Barriers to Policewomen's Promotion: An Ontario Case Study

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Abstract

This exploratory case study delved into why many policewomen elect to bypass the promotion process in a large Ontario police service. Although there is research on the number of policewomen at each rank in the Ontario police services and a considerable amount of research about the barriers policewomen face in many parts of the Western world, it is not clear why many abstain from the promotion process. This research asked the question why, and participants provided some insight as to how the situation regarding policewomen’s career promotion could be improved in the future.

Forty-three policewomen participated in this research and they loosely encompassed a cross section of Ontario policewomen throughout the rank structure. Non-commissioned officers (constables, sergeants, and staff sergeants) as well as commissioned officers (inspector and above) participated in this study. Some of the officers involved were from the front-line, while other officers were from specialized units.

This research employed a qualitative design and focused on the participants’ perceptions about putting themselves forward for promotion. Social capital theory (Coleman, 1998; Putnam, 1995a) is used to frame the study, as aspects of social capital are successful in promoting a community-based policing initiative that is now widely accepted across the province. One-on-one interviews were conducted and a modified version of the constant comparative method (CCM) of analysis helped tease out relevant themes from the data. I used an interpretivist lens to determine
and analyze the analytical results thematically in the hopes of facilitating relevant organizational change in the future.

Findings from this research study led me to conclude that the biggest obstacles appear to be the organizational culture and the structure of the current promotion process itself. Findings show there is an ineffective structure and limiting culture for many policewomen as well as for some members of other minority groups. I hope that some of the suggestions for change will be helpful to the organization, which they can then utilize to improve the process for everyone in the Ontario police service in the future.

**Keywords:** Policewomen; promotion; career barriers; case study; law enforcement: Ontario; gender; organizational structure; culture; social capital.
Lay Summary

This study looked at why few policewomen enter the promotion process in a large Ontario Police Service. There are currently data that show the percentages of policewomen in each rank although there is very little research that looks at what the barriers are, and why policewomen abstain from entering the promotion process in the first place.

Forty-three policewomen of different ranks participated in voluntary interviews. The main points from each interview were compared, and similar ideas were put into categories or themes. The researcher looked at the common themes, and interpreted the results.

The results showed that the biggest obstacles for policewomen in this study were the organizations culture, and the promotion process itself. Some potential suggestions were provided to assist the organization in improving and providing a more inclusive process in the future.
Acknowledgements

This process has been wonderful, frustrating, and downright difficult at times however, it has forced me to just soldier on. My thesis supervisor, Dr. Pam Bishop has been an inspiration, a great mentor, and role model. She has believed in me and encouraged me when I have been frustrated and wondered why I was doing this in the first place. She regularly contacted me and has met with me whenever I needed to do so.

Dr. Kathy Hibbert has been a most skillful and thoughtful member of the supervisory committee as well as a great source of inspiration. The other member of my team, Dr. Elan Paulson, has also been a great resource, especially with her expertise in English. She has been a great help, keeping me calm and focused as well as sending the odd joke to lighten the day. I am so grateful that I have had the opportunity to learn from all of you. I also appreciate the fact that you have all believed in me, despite the fact that my journey has been somewhat different than that of the rest of the cohort.

The Graduate Office staff have been a great resource and have assisted me throughout this endeavor. I have also met some great people, in particular fellow students, Lorena and Marilyn, who have taken this journey alongside of me, and we have dealt with many highs and lows together. I value your friendship and hope to keep in contact with you in the future.

I would like to thank the participants in the study—the response was overwhelming! I have had the good fortune of interviewing some very intelligent policewomen who have been promoted, as well as some who have not but should be. Your interest in my study has kept me motivated when times were tough. I would like to thank my late father “Sam” for telling me “you
can do anything you want to do,” and for actually believing that I could. This is for you, dad. I also want to thank my mom, Marge, and sister Shirley for their support and encouragement.

I dedicate this work to my husband, Al, my best friend, who has stood by me as I have endured significant personal tragedy while I have gone through this journey. He has had to put up with me as I struggled to stay motivated and always told me I was smart enough to do this.

To my four children; Azalea, Dillon, Andrew, and Hayley, as well as their spouses. To Azalea, John, Dillon and Bryce, thank you for understanding why I have not been as available as I should have been during this project I have undertaken for several years. Now I will have much more time for the grandchildren; Jack, Jeremy, Peyton, Jesse, and hopefully many more!

To Andrew and Hayley, thank you for putting up with me while I was interviewing, transcribing, and writing this monster! I have books and paper everywhere, however, I hope I have set an example of hard work, and that anything is possible for all four of you. Perhaps I will have inspired you to pursue further education in the hopes of affecting change for the future. Hopefully, I have done this while teaching you all that life is not all academic, one needs to get their hands dirty and be a doer as well.

I would like to thank my good friend Dan, whom I have known since my undergraduate years. We have been through a lot together as well over the 34 years we have known each other, and not only has he stood by me, he has stood by my entire family.

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To all of you I am forever grateful.
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Preface

In the early 1990’s I started my policing career and I have seen and experienced major changes in technology, equipment, and training. I have seen a change in the type of candidates who enter the field, as well as recent legislative changes that have made things once prohibited now acceptable, in some cases. As an example, we have just legalized marijuana and that has changed the way we ‘do business’ in Ontario.

Depending upon who you ask, some of the changes have been seen as detrimental while others have been advantageous to the police service. It appears that more of the new candidates have post-secondary education and varied backgrounds which in and of itself is positive. Change is a good thing and although many police officers are opponents of change, overall it is inevitable and advantageous for the good of the organization and society.

There are still difficulties for police officers to negotiate in the police service. It is difficult for policewomen who go off on maternity leave, as well as for those policemen who take parental leave. In these situations, the rest of the shift are faced with running short and this often causes resentment. Favoritism is still prevalent, there are colleagues who step on others to get ahead, plus child care tensions, and harassment concerns still exist. Things are better than they once were, but the service still requires a substantial amount of improvement (as do most organizations).

Personally, I have had to remain on the front-line for most of the 27 years that I have put in because my family and education have taken precedence. I have witnessed and experienced the cronyism, nepotism and harassment that many of my interviewees in this study indicated they had
gone through. Sadly, most of these negative things happened at the hands of someone in a supervisory position.

During this study I declined to participate in a promotion process because I felt it may put me in a ‘position of power’ if I was selected. This was something I did not want to happen while I was dealing with interviewees. It was difficult enough trying to navigate the police officer/researcher positions simultaneously. After my data were collected, I did attempt to negotiate some processes. This provided me with some insight into how the process worked and validated what many of the policewomen had shared with me. In all honesty, I did that partially from the stance as a researcher, and partly as a prospective candidate for a promotion or specialized position. This dissertation is not my story so I would rather you read the responses provided by the policewomen in my study. This is their story, and their voice that I will try to present through my writing.

The process is difficult especially for those who come from another organization, or if you are a policewoman, as networking is difficult and you are invariably left to negotiate the waters on your own. Nobody in the police service will proactively help you negotiate the process; you actually have to seek people out to see if they will provide you with any knowledge from their experience. If you do not continue to prod, the help dries up very quickly.

The time commitment necessary to complete the promotion process is incredible. It takes so much time away from family in order to compete, and frankly I understand why some people—men and women—do not undertake that endeavour.
The people I have interviewed are concerned with nepotism/cronyism and the process itself. I am hopeful that the organization will take heed to some of the recommendations to make the process fair, transparent, and inclusive for everyone. If the police service wants, for example, to improve organizational trust and change the police culture, I hope this dissertation triggers such a discussion. Further, I hope this research will encourage the creation of training to ensure appropriately inclusive people are put in police leadership positions in the future.

Susan Dick
Chapter One: Introduction to the study

1.1 Overview of the Chapter

The first chapter of this study provides a brief summary of the background to this research as well as a brief overview of what follows. Within the background section, the purpose of the study is addressed. After the background, the research problem is introduced as well as the questions that shaped the study. This is followed by a brief description of the research design and the study methodology. The chapter also highlights the significance of the study to the overall body of research in the area.

1.2 Background to the Study

The purpose of this research study was to inquire as to why many policewomen abstain from entering the promotion process in one large Ontario police service. The research for this dissertation is centered around an examination of the following: (1) the difference between those policewomen who choose to enter the promotion process and those who do not; (2) the challenges of ensuring policewomen are qualified to participate and be effective in the promotion process; and finally, (3) the promotion process itself to determine if there is anything that can be done to make it more attractive and viable.

In 1829, Sir Robert Peel successfully passed the Metropolitan Police Act in London, England (Marshall, 2013). Even that long-ago Peel believed that policing must be reflective of the community one serves within. Marshall (2013) argued that Peel’s statement is ironic as over half of the population today is female, yet this gender is not reflected in the large Ontario police service in this study. Statistics Canada data from 2010 showed that 50.4% of the population in
Canada and 50.7% of the population in Ontario are female (Robles & Milan, 2015). Since 2016, the number of policewomen remains relatively stable in and around 21%, increasing very slightly each year (Greenland & Alam, 2017). This is an overall number, across the rank structure. Once broken down, it is very clear that the higher ranks are even more disproportionately male so far as policewomen are concerned. In 2016, policewomen in Canada represented 13% of the commissioned officers while 18% were non-commissioned officers (Greenland & Alam, 2017).

These numbers speak to the need to monitor the ways in which policewomen are recruited, retained, and ultimately promoted in the police service. Although the numbers have increased over the last decade, the growth in representation of policewomen across all ranks has been slow to achieve.

It is essential that improvements be made to the promotion process to entice qualified women candidates to put their names forward rather than letting a limited group, including possibly some less qualified individuals, acquire the majority of the premium positions. It is also important for the standing and efficacy of a police service that it be as diverse as the community in which it is based.

1.3 The Research Problem and the Research Questions

The problem investigated in this research looks at why policewomen often abstain from entering the promotion process in a large Ontario police service. The prospective participants were policewomen from all rank structures and disciplines. The purpose for studying the three different rank structures (Constable, Non-Commissioned and Commissioned Officers) was to
compare perceived differences in equity experienced by policewomen who had been promoted (once or more than once) and policewomen that had not been promoted.

It is the researcher’s hope to contribute to the field of study as well as to encourage others to continue undertaking further research in the area. Further, as noted earlier, I hope the findings from this research will effect change in the promotion process of Ontario police services in the future.

This study was centered on the following four research questions:

1. Why do some policewomen choose to enter the promotion process while others do not?

2. Who are the policewomen that do enter the process? In this question the study looks at whether the policewomen who enter the process have different support systems that enable them to do so.

3. How do policewomen understand their qualifications or what do they need to do to be successful in the context of the promotional process?

4. Finally, is there something that can be or needs to be done to make the promotion process more attractive and accessible to policewomen in the future?

1.4 The Research Design and Methodology

The methodology used in this study is an exploratory case study research method. As Yin (2014) pointed out, a case study is “in-depth and within its real-world context, especially when
the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (p. 16). Like Yin, Streb (2010) explained that an exploratory case study is often utilized when previous research is sparse in a field of study. In this particular case a qualitative study was chosen so that I could find out why more policewomen are not participating in the process. It is evident from the current research by Greenland and Alam (2017) that, over the decades, the percentages of policewomen across ranks has increased minimally, but it appears most of the research is geared to barriers policewomen may face and it is not clear if that is the main or only reason why they pass up opportunities.

An interpretivist paradigm is used along with aspects of Putnam’s (1995a), and Coleman’s (1988) social capital theories. I am a current twenty-seven-year veteran who has worked in three police services in Ontario. My policing experience was advantageous, because I also chose not to enter the promotion process prior to analyzing the results. The reasons given by participants in this research as to why they did not aspire to promotion were analyzed as accurately and vigilantly as possible to ensure reliability of the findings.

This study began using a pilot interview conducted earlier in the Doctor of Education program: The main question in the pilot interview concerned why policewomen often opt out of the promotion process. This pilot interview was used to assist in outlining and re-vamping the process that would be used in the actual research project. This pilot interview also provided me with data and a baseline to determine if the questions were helpful in eliciting responses or if they needed to be tweaked. The data were gathered from an in-depth, semi-structured interview process.
It was clear, after completing the pilot research project that this was a research question that needed to be pursued, but it was necessary to make some changes to enhance the methodological approach and the data collection instruments. I also reflected on different aspects of the interview process, which needed to be changed. This process also assisted in learning what change was needed within the process itself. This realization, in fact, is even more crucial than the barriers that have been focused on in previous research. At this time, the promotion process became the main focus of the dissertation.

I decided to study policewomen across all ranks of a large Ontario police service. I hoped this would enable a qualitative-in-nature comparison to see if policewomen encountered the same treatment as they rose through the ranks. The police service utilized in this study was chosen because it is large, it encompasses both rural and urban areas, and it is geographically and culturally diverse. Qualitative data were collected, recorded, analyzed, and interpreted. Data sources included semi-structured, in-depth interviews, member checks, a researcher reflective journal with my own professional experiences, as well as current data (eg. Statistics Canada from 2014-2017) were used to inform the study.

As noted earlier, this study in particularly employed Putnam’s (1995a) and Coleman’s (1998) social capital theories to show organizational networks, norms, and trust that require collaboration for mutual benefit. Putnam’s and Coleman’s social capital theories are sometimes used in the Community Policing realm, and I believes they can also be used effectively to benefit policewomen in their endeavours to pursue promotion.

Increasing policewomen’s social capital may assist them in career development (Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010). This can be done by developing both networking and sponsorship.
Kumra and Vinnicombe (2010) stated that, in order for further development, the policewomen need to interact with others of a higher social status within the organization. This auspicing, in effect, is something that the organization needs to provide to policewomen within their organizations.

A modified version of the constant comparative method (CCM) was employed in this study in order to assist in the identification of themes gleaned from the data. Once common themes were identified, I used an interpretivist lens to analyze findings.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This research investigated an important area of inquiry, namely why many policewomen avoid entering the promotion process during their careers. If one values diversity and inclusivity in the workforce, then it matters to have policewomen in senior positions, as well as in the lower ranks. The study is also significant as it contributes to a conversation taking place throughout the literature about promotion and policing. It brings attention and dialogue to policewomen’s experiences and responds to the paucity of Canadian research in the area. The findings from this research may provide the basis for a framework to assist Ontario police services in supporting their policewomen through the promotion process in the future.

It is necessary to ensure that policewomen feel that they are valuable, effective, and respected leaders. The study also aimed to encourage, even if indirectly, a more supportive culture within the police service. As Kumra and Vinnicombe (2010) pointed out, in order for a more supportive culture to be created, it is imperative that women who are in positions to lead, both act as role models, and sponsor other policewomen who seek promotion. I believe that
achieving this cultural change will require an ongoing educational and leadership process that should be implemented so that officers learn to role model and mentor others on their way through the ranks.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

There are some limitations with this research study, one of which was the modest sample size, in particular in terms of participants who were from the upper ranks. Clearly, some data from one large Ontario police service were relied upon in the research. However, this research was not designed to be generalizable to other services. As indicated earlier, the research was conducted in the hope of ultimately improving the promotion process within the service.

There were some time constraints with the research due to the researcher’s full-time employment, shift work, course work, and more broadly life itself. If more time had been available, it would have been interesting to compare results with other large Ontario Police Services.

As an insider, I took precautions to limit the bias and to remain faithful to the data the participants shared. In order to support this, I conducted member checks to ensure the transcription of interviews reflected participant statements and minimized any misunderstandings in interpretation. In the analysis, the resulting data were triangulated in order to decrease any influence of researcher bias while increasing the trustworthiness of the study.
1.7 Organization of the Dissertation

There are six chapters included within this dissertation. Chapter one provided an overview of the research context with an introduction to the background information and why the research is important to the field. The research problem was stated, including the questions, research design, and methodology. The significance of the study to the field are discussed, with some limitations identified.

The second chapter presents the literature review and highlights the current literature in the field. Chapter two is divided into eight different areas: (1) the history of policewomen in Ontario; (2) pertinent definitions in the literature; (3) statistical data pertaining to policewomen in Ontario; (4) barriers that are prevalent in the literature; (5) barrier analysis; (6) promotion; (7) policemen, and; (8) possible solutions.

The methodological approach and research instruments used are detailed throughout the Chapter three. These instruments included in-depth, semi-structured interviews, member checking, and a researcher’s reflective journal. Chapter three will also explain why the particular methodology was chosen, as well as how the data were collected and how they were analyzed, compared, and presented. Social capital theory (Putnam, 1995b) is the theoretical lens used in this dissertation.

Findings are presented in Chapter four. Some statistical data from Statistics Canada are also included in this section. Chapter five provides the researcher’s interpretation of the data presented in Chapter four. The lens of interpretivism is used to make sense of the data obtained in the research (Bakker, 2010). In Chapter five a response to the research problem will be
provided as well as an analysis and the researcher’s interpretation. After looking at the data analyzed and interpreted, Chapter six provides conclusions, implications, and recommendations.

1.8 Chapter Summary

Chapter one provided the framework to set the stage for the research study. The research problem and questions were also outlined along with a snapshot of the methodology and an acknowledgement of the influence of both Putnam’s (1995b) and Coleman’s (1998) social capital theories in this research. The data were analyzed and interpreted using an interpretivist stance. The study’s significance and limitations were discussed.
Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Overview of the Chapter

This chapter will provide a review of relevant literature that relates to key aspects of this study. To provide some context, the study offers a brief discussion of the history of policewomen in the police service in the United States, Canada, and Ontario in particular. This history begins when the first policewomen were employed in Canadian police services, and specifically those in Ontario. Definitions relative to the literature are included. Some of the statistical data (as reported by Statistics Canada) are presented and compared over time. These data show the number of policewomen in the services as a percentage and break the data down specifically with respect to rank. I then review the literature on barriers policewomen face and have faced from the time they were first hired in the profession. Information is also included on the promotion process and policemen. Finally some potential solutions to the problems of why so few policewomen attempt the promotion process are discussed.

2.2 The History of Policewomen in the United States and Canada

Across much of the Western world integration of policewomen into the police service has been a slow process as policing has been, and still is, traditionally a male dominated profession. In the mid 1800’s, some women were employed in police departments in the United States, however, they were treated differently than policemen and were typically brought in to deal with women and juvenile or young offenders (Segrave, 2014). In 1845, in New York City, women were employed as matrons in the jails (Segrave, 2014). The Chicago Police Department hired Marie Owens in 1889 after her husband passed away. It was common practice to hire widows of
policemen to assist them as they did not have any death benefits in this time period (Segrave, 2014). According to Segrave’s (2014) extensive research, by 1893, Owens was appointed patrolwoman, and she was on the police payroll by 1901. Owen was the first woman in the United States to be given powers to arrest. In Portland, Oregon, Lola Baldwin was given police powers and was the first sworn female officer in 1909. Baldwin held a record for arrests totaling 488 in a nine-month period. In 1910, Alice Stebbin Wells joined the Los Angeles Police Department and was the first woman to receive the actual title of policewoman. Segrave’s (2014) meticulous history of policewomen in the United States further shows that Wells went on to establish the International Association of Policewomen in 1915, where she held the position of President until 1919. That association is still active and supports policewomen all over the world today. Also, in the United States, the first policewomen to achieve an advanced rank were employed in police services in the early 1900’s. From 1919 to 1921, Kate Shelley Wilder was the Police Commissioner in Fargo, North Dakota while around the same time Lydia Overturf was the Police Chief in Buckner, Illinois (Corsianos, 2009).

Even though some women were able to serve in police forces during the 19th and 20th Centuries in the United States, they were not given the same status as the men (Segrave, 2014). They were used in positions that were structurally limited, typically dealing with women and children, and they encountered “resistance and discrimination, often disguised as humor” (Segrave, 2014, p. 111).

Oftentimes, women were not able to retain the positions they held in the police service. For example, during the Great Depression in the 1930’s, men took over the policing positions that the women held (Wells & Alt, 2005). During the 1940’s and World War II, women were
brought back into the workforce in different capacities (Wells & Alt, 2005). They were often deployed as dispatchers, auxiliaries, or clerks rather than as officers (National Centre For Women in Policing, n.d.). In the 1950’s the number of policewomen increased substantially, and by the 1960’s policewomen had opportunities to experience policing in ways that were very similar to or the same as men’s experiences (Wells & Alt, 2005). In 1968, in Indianapolis, IN, the first women went on patrol duty (NCFWP, n.d.).

In 1972, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act incorporated all public agencies and police departments so that they could no longer overtly discriminate against women (Segrave, 2014). The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) was the United States’ Federal agency responsible for ensuring state and local law enforcement discontinued discriminatory practices (Salas & Lewis, 1979). Police departments were expected to be held accountable and as punishment, government funds were withheld if they did not abide by this Act (Segrave, 2014). Despite this, “26 of the 50 largest police departments receiving funds from LEAA were defendants in lawsuits alleging discriminatory practices” (Segrave, 2014, p. 218).

The first African American female, Beverly J. Harvard, became Police Chief in Atlanta, Georgia in 1984 (NCFWP, n.d.). The fact that it took this long for the first African American female to become Chief speaks to the pervasive gender and race inequality within the American police services. In 1985, Penny Harrington became the first female Police Chief to be in charge in a major city in Portland, Oregon (NCFWP, n.d.). In terms of career openings for women, some employment conditions were improving; however, it is evident that Title VII alone did not solve the pervasive problem of gender inequity. That one change in and of itself did not provide enough force to stimulate perpetual change.
Historically, it is believed that Canada’s first female officer was Rose Fortune, a “black Loyalist” who levied curfews in Nova Scotia in the 1800’s (International Association of Women Police, 2018). In Ontario, a person by the name of Mrs. Whiddon was the first police matron in Toronto in 1887 (Segrave, 2014), and Rossi (2012) reported that in Canada, both Edmonton and Vancouver claimed they were the first police services to employ women in 1912. There is also documentation that Minnie Miller, of the Vancouver Police, was one of the first women to make an arrest on August 3, 1912 (Corsianos, 2009); and in 1913 the Toronto Police Service hired their first policewomen (Segrave, 2014). Although policewomen were starting to enter the field of policing in Canada, they quickly decreased in numbers between 1920 and 1945 only to increase again after the Second World War. This appears to be broadly consistent with what was happening in the United States during the same time period.

Although women were employed with the Toronto Police prior to the end of World War II, they did not receive the same rate of pay as men until 1945 (Segrave, 2014). This was around the same time the policewomen’s uniform was introduced, albeit different from the men’s (Segrave, 2014). In Toronto, policewomen were first allowed to ride in a patrol vehicle in 1959 and in 1974 Toronto policewomen were finally armed (Toronto Police, n.d.). Guns were issued to female members of the Vancouver police in 1973, but prior to that, a handbag was issued to policewomen, so they could swing it at a perpetrator if it was necessary (Segrave, 2014).

On June 14, 1974, the first 15 female Ontario Provincial Police recruits graduated from their respective police academy in Brampton (“Celebrating Women in Policing,” 2016, para. 2). The Royal Canadian Mounted Police hired their first policewomen in 1974 (when 32 were hired) and they were sent to the Depot in Regina, Saskatchewan for recruit training (Segrave, 2014).
According to Corsianos (2009) the Constitution of Canada recognized the rights of women as equals in the eyes of the law in 1982, and employment equity standards were implemented in the Province of Ontario by 1990. Those changes increased the number of policewomen from 30% to 40% by 1995 (Corsianos, 2009, p. 32). In 1995, these standards were removed from the Police Services Act and the number of female officers and other minorities soon decreased (Corsianos, 2009). This drop in the number of policewomen was significant in terms of if there are less women recruited it is possible there will not be as many policewomen to potentially aspire to promotion.

In December of 1994, Lenna Bradburn became the first female Chief of Police in Canada. She held this position for six years in Guelph, Ontario (Wells & Alt, 2005). In 1998, Gwen Boniface was appointed as the first female Commissioner of the Ontario Provincial Police (“Celebrating Women in Policing,” 2016, para. 8). In 2018, there are currently five female police chiefs of municipalities in Canada. Further to that, in 2018 the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) appointed a female, Brenda Lucki, as their current Commissioner.

2.3 Definitions

The following are terminology and definitions that are used in this dissertation.

**Auxiliary:** A civilian member that is sworn to secrecy and rides with a regular member in the course of their duty. A volunteer position within the service that also follows a rank structure similar to sworn positions: Constable, Sergeant, Staff Sergeant, and Inspector.
Average: The mean. Statistics Canada collects data on how many police officers are in each rank across Canada. They then determine how many of those officers are female. The proportion is created as a percentage.

Chief or Commissioner: A person in charge of the entire police service.

Chief or Staff Superintendent: Commissioned Officer who is similar to the Chief of a large area but reports to the Deputy Commissioner or Deputy Chief.

Commissioned Officer (CO): Inspector to Chief or Commissioner.

Competencies: The knowledge, skills, and abilities assessed for a position.

Constable: Progresses through four levels: fourth class, third class, second class, and first class. Each level takes one year. A Constable works patrol on the front line.

Corporal: Ranked in-between the Constable and Sergeant and normally works the front line and typically with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Deputy Commissioner or Deputy Chief: Reports to the Commissioner, may be in charge of the operational or administrative branches in the police service.

Detective Constable: Plain clothes officer in an investigative capacity.

Detective Sergeant: Supervises the Detective Constables. There can also be Detective Staff Sergeants and Detective Inspectors in larger services.
Diversity: Individual differences that may include disability, age, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, sexual identity, cultural differences, socioeconomic status, religion, and education (MacQuarie University, 2015).

Equity: Fair treatment and opportunities for the underrepresented or those people who have a disadvantage (MacQuarie University, 2015).

Hegemonic Masculinity: In the context of this study, policemen are considered superior to policewomen. Connell (1987) explained that many of the symbols, ideologies, and images in a male-dominated profession are presented in this way.

Inclusion: Acceptance of others who may have different values, abilities, and beliefs than one’s own.

Inspector: First rank in the Commissioned Officer Classification. Usually heads a division and deals with critical incidents.

Non-Commissioned Officer (NCO): Sergeant or Staff Sergeant.

Off shifting: Occurs when one person completes their shift and the other one (spouse or partner) begins theirs.

Recruit: A newly-hired candidate who has not completed the training and probationary period.

Sergeant: Supervises the front-line Constables on a patrol shift.

Staff Sergeant: Operations Manager in charge of deployment of resources.
**Superintendent:** Commissioned Officer who usually commands a section and is above Inspector.

**360 ° feedback:** Feedback from coworkers, supervisors, and others who have contact with the individual on a regular basis. Often used for developmental opportunities or promotion or other job prospects.

### 2.4 Statistical Data in the Literature

In recent years, the number of women in policing has been consistently increasing, both worldwide and within Canada: In 2015, Statistics Canada published research findings that compared Canada with 12 other countries similar in population, income levels, and geography in regards to policewomen. Statistics Canada found that Canada had the sixth highest percentage of policewomen in 2012, at 20% (Statistics Canada, 2015, p. 14). The leader nations in terms of hiring were: Sweden with 29%, the United Kingdom with 27%, Ireland with 25%, Norway following close behind with 24%, and the Netherlands with 22% (Statistics Canada, 2015, p.30).

In 2017, Statistics Canada reported that “women accounted for over 21% of all sworn officers” (Statistics Canada, 2018, p. 6). Also, in 2017, 19% were non-commissioned Officers (NCOs), which was up from 17.6% in 2014, and 14.7% were commissioned officers (COs), which was up from 10.9 % in 2014 (Statistics Canada, 2017, pp. 8-9). These numbers have increased since data were first collected on the number of active policewomen in 1986 (Statistics Canada, 2017). For example, the percentage of COs has more than doubled since 2006, jumping from 6% to 15% in 2017 (Statistics Canada, 2018). The percentage has increased significantly for NCOs as well, increasing from 11% to 19% in 2017 (Statistics Canada, 2018). However, the
percentage of Constables has remained fairly static showing 19.8% in 2004, 21.9% in 2013, and around 23% in 2017 (Statistics Canada, 2018). It is notable that most of the policewomen in Canada are represented in the lower ranks as Constables (Statistics Canada, 2014).

In Table 1, the percentage of Constables in Ontario has increased from 19.9% in 2012 to 21.4% in 2017 (Statistics Canada, 2018). The percentage of non-commissioned Officers in Ontario was 15.7% in 2012, 16.7% in 2014, and 17.2% in 2017 (Statistics Canada, 2018). In the same table the percentage of commissioned officers was 10.8% in 2012, 10.5% in 2014, and 14.3% in 2017 (Statistics Canada, 2018). These numbers are slightly lower than the national average, as shown below.

Table 1.

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<th>Rank</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2017</th>
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<tr>
<td>Total percentage</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commissioned Officers</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Commissioned Officers</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constables</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percentage</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>19.7</td>
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In broad terms, it is apparent that the numbers of policewomen are increasing over time. What is notable is that most policewomen remain in the lower ranks as indicated earlier. These data are revealing as a relatively small number of policewomen seek promotion when compared to their male colleagues. There is little current data on the reasons that account for these low numbers, particularly in the Canadian context, and even less data on how to increase the numbers of policewomen in non-commissioned and commissioned officer positions.

2.5 **Barriers Policewomen Encounter**

There are several career progression barriers that policewomen in Ontario face. Many of these barriers have been documented extensively in the research; for example, sexual harassment and discriminatory practices (e.g., Bikos’ 2016 study on hegemonic masculinity in the police service, and Segrave’s 2014 study on discrimination). These barriers may emerge at recruitment and continue on oftentimes getting in the way of policewomen’s promotion. There are barriers

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<th>Rank</th>
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<tr>
<td>Commissioned Officers</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>14.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Commissioned Officers</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constables</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>20.1</td>
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Statistics Canada (2018, para. 1) excerpt from *Police officers by rank and gender, Canada, provinces and territories.*
for other disadvantaged groups, however, they are not addressed in great detail here solely due to this particular research and both design and time constraints.

### 2.5.1 Gender and labour

Gender inequity exists in many occupational areas and is particularly common in many workplaces where the majority of employees are male; for example, fire services and the armed forces. Raewyn Connell, an Australian sociologist, has researched gender issues including masculinity. According to Connell (2005), organizations intrinsically define masculinity and femininity by arranging their own gender hierarchies and defining gender specific jobs. Connell (1987) referred to the symbols, ideologies, and images in professions dominated by men as hegemonic masculinity. The term *hegemonic masculinity* is used throughout much of the research on policewomen, and is a practice that still commonly occurs in many police services today (Bikos, 2016). The term hegemonic masculinity means that males (in this context policemen) are dominant in the police culture to their subordinate, policewomen colleagues (Bikos, 2016). This becomes an important barrier that policewomen must negotiate successfully in several respects, but especially for promotion.

Forty years ago, Martin (1978) stated that some women adopt a POLICEwoman identity, which emphasizes the masculine roles and traditional police culture while silencing the woman or feminine side of themselves. Other women take on the policeWOMAN identity, which emphasizes feminine characteristics, and the police role is secondary. More recently, Martin (1996) acknowledged that gender is not just something biological, rather it is something socially constructed through interaction. As well, Martin (1996) indicated that even policewomen’s own self-evaluations are compared to the male standard or benchmark. These are some of the ways female officers negotiate the police culture.
According to Prokos and Padavic (2002), hegemonic masculinity is commonly introduced in the curriculum at police colleges in the United States. Prokos and Padavic argued that, “devaluing women is equally as important a task as demarcating them as ‘other’” (p. 441). In their participant–observation study, at least some of the instructors differentiated real women who were thought to be ladylike and weak, from strong women who were powerful, resilient, and masculine (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). Demeaning and controlling comments like calling the policemen pussies when they were unsuccessful at a task or stating that sweeping is women’s work were commonplace (Prokos & Padavic, 2002, p. 452). As well, female instructors were not treated with the same respect as their male colleagues (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). In Kanter’s (1977) book, she argued that behaviour is determined by three structural conditions: In an attempt to be gender-neutral, it depends on how much power the person has, what opportunities are available, and the nature of their representation on the job.

Often when women enter management roles, they are obligated to conform to masculine ways of leading (Connell, 2006a). Further, just because a female is promoted and may enter a position in senior management, it does not follow that there is gender equity (Connell, 2006a). Lipman (2018) explained that being equal does not equate to be the same. This may simply be a one-off and there may be few other women in these roles. Some women who are successful in obtaining management positions are referred to by their male colleagues as feral (Connell, 2006c). Connell, (2006a) also noted that anti-discrimination and equal opportunity programs have very limited success in the advancement of women in the public sector.

The division of labour in many organizations is often determined by gender (Connell, 2002; 2006a). Connell (2002; 2006a) referred to a four-dimensional model that includes: the
division of labour based on gender in the occupation and organization; relations of power inclusive of hierarchy; emotion and human relations; and finally, gender culture and the symbolism used to highlight common beliefs and attitudes about gender.

Currently in North America, policing is still one of the most gendered occupations in existence. This is particularly evident for women in the policing realm who are seen as being more suitable for administrative positions (Marshall, 2013). In this context, policewomen are not seen as being as suitable for positions in canine units, tactical units, or even for front-line patrol duties (Marshall, 2013). These positions are typically referred to as sexy and more commonly thought to be suited for policemen. Policewomen need to be able to show that they are able to perform these duties effectively, and this may mean that they might have to go against their own values in order to compete for such jobs and be successful in them (Marshall, 2013). This rather primitive system of defining gender-specific jobs outlined by the sociological and biological differences between policemen and policewomen’s skills may be inaccurate (Rabe-Hemp, 2008): Many policewomen are as capable as policemen in most if not all police positions. Thus, these stereotypes do not consider one’s individual and situational factors (Rabe-Hemp, 2008).

Acker (1992) provided a theoretical framework to look at the barrier’s policewomen may face. Four gendered processes make things difficult for women in male dominated professions: Firstly is “the overt decisions and procedures that control, segregate, exclude, and construct hierarchies based on gender, and often race” (Acker, 1992, p. 568). Women are either excluded, or if they are provided with an opportunity to take a role, it is typically a position that is safe or a gender-stereotypical position. In that sense, policewomen can be controlled and segregated while violence and internal political practices are often supported within the organization (O’Connor
Secondly includes a gendered process similar to Connell’s (1987) hegemonic masculinity. Here, the successful leader is “aggressive, goal oriented, competitive, efficient, but rarely is supportive, kind, and caring” (Acker, 1992, p. 568).

The third element in the process is what Acker (1992) referred to as doing gender. This is the part of the process where differences are created that are not natural or biological (West & Zimmerman, 1987). The last step highlights the differences that are dependent on the context and situation at hand. Acker (1992) stated that a persona, or identity, is constructed, which is relevant to the organizational needs (Acker, 1992).

Connell (2006b) suggested that in some cases gender is disguised or expressed indirectly in many organizations. In some cases, the organization and employees alike deny that there is a gender issue in the organization altogether: “Yet gender neutrality is hard to achieve in practice – or is perhaps assumed to exist where it actually does not” (Connell, 2006b, p. 448).

Gender divisions of labour do not only exist in the workplace, they also occur in the home. This is evident as the person who is trying to get promoted needs to be able to commit a vast amount of time preparing for the process. This is made much easier for people who have wives (Connell, 2006b). Marilyn Loden coined the phrase glass ceiling referring to the invisible barrier that women cannot seem to crack. She spoke about this at a Women’s Exposition in New York in 1978 (Vargas, 2018). To the onlooker, seeing a few policewomen enter the higher ranks may mean it is easier for the organization to say that there is no glass ceiling (Connell, 2006a).

Policewomen who have been successful negotiating the glass ceiling should mentor others (Silvestri, 2003). Clearly, in most instances this is not the case, as there is a lack of mentorship in the police service. Shea (2008) predicted that if policewomen just stayed in the
pipeline they would eventually be promoted. Again, this does not appear to be the case as the pipeline theory has failed in almost every organization or there would be more women in upper managerial positions (Lipman, 2018).

Schafer (2010a) pointed out that, typically, police rookies go through extensive classroom teachings, practical scenarios, as well as applications of what they have learned. This is followed by working with an experienced officer to hone their skills, yet this is the last time there is any kind of planned commitment to mentorship (Schafer, 2010a). After recruitment, there is nothing more in the form of mentorship for the experienced officer (Schafer, 2010a). More specifically, there is no classroom training, leadership development, or mentorship to assist in successfully negotiating the promotion process (Schafer, 2010a).

2.5.2 Internal barriers. In theory, any organization can have potential internal barriers to promotion, and, in that respect, a police service is no different. Internal barriers can block a policewoman’s attempts to transfer into a specialized position or decrease their chances of upward mobility within the organization: This is particularly evident by the glass ceiling effect, in which there is no evidentiary basis for women not to be promoted (O’Connor Shelley et al., 2011; Silvestri, 2006). A glass ceiling not only limits or prevents women from advancement and promotion, it also can have the effect of preventing supervisors, or the policewomen themselves, from viewing themselves as potential candidates for promotion.

Carli and Eagly (2016) believed the labyrinth is the correct metaphor for women negotiating promotion, and it is more fitting than the glass ceiling or the sticky floor. Metaphorically, the sticky floor holds women at the bottom of the hierarchy and they are unable to climb up the ranks at all (Carli & Eagly, 2016). The authors felt the glass ceiling referred to
women, in this case policewomen, not being able to reach the highest levels in an organization. The sticky floor, “emphasized that many women never hit their heads on a glass ceiling, because they never have opportunities to advance to any level of leadership” (Carli & Eagly 2016, p. 517). The labyrinth was originally proposed by Eagly and Carli in 2007 and it suggests there are multiple paths to leadership and dead ends alike. The women need to persist in order to find a successful, although possibly more difficult path (Carli & Eagly, 2016). Examples of internal organizational barriers are sexual harassment, comparing policewomen to their male peers, a lack of leadership, a lack of provision of relevant mentoring, the prevalent male-dominated police culture, a lack of opportunities for promotion, tokenism, organizational barriers, and the complete underrepresentation of policewomen (Grace, 2012).

2.5.3 Sexual harassment. Many policewomen leave the job prematurely because of sexual harassment and discrimination in the police service (Marshall, 2013). Cordner and Cordner (2011) administered surveys to policewomen and police Chiefs in Pennsylvania. The results of these surveys suggest that sexual harassment in the police service accounts for their difficulty in retaining policewomen (Cordner & Cordner, 2011). Police Chiefs in this study perceived that if they took a stricter stand it would remedy the situation (Cordner & Cordner, 2011). This may be helpful, but the police service needs to take proactive action to stifle the behavior from occurring in the first place.

In an online article in Mirror, Smith (2015) reported that one out of six police officers overall in England and Wales want to leave the service within two years, while others were in the process of looking for another career (para. 1). This exodus is as a result of how officers are
treated, their workload, and the increase in responsibilities (Smith, 2015). Officers are deterred from making complaints, because they face potentially severe consequences (Marshall, 2013).

A (2015) Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) article about Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officer Shelley Whitelaw was reported as one of over 300 allegations of sexual misconduct in the federal police service. Those women who are current or former members of the RCMP are now members of a class action law suit. The stress that can accompany this workplace experience can lead to psychological problems such as depression and post-traumatic stress disorder (Lynch, 2002).

A recent Australian article about the County Fire Authority highlights a history of bullying, sexual harassment, sexual assault, and a culture of fear in the fire service (McKenzie & Baker, 2017). Some of the comments that members provided in that study were disconcerting as the culture was reported as dysfunctional, a boys club, and a place where nepotism was common.

Sexual harassment is exclusionary, and it segregates policewomen, which creates a stressful environment, limits opportunities for promotion, and decreases retention (Shelley, Morabito & Tobin-Gurley, 2011). In a paper written by Leane and Durand (2002) on the Victoria Police in Australia, they reported that sexual harassment is prevalent in the police workplace. They went so far as to say that “there is sufficient evidence to suggest that sexual harassment is commonplace in every police force in Australia and the western world” (p. 7).

2.5.4 Comparing policewomen to their male peers—the subculture and hierarchy.
The subculture in policing is a male-dominated culture where policewomen are constantly compared to their male peers (Grace, 2012). Policewoman must first be considered loyal and
trustworthy in order to fit in and be seen as one of the guys (Marshall, 2013). Policewomen may have to show some symbols of masculinity in an attempt to conform to the police subculture (Lappage, 2013). To be successful doing this, the policewoman needs to have a social relationship with the other members, and to be supported as part of the team. Such a commitment often needs to be developed off-duty and many women are often not in a position to put in those extra hours.

In some situations, policemen feel that they need to protect the policewomen that they work with. This is evident when a male supervisor sends a larger stature policeman to a dangerous call where the subject has a propensity for violence (Wertsch, 1998). This protective attitude does not sit well with many policewomen, because they have received the same use of force training (Marshall, 2013). Oftentimes, these attitudes make it more difficult for policewomen to obtain the necessary experience for revered career positions or promotion (Marshall, 2013)

The police service structure is hierarchical and that, in itself, can be a barrier for policewomen. Officers must follow the rank structure, which can be problematic if a policewoman has difficulty with her immediate supervisor (Marshall, 2013). Many policewomen are reluctant to break rank to speak to someone else (Marshall, 2013). Most know if they do this there will be career or organizational repercussions, so they do nothing. This is made even more difficult because of the way policewomen lead in the first place. Typically, they now lead in the same authoritative way as their male colleagues (Silvestri, 2007).

If a policewoman questions issues in the workplace she may be thought of as being a trouble maker and not properly or unquestionably following orders. Most often in the police
service women remain silent and by doing so they self-censor themselves and feed even more into the negative police environment (Marshall, 2013).

2.5.5 Lack of leadership. Often administrators and supervisors do not remove barriers that can limit policewomen from successfully negotiating the processes from recruitment to promotion. If supervisors lack leadership skills themselves they are not likely to be able to set the example in order to eliminate sexual harassment and discrimination in the workplace (Grace, 2012). This type of organizational problem is prevalent in news articles addressing the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) class action law suit for harassment and bullying in the workplace (Houlihan & Seglins, 2018). As Schafer (2010a) noted, in order to develop a successful system of leadership development, one must have actual leaders in the first place (Schafer, 2010a). By that, Schafer meant that there needs to be open, inclusive and equity-oriented formal leaders.

2.5.6 Lack of relevant mentoring. Grace (2012) pointed out that there are very few workplace mentors available for policewomen. This lack of mentors can be because there is no formal mentoring program to begin with in the police service. Further, it is important that the mentor is mentoring for the right reasons. Since mentoring is often important for promotion, it is imperative the mentor is not just participating in this endeavor to tick a box for their own career development (Carson, 2009).

Mentoring can also operate as a coping strategy for the mentee in particular, and it is important for veteran policewomen to support those with less experience (Banks, 2001). It is important for policewomen to connect with other policewomen who have been successful in the promotion process. This connection assists in building confidence and direction as well as
showing the mentee that their goals are attainable (Jones, 2017; Marshall, 2013). Mentoring often assists in cognitive, affective-related (emotional such as increasing self-confidence), social networking, and skill-based learning (Jones, 2017). Mentorship provides an advantageous stepping stone for networking and ultimately for promotion (Grace, 2012). Without such mentoring policewomen are isolated and they do not have the same opportunities as their male colleagues.

2.5.7 Prevalent male dominated police culture. Most of the uniform employees in the police service are male and therefore policewomen must compete in, and adapt to, a male-dominated environment (Grace, 2012). Group members have bonding capital, which is a tie between a close-knit group, but typically they are not trusting of outsiders (Hawdon, 2008). Unfortunately, the male-dominated police culture at present is highly gendered and often skill and ability are not recognized as being meritorious regardless of gender.

Further, policewomen are not often able to join the group in the first place. They try to fit in to the male dominated profession by trying to handle every situation “rather than maintaining their own diverse identity” (Hibbert, 2013, p. 92). This culture isolates policewomen and conditions them to accept intolerance, disrespect, and it could escalate, allowing their partners to perpetrate forms of domestic violence against them (Wetendorf, 2007). For example, Wetendorf goes on to say that a policewoman in a relationship with a policeman is cognizant of the stigma that goes along with being considered a victim, therefore she is even more likely to hide the abuse and remain silent. Further, if command staff finds out, the policewoman may feel that this will negatively affect her ability to get promoted or obtain special duties. This abuse could be in the form of assaults, threatening behavior and or criminal harassment, which can include
repeated following, unwanted communication (text, phone calls, third party contacts), and watching or stalking the victim.

2.5.8 Lack of opportunities for promotion. Since the primary socio-demographic in the police service is male, it is possible that policewomen may not have the same opportunities as their male colleagues (Grace, 2012). Policemen are able to maintain their control in the workplace by wanting policewomen to think like a man but look like the ideal woman (Wetendorf, 2007). While the policewoman portrays her feminine side, she compromises her professional vision (Martin, 1996; Wetendorf, 2007).

Oftentimes policewomen are still placed in feminine areas of the police service dealing with victims and children (Grace, 2012; Segrave, 2014). Martin (1996) suggested that policewomen are more often removed from front-line duties and placed in feminine assignments. These feminine assignments are positions that are not coveted like tactical positions, homicide, or guns and gangs, and typically they do not lead to advancement (Morabito, & O’Connor Shelley, 2018). These so-called feminine traits are not only devalued by policemen but by society in general (Poleski, 2016). In light of this, many policewomen seek out opportunities to be physical, (e.g., attending bar fights, arresting dangerous criminals, attending potentially violent calls), and they attend horrific scenes and supervise specialized teams (Poleski, 2016). This limits the number of policewomen who get promoted within the police service and is positive proof that the promotion process is not based on merit as it should be (Grace, 2012). Archbold and Hassel (2009) pointed out that policewomen, in their study on the barriers policewomen face, perceived that the promotion process itself was unfair.
2.5.9 **Tokenism.** In discussing organizational life, Kanter (1977) introduced the term *tokenism*, which she defined as a group that represents less than 15 percent of the total population in that workplace. The individuals who comprise that minority group are referred to as *tokens*. There are three *perceptual tendencies* within tokenism, namely: assimilation, visibility, and contrast (Archbold, Hassell, & Stichman, 2010; Kanter, 1977). Assimilation is when a person tries to fit themselves into a *gender-appropriate* role (Kanter, 1977). This assimilation is easily recognizable in policing as female officers are still required to take specific calls, such as many domestic-related issues, while avoiding calls like robberies or the types of calls that could potentially turn violent in nature.

Clearly, in most Western nations as well as in the Province of Ontario, policewomen are a minority in policing, and therefore they often feel they have to work harder to prove their worth. Kanter’s (1977) second perceptual tendency is visibility. Visibility is evident due to the fact there are fewer policewomen and their presence is more identifiable (Archbold et al, 2010; Kanter, 1977). In this respect, if the policewomen *overachieves*, she stands out in the first place. Such a scenario can prove detrimental to the other members in the group as it may make them look inferior (Archbold & Schulz, 2008). The third and final tendency is similar to visibility and it is called contrast (Archbold et al, 2010; Kanter, 1977). Contrast in an organizational context also draws attention to the policewoman by the very fact that the female officer is different. Policemen can easily add to a policewoman’s stress by highlighting and overemphasizing the differences; in this perceptual tendency, the policewoman is isolated and not included in the group (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Kanter, 1977).
Although some male police supervisors encourage policewomen to enter into the promotion process, policewomen often balk at the suggestion. Many policewomen still decline to enter the promotion process, because they feel the only reason they are encouraged is because they actually are tokens (Archbold & Schulz, 2008). In the study by Archbold and Schulz (2008) policewomen perceived that the reason they were being singled out and encouraged to apply by supervisors was because they were female, rather than because of their abilities or expertise. In such scenarios the prospect of promotion has potentially negative connotations and the policewoman may choose to not enter the process in the first place (Archbold & Hassel, 2009).

After five years on the job, policewomen are less likely to enter the promotion process than policemen (Archbold et al., 2010). Policewomen start as policemen do in patrol on the front-line, and it is here where the policewoman will know if they are supported or not: “If female officers feel that they are not supported as patrol officers, it is likely they will be hesitant to participate in the promotion process” (Archbold & Schulz, 2008, p.65).

Some policewomen do enter the promotion process and they are successful. Tokenism is not necessarily something that is only limited to the Constable rank, as Martin (1996) expressed: “In fact, as women move up the organizational hierarchy, they again become tokens and encounter challenges to their authority from men who may tolerate working with women but resist working for them” (p.12). In Poleski’s (2016) study participants reported that they experienced tokenism in the police service, however, this did not deter them from entering the promotion process. This finding of policewomen understanding they were tokens in terms of the promotion process, but still seeking advancement, is contrary to the previous research by Archbold and Schulz (2008).
2.5.10 Organizational barriers. Oftentimes the police service rewards traditional roles and masculine culture based on physical ability (Grace, 2012). In her study of organizational barriers, Grace (2012) argued that roles, which are considered traditional, support an authoritarian style of managing people and dealing with the community. As a result, those policewomen who use this authoritarian style are more likely to be successful and promoted in the organization (Grace, 2012).

In a study based within three different sized midwestern cities in the United States, Kurtz, Linnemann, and Williams (2012) found several assumptions. First, they found that many policewomen and men feel that policewomen do not have the physical stature to deal with certain situations. In light of that perception, policewomen are often excluded from certain assignments. Women are often either excluded from external functions or they are included but subjected to derogatory comments, so one option is not to attend. If policewomen put up with this and do nothing, the sexist behavior will be reinforced, and it will continue. In some situations, policemen appear to protect policewomen, but in one respect this is illusory as it simply tries to conceal the power of men. Marshall (2013) also felt that such attitudes reinforce the primitive and unsubstantiated barrier for policewomen.

2.5.11 Under-representation of women. Policewomen, in many cases, are under-deployed to violent calls while they are over-deployed to events like sexual assaults (LaPagge, 2013). Some specialty sections in police services, such as emergency response teams, are almost exclusively male (LaPagge, 2013). Policewomen still indicate that it many cases they are excluded from tasks such as working on arrest or warrant teams despite applying for these assignments (Kurtz et al., 2012). Moreover, some policewomen do not take other policewomen
seriously as being competent to handle a physical or violent confrontation (Chan, Doran, & Marel, 2010). In a similar approach to many fire departments, qualifying standards are set so high in relation to physical strength that few women are able to successfully accomplish them (LaPagge, 2013).

The police subculture often values violence and risk-taking, which emphasizes masculine behavior (Kurtz et al., 2012). LaPagge’s (2013) research shows that policewomen are just as capable, if not more capable, of dealing with hostile encounters as male officers. Participants in the LaPagge’s (2013) study were unable to provide an example of a call they went on where a policewoman’s physical limitation had a detrimental effect on the situation. Kurtz et al. (2012) related that although assignments are still segregated based on gender, police services are getting better. What is of concern is that many policewomen are made to feel that they are not as capable as policemen (LaPagge, 2013).

2.5.12 External barriers. External barriers that may impinge on policewomen’s career advancement are those which originate outside of the organization. These barriers include family commitments, litigation against an employer, lack of legislation, and socialization (Grace, 2012). Family commitments are likely the most prevalent external barrier as policewomen usually look after their children and, at some point, their aging parents. Time is a large factor in taking on these outside obligations. Typically, policewomen seem to face the greatest challenges, performing their duties because of their family and allied caregiving commitments. These preconceived ideas of women’s and men’s roles in terms of family obligations are still pervasive in police service culture (Grace, 2012).
2.5.13 Family. Family and maternity commitments are some of the key reasons that policewomen resign from the police service (Grace, 2012). In one study, policewomen were asked what would stop them from participating in a promotion process. The results showed it was largely due to the conflicts between the work schedules with family commitments (Wertsch, 1998). Shift work concerns were also considerations for many potential candidates. In order to get promoted in Ontario (as well as other Canadian and American police services), most officers must work the graveyard shift—namely 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. or 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. for those working twelve-hour shifts, or any variation of eight- or ten-hour shifts that works the evening until sunrise. Many police organizations are either unable, or they do not want to accommodate officers with children or candidates looking after elderly parents or have family commitments (Wertsch, 1998). Matters associated with shift and duty assignment are still considered the two most important factors in determining whether a policewoman will attempt the promotion process (Poleski, 2016).

Pregnancy is a difficult time for a policewoman, so far as contending with their organization is concerned, and, in many cases, they do not disclose that they are pregnant until well into their pregnancy for fear of repercussions (Langan, Sanders, & Agocs, 2016). Often, the policeman whose wife has a baby is congratulated, while the policewomen is asked if she is planning to have any more children, and therefore, this is a negative experience (Langan, Sanders, & Gouweloos, 2018). This tension becomes even more complicated, because the job is dangerous, and organizational pressure increases when the policewomen announces her pregnancy and she begins light duties (Rabe-Hemp & Humiston, 2015). Commonly, engaging in light duties is looked down upon by members of the organization (Langan et al., 2016; Rabe-
Hemp, & Humiston, 2015). A person is placed on light duties when they are unable to go out in a patrol vehicle due to injury or on their return to work. There is a negative workplace connotation associated with officers who are injured, are near retirement, or under investigation, and the pregnant policewoman is placed in this category as well (Langan et al., 2016; 2018). The pregnant policewoman’s body is referred to as being *out of order* and a liability for policing (Langen et al., 2016).

While a policewoman is off on maternity leave, work matters can degenerate as the shift is unable to *backfill* and the other shift mates feel that they are in a position to *cover for her* (Langan et al., 2016). Often there is resentment towards the person who is off on maternity leave, because it can create a staffing shortage, when in fact this is a structural problem in the organization itself. Rabe-Hemp and Humiston (2015) found that administrators seemed to believe that policewomen on pregnancy leave were straining their resources similar to those accommodated or on other forms of leave. Instead, the situations reveal possible organizational inflexibility and an underfunding problem (that does not allow for *family leave* as it does in other occupations).

Once the policewoman gives birth and returns to duty, oftentimes there is no flexibility of shifts to get children to medical appointments or for a child’s sickness (Langan et al., 2016). Some officers complain of inequitable treatment if another officer is allowed some flexibility to assist them with child care arrangements. As a result of this negative experience of pregnancy, a policewoman may be additionally stressed prior to, during, and after the pregnancy.

2.5.14 **Forced litigation.** In the Unites States-based study by Grace (2012), she found sometimes the only option to deal with the ongoing issues presented by the organization was to
retain a lawyer to represent a policewoman who is not treated fairly. Sometimes it is the only way policewomen can ensure they are treated fairly within the organization and the promotion process (Morabito & O’Connor-Shelley, 2018). Rather than litigate, some policewomen elect to grieve a process through their respective police association to make sure the service is treating participants fairly and within the law. The findings showed that litigation can cause even more stress just to enable a fair chance at obtaining a transfer or promotion. In these cases, some policewomen chose to forego promotions and transfers in an effort to minimize the pressure.

A decade ago, Hamilton Police in Ontario were sued by eleven female policewomen in a sexual harassment case (Morse, 2009). In 2017, the Waterloo Regional Police were named in a class action law suit for sexual assault, sexual harassment, and discrimination, and this case is still ongoing (Beuckert, 2017). On November 30, 2018, four policewomen came forward with a law suit against Toronto Police Service for harassment (Pazzano, 2018). Some of these matters are currently before the courts in Ontario, and it will be interesting to see if the plaintiffs are successful.

2.5.15 Lack of legislation. In her research, Grace (2012) highlighted the lack of legislation regarding policewomen’s barriers in the United States. In Corsianos’ (2009) publication on gendered justice, she informed the reader that affirmative action legislation was introduced in Ontario, but it was neither effective nor successful in the long-term. In the 1990’s in Ontario, an affirmative action program was put in place in an attempt to have gender parity. Initially there was a large influx of women recruited into the police service, however, most of those who were recruited were not retained long-term. Numbers declined rapidly as soon as the
employment equity provisions were removed. Corsianos attributed this decline at least in part to gender discrimination that was prevalent and remained in the police culture.

2.5.16 Socialization. This external barrier is a traditional one that has been introduced from very early on in all individuals’ lives. Several authors, for example Morabito and O’Connor-Shelley (2018), Grace (2012), as well as Poleski (2016), talk of feminine and masculine roles where policewomen have been used in certain areas that are traditionally thought of as feminine roles in policing. Rabe-Hemp (2009) referred to feminine characteristics as the umbrella type term ethic of care. In some situations, role playing may be advantageous with the policewomen playing the weaker role to gain compliance (LaPagge, 2013). This is often seen in the good cop–bad cop type of analogy.

In LaPagge’s (2013) study of seventeen police officers across Canada (twelve policewomen and five policemen), she found that policewomen had better communication skills, as well as better victim–interviewing skills, especially when dealing with children or female victims. LaPagge (2013) indicated that policewomen were more empathetic than the policemen in the study, and these characteristics are attributed to be a feminine advantage. The masculine advantage is clearly that of physicality in potentially violent situations, like bar fights (LaPagge, 2013). That said, LaPagge noted that there are some false positives or false negatives where a person of one gender exhibits the skill-set or attributes of the other gender (LaPagge, 2013). As an example, some policemen may be good communicators, empathetic, and excellent dealing with female victims and children, while some policewomen may be completely comfortable in physical situation’s and are able to handle themselves effectively.
2.5.17 **Barriers to promotion and the marriage tax.** In a midwestern, municipal police agency in the United States, Archbold and Hassell (2009) looked at personal and organizational factors regarding why policewomen were not aspiring to promotion in the police service. Archbold and Hassell found that family reasons, administrative bias, harmful occurrences, and the absence of training, were prevalent. A new barrier was also identified in the research by Archbold and Hassel (2009), referred to as the *marriage tax*. If a policewoman was married to a policeman in the same department the avenues the policewoman could take in the department were severely reduced (Archbold & Hassel, 2009). In most cases the policewoman was the one to get passed over, although as in everything there are exceptions to the rule. This rule can be especially true if the husband is a supervisor, because this limits the avenues the wife can take, both laterally as well as in the promotion process. These results are contrary to the results in the Poleski (2016) study where the marriage tax was not thought to be detrimental to policewomen’s negotiation of the promotion process. In fact, in this study policewomen felt it was advantageous to have a spouse in the police service (Poleski, 2016). This was likely due to the fact that the couple could confide in each other with details that they could not otherwise disclose if their spouse was external to the police service. This was seen as an asset for one’s mental health or in sharing understandings about aspects of the police service or law.

2.5.18 **Time: Is it an internal barrier or an external one?** Like many other women employees, policewomen seem to get pushed and pulled in many directions due to their family constraints and because of this promotion may not be an option. In this particular scenario, time would be an external barrier. Supervisory positions require the person to devote more time voluntarily to the police service (Silvestri, 2006). Some upper management positions require the
member to be able to return to work on a given day with little to no notice (Shea, 2008). Many policewomen do not have the time to be able to leave and return to work without notice if they have children or elderly parents they care for. Smartphones have made this even more difficult as the officer can be contacted 24/7 with text messages and emails from family. Supervisors and officers in specialty positions are often expected to drop everything at a moment’s notice in a crisis situation, because of a text or email and return to work. This is something that is common to this profession as one cannot predict when a disaster or emergency may occur.

2.6 A Potential Solution: Barrier Analysis

A potential process for dealing with the barriers in an organization is called barrier analysis, which was introduced by Matthies, Keller, and Lim (2012). Barrier analysis looks at the potential obstacles in the recruitment, hiring, promotion, and retention of police officers. It identifies three factors that can potentially inhibit the initial recruitment of women: The population that was targeted may not be qualified, aware, or even interested in being hired (Matthies, Keller, & Lim, 2012). There may also be structural barriers like educational, physical, and medical requirements, as well as background checks (to ensure the participant does not have a criminal record as they are often dealing with vulnerable sectors of society).

It is not necessary to remove items from the analytical process, rather it may be necessary to modify them to attract candidates with more diverse backgrounds (Matthies, Keller, & Lim, 2012). Some have concerns that if the process is modified the quality of candidates may suffer, yet this does not appear to be the case (Matthies, Keller, & Lim, 2012). A possible modification may take place in the fitness portion of the process by providing women a longer amount of time to complete the run than the men. This does not provide an advantage overall, rather, it simply
compares women with other women. This analysis can potentially be used with the promotion process by ensuring that any exams are devoid of prescriptive bias and that any interviews are as objective as possible. Finally, once policewomen are recruited and hired, incentive mechanisms should be put in place to encourage their retention, such as family-friendly work conditions. Many times, these sorts of family-friends conditions may reflect positively for policemen as well.

Matthies, Keller, and Lim (2012) provided a five-phase process that a police service can use to determine if they have barriers to diversity: First of all, the police service needs to gather information from structured interviews to create a flowchart (Matthies, Keller, & Lim, 2012); second, they need to determine if females are underrepresented; and third, they need to compare the employee distribution to the community demographics. If policewomen are underrepresented, then it is important to identify what barriers are in place and attempt to remove them. These first three phases are used as a diagnostic tool. Phase four and five only come to light if and when barriers are detected in phases one to three. The barriers are identified in phase four while phase five addresses the barriers and removes them if necessary (Matthies, Keller, & Lim, 2012). This five-phase process can be a valuable process to follow to identify potential barriers. It is not clear whether police services are utilizing this method across Ontario, but it definitely appears to have potential and could be expanded to use with and ultimately hire other underrepresented groups.

2.7 What About promotion?

Many of the abovementioned barriers are evident, from recruiting female candidates to the retention of policewomen. Murphy (2006) noted that even when policewomen are present in
the police service, they often are not encouraged to seek advancement. This may be because of assumed concerns for the effects that promotion would have on family and children, increased workload, the absence of quality mentoring possible, and the potential loss of overtime. The perceived incongruence between policewoman and the perceived expectations of work required by a police officer, exponentially increases the internal conflict that policewomen experience trying to navigate the promotion process (Veldman, Meeussen, Van Laar, & Phalet, 2017).

Murphy (2006) stated that policewomen are concerned about the effects of promotion on quality of home life as well as the quality of their work life. In addition, Murphy studied what motivates rank and file officers to enter executive positions in a large Canadian police service, he found that many policewomen feel that they do not have the experience necessary to supervise others (Murphy, 2006).

There are some policewomen who are provided leadership opportunities by upper management, but these may not be the best candidates for promotion (Murphy, 2006). Those women are sometimes not highly regarded by their colleagues as they are believed to have a career first attitude. These antiquated attitudes stymie the potential successes policewomen can achieve in the profession (Marshall, 2013).

2.8 Are There any Differences in Promotion for Policemen?

Do some policemen have the same difficulties entering the promotion process as policewomen? There is some variation in response to this question, and Whetstone and Wilson (1999) provided five reasons policewomen declined to participate in the process and five reasons why policemen did not enter the process. One of the reasons policewomen did not enter the
process was because they were satisfied with their current position and did not want to change. In their particular research study, policewomen had been in a police service for less than 10 years, were not on the front line, or they did not have children; these individuals were satisfied with their position and did not wish to seek promotion. Some policewomen were concerned that their work might interfere with their family life, and because of that aspect they were not interested in promotion. Other policewomen felt that they did not want to give up the overtime opportunities they had as a Constable. Nonetheless, in Whetstone and Wilson’s study, the most important and biggest difference between policemen and policewomen was the fact that policewomen felt that there was an administrative bias in place.

Policemen had many of the same concerns regarding the promotion process, however, they did not perceive the administrative bias that the policewomen identified. By the same token, they felt there was a lack of available positions to apply for. Both male and female officers alike felt the sergeant’s position was not a very attractive position to want to compete for in the first place (Whetstone & Wilson, 1999).

2.9 Potential Solutions to Remove the Barriers

In North America there have been multiple attempts to address the challenges of eliminating the barriers to women’s promotion and potential advancement in the police service. It is evident from looking at these barriers that trust has been damaged in many cases between policewomen and policemen, as well as between upper and lower ranks. There is very little research in this area as most research is directed outwardly at the public’s trust in police. Policies have been introduced as well as hiring initiatives, affirmative action programs, among others. As an example, an affirmative action program was implemented in early 1990 in Ontario to increase
the recruitment of policewomen in the province. Back then, both policemen and policewomen viewed this as negative and as reverse discrimination (Corsianos, 2009). That program was removed in 1995 and the number of policewomen in the police services declined quite rapidly (Corsianos, 2009). It does not appear that, at that point in time, the affirmative action initiative was beneficial to the recruitment and retention of policewomen; further, efforts were unsuccessful at the recruitment stage, so it is not surprising that supports to promote the advancement of policewomen have largely been unsuccessful. More recently in Canada, police services have employed recruitment strategies in an effort to increase the number of policewomen entering this line of work (Montgomery, 2012). It is not evident that these efforts have been successful in the Province of Ontario. LaPagge (2013) found that the officers in her study have very negative opinions on affirmative action. In fact, one high-ranking officer in her study explained that it was believed she was only promoted because she was female, and this is not an impression most policewomen want.

Nationwide, it is difficult to remove barriers for policewomen’s promotion opportunities when each police service has their own promotion processes in place. Some services still have promotion exams, while some services do not. The timing of the promotion can be problematic for some policewomen as upper management positions are quite rare (Shea, 2008). It is difficult for policewomen that have children or parents as dependents to change their schedules with little to no notice. It is quite common for promotion opportunities to come up with very little advanced notice, and because of this, a policewoman may have to withdraw from the process altogether. In other cases, women may abstain from the promotion process by choice (Poleski, 2016; Whetstone & Wilson, 1999).
Österlind and Haake (2010) reported that with little or no senior management support, and the absence of female role models, policewomen are three times less likely to pursue a career or participate in the promotion process after their first few years in the police service. Policewomen believe that role models are the most important factor to entering a leadership position (Murphy, 2006). Murphy (2006) looked at a large police service in Canada and found that police officers of both genders aspire to promotion in order to increase their pensions. Some take leadership roles, so they may have some type of influence within the organization, and to be able to role model to increase their pay level (Murphy, 2006). It is not clear that there is an advantage to promoting women if they are simply placed in positions with little to no decision-making opportunities (Shea, 2008), and this may reinforce the policewomen’s lack of career advancement, confidence, impacts her networking capabilities, and ultimately may strip her of having any type of senior management support.

Is the old way of doing business in police services working effectively? It looks as if police services are trying to get away from the traditional, hierarchical, transactional or autocratic, top-down approach to leadership (Silvestri, 2007). It is not clear that this is coming to fruition as many services still actively present this type of masculine leadership within what is still largely a closed community. With police services across Canada, and particularly in Ontario, continuing to implement this type of leadership, they also continue to promote more policemen and overlook good female candidates.

One issue that may be at play pertains to the fact that in some cases in a front-line capacity, a life and death decision needs to be made very quickly and most supervisors turn to a transactional approach of leading in order to facilitate this (Silvestri, 2007). In a situation like
this it is believed there is no time to collaborate. Ironically, in police training officers are taught that time and distance are two of the most useful tactics that can be used and particularly in the most dangerous of situations.

In a collaborative fashion with external stakeholders, a more transformational or participatory approach can be successfully used. This is evident with the Community Policing Strategy, or the feminization of police work, which values communication, cooperation, and relationships (Miller, 1998). Policewomen tend to bring this approach of sharing their power, flattening the hierarchy to the forefront, and economically the cost-benefit analysis is positive (Silvestri, 2007). Policewomen have been brought into the police service for many years to curb corruption and racism (Silvestri, 2007). Their transformational style of leadership has been shown to be more effective and it increases critical thinking (Silvestri, 2007). It follows that more critical thinking would be beneficial to the cultivation of an intelligence-led police service. Unfortunately, Perera (2013) found that high ranking officers have little idea what intelligence-led policing really means. In order to make sure these high-ranking officers do understand the meaning of intelligence-led policing, it may be in the police services interest to provide education to members in this area.

2.10 A Look at the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Promotion Process

Pratt (2004) looked at the promotion process in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). According to Pratt, the participants must be confirmed in the rank below the one they are applying for, and they can write a multiple-choice exam called the job simulation exercise (JSE). This exam consists of 48 multiple choice questions and if the candidate is shortlisted, it is followed by a written performance report (PRP) and structured resumé (SR) (Pratt, 2004). The
PRP looks at eight competencies required for the position and the resumé, which provides information about the candidates’ education and specialty (Pratt, 2004). Pratt (2004) implemented some instruments in her study looking at whether the applicants were left- or right-brain dominant. Data showed that left brain candidates had an easier time negotiating the multiple-choice exam (Pratt, 2004). This may not ensure the best candidates are moving forward to the next stage of the promotion process. Even successful participants in the promotion process expressed that they were concerned the process was inadequate. Pratt (2004) also showed that the test was not valid nor reliable, and it would appear that it was not measuring what the police service thought it was measuring. This is potentially the problem with having individuals write and administer tests with no background in testing. It may be beneficial to have tests with additional formats, not strictly multiple choice. Again, this may cause problems if the test writer is not versed in test preparation. One of the recommendations was to implement 360º assessments, interviews, or other methods. It was problematic seeing that less qualified candidates were often the ones being promoted (Pratt, 2004).

An ineffective promotion process also potentially has a detrimental effect on other family members. In Pratt’s (2004) research, an RCMP officer’s wife reported that it had an effect on the family’s financial situation as their family member was not successful in the process. It also has an effect on the candidate’s self-esteem, the ability to tell the children they can do anything they want when clearly you cannot. The unsuccessful candidate also had perceived feelings of failure and felt that the person who just got promoted was incompetent. There was a lack of trust in the process and this was also experienced by the other family members as they worried about their family member having to work with the incompetent supervisor. It is one thing to compete for a
position where a better candidate is selected, but this is not often the case and organizational trust is lost.

Although the RCMP process is different it still seems to fall short of members' expectations. Through looking at other services shortcomings, this Ontario Police Service should learn from their mistakes and compare the results of this study to find a more effective strategy for the future.

2.11 Chapter Summary

This literature review provided an overview of the current literature on the barriers policewomen have to negotiate in recruitment, promotion, and their retention in the police service. It outlined the history of policewomen in the police service, provided the definitions that will be used throughout this dissertation, as well as some of the statistical data on the numbers of policewomen in Canada compared to the Province of Ontario. The chapter defined the internal and external barriers that policewomen face, introduced the marriage tax, and compared the barriers policewomen face to those that policemen encounter. This chapter also included the shortcomings of a process used by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Finally, this literature review outlined a possible solution for effectively negotiating the barriers effectively, called barrier analysis.

There are gaps in the literature (especially with respect to Canadian, and specifically Ontario content) concerning the paucity of policewomen that aspire to promotion within the police service. This research addresses some of those gaps and adds insights to the literature so that police services can try to further reduce the barriers and improve their processes.
Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Overview of the Chapter

This chapter begins with an acknowledgement of the lack of research in the police promotion realm in Ontario, Canada. I will discuss my standpoint as a researcher, review social capital as my theoretical framework, and discuss case study as my methodology. An account of how the data were collected, compared, and analyzed is also discussed. Finally, the sturdiness of the study and ethical implications are addressed.

3.2 An Ontario, Canada Context

This research was undertaken because of a lack of studies that are conducted on policewomen from a Canadian perspective, and, in particular, lacking in the province of Ontario. The existing research (e.g., Statistics Canada and research the police service being studied completed) is quantitative in nature, and although this research shows very few policewomen are being promoted, it does not address what factors contribute to this lack of promotion of policewomen. Thus, a gap exists in the literature, and this research seeks to contribute to the scholarly discussion on promotion in policing by offering a more contextualized understanding of our knowledge of this issue to date.

Most of the research on this broad topic is from Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The context for this research study is one large police service in Ontario, Canada. The reason for choosing one police service is so the results can be used to assist them with increasing the number of policewomen among their ranks. It is believed that if other police
services were used in the data the results may not represent the particular service as well as a site-specific study.

3.3 The Researcher’s Standpoint

The theoretical stance used for the research study is based on an interpretivist paradigm derived from a constructivist epistemology. In this respect, I believe it is, “possible to understand the subjective meaning of action (grasping the actor’s beliefs, desires and so on) yet do so in an objective manner” (Schwandt, 2000, p. 193). The goal of an interpretivist research is the ability to rely on the participant’s views as much as possible (Cresswell, 2014). Context is of utmost importance as is the researcher’s own experience (Cresswell, 2014). In the interpretivist paradigm there are multiple realities, which are socially constructed (Al Riyami, 2015; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Interpretivism is often criticized for being subjective, however as Al Riyami (2015) stated, all research, even if it is quantitative in nature, has some degree of subjectivity.

3.4 Theoretical Framework

In this particular study, I adopted an interprevist stance and the findings are shaped by theories about social capital. Bhandari and Yasunobu (2009) defined social capital as an abstract “multidimensional phenomenon” (p. 487) that can contribute to social development. Putnam’s (1995a) social capital references the main features of a social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust, which facilitate coordination and cooperation for a mutual benefit. Hence, Putnam regards these three features as the main elements of social capital.

Not surprisingly, there are many definitions of trust. Hawdon (2008) defined trust as a belief, which a particular, “person occupying a specific role will perform that role in a manner
consistent with the socially defined normative expectations associated with that role (i.e., what sociologists call the actual role) (p. 186). For Putnam (1995a), “life is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital. In the first place, networks of civic engagement foster sturdy norms of generalized reciprocity and encourage the emergence of social trust” (p.67). Putnam (1995a) argued that the more we engage with others the more we trust them and have a connection with them. Social capital consists of trust and a person’s civic participation in their community.

Coleman (1988) discussed two intellectual streams that explain social action. One stream differentiates the actor from the action thereby stating that the actor is socialized, while social norms or rules dictate the action. Context or environment is most important in this stream (Coleman, 1988). In the other stream, the actor is independent, and the goal is to maximize utility (Coleman, 1988). In this respect, social capital is productive, it contains social structures, and it assists the person with the action: “Social capital, however, comes about through changes in the relations among persons that facilitate action” (Coleman, 1988, p. 100). Social capital is less apparent than human capital or physical capital; it is evident in the relationships between people, and requires their trustworthiness and trust (Coleman, 1988).

Social capital identifies a social structure by its function (Coleman, 1988). In effect, Coleman argued that trustworthiness of the social environment and the extent of one’s obligation are two elements that can be important forms of social capital. Other forms identified by Coleman are the acquisition of information and effective and prescriptive norms. Closed social structures create trustworthiness as they eliminate external influences (Coleman, 1988).
Sometimes police services have closed structures; for example, the tightly-knit social networks that police have after-hours with fellow police officers.

As Coleman (1988) pragmatically argued, a person’s family background includes forms of financial capital, human capital, and social capital. Social capital in the family presupposes a strong relationship between parents and their children, and when that is so, it increases their chances for educational success (Coleman, 1988). In Coleman’s social capital, outside of the family setting is dependent on the relationship the children have with members of the community. Putnam (1995a) stated that the more we engage with others the more we trust them and have a connection with them.

In a police service, social capital as a theoretical framework may provide as much benefit to policewomen in their negotiation of the promotion process as it has to the Community Policing Strategy. Although the Community Policing strategy is directed outward from the police to public stakeholders, this theory may be potentially relevant to use internally within the service. This could, for example, legitimize the investigation into the relationships between trust, legitimacy, and the transformational style of leading, while assisting policewomen in the networking necessary to benefit them in the promotion process.

A person’s level of trust, cooperative exchanges, cohesiveness, and social support typically increase their social capital (Robinson, 2003). According to Robinson, (2003), it is necessary for officers to have good relationships in the community and with community policing itself. As well, Robinson suggested, norms of reciprocity typically ensure the exchanges between stakeholders are cooperative ones. Supportive, cohesive groups with similar beliefs usually have higher social capital, and the social support provided is very important to the success of the
community-based policing strategy. Officers who engage with the community on a regular basis have higher levels of social capital than those that do not (Robinson, 2003).

Community policing in Ontario has evolved to embrace the Ontario mobilization and engagement model (OMEM), a diagnostic tool that uses common language from police officers in order to assess, plan, and act on a situation (Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police [OACP], 2016). This tool is one that police and community stakeholders alike can understand. The model outlines what each stakeholder is responsible for, as it takes human rights and safety into account. Further, because it is a collaborative approach it is beneficial to increasing social capital.

The Ontario mobilization and engagement model (OMEM) is an example of bridging capital. It allows for the sharing of information with stakeholders, fosters relationships, and mobilizes partners in the community. This is broadly in line with Putnam’s (1995a) theory regarding social capital, as it benefits society as a whole rather than just the individual (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009).

Diagrammatically and conceptually, the model is circular, much like the police use of force wheel. The use of force wheel depicts officer actions and levels of force, which are situation-dependent, fluid, and can range from mere presence to the use of deadly force. The OMEM has a similar structure, and like the use of force wheel, the pendulum can swing either way depending on the circumstances (OACP, 2016).

In the OMEM the left side of the model (see Figure 1) depicts police-led initiatives, while the right-side portrays community-led ideas (OACP, 2016). The upper left of the circle
highlights the enforcement and crime suppression section of the model, which includes crime analysis, enforcement, initiation of problem solving, and monitoring the reduction of crime (OACP, 2016). Following it, counter-clockwise, is the first area where the community is involved—the Community Mobilization and Prevention portion, which mobilizes partners, uses problem-oriented policing, and monitors crime. Continuing counter-clockwise is the Community Safety and Consultation section, where leaders need to be engaged, hazards can be monitored, and stakeholders can be consulted for their input (OACP, 2016). The final section is the Community Engagement and Liaison quadrant. In this quadrant, the community stakeholders are most prominent, even though police still need to play a role (by liaising with the partners, educating the public, monitoring at risk groups and partnering in early interventions (OACP, 2016).
Figure 1. Ontario mobilization and engagement model of community policing (OMEM)—Ontario Association of Chiefs of Police (2016).

The interior circle includes social development and situational measures. Social development consists of resources and social interventions that are put in place to assist the public. An example would be trying to help individuals with housing assistance, and positive parenting and educational programs. A situational measure consists of using a preventative method, such as adding an alarm system. Each community member needs to participate to make the model work.

3.4.1 Case study. As noted earlier, in this research a qualitative approach was utilized in order to ask the question: Why is there a lack of female representation in the ranks of a large Ontario Police Service? Further, the research looked at why only some women enter the promotion process, while others do not, and identifies who the policewomen are who enter the process. It is also important to understand how policewomen understand their qualifications, and what can be done to ensure the process is more attractive for policewomen in the future.

Due to the type of questions being asked, a case study design was chosen for use in this research study. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that a case study consists of *emic inquiry*; this emic inquiry is where the researcher is an active participant in the culture being studied. This builds on my own tacit knowledge in a holistic sense. This line of inquiry also potentially demonstrates a relationship between myself and my participants. This should speaks to trustworthiness, necessary *thick description*, (Geertz, 1973; Stake, 1995) and the case must provide a thorough understanding of the context.
Yin (2014) defined case study as an empirical inquiry that, “investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the “case”) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (p.16). The unit of analysis in this particular study is the policewomen. The case study also requires multiple sources of evidence that are triangulated and used to analyze the data (Yin, 2014). In order to have deep meaning it is imperative that the data be triangulated in order to synthesize and analyze the results. It is argued that triangulation will strengthen the analysis of the data as it is collected from different sources. This process adds to the trustworthiness of the research study (Creswell, 2014).

This particular case study is exploratory in nature; therefore, it attempts to investigate and examine the research question in order to further identify areas and opportunities for further study in the research area (Yin, 2014). An exploratory case study allows for flexibility, so the researcher can use a quantitative method, a qualitative method or a mix-methods approach (Streb, 2010). In this instance the qualitative approach is utilized.

### 3.5 The Researcher

As indicated earlier, I used a qualitative design in my case study in order to look in-depth and attempt to obtain deep meaning from the results. Quantitative data, captured by Statistics Canada and the Police Service itself, are available, which describe how many policewomen are in different ranks throughout the Ontario Police Service. However, not much qualitative research has been done on this topic. Therefore, observations, interviews, which were recorded and transcribed and analyzed, plus a small pilot study, and field notes were used to achieve data
triangulation in this study. These data were complemented by my insider knowledge of the police service.

Bakker (2010) stated that the interpretivist lens merges mind, body, and soul while trying to make sense out of what is seen and heard. Bakker noted that the social action of humans does require interpretation. In this study it was imperative that I remained respectful and attentive to the participants in order to garner a valid and accurate account of their position (Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2012). Patton (2015) noted that the identification of themes gleaned from the data uses creative and critical faculties based on the researcher’s experience, intelligence, and good judgement.

3.5.1 The role of the researcher. My role in this exploratory case study was to collect data by interviewing policewomen, recording the information, synthesizing, and ultimately analyzing the data. Participants were actively involved communicating from the beginning of the process until it was completed. The researcher utilized one-to-one, in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Member checking was also used to ensure the procedure was fair and that it represented the participant’s positions as accurately as possible (Cresswell, 2014).

Merriam (1998) explained that the researcher, “brings a construction of reality to the research situation, which interacts with other people’s constructions or interpretations of the phenomenon being studied” (pp. 22-23). She further stated that this is then interpreted by the researcher, refined using the researcher’s view, and presented in the findings. As the researcher, I was aware of the complexity of the research study and the fact that grasping the perspective of the participants was paramount. Further, Merriam (1998) asserted that it is important that the researcher used good communication skills, is sensitive to the participant, and is able to deal with
the ambiguity of the research study. If the researcher can adhere to these things the perspective of the participants and the researcher’s interpretation of that meaning should not be biased and this will develop an atmosphere of trust. Stake (1995) supported this position and claimed that subjectivity is not a shortcoming rather—it is essential for understanding.

3.5.2 The participant–researcher relationship. Aside from trust being a part of social capital, trust is a very important aspect in the relationship between the participant and the researcher in this study. Trust is intrinsically important to the interviewing process itself and to the interpretation of data. Further, trust is one of the tenets of Putnam’s (1995a) version of social capital theory.

Trust takes on great importance in a study, particularly this study, as I am a member of the same profession as the participants. I am a Constable within a police service in Ontario and during part of the study took a temporary position as an Acting Sergeant. Shortly after this temporary position was completed, there was a posting for a sergeant’s position. In light of the importance of trust during the interview phase of this research study, it was decided that it would not be beneficial for me to apply for the position. I felt that if I was successful in the promotion process, it could increase the imbalance of power between the researcher and participants. Cresswell (2014) believed the interview process should already start from the assumption that there is a power imbalance. If the researcher is in a supervisory capacity at the same time, this could increase the imbalance exponentially.

Since I am a police officer it is not difficult to understand any of the concepts inherent to the job of policing. As such, I am very familiar with the environment and police culture shared
by participants. Through the data collection process, certain themes started to emerge quite quickly, and those themes ultimately remained throughout the entire process.

3.6 The Research Problem and Research Questions

The context for this research study is situated within a large police service in Ontario, Canada. The reason only one service is used is principally so that the results can hopefully assist this police service in affecting change in the future. Again, the research looked at the reasons why a majority of policewomen in a large Ontario police service do not enter the promotion process. Indeed, this inquiry is a response to the lack of research in the area, and particularly in Ontario.

It is important that the policing community be reflective of their population (Sklansky, 2006). For this reason, more policewomen should be included throughout the police service. Many victims of crime, and female witnesses, feel more comfortable relating to policewomen (Lonsway, Moore, Harrington, Smeal, & Spillar, 2003; Rich & Seffrin, 2014). Even though there are many more policewomen than there have been in the past, the majority of higher-ranking positions are still dominated by men (Marshall, 2013).

This study explored the main reasons policewomen do not move up the rank structure in the same numbers and at the same rate as men do. Further, it was important to look at why some policewomen chose to enter the process, whilst others did not. It was important to know who the policewomen were that entered the process and why they might be different than those who did not enter the process. Further, this study explored how policewomen understood their own
suitability or qualifications in relation to the promotion process and if the process itself was accessible and attractive.

Common barriers were also looked at to determine if they continue to discourage policewomen from entering the process. Notably at present in Ontario the number of policewomen is disproportionate throughout the ranking structure and not equivalent to increases in other professions, such as nursing, teaching, or social work. This lack of progress is of concern and needs to be addressed in order to diversify the police service.

3.6.1 A research strategy using an interpretive paradigm. There are three fundamental questions that encase the qualitative inquiry. The answers to these questions compile the researcher’s ontology, epistemology, and thus the methodology in the research design. The framework consists of an interpretive-constructivist approach, which is relativist, transactional, and subjective in nature (Guba & Lincoln, 1998). A relativist ontology includes multiple realities, while in a subjectivist epistemology the knower and respondent work side by side to create a common understanding, and a naturalistic set of methodological procedures (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). These realities are intangible mental constructions, which are based in the individual or groups experience, and they can change (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

The relativist attempts to consider each and every view, yet not every construction is equal (Stake, 1995). This is particularly important in case study research where the value of one’s interpretation can diverge from that of the interviewee’s (Stake, 1995). This is important as many interviews were conducted as part of this study and ultimately there were many different perspectives to represent.
Stake (1995) explained that qualitative inquiry is subjective, and he stated that subjectivity is essential to understanding. Often subjective research is personal and very rewarding to the researcher. Indeed, I am very passionate about this study; therefore to ensure the soundness of this research, it was imperative that ethics were a priority.

Yin (2011) explained the importance of behaving properly as a staple to integrity in research. Ensuring participant confidentiality is one way to ensure the ethical integrity of the study (Yin, 2011). Informed consent and trying to report the results of the study in a fair manner are also important considerations throughout the interviewing and subsequent analysis process (Van den Hoonnaard, 2015).

Stake (1995) expressed that knowledge is constructed, understood, and substantiated from one’s experiences. Our senses make up this first type of knowledge—an external reality (Stake, 1995). Stake suggested this integrates the external with what we experience internally and interpret almost subconsciously. Finally, Stake argued that the third rational reality amalgamates multiple interpretations. Knowledge, in this sense, is constructed partly through social interaction between the researcher and participants, and this is known as transactional epistemology (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The object of the research and the researcher are often interrelated, and according to Guba and Lincoln, the findings are created or at least emergent throughout the process. The methodology is both hermeneutical and dialectical and, “individual constructions can be elicited and refined only through interaction between and among investigator and respondent. These varying constructions are interpreted using conventional hermeneutical techniques and are compared and contrasted through a dialectical interchange” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 111).
3.7 Naturalistic Inquiry, Interpretive–Constructivist Approach and Social Capital

Naturalistic inquiry is referred to by other names such as “post positivistic, ethnographic, phenomenological, subjective, case study, qualitative, hermeneutic, humanistic” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 7). The different names are dependent on a person’s viewpoint (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Lincoln and Guba (1985) explained these different names by comparing them to Christianity, which has several different denominations, such as Catholic, Lutheran, and Presbyterian.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) there are five axioms of naturalistic inquiry. Initially, in naturalistic inquiry there are many realities that are both constructed and holistic. Also, the knower and the result of the inquiry are inseparable. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested that although generalization is not necessarily essential in naturalistic inquiry, it is important that the case constructs a larger depiction of what things are like for the group studied. Cause cannot be differentiated from effect in this type of study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Denzin and Lincoln (2018) argued that “internal and external validity are replaced by such terms as trustworthiness and authenticity” (p.98). Finally, the fifth and most important axiom is that the inquiry itself is value laden (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The interpretive, constructivist researcher creates a social reality based on the unanimity of participants. These common meanings help to shape the foundation of the goals, norms, beliefs, and practices within the distinct police culture. The use of in-depth interviews assisted in trying to relay the participant’s views and their interpretation of their own social reality. The researcher attempted to show the participants’ views while simultaneously showing the researcher’s position during data analysis and the conclusion of this research study. It was also
important to search for trustworthiness in the collection of data by trying to utilize different sources of data.

I continually read over the transcripts and had participants engage in member checking to ensure the accuracy of the transcripts. Member checking was used to increase credibility and to support my interpretation of the participants in the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It was helpful in considering the intention of the participant and assessing the adequacy of their point-of-view (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Parts of the interview data needing to be clarified were initiated by either the participant or myself. Through member checks, participants have an opportunity to correct any errors, add additional information, make sure they agreed with what was written, review, and synopsize their perspective (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Harvey (2015) encouraged an active participant–researcher dialogue in order to represent the participants voice as accurately and unbiased as possible.

3.8 Research Design, Collection of Data, and Analysis

This exploratory case study used in depth, semi-structured interviews conducted one-to-one in person or undertaken via telephone. The interviews were audio recorded with the participant’s consent, and later transcribed. During the face-to-face interview, I noted observations, such as body language, and demeanor. During the interviews that took place over the telephone, intonation or emphasis on words was noted and italicized.

3.8.1 Selection of police service. One large Ontario police service was selected for this research study as it had a large cross section of potential participants, and it was geographically
convenient. It was chosen so that results could potentially guide the police service in the recruitment, retention, and promotion of more policewomen in the future.

3.8.2 Selection of participants and sampling. I used purposive sampling in this research study. This is the process where, “a sample is selected that is believed to be representative of a given population” (Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2012, p. 629). After ethical approval, purposive sampling took place by posting a notice with details of the study on the involved police service’s internal website. The notice consisted of details to contact the researcher if potential participants were interested.

Once contacted by potential participants, I provided prospective participants with a letter of information, which outlined the purpose of the study and included a consent form. Once I was received a participants’ consent form, a meeting was scheduled for an interview. Participation in this study was completely voluntary, and anonymity as well as confidentiality are held in the highest regard. I am quite familiar with the closed culture of the police service and how especially important it is to protect each participant’s identity. Each of the 43 individuals who volunteered to participate were interviewed on one occasion.

3.9 Research Instruments used in the Collection of Data: Primary Data

Some of the questions used initially in the small pilot study were used in the research. Some questions were added while others were deleted for the final research.

3.9.1 Interview questions. The commonly used interview questions used in this study can be found in Appendix E. There were fifteen open-ended questions, which were consistently used in the research study. The questions asked the participant if they had thought about getting
promoted, and if not, why? Participants were asked about the qualifications and capabilities necessary to get promoted. They were asked what, if anything, they had done to increase their chances of promotion. Questions also looked at what the participants perceived the community’s role was in policing, to provide information on role models in the police service, as well as the characteristics of encouraging and discouraging supervisors. Questions also asked participants how they themselves showed leadership, what if anything holds participants back, and finally what can make things easier for policewomen to enter the promotion process in the future. Finally, the participants were asked some demographic questions about their level of education, years of service, rank, and length of time at that rank.

3.9.2 Voluntary semi-structured, in-depth interviews. Interested candidates contacted the researcher via email and were sent the letter of information to an email they provided. Once the candidate read the letter of information, if interested, they contacted me and interview times were set up. The interviews were conducted at a place comfortable to the interviewee. Some were conducted at their residence, a coffee shop, an office space that the researcher rented, an empty work-related office, or via telephone. The interviews ranged from 20 minutes to one and a half hours. The majority of the telephone interviews were shorter than the face-to-face interviews, although that was not always the case. Interviews were conducted on my off-duty time.

In-depth, semi-structured interviews were employed in this study. Merriam (1998) explained that having a set of questions is important, yet being flexible in the ability to respond to the situation at hand or facilitating a change in direction initiated by the participant is also important.
The interpretation of these interviews relied on the researcher’s ability to understand, and make sense of, the interview along with my own experience, judgement, and intelligence (Patton, 2015). Critical thinking and my creativity were vital in the analysis (Patton, 2015). I reviewed the transcripts several times. The transcription was sent back to the participant for verification and some individuals wanted phone contact to discuss changes or clarification while others sent changes via email. The changes were completed as per the individuals request in order to maintain their trust and confidentiality.

3.9.3 The interpretive paradigm and modified constant comparative method. This research study incorporated a modified version of the Glaser and Strauss’ (1967) constant comparative method (CCM) for data analysis. Typically used within grounded theory research, Merriam (1998) explained that CCM does not have to end in grounded theory. In the current study, a modified version of CCM was used to make comparisons of the raw data obtained from interviews. Further, CCM assisted in the identification of similar (and dissimilar) themes that were prevalent in the data using an inductive approach to analysis (Yin, 2011). Typically, CCM converts the qualitative data into a form where it can be coded and then analyzed by the researcher (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Constant comparative method generates categories and places where categories are related (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The results are that principles, propositions, and claims may arise from the analyses of data (Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2012).

For this research, the researcher maintained notes, compared data, which were coded, constructed themes, and ensured member checking was completed. The analysis in this exploratory case study by hand without the aid of a software package. Van den Hoonaard (2015) stated that the novice researcher should analyze without aids in order to get a better
understanding of the data. Open or initial coding was employed, which was conducted by going line by line through each of the participant’s transcribed interviews in order to identify themes (Benaquisto, 2008). Once initial coding was completed I continued to go over these themes in order to refined them using, focused coding to separate, sort, and synthesize the data (Charmaz, 2006). Van den Hoonard (2015) explained this process as collapsing some of the themes into sub-categories. These categories that emerged from the data are linked using sub-categories and are known as axial coding (Yin, 2011). This enabled me to see relationships and links between categories (Benaquisto, 2008).

Social capital theory (Putnam, 1995a, 1995b) was utilized to assist with the explanations of the results. The interpretivist framework or paradigm is positioned to portray the participant’s views accurately (Gay, Mills & Airasian, 2012), as Patton (2015) stated: “A paradigm is a worldview – a way of thinking about and making sense of the complexities of the real world (p. 89). Patton (2015) explained that a paradigm points out, “what is important, legitimate, and reasonable” (p. 89). Patton also stated that interpretation is, “attaching significance to what was found, making sense of findings, offering explanations, drawing conclusions, extrapolating lessons, making inferences, considering meanings, and otherwise imposing order on an unruly but surely patterned world” (p. 569). The interpretivist framework outlines a detailed account of a situation or a process (Bakker, 2010).

3.10 Instruments used in Data Collection: Secondary Data

Secondary data were used in this research study in order to corroborate the results obtained in the interviews. Secondary data were obtained from Statistics Canada as well as data
that were obtained from the police service in this study. The percentage of policewomen in each rank was compared to determine, for example, if the ratio was similar.

3.10.1 Reflective journal. The researcher used a reflective journal as well as notes that were made throughout the research process. This journal and the notes made assisted in trying to understand each participant’s position. The researcher’s notes and observations and journal entries were used, when relevant, to support the transcriptions and link them to current research. This also assisted with discerning a better understanding of the themes that came to light later in the research process.

3.10.2 Validity. In qualitative research validity is the extent to which the data results reflect what the researcher is trying to measure (Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2012). Internal validity is an important aspect in qualitative research. Merriam (1998) believes that the researcher can integrate six strategies to develop a research studies internal validity. Internal validity will usually be strong if the researcher uses triangulation, member checking, repeated observations, comments from peers, participants being involved throughout the process, and the explanation of the researcher’s personal position (Merriam, 1998).

3.10.3 Limitations. Member checking was completed in this study however, it may have been further enhanced if there were follow-up conversations with participants to clarify points. Although contact was made through email it is possible that some meaning was lost in the process. Harvey (2015) encouraged dialogue between the participant and researcher after the initial interview in order to tease out meaning.
Qualitative research is particularistic as it relates to the specific situation (Yin, 2011). The findings may be generalizable if they follow a process known as “analytic generalization” (Yin, 2009, p. 43). The first step in analysis shows that the results of the study, “are likely to inform a particular set of concepts, theoretical constructs, or hypothesized sequence of events” (Yin, 2011, p. 100). The second step is to apply the theory to other similar situations (Yin, 2011). Yin (2011) explained that theory may even be a hypothesis that may help to develop new studies.

3.10.4 Trustworthiness and rigor in the study. Patton (2015) argued that the critics of qualitative inquiry state that qualitative research is much too subjective and pure scientific method is the only path to objectivity. Patton (2015) stated, “the ideals of absolute objectivity and value-free science are impossible to attain in practice and of questionable desirability in the first place since they ignore the intrinsically social nature and human purposes of research” (p. 58). So, although there are many criticisms of subjectivity, objectivity is also looked on as being naïve. Quantitative research also has a human component to it and is not without biases; in this sense it can be thought of as being subjective as well.

Ideally, I tried to remain as neutral as possible by dealing with and reporting potential sources of bias and error (Patton, 2015). It is for this reason credibility becomes most important for researchers. Yin (2011) suggested that the researcher must conduct their research in a transparent manner in order to build trustworthiness and increase the credibility of the study. If this is done, Yin argued, other researchers will be able to understand and either agree or disagree with one’s findings. Yin also posited that the research must also be done methodically and be based in evidence with conclusions based on systematically collected and analyzed data (Yin, 2011).
Guba (1981) replaced the traditional criteria for trustworthiness: internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity with credibility (value of truth), transferability (applicability to different contexts), dependability (consistency), and confirmability (neutrality). In the naturalist tradition one tries to increase credibility by increasing their time at a particular site, developing rapport with participants, and trying to build trust.

As indicated earlier, in this research study, it is important that I state my position as a police officer, who understands the closed culture within policing. This does not guarantee that the participants and I had an equal understanding, but it did make it easier to make contact and establish a rapport. Making observations, journaling, debriefing with my supervisor, utilizing triangulation, using reference materials (in this case reference to the original audiotapes), also increased credibility (Guba, 1981).

In order to build trustworthiness researchers will sometimes use more than one method, or more than one research team to show the research dependability (Guba, 1981). In this research study, only the qualitative method was used. Further, an audit trail was established so that an external auditor would be able to check the dependability of the study (Guba, 1981).

The final step in the research process to create trustworthiness was to obtain confirmability. Triangulation and practicing reflexivity with a journal along with another external audit increases confirmability. All of these things contributed to the rigour of the research, and in turn, rigour is important to a naturalistic process and to the trustworthiness of the research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Every attempt to faithfully reflect each participant’s views was taken, such as following all the steps to establish trustworthiness in this research study.
3.11 Ethical Implications

The ethical clearance for this research study was sought through the Western Ontario’s Research Ethics Board (see Appendix D). Ethical clearance was also sought by the large Ontario police service that participated in this study. The researcher explained the intent of the research project to all stakeholders, and sought permission to conduct data collection by interviewing voluntary participants in one-on-one interviews. All participants confirmed their consent by signing a letter of agreement (see Appendix B). It should be noted that a brief synopsis was posted on the police service internal newsfeed with the researcher’s email address and potential participants made contact (see Appendix A). Once contact was made with potential participants, a letter of information was sent to them. A consent form was attached and if the participant returned the consent, they were contacted again to set up the meeting. If they did not contact the researcher after the letter of information was sent out, the researcher did not attempt to make any further contact.

One of the foremost concerns in the study was to do no harm, and in addition, to ensure the researcher had informed consent (Lincoln & Guba, 1989). It was paramount that all participants were aware their involvement was voluntary and confidential. The participants were also advised that confidentiality would be maintained through all data that was collected, recorded, organized, stored, retrieved, analyzed, and reported on. All identifiable names were stored separately, and no names were used in the findings of the study. Anonymity and confidentiality were a very high priority and I tried to make each interviewee feel valued and comfortable. This was achieved by meeting each participant at a place where they felt comfortable. For interviews conducted via telephone, participants were assured nobody else was
able to listen to the conversation. All participants were advised they could stop the interview process or leave the study at any time without recourse. The collection of data, recording, organizing, analyzing, interpreting, and reporting of data were handled in an ethical and accountable manner. I assured each participant that information would not be disclosed to other members of the police service and in particular to those in leadership positions.

3.12 Chapter Summary

In short, the foundation of this chapter was to outline the research process used in the study. The researcher’s standpoint and the theoretical framework of the study were discussed using an interpretivist stance. The chapter continued describing the researcher’s role in the study, the research problem, and questions followed by a discussion of how the police service and participants were selected. One-on-one, semi-structured interviews took place face-to-face or confidentially via telephone. A modified version of the constant comparative method was used to highlight common themes from the data. The findings were triangulated through multiple data sources, and I attempted to interpret these socially constructed multiple realities using an interpretivist approach and the framework of Putnam’s (1995a) social capital theory (SCT).
Chapter 4: Findings

4.1 Overview of the Chapter

Chapter four begins with an introduction to the presentation of the data findings in the research study, followed by an overview of the context of the study. Secondary data on the number of policewomen in the service studied are presented as well as data from the reflective journal and member checks. The research questions are again introduced in this section. Themes that were ultimately developed in response to these questions are introduced and discussed. A chapter summary follows and these themes are developed further in the following chapter.

4.2 Introduction

The data were obtained from the large Ontario police service studied and showed the number of policewomen in the three ranks over the period of time from 2006 to 2016. These data were compared with secondary source data from Statistics Canada over the same period of time.

4.3 The Number of Participants in the Study

Ninety-two policewomen responded to the study that was posted on the police service’s secure internet site. Of those respondents, forty-three policewomen or 46.7% confirmed their consent by signing the Letter of Information. These forty-three policewomen participated through the entire study; no participants withdrew.
4.4 Data Obtained from the Large Ontario Police Service

Data were gathered by rank and gender for the uniform members in the large Ontario police service. The data were obtained for the period of 2006 through 2016, inclusive (see Figures 2-5).

*Figure 2.* Percentage of policewomen commissioned officers in the police service studied from 2006 to 2016, inclusive. Ontario police service (personal communication, August 25, 2016).
Figure 3. Percentage of policewomen non-commissioned Officers in the police service studied from 2006 to 2016, inclusive. Ontario police service (personal communication, August 25, 2016).
Figure 4. Percentage of policewomen (Constables) in the police service studied from 2006 to 2016, inclusive. Ontario police service (personal communication, August 25, 2016).
Figure 5. Percentage of policewomen overall in the police service studied from 2006 to 2016 inclusive. Ontario police service (personal communication, August 25, 2016).

To ensure that the police service and participants remained anonymous all the above results were changed to percentages. The rank structure was also combined into the headings of commissioned, non-commissioned and constable to protect the service from being identified. All percentages were rounded to the nearest two decimal points.

4.5 Summary of Data Obtained by the Police Service

Looking at the data for female commissioned officers from 2006 through 2016, it is evident that there was a slight decline between 2006 and 2007. The numbers have increased from 2007 to 2009 and decreased again in 2010. December of 2011 shows a fairly substantial increase, which continues in 2012. In 2013, the percentage was down ever so slightly with a marked increase in 2014. Again, in 2015 the numbers decrease slightly only to increase again slightly in
2016. However, for all years from 2006-2016 the percentage of female commissioned officers is not proportionate with the overall percentage of female police officers. Indeed, if the number of female commissioned officers were proportionate with the numbers of female police officers, about 20% of commissioned officers would be female.

In 2006, female non-commissioned officers represented 11.98% of the police service. This percentage of non-commissioned officers has steadily increased from 2007 to 2016. The percentage of female constables has increased from 2006 to 2007, decreasing slightly in 2008 and again in 2009. The numbers increased slightly in 2010, and more substantially in 2011, continuing to 2015 before decreasing slightly in 2016.

Finally, looking at the overall number of policewomen of all ranks in the service, the percentages increase from 2006 until 2008. They decrease ever so slightly in 2009 before increasing again through until 2016. It is possible that the increase in 2012 was due to an initiative targeting the recruitment of policewomen into the service. Unfortunately, as soon as the initiative concluded, the numbers of policewomen being recruited decreased again.

4.6 Data from Statistics Canada

Information obtained from Statistics Canada shows the percentage of policewomen in each rank across Canada from 2006 to 2016 (see Figures 6-8).
Figure 6. Percentage of policewomen–commissioned officers in Canadian police service (Greenland & Alam, 2017, p. 9).
Figure 7. Percentage of policewomen–non-commissioned officers in Canada (Greenland & Alam, 2017, p. 9).

Figure 8. Percentage of policewomen–constables in Canadian police services (Greenland & Alam, 2017, p. 9).
4.7 The Competency Process

The Canadian guide to competency management in police services provides an outline of the framework and process to use it in. This is a process that is used in some capacity in the Ontario police service studied. It is important that this process is laid out as the participants refer to the process throughout the remainder of the study.

There are 18 behavioural competencies to be effective in a role whether it be for a promotion or transfer to a specialized unit; and competencies are, “observable abilities, skills, knowledge, motivation or traits defined in terms of the behaviours needed for successful job performance” (Police Sector Council, 2013, p. 22). These behavioural competencies are: “achievement orientation, adaptability, conflict management, critical judgement, decision making, developing self and others, fostering relationships, interactive communications, organizational awareness, planning and organizing, problem solving, resource management, risk management, strategic thinking, stress tolerance, teamwork, visioning and written skills” (Police Sector Council, 2015). The hiring officer, along with a representative from human resources, chooses the competencies that they feel best suit the position applied for.

There are also nine technical competencies. These technical competencies are: “information management, legal policies procedures and standards, confidential informant handling, court testimony, crime scene management, interviewing victims and witnesses, interviewing and interrogating suspects, obtaining judicial authorizations, note taking and report writing” (Police Sector Council, 2015). These competencies are reflective of tasks officers perform on a regular basis.
Finally, there are 14 leadership and management competencies. These competencies are: “change management, decision making, financial management, human resource management, information technology management, strategic management, community and media management, fostering relationships, interactive communications, organizational awareness, ethical accountability, public accountability, public safety and valuing diversity” (Police Sector Council, 2015).

4.8 Examples of Interview Question Responses from Participants

As part of the first clutch of interview questions the participants were asked: Have you thought about or applied to be promoted? If you are a supervisor, have you thought about applying for further promotion? Why or Why not? The responses were collected and distilled into three categories: thought about it but did not apply, thought about it and did apply or, did not think about it and did not apply. In response to this question, one in two commissioned officers reported that they thought about promotion and did apply to the process, and the other officers reported that they did not think about the process and did not apply.

4.8.1 Question One. Table 2 outlines the results for research question one.

Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Results</th>
<th>Thought about it but did not apply</th>
<th>Thought about it and did apply</th>
<th>Didn’t think about it or apply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commissioned Officers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Commissioned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constables</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>27.91%</td>
<td>53.49%</td>
<td>18.60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One commissioned officer applied to a process and was unsuccessful. She explained that she has not tried to negotiate the process again since she was unsuccessful. When asked if she would try at a later date she claimed, “I would if I was supported. I was told that I was not, and would not be, based on some things that I have to work on.” Another commissioned officer explained, “I won’t try anymore, and it’s based on geography…if I applied for any further positions I would have to move and I don’t want to move my family.”

A majority of the non-commissioned officers (NCO) thought about the promotion process and they have applied for further promotion. One NCO believed she would apply for promotion, “when I feel I have gained enough experience” in the position she is in currently. Another participant was reluctant as she felt that, “if I was to be promoted, I would have to move, likely….you lose all kinds of things, overtime…no compensation except days off.”

One NCO logged the hours she spent studying for the promotion process and then the process itself was changed midstream. She stated: “I’ve spent 220 hours studying for the first process and an equal amount of time for the second process all for nothing. So, it was a very frustrating time.”
Along the same lines another NCO second guessed promotion, because of the “pull on your personal time… being tied to your [phone]. I’m sort of weighing whether it’s more important to be, have my free time or whether it’s more important to be promoted.”

The majority of constables who participated in this study thought about the promotion process and applied.

**4.8.2 Question two.** The second question asked: Is there some reason that you would not try to get promoted or further promoted? Commissioned officers stated that any further promotion would be based on friendships or politics, not competence. One of the two of the commissioned officers who participated stated that a lack of support, geography, family considerations, and the lack of position flexibility were part of the problem. One commissioned Officer (CO) in the study related:

I’ve now gone the the highest level where I feel it’s based on competence instead of on friendships and politics and I’m not interested in getting involved in all of the behind-the-scenes work that needs to be done to make the allegiances that you need to go further.

Non-commissioned officers indicated that the main reason they did not try to seek further promotion was the time commitment required to prepare for the process itself. Family obligations were also large barriers for the female non-commissioned officers in this study. Some NCOs also reported that they were constrained by geography. For example, some NCOs needed extended family to help with their children, so they were unable to move and in order to get promoted a move may be required. Still others explained they needed developmental opportunities and they were not able to get them in order to apply for the next promotion. There
were concerns from some participants about whether the process itself was impartial and fair. NCOs claimed that mentors or advocates were necessary to negotiate and succeed in the process and they were not often available. Finally, some promotions did not allow flexibility of a schedule and for that reason some NCOs did not seek further promotion. One NCO was in an acting capacity and she commented:

Some of the most stressful months of my entire life. You know, after that I realized that the next bump didn’t mean anything more than more pay and the costs that it would take in my personal life weren’t worth that….what they’re expecting it’s 24/7….I never had down time with my family….you’re at work and you’re on, you come home and it doesn’t stop because we tend to be the primary care-giver…so you’re never done.

She went on to say she lent a male officer a set of epaulets and when he returned them, he told her:

My wife says these are yours. So, I’m like, your wife? And he says, “Well she knew they weren’t mine, she takes care of all my uniform and washes everything,” And I’m like, oh my goodness, if I had someone at home taking care of, you know, washing and laundering my uniform and taking care of all that, this job would be a breeze….. It’s really whether or not I want to make sacrifices. That’s what it is, it’s making a sacrifice at home, and that’s just not a price I’m willing to pay.

One NCO noted, “so I guess I’m good enough to fill in but not good enough to do an acting stint…it’s turned me off.” She approached command staff to find out why she can fill in, but they will not give her an opportunity to act. She explained, “if they do give me something it’s
just an eye roll, yeah okay whatever shuts her up….so why would I waste my time?” Another seasoned NCO indicated that she was going to apply for promotion but there was a barrier:

Circumstances prevent me from doing that. In the promotion system, in my experience, you have to have somebody above you that’s actually is in your corner and advocates for you…if you don’t have that, then you are not given opportunities that other persons do that have that advocate or that person developing them which actually works against you and the promotion system. So, in your resume there are specific things that you cannot answer because you’re not given certain opportunities…I was not being supported by persons above me.

The main reason that female constables in this study opted out of the promotion process was due to the nepotism that was prevalent. Female constables reported the system is very frustrating and that there are problems with the process in and of itself. The process is not appropriate, as on constable stated: “I don’t think it is indicative of getting the right person for the right job.” She went on to say:

It is based on competencies and people who do want to get promoted who may not have the necessary (knowledge, skills, and abilities) KSAs will often do certain things just in order to get a competency for a promotion process, which I think is very disrespectful.

She believed that 360° interviews may be a beneficial instrument, not just the ability to use certain action verbs for an application process and interview. Another constable explained:

This new process is in with all of these new competencies etc. etc. and it’s ridiculous, because anybody can get through it now if you say the right words….we don’t do 360°’s
anymore…….the people getting through this, it’s a joke….they can’t get along with others, they are not a leader in any sense, they don’t know how to manage people or even care to manage people and here they are doing it for the wrong reasons.

This process was described by another participant who referred to the first part of the process as “mind-numbing writing 101. You don’t have to be a good officer to be promoted.”

The process consists of an application where four competencies are asked that are supposed to be indicative of the position the candidate is applying for. The second step can be an assignment, presentation, exam or in-box assignment for higher ranks and an interview in front of a board. In one situation, “the person who was successful, the best man at his wedding was on the board, he is the godfather to the children of another member who was on the board and he hunts and fishes with a third member of the board.” Another constable claimed that, “they score the interviews, but I mean they all sit and talk afterwards, and I mean they can rig the scores however they want to get whoever they want in.” Some policewomen stated, similar to one another female constable who observed, “if I can’t get into a speciality unit, I will not have a chance at promotion.”

Two constables felt that they needed more experience as they had less than ten years of service. One constable reported telling her supervisor that she would like an opportunity to be in charge if the sergeant and 2IC (second in command) were not in. She was told that, “a less senior officer would be doing that because [she] had children and could not be counted upon.” This feedback was given to the constable some time ago and now this officer advised that it is no longer feasible as she is fairly close to retirement. The promotion process is a lot of work, and
the officer explained, “to be honest I, I was, that comment just sort of put a bad taste in my mouth.”

Family reasons were another reason that female constables from this study did not pursue promotion. One reason offered is a lack of opportunity and very few mentors. One participant explicated:

You need opportunities to get the KSAs. If you can’t get the KSAs, with the way of the new interviewing and, for job applications and competitions you have to have the competencies. If you don’t have the competencies you can’t answer the questions. You have to match the words that they are looking for in each of the competencies….if you don’t have that example to provide that matches the words to be able to answer the question then you don’t get the points for it. So, in an application situation each question is marked out of five. If you do not get at least three out of five on every single question you, you don’t pass the application stage to even make it to an interview.

One constable shared that promotion is in the future, but she will not, “jeopardize these relationships for leadership roles at this stage of my life.” According to her, the job:

Still has more of a man issue then I expected it to have. The discrimination that women face in this career. It makes it hard to move forward. It is discouraging and demeaning when you work with so many men who feel that women should not be police officers. They rub off on the new officers….maybe the struggles would not be worth it. I have watched the struggles of some other female officers in regard to how the males treat them, won’t help them, complain about them, make fun of them and hope they fail.
One officer said that a transfer to a specialty position ended up being, “one of the most traumatic experiences I’ve ever been through.” It discouraged her so much she no longer thinks she will ever seek any further promotions, transfers, or courses. She was not supported in that position and stated that she perceived she was used as a pawn in someone else’s promotion opportunities. Another policewoman explained that, “promotion for females is not encouraged.” She continued:

I call it the old boys club and even when recruits come in, they are gold starred right away. You have your chosen people, and generally it’s the males and again, a lot have the freedom to come and go because they have wives at home that are taking care of everything. So, as a female, if you say no to something because you might have other commitments, I find that your, you are kind of, you have a black mark against you right off the hop.

Another point that was brought up was that the responsibilities of the sergeant and the added stress did not seem to be worth the minimal pay increase. The sergeant is responsible for her or himself and the other members of the shift and that can be incredibly stressful. At least two female constables reported they struggled because of childcare issues as both of their spouses work shift-work. It makes it very difficult for some policewomen to enter the process. This is not to say policewomen are the only ones that have childcare issues.

4.8.3 Question three. The third question asked: Have you done anything to increase your chances of promotion? If so, please explain what you did? One of the two commissioned officers responded, “I was already promoted…before I had a family.”
COs used innovative ways to find tasks they could do to make up for the things they were not able to do. Letting supervisors know they were interested in promotion was also important as well as being active on committees. One commissioned officer explained how she was able to negotiate promotion after she had a family:

I volunteer to go on policy committees for changing how you do different investigations where I know a lot of work is done either by computer or teleconference. So, instead of waiting for them to ask me for something that I knew I would have to say no to, I would proactively find something that would fit and throw myself into that so if I was already engaged outside, that way I very seldom had to say no which would negate my ability to be promotable while still getting the experiences.

For one commissioned officer, it was imperative that the police service needed to come first. She explained that, “the police service comes first…this is my career, this is everything.”

Non-commissioned officers reported that their acting time in a role was the most important thing they could do to increase their chances. An NCO noted that she took on extra duties and looked, “at the areas where I was weak, trying to fill in the blanks.” Another NCO explained that, “it took a while to get a handle on how our process works.” She went on to state, “you have to really beef up wherever it is that your deficiencies are because it doesn’t matter how good or qualified you are, you may not get that job if you can’t get through the process.” Two other NCOs felt that it did not really matter what you did to increase one’s chances for promotion—it simply rests on who you know.
Some of the other approaches non-commissioned officers advised they would take to strengthen their chances were making supervisors aware they were interested in the promotion process and making themselves flexible in terms of geographic issues so that they could drive to another location to get a position, ensuring family members assisted in affording the policewoman the necessary help so she can prepare, attending relevant conferences, working on strengthening weak areas, and working hard and be good to those they supervise. Constables stated that they tried to strengthened their chances for achieving promotion by taking courses, obtaining other degrees, completing secondments, and job shadowing. They explained that it was necessary to accept all opportunities they were provided, developing competencies and playing the game were important to their futures. Playing the game was the terminology used to explain how one must negotiate the promotion process; these were the unwritten rules of getting promoted in this particular police service.

Constables also stated that experience, networking, being bilingual, completing extra duties over and above their regular duties, having knowledge of policies and procedures, and succession planning also held some importance. As an example, an extra duty for a front-line officer might be as a breath technician or a drug recognition officer. These are specialized duties an officer can take on, which are over and above their regular duties. In some services officers are paid a small bonus for them and in other services they are not. Female constables also stated that coaching, mentoring, making oneself available, and letting supervisors know of an interest in leading were relevant to the potential for promotion. Community involvement was also considered important. However, acting in a supervisory role and one’s work ethic were not perceived as important.
**4.8.4 Question four.** The fourth question asked: What qualifications do you think are important for promotion? According to two participants being, “good at the base job of police officer” was a prerequisite qualification for being promoted. One CO also pointed out that, “it’s not only up to the police service to determine what your career path is, it’s really you…you have to go after it. I think it’s important you find a mentor.” Integrity is also something someone needs to possess and have substantially recognized in order to be promoted. One needs to have the requisite police services knowledge, skills, and abilities (KSAs), be confident and competent prior to being promoted.

Some NCOs stated that education and experience were important, as well as being proficient with political issues, and understanding the human resources part of policing. Supervisors need to be supportive of their people and be ethical. Possessing the required KSAs were very important to this group as they were with the COs. In order to get promoted one NCO said,

You really need to know the law and you need to know your authorities. We have a lot of NCOs who are giving advice on how to, on procedures and legal stuff and they don’t know what they’re talking about.

She went on to say that, “the whole push that NCOs have to just be managers of people is wrong, they need to know police work very well and that’s one of the faults I see right now.” Another NCO went on to elaborate and stated, “I’ve seen lots of, lots of colleagues who are, you know, brilliant in their area but lack a lot of ability to work with people.”
Constables stated that having the KSAs to lead, knowing policy, and having a solid knowledge base were important qualifications to have. Leading *by example* was also important to constables.

**4.8.5 Question five.** The fifth question asked: What capabilities do you think are important for promotion? COs explained it was necessary to be capable and set an example for the people they supervise, have a good work ethic, and good leadership skills. The candidate needs to want the promotion for the right reasons and this was explained as not only being out for their own benefit or gain.

NCOs in the study mentioned it was important to be a good communicator, have good interpersonal skills, be ambitious, and have the drive to actively seek promotion. The ability to problem solve, stand by decisions, and take everyone’s opinions into account were critical to the art of being a capable and qualified leader. One should also be sensitive, empathetic, and flexible, as one NCO explained, “because you never know what people are dealing with.” These characteristics were considered to increase respect and trust in a reciprocal fashion between supervisor and those being supervised. This collaboration would make for a positive work environment and ensure everyone’s voice would be heard.

Constables indicated that interpersonal skills, integrity, understanding the work–life balance, as well as being flexible and moral were of utmost importance. It was imperative that a good leader have good communication skills and be an active listener as well as being a capable decision maker. They also felt that it was important to be able to work with different personalities and learning styles, coupled with work experience (at least five years of service prior to promotion or transfer to a specialized unit), prior to promotion.
**4.8.6 Question six.** The sixth question asked: This question asked what kind of role does the community plays in policing? The commissioned officers stated that community policing plays an important part in being accountable. Participants noted that for a number of reasons the police service, as a whole, has lost a capacity to be proactive and have a human side and that this needs to be recovered. Participants suggested the political climate has a large impact on how the police service is presented and does its work, within the community.

Non-commissioned officers also acknowledged that community policing is important. In their view, community policing’s effectiveness is dependent on the geographical area and culture that the service polices, as one participant stated: “The way you police depends on where you work.” NCOs also referenced the Ontario Mobilization and Engagement Model of Policing as a pre-requisite for engaging necessary external stakeholders to assist the police service. Mental health is one example of this, as many services have a mobile crisis unit who ride along with officers in patrol cars to proactively deal with situations at the onset.

Constables agreed that community policing is paramount to having an effective police service. One reason given was the community likes to know the officers in their community, and foot patrol is one way to develop positive relationships many suggested. Again, constables recognized it was important to engage community stakeholders to work on problems in a collaborative fashion. By doing that, the community can take ownership for concerns that arise in their area. The use of roundtable discussions and social media similarly assisted in any joint efforts between partnering services. Constables suggested that communities need to move away from the solely, *stats driven* analysis of crime. This means police need to apply the Ontario Mobilization and Engagement Model (introduced in Chapter three) to engage stakeholders in
increasing the proactive approach necessary to maintain safe communities. In other words, simply reacting to criminal activity is not an effective strategy (OACP, 2016).

4.8.7 Question seven. Question seven asked: Do you have a role model at work? If so, what is the value of having a role model at work? Further the question included: (a) Can you provide details about the role model? (without identifying the person), (b) Why is that person a role model? and (c) How are they a role model? At the time of this study, one of the commissioned officers had a role model while another indicated, “I have taken bits and pieces of different role models, I don’t have a role model or a mentor.” The value of having a mentor for one CO is that he [the mentor] is compassionate, he cares, and he wants others to succeed. She perceived that the mentor was not in it for any type of gain, as he brings intelligence, experience, and knowledge to the table. She explained: “He gives everybody [the choice to express] their opinion and I think that’s really important, and what I’ve learned from him there’s not one person at the table that he doesn’t ask their opinion, he always asks everybody at the table and he includes me in that.”

Another CO noted there is value in having a role model if it is the “right role model.” She noted: “I have yet to find a role model who understands my unique life and the way that I would have to do things to get to the same position or the same competencies that they have.” She is a role model to her officers and she explained that she has, “other obligations that are more important to me than my work, and police officers who want to go up in the ranks put work first. So, I have it backwards.” She further stated that:

They do offer, like they offer, I could call and say hey I’d love to have a role model or mentor or something and they would give me some old guy to show me how to do my job
(laugh)….it may be totally off base; I don’t think that the female officers who have rank want to hang out with other female officers that have rank because you need to be one of the guys, you can’t be separate.

This CO admitted, respectfully, that she watches another female CO who is confident, respectful, and sets her own boundaries although she does not fully consider her a role model.

Three out of four non-commissioned officers who participated in this study mentioned they had at least one role model. They indicated that they needed more role models with drive, determination, knowledge, and expertise in the upper ranks. One NCO stated that she had worked for a lot of male supervisors and the way they supervised noted, “I don’t want to do it that way (laugh).” In other words, they need female members who can negotiate the male dominated profession. These mentors should be engaging, loyal, fair, helpful, positive, friendly and able to use a softer, more effective approach. These female members were able to relate their successes and failures to others who are coming up the ranks. They provided an example of how to negotiate the home–life balance effectively and provided strategies for other women. It was important that these role models could interact with the community, have great people skills and that they also could see the human side to mental health.

One NCO reflected on having a role model that taught her to take pride in her writing, while another provided her advice to “aim high.” Roughly one in two policewomen in this study had a female role model. One NCO was “assigned” a role model or mentor to negotiate the promotion process. She described this relationship: “I don’t think she knew how to be a mentor; she was just more of a sounding board which I guess is, is, an aspect of mentorship…neither of us really knew what to expect of that relationship.” She went on to say that the police service
should have more mentors (even though she did not think her experience had anything to do with being promoted). That NCO also stated:

I was also just recently supposed to be on a leadership coaching course…I had to send some forms in and when I did, I got a reply back saying that we’re going to have to defer you to another group because we don’t have enough mentors to coach.

When asked about the value of having a role model at work, that NCO also noted, “it can be as damaging as it is positive…it’s like that coach-officer relationship when you get on the job, right?” The biggest advantage is having the sounding board “with no fear of judgement.” She stated having a role model or mentor is necessary to have an advocate to assist in negotiating the promotion process.

Constables recognized that role models should be supportive, consistent, knowledgeable and experienced. In effect they should stick to their word, not pick favourites, be extremely motivated, career-oriented, and strong. Role models should have struggled in their careers, but giving up was not an option. It was extremely important to see that these role models did not give up and that they eventually became successful.

Role models should be trustworthy, encouraging, helpful and able to go against the grain without being afraid of what others might think. They should be life-long learners and be able to address weaknesses in others without being condescending. Participants generally agreed that role models should have great interpersonal skills, they should be able to lead from the bottom, guide others, be open-minded, and be capable of making decisions even when it is difficult to do so. For constables, it was important that a role model be able to communicate effectively, be able
to seek emotional feedback, be inspirational, direct, genuine, and positive. Participants also
wanted to know that their supervisor “has their back.” This was explained in terms of telling the
constable to do a specific thing and then if it was something that was criticized later on, standing
behind the member’s decision. It is also important that the role model or mentor is well respected
in their own position.

The following are excerpts from the transcriptions of constables’ interviews that
answered question seven:

I now have a female sergeant and she is very supportive of learning and developing. She
gets a lot of… negativity, because I think that, it’s hard to be a strong leader as a female
because what happens is that if you’re strong in your convictions and how you want a job
done, you’re almost considered a bitch, but a guy simply looks like they are self-
confident.

The value of having a role model, is that you can look up to somebody and what they
have done and strive to do as well as they have done while maintaining their integrity.

If I get praise from that person, I would feel more confident.

[The role model] identifies people……mentors.

[The role model] shows you what could be done and things that you can personally think
that there are obstacles, your role model might show you that you can work on them.

The value of having a role model is because you can see, I can learn from their
experience, I can discuss things with them, like if I need to bounce ideas, even if it’s
work, so like immediate work related, I could talk to them about things like that, but I can also discuss long term plans and get there, I really trust their opinion on things as well.

4.8.8 Question eight. Question eight asked: If you do not have a role model, can you tell me why that is the case? One of the two commissioned officers reported that they do not have role models. In some cases, this can be due to geographical barriers that can prevent or restrict the prospects of having a mentor.

One in four non-commissioned officers who did not have role models stated that they only had, “people to bounce things off of.” Others stated that they only had people who were support resources, but they would not consider them role models. A high number of constables stated that they did not have role models, rather, that they often only had values and characteristics they aspire to. At the time of the interviews for this research, over four in 10 (41.4%) constables stated that they did not have a role model. One constable stated, “I just have values and characteristics that I aspire to. When asked if there was anybody who assisted her, she stated:

Is there somebody that would help me? Absolutely nobody. Nobody, I would have to, I would have to seek somebody out….I think the squeaky wheel gets the oil so have to toot your own horn, get attention to yourself, or go out of your way to actually for instance request a secondment somewhere. Unless you maybe of your own choosing doggedly pursue a secondment….you have to promote yourself, no one else is noticing….I got a couple ‘atta boys’…. why? Because the public thanked me….not from anybody in the police service noticing, recognizing, appreciating anything….the people who might notice someone’s potential for something are very rare, because everyone’s very self-
absorbed in my opinion….I don’t see anybody paying any great attention to what anybody’s doing.

One experienced policewoman stated that a senior officer told her that her name was brought up in a derogatory fashion during a supervisor’s meeting. She noted that, “everyone’s too busy trying to get what they can get, to get ahead….They (upper management) are bringing up the people that they want to bring up, right?” Another officer explained she needed to visualize things, yet, “there is no head I can place for professionalism, integrity, excellence.” She was unable to nominate a role model or mentor who would be a good fit for her in the police service studied.

**4.9.9 Question nine.** Question nine asked: Can you tell me about a supervisor who encouraged you to apply for promotion? And why and how was that person encouraging? Commissioned officers were asked this question and they responded that such encouragement was rare. One CO reported she was told she was not “ready” in a promotion competition, yet she perceived that she possessed all of the requisite competencies. another CO advised,“I’ve had supervisors who have stood in my way of promotion all the way through except for once.” She further stated that one supervisor, “told me that he had to take me, because I was female, but he was pissed off about it and wished he didn’t have me, and we would see how long I lasted.” She was also told she was, “too young, too big for my boots that I’d be sorry when my platoon ran roughshod over me and we’d see who was smiling afterwards.” She also explained that, “they didn’t feel that a mother could do this job as it was too involved, but they were willing to give me a try because they couldn’t just say no without showing that I couldn’t do the job.”
Non-commissioned officers had more positive experiences with all of them saying that they had had a supervisor who tried to develop and support them in their journeys. Some supervisors even provided time to prep for the process while they were working. One NCO stated that she asked the supervisor if they would support a secondment and she was told “yes.” As the secondment time approached, she was told she could not go. These turn downs were often blamed on staffing issues at the time.

Eighty-nine percent of constables in the study reported that they felt like they were encouraged to go for promotion. Interestingly, they stated they were encouraged, yet at the same time they noted the supervisor “did nothing to assist in any way.” This type of supervisory leadership is akin to a laissez faire or *let it be* kind of leader. Again, some participants were supported by their current supervisor. In one situation a policewoman got a 2IC position when the sergeant used the winner of a game to choose her.

**4.8.10 Question ten.** The tenth question asked: Can you tell me about the actions or attitudes of a supervisor who discouraged you from applying for promotion? What did your supervisor do that made you feel he or she was not supportive? The commissioned officers who participated in the study felt that they were not supported, especially early in their careers. Some noted that they had no voice, that nepotism was rampant, and that many of the people who were promoted were not in it for the right reasons.

Nine out of ten non-commissioned officers stated that they were not directly discouraged, however they reported that supervisors were negative, apathetic, and clearly not supportive. One NCO stated, “there were people who felt I wasn’t qualified,” because she did not have expertise
in the area. This NCO stated that the premise, “if you haven’t done the job you can’t lead the job,” was ludicrous. Another NCO explained:

This new process has created a lot of people trying to, make things for, to get through a process like if it’s the talent pool….Where is the focus on constables becoming sergeants? or sergeants becoming staff sergeants? There isn’t any. You see everything about the inspector talent pool.

Another NCO explained that she got upset at supervisor’s meetings, “because it seems like my opinion doesn’t matter.” She raised issues that were ignored while someone else said it later and they said, “that’s a good idea.” A third seasoned NCO claimed she was not discouraged by words, but by actions. That came in the way of courses she had requested that, “were never honoured. A course came available that I had asked for, for a long time and it was given to a male supervisor that had just been promoted.” A higher-ranking officer stated to an NCO:

No, I don’t think you’re the right person for that. You are probably not qualified to get it. You haven’t done what you’ve needed [to]. And so, I thought back in my own career and [thought to myself] well I’ve done this, and I’ve done that. So that encouraging hasn’t been done or for any of these other duties whether it’s specialized training or assisting with another unit. You have to sometimes go against what your supervisor is thinking and go well. I’m going to throw my name in anyway and see what happens.

An NCO who applied for an emergency response team position was told, “oh I don’t think they take girls right now.” One of the NCOs explained that the higher ranks are often very selfish. She stated that:
A lot of our managers are so short sighted in allowing their people to go out and develop because it creates a vacancy for them and they are so concerned about their own mandates and meeting their own goals and objectives that they forget that if you keep somebody there who is not motivated and engaged they are not going to produce for you anyway so let them do something different right?

Approximately 66% of the constables in this study reported being discouraged or not supported while 34% percent reported that they have not felt discouraged at one point or another during their career. Either way, sometimes staffing constraints play a major role in why policewomen and policemen are not provided with career or promotion opportunities. One constable stated:

I’m a person that if I don’t understand something, I want to ask questions, I want to, I ask, I seek help because I want to get the right answer, and regarding a supervisor I had when I first started, I thought okay, he’s a supervisor, he knows what he is doing, so I would ask him questions and I was point blank told that he didn’t like the fact that I was asking him questions because he felt like I was questioning his authority.

She went on and explained that that, “supervisor was really a huge influence on—I actually almost quit within my first year.” A second officer had a similar experience with a supervisor she described as not being very confident and this in turn was destroying her confidence. She asked the other supervisor questions that he could not answer, and she believed he perceived her questioning this as a challenge. She could not get courses, even courses that were not highly sought, and that supervisor made her feel “stupid.”
Despite relevant labour laws, some supervisors discouraged policewomen who became pregnant. They denied policewomen courses, and made comments to the effect that, “I had children, I can’t be counted on,” while another supervisor caused one participant to, “feel excluded and less than, you know a frontline officer right, because I was pregnant.” One participant was stripped of her 2IC status after returning to work post maternity leave. Along the same lines, a policewoman was on a course when she worked for another service and she got injured. She was unable to complete the course and negative comments were made to her about why she took the course in the first place. She also had difficulty early in her pregnancy and she was struggling with some medical issues. The supervisor was aware however she was reprimanded for her performance and lack of work ethic with no empathy or concern for the difficulties she had undergone.

Constables also reported that when, “opportunities came up to do something else and act, I would be kept back to, another position because I was needed to take care of what needed to be done there,…. I felt that that was selfish at times.” Another constable explained that, “you could tell be the way they carry themselves; they’re basically telling you, ‘you don’t have a hope’.” She went on and explained that she was notified by a supervisor not to apply, because “you know what? It’s already spoken for. Don’t even bother.” Another participant commented,

What’s the point of doing that? That job is already made for someone else; they have given him all the opportunities and that job is for him so why would you waste your time? You’re not going to be successful anyway.

Participants were also given evaluations or heard through the work grapevine that, “you’re incapable of doing the job,” yet there was no basis for this as it was, “based on their
personal opinion of you.” As well, participants indicated that this definitely limited opportunities for people. One constable explained that it is, “still a bit mysterious about the people that get chosen.” Another constable reports that she was being treated as a daughter rather than a police officer. She was not given the opportunity to take courses. She wanted to be a breath technician and she was discouraged by this supervisor who said: “Oh, you shouldn’t do that, because then you have to be with drunk people.” She added, “those courses, especially the drug ones, you call them sexy-type courses, they completely went to males. Even ones that you know [the officers only] had one or two years on, I clearly had more seniority, and—nothing.”

One constable reported she was discouraged from applying for a course, because “they said I was too young in my career and needed more experience. Looking back now, yeah that was absolutely right.” This is one instance when the officer felt the discouragement was appropriate, however, she also recalled other times she asked for courses where she was told, “oh you don’t want your direction to go that way,” and “why do you want that?”

4.8.11 Question eleven. Question eleven asked, regardless of rank, in what ways do you show leadership on the job? Commissioned officers showed leadership by encouraging others to lead, trying to remove obstacles, leading from the back, putting the spotlight on others and by not trying to gain anything. It is more difficult to “sell themselves” or self-promote, and they would rather endorse their team members.

One in five NCOs reported that they showed leadership by providing tools, advice, and knowledge in order to develop others. Leading by example and not making others do something that they would not do themselves was also important, but only mentioned by one in ten NCOs that participated in this study. One NCO explained this by, “not asking people to do something
that I wouldn’t do myself. Putting the people who (I supervise) are under me needs before mine. Case by example, if I needed a day off and they did, I would give it to them first.”

Non-commissioned officers also explained that it was important to show leadership by seeking help from others, emulating good qualities, encouraging others, and being ethical. They did so variously by showing they were human and not without fault, putting others needs before theirs, taking care of them by showing an interest in their personal lives, and being approachable. Thus, participatory leadership is key. NCOs are responsible to complete yearly evaluations on the officers they supervise. This was something they noted was needed to be done in a timely fashion. One participant explained:

You have to strike that balance between selling what’s in the best interest of the organization and what’s in the best interest of your people….I think really, having genuine concern for your people. So that’s something I do with my people, I know that each one of the people on my shift need something different from me as a supervisor. Some need more guidance and direction, some need less, some need mentoring and encouraging. Everybody needs something different from you. As a leader you’ve got to figure out what it is, because one size does not fit all, you have to figure out what motivates each one of your people.

Another NCO explained, “I invest heavily in mentoring and coaching of other officers……I’m actively looking for people to try and enhance their skills, abilities, and experiences for our organization.” Good communication skills are necessary in order to be good leaders.
Not surprisingly, constables show leadership in different ways. The majority of those interviewed saw teamwork and mentorship as being key. One constable liked to identify a person’s weakness and work, “with them so that they can get stronger.” Another policewoman stated, “if you see somebody steering in the wrong direction you say, okay, this is the way you should do it, not let them fall….do the right thing…. deeds and words and your actions speak louder.” Another constable brought up the importance of organizational stress and mental health. She noted that she could show leadership to her colleagues in this area. She further explained:

I’m not afraid to tell people what I think, and I’m not afraid to share either how I feel with regard to either physical or mental health. I’m pretty open about that, and because I think, if they see someone senior who is open about talking about those sorts of things then it will be easier for them to come forward, not necessarily to me, but just to come forward and say, ‘hey, I’m not feeling well.’ One experience that I had…. left a pretty big hole in me emotionally and mentally [and it was] brought on by management.

Constables also stated that leadership could be shown by providing feedback, being professional, making a decision and sticking with it. As one participant explicated, leadership is shown:

By action, doing what is right all the time even when someone is not looking. Stepping up, stepping up to the plate when it needs to be, but also taking that step forward if there is something wrong and making it right whether you are the subject to that wrong to a right or you see the wrong that needs to be righted. Being sure to make a decision and live with it and stick with it, that’s a big one.
It is also important to be down to earth, calm, to have knowledge of the job and to remain current with up-to-date training. One participant stated: “I try to reason with people. I treat people the way I want to be treated.” Availability, common sense, and a sense of humour are other positive characteristics for a leader. One constable explained that she worked, “hard to make others look good.” It is important to be approachable for junior officers, because, as she noted, “you weren’t born a police officer; you need to learn.” Constables also found that good leaders could hold someone accountable in a positive way rather than in the typical punitive fashion. Engaging in outreach to other organizations and volunteering were also important to constables. Finally, some participants in the study noted that a good leader was one who realized they cannot be all things to everyone, and one who was not afraid to speak up even when it may not be pleasant to do so.

4.8.12 Question twelve. The twelfth question asked if the participant could use some descriptive words to describe the best supervisor they have worked with. Commissioned officers stated that the best qualities for being an excellent supervisor are to be compassionate, kind, giving, generous, and empathetic. Other qualities that were mentioned were; integrity, honesty, being accountable, hardworking, professional, supportive, dedicated, smart, ethical, wanting to do the right thing, not being in it to gain, [for oneself alone] and wanting the people they supervise and lead to succeed.

Non-commissioned officers also considered trustworthiness and integrity to be the most common descriptive words to briefly describe a good supervisor. Further characteristics were being a knowledge-based leader who is intelligent, flexible, and understanding. Good communication skills and a sense of humour were also important qualities that described the best
supervisor participants had worked with in their police careers. One NCO used the following descriptive words to describe her best supervisor:

Compassionate, understanding, supportive, integrity, trustworthiness, personable, notice none of the words that I ever use are highly knowledgeable in their subject matter?…If you don’t have all those things it doesn’t matter if you know everything, if you’re, if you’re an arse nobody wants to talk to you and they don’t care how much you know.

She added, “they will remember you about how you made them feel they won’t remember you because of what you know.”

Constables also used words like genuine, kind, compassionate, empathetic and understanding to most commonly describe the best supervisors. This was in line with what the commissioned officers used. Trustworthiness, integrity, honesty and being ethical were next in order of importance; and being knowledgeable, taking calls and being hands on were mentioned regularly by participants in the study.

**4.8.13 Question thirteen.** The thirteenth question asked participants if they thought there was something specific holding them back from promotion. Commissioned officers stated at the time of the interviews that they were not supported to go any further than where they were currently. Some officers also found it difficult to sell themselves, which was sometimes due to their unwillingness to travel, and the fact that some of them felt that the next levels were only based on friendships and politics. For those reasons the participants perceived they were “stuck” at their current level.
Non-commissioned officers stated that politics, the “old boys’ network,” and politics (for example, not golfing or drinking with the right people), have been barriers to promotion. One participant explained:

The guys get the jobs, they get the plum jobs….if you want to get promoted, you can take a job in one of the, less popular areas like human resources or policy and planning……if you want to become a Detective Inspector or you know you want to work in biker enforcement or get promoted in those areas it is tough as anything.

Another barrier mentioned by participants was a lack of support from a policewoman’s unit, which creates difficulty in being able to negotiate the promotion process.

The time commitment required to negotiate the process, the potential of having to relocate, and family commitments also hold some potential candidates back from the promotion process. One NCO explained that when you get,

to the staff sergeant position, it even says …. that you’ll put the needs of the organization ahead of your own, and I’ll tell you what, if push came to shove, I would never put the police service ahead of my kids.

She continued:

You know, when my male colleagues work 60 hours a week, they go home and there’s a fresh shirt ironed in the closet for them, and their kids are well taken care of because their wife has done it for them, right? I’m the wife, I’m the one that goes home after I’ve
worked 14 hours and wash and iron the shirt and put it in the closet. And I’m the one that’s still the captain of the ship.

One NCO explained that her husband said, “you’re not going to apply for this, are you?” He was concerned about how much added stress an acting position was putting on her. She stated that she had a “great family, I’m not willing to lose any of that, and I feel as if rolling the dice, if I were successful it could put that in jeopardy.” Another NCO responded:

you can’t have it all…you either miss things at work or miss things at home or miss things with your extended family. You can’t be everywhere at once…I don’t think anything is holding you back except time…Sometimes the only one holding you back is yourself (laughs).

Another barriers that was clearly related to the time and family commitment was the process itself. Some NCOs reported it takes a considerable amount of time to prepare for the promotion process.

In this study, a majority of constables stated that the most difficult obstacle to negotiate in the journey to get promoted was the process itself. However, out of the total number of responses, one in four participants considered the process flawed. In many cases there was a lack of opportunities, while some participants voiced that they did not have an interest in promotion and that is was their choice not to attempt the process. That view accounted for 17.5% of the responses and was sometimes due to a fear of the unknown or not wanting to have to “babysit” other members. Personal and family life accounted for 15% of the explanations that were provided.
Constables explained that, “you have to be attached to someone, whether it’s like socially or linked in another way.” Management is perceived to be holding people back along with the current process of memorizing, “all these protocols and buzzwords and things that really they are good on paper but have nothing to do with her day to day policing.” One constable claimed that being able to, “memorize things and spout off policy. That’s not what helps people out on the road.” Another participant commented:

They’ve already determined who they want in a position….you see that chronically ….and the treatment, you see how some people are treated….a female will get treated differently……if they know that you’re going to do the work they’ll give you the extra work, and the people that aren’t doing the work get less work.

In some cases, constables noted that there, “is a black mark beside” their name and this in turn has changed policing into a job “and not a career.” Another constable remarked:

It can be a profession or career if you are well-liked or well-connected. Watch out if you don’t do the right thing by someone in position of power because it will quickly become a job for you, and a hellish job at that…If the police service played to the strengths of its members, [things would be better] but you need managers in a position who recognize that by promoting those people, they are in a sense, promoting themselves.

She then indicated that the culture is now very selfish and it is, “looking out for number one,” so “in that sense right now it’s more of a vocation or job than a profession. The fish stinks from the head down.”
Another constable did not know what was holding her back. She had just been told, “you did good, but they did better.” Another participant perceived that the fact that she was vocal may have limited her career prospects. She had a specialty she acquired prior to policing and she had been used in that specialty area. Recently she was moved and was not encouraged to continue on with her specialty area—the specialty job was given to a male officer.

As with most parts of the workforce, there seems to be jealousy and some of this study’s participants stated that their job qualifications were lacking until they saw who gained different positions.

I don’t think that I have all of the qualifications, I might just have some of them but then I look at other counterparts and go ‘what?’ How did that happen? And they have like 20% of the qualifications that I have, but they might have a better peer support group, or they play hockey with this person, or they have a better social connection, so I think a hindrance would be a lack of a social connection.

Sometimes the policewomen stated that they did not think they were qualified for a position, and then they saw that the successful candidate was less qualified than they were.

Some constables stated that timing and family was holding them back, while others claimed it was just themselves. The latter explanation was attributed to the closing of lateral doors once one was promoted. It narrowed the opportunities and, as one participant stated, “being a sergeant, you just get shit on from the top and the bottom….and I am quite happy, influencing from the bottom.” In other cases, it was the stress that goes along with promotion. One participant explained, “I’ve watched two supervisors, one of them hospitalized a few times
for ailments and illnesses, which I know is from stress.” The other supervisor, “looked so tired….and she said to me, I feel awful I haven’t slept in three days,” due to job demands.

4.8.14 Question fourteen. Question fourteen asked: What do you think could be done to make it easier for policewomen to enter the promotion process? Commissioned officers stated that there was still a long way to go in order to increase the number of policewomen who enter the process. It is still a concern that nepotism appears to be widespread within the police service. This is measured by the fact that many individuals have the knowledge skills and abilities (KSAs) required for a position, yet they are continually overlooked. Oftentimes the participants claimed the successful individual did not have the required KSAs, yet they were promoted.

Again, mentorship is key, and policewomen need to have a voice. Policewomen need to band together, and it is important for policewomen to mentor other policewomen. Oftentimes policewomen do not try to help one another; instead they compete with one another, and do not want to do anything that may make the other policewomen more successful. As one participant noted, policing is often seen, “as a competition, I’m against you, we are against each other…we need to get together—be a team.”

The current promotion process has evolved from one that employed standardized testing and prioritized a more objective method, to one that is competency-based and easier to manipulate. Commissioned officers, as well as other participants who have experienced both processes, do not feel that the current process is more credible or reliable than the previous one.

COs also noted that large amounts of time away from their family life should not have to be sacrificed just in order to compete in a promotion process. For many policewomen, it is
unrealistic to think that people have time over and above the time they spend at work to prepare for these processes. Since women typically work and run the home, there is less time to even try to compete in promotion, so they opt out of a career structure that has requirements, which become barriers for many policewomen (and quite possibly some policemen who put time with family ahead of career opportunities).

Networking is very important, and it is necessary and expected in order to get promoted to the higher ranks. Oftentimes this means attending conferences and attending the social functions afterwards. In this study the COs who participated found this expectation an inappropriate requirement that restricted their ability to go any further. Again, participants noted that if they were doing a good job their work-based merit should speak for itself, and they should not need to attend parties to network with other senior officers to obtain a position.

COs also considered that there was an issue with training. One participant stated, “all of the training is away and usually its last minute, there is not proper training programs that allow the policewomen to get the same level of training because they are not available spur of the moment.” This CO further stated that:

The culture has to continue to shift. Until you can do the job within the job hours and still have a life and responsibility outside of a job without that being a stigma….balancing the two, I don’t know how they [policewomen] do it with shift work.

Maternity leave is another concern. There is a stigma regarding taking maternity leave with less than five years of service, as one participant mentioned: “The guys are all over them
about the fact that they haven’t earned their time.” Ironically, there is no criticism if a policeman is promoted or transferred into a specialized unit less than five years on.

As noted earlier, some non-commissioned officers stated that the process is flawed, and this makes it inaccessible for policewomen. Policewomen should be given the education and opportunities so that they can, as one NCO stated, “take gender out of the promotion process and actually promote the correct person who is the best fit for the job.” With that said, only about one in five participants signaled that the process was a major problem. Those participants stated this was partially because of the absence of using the 360 º feedback method. The 360 º feedback method is only used for commissioned officers, yet about four in 10 NCOs mentioned this should be used for everyone. Along these lines some of the participating NCOs viewed the competency method as lacking, and that it does not produce the best candidates. About three in 10 NCO participants stated they should bring back standardized testing. One participant related that it would be nice if the test was standardized again, so that “there was no personal opinion involved in it.” The current method was a concern, because by using the competency method the hiring officer picks the promotion panel, and this was perceived by the participants to be unfair.

One NCO considered that it was necessary to clarify that a policewoman should not just get a position because she was female, “you should get this, but it should be the qualifications of whoever it is.” I explained to the participant that it was not implied that a policewoman should just get a position, because she is female. The NCO predicted it would always follow that, “oh, she only got that because she is a woman…nobody says oh he only got that because he’s a guy.” This particular NCO did not think that anything would make it easier for policewomen to
negotiate the promotion process as she felt other police officers would not respect that. She stated:

I had someone in my unit who had childcare issues as a single mother and all she heard was ‘oh you are getting a special shift because you know, you are female.’ She is doing a good job, but of course, everybody has to sit there and be critical of it.

Another participant noted that there is, “nothing that prevents them from entering now…you need to be in an acting position for a significant period of time to be able to build up your (knowledge, skills and abilities) KSAs and, you know, demonstrate your competencies.” She also said that the policewoman needs to be given opportunities in “good jobs,” for example, in drugs or intelligence that are usually exclusively open to policemen.

Related to the process is the sense that nepotism is still prevalent, and the fact that the police service is still culturally and demographically a man’s world. Policing is in effect still the “old boys club.” If women do get promoted it is often framed as “she is a token,” or “did she get it, because she was sleeping with so and so?”

One NCO told the researcher that she was treated as an equal at one location she worked in, but when she transferred to another location she was told, “to go and sit in the station. One day I finally said, is it because I’m female? Yes,” was the response. Participants reported that they were treated differently depending on the station they were at, and the policewomen were different as well. One participant stated, “I don’t even know why they were police they just didn’t fit; they didn’t fit the mold and they were more interested in their nails and hair, the men treated them like their little dolls and they liked it.” She also followed with, “if you have a guy
that’s a useless police officer, he’s still a good guy, great guy. If you have a woman who is a
useless police officer, ‘oh, those women police.’”

Around two in 10 participants mentioned that family and the work–life balance made
things difficult for them to enter the promotion process. One NCO explained that women who do
not have partners or small children, as well as women married or in a relationship with another
woman, have more opportunities. She explained:

I see a lot of women do very well in promotion processes and get promoted and move
around and move up the chain who either don’t have a partner or don’t have small
children. I just find for married women—and specific married women, namely women
married to men, (not a woman in a relationship or married to another woman as that
seems to help with the success of of policewomen looking for promotion opportunities).
For women married to men with children. [There is a] huge, huge, incredible barrier, it
has nothing to do with the police service, nothing to do with the policing
community…they can’t find the time to do preparation or promotion things because they
can’t figure how on earth they can fit in more when they can barely fit in what they’ve
got.

She explained this was successful due to shared responsibilities at home, and although
she gave men credit, she still had to ask her husband to help. Also, the babysitter and the school
do not call her husband if something is wrong [with the children], they call her at work. One
NCO explained that she “needs a wife,” and that would make things easier for the promotion
process. Another NCO explained:
I don’t know how a woman with a family at home, would put themselves in a position where they are constantly climbing, without something falling apart. And I’m just not willing to do that, you know, sacrifice my family, and I’m not saying that other women who do get promoted are sacrificing, potentially, I’d love to know what they have going on, maybe they have hired help.

Another NCO reflected on the statement you can have it all and stated:

I think the belief in life that you can have it all is kind of humorous in some ways because you can’t have it all….you either miss things at work or miss things at home or miss things with your extended family. I don’t think anything’s holding you back except time…. sometimes the only one holding you back is yourself.

She added:

If you decide to have children, I mean you’re pregnant for 10 months, at which time you’re accommodated on a lighter position, and then you’re off…for a year…if you have anywhere from 2 to 4 kids, that’s a lot of years off the road……often they take positions where there’s maybe not a lot of promotion opportunities. But again. I don’t think you should ever get a job because you’re a male or a female, I think you should get a job because you’re good at what you do.

Constables also have many concerns about what can be done to make things easier for policewomen to enter the promotion process. As with the response of the non-commissioned officers, the process appears to be the major barrier with 38% of the responses mentioning the process. One constable explained that the times have changed and now:
People aren’t overtly saying what they used to say, I think it’s now kind of its suppressed and it’s utilized in other ways. So, I think that’s an issue, is, it’s still the old boy’s school, the old boys club….they are trying to get women promoted….I don’t necessarily feel that it’s happening for the right reasons……we don’t do 360°’s, we just rely on this awful promotion process….it’s still the old boys club it’s just disguised.

Constables went on to say that the memorization of words that match competencies was the only skill necessary to achieve promotion; as one participant stated, “the buzzwords, top notch, it doesn’t make you good at your job…. And generally, your people that are memorizing aren’t the people doing the work, the people that are working don’t have time to memorize.” She noted that the 360° would be of benefit in this regard, but not just in terms of following up with the people provided as references, talk to colleagues, supervisors, and even the janitor. If this is done it will provide a clear picture of the candidate’s character.

This constable, along with many other participants, explained that teamwork was not inherent in the promotion process. The constable related, “you advocate team but your promotion process advocates ‘I’ mixed messages.” Sometimes you apply for a position and it stops mid-stream, it is posted again, and one other person applies, ironically, in the end, that person gets the position. She stated:

So, they ran it again and the same people put in for it except there was one additional person that made it through that didn’t apply the first go ‘round. So, on my way down to my interview to move forward I got a call from an insider source that said, ‘by the way,
the job is not yours just so you know, this other person that’s put in for the second time is going to get it.’

The constable mentioned that she still went to the interview and noted that the panel did not even make eye contact with her. She stated, “by the end of the day, that [other] individual got the job.”

The *old boys club* and *nepotism* in the police service were also mentioned by 16% of the participants, which was followed closely by the need for mentorship at 14%. Female mentorship was preferred however, as most of the participants just wanted some mentorship as long as it was sincere. Mentorship would make it easier for policewomen to enter the promotion process if the police service worked towards building policewomen’s confidence and having more female role models.

Constables were concerned about how the board was chosen for interviews. One constable stated:

There was a board where one of the members was writing in a pencil, that shouldn’t be happening, because you could change answers at any time….if they don’t want you to get that position you will not get that position. You can give them all the right answers, and by the book answers, they’re going to write what they want to write that you said. Because Johnny, who has lesser or no KSAs, but are buddies with them and are giving the incorrect answers, they can also write what Johnny, what they want Johnny to have said, even though he didn’t say it. So, they can go back and say, ‘Hey, this was fair. Here’s the answers that were in the board’ …. it’s not a fair process. The only way it’s
going to be fair is if it is done by an outside agency…KSAs…. Just because you have those things in writing doesn’t actually mean that you can do it in actuality.

This participant suggested that it may be made fair if the interview was taped. Her justification as to why taping may be beneficial is that you can debrief if you do not get a position. She received an email that stated she was not successful and she was asked if she wanted to debrief, which she did she asked for it to be set up, however, the officer stated, “oh okay, I don’t have time right now, do you mind if we do it over the phone?” She agreed to the telephone debrief, but the officer told her several things she did not mention in her examples, yet she knew she had mentioned them. She stated that she was not given opportunities, because she was outspoken, “I’m a loud mouth, I’m a trouble maker. If that was a guy, he’s being assertive….so how can those same descriptions have such different meanings for two different genders?”

Another constable stated that it would be beneficial if scheduling was flexible or childcare options could be provided. This is something that is provided in other police services.

One constable stated that the hiring officer, “can make the process geared specifically to someone’s strengths.” This constable stated that the process was:

More biased than it ever was before. At least before we did a test that you passed or failed and then you did an interview, and I think it’s worse now than ever. When human resources came, they got to pick the competencies, they got to pick the technical questions and usually 50% of the process is based on those four questions……there should be some peer input, some supervisory input….what’s the point of doing good
things and getting recognized by the community or people you work with and then they can’t even access that [personnel file], and policing standards violations don’t count.

The process is fair insofar as “the individuals who are overseeing it.” Having computer-generated interviews, using another service or an outside company may be options. One participant stated:

Sometimes they have a person chosen…. I feel that they shop for people to make the process fair when it’s not fair at all….there’s a lot of back room maneuvering going on and it’s, it’s obvious….those checkboxes that you have for promotion are being skewed to, ‘okay I have to make this checkbox on my list to get promoted and so, how can I do that? I’ll just target this person [and when they make a mistake, I can check another box on the way to promotion].

The police service used in this study should have a mentorship program, perhaps even a virtual mentorship, and supervisors should develop people. To coincide with mentorship they should implement the corporal rank, as one constable claimed, “so it clearly identifies them as someone who is, is being developed, they do have some authority.” Another constable observed, “it is still a who you know process and most times you know who is getting the job before it is even closed.” A very experienced policewoman stated, “I’m not really in favour of promotion within the division because then you’re kind of getting into the buddy-buddy system.” In one division, two people were promoted, and the interview panel and candidates were best friends. She further stated, “that’s a conflict of interest.” This constable did not think the current process tested a person’s “knowledge base.”
The Ontario Police College has classes for discrimination in their curriculum yet some participants indicate there are still comments being made to females like, “do they think I’m stupid or something like I’m really going to tell them that I don’t want to work with a f-ing split ass?” Or, “I’m not working for a woman, I’m not going to answer to a woman”. Another policewoman commented that it would be better if there were:

less snide comments (laugh) about women and that’s happening, there still are, and there is still masculinized measures that people apply to leadership and I’ll give you an example….one particularly good leader in my mind, she is a particularly good leader has a nervous laugh and male officers make disparaging remarks about a nervous giggle….habits of men they don’t ridicule or highlight…. The attributes of leadership are frequently male terms or, and the attributes of weakness will frequently be made with female terms…. the language and the author sometimes undermine women.

Other participants thought that an exam should be brought back as well as a sergeant’s pool and acting role opportunities. Some believe the old system was a better alternative because it was fair. Another suggestion was that in order to get promoted a candidate should have to have mentored someone.

One policewoman reported that she did not feel there was any issue with the promotion process. She explained, “I personally don’t see right now there’s an issue with the promotion process in terms of women versus men.” She stated that she perceived she had not been treated any different than anyone else: “I think it’s a matter of each individual, personal situation.” She stated the process was generally fair, but she would like to see the 360° come back. Another
constable concurred, and relayed that she had not had any issues so far as being treated any differently than the policemen she worked with.

4.8.15 **Question fifteen.** The fifteenth question asked the participant some demographic questions, such as what is the highest level of education you have completed to date? One in two commissioned officers had a university education and one in two had completed college. Thirty-three percent of the 12 non-commissioned officers who participated had an undergraduate degree. Seventeen percent of the participants have an honours degree, while 17% had a Masters. About eight percent of non-commissioned officers had a high school diploma, with some post-secondary education, while eight percent had a college diploma, eight percent had a Bachelor of Education degree, and eight percent had two undergraduate degrees.

![Non-commissioned Officers](image)

**Figure 9.** Non-commissioned officer Education.
About 30% of the 29 female constables that participated in the study had a college diploma. Twenty-two percent had an undergraduate degree (with one member also having a professional degree). Fifteen percent of the constables that participated had an honours degree, and one of those also had a graduate certificate. Eleven percent of the constables had two undergraduate degrees, and 11% were part way through a master’s program with one participant who had three undergraduate degrees as well. Four percent of the participants had a master’s degree, four percent had two college diplomas and four percent of the participants had a high school diploma.

Figure 10. Constable Education.

The next demographic questions asked the participants about their years of service. The commissioned officers who participated in this study had between 21 and 25 years of service.
The largest percentage of the 12 non-commissioned officers who participated in this study had between 21 and 25 years of service and between 16 and 20 years. Twenty-five percent of the participants had over 26 years on while the remaining eight percent had between 11 and 15 years.

![Bar chart: Non-Commissioned Officers](chart.png)

*Figure 11. Years of Service: NCOs.*

The largest percentage (30%) of the 29 constables who participated in this research study had 16 to 20 years of service. Nineteen percent of constables with six to 10 years, 11 to 15 years and 21 to 25 years of service participated in this study. Eleven percent of constables with 26 plus years participated, and 3.7% of constables with under five years participated in the research.
Figure 12. Years of Service: Constables.

The last two demographic questions were not included in the results as they would potentially identify the participants. In retrospect, it was clear that their inclusion would not have changed or been of any benefit to the results.

4.9 Common Themes from the Fifteen Pre-set Interview Questions

The common themes that presented themselves, even for commissioned officers, in this research study were that policewomen struggled to advance because of the political culture within the police service and the nepotism present. They also stated that family should not have to be compromised to apply for a position. In this sense, the time that it took away from family was relevant. Some positions were out of the question for these officers as they were not able to move, geographically, and there was little or no flexibility. Commissioned officers also noted
that the promotion process was defective, and that they reached the level they were at with little to no support.

Non-commissioned officers were concerned about the time commitment to enter and compete in a process, because it took away from their family time. Geography was also interrelated as many NCOs were established in an area and did not want to have to move. NCOs also mentioned that the process was problematic, there was nepotism throughout, few opportunities and a limited number of suitable mentors.

Constables stated that the process and nepotism were the two main concerns they had about promotion. Family concerns and time restraints were also high on the list followed by mentorship.

4.10 Chapter Summary

Chapter four provided the secondary source data provided by the police service studied over the period of 2006 to 2016. As well, data from the face-to-face interviews showed examples of the results from the interview questions. Throughout the research study, several themes seemed to reoccur, and they were used in the next phase of the research study, the discussion. Member checking was used throughout the study to clarify meaning. These themes and secondary sources are probed in Chapter five, to understand the phenomena being studied.
Chapter Five: Discussion

5.1 Overview of the Chapter

In this chapter, I compare the secondary data collected from the fieldsite to the data obtained from Statistics Canada (from 2006 to 2016). This study compared the percentage of policewomen in each rank in the police service with the national and provincial data. Although statistical data on the percentages were collected in the past, previous research did not look at why the number of policewomen were not increasing more substantially among the ranks.

The purpose of this study was to learn why many policewomen abstain from entering the process for promotion in one large Ontario police service. The research findings and emergent understandings collected and presenting in Chapter four are developed through the interpretivist lens and Putnam’s (1995a) social capital theory. These understandings are explored in detail within the context of the rank structure. The discussion brings in an additional participant perceptions that further contextualized the findings in Chapter four. This tactic was adopted in part because of the under-researched nature of policewomen in Ontario, and most particularly, matters concerning their career advancement. Current related research literature is reviewed throughout the chapter.

5.2 Comparing Statistics Canada Data with that of the Involved Police Service

Looking at the data for female commissioned officers from 2006 through 2016 in the police service studied, there was a slight decline in numbers between 2006 and 2007. Those numbers increased from 2007 to 2009, before decreasing again in 2010. In December of 2011 there was a substantial increase in female COs, which continued in 2012. In 2013, the percentage
was down ever so slightly with a marked increase in 2014. Again, in 2015, the numbers decreased slightly only to increase again marginally in 2016.

Comparing the data for female commissioned officers to the national data collected by Statistics Canada (2017), it is apparent that the involved police service has a higher proportion of female commissioned officers than both the national and provincial averages, with the exception of 2007. In some cases, (2012 to 2016 in particular), the difference appears to be quite substantial (see Figure 13).

![Comparison of the Percentages of Policewomen - Commissioned Officers in the Service Studied, Ontario, and Canada](image)

**Figure 13.** Comparison of the percentages of policewomen: Commissioned officers in the service studied, Ontario and Canada. Statistics Canada (2019) excerpt from Table 35-10-0078-01 Police officers by rank and gender, Canada, provinces and territories and Ontario police service (personal communication, August 25, 2016).
When comparing the police service in this research study to the Canadian and provincial averages for non-commissioned officers, there was a higher percentage of female non-commissioned officers in the police service studied from 2006 to 2009. Statistics Canada (2019) data show that in 2010 the percentages were relatively similar with the national average, which was 15.1%. The police service in this study had an average of 15.06%, while the Ontario average was 14.5%. The percentages remained fairly consistent for all of the data in 2011 before increasing again slightly in 2012. In 2013, the percentage of female non-commissioned officers improved slightly in the police service studied, only to increase substantially from 2014 to 2016. The national average increased, but at a lesser rate, while the provincial average increased marginally in comparison (see Figure 14).

![Comparison of the Percentage of Policewomen - NCOs in the Service Studied, Ontario, and NCOs in Canada](image.png)

**Figure 14.** Comparison of the Percentage of Policewomen: NCOs in the Service Studied, Ontario and NCOs in Canada. Statistics Canada (2019) excerpt from Table 35-10-0078-01 Police officers
by rank and gender, Canada, provinces and territories and Ontario police service (personal communication, August 25, 2016).

The average number of female constables in the involved police service was compared with that of the national and Ontario staffing levels from 2006 through 2016. The graph depicted (see Figure 15) shows that the involved police service has fewer female police constables than the average in Canadian and Ontario police services as a whole from 2006 until 2011. In 2012, the number of female police constables in the involved police service increased slightly and progressed beyond the Canadian and Ontario levels until 2016 (see Figure 15).

![Comparison between the Percentage of Female Constables in the Service Studied, Ontario and in Canada](image)

*Figure 15. Comparison of the Percentage of Policewomen: Constables in the Service Studied, Ontario and in Canada. Statistics Canada (2019) excerpt from Table 35-10-0078-01 Police officers by rank and gender, Canada, provinces and territories and Ontario police service (personal communication, August 25, 2016).*
The percentage of policewomen in the police service studied has increased slightly since 2010. There is some variation in the data, however, the percentage of overall policewomen across ranks in the data hovers around 21% to 22%. This is consistent with the national average as well. It appears these numbers have remained fairly steady over the past several years despite some attempts to hire more women. Although the percentages increased nationally and provincially they did not increase at the same rate.

Although this study is not focusing on why the numbers are still static, it is looking at why more women are opting out of the promotion process. Perhaps these reasons are barriers to why more women do not join in the first place.

Silvestri (2018) was not convinced that the numeric data indicated any kind of progress in the organization anyway. I tend to agree that the actual landscape needs to change, and this needs to begin with understanding the gendered experience of women and men so that the police career itself changes (Silvestri, 2018). As one CO acknowledged, that the ratio of females on the job, is still pretty low, I think we can do better……it’s still a no voice problem, there are still some dinosaurs out there who don’t want us in the ranks unfortunately but having said that I, I’ve had two mentors who are males and believed it wasn’t about gender. It was about what I can bring to the table.

She also made the point that, “if do not have them coming in the front door, we don’t have them being promoted because the numbers are not there.” Something more needs to be established to encourage women to apply to become a police officer in the first place.
Like many participants shared, one NCO noted that promotion in policing is “very difficult I think particularly for women….because of the old boy’s network.” This position, and the problem of nepotism was brought up repeatedly by participants from all ranks.

One constable mentioned that she will be satisfied when she can retire and collect her pension. She attributed perspective to policing being “a man’s world,” and having no career support. She went on to say: “I wouldn’t recommend this job for any woman.” She stated that the police service is “still in the 60’s” in terms of progress regarding the treatment of policewomen.

Some constables agreed with one participant who summed up policing: “If you’re strong, opinionated and you stick to your guns I really think you are off putting to a lot of people. A lot of people don’t respect that like they would with a guy.” These officers explained that there was a definitive double-standard in the workplace; policemen lack trust in policewomen and still feel they are not competent to do the job. As a result of this distrust, policewomen cannot make the same connections or network in the same effective way that policeman can. These antiquated norms of exclusivity are still prevalent in a covert fashion in the police culture today. Putnam (1995a) underscored the importance of social capital and argued that engaging with others in a work or community context increases trust and connections. In this toxic environment, the lack of norms, networking, and trust decreases civic participation in the policing community. One constable compared younger males to older males. She explained:

The younger ones are no better than some of the older ones used to be in terms of having a sexist attitude, sort of dismissive. They say for example, “Yeah there’s girls working here but I want to go to my call, I want to go to that call with a dude because a dude’s going to be my real backup.’ It’s like are you crazy? I could kick their ass (laughs), or
better yet I could diffuse the situation and I’m not going to get them riled up the way you are because I’ve seen you do it before….It’s just this entitlement, arrogance, superiority, it still exists and it’s at every level, it’s still at every level still. So, are women behind the eight ball? Absolutely, I’ve seen over the years a female officer be every bit as good as a male officer, in fact perhaps even more in terms of skills and abilities about doing the job, about personal fitness, personal appearance immaculate, awesome looking, excellent looking cop, knowing their stuff and it’s, it’s just not, doesn’t seem to be regarded as, as important, or as impressive as if you’re one of the boys. You’re one of the boys right so, you’re never going to be one of the boys if you’re a girl (laugh). You know? .... The police service are way more sexist than the public ever has been.
Figure 16. Comparison of the Percentage of Policewomen in the police service Studied, the Ontario average, and the National average. Statistics Canada (2019) excerpt from Table 35-10-0078-01 Police officers by rank and gender, Canada, provinces and territories and Ontario police service (personal communication, August 25, 2016).

The chart in Figure 16 depicts the average percentage of policewomen overall in the police service studied for the period of 2006 to 2016 compared to the average in Canada and Ontario respectively. Data was obtained from Statistics Canada (2017) for the data from Canada and Ontario. The data from the police service in this study has shown to be marginally higher than the national average for the ten year period, and substantively higher than the Ontario averages. The numbers are still relatively similar to what they have been in the past depicting evidence that the increases have been marginal at best.

5.3 Interpreting Findings from the Pre-set Interview Questions

To briefly recap, the interview participants were interviewed face-to-face or via telephone. There were 15 pre-set questions for the semi-structured interviews.

5.3.1 Question one. The first question asked: Have you thought about or applied to be promoted? If you are a supervisor, have you thought about applying for further promotion? Why or why not? A table of the data is presented in Chapter four and shows that just under 54% of the sample of 43 female participants in the study have applied for promotion. Almost 28% thought about promotion, but they had not applied, while around 19% had not even considered entering the process. Of two of commissioned officers studied, one had applied for further promotion and one had not. The majority of female non-commissioned officers applied for further promotion
(83%) with a very small percentage (8%) thinking about further promotion, and an equally small percentage not trying to go any further up in the rank hierarchy. Around 41% of female constables had applied for promotion, while 38% had thought about it and not applied, and nearly 21% had not considered the promotion process.

These numbers are noteworthy, as a substantial number of female officers only contemplated entering the process, while many do not even consider it. Around 59% of female constables choose not to enter the promotion process.

5.3.2 Question two. Question two asked: Is there some reason that you would not try to get promoted or further promoted? Of the two female commissioned officers in the police service participated in this research study, both agreed that the reason they would not try to go higher was because of the politics and friendships that they perceived to be necessary in order to do so. Both COs stated that because they did not have these relationships or connections they were not supported.

If politics, and what Putnam argued are norms and networks, friendships are still preventing at least some policewomen from advancing. Thus, the police service should provide training to policewomen to assist them in successfully negotiating the policing organization (CBC, 2016). Further, policemen should receive training in how to help build a more inclusive police organization. These policemen need to understand why affirmative action policing must be considered in order to redress the dramatic lack of trust in policewomen. Also, senior officers need training to assist in changing organizational culture. This training is to assist policewomen in dealing with how to respond to sexist and other stereotypical comments that may suggest they
are less than fully functional police officers. Those dated norms of seeing policewomen as less than policemen underscore the lack of social capital assigned to women police officers.

Haar and Morash (2013) reported that many policewomen in supervisory positions still find that there is bias towards them from some of their male counterparts. Even though they are in influential positions, they still have had to deal with discrimination and negative attitudes. Commissioned officers learned coping strategies early on in their careers that have been effective assisting them in negotiating the culture of discrimination, harassment, and prejudice in the police workplace (Haar & Morash, 2013). One technique these policewomen often use in order to cope with these behaviours is straight talk, where the policewoman simply tells her male colleagues that she is not going to put up with the behaviour (Haar & Morash, 2013). Of course, this might be somewhat innocuous if the policewoman using it was in the upper ranks; this straight talk may not be something the majority of constables are comfortable doing for fear of retaliation. Based on the research by Haar and Morash (2013), it appears that, for the most part, lower ranking officers choose to avoid and disengage during the early years of policing. One of the COs in the study observed that things might be better, “if you left the politics out of policing.”

It is also regrettable that othering is still so prevalent in the culture (Acker, 1992). There are many ways one can other, the most common is policemen othering policewomen. As a result, policewomen do not gain promotion in numbers that are proportionate to the overall numbers in the police service. Another example of othering that is predominant is a process where, for example, policewomen distance themselves from other policewomen in order to be accepted by their male colleagues (Swan, 2016). In both of these cases othering reinforces the negative
stereotyping of policewomen. It potentially weakens any bond that policewomen may have as a group, and keeps their voices muffled. One CO mentioned, many times, that policewomen will not help other policewomen career-wise, because the culture is so cut-throat. This participant stated, “like I’m against you, we are against each other [as policewomen] but, that’s not the case you can be whoever you want to be all we need to, what we need to focus on is doing the right thing.”

Commissioned officers claimed that geography, family, and the lack of flexibility contributed to the problems with promotion. Whetstone and Wilson (1999) noted that it is helpful to policewomen if they were able to switch shifts or have a flexible schedule. In some areas of the police service, particularly detective positions, this flexibility would not be a difficult task to incorporate. However, such flexibility would not be easy to integrate into a front-line policing capacity. One CO explained that she had flexibility and, “a lot of autonomy with my schedule, people don’t just drop in….I’m out of that level where I have to respond physically.”

Four in ten female non-commissioned officer’s responses nominated that the time commitment involved in preparing for and competing in the process as being problematic to go for promotion. Time in this particular instance is closely related to the priorities and norms of expected behaviours regarding one’s family and geographical needs. NCOs also expressed concerns for the fact that they needed to be given developmental opportunities and that that was not always the case. One NCO explained, “it’s just so much work. It’s very frustrating and disappointing when it doesn’t work out.” She further explained, “I took vacation, like two weeks’ vacation off to study……so I invested a lot of my own personal time in this.” Another NCO was hesitant, because she would be tied to her phone. She stated, “I’m wondering if that is
a great idea or not……it sort of makes me question whether or not I want to put that sort of time in.”

The participants also considered it imperative for a candidate to have an advocate, sponsor, or mentor. Mentorship is often a means of networking, and it is very important to promotion and lateral transfers. Mentorship is lacking in the police service especially in relation to policewomen. Waugh (1996) suggested that policewomen supervisory mentors are needed. Even having policewomen partner in patrol vehicles potentially builds policewomen’s confidence (Wertsch, 1998). Mentorship also provides a change to build trusted networks of colleague, and effective mentorship is both valuable to the mentor as well as to the mentee (Marshall, 2013). For more than a decade it has been clear that female mentorship is invaluable in the recruitment, retention, and promotion of qualified police women (Lunneberg, 2005).

Again, NCOs in this study valued flexibility. Some positions within the police service do not offer flexibility, thus presenting a structural element as a limitation. One example of this challenge is in the area of child care. Many policewomen find if they do not have relatives who reside close by, they have to arrange for expensive childcare or employ a nanny (Agocs, Langan, & Sanders, 2014). Off shifting can be a potential way of dealing with childcare if both parents were police officers (Agocs, Langan, & Sanders, 2014). Off shifting occurs when one person completes their shift and the other one [spouse] begins theirs. Sometimes, the shift needs to be moved ahead one hour if the spouses work in different locations. In other cases, the children have been shifted to the other partner in the parking lot at the workplace or in the driveway at home. In order for this to work, the organization has to be flexible and openly and explicitly supportive of this off shifting to happen. Such an organizational stance would shape some
cultural norms inside the police service and potentially improve the standing of policewomen over time.

The hypermasculine culture pervasive in policing expects one to place career before family, and this is something policewomen struggle with (Agocs, Langan, & Sanders, 2014). Further to this, organizations need be cognizant of the stresses policewomen are under trying to juggle the work-life balance, especially in light of the high rate of emergency workers experiencing post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The police service, as one participant noted, “need[s] to really step up with regards to mental health and that goes part and parcel with better managers and creating a better culture up the chain.”

One out of five constables reported that they would not try to get promoted because of the nepotism present in the police service. Marshall (2013) reported that many policewomen leave the police service prematurely due to ongoing misogyny and the overall negativity they endure. Put another way, these explanations point to organizational norms that are exclusive and culturally offensive to many policewomen. Nepotism was followed closely by a concern for the process itself. As one constable said, “I wouldn’t apply because of the competition,” while another constable claimed, “I find the system frustrating.” She continued: “People aren’t afforded certain opportunities based on management’s personal opinion of an individual instead of their work capabilities.” Schafer (2010b) explained that there are five acts of omission and five acts of commission that identify poor leadership. The final act of commission is the act of capricious or political inadequacy, where nepotism and cronyism are found. Clearly it would be necessary for organizational norms to change to increase trust and more appropriate networking between the ranks.
As the findings in Chapter four revealed, time and family commitments were also important concerns. Often policewomen are divided between the demands of work and home. Most policewomen with children are primarily responsible for both, and because of this they find it difficult to spend the required amount of time at work and still be able to live up to being a *good mother* (Agocs, Langan, & Sanders, 2014). One constable stated:

I just look at all the extra responsibilities promotion has and think, you know right now, being a constable is where it’s good for me because I can get the time off I need, you know, rearrange my schedule as opposed to being in charge of a group of people and having to be ‘that guy’ right....where I’m at promotion for females is not encouraged.

Another constable claimed:

I don’t think the police service cares at all about the family or your personal issues that you’re going through, and I can say that based on my experiences with things that have happened in my life and the way that management has treated me....if you’re already under a lot of stress with your home life, coming to work sometimes management just adds to it....the management where I am, they’re bullies.

These policewomen were often exhausted and noted feeling of guilt, because they were not available for their children physically and emotionally (Agocs, Langan, & Sanders, 2014). One constable stated, “it’s not a good situation for my kids.” Hochschild (1989) explained that many working women work their regular job and then return home to work a *second shift* looking after their families.
Some women claimed, as one participant stated, that they, “do not have the backing of the supervisor so the shift does not respect my guidance.” This constable’s statement is disconcerting especially in our present day:

I have been told that women should not be in this field. Women should be at home. Women can’t do this job the way men do. I won’t listen to a woman. I don’t want a woman to back me up. I can’t ride with you because my wife won’t allow it. Better have paperwork to do as you won’t be leaving the station with me. I hope you get into a fight because I want to stand back to see if you can handle it, then I will jump in, maybe. I am not doing what you said, and you can go to the sergeant, I don’t care.

This participant continued:

You are not a 21-year-old male, so you need to go home. As a recruit I was pulled to the front of the class and the recruits were all told that I was going to die on the job and they would all be going to my funeral. This was not for not being able to do what’s expected, but because that was how the male talked to women recruits. I would not report the discrimination as I love my job and one person complaining does nothing but make their career hell or a struggle.

She continued: “I have witnessed several females be degraded by males and leave work crying because they feel inadequate. I have seen females want to harm themselves because of the bullying by males.”

The normalization of bullying in any organization is unacceptable in terms of the laws in Ontario. It is also unwise for the health and wellbeing of the employees. Any widespread norms
that speak to a bullying culture require leadership from senior officers, so that norms of inclusivity and diversity prevail. In this study, there were other concerns as well. Many constables noted that getting promoted was not worthwhile, because of the minimal pay increase, they did not want to babysit, rather, they just wanted to have to worry about themselves. As one participant said, “it’s a lot to take on……just dealing with the personal issues and trying to manage people that may not always get along or may not respect you.” Some participants did not perceive that they had the required experience to try moving up or chance to pursue promotion. Some constables argued, “you don’t have to be a good officer to get promoted,” as there is still harassment and an old boys club. One participant stated: “Every time you come in charge of something it brings more politics.” Bikos (2016) reported that there is a hidden curriculum within the police culture that continues to instill the segregation of policewomen. This cultural norm is not something that was or is formally taught but one that is informally learned and embedded within an antiquated organizational culture.

5.3.3 Question three. Question three asked: Have you done anything to increase your chances of promotion? If so, please explain what you did? Commissioned officers advised it was best for them to have children after their first promotion. One CO stated: “I was already promoted my first level, to sergeant before I had a family and had to figure out how to maneuver the rest of the way.” Commissioned officers volunteered to do tasks to make up for the things they were not able to do because of family or geography. This CO took the initiative and did something she knew she could do, so that she did not get asked to do something she was unable to do because of family commitments. She related, “I very seldom had to say ‘no’ which would
negate my ability to be promotable while still getting the experiences.” Unfortunately, this is something that is not feasible for a front-line officer to do.

Commissioned officers also advised that they let their supervisors know they were interested in promotion and tried to be active on committees. Taking the initiative in that way suggests that the officers had trust in her own capacities and potential to do the more senior role. As well, it suggests that networking was involved via the committee work, plus one-to-one conversations. Some COs stated that it was necessary for them to put the police service first (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). In that respect, the policewomen, at least in part, placed the cultural norm of service and career ahead of family, which is characterized by the values of the organization. This may be a contentious issue for some policewomen as well as policemen and something they are not willing to take on.

Approximately three in ten non-commissioned officers took acting opportunities most often to increase their chances of promotion. They also sought out opportunities outside of the police organization, took on extra responsibilities internally, took extra courses, or continued their education. Projects, secondments, deployments, stretch assignments, job shadowing, and any other developmental opportunities were also sought out by NCOs. Marshall (2013) noted that temporary assignments in other branches as well as in supervisory roles are beneficial for development. Marshall (2013) even suggested that those in lower ranks should shadow those in the roles of Inspector and Superintendent. This shadowing would create a pool of officers who will be prepared for promotion when an opportunity arises.

Some of the other initiatives non-commissioned officers advised they would do to strengthen their chances were: making supervisors aware they were interested in the promotion
process; making themselves flexible, so that they could drive to another location to get a position; ensuring family members assisted in affording the policewoman the necessary help, so she could prepare; attend relevant conferences; work on strengthening weak areas; working hard; and be good to those they supervise. One participant said: “I have been willing to drive extended periods of time to fill positions….that meant a two and a half hour drive from my house, which I did on my own time.” One NCO reported that, “I didn’t put in for overtime.” And another NCO reported that, “prior to having children, I was able to work a lot of overtime and, as a result was able to, you know, travel to different investigations where I lived away from home for a while.” These are all experiences that are usually difficult to negotiate with a family and especially with small children. One NCO explained that she would not do anything else to increase her chances for promotion. She said, “it’s really whether or not I want to make sacrifices. That’s what it is, it’s making a sacrifice at home, and that’s just not a price I’m willing to pay.” Another NCO mentioned that oftentimes the only available opportunities are offered in positions that nobody wants.

Constables noted that they needed to take courses or degrees within the service and external to it. Well over one quarter of the responses reflected the importance in this area. What proved to be interesting was, unlike in the teaching profession for example, there was no benefit or incentive (i.e., pay-grade) in the police service for officers that complete these tasks. These responses were closely followed by one in five responses highlighting the importance of secondments, job shadowing, and taking any opportunity offered. The problem is, there actually needs to be an opportunity to do these things (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). Although acting time was mentioned by NCOs, it was over six times more important to constables. One constable
stated, “you’ve got to make sacrifices.” Some constables did their own networking, but one stated they had:

A theory that, but I am not sure I am what they are looking for, I think I do have the knowledge, skills and abilities I just think I am more outspoken than they want supervisors to be….there is a big difference between women and men even in the crime office and the perceptions of, women versus men in the detective role……I’d say nine times out of 10 a female is given the file coordinator role which is you know is an organizational and a very administrative type role….it’s rare that a male has the file….and it usually the female that takes the minutes.

This quote highlights the fact that the police service is still more traditional in their thinking and they continue to revert to the gendered roles of the past.

Volunteer work, coaching, and liaison positions were completed by constables to increase their chances for promotion. Yet it appears that these things may be undervalued in policewomen. One participant said: “They really don’t care about me as a human being or an individual, really why should I care so much about the police service?” One constable even commented about the COs being, “white shirts,” and having different interests to hers. She further stated:

The white shirts, really, in our detachment aren’t community minded warm—fuzzy people, the thing that I find interesting don’t interest them. So, they have no time to put in learning about how we can better our area through the community service portion of policing.
This comment is a noteworthy perception, especially in light of the fact all police services buy into the importance of community policing and the Ontario Mobilization and Engagement Model, in particular. The community aspect is something they try to instill on the front-line members, yet this would appear they are only paying lip-service to it.

**5.3.4 Question four.** Question four asked: What qualifications do you think are important for promotion? One commissioned officer outlined:

Integrity, the work ethic, the leadership skills you know, the knowledge and the ability to do what you want to do within the police service. I think it’s not only up to the police service to determine what your career path is, it’s really you, you have to decide you know what you want to do, where you think you could make the greatest change within the police service and I think you have to go after it.

As one participant explained, NCOs need to “have a really good understanding of policing.” It is also important to be trustworthy in order to gain the respect of the troops. One participant said: “I think you should be educated….it’s nice to have that perspective….work experience, I think, is essential. You need to put in a certain amount of years in this job before you’re even allowed to be promoted.” She further noted:

You need to know the duties of a police officer, and I think they are missing the mark on that. We have a lot of NCOs that are giving advice on how to, on procedures and legal stuff and they don’t know what they’re talking about….the whole push that NCOs have to just be managers of people is wrong, they need to know police work very well and that’s one of the faults I see right now.
Another NCO defined the qualities of leadership as:

Strong leadership skills, or I shouldn’t say strong I’d say good leadership skills, I’d like to qualify that because I’ve seen, and I work with some people, think they are awfully strong leaders, but they are very strong, not so good at leadership.

Constables mentioned that interpersonal skills were even more important that NCOs did. Three of ten constables’ responses reflected the importance of these qualities. They also brought up the importance of communication and being an active listener. As one participant stated: “I think somebody who’s well rounded in the sense that they have been exposed to the front line, crime, operations, intelligence, like someone who’s done a bit of everything,” and a person who has mentored others.

Interpersonal skills and leading by example are important characteristics for good leadership (Schafer, 2010b). NCOs response in this study show that leadership skills, such as having good social skills, the ability to listen, and leading by example, were important (Kouzes & Posner, 2010). Commissioned officers also noted that leadership skills were important. KSAs and entering the promotion process for the right reasons were both important to all three ranks. Accountability was mentioned in the constable and NCO category, yet it was not mentioned by COs in the study. Both COs and NCOs agreed that it was important for a candidate to have a good understanding and be good at the base job of being a police officer prior to applying for promotion.

5.3.5 Question five. Question five asked: What capabilities do you think are important for promotion? Commissioned officers stated the candidate must be competent, and as one
participant stated they must be, “a hard worker….in it for the right reasons…set the example, you have to demonstrate that.” These are capabilities that they feel are important for promotion.

NCOs responses show that a candidate should have good interpersonal skills first and foremost. One NCO stated: “I’ve seen lots of, lots of colleagues who are, you know, brilliant I their area but have, have a lot of, or sorry lack a lot of ability to work with people.”

One NCE stated that being, “open and compassionate to other people, and to have an interest in looking after the wellbeing of other people.” Further, you need to be, “competent and capable.” NCOs often noted that people skills are lacking in many of the people who are promoted.

One constable shared that, “good work ethic, good work morals, decision making. I think the ability to deal with people equally and fairly, without bias are important for promotion.” Constables also mentioned that it was important that a potential supervisor should have the capability to use good time management and human resource skills.

5.3.6 Question six. Question six asked: What kind of role does the community play in policing? All of the officers who participated in the study felt that the community was of utmost importance. Commissioned officers stated that accountability was the most important factor. They felt that being proactive was very important, and that everything depended on the political climate at the time. One participant noted: “Our whole job revolves around the community.”

NCOs and constable’s stated that the Ontario Mobilization and Engagement Model of Community Policing is, and will continue to be, a beneficial tool. By implementing this model, policing returns again to a proactive approach, instead of remaining static and reactive. The
model includes all stakeholders by having them participate in a police-led initiative, that once successful, necessitates less and less police involvement. The model makes sure that the community gets to know their officers, while striving for community-led programs (OACP, 2016). One NCO reflected that we, “rely much more heavily now on all the different community agencies.” She also stated: “The community engagement piece puts us on the right track,” and that police services are taking part in, “crisis tables and that sort of thing, we’re taking the problem back to the community and saying, okay, we’ve identified the problem, now what can we do as all these community organizations come together, to solve the issue?” and “if you don’t have the community support you are dead in the water.” One constable believed, “the amount of civilian influence is decreasing.” She commented:

> It’s a more abstract direction by management as opposed to community directed….on the crime side and crime prevention. On the traffic side I’m finding that police are jumping to the whim of, people on cell phones, and that’s not necessarily a good thing cause we’re, it’s not, it’s more emotional based, as opposed to thought based and, it diminishes our resources.

She also noted that “we’ve gone back to stats,” which does not necessarily tell the whole story:

> “Every community is different and has its own needs,” and “the way we are perceived by them….you either change the way that you operate as an officer or you hesitate on making certain decisions. I don’t think they are given the whole picture; it comes down to dollars and cents.”

**5.3.7 Question seven.** Question seven asked: Do you have a role model at work? If so, what is the value of having a role model? This question also included: (a) can you provide detail
about the role model? (without identifying the person) (b) why is that person a role model? and (c) how are they a role model? One of the two COs and three of the four NCOs had a role model at work. Just over half of the constables that took part in the study had a role model. One CO stated:

I don’t have a role model or mentor. I try myself to be more of a role model for some of the officers that are coming up. You can have a life balance which I think is the biggest obstacle. I have a female that I watch. I have other obligations that are more important. I have it backwards. Geography can prevent mentorship. They offer it. I don’t think that the female officers that have rank want to hang out with other female officers that have rank because you need to be one of the guys.

NCOs stated that the value of having a role model is so, “you would have someone that you can trust.” The role model needs to be, “a good listener….they’re not judgemental.” One NCOs role model was:

Very particular that you would write very clear and concise reports, he was an English major and used to say, because they were handwritten back then so, we would submit them to the supervisor and he would read them. He used to have a red pen and if he had more than three marks on your report regardless how long or how short a report it was he would send it back to you…and what he was trying to instill was that you were known by your written work.

According to one NCO, that supervisor was valued because of his work ethic.
Another NCO had a female role model that was a CO. She commented, “I think those role models are incredibly important that they have been able to figure out the balance between home and work.” This CO reached out to the NCO to help her negotiate the process.

Another NCO explained that the value is, “in showing, setting the example for how it should be done.” These people are role models, and “they were over meeting everybody and laughing and shaking hands and making jokes and just being friendly and engaging people and you know just really positive right from the start.” The NCO mentioned that having a role model that is a CO is valuable, because “she’ll tell me about her successes, she tells me about her failures, she tells me about where I need to improve and very blunt and honest with it, (laughs).” She continued:

The value is that you look to that person to try to, to get an example of how you can work through your set of problems successfully like they have…very specific to me as a female officer who has been promoted, and is in promotion processes, is how the heck do we navigate through this web of policing with all the responsibilities of being, being a mother and partner in a relationship, how do I? How do you do all that and still carry a balance at work?

COs and NCOs have more access to role models than constables. This is actually quite troubling as it would appear that constables move to NCO without any mentorship. The value of having a role model for COs is just the mentorship they provide. NCOs noted they are valuable as a *sounding board*, they set the example, advocate for you, and are non-judgmental. NCOs commented that female mentors are very important, and they advised that though some people can be damaging, yet this too is a learning experience. Lunneborg (2005) stated that mentorship
is a necessity for policewomen to succeed. Lipman (2018) argued that mentorship is not enough, as one needs to be sponsored in order to be successful.

Constables agreed that role models are someone to aspire to, they are supportive, and they are helpful to other policewomen as they can witness the senior officer’s successes. One constable explained, “I think role model and mentor I think can be combined into one thing.” This seemed to be the consensus among the participants, and these words were often used interchangeably: The role model “gives you a pat on the back.”

One constable reported having a female mentor who had difficulty herself. She described this mentor as:

A female that has had some struggles herself but also carries on, to continue the job she loves. She has taught me that as long as you go to work and do your job to the best of your ability and remember why you are here that giving up would never be an option. Giving up would never be an option for me either.

The constable further explained that the value of a role model was, “just watching and seeing them succeed and be respected shows that you can get there,” and that this role model, “makes a difference in the community and she cares about the calls.” Another participant claimed the value of a role model is that:

I can learn from their experience, I can discuss things with them, like if I need to bounce ideas, even if it’s work, so like, immediate work related, I could talk to them about things like that, but I can also discuss long term plans and get there, I really trust their opinion on things as well. I had a female NCO that was great, super, super smart. But I found,
because she stood up for herself and stood her ground, she probably won’t see much past
the level she is at now.

Constables mentioned that it is important for a role model to succession plan and that, “she
identifies people that are good at certain things and puts them in that direction.” Those in
supervisory positions should try to identify others as potential candidates. One participant stated:
“It’s about trust, I do trust him, so it makes it easy to work, I mean if somebody has your back in
the office because nobody has your back out on the road….the public can be quite fickle.” Some
constables reported having more than one role model or mentor:

I have two in mind….I’m not sure whether on this particular individual I am changing
myself to be like her or whether I’m changing myself to, boost her or complement her
because I, I believe in leadership from the bottom….she inspires me….she communicates
effectively, she is direct….seeks emotional feedback, she listens with an open mind, but
has the strength to still make a decision based on what she thinks is best. Nine NCOs
have role models that are female. Twelve constables identified female role models.

5.3.8 Question eight. Question eight asked: If you do not have a role model, can you tell
me why that is the case? Commissioned officers have taken *bits and pieces* from other
individuals but they do not have a role model per se. One of the commissioned officers said that
she was a role model for others and she tried to show that it is possible to have a life balance
between work and home. One female NCO stated, “I’ve worked for a lot of male supervisors and
the way they supervised I thought, I don’t want to do it that way (laughs).”
One NCO stated that a role model, “can be as damaging as it is positive right?” And another stated, “you learn just as much from people you admire as from people you despise.”

One constable shared:

Absolutely nobody would help me, I would have to go and seek someone out. You have to toot your own horn; on your own volition you would have to doggedly pursue a secondment. You have to promote yourself, no one else is noticing. Most female officers do not promote themselves, that has an air of obnoxious, arrogant, self-absorbed, narcissistic whatever.

Another constable stated, “I am my role model….there is no one that I have found in the organization that could guide me.” She considered that role models should be succession planning and reaching down to others. Others said they have certain people they look up to or strive to be like. When asked why these officers did not have a role model, her response was, “a lot of people that are out for themselves….there’s a lot of hypocrisy.” She suggested perhaps there should be a pool of potential mentors, both male and female, that policewomen can access.

One of the constables reported that she did not fit the type A or B personality type, rather, she noted, “I’m not competitive, I don’t believe that I’m better than anybody else I find a lot of people that I work with have what I call a superiority complex…..I don’t want to be that way.”

She stated further, “there hasn’t been one singular person that I’ve encountered that would be a role model.”

5.3.9 Questions nine and ten. Question nine asked: Can you tell me about a supervisor who encouraged you to apply for promotion? Why and how was that person encouraging? And question 10 asked: Can you tell me about the actions or attitudes of a supervisor who
discouraged you from applying for promotion? What did your supervisor do that made you feel he or she was not supportive? One commissioned officer reported in this study that she has had many negative experiences in promotion processes. In one situation, she was told by a male supervisor that they only took her for the position because they had to. She explained:

They had to take me for a position, because I was female. He was pissed off and wished he didn’t have me. He didn’t feel that a mother could do this job, it was too involved, but they were willing to give me a try because they just couldn’t say no without showing that I couldn’t do the job. Supervisors have stood in the way all the way through except once.

The second commissioned officer reported actually being put in a position where her supervisors were sure she would fail. To their dismay she was able to complete the tasks required successfully. Other male supervisors were aware this was going on and remained deafeningly silent.

Some NCOs had COs that reach out to them, but this is a rare occurrence, as one NCO stated: “I’ve worked for a lot of apathetic supervisors….didn’t do anything to encourage, didn’t discourage, but didn’t do anything to help me do any mentoring or anything of that nature.” She continued:

How are you developing the sergeant positions into staff sergeant positions? There is nothing….where is the focus on constables becoming sergeants? or sergeants becoming staff sergeants? There isn’t any……you don’t see that much but you see everything about the inspector talent pool.
One NCO stated, “the police service has invested heavily in encouraging…cross command training.” Yet when she applied to a promotion process, and she did not get it, she was told she did not have the appropriate experience. It appears that the message is not consistent for applicants.

One non-commissioned officer reported being discouraged, because she did not have the *hands-on* experience, though she perceived that she had the global skill-set to do a particular role successfully. Comments like, “don’t think you are the right person for that,” or, “you are not qualified,” and there are, “better candidates,” and “I don’t think they take girls right now,” were all prevalent. Comments like these are still being made in this decade. One participant explained:

A lot of our managers are so short sighted in allowing their people to go out and develop because it creates a vacancy for them and they are so concerned about their own mandates and meeting their own goals and objectives that they forget that if you keep somebody there who is not motivated and engaged they are not going to produce for you anyway, so let them do something different right?

One constable was forwarded information on this study by a supervisor. She indicated, “I was actually surprised when I got this because, I was like ‘oh somebody believes in me’.” Others reported that they were, “encouraged to apply for a position because they perceived that I had the skill set necessary for that position.”

Sometimes the discouragement was not by words but rather by action. There is an allowance for flexibility in some positions and not others. This could be flexibility in geography,
allowing an officer to work remotely, or hours of work or changing days to allow for family situations. Generally, there is no consistency in when or how this can occur.

There is very little formal professional development for those in the lower ranks, to allow for them to increase their marketability. There are talent pools for the upper echelons, yet there are none for the lower ranks. This appears to be a missed opportunity for the organization to be progressive. One non-commissioned officer reported that they were encouraged for cross-command training, so that a person with crime experience gets an opportunity on the uniform side of the house, or vice-versa. During the interview, the same officer was told that she did not have the, “right kind of experience” for the position. When one non-commissioned officer offered an opinion, she was shot down, yet another person stated the same opinion, and it was considered a great idea.

One constable’s experience led her to suggest that, “those women in higher positions do not seem to encourage other women.” It was also described as a “crap shoot,” or one that was encouraged, but recognized that it was still the old boys club. Clearly, these are not objective and fair processes.

One constable reported that she could tell she was not going to be supported by the way people conducted themselves. If an officer was not on the supervisor’s team they were not supported. One constable advised that supervisors and upper management, “advocate team but your promotion process advocates ‘I.’” In other words, there is an issue of coherence regarding for example, claims about the primacy of teamwork. Yet the promotion structure and system values individualistic performances.
Each officer in this service was required to complete a plan that stated their goals for the future and coincided with their yearly evaluations. One particular officer noted that this mandatory exercise was completely useless as nobody even looked at it: “I still say you might as well wipe your ass with that piece of paper for all it means unless you are going in with a certain supervisor….it did Jack shit for me.”

Some constables asked questions, so that they could better understand things; yet this was taken as questioning the supervisor’s authority. One constable’s male partner advised her that he, “noticed a difference in the way people treated me.” She was told by her supervisor that he was unable to figure her out. She asked in the interview, “why is it if you aren’t sure you are inclined to think that I won’t be successful as opposed to believing I would be?”

For constables entering a promotion process they report being told that their examples are not derived from applicable origins. When asked for assistance with the written portion of the process, one constable was told her written work was fine, yet she did not get short-listed. She stated: “If they don’t like you—you don’t get anything. You’re incapable of doing the job and it’s not based on facts however it’s being based on their personal opinion of you.”

Some supervisors created fear, and one constable noted, “he made me feel stupid.” Some constables commented they did not get courses, because the supervisor did not like them and would not push for them to get anything. Another constable disclosed during the interview about having a supervisor that treated her more like a daughter. When the constable asked for the breath technician course, she was told, “oh you shouldn’t do that because you have to be with drunk people.” She continued, “sexy courses go to males and if you ask and push you become that annoying person.” This constable continued:
Some male supervisors have made disparaging comments such as: I’ve also been told by a supervisor once oh, and this was my mentor, he said honesty will get you nowhere in this police service, and I said but you know what, if you don’t want a question answered honestly don’t ask it. And [it is] because I won’t compromise my morals, my integrity and my values just to kiss somebody’s ass.

Some constables noted that they did not have the experience to get some courses while others had been told, “well what’s the point of doing that? That job is already made for somebody else. Why would you waste your time? You are not going to be successful anyway.” Oftentimes, officers noted that they did not have enough experience or that their skills have waned (Poleski, 2016). One constable, during the interview, relayed the following:

My current leader, I’m being very honest, I’m being used right now to do the job that they are supposed to be doing. I see it, it smells bad, looks bad but I’m being nice about it because I don’t want to burn bridges. So, in the last six months I’ve been pretty much doing what this leader is supposed to be doing. This constable overheard a policeman say, ‘the worst f______ thing this police service ever did was hire women.’

Her supervisor overheard this and did nothing. The constable stated:

I’ve seen more bad leadership that disgusted me [and had me thinking] that I can’t believe you have a badge the same as mine, because you represent everything I don’t. How is that fair, and you get paid more than I do, and you represent everything I don’t.

That policewoman had been contacted by an outside agency and told they sent an e-mail (she was copied) to management about the great job she has been doing yet, “I still haven’t seen that,
it’s never been brought to my attention.” This qualified officer had not been given credit for doing the supervisory tasks or for doing an exceptional job recognized by others.

Twelve constables who participated in the study reported that they were never actually explicitly discouraged. This is important to note as there are obviously some good supervisors within the organization.

5.3.10 Question eleven. Question eleven asked: Regardless of rank in what ways do you show leadership on the job? Commissioned officers encouraged others to lead, and they did this by trying to remove obstacles or barriers. One participant said: “I encourage people to, to do what they believe is right…I encourage people to, to be leaders themselves and support them….I try and remove obstacles.” She continued to say, “I try to kind of lead from the back and put other people on a pedestal.” Leaders can take charge of the situation remove barriers and make change, like Kouzes and Posner (2010) argued, “leaders see open doors while others see brick walls” (p. 97). They also did this largely for the sake of helping others, and not for their own gain. In those instances, “their focus is invariably on what needs to be done, the larger system in which they are operating, and the people with whom they are creating—not on themselves as ‘leaders’” (Senge, 2006, p. 340).

Non-commissioned officers sought help from others. Kouzes and Posner (2010) suggested that you can tell if someone is a leader if they have followers. If you do not, you are not a leader. Such officers emulate other supervisors’ good qualities, encourage others, and remain ethical. They do this by showing they are human and not without fault, putting others needs before theirs and being approachable. Participatory management is key, and it is of utmost importance that a leader leads by example and keeps their promises (Kouzes & Posner, 2010).
One NCO expressed that we gain strength using, “participatory management, fostering a team approach, we all have unique skills and knowledge to bring to the table, and together we are stronger…. you’re only as good as your strongest link.” Another NCO claimed, “I invest heavily in mentoring and coaching of other officers….I’m actively looking for people to try and enhance their skills, abilities and experiences for the police service.” One NCO showed, “interest in not just their work but what’s going on with them personally……sometimes just getting to work is something that should be acknowledged.”

In this study, constables noted that teamwork and mentorship were most important to leadership. Leadership could be shown by providing feedback, and this is something else that is lacking for those aspiring to middle management positions or even to switch from the front line to crime side of the house: “Feedback is vital to every self-correcting system, and it’s vital to the growth and development of leaders” (Kouzes & Posner, 2010, p. 116). Further, from this one can extrapolate the importance of holding oneself as a leader accountable. In this sense, 360° assessments are potentially useful and important, not only for upper management, but for everyone. The supervisor doing the assessment should not just speak with the people the participant puts down, but with everyone, from peers, those they supervise, community members, and even the cleaning staff. Supervisors need to reflect systematically and consider the emotional impact that their potential decision may make on people (Shapiro, & Gross, 2013). Ultimately, their decisions carry important ethical ramifications and impact many individuals indirectly. Another theme that emerged was constables were insistent that leaders need to do what is right even when nobody is looking. Participants also noted that just taking a leadership course does not in fact make a leader, as one participant stated, “your personality either features
certain things or it doesn’t. Some things can’t be taught to people.” Freire (2000) articulated that courses, “are based on the naïve assumption that one can promote the community by training its leaders” (p. 142). Often those police officers that complete a course use this new learning to control and manipulate others in an attempt to protect their position as they may feel threatened (Freire, 2000). Again, the organization reverts back to previous norms and jeopardizes trust, which would be ever so important in effecting organizational change.

Constables explained that it is necessary to be professional, yet this term has definitely evolved over the years. Perez, Moore and Volk (2010) explained that in the time of Sir Robert Peel, professionals were hired, trained, and then paid. From this early definition the next generation of policing professionals had to pass record or background checks, pre-service exams, and attend training academies (Perez, Moore, & Volk, 2010). They could also be investigated if they did something wrong. Currently, the standard for police professionalism in Canada includes seven components, which include: service to the community, knowledge and skills, education and training, self-regulation, discipline, problem solving, and officers must adhere to a code of ethics (Perez, Moore, & Volk, 2010). As Perez, Moore, and Volk stated, “there is still work to be done before policing can truly be called a profession” (p. 28). It is evident that more education increases an officer’s aspiration to enhance their own career and this further increases police professionalism (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012).

Constables saw the importance in making a decision and sticking with it. The leaders who are successful using this never give up, even after failure. They had passion and perseverance, which is what Angela Duckworth (2016) called grit.
Constables showed leadership, through such participants statements during the interviews, as one who can, “live and breathe it…volunteer an offer of assistance and…always being available,” as well as, “lead by example…being down to earth, approachable, supportive of my colleagues, compassionate, human, sense of humour…. I try to bring calm to things;” “I’m very fair…you do your job and I’ll have your back. You do something wrong, come to me and we’ll work it out together;” “I work hard to make others look good;” and “If you see somebody steering in the wrong direction you say ‘okay, this is the way you should do it and not let them fall’….do the right thing.” Sharing knowledge was another way one of the constables showed leadership. Taking charge and mentoring were also mentioned in the interviews. Having a positive attitude, a good work ethic, and being able to, “work alone a lot but when it’s time to work together, I like to work together….I work beyond hours sometimes not paid….I try to reason with people. I treat people the way I want to be treated.”

5.3.11 Question twelve. The twelfth question asked if the participant could use some descriptive words to describe the best supervisor they have worked with. Commissioned officers commented that the number one quality for the best supervisor were being compassionate, kind, giving, all generous, and empathetic. They also reported that leaders should have integrity, be honest, accountable, hardworking, professional, supportive, dedicated, smart, and ethical. These individuals want to do the right thing, they are not in it for personal gain, and they want the people they supervise to succeed. Non-commissioned officers considered trustworthiness and integrity most important. They also felt that leaders should have a good knowledge base, be intelligent, and understanding. To that end good communication skills were imperative as well as having a good sense of humour. Constables used words like genuine, kind, compassionate,
empathetic, understanding, human, and looking after your people were words and phrases most commonly used to describe the best supervisors. This is in line with what the commissioned officers used to describe the same person. They also agreed that integrity, honesty, and being ethical were noteworthy, as one participant stated: “He was a role model; he was a teacher. He was, at times, a parent.” They further explained, a leader:

Takes interest in your personal life. Backs you up…. Marines, you know a leader puts a fire in your belly, a manager puts a fire under your ass. It’s just he or she, they inspire you to want to come to work and want to do work. The best supervisor is also intelligent, open to listening to others and able to make a decision.

Like the NCOs, constables saw the importance of trustworthiness and being knowledgeable as attributes of the best supervisor.

5.3.12 Question thirteen. The thirteenth question asked participants if they thought there was something specific holding them back from promotion. Commissioned officers who participated in this study mentioned that they were not supported to go further in the promotion process. Some tried to justify the fact they were at a stalemate in the promotion process by blaming themselves for having done something wrong. The COs indicated that, especially once they reached a certain level, positions became even more politically based and they relied almost completely on friendships. One of the COs felt that access to training was an issue. They stated:

All of the training is away and usually its last minute, there is not proper training programs that allow the, the policewomen to get the same level of training, because they are not available spur of the moment….And I think the culture has to continue to shift
until you can do the job within the job hours and still have a life and responsibility outside of a job without that being a stigma, and I, that still, that balancing the two, I don’t know how they do it with shift work….and the whole stigma around maternity leave before you have five years on.

Like commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers also considered that politics, nepotism or the old boys club are indeed been barriers that stand in the way of promotion. One NCO reported that there are very few positions to apply for unless one wanted an administrative position, which she referred to as the “not so sexy areas.” It is much more difficult for women to access positions in tactical areas or canine especially in the promotion realm.

It takes a large amount of time to negotiate and compete in a promotion process. This is a potential deterrent to many policewomen, because they also often have to run a family. Much of the time required to prepare for promotion is over and above regular work hours, which means it needs to be done at home and this takes time away from family. One NCO explained:

I will never put the police service ahead of my family….there is a competency called organizational commitment, and when you get the staff sergeant position it even says in the competency that you’ll put the needs of the police service ahead of your own, and I’ll tell you what, if push came to shove I would never put the police service ahead of my kids….when my male colleagues work 60 hours a week, they go home and there’s a fresh shirt ironed in the closet for them, and their kids are well taken care of because their wife has done it for them, right? I’m the wife, I’m the one that goes home after I’ve worked 14 hours and wash and iron the shirt and put it in the closet.
The work-life balance is important, and one NCO mentioned that she has to be the “captain of the ship at home too.”

One NCO related, “the biggest hindrance to promotion in our police service is our process…[constables and NCOs] don’t trust the process…it’s hard on the self-esteem.” Another NCO also had to make sure that they, “know who you are” and “self-promote” in order to have a shot at being successful.

Another NCO reported it takes a considerable amount of time to prepare for a position and there is often a front runner, she stated, “why bother?” It was also pointed out in this group that there are pools of candidates however these pools are only used for commissioned officers.

Family and time commitments make the process difficult for constables to negotiate, however the majority of constables believed that the process is flawed. One participant stated: “I don’t want to memorize protocols, buzzwords that look good on paper but have nothing to do with day to day policing. They should look at the whole person rather than who can memorize and spout policy.”

Constables need opportunities. In this study a constable reported that, “they [senior officers] know who they want.” Also mentioned by a participant was that, “somebodies buddy will get it or is groomed for it.” The promotion process itself was described as “political,” and that, according to one participant, officers need, “to be attached to someone socially or linked in another way” in order to be successful. Networking is one of the tenets of increasing social capital, and it is one policewomen have a difficult time attaining. Policewomen need to advocate
for themselves and each other. One constable described that she, “got an acting spot, just because they needed somebody.” She did not believe she got this opportunity for the right reasons.

Some participants suggested that that only thing that is holding them back from promotion was themselves. As one participant stated, they have a “fear of the unknown….I know status quo for now is good for me.” This fear could be because of a lack of trust in management and the organization itself. Without networking and trust the organization will revert back to old norms, decrease social capital and remain status quo. Some constables commented that, “when you seek promotion that kind of closes some doors as far as some lateral movement,’ or “other than the fact that knowing I won’t get it? I didn’t think I had a hope in hell,” and “current management and the political atmosphere….the way the promotion process is set up right now,” and “why bother if all you’re going to do is babysit people who weren’t dealt with 10 years ago who are problem children.” The police service needs clear expectations or qualifications. One policewoman explained, “I wish someone would tell me….I don’t know…I prepare very well…I put effort into it,” and she was told “you did good, but they did better.”

Three other points that were brought up were the comments like, “I don’t toot my own horn,” that policing is “a job, not a career,” and “they [policemen] don’t treat women fairly.” Although these answers represented a small percentage of the responses, they are interesting in the present climate where several emergency service organizations are being called out for their treatment of women and other minorities. It was also highlighted in the research that if a policewoman spoke English as a second language, or if they belonged to another visible minority, that this complicated things for them. One example of this was discussed in Susan Martin’s (1994) paper on race and gender. She explained that, “white women are penalized by
gender but privileged by their race” (p. 398). Depending on the area where the policewoman is serving, race may or may not escalate things. If there is a large proportion of a certain race in a jurisdictional area and racism decreases, inevitably sexual discrimination will likely increase (Martin, 1994).

5.3.13 Question fourteen. In question 14 participants were asked what they felt could be done to make the promotion situation easier. Commissioned officers indicated that there are still many things that need to be improved in order to have more policewomen enter the process. As noted by earlier comments from several participants, nepotism still runs rampant within the police service as many policewoman who have the knowledge skills and abilities (KSAs) for a position are overlooked, while others who do not have the KSAs are promoted. One participant said:

If you want women in the police force, well then you…you better step up, we still have dinosaurs and dinosaur mentalities. Males need to understand that because they have wives, they have moms, they have daughters, what would they want for them? I’m sure there is not one male in this police service who wouldn’t want the best for their daughter or wife.

NCOs and constables agreed that the police service is still considered a man’s world and for the most part is still an old boys club. A common perception in policing is that if a policewoman gets promoted it is only because the police service has to promote her. One NCO stated, “if a guy is a useless officer—he is still a good guy, if a woman is a useless officer, ‘oh those women police’.” This NCO also advised that if there are several policewomen on one shift,
she has been told to move some of the policewomen around, so they do not have “the female problem.” Oddly, in specialized groups with all men there is not an equivalent “male problem.”

Constables were still concerned about the nepotism and the old boys club. Constables even saw this with their own children as they try to negotiate a policing career with son’s getting more opportunities than daughters. One constable stated: “It is still a ‘who you know’ process and you know who is getting the job before it closes.” The promotion process is not fair, and people may be getting promoted that should not be. There is an absence of trust and an inappropriate use of selective networking in this type of process and it undermines the social capital of the organization as a whole.

Some constables argued that the exam should be brought back in as it makes for a level playing field. They also commented that a period of acting time should be a necessary requirement for an officer applying for promotion. Another suggestion was that acting positions should not be allowed at one’s home location; the person should be moved from the familiar space to act with colleagues he or she is not as familiar with. It was suggested by a participant during the interview that this would provide a better assessment of performance.

The promotion process is problematic, and some commissioned officers commented that the blame should be placed on senior management. One officer stated: “It’s not at the ground level where the problem is, it’s at the CO level.” This comment was made by a CO who was taking responsibility for the problems with the process. Despite the fact the process has been changed in order to make it transparent, it was described by this CO as, “just a lie, you can tweak which parts you test on depending on candidates. I’ve been on the panel where I’ve had fights with people over the discussions that are going on.” She continued:
The process is very scripted….the hiring officer….would have to go to HR [human resources] and talk to a staffing person about what our priorities were as far as competencies and skills so we would take out the job description pick the skills that were most important and our competency list, pick the competencies that are most important….we have to have three parts….there are three pieces that should give you all the different skill sets.

In this CO’s case she confirmed that “I pick the panel.” When asked if that was problematic, the CO responded, “absolutely. I’m going to give this guy extra points because they tried really hard….the numbers are really close….we liked that guy better, so we’ll bump him up……that is not transparent, that part is a lie.” She explained the process is broken down into three parts: first is the application stage, which is either an expression of interest or an actual application with competency-based questions. She explained, “a presentation, an assignment and then an interview.” In some cases, there is an exam or a scenario-based activity in an in-basket.

Some suggestions to assist in making the process more suitable were using outside panels, or having an independent observer sitting in on the process. It was also suggested by participants that it may be beneficial to teach those who are going through the process how to traverse it. COs explained in their interviews that part of the battle is being able to effectively negotiate the process. This was referred to earlier as being able to negotiate “the game.” One CO explained the process:

Teach people what the process is….part of the promotion process is almost figuring out the promotion process….we make people do these presentations where we only score them on eye contact and posture, we don’t tell them that we are measuring that.
Non-commissioned officers agreed with COs that the promotion process is not easily accessed by policewomen. One NCO stated:

Nothing prevents (women) them from entering now….technically speaking you know a woman can enter the promotion process at any time….but in getting up to actually get promoted into those positions like I said before I found and it certainly rings true for most people that you need to be in an acting position for a significant period of time to be able to build up your KSAs and you know demonstrate your competencies.

She claimed it took so long to get promoted that she was, “not going to knock her head against a wall because it is just not that important anymore.”

NCOs and constables argued that the process is the biggest problem and that the 360° feedback should be used for all ranks. It is currently used in some specialized units and regularly it is used for commissioned officers. One constable stated, “the process in and of itself is flawed, “they don’t abide by full, frank and fair.”

It is disconcerting to officers that have a necessary credential for a position when another candidate gets the position without the stated requirements. It is easy to say one has a competency and to write it down on an application, but nobody verifies this. In the rare case where a 360° is done, it appears the only people that are contacted are the ones the person provided. It is apparent that the references one provides would likely support them.

Some NCOs did not believe the competency method for competitions produces the best candidates. As stated in one of the interviews, the process is “so heavily weighted on the
interview….there are really good people who aren’t making it past the application process,” as each panel member is likely to “interpreting competencies differently”. One NCO disclosed:

To write an application is a skill in and of itself, honestly…..somebody actually, runs a side business writing application for people……that’s a broken process….she charges for it, right? But not everybody knows about it, so, it’s kind of the best kept secret among the higher ranks.

This shows that the process is network-related. In other words, those who know about the service can pay to use it and potentially enhance their social capital.

The majority of participants argued that merit should count for something, a person’s work ethic, past performance, education, teamwork, and the information in one’s file should be included in the process. Their past work performance should matter.

Some participants even argued that the old method of using standardized testing, albeit not well liked at the time, was more objective, and fair. One participant explained,

because it removed barriers….in my opinion, you have to have strong technical skills so to go back to where you’re writing the provincial exam, because you should have that as a standard….either you know it or you don’t and you remove the opportunity to say well I think that person answered something better. It’s either technically right or technically wrong….whereas the new promotion system doesn’t touch the knowledge base, which in my opinion you need as a supervisor.

Another NCO also reflected and stated that she was:
Not really that supportive of the competency base, only because it’s based on whoever is reading it….the interpretation might be different, I think you should bring back some type of exam….the knowledge base of the job….I think that the police service is moving toward the fact that if you’re a leader you can lead anything. Well, we’ve got a very technical side of our job, that I think you, to be a good leader, to understand some of the pressures and some of the dynamics, you also have to have a certain skill set….they should truly do a good investigation in terms of what your work history is like, you know….do an anonymous type interview.

Some of the other concerns that were brought up included the fact that the hiring officer in each process picks their panel. This was seen as being completely unfair by participants. Also, many participants suggested the process does not work as it relies too heavily on the interview. Some suggested selecting people from outside for the panel, blind marking, or using anonymous in-baskets for assignments and sending them out anonymously to people for marking. In such a scenario, gender needs to be completely removed from the promotion process.

The process, as one participant explained, “doesn’t necessarily come down to any real skill, the only skill in regard to the process is that you could memorize words, you can memorize the right words that go with the right competency.” This memorizing or depositing of information is what Freire (2000) referred to as a banking model. This banking model consists simply to “receive, memorize, and repeat” information (p.72). Freire argued that this method of teaching and learning curbs any creativity and it encourages oppression. This seems to be the
method used in the promotion process in policing, and the participants in this study argued that it is ineffective.

In order to increase social capital in the police service, the best candidates should be promoted. In order to promote the best candidates, the process needs to be trustworthy, encourage networking for all candidates, and develop inclusive, democratic norms. It is clear that a banking model is not producing the best leaders, and as a result it is decreasing the social capital of the organization.

Similar to one participant, the majority of policewomen stated that, “the new process is not working. There’s no transparency.” In some cases, participants noted that management actually, “shop for people to make the process (appear) fair when it’s not fair at all.” People can be fair, however, the more you believe you are being fair the less likely it is that you are actually acting that way (Lipman, 2018).

People seem to think that human resources in this police service actually screens applications, because they have the knowledge. But, according to several participants, this is not the case. A participant who has been to a competency seminar verified that the hiring officer was the one who screened the applications. Things like allowing the hiring officer to choose the panel or promotion within a detachment, division, or unit may also be problematic. One participant concluded that the hiring officer is the one who will:

Pick who their board people are. So, if you’re friends with that board or they know you from somewhere…. There was a board where one of the members was writing in pencil, that shouldn’t be happening because you can could change answers at any time….The
problem is, you have board members who are influenced by the upper echelon and by other people. So, if they don’t want you in that position, you will not get that position. You can give them all the right answers, and by the book answers, they’re going to write what they want to write that you said…The only way it’s going to be fair is if it is done by an outside agency……tape it……It doesn’t even have to be an outside agency. Use another police service.

Hiring officers also pick the competencies and questions, which can prove to be a conflict of interest if they have friends in the process, and this is perceived too often to be the case. The hiring officer, according to one participant, “can make the process geared specifically to someone’s strengths…it’s more biased than it ever was before.” After all is said and done the results go back to the human resources section, and the participant continued and said, “to make the final approval. You wonder why they can then say ‘no’ if it’s a fair process.” If an exam makes up part of a process, one participant stated, “why are candidates allowed to write in pencil?” Is everyone told that they finished second in the process? All of these things decrease trust in the organization and diminish candidates’ social capital.

One constable specified that many of the people in human resources do not have any formal human resource training. She also compared the hiring process to the promotion process and said that much more effort is put into hiring and recruiting than to ensuring the proper people are promoted in the organization. That constable mentioned that in order for one to get promoted they should have to prove they have mentored others. This was echoed by other participants in the study as well. Some officers were perplexed as to why some people were given opportunities, while others were not. A shift can go short for some people to have an opportunity, but it cannot
go short for someone else, this does not lend itself to resembling a fair process. Supervisors need to identify candidates with potential for a position or promotion instead of doing nothing while waiting for the candidate to come to them. All too often management doesn’t know anything about their officers. One participant noted:

I don’t know what your background is, I don’t know what you’re good at, I know what you’re bad at—if you screwed up that I notice but if you’re good at something if you’re excellent at something I don’t know I’m never with you I don’t know what you’re doing out there unless you draw negative attention to yourself.

As a result of this, many people who have qualifications miss out on opportunities and someone that is not qualified is “approached by management” to fill this spot.

Pools are used for senior officers, and this was brought up by participants as a potential solution for constables and NCOs, as well as perhaps having a list of rankings and promoting the next best qualified person on that list. In another such case it was suggested by a participant that the person being promoted would need to go to the next location where a supervisor is needed or go to the bottom of the list.

Constables lack trust in the process and some participants commented that it may be beneficial to have an outside agency or another police service conduct the process. Another solution may be to tape the process so that one can provide evidence they did in fact say something in the interview. The way process is currently, the panel can choose to omit it from their notes, and there is no way the applicant can argue the point. If the process is taped an overseeing body could access the tape and confirm whether the candidate said the required
information or not. Constables commented that this was an inexpensive and less onerous option for the police service to undertake.

Picking a panel randomly, from another jurisdiction or having the questions computer generated, may also be solutions to improving the process. Constables voiced all of these potential explanations. While the current process human resources ultimately has the final say, they can say no. One constable stated, “why, (is that necessary) if this is a fair process?” as the process, “takes time from families and then people get deflated and defeated.” The interview process is interesting as well. In some cases constables mentioned that the questions had absolutely nothing to do with the position they applied for. One senior constable stated:

The organization has it ass backwards, we emphasize the specialty units and putting good officers there. We tend to look at the road as the [worst] place, the place where you put all of your problem children, people that don’t have the experience to move up, but any major incident, who is the first person at the scene? We should be paying more attention to the road warrior—we don’t acknowledge them.

She continued to explain that many of the road supervisors do not have the required experience. For these reasons she commented that it is not appropriate to promote within a specific division or detachment, because you are going to get buddies. This is a conflict of interest, yet it is occurring all of the time. She stated: “They should have excused themselves, but they don’t have the balls to do it.” There should be a promotion list and each candidate should write an exam that is submitted to an in box, they should be blind marked and ranked.
Blind marking was a suggestion brought up by some of the participants to try to make the process fair. This was explained by a participant as an opportunity to:

Blank out the officer’s name and then I would hand it to a colleague who doesn’t know the officer, isn’t from my division, to mark it. I like to try and make sure I include, like different formats to evaluate a person’s suitability for that position…you can evaluate work they have already done….watch an interview they have already done.

One constable suggested the use of a computer programs that highlight artificial intelligence (AI) as a potential tool that may be used in the future for unbiased interviewing. Braga (2018), utilized a computer program that effectively used emotion, intonation, facial recognition, and other attributes to screen candidates.

There were also other suggestions made by participants. One possibility suggested by participants was job sharing, although, as one participant noted, “there’s no way they would look at hiring two women and paying two women to do the job when they could pay one, man or a woman, who’s interested in doing the whole thing.” She went on to add, “but yes, something like that has to change if you want to see women going up.” Another is attention to work–life balance, as the police service in this study says they care about employee wellness with, “the home life and work balance. Whether or not that’s true, I don’t know but I’m hearing it verbalized.” A further suggestion was that policewomen also need to support one another. One participant stated, “I don’t see a lot of collaboration happening between women and helping each other….I just wish we were kinder to each other because I don’t think we always are.”
Sometimes policewomen’s lack of voice has contributed to them missing opportunities. The COs who participated in this research study commented that this should happen, they should have their voice, and it should not have an effect on advancement. Policewomen need a voice, and oftentimes they stated that management in the police service did not notice the work they do. Since many women do not actively promote themselves, they often missed out on opportunities. In this sense they are being both silenced and invisibilized by the police service. Herzog (2018) explained that this is a vicious circle, and that:

Physical and social invisibilization and silencing seems to seriously exacerbate the suffering of those marginalized groups who have entered the public sphere and the decision-making process, making it a question of fundamental justice to shatter those very processes of silencing and invisibilization. (pp. 13-14)

Herzog explained that in order to ensure the invisibilized are seen and the voiceless are heard they must be represented. This is an ethical and societal challenge for the police service, but it is an important one if they want to effect change.

Policewomen need opportunities if they are going to enter the promotion process. As one participant mentioned: “Men are prepared to go after opportunities when they feel they are only 70% prepared to meet all the requirements whereas women generally like to hit all the requirements 100% before they try.” One NCO was in an area for 10 years and did not see any change in the percentage of policewomen holding senior positions. Policewomen need mentors, sponsors, and the ability to network. This will hopefully assist in encouraging policewomen to enter the process and give them the confidence to enter the promotion process.
The culture of the police service needs to shift, because there is still a stigma around maternity leave especially for policewomen with less than five years of service. It seems that policewomen have to start the clock over once they come back from maternity leave and prior to applying for new positions or promotion. On the other hand, many officers are being promoted with less than seven years on while others are entering specialized branches with under three years’ experience. This appears to be contradictory, as it is expected policewomen need more experience if they have a leave while it does not seem to matter if they do not go off on maternity leave. Some policewomen have even been punished for problems they have encountered during their pregnancies. One CO explained in the interview that she was told she had “children and can’t be counted on.” In that respect, maternity is thought of by some as a medical complication.

The police service is rigid in many practices, but there needs to be more flexibility to enable policewomen have equitable access to training. Typically, courses are posted at the last minute and policewomen are not available. It is important to provide some notice so that policewomen have an opportunity to request and attend courses. Officers often need some notice in order to plan for child care and other responsibilities they may have outside of work. This type of flexibility will provide more policewomen with courses, which will give them required qualifications to put in for opportunities that come up. Morabito and O’Connor-Shelley (2018) explained that it is necessary for policewomen to be given opportunities in order to be successful in the promotion process.

Some COs stated that they are expected to “network,” which in and of itself may be a positive thing, however, in this sense it is drinking after the conferences they attend, which many policewomen find inappropriate. Participants commented that if they are doing a good job
should be no need to “party” with the other senior officers. Again, Lipman (2018) emphasized the importance of sponsorship to assist in women’s success. Networking and sponsorship are important to Putnam’s (1995a) social capital theory. Within a woman’s success, it is important that this networking is inclusive and is not singling out potential candidates, because of their choice not to attend certain functions. The networking needs to follow the valued norms and garner trust in the organization. One NCO was very passionate about helping her people and stated:

I invest so heavily but not just in women in men as well, in saying that if I had two people standing in front of me, one was great applicant the other was a really great applicant maybe could improve a tiny bit in one area with some assistance or mentoring but that one was a woman, the benefit of choosing her right now is that you get a few more women into those positions and help them figure out how to do it right.

Some COs also shared that they had to give up large portions of their family life to get to the position they are in and did not believe they should have to do this. One CO stated: “It does not have to be the way it has always been, it’s not sustainable, shouldn’t have to give up life for work, they don’t decide they are going to be a police officer and dedicate their life.” She further stated:

Family/work/life balance is huge, and I’ve given up huge portions of my family life to be available on call to go on training on courses, on special projects that I don’t think that anybody, far less a mother of young children should have, to do in order to advance…. that’s a huge obstacle that just shouldn’t exist at this point.
It is apparent that these COs had to give up a lot in order to get to the level they are at. As one CO mentioned, “I’ve given up a lot…your family are number one never forget, don’t miss the first baseball game, don’t miss the first soccer game, you know don’t miss the graduation ceremony you know, I did. I’m not now.”

NCOs also pointed out that family is still a huge barrier for policewomen with children or those who are looking after aging parents. It would be beneficial if there was some flexibility allowed in the organization to work around family situations. This, coupled with the lack of time policewomen have left after work and family, makes it nearly impossible for policewomen to take on more than they already do. For this reason, one NCO stated, “women married to men with children, huge, huge, incredible, huge barrier,” and “this is because men will only do what the woman asks him to do and nothing more, they do not have the support at home.”

Having a family changes the focus for many policewomen, because many policemen have a wife at home, so they can focus on their career. If you have a family, as one officer stated, “you’re penalized for that.” Again, most often, policewomen were also concerned about daycare and dealing with elderly parents. It is necessary to have flexibility and in some jobs that is a possibility, whereas on the front-line in a patrol capacity that is not possible. Perhaps some consideration should be given to share the wealth and give others a break from the front-line instead of being in a flexible position for the duration.

NCOs were concerned about promoting the right people and mentoring would assist in making promotions more successful. It is also important for policewomen to promote themselves; if they do not, it is highly unlikely anyone else will do it for them. In many cases
women who stand up for what they believe in are often punished (Lipman, 2018). For that reason, policewomen should support other policewomen.

One thing that was brought up by an NCO in the interview was the amount of jobs where officers are doing non-police work like budgeting. She commented that it would be more economical and productive to hire a college student to do these tasks “cheaper and better.”

In this study, constables were concerned about what can be done to make things more accessible for policewomen entering into the promotion process. It is evident that policewomen and other minorities, as mentioned by one participant, are “not representative….our upper echelon is still predominantly white and still predominantly male. We have a few women I there who have made their climb. Most of them, it’s because they were with someone that was already in that higher rank.” This has been brought up in the research as the marriage tax (Archbold & Hassel, 2009). The perception is that “he would be promoted far faster than I would be.” Many married women wait in the wings while their husbands climb the ladder first. One constable stated:

I don’t think that they want us promoted. They really don’t. And the ones that they do want promoted are the ones that, either they look good, you know, blonde hair, whatever, blue eyes, giggling, to get where they’re going, right? The only reason that they have females in some of those positions is because they have to.

She continued and said, “they have most of the visible minorities in a specific section because they want people to think that there’s a lot of visible minorities in the police service, or in policing.” Lipman (2018) agreed that across disparate organizations a woman’s appearance
counts more than her resume does. More blonde females are promoted into executive positions and are senators in the Unites States (Peck, 2016).

A newer constable mentioned that the process was fair, and policewomen were treated well. She was the exception to the rule and entered a specialized unit very early. A second constable also claimed that the process is fair. She said:

I personally don’t see right now there’s an issue with the promotion process in terms of women versus men. I haven’t seen that, I haven’t ever come across where I personally have been treated any different than anyone else….would I like to see the 360° thing come back. I believe that’s huge.

It is interesting that although she indicated the process was fair, she noted the addition of the 360° as important. She continued:

I wonder if we are putting too much of a push on promoting women? I don’t think there’s the barriers today as what we had back then. I think there’s a lot more opportunity for the policewoman today. But having said that, they themselves have to want it for the right reasons.

Constables also expressed concerns that related to entering into specialized branches for example, from a front-line constable position to one in detectives. There are many times when officers end up in a specialized branch and remain there for their entire career. Regardless of gender, this is problematic as other officers are not given such career expanding opportunities. In some police services there is a maximum amount of time one can spend in a specialty branch so that others can gain experience. Some police services also require a short rotation in a crime
unit for each officer to see if they have an aptitude for being a detective or if they are a better match in a front-line capacity. These are some options that the police service in this study may try to incorporate to improve organizational inclusiveness and transparency in career promotion processes.

Constables also reported that mentorship is important and lacking in the police service. Policewomen in the interviews claimed that, although female mentorship would be preferred, they would be satisfied to have male mentorship as long as it was sincere. The mentee must be wary that the mentor (oppressor) is not just “giving them the impression that they are being helped” (Freire, 2000, p 141). It is important that the mentor is in a position to help the candidate. Some of the constables, one in particular, mentioned that “you should have to mentor people before you get promoted.” Lunneborg (2005) argued that policewomen are unable to be successful without mentorship, whether the mentor is male or female: “I do believe that a female would be able to tell another female what some of the obstacle’s that female sergeants or females of rank have that a male would not be able to.” Unfortunately, some supervisors (and constables) still continue to step on others so they can climb the ladder.

5.3.14 Question fifteen. In question fifteen the participants were asked what the highest level of education was that they had completed. Further, they were asked how many years of service they had, and their rank. The majority of participants in this research study had completed some type of post-secondary education regardless of rank. Education is beneficial for leadership enhancements (Oliver & Lagucki, 2012), and it is important to note that, despite the fact women are underrepresented in police services in Canada, they often are more highly educated than their male counterparts in the ranks of constable, sergeant and staff sergeant.
The majority of all of the policewomen that participated in this Ontario study had at least one undergraduate degree. The average years of service for all participants in the study was between 16 and 20 years of service. Two COs, twelve NCOs, and twenty-nine constables participated in this study. Forty-three of the ninety-two initial contacts started and remained through the duration of the study.

5.4 Revisiting the Research Questions and Themes

The research study looked at why the majority of policewomen in a large police service in Ontario do not enter the promotion process. It was important to look at why some women choose to enter the process, while others abstain. Further, are those policewomen who opt to enter the process any different than their colleagues who choose not to? How do policewomen understand their qualifications in the context of the promotion process? Finally, and perhaps most importantly, is there something that can be done to make the promotion process more attractive and accessible to policewomen in the future?

5.4.1 Are the policewomen any different? Typically, the policewomen with families who are able to successfully negotiate the process need family and supervisor support. If these two things are in place it may be easier for the policewoman to enter the process. If the policewoman does not have this support, she may not have a choice in entering the process. It appears that policewomen who enter the promotion process need support from their families, because, as one NCO stated that she needed to, “shut her house down for a month” in order to prepare. In some situations, this may not be feasible. One NCO stated that it was “easier for women that don’t have partners or small children, women married or living with another woman.” This was harder because in most cases women who are married or live with men do the
majority of work at home over and above their position at work. Policewomen that do not have children or have a female partner seem to have more assistance with responsibilities at home, and they are more able to successfully negotiate the process.

Commissioned officers were concerned about the promotion process and did not think that it should take time away from an officer’s family, unfortunately this is not the case. Non-commissioned officers and constables made it very clear that the time they had to take away from family was substantial. During the process it was difficult to do anything else other than study. Without that family support for many policewomen with children, they may be robbed of the opportunity to participate.

It is also important to have support from the policewoman’s supervisor, and this support seems to be easier from a scheduling perspective if the policewoman is in a detective position where the schedule can be more flexible. This is impossible from a front-line patrol perspective as 24-hour coverage seven days a week is paramount. It was interesting to note from some of the interviews that certain positions were flexible while others were not. Sometimes officers were allowed to join a branch, yet work remotely where other officers could not even apply because they were unable to commute due to their geographical location. Geography was particularly important to commissioned and non-commissioned officers.

Supervisor support was also important to all officers as they entered the promotion process. In many cases officers reported that they were not supported and that there was a lack of trust between them and their supervisors. Marshall (2013) explained that policewomen had to conform to police culture by being loyal and trustworthy to the male officers. Again, in this way they were taking on more of a masculine type role to fit in.
One constable reported that she perceived that women were actually indirectly penalized for the work and life balance. Since the woman is traditionally the primary caregiver, if she is a policewoman as well, there is less time to prepare for a process in the first place. Duxbury and Higgins (2012) reported that the primary caregiver experiences considerably more stress and are clearly more disadvantaged than the parent that strictly helps out. Further, those officers in higher ranks spend fewer hours dealing with childcare or eldercare freeing up hours to prioritize work (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). Duxbury and Higgins stated that male officers earn higher incomes in each rank than their female counterparts do even though the policewomen are more highly educated. In situations where the spouse is the family breadwinner, the officer making the lesser amount of money is one and a half times more likely to report depressed mood (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012).

One NCO advised that she let her husband climb the rank structure first, and then she tried to get promoted. Offering to let her husband be promoted first was because one parent has to take up the slack at home. Archbold and Hassel (2009) explained that being married to another officer can restrict a policewoman’s upward mobility. This NCO provided one example where this may be the case: Policewomen feel that they have to be even more qualified than their male counterparts in order to effectively and successfully negotiate the promotion process. That said, as mentioned above, higher education is beneficial to success in the process.

Commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and constables alike commented that policewomen struggled to advance because of nepotism and the political culture in the police service. Further, it is evident that the policing culture expects one to prioritize work over and above one’s family (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). Duxbury and Higgins also stated that many
organizations want their officers to keep family and work separate and they do not want family matters brought to work. This is known as the myth of separate worlds. In the 21st century it is hard to fathom having one’s home life and their work as two distinct entities, it is considered by most that one bleeds over into the other.

Cordner and Cordner (2011) completed a study that compared police chiefs and policewomen in Pennsylvania, United States on a number of questions with respect to the recruitment, selection, and retention of policewomen. There were some differences in their responses to questions such as: Chiefs did not feel like the old boys club still exists yet policewomen feel it is prevalent (Cordner & Cordner, 2011). Policewomen also noted that the use of mentorship and family friendly policies, like job sharing and family leave, were more appealing than chiefs did (Cordner & Cordner, 2011). It would be interesting to know why there was a difference in their perceptions, at this point there is only speculation.

5.4.2 Vocation or profession: Intelligence-led policing in the 21st century. From those officers that participated in the study, it does not appear that there is anything more than lip-service paid to assist policewomen with their careers in this large Ontario police service. It appears from the data that it is imperative to first determine if the police service is considered a vocation or a profession. If the police service is to be considered a profession, there needs to be some clear guidelines set out to assist policewomen (and other minorities) in climbing the career ladder in the police service.

Isabella (2017), a veteran police captain and academic in the United States, argued that policing is a trade. He qualified this argument by saying lawyers, physicians, and those in other fields participate in professional development throughout their careers. In the police service in
this study there are some mandated professional development during in-service training, but it needs to be in the form of ongoing accredited continuing education.

In 1959 Ashenhust discussed the fact that in other professions it is mandated that employee’s need training or schooling in the knowledge of the profession. From there, they are required to pass an examination and training through a college, professional school, or university, obtain a license, and follow a Code of Ethics. This is known as credentialism, and it is a requirement to enter a profession (Hussein, 2008). Bowman (2010) supported the idea that police candidates should possess a bachelor’s degree as the minimum requirement for recruitment, because of the changes in policing in the 21st Century. He stated that this is an essential criterion for a professional police service, because the police officer of today needs good analytic skills, problem solving techniques, diversity training, and the ability to work with little supervision (Bowman, 2010). Further, it is necessary that police officers have better than average communication skills in order to diffuse conflict (Bowman 2010).

The research is not clear: While some research argues that higher education should be required, other studies argue it should not be a pre-requisite. I consider that this is something that should be explored further. What is clear is that in order to be considered a profession there needs to be more stringent guidelines in place outlining what educational pre-requisites are necessary for the recruitment, retention, and promotion of candidates (Council of Canadian Academics, 2014). Education, public discourse, everyday law enforcement discourse, as well as critical reflection are what comprise a profession (McClellan & Gustofson, 2011).

Roberg and Bonn (2004) stated that the initial requirement of having a high school diploma to enter the field of policing was put in place at a time when the majority of citizens did
not finish high school. In that time period it was an ‘above average’ selection criteria. They also indicated in their American study that the basic level required should be changed to reflect the average educational level in society. They argued that this higher educational requirement produces officers that have a more *humanistic* side to them, and this in turn, is compatible with community policing initiatives (Roberg & Bonn, 2004). Further, argued that a more educated officer will have more tools to deal with the increasing demands that are presented by impending threats of terrorism. It is imperative that the 21st Century officer is both analytical and socially adept (Roberg & Bonn, 2004). Although most current candidates that are selected have some post-secondary or equivalent work experience it is not a requirement.

Other scholars argue that by placing more stringent requirements on candidates, it will discriminate against certain groups. This argument has been tested in the United States, and it was found that the benefit of putting higher standards into place far outweighs any discriminatory effects the requirement may have (Roberg & Bonn, 2004). There are also things that can be put in place to assist candidates, so they can negotiate the process, perhaps a form of barrier analysis would assist this particular organization in attracting and recruiting a greater number of worthy candidates.

On an interesting note, very few officers currently in command positions have completed post-secondary education and do not have a degree (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). In this particular study, one of the two COs had a degree and the other had a college diploma. Roberg and Bonn (2004) reported that many in high ranking positions resisted increasing the requirements to recruiting candidates with a degree. In a 2015 study by Paoline III, Terrill, and Rossler they found that for several positions of *higher rank*, namely deputy chief or higher, in the United
States a four-year degree was required. Those officers with rank typically work dayshifts and have a flexible schedule (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). This flexible schedule would enable them more time to devote to their studies if they have to complete a degree post-hire. This could pose some difficulty for front-line constables as they have the least amount of flexibility (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012).

Paoline III, Terrill, and Rossler (2015) examined whether the experience of completing higher education had an effect on officers’ occupational attitudes, and further, whether their choice of major for their degree had any impact. What they did find was that one’s major did not impact their satisfaction for the job (Paoline III, Terrill, & Rossler, 2015). Non-white members, more experienced members, and those with four-year degrees were less satisfied with their positions (Paoline III, Terrill, & Rossler, 2015). Many of the participants with four-year degrees had negative views of upper management. Oftentimes the fact that officers had degrees made no difference to their marketability for promotion. In this sense it is odd that in some services an undergraduate degree (and sometimes a master’s degree) is required for upper management positions.

Cope (2004) defined intelligence, “as information developed to direct policing” (p. 190). Intelligence consists of analysis, which will translate and prioritize information by seeking patterns linking criminal activity and suspects (Cope, 2004). The process goes through the following steps: acquiring information, analysis, review the data and prioritization, and taking action and evaluation (Cope, 2004). It would be beneficial to have crime analysts who are civilian members ride with officers to gain a better understanding of the necessity to provide quality information (Cope, 2004).
Sanders, Weston, and Schott (2015) painted a picture of what intelligence-led policing (ILP) should look like in Canadian police services. They explained that for most police services ILP is merely used to mean accountability. Unfortunately, this definition falls short of Cope’s (2004) process as stated above. With the inclusion of analytics and Geographic Information System (GIS) mapping, police services need to integrate this statistical data with investigative information and community mobilization to produce successful intelligence-led policing (Sanders, Weston, & Schott, 2015). Oftentimes these things are not meshed together, because officers do not want to share their information with the crime analyst or in their written reports (Sanders, Weston, & Schott, 2015). When information is not shared, intelligence-led policing falls short. This is another reason that post-secondary education is important.

Higher education is correlated with increased civic engagement and social trust (Putnam 1995b). If education was given value it deserves in the promotion process, there would likely be more policewomen in ranking positions. Policewomen appear to have higher education levels across the ranks (Archbold & Schulz, 2008). Savoie (2015) highlighted the importance of education in her Canadian study on female Chiefs of Police. Higher education was a skillset that the upper ranks felt was necessary for the top positions in law enforcement (Savoie, 2015). In fact, most of the participants in her study argued that graduate degrees should be mandatory, and that education helped to look at things in a critical, ethical fashion. Education increases both social trust and civic commitment, while increasing the reliability and authenticity of intelligence-led policing. This would be beneficial to increase achievement in crime reduction (Putnam, 1995a). It would also be beneficial for members in the upper ranks to have post-secondary education, so they can command an intelligence-led service. Advanced degrees are
one more qualification that should be considered for promotion (Morabito, & O'Connor-Shelley, 2018).

Civic engagement is another important factor in keeping with Putnam’s (1995a) social capital theory: “Use extra-curriculars to diffuse among all classes what we now call ‘soft skills’ – strong work habits, self-discipline, teamwork, leadership, and a sense of civic engagement” (Putnam, 2015, p. 174). Putnam (2015) continued that repetitive involvement in these non-cognitive things increases positive outcomes in one’s work habits, self-esteem, resilience, and a decrease in risk-related behavior. Those in administrative positions should serve as gatekeepers for these soft skills (Putnam, 2015). Putnam (2015) said that in today’s environment soft skills are secondary to core competencies. This is important for the process as being able to regurgitate things is not conducive to getting the best person for a position.

5.4.3 Can we make the process more attractive and accessible for policewomen? The final over-arching question asked if something that can be done to make the promotion process more attractive and accessible for policewomen. One method police services can implement to improve the training, mentorship and leadership within the policing organization would be to utilize experienced officers that are getting close to retirement (Council of Canadian Academics, 2014). Many experienced, older women are able to jump in with both feet after some of their family responsibilities lessen (Lipman, 2018). Lipman argues that this is “the world’s greatest untapped resource” (p. 113). This would increase mentorship and provide the older, more experienced officer an invigorating experience in an essential position. In a 2012 New Zealand Police Association (NZPA) publication reported that they understand that the duties of a frontline officer are very difficult, and that older officers want a change as they get older. The
report continued to state that mentoring, childcare options, and being *family friendly* are ways to negotiate these difficult times.

Jones (2017) suggested that mentorship may be one solution that may be able to immobilize inequality. Men garner support and are in better positions to network, because of this, they have more opportunities (Jones, 2017). Duxbury and Higgins (2012) suggested a possible solution may be to increase the potential developmental opportunities available to improve job satisfaction. There are no gender differences between women and men in ambition, commitment, or ability, so this should not cause a problem (Hyde, 2014). In the Jones (2012) study, mentors and mentees noted that they were learning a considerable amount in cognitive, skill-based, affective, and social networking. For Putnam’s social capital theory, these networks are valued and closely related to *civic virtue* (Bhandari & Yasunobu, 2009). The mentor–mentee relationship increased trust and strengthened the bond, which, coupled with increased confidence, would put policewomen in a more equal position for promotion (Jones, 2012). This aspect could, in fact, negate the *sticky floor* where women hold themselves back.

In Norway, parental leave is just under one year with full salary, and childcare is economical and easily obtained (Fekjaer & Halymjo, 2012). Morabito and O’Connor-Shelley (2018) said that policewomen need opportunities, the support of their family, and good mentorship in order to be successful in the promotion process. They further stated that this helps to create the perfect *kairotic* or opportune promotion moment.

There are several examples of European Union Countries that have implemented different policies in order to recruit, retain, and promote policewomen in their particular services. Vallèz (2013) reported that their study asked if there were initiatives in place within each police
service that would assist in recruiting, retaining and promoting women. Further, the study asked if there was a flexible policy with the opportunity to work part time or to job share. This study was compiled in 2012 and it appears that several police services do have measures in place.

In Sweden, for example, the police services use an anonymous selection process where identity and gender of the participants is hidden (Vallèz, 2013). Italy’s National Police offers flexible work time and the ability for members to study, look after children and or sick family members (Vallèz, 2013). Belgium has a task force that has been put in place to increase the number of policewomen in positions of responsibility, while ensuring that they can merge family life together with their policing careers (Vallèz, 2013). They can do this through allowing members to work at home, part time, and they provide day-care facilities for young children up to age 3 (Vallèz, 2013). Finland offers a flexible work schedule (Vallèz, 2013), and Brandenburg allows part-time and flex-time schedules along with accommodating job locations for members (Vallèz, 2013).

In Bremen, if two candidates achieve similar results in a competition, the policewoman is to be given the position (Vallèz, 2013). They also offer part time positions and have implemented a pilot project that began the 1st of April 2012, utilizing teleworking or working from home using technology. Vallèz, (2013) also stated that Mecklenburg–Vorpommern has childcare available and family-friendly hours of work. In the Netherlands, those who are involved in the selection process are given special training, and there are recruitment strategies, positions available for highly educated candidates, special training to retain with the possibility of job sharing and or part-time employment, and professional development and mentorship (Vallèz, 2013). Madrid combines work with home life and allows a mother or father with a child under 12
or with a disabled or elderly family member the ability to reduce their hours from one to four hours (Vallèz, 2013).

Silvestri (2018) also indicated that direct entrants may be another way to get qualified women in the higher ranks, albeit non-sworn. She argued that these candidates may not come with the same baggage as officers that have gone up through the ranks (Silvestri, 2018). There are definitely negatives to direct entrants as well. Other sworn members, male and female alike, will likely question their credibility. It should be noted that the Metropolitan Police in the United Kingdom have implemented this process and have direct entrants into the position of superintendent. They are still doing this today, so it would seem it is a successful endeavor. They are also forward thinking and have a policy to fast track officers from constable to inspector (Young-Powell, 2014). This is a viable option, as these officers are both well-educated and sworn.

These are all considerations the large Ontario police service in this study needs to take into account in the future. The landscape of policing in the 21st Century is changing rapidly. One officer explained in their interview that minorities are seen through the glass in some of the police buildings in order to give the illusion that there are more minorities than there really are. This constable’s perception of this situation was that this was the only transparency that existed in the police service studied. This illusory practice does not cut it, and now is the time for change and for equality in the police service. For this to happen the promotion process needs to be transformed and updated. Policewomen should not have to worry about having two or three strikes against them, because of gender, race, and occupation. Policemen should not have to endure racial discrimination either.
5.5 Summary of Findings

As a summary, all ranks found nepotism, time, family and the promotion process itself to be the largest barriers to their careers. Around the issue of time is the stress the individual must endure to prepare and enter the promotion process (Poleski, 2016). One thing that is disturbing that has come out of the research is that women are often put in difficult managerial positions so that she can take the blame for the failure of the organization (Ryan, Haslam, Hersby, & Bongiorno, 2011). Women are in a lose-lose situation from the onset, if they have female ways of leading they are not considered a leader, and if they conform to a male type leadership they are not seen as women (Ryan, Haslam, Hersby, & Bongiorno, 2011).

Some of the other reasons that limit policewomen negotiating the promotion process are lack of positions being offered, having to go back on night shifts, and attrition (Guajardo, 2016). Due to the expected increase in retirements within the police service, several leadership positions should be coming available. I hope that more policewomen will be successful in filling these positions.

5.6 Chapter Summary

Chapter five compared the secondary data that was collected from the involved police service to the data that was obtained from Statistics Canada. The research findings and emergent understandings were interpreted and explained using the interpretivist paradigm within the confines of Putnam’s (1995a) social capital theory. The predominant themes were identified and discussed, and this was followed by delving into the overarching questions framing the research.
Chapter 6: Conclusions, Implications, and Recommendations

6.1 Overview

This study investigated why many policewomen abstain from entering the process for promotion in one large Ontario police service. In what follows, the major findings are addressed followed by an acknowledgement about the limitations of the study. I then provide recommendations for further research. These recommendations are followed by a proposed model that can be used for negotiating the promotion process, and some new barriers in the 21st Century. Next steps, final reflections, and concluding remarks close out the chapter.

6.2 Major Findings of the Study and Discussion

As noted earlier, there is a considerable amount of research conducted on the barriers women face in the police service, however, much of this scholarly work is from Britain and the United States. At this time, there is limited Canadian research on this topic and only a modest amount on the promotion process. The major findings in this study indicate that the promotion process itself is the biggest barrier for why policewomen abstain from the promotion process. Clearly, the police organization’s culture is not sufficiently inclusive at present, and it limits a proactive approach to policewomen’s promotion being developed. Some of the problems faced by policewomen may be due to the time commitment necessary to prepare or because of family commitments with children or aging parents (or both). Matters are complicated further because of the perceived lack of mentorship, good leadership, and support from supervisors, as well as claims of nepotism and cronyism, which are prevalent in this Ontario police service.
6.2.1 The competency process and good leadership. Although each police service has a distinct promotion process, this particular study considered the competency process in a large Ontario police service. As is the case with most processes, it has evolved from originally using a standardized testing procedure to a competence-based one. Poleski (2016) was adamant that although policemen and policewomen display many of these leadership competencies, policewomen are often better at exhibiting them than policemen. Oddly, they are not as successful as policemen are with the actual processes of getting promoted, as evident in the scarcity of policewomen in supervisory positions. Therefore, it is probable that additional factors are at play, such as social capital elements of trust, norms, and networks. In other words, perhaps the police service does not trust in the capacities of policewomen as much as they do for policemen. As well, the norms of behaviours and attitudes may be more commonly displayed by policemen than policewomen. As this study’s data showed, the networks of policemen are often extensive compared to those inside the police service of policewomen.

One clear element is that the competency-based system is not as objective and transparent as it aims to be. Participants in each rank noted, in their interviews, their concerns about what the police service refers to as a transparent process. Officers in all ranks perceived that hiring officers often chose their friends using an unfair and biased system. In light of this finding, use the term friendsparent to illuminate that hiring practices are considerably more subjective than those in high ranking positions may grasp. The friendsparent process is one that is unclear, opaque, and highly questionable in terms of potential conflict of interest respects.

It is noteworthy that in the Police Sector Council’s (2015) description of competencies an important aspect necessary to be a good leader is inexcusably absent—there is no way to assess a
potential leaders authenticity, nor is there anything that sets out the appropriate use of power. A leader’s authenticity and power must work effectively and oftentimes the hierarchical system itself negates authenticity, curbs collaboration, and increases inequality between the ranks. Davis (2018) proposed a potential solution with a Situated Authority Model of Leadership that looks at the relationship between context and the use of authority. She spoke of certain situations where it is appropriate to undo rank while others are higher risk and doing rank may be appropriate. An authentic leader should be able to negotiate these transitions effectively in an attempt to work towards shared leadership.

Further to Davis (2018), there is no mention of ethics in the behavioural competencies. It is hard to imagine that someone can be chosen for a position without any consideration of their potential for ethical behaviour. At least three behavioural competency questions are typically asked in the interview and the application process. Surprisingly, one would think that ethical behaviour would be the most important competency, yet it is only mentioned in the leadership and management competencies and is specific to accountability.

In order to have good followers, one must have good leadership. Kellerman (2004) wrote that bad leadership is either ineffective, unethical, or both. In the police service studied in this current research, this competency-based system does not appear to be producing the best leaders: “Leaders are generally judged ineffective because of the means they employ (or fail to employ) rather than the ends they pursue” (Kellerman, 2004, p. 33). Kellerman (2004) explained that there are three ineffective leaders: incompetent, rigid, and intemperate. There are also four unethical leaders: callous, corrupt, insular, and evil. Some of these leader portraits have in effect been mentioned by participants in Chapters four and five.
Kellerman (2004) defined the incompetent “leader and at least some followers lack the will and skill (or both) to sustain effective action” (p. 40). People assume that men are competent until they prove otherwise, however the opposite holds true for women (Lipman, 2018). Oftentimes women are their own worst critics, as one CO in the study indicated, and policewomen will blame themselves if something goes wrong even when, beforehand, there was a lack of supervisory support and direction.

Supervisory support is imperative in order for a policewoman to successfully navigate the promotion process (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012; Poleski, 2016). By way of an instance that exemplifies what Duxbury and Higgins and Poleski argued, in this Ontario-based study, one constable was told what a great job she was doing by a partner agency and they actually sent a formal recognition of her efforts. She was aware only because the affiliated group contacted her. At the time of this study she still had not been advised that the police service had been formally notified. This lack of specific encouragement reinforces the negative and ultimately undermines the policewoman’s chances of advancement (Lipman, 2018). As a result, when they are successful, women attribute their success to luck, while men ascribe success to their personal skill, grit, and intelligence (Lipman, 2018).

The rigid leader may be competent, however, they are not willing to adapt to change and the intemperate leader lacks self-control, and followers do not intervene (Kellerman, 2004). Kellerman identified the intemperate leader as one who “lacks self-control and is aided and abetted by followers who are unwilling and unable effectively to intervene” (p. 42). As one CO reported, she was set up for failure, and other male police leaders sat on their hands in silence. This does not increase important impacts of organizational trust, nor does it hint at the process
being effective. Callous leaders are neither caring nor kind, corrupt leaders and followers “lie, cheat or steal” (p. 44). One constable reported doing a substantial amount of work for her supervisor, and he took credit for her results. This type of leader is unethical and immoral. Leaders who disregard the welfare of others named by Kellerman as being insular. Evil leaders are described as those who use pain and harm to lead their people. Many of the leaders in this study were described by participants in ways that resemble the leader categories mentioned above.

6.2.2 Stress, lack of flexibility in schedule and the work-life balance. As the findings in this study show, policewomen (and policemen) currently have much higher levels of stress, both at home and in the workplace, than many employees in other professions, and therefore it is necessary to provide more flexible working arrangements to assist with their mental health (Duxbury & Halinski, 2017). The main obstacle for policewomen is being able to negotiate the work-life balance in order to enter the promotion process (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012; LaPagge, 2013; Murphy, 2006; Poleski, 2016; Vallèz, 2013). This work-life balance adds stress to the policewoman dealing with her children, and it can increase exponentially for those who have the added responsibility of looking after elderly parents (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012).

Shiftwork takes a toll and can lead to difficulties, such as sleeping, physical ailments, and mental health concerns. Policewomen report the highest levels of stress with constables and NCOs having the most difficult time (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). This is consistent with the perceptions of policewomen in this study. Duxbury and Higgins (2012) reported that policewomen in CO positions have the highest level of a depressed mood. Policewomen face many barriers and Carlan and McMullen (2009) believed that these barriers could take a toll on
their mental health. Carlan and McMullen’s (2009) study concluded that policewomen were just as resilient as their policemen counterparts. Although policewomen reported a higher need for psychological intervention, this was not because they were not resilient, they simply did not feel comfortable confiding in their colleagues. The fact they cannot confide in colleagues in and of itself is problematic in such a stressful work environment.

6.2.3 **Lack of supervisory support and developmental opportunities.** The results of this study are consistent with research that front-line officers are the least satisfied officers with their jobs, often because their supervisors do not provide them with career development opportunities (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). In the Duxbury and Higgins (2012) study, 25% of officers noted that their immediate manager cared more about their own career than that of their members. It is not surprising that members are frequently not satisfied with their jobs. Duxbury and Higgins (2012) reported that management does not allow input of the lower ranks, managers lack communication skills, and they fail to mentor their own people. Poleski (2016) argued that it would be beneficial to increase officer satisfaction and performance if officers had some input in their own career trajectory for the future. Twenty two percent of the front-line members reported that micro-managing was prevalent and adds to their frustration (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012).

The findings in this study echoed Schafer (2010b), in that oftentimes individuals are put in supervisory positions. For Schafer, it is when individuals are put into supervisory positions that their inadequacies are discovered, which he attributed to promotion decisions being made without looking at an individual’s potential for providing successful leadership. Schafer (2010b) argued that favoritism and nepotism often determine who gets to attend mandatory courses for promotion thereby limiting the chances for others.
According to Schafer (2010b) there are five acts of commission that indicate inadequate leaders: “(focus on self over others, ego/arrogance, closed mindedness, micromanagement, and capriciousness) and five acts of omission (poor work ethic, failure to act, ineffective communication, lack of interpersonal skills, and lack of integrity) that emerged” (pp. 240-241). The first, focus on self over others is indicative of careerism or only looking out for oneself. One CO explained in her interview, that policewomen will not help other policewomen, because the culture is so ruthless. The egotistical or arrogant leader is often unable to see things from a different perspective. This type of leader is also not supportive and thus closes doors to the officers he or she is leading. The closed-minded leader is similar and is inflexible, and autocratic. Schafer (2010b) explained that leadership is “a capacity to move a group and/or organization through a process of change” (p. 741). The micromanager does not allow the subordinates to have a say and it is argued that this is because the subordinate may outshine them (Schafer, 2010b). The final act of commission, which is prevalent in this research, is the capricious or political inadequacy that includes nepotism and cronyism (Schafer, 2010b). There are several examples of this act of commission from COs, NCOs, and constables in this study.

As parts of this study have shown, there is a clear difference between leaders and managers. Sergeant Bill Irving of the Canadian Military in the book *Operation Medusa* stated: “The boss told me in times of conflict leaders lead, and in between conflict managers take over. There are senior people out there right now with zero operational experience. Some of those clowns I wouldn’t follow into a beer store” (Fraser & Hanington, 2018, p. 25). It is important for the police service to promote well respected leaders to increase the organization’s social capital in the future.
Poor work ethic is an act of omission and it is evident in the fact that the leader fails to lead by example (Schafer, 2010b). Oftentimes these leaders will not make a decision, *they fail to act* in order to solidify their attempts to climb the ladder further. All ranks in this study reiterated the importance of a *leader* being capable of leading by example. Many ineffective leaders are unable to effectively communicate, and for example, they do not collaborate or listen to their members (Schafer, 2010b). Those leaders lack interpersonal skills and therefore are unable to build relationships with others (Schafer, 2010b). In particular, constables in this research stated that communication and active listening were very important interpersonal skills that a leader in the police service should possess.

Finally, the ineffective leader lacks integrity and this is the building block of being a good leader. Participants in this study provided first-hand accounts of their experiences with *bad leadership*. Participants reported, in their interviews, examples of these acts of commission and omission throughout the study.

Schafer (2010b) grouped ten inefficiencies into individual, occupational, and leadership issues. The individual inefficiencies directly address the ineffective leaders’ characteristics (Schafer, 2010b). Occupational inefficiencies include both individual leaders and organizational characteristics, such as micromanagement, close-mindedness, and communication (Schafer, 2010b). Finally, leadership issues, like occupational ones, combine the individual’s shortcomings with that of the organization as a whole, and “leadership is lacking in policing because there is a lack of leadership; as a profession current police leaders have been late in realizing their collective responsibility to develop those who will someday assume leadership roles” (p. 744). Again, this is likely due to the lack of suitable training and education (Schafer, 2010b).
6.3 Limitations to the Study

As with all studies there were some limitations to the research. Although there were participants from specialized areas and detective positions involved in the study, they were not identified, because to do so may have jeopardized their anonymity. For this reason, the categories were left quite general; constable, NCO, and CO. Although several COs inquired about the study, only two COs participated. It is not known if this is because they did not see the call for participants or if there was some other reason they chose not to participate.

Mixed-methods may be an apt methodology for investigating policewomen and the promotion process. It may be beneficial in the future to use the mixed-method design to potentially garner more candidates or different types of information. It is important to include other minorities, policewomen, and policemen alike, in the study to compare their data with the results gained from looking at gender.

Finally, it is beneficial to compare the results from other police services to those gained from this one large Ontario police service. This study was designed for distribution to a wide audience through the Ontario Association of Women Police, however, due to a change in their leadership, the information was not sent out. As noted earlier, this qualitative study is based on a large Ontario police service, and it is not, and was not, intended to be generalizable to other police services in the province, the country, or smaller services.

6.4 Recommendations: Re-vamp the Promotion Process

In order for the large police service in this study to become more inclusive in the future there are some recommendations that may be beneficial if implemented. The promotion process
itself needs to be re-vamped and that should start at recruiting stage. In one Ontario task force report, Lewis (1989) suggested that police services in Canada should hire outsiders from other professions similar to the military, with a suitable rank assigned based on their skills and education post successful recruit training. This is a contentious point in the police service as this candidate has little to no experience in the field. Several officers in this study agreed that someone can lead without experience if they have the potential qualities of a leader. The perceptions of other officers were not so positive, and they felt that in many situations experience should play a part. There is currently a monetary benefit for experience in the police service, however, at this point in time there is no promotion benefit for furthering one’s education. This does nothing to ensure policing is considered a profession, nor does it encourage further study.

The Ontario task force report also set out guidelines to increase the number of visible minorities, but regrettably neither of these recommendations are happening to date (Lewis, 1989). Affirmative action programs may work, but only if the policewoman who is placed in the position has equal qualifications to the policeman (LaPagge, 2013). At this point, that would be the most effective way to use an affirmative action program.

It is imperative that organizations work out initiatives, such as flexible schedules, child care options, harassment policies, and restructuring from the top down (Connell, 2006c). Montgomery (2012) stated that job sharing, part-time work schedules, flexibility, and leaves of absence have been implemented in the police service. This does not seem to be available in Ontario given the current policing climate. For instance, policewomen often need to have options for child care within the police service in order to increase recruitment and promotion opportunities (Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Marshall, 2013). Succession planning is another area
that is lacking, and if done correctly would assist the work–life balance (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012).

Based on participants’ comments from the interviews, plus allied data, it is also recommended that every front-line member be rotated through a period in a unit where night shifts are not the norm. This would provide them with work–life balance as well as a break from the stresses that go with long shifts and working nights. Long twelve-hour shifts increase officer sleepiness and decrease alertness (Amendola, Wiesburd, Hamilton, Jones, & Slipka, 2011).

Some officers in Phoenix, Arizona worked thirteen-hour, twenty-minute shifts (Bell, Virden, Lewis, & Cassidy, 2015). In that particular case they worked only three shifts in a one-week period, which was followed with four days off (Bell et al., 2015). Those officers were compared with officers working ten hour shifts on a number of functions (Bell et al., 2015). Research has found that working more than twelve hour shifts negatively affected sleep, cognitive ability, and overall officer health while impacting quality of life and performance (Bell et al., 2015): Officers made more errors, had decreased reaction time, and more Professional Standards Bureau (PSB) complaints (Bell et al., 2015). To the contrary, ten-hour shifts have a positive effect on the health of police officers, their overall performance, quality of life, and the amount of sleep they get (Bell et al., 2015). These shifts also decrease the amount of overtime officers accumulate (Amendola et al., 2011). For officers that returned to ten-hour shifts from thirteen-hour, twenty-minute shifts everything returned to baseline (Bell et al., 2015). This information is important, because a break from shiftwork may allow an officer some time to recover from fatigue and other things that effect the work–life balance. Further, it may provide others an
opportunity rather than putting someone in a specialized position that they never leave, which can be problematic in terms of potential job satisfaction and limiting in opportunity for others.

Although the current competency-based approach is encouraging on paper, it appears it is a rubric that can, at distance, seem transparent when in actuality it can end up being operationalized as friendsparent. There are six steps and they consist of putting in a résumé or a search of the applicant’s file, a screening test of some description, screening interview, board interview, reference check, and finally to hire or not (Police Sector Council, 2013). If these steps are used properly, the system should be successful (Police Sector Council, 2013). Unfortunately, most services do not use this approach in its entirety. It would appear that the police service in this study does not use the reference check portion of the process on a recurring basis. The reference check is the test, yet it apparently is ignored in the process. Further, the police service in this does not consider education, certifications, or an officer’s experience. By omitting these steps, the police service is limiting their prospects of getting the best candidates in the required positions, because the field is already culled before applications open.

It appears from this study’s findings that the test this large Ontario police service has been utilizing is not accurately measuring what it is set out to measure. The promotion process is still extremely biased in favour of men, and statistical data show that to be correct. Kurz (2006), the Chief of Durham Police Department in New Hampshire, explained that it is necessary to ensure any testing used in a promotion process is valid and measures what it is set out to measure.

Kurz (2006) also suggested that promotional candidates be provided with study guides with sample questions to assist them in their preparation for the examination. Participants should
be notified of the board members involved to ensure there are no conflicts of interest (Kurz, 2006). The promotion procedure should also consider the applicant’s performance evaluations, any specialized training, education, leadership roles in the community, and years of service. Questions or scenarios that are placed in *in-baskets* anonymously could also be included in a more unbiased process (Kurz, 2006).

In 1986, Sandra Jones offered three approaches to eliminate or lessen discrimination in the police service. First, she argued it was necessary to have an equal opportunity policy. Second, this policy must originate from, and be supported at, the top management level in the organization. Third, all members, especially those in managerial positions need training on how to ensure the policy is used effectively in the development of policewomen entering the promotion process (Jones, 1986). These are approaches that could easily be implemented in any police service with minimal financial hardship.

Montgomery (2012) reported that, in the past, police services have implemented diversity policies, but it does not appear to have been successful in the service in this study based on the number of policewomen in the upper ranks. Halifax police have a service that is as racially diverse as it’s community (Marcoux, Nicholson, Kubinec, & Moore, 2016a). Montréal police have the highest percentage of policewomen in the country at 32% (Marcoux et al., 2016b). These numbers show that it is possible to increase the diversity in police services. Perhaps the service in this study should look to these organizations to see what they are doing to effectively recruit, retain and promote policewomen and other minorities.

This particular study focused on policewomen alone. There is a need to study other minority groups in the police service to see if they are undergoing the same *othering* as
policewomen are. It appears that from this research’s findings the process is likely flawed for everyone, not just policewomen. In the literature it seems to be more complicated and problematic if the involved officer fits into more than one minority category. The recommendations made in this study seek to ensure a process that has clarity and is based on equitable principles. If the process changes it would be interesting to ascertain if any improvements become more beneficial to all police officers regardless of race, gender, age, disability, or sexual orientation.

While considering someone for promotion, their ethical conduct should be considered (Mills, 2003). If ethical conduct is considered, it would likely send a clear message to those applying for supervisory positions (Mills, 2003). Ethical conduct and leadership coupled with education and training, as well as leading by example, will assist in putting adept candidates in leadership positions (Mills, 2003).

If these strategies and supports are implemented, more policewomen would be able to enter the promotion process if they choose to. In order for these changes to be effective the police service needs policies. Also, everyone, if not all management personnel, need to buy-in. Family-friendly on its own is not sufficient, and a supportive manager is needed (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). In order to be truly supportive, one must offer career development opportunities (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). Policewomen stated they need more operational experience, and if they do not get it they do not even attempt the promotion process. The Poleski (2016) study’s findings concur with this viewpoint. It is evident that policewomen need encouraging, sincere supportive leaders to help them negotiate the process successfully. In order to make that happen
leaders need to actively assist in seeking out developmental opportunities and advocate for their officers including policewomen.

6.5 The Model

The proposed promotion process model uses the circle as a continuum, much like the *Use of Force Wheel* and the *Ontario Mobilization and Engagement Model for Community Policing* (OACP, 2016). The inner circle follows a clockwise rotation from recruiting through promotion and finally to retention. In order to recruit, promote, and retain policewomen in an effective capacity until retirement, it is imperative that they are able to gain experience in different areas, increase their education, and receive pertinent training.

The middle of the circle can travel clockwise or counter clockwise, and it speaks to these opportunities that are presented to facilitate the journey towards the policewoman’s goals. Opportunities must be available to job shadow or take on temporary positions even in times where staffing is short. Participants in this study, as well as in much of the current research, show that supervisor support is essential for policewomen to successfully negotiate the promotion process (Lipman, 2018).

Informal mentoring is very important to policewomen’s potential advancement. Putnam (2015) wrote, “measurably, mentoring matters” (p. 214). He argued that mentoring, “contributes significantly to the opportunity gap” (p. 216). Mentoring alone is not good enough; women need sponsorship, and this is a big advantage for men (Lipman, 2018). Formal mentoring and sponsorship are also indispensable for policewomen. It appears these things are already used regularly for policemen, but they are not for policewomen.
The outside of the circle refers to the process itself, which in its current state needs to be revised. To improve the process an unbiased approach that encompasses blind testing and interviewing may provide an effective solution. Blind hiring has increased the call backs for women in the business sector (Lipman, 2018). It is not necessary that computer software be purchased, but the hiring officer should not be choosing the panel. Once this is completed, thorough 360° assessments and checking a candidate’s personnel file should be used to corroborate the results.

The following model is presented in a similar format to models already used in law enforcement. This model can be used concurrently with aspects of Putnam’s (1995a) social capital theory to increase human capital. It will provide more power to the individuals seeking promotion or transfer in the police service and move the process away from friendsparency.
In order to implement the model it will be necessary to recruit policewomen effectively. In order to do this it needs to be shown to those interested that there is a real potential for them to succeed once they are on the job. All the recruiting strategies that have been used in the past are reduced in the effectiveness if potential candidates do not see other policewomen who are successful in the promotion process and in their endeavors to enter specialized police units. Mentoring and sponsorship need to start here and qualified, successful policewomen need to be encouraged (and given the time to assist in the recruiting process). Outreach in the high schools, colleges, and universities needs to be done by policewomen with rank and policewomen in specialized units to garner interest. It is not enough to have a policewomen from community
service attend these functions, because typically these positions are not what potential candidates want to see. Once women can physically see and hear a policewoman who is a dog handler, or a sergeant, and know there is a real possibility that could be them in the future, more candidates will apply.

Further, these candidates need to be mentored through the intensive hiring process to maximize their potential for success. This would be most productive if the mentors were interested in positions in recruiting in the future, as they would be most motivated to assist. They could be provided with some extra training, which would increase their experience, and overall education. Supervisors should identify candidates and provide them with these opportunities as the mentor would themselves receive mentoring by a person in recruiting. When the time comes for a competition, the policewomen will have the necessary KSAs, she will have a mentor, she will have mentored someone else, and be better prepared if she gets the position. This format can be put in place for any area in the police service and more policewomen will be retained in the service as there will be more opportunity.

In the assessment phase, the promotion process needs to be changed from one where the hiring person chooses a panel. Blind interviewing, blind testing, the implementation of a 360° background check, and ensuring the candidate has the potential to be an authentic and ethical leader should assist in retention.

6.6 Barriers that Require Further Research

It appears that there may be some other barriers that policewomen encounter in the police service. Some of these barriers are difficult for policewomen (and policemen) to grapple with.
One of these barriers is that of being an *import*. These imports are experienced officers who join from another police service. Comments about this barrier were made *off the cuff* during the interviews, and this is something that should be researched further. In some services it would appear that it is more difficult to negotiate the promotion process if the candidate is not working for the alma mater.

Overall, most services including the service studied have been hiring or retaining more mature applicants. This is evidenced by Statistics Canada data where approximately 56% of the police officers in Canada were over the age of 40 in 2017, and this number has been increasing steadily (Conor, 2018). This age range *front loads* the service with more experience however, there have been many comments made about discrimination in relation to age or being near retirement. Many officers in this category are not considered for positions perhaps because they are older, management may fear they are going to retire, or that they are no longer motivated to work. Age is one of the tenets of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*:

> Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability. (Canadian Charter, 1982, s. 15(11))

It may be beneficial for the organization to explore whether or not older officers are still interested in promotion or transferring into a specialized unit. The baby boomers are often in better health, have more education, and are capable of using technology effectively. In the past, many older people in the police service did not have these attributes (Brownell, 2014).
The organization that is age-friendly has a human resources branch that develops and implements strategies to keep older employees motivated to work (Brownell, 2014). By allowing the older worker to work flexible hours, or from flexible locations, the police organization will also benefit (Brownell, 2014). Job-sharing and phased retirement plans would also be beneficial to employees and the organization (Brownell, 2014). Lipman (2018) referred to experienced older women as being the invisible women who are ready to work after raising their children. Often this is when the organization is giving up on the policewoman and yet it may be her most productive years.

Griffiths, Cox, Griffiths, and Wong (2006) studied 941 policewomen over the age of forty with an average of 21 years of service. Two-hundred and forty-nine of these policewomen were exhibiting symptoms of menopause and suffered from insomnia among other conditions (Griffiths et al., 2006). They reported that poor ventilation, temperature and the amount of work contributed to their symptoms (Griffiths et al., 2006). Policewomen are unlikely to report that they are going through menopause to supervisors, because it is embarrassing as most supervisors are male (Griffiths et al., 2006). The participants in their study reported that flexibility of shifts, compressed hours, possibility of moving into other positions, and the elimination of night shifts after a certain age would be beneficial (Griffiths et al., 2006). Menopause is not a policewoman’s issue, rather, it is one that the organization must deal with (Epp, 2017). The organization must be cognizant of the fact that shift work makes menopausal insomnia even more intense (Epp, 2017). These barriers often stand in the way of policewomen getting opportunities so that they can get promoted.
One last barrier that was not considered in this study is the barrier of mental health that goes hand in hand with the added stresses of policing, shiftwork, and menopause. It is hoped that someone will look into this as the number of emergency service suicides increases yearly. There is little research in this area, however, the police service in this study has an older demographic and they need to take these things into account. These are areas that the researcher believes require further study.

6.7 Next Steps

Further research needs to be conducted into other large police services to see if their promotion processes are adequate. Perhaps this is a process that could be more uniform throughout the Province of Ontario. Some police services are using the exam and assessment of competencies, while others are using other testing and competencies, or competencies on their own. It would be potentially helpful to organizational improvement to know which process if any, is unproblematic. Further studies on the promotion processes of other police services would be useful in the province of Ontario.

There is very little research in a Canadian context, generally speaking. In undertaking the research for this study. In the United States and Canada, many police services are talking about the necessity for upper management to have a degree. If that is going to be the way of the future perhaps those that strive for those positions should have to complete some academic research as a pre-requisite. As mentioned earlier in this research study, Savoie (2015) found that most in upper management stated that a Master’s degree should be necessary for the highest positions in the police service. Police officers often push back against recommendations from those outside
of the field, so this would necessitate more education for experienced officers, which would add to the research in the area.

There should also be more research into the barriers that policewomen currently face. These barriers should be compared to the barriers other minorities and policemen face.

6.8 Final Reflections

Dick, Silvestri, and Westfarland (2014) claimed that females in senior level management positions are much more supportive in allowing flexibility in the workplace. Flexibility is so much more than just changing a shift. Some officers are allowed to work from home and change their schedules to be home when their children arrive from school while others are not (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). Again, this is a reason to have people rotate out of front-line duties for a period of time for their mental and physical health. Many policewomen reported having fewer children due to their career aspirations (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). By the same token, the police officer responsible for child care is at a great disadvantage, and they have to put their career second (Duxbury & Higgins, 2012). For this reason, if promotion is important participants in this study indicated it was important to get their first promotion prior to having children.

The violation of moral norms and values by employees and leaders, in particular, are equivalent to a form of corruption, while integrity works within society’s values, norms, and rules (Huberts, Kaptein, & Lasthuizen, 2007). It is important for the leader to act as a role model, remain firm in their ethical position, and to be open with those he or she supervises (Huberts et al., 2007).
Policewomen can be taught to use networking and increase their own social capital to make themselves more competitive and successful in the pursuit for promotion. Networking and mentorship can increase women’s success in their careers (Hurst, Leberman, & Edwards, 2016). These barriers effect the organization as well as the women (Hurst, Leberman, & Edwards, 2016). It is in the organization’s best interest to encourage and provide mentorship for all officers.

In the Kumra and Vinnicombe (2010) study on social capital they reported that social capital theory is associated with increasing a person’s relationship building and networking, which in turn can benefit a person’s promotion opportunities. As was evident in this study, policewomen typically do not have the same success networking as their policemen counterparts (Kurtz, Linneman, & Williams, 2012). As Lipman (2018) attested, mentoring alone is not good enough, women need to be sponsored to be on an even keel with their male counterparts. Once this happens it increases social and human capital while effectively increasing their career opportunities (Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010).

Typically women are not as good at building effective networks as men are, therefore Kumra and Vinnicombe (2010) suggested they borrow the social capital of influential sponsors. Sponsorship is critical in the promotion process, yet it is not enough for a woman to ask someone to sponsor her (Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010). The authors further noted that the use of impression management strategies are imperative to increase social capital and credibility. These impression management strategies include: being ambitious, being liked, and being available (Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010). The problem arises as women typically use impression management strategies in a negative context. Policewomen need to be proactive in seeking out
and being ambitious (Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010); they need to be a part of the relationship building networking, which is problematic as stated by one of the COs as it is usually centered around *male activities*, like drinking. Finally, women need to be available, or at least give the impression that they are available, for promotion, and this is often the biggest obstacle for women with families (Kumra & Vinnicombe, 2010). This perceived availability has been made even more intrusive as officers carry personal cell phones 24/7 (Shea, 2008). In that respect, this is where the entire culture needs to change.

Some senior policewomen do not support other policewomen and in fact treat them poorly and in a competitive and aggressive fashion, making matters even more difficult to negotiate (Derks, VanLarr, Ellemers, & DeGroot, 2011; Hurst, Leberman, & Edwards, 2016). One constable noted that,

> women are not always good at supporting women and if you look back junior high school bullying is done by ostracizing, segregating, and ridiculing and until women get better at lifting other women up, we’re not going to be effective at breaking ceilings.

Acker (1990) spoke about women who do not cooperate with one another, using power against one another and acting contrary to their nature of being nurturing as being embarrassing. The *Queen Bee*, “stings other women if her power is threatened and as a concept, the Queen Bee blames individual women for not supporting other women” (Mavin, 2008, p. 75). Mavin (2008) explained the *afraid to bees* who feel that the women who reach these upper management positions as weakening or threatening the gender order. The *queen bee* is a sexist term, and there is no comparable term for men—indeed bad behavior is sometimes expected in men (Mavin, 2008).
When it comes to policewomen, the fact that they become pregnant, menstruate, and are emotional are used against them in the promotion process (Acker, 1990). Acker (1990) stated, “caring work would be just as important and well rewarded as any other, having a baby or taking care of a sick mother would be as valued as making an automobile or designing computer software” (p. 155). Although conditions have improved for many women employees in the three decades since Acker made that claim, this study shows work cultures and structures may not have changed greatly.

Organizational gender bias, covert sexism, and discrimination affects women’s promotion success (Hurst, Leberman, & Edwards, 2016). Robinson (2013) argued that many of the masculinized standards for selecting in certain specialized areas may indirectly discriminate against policewomen. Discrimination is still prevalent in the 21st Century and this was very obvious at the Vancouver Stanley Cup Riots in 2011 when only one policewoman was sent (LaPagge, 2013). The officer in charge of this deployment was female, and as Silvestri (2003) pointed out it, would be naïve to think that policewomen of rank would look out for other policewomen (LaPagge, 2013). Women should not be outwardly presenting with misogynistic ideals just to survive as leaders (Mavin, 2008). It is also of interest that officers of rank, not colleagues, are the ones that have closed minded attitudes towards policewomen (LaPagge, 2013). Despite being harassed most policewomen internalize the hostile environment and never speak out about it (LaPagge, 2013).

6.9 Concluding Remarks

Policewomen have an advantage of going undetected in undercover situations (LaPagge, 2013). This is one of many reasons that having policewomen throughout the ranks is beneficial
to the police services success. Police services that do not try to recruit, retain, and promote policewomen are causing a disservice to their agency, and the community as a whole (O’Connor Shelley, et al., 2011).

Canadian policing needs to more fully enter the 21st Century. In the early 1990’s British police agencies employed an accelerated promotion process utilizing a fast-track program to promote qualified and educated candidates into upper management positions. This was evident from the rapid promotion and success of the Metropolitan police’s Commissioner Cressida Dick (Conlon, 2017). Dick left the Met in 2014 only to return as the first female Commissioner in 2017 (Dodd, 2017). She has an extensive portfolio, formerly holding the position of national counter-terrorism chief (Dodd, 2017). In this position, she was responsible for responding to many terrorist threats such as 9/11 and the 7/7 bombings (Halliday, 2014). This is a good example of how education and policing experience can prove successful in a fast-track program.

The fact is, policewomen are promoted much more infrequently than policemen. Yet in a Dick and Metcalfe (2007) study they showed that this is not due to organizational commitment or tenure. In fact, they showed that managerial factors are to blame (Dick & Metcalfe, 2007). Policemen also attribute problems to managerial support and factors; however, this has a larger and more profound effect on policewomen (Dick & Metcalfe, 2007). In order to change this, it is imperative that, “the gender perceptions of the predominantly male senior officers who make promotion decisions are addressed” (Dick & Metcalfe, 2007, p. 96).

Transformational and inclusive leaders share leadership with their members, which will, in turn, increase goal clarity and job satisfaction in the police (Masal, 2015). By inspiring others these leaders are role models and their followers will likely in turn, support other team members,
share information ad increase the learning of the group (Masal, 2015). These three things increase the affective-motivational, behavioural, and cognitive functions of shared leadership and provide a new generation of effective leaders (Masal, 2015).

6.10 Chapter Summary

Chapter six provided an overview of the chapter followed by the major findings in the research. The limitations were also set out followed by recommendations and some new barriers that were uncovered. Final reflections and a proposed model for future use, as well as concluding remarks with next steps for further research, round out the chapter.
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Appendix A

EXPRESSION OF INTEREST FOR POLICEWOMEN TO PARTICIPATE

This is an invitation to participate in research asking why many policewomen refrain from entering the promotional process in Ontario police services.

You are being invited to participate in a study that Dr. Pamela Bishop (Primary Investigator) and myself, Susan Dick (Field-Investigator), are conducting to understand why many policewomen do not, or will not apply for promotion. Briefly, the study involves a single face-to-face interview of approximately one hour that would be conducted at a location and time convenient to you. The researcher will be collecting some demographic data such as: years of service, department and rank. The data will be collected in categories to protect interviewee’s identity. It is also important to note that the Field-Investigator is a current, veteran officer in an Ontario police service, committed to maintaining participant confidentiality and anonymity.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and will be used to determine how Ontario Police Services can increase the number of female candidates entering the promotional process in the future. The study is being undertaken in the third year of an Educational Doctorate in Educational Leadership of the Faculty of Education at Western University.

If you would like more information on this study, or would like to receive a letter of information about this study, please contact the field-researcher at the contact information given below.

Thank you for your consideration.

sdick8@uwo.ca
Appendix B

LETTER OF INFORMATION

Project Title: A first-hand look at the promotional process for women in Policing in Ontario
Principal Investigator: Dr. Pam Bishop, Faculty of Education, Western University
Field-Investigator: Susan Dick, Faculty of Education, Western University

1. Invitation to Participate:
   You are receiving this Letter of information because you have responded to an
   expression of interest message that you received through one of the following channels:
   8 Day Board
   Word of mouth
   OWLE community

   You are being invited to participate in this study, which seeks to identify why many
   policewomen refrain from entering the promotional process in Ontario Police Services.

2. Purpose of the Letter:
   The purpose of this letter is to provide you with the information required for you to make
   an informed decision about your participation in this research.

3. Purpose of this Study:
   There is very little Canadian research on why many policewomen do not enter the
   promotional process. The only data are from secondary sources like Statistics Canada
   and they do not address the question of “why?” The purpose of this study is to examine
   the reasons why many policewomen do not apply for promotion (and, if they do, why
   they have pursued promotion).

4. Inclusion Criteria:
   In order to participate in this study you are 1) English-Speaking 2) A female Police
   Officer in a Police Service in Ontario (current/retired/resigned). Non-current members
   of an Ontario Police Service, must be within a five year window of their resignation or
   retirement. Individuals who meet these criteria are eligible to participate in this study.

5. Exclusion Criteria:
   People who are not or have never been policewomen in an Ontario Police service are not
   eligible to participate in this study.
6. **Study Procedures:**

If you agree to participate in the study, I would like to interview you about your experiences in the Police Service. There will be one interview that may last, up to 60 minutes. With your informed consent, the interview will be audio-taped. If you do not wish to be audio-taped, you will not be able to partake in the interview. I will be using a code in the transcripts of the interview, as well as in the thesis that I will generate from the study. Interviews will take place at a convenient location to you, or over the telephone where speakerphone will be used by me to enable recording. If speakerphone is used, it will be done in a private room so nobody is able to hear you as the interviewee.

7. **Possible Risks and Harms:**

There are no anticipated risks associated with your participation in this study. It is possible that a participant may experience some stress when they relate something negative they have experienced in the workplace. If the interview causes any distress, the interview will be terminated and the critical incident support team or employee assistance will be contacted at your request. There will be a slight inconvenience to the daily activities of the participant if you agree to participate in the study. This is due to the one hour of your time taken to complete the interview. Every attempt will be made to accommodate location and time frames that are most suitable to the participant.

8. **Possible Benefits:**

The information that will be compiled from your participation in this study may provide a better understanding of why many policewomen don’t enter the promotional process or if they do why they have pursued promotion. It may also provide some potential solutions to increase the number of policewomen who enter the process in the future.

9. **Compensation:**

You will not be financially compensated for your participation in this study.

10. **Voluntary Participation:**

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate or withdraw from the study at any time. You can refuse to answer any of the questions if you wish. You do not waive your legal rights by participating in this study. Your participation will not affect your employment.
11. Confidentiality:

It will be necessary to collect some personal information in this study. Rank (Constable, Non-Commissioned Officer or Commissioned Officer), years of service which, when compiled will be shown in categories (under 5 years, 6 to 10 years, and continuing on in 5 year increments), and branch (whether patrol, detectives or specialized branch). This information will be coded and no identifying information will be located with your comments. An email address and/or a phone number will be collected at the onset and if it is not needed it can be destroyed as requested after the interview. The phone number and/or email address will be collected so that the investigator can contact you if there are any follow up questions. This information is also necessary to provide the interviewee a copy of the results, if requested, at the end of the study. All of the data collected will remain confidential and only accessible to the investigators of this study. The interviews will be saved on the audio recorder and transcribed. All data will be stored in accordance with Western University policy and kept for five years and then destroyed. Identifiers will be separated from the data. Identifiable data will be encrypted and password protected. De-identified data will be stored in a password protected file in the Shared drive of the Faculty of Education. Only the Investigators will have access to this information. A coding system will be in place to ensure anonymity and no information will be transferred off site. The paper documents and electronic files will be destroyed after a five-year time period. If the results are published, your name will not be used in the document. If you choose to withdraw from the study, your data will be removed and destroyed immediately.

12. Anonymity:

To assist with anonymity, as noted above, participants should refrain from naming other officers during the interview. All interview transcripts will be anonymized.

13. Contacts for Further Information:

If you require further information about this research you may contact Susan Dick [contact information] or the Principal Investigator in the Faculty of Education, Dr. Pamela Bishop [contact information]. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or the conduct of this study, you may contact The Office of Research Ethics [contact information].
14. **Publication:**
If the results are published, your name will not be used. If you would like to receive a copy of any potential study results, please contact Susan Dick (co-investigator) at sdick8@uwo.ca.

15. **Consent:**
If you agree to participate in this research study and accept the conditions that have been outlined above, please sign the attached consent form and return it to me directly before or on the day the interview is scheduled.

Thank you for your participation in this study.

Respectfully,

Susan Dick (field-investigator)

*You may keep this letter for future reference purposes.*
CONSENT FORM

Project Title: A first-hand look at the promotional process for women in Policing in Ontario

Principal Investigator: Dr. Pam Bishop, Faculty of Education, Western University

Field-Investigator: Susan Dick, Faculty of Education, Western University

I have read the letter of information and have had the nature of the study explained to me. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this study:

Participant’s name (please print) _________________________________

Participant’s signature _________________________________________

I agree to have my interview audio-recorded (please initial):

YES________

NO________

Person obtaining informed consent (please print) _______________________

Signature ________________________________  Date ___________________
Appendix C

RESEARCH AGREEMENT

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PROTECTION OF PRIVACY

This Agreement is made between:

Samantha Weeks (hereinafter referred to as the “Researcher”) and the Police
(heretofore referred to as the “Services”)

In consideration of the research to be conducted by the Researcher as described above,

The Researcher has agreed to:

1. Conduct in-depth, one-on-one semi-structured interviews with a sample of 20 female
   police officers. Based on the number of women officers in the service (as of May 2021 in
   percentages).

The Researcher understands and agrees to abide by the following terms and conditions:

General:

1. The Service’s Representative are the Commander of the institution in whose
   jurisdiction. The Institution may designate different representatives by written notice to the Researcher at any time.

2. The Researcher agrees that the Service may, in its sole discretion, carry out annual checks on such individuals
   who have access to any personal or organizational information, data systems, or physical facilities owned by the
   Service.

3. The Researcher will only have access to the data received from the following individuals:
   Dr. P.M. Bishop, Associate Dean Graduate Programs, Educational Leadership, Faculty of Education, Western
   University.

4. The Researcher shall not give access to personal information in a form which the individual to whom access
   can be identified.

Disclosure of the Researcher:

5. The Researcher will not collect any kind of data personal information on others, other than that
   which is within the purview of the Service.

6. The Researcher shall not reproduce or otherwise make copies of records, or any part thereof, using photography
   or any other medium, without first obtaining the written permission of the Service. Where the Researcher has been
   given permission to reproduce or access records, including parts thereof, the Researcher shall not make any further
   copies, or any part thereof, unless expressly written permission is obtained from the Service.

7. Where the Researcher has been given permission in whole or partial to reproduce records, or any part thereof,
   using photography or any other medium, and where said records are to be transmitted or transported to
   another location for the purpose of research, the Researcher shall take appropriate security measures, as may be
   directed by the Service, to ensure confidentiality and security of the copied or reproduced records.
Appendix D

Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board
NMREB Delegated Initial Approval Notice

Principal Investigator: Pamela Bishop
Department & Institution: Education, Western University

NMREB File Number: 107425
Study Title: Why many policewomen don't/won't seek promotion: A first-hand look at the Ontario
          Sponsor:
          NMREB Initial Approval Date: February 01, 2016
          NMREB Expiry Date: February 01, 2017

Documents Approved and/or Received for Information:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document Name</th>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>Version Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Instruments</td>
<td>Interview Questions</td>
<td>2015/12/21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letter of Information &amp; Consent</td>
<td></td>
<td>2015/12/21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western University Protocol</td>
<td>Received January 13, 2016</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recruitment Items</td>
<td>Email Script for Recruitment</td>
<td>2015/12/11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and
approved the above named study, as of the NMREB Initial Approval Date noted above.

NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the NMREB Expiry Date noted above,
conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement
Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health
Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario.

Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in
discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB.

The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB
registration number IRB 00000941.

Ethics Officer for Contact for Further Information: [Redacted]

This is an official document. Please retain the original in your files.

Western University, Research Support Services Bldg, Rm 3050
London, ON, Canada N6G 1G9

[Redacted]

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INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Have you thought about or applied to be promoted? If you are a supervisor, have you thought about applying for further promotion? Why/why not?

2. Is there some reason that you would not try to get promoted or further promoted?

3. Have you done anything to increase your chances of promotion? If so, please explain what you did?

4. What qualifications do you think are important for promotion?

5. What capabilities do you think are important for promotion?

6. What kind of a role does the community play in policing?

7. Do you have a role model at work? If so, what is the value of having a role model at work?
   a) Can you provide details about the role model? (without identifying the person)
   b) Why is that person a role model?
   c) How are they a role model?

8. If you do not have a role model, can you tell me why that is the case?
9. Can you tell me about a supervisor who encouraged you to apply for promotion? Why and how was that person encouraging?

10. Can you tell me about the actions or attitudes of a supervisor who discouraged you from applying for promotion? What did your supervisor do that made you feel he or she was not supportive?

11. Regardless of your rank, in what ways do you show leadership on-the-job?

12. Can you use some descriptive words to describe the best supervisor you have worked with?

13. Do you think there is anything specific that is holding you back from (further) promotion?

14. What do you think could be done to make it easier for policewomen to enter the promotional process?

15. Can you please answer some general demographic questions?

   a) What is the highest level of education you have completed to date?

   b) What department are you with?

   c) How many years have you been a police officer?

   d) What rank are you currently?

   e) How long have you been that rank?
Appendix F

The rank structure used in the study and explanation of the “sides of the house”.

The sides of the house are: crime (plain clothes) and uniform.

The rank structure used in this particular study included Constables, NCO (Sergeant, Staff Sergeant), CO (Inspector and above to Chief or Commissioner).

Some examples of specialized units are: detectives, reconstructionists (collision investigators), drug unit officers, canine, emergency response members, fraud unit, and guns and gangs.

Crime unit is major crime and street crime. These are plain clothes officers and are contrasted with front-line patrol (uniform) officers. Crime officers are normally investigators while patrol are first responders and do less time consuming investigations.
Curriculum Vitae

Name: Susan Dick

Post-secondary

University of Toronto

Education and

Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Degrees:

1985 -1988 Honours Bachelor of Science in Psychology and Philosophy

Michigan State University

East Lansing, Michigan, United States of America.

2008 - 2009 Graduate Certificate in Coaching

2010 - 2011 Professional Graduate Certificate in Teaching Post-Secondary Education

2010 - 2013 Master of Arts in Education

Western University

London, Ontario, Canada

2013 - 2019 Ed.D.
Honours and Awards: Inducted into the Honour Society Phi Beta Delta

Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan, United States of America

Related Work: Part Time Instructor

Experience: Fanshawe College

2009 - 2017