Doran, S., & Marel, C. (2010). Doing and undoing gender in policing. *Theoretical Criminology* 14(4): 425–446.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480610376408>
- Cohen, J. R., Dalton, D. W., Holder-Webb, L. L., & McMillan, J. J. (2020). An analysis of glass ceiling perceptions in the accounting profession. *J. Bus. Ethics* 164: 17–38.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-018-4054-4>
- Connell, R. (2005). Advancing gender reform in large-scale organisations: A new approach for practitioners and researchers. *Policy and Society* 24(4): 5–24.
- Cotter, D., Hermsen, J.M., Ovadia, S., & Vaneman, R. (2001). 'Glass ceiling effect.' *Social Forces* 80(2): 655-682.

- David, M. & Woodward, D. (1998). *Negotiating the glass ceiling: careers of senior women in the academic world*. UK Falmer Press.
- Deljkić I., Malis-Sazdovska, M. & Spasić, D. (2023). Gender balance in the criminal justice system: Bosnia and Herzegovina, North Macedonia, and Serbia. In Angelina Stanojoska, Darko Dimovski, Elena Maksimova (eds.). *The Handbook on Female Criminality in the Former Yugoslav Countries*, pp. 261-293. Springer Cham. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-27628-6>
- Deutsch, F.( 2007). Undoing gender. *Gender & Society* 21(1): 106-27.
- Dick, P., & Jankowitz, D. (2001). A social constructionist account of police culture and its influence on the representation and progression of female officers: A repertory grid analysis in a UK police force. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 24(2): 181–199.
- Enwise Expert Group (2003). Waste of talents: Turning private struggles into a public issue. *Women and science in the enwise countries: A report to the European Commission*. Brussels: Directorate-General for Research.
- Essig E., & Soparnot R. (2019). Re-thinking gender inequality in the workplace – a framework from the male perspective. *M@n@gement* 22(3): 373-410.
- Fleming, J., & Lafferty, G. (2002). Equity confounded? New managerialism, organisational restructuring and women in Australian police service. Paper presented to the 3rd Australian women and policing conference Canberra.
- Garcia, V. (2003). Difference in the police department: Women, policing, and "Doing gender". *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 19: 330-344.
- Godenzi, A. (1999). Style or substance: Men's response to feminist challenge. *Men and Masculinities* 1(4): 385-392.
- Harrington, P. (2002). Advice to women beginning a career in policing. *Women & Criminal Justice* 14(1): 1–13.

- Janković, R., Spasić, D., Koropanovski, N., Subošić, D., Dopsaj, M., Vučković, G., & Dimitrijević, R. (2020). Physical abilities and gender differences: Binary logic or gender dualism of the police organisation. *Revija za kriminalistiko in kriminologijo* 71(4): 283-296.
- Kakar, S. (2002). Gender and police officers perceptions of their job performance. *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 13(3):238-256.
- Kim, D., & Starks, L. T. (2016). Gender diversity on corporate boards: Do women contribute unique skills? *American Economic Review* 106(5): 267-271.
- Koenig, A. M., Eagly, A. H., Mitchell, A., & Ristikari, T. (2011). Are leader stereotypes masculine? A meta-analysis of three research paradigms. *Psychol. Bull.* 137: 616-642.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023557>
- Kolin, M. (ur.) (2009). *Rodne nejednakosti na tržištu rada u Srbiji i podsticanje evropskih integracija*. [Gender inequality in the labour market in Serbia and the promotion of European Evropski pokret u Srbiji.
- Martin, S., & Jurik, N. (1996). *Doing justice, doing gender: Women in law and criminal justice occupations*. Thousand Oaks, Sage.
- Miller, S. L., Forest, K. B., & Jurik, N. (2003). Diversity in blue: Lesbian and gay police officers in a masculine occupation. *Men and Masculinities* 5(4): 355-385.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0095399702250841>
- Paoline, E., & Terrill, W. (2004). Women police officers and the use of coercion. *Women & Criminal Justice* 15(3-4): 97-119.
- Rabe-Hemp, C.E. (2009). POLICEwomen or policeWOMEN? *Feminist Criminology* 4(2): 114-129.
- Reva, A. (2012). *Gender inequality in the labour market in Serbia*. World Bank.
- Schuck, A., & Rabe-Hemp, C. (2005). Women police. *Women & Criminal Justice* 16(4): 91-117.

- Silvestri, M. (2017). Police culture and gender: Revisiting the cult of masculinity. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice* 11(3): 289–300. <https://doi.org/10.1093/police/paw052>
- Spasić, D. (2011, January–April). Police culture and gender identity. *Western Balkans Security Observer* 6(19): 25–35.
- Spasić, D., Đurić, S., & Mršević, Z. (2015). Survival in an “all boys club”: Policewomen in Serbia. *Women’s Studies International Forum* 48: 57–70.
- Spasić, D., & Radovanović, I. (2019). “Always a woman, never a colleague”: Policewomen in Serbia. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)*, 24(1): 31–40.
- Stojanović, S., & Kesada, K. (ur.) (2010). *Rod i reforma sektora bezbednosti u Republici Srbiji* [Gender and security sector reform in the Republic of Serbia]. Beogradski centar za bezbednosnu politiku.
- Tomić, M., & Spasić, D. (2010). Maskulinitet u profesijama [Masculinity in professions]. *Antropologija*, 10(1): 95-110.
- Tomić, M. (2019). Žene u policijskoj profesiji i osvrt na stanje u srpskoj policiji [Women in the police profession and a review of the situation in the Serbian police]. *Temida*, pp. 289-317. <https://doi.org/10.2298/TEM1903289T>
- Witz, A. (2004). *Professions and patriarchy*. Taylor & Francis e-Library.
- Walby, S. (1990). *Theorizing patriarchy*. Blackwell.
- Zorić, J., Dičić, N., & Petković, N. (2008). *Radna prava žena u Srbiji* [Women's labour rights in Serbia]. Beogradski centar za ljudska prava.

## **Vertikalna mobilnost, „stakleni plafon“ i rodna diskriminacija: percepcija žena – policijskih oficira**

Danijela Spasić  
Marta Tomić  
Ivana Radovanović

Kriminalističko-policijski univerzitet, Beograd

### **Sažetak**

U Srbiji su žene i dalje diskriminisane u svim aspektima javnog i privatnog života. Sistem bezbednosti, posebno policijski, trpi posledice strukturalnih nejednakosti. Naše istraživanje se bavi položajem žena koje rade u policijskim jedinicama. Cilj istraživanja je bio da se definišu identiteti policajki u Srbiji kroz njihovu percepciju vertikalnog napredovanja i izloženosti rodnoj diskriminaciji. Istraživanje se zasnivalo na kvalitativnom pristupu – intervjuima sa ženama policajcima. Uzorak je činilo 40 žena, ispitanika iz različitih policijskih jedinica, odabranih metodom „snežne grudve“. Kvalitativni rezultati ukazuju na prisustvo određenih rodnih stereotipa kod žena, ali i na njihov utisak da nisu u potpunosti profesionalno prihvaćene od strane kolega. Rezultati ukazuju na strukturnu rodnu segregaciju i marginalizaciju, koja se ogleda u zatvaranju žena u uski krug administrativnih i pomoćnih policijskih poslova. Nalazi ove studije predstavljaju važan argument u razvoju i unapređenju rodno senzitivne regulative u policiji, zaštiti od diskriminacije i projekciji njene kadrovske strukture i karijernog napredovanja zaposlenih pod jednakim uslovima.

*Ključne reči:* žene policajke, Srbija, stakleni plafon, vertikalno napredovanje, rodna diskriminacija