Barriers to Women in Policing - Traversing the Gender Gap: An Examination into the Perceptions and Experiences of Senior Ranking Policemen

by

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Bachelor of Arts, Simon Fraser University, 2000

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We acknowledge with respect the lək̓ʷəŋən peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt, and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

This qualitative study investigates senior ranking policemen's perceptions, perspectives, and experiences with policewomen. More specifically, the level of awareness that senior ranking policemen have regarding the barriers and challenges encountered by policewomen, and what police organizations are doing to address the barriers and challenges. Data were generated through in-depth semi-structured interviews with nine senior ranking policemen from two police organizations within Canada. The overall methodological approach in this study was qualitative and used a process of analytic analysis informed through grounded theory (Saldaña, 2011). The research findings reveal that Canadian police organizations are gendered worksites, where policewomen continue to encounter daily organizational challenges, thereby restricting their full participation and overall wellness, within police organizations. Despite the many challenges and barriers for policewomen, the senior ranking policemen remain hopeful that policewomen will have more parity, equality, and equity in the years ahead. My study separates itself from past research on gender and policing as my study is Canadian based, with most of the previous studies being done in other parts of the world. In addition, my study separates itself as it the only one that has drawn upon the National Institute of Justice Report (Starheim, n.d.) and their subsequent 30x30 initiative, while centering senior ranking policemen's experiences and perspectives in relation to gender equality and gender equity issues.

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Acknowledgements

I want to thank all the participants in this study. Thankyou for your time, your stories, your accounts of lived experience and thought, your vulnerabilities, and your continued support. This research was made possible because of you. I hope your voice will inspire change in others and in police organizations.

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Thankyou to my family, who allowed and supported me in my schoolwork and in completing this thesis. Special thanks to my partner, who provided the support and encouragement, while reminding me of the need for social justice work and the constructive pathways that can come from this study.

Dedication

I want to dedicate this thesis to all the policewomen, who historically and currently encounter challenges and barriers that have prevented their full participation and overall wellness within the policing occupation. You never asked for this, you do not deserve what has and is happening, and I remain hopeful that men will step up personally, socially, and organizationally, to make policing an institution where equality, equity, and parity are demonstrated on an authentic and meaningful level.

To my mother, who demonstrated what it is to be a warrior of life, to challenge those who oppress, to overcome, and live a life of resiliency and dedication to others. I am indebted to you beyond words.

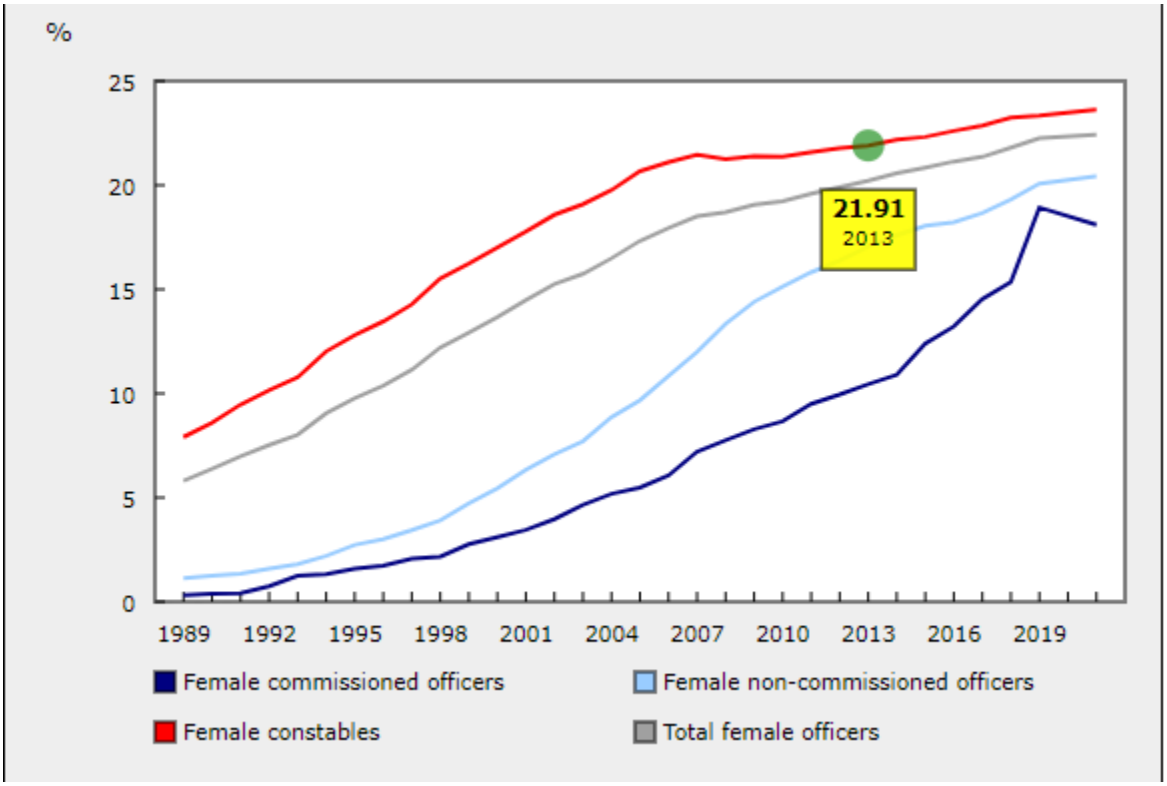
Chapter 1: Introduction

Throughout police history in North America, men have been the dominant and overrepresented gender in police organizations. As decades have past and brought us into the 21st century, women have steadily increased their representation within police organizations (Statistics Canada, 2019). With these increased percentages of women in policing has brought an extensive range of research that has drawn attention to the policewomen's experiences, challenges, while working in police organizations (Bikos, 2016; Garcia, 2021; Langan et al., 2017; Morash, M., & Haarr, R. N., 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Silvestri, 2006, 2017; Spasic et al., 2015). Throughout this research, women were continually being asked about their opinions, experiences, and perspectives, which over time, continued to identify an oppressive culture within police organizations toward policewomen (Atkinson, 2016; Bikos, 2016; Brown et al., 2019; Haake, 2018; Murray, 2021). This much needed research involving only women in policing provided them with an opportunity to describe, explain, and identify concerns that were predominantly silenced or minimized within policing organizations.

When these policewomen's voices were heard, it was evident that gender parity, equality, and equity were not present and that women were participating in research to create this awareness as a catalyst for change. Much of the research results did not highlight the success of women in policing, but rather highlighted issues with the retention, promotion, and overall wellness and safety of women in policing (Bikos, 2016; Brown et al., 2019; Haarr & Morash, 2013; Ramani, 2006; Snow, 2010; Wells, 2005). The barriers and challenges to women in policing have been consistent and reoccurring, with issues of sexism, discrimination, lack of opportunities, all being perpetuated and maintained through the systemically oppressive police culture. A sampling of these barriers and challenges that have hindered women's success revolve

around notions of tokenism as it relates to the retention and promotion of police women, or feelings of having to work harder than men to prove themselves (Archbold & Schulz, 2008), policewomen being informally pushed into caregiver type roles (Dick & Cassell, 2004) and "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987), to the informal and often unspoken oppressive narratives within police culture that are communicated through field trainers, police academies, and policies (Liederbach & Travis, 2008; Provkos & Padavic, 2002; 2008). These narratives can also be maintained through the historical and traditional western gender binary that presents men as the better of the two sexes (Arvin et al., 2013). Women may also experience daily prejudice, bias, and discrimination in the form of microaggressions (Fatima, 2017) or through an organization's deep structures (Batliwala, 2013), thereby creating an oppressive environment that is perpetuated and maintained through a dominant groups (men) institutional power (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017). Even with the increase in women amongst the senior ranks and police organizations in general, as evidenced in Chart 1 below (Statistics Canada, 2019), the women's perspective in research has revealed that success and changes within police organizations has continued to be slow or non-existent (Cook, 2013; Garcia, 2021; Spasic et al., 2015). I contend that these are not just issues within police organizations, nor are they issues for women alone to resolve, but a much larger and more complex problem that is pervasive within western society.

Chart 1: Female officers as a percentage of total police officers, by rank, Canada, 1989-2019



In recent years, there has been increased media attention and a raised social consciousness demanding a higher level of openness, accountability, transparency, and hopefully reform from police departments in North America. In 2018, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) in the United States held an event for women, by women, and subsequently in 2019 they co-created a working document and initiative to advance awareness, more accountability and transparency, and action toward gender parity and equality for women in policing. From this document spurred a North American wide initiative entitled the "30x30", where there is a goal to get 30% of the police population to be women by 2030. The significance of 30% seemingly rests on the theory of critical mass, with a belief that a culture of an organization shifts when the minority group represents approximately 35% of the group (Child & Krook, 2008). Presumably, this 30-35% makeup of policewomen would then be able to form coalitions with men and

positively change policewomen's overall experiences in policing. The NIJ document and the 30x30 provide the backbone and impetus for this current research.

As made abundantly clear in the NIJ document and the 30x30, women's experiences and perspectives are evidently more researched and understood, compared to that of men. Although much of this research focused on the women as participants, albeit critically important, many women are currently not in positions of rank to effect change. Given this lack of women's perspectives, there is a gap in research involving policemen. More importantly, there is a need to have senior ranking policemen as participants in research. I believe that if changes were to happen amongst police culture, and more specifically, in advancing women's position, location, status, and overall safety and wellness within police organizations, that the senior ranking policemen have a significant role to play in terms of personal accountability when creating greater gender parity, equality, and equity for women in policing. Men predominantly occupy the domain of the upper ranks where all the power and decision-making authorities are present and where the most change can happen in relation to creating and sustaining greater gender equity throughout all levels of rank within a police organization.

Purpose of Study

The main purpose of my study is to explore the past and current perspectives and lived experiences of women in policing from a senior ranking policemen's point of view. My study will fill a gap as there is a current shortage of Canadian research related to senior ranking men as participants and their awareness, perspectives, and experiences of women in policing. An overview of the historical barriers to advancing the policewomen's position, location, and status within policing will be discussed, as identified in the 30x30, existing research, and literature. I will attempt to get at some of the sources of why women are continuing to be oppressed within

policing by unveiling the root causes, beliefs, values, perspectives, and/or unconscious biases that derive from men in leadership positions. By uncovering the senior ranking policemen's first-hand experiences of what barriers are present and being witnessed, along with what is (or is not) being done to advance the policewoman's position, location, status, and overall safety within policing, my study will aid in determining, at what level, these barriers are being maintained, sustained, and perpetuated within policing. Once these barriers are identified and analyzed, my study provides some recommendations for police organizations and particularly senior ranking policemen, to support and advance women's perspectives and experiences within policing. My study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What are senior ranking policemen's perceptions, perspectives, and experiences of women in policing?
2. Given what barriers are known and being witnessed by the senior ranking policemen, what is being done to address these issues?

My Positionality

In 2005, I fulfilled one of my goals in life to become a police officer. It was not long after joining the policing environment where I began to take notice and witness a systemically oppressive culture within policing as it related to gender parity, gender equality, and gender equity. Whether it was the semiotics within the police department, the lack of women represented amongst the ranks both historically and currently, or the gendered policies, it manifested into a strong desire and passion to bring about more awareness to this gender disparity that would hopefully invoke and be a catalyst for change.

Given that I self-identify as a cisgender, white, able bodied, middle to upper class man of European ancestry who lives in this westernized culture, I am aware through my work experience, education, and life, that this positionality provides me with privilege that is not extended to everyone. With this earned and unearned privilege comes power and positions me to have a seat at the table, to have my voice heard, and to have my questions answered. Within this current research, I hope to use this positionality and privilege in a way that does not further oppress women, but to use it in a way to gather in-depth knowledge from the senior ranking policemen, which will hopefully aid in bringing about more awareness and change for the future of women in policing.

Important Terms

For the purposes of this paper, there are a few terms mentioned that require further explanation or understanding as they may be unfamiliar to the present reader.

Woman/Women and Man/Men

As mentioned above, I have used the terms **woman**, **women**, and **man, men**, and not male and female (Brown, 2015). I have chosen this because female is related to species that can reproduce and is a term that can be used for all species, not just humans. Additionally, a person can be assigned male or female at birth but have a different gender identity. I debated using the terms male and female versus woman/women and man/men, given how the various research identified in my references often used these terms interchangeably. However, based on the above, I believe it would be the most respectful and most accurate to instead use the terms woman/women and man/men. Within the police context, male and female are the most common forms of gender representation. However, there are many forms of gender representation within

society today and someone's sex may not align with their gender representation. Anecdotally speaking, within police organizations, the pronoun usage is only his, him, she, and her. The oversimplification of genders and the gender binary, along with the lack of an intersectional lens is another issue altogether within policing, which will be further discussed/explored in this paper.

Police Organizations and Police Personnel

In Canada, there are three levels of police organizations: city or municipal police, provincial, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). Despite them all enforcing similar bylaws to Criminal Code offences, the manner each level of police organization trains its members or identifies rank is different. For the purposes of my study, only participants drawn from city or municipal police departments was undertaken. When the term 'senior ranks(s)' or 'senior ranking' officer is mentioned, it will be a term to describe someone who occupies a position within the administration division and who holds a rank of either Inspector, Deputy Chief, or Chief. Anecdotally speaking, people who occupy these positions have a significant degree of oversight and decision-making authority, they develop strategies and supervise operations and budget decisions, are involved in the hiring of police officers, work with mayors, police boards, and other elected officials, and have control over all the important decisions related to the organization's resources. Given the hierarchy in police organizations, 'below' the senior ranking officers are the Staff Sergeants, Sergeants, and then the Constables, with the Constables occupying most of the positions and deemed the lowest rank within policing.

Equality and Equity

These terms are often interchanged, but they are separate yet co-existing terms. For the purposes of my study, equality will refer to people having the same opportunities, and equity referring to the process of working to rectify the injustices that oppress people.

Now that I have provided an introduction and overview, the following chapter (Chapter 2) will be a literature review that grounds my study. This literature review provides a background and historical snapshot of women's involvement, progression, and ongoing struggles within broader society to the organizational level. The research, literature, and case law is reviewed and discussed, which will provide a context and backdrop to the key guiding questions. I provide a summary of the NIJ Report, the 30x30 and its implementation, and provide an exploration of how such things as culture, police culture, oppressive systems like patriarchy and colonialism, could have contributed to the oppression of women. I do not want to just provide a list of 'what' ongoing challenges (police)women have been or are currently being facing, but to also try and understand 'how' and 'why' this oppression came to be. After providing an overview of the methodological approaches I took in this study in Chapter 3, I include the results of my study in Chapter 4, drawing reference and parallels to the literature review, with Chapter 5 providing a further discussion and analysis of the results where assertions and theorizing take place. The thesis will conclude with some recommendations for police organizations to consider in respect to advancing women's experiences, well-being, and safety within police organizations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The research related to policewomen and gender discrimination in Canada is limited (Bikos, 2016; Langan et al., 2017; Murray, 2021; Reil, 2019; Workman-Stark, 2015), with most of the research occurring in the United States of America or in the United Kingdom, who would inherently have different policies, traditions, customs, and culture than that of Canadian police organizations (Murray, 2021). Despite this limited research in Canada, there are still some Canadian studies that exposed the challenges that policewomen endure when they enact and do their gender (Murray, 2021), to the challenges of the police culture that propagate the hegemonic masculinity (Bikos, 2016), to the prominence of masculinity with police culture that represents a barrier to women's progression within policing (Workman-Stark, 20d15). In one study of ten policewomen from British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario, policewomen confirmed that gender equity within policing is an ongoing challenge, as the policies, procedures, and the police culture maintain and marginalize policewomen (Reil, 2019). In a related study completed by Langen et al. (2017), their results indicated that policewomen who start a family during a policing career face many challenges upon first advising of their pregnancy, during pregnancy, and post pregnancy upon their return to work. In 2012, a report was completed by the Ontario Ombudsman on the Ontario Provincial Police, where the Ombudsman remarked on the shortage of Canadian research as it related to stress in policing, as well as a renewed focus on police culture and its need to address the welfare of its employees (Ontario Ombudsman, 2012).

What is equally important and different from research, are the court rulings at the federal levels that have ruled in favor of policewomen who have dealt with sexual and physical assaults in the workplace, unwanted touching and sexism, threats, bullying, harassment, and discrimination (Merlo v. Canada, 2017). After the Merlo v. Canada decision in 2017, in

November of 2020, the Honourable Michel Bastarache completed a final report on the implementation of the Merlo and Davidson Settlement Agreement, entitled *Broken Dreams Broken Lives: The Devastating Effects of Sexual Harassment on Women in the RCMP* (Government of Canada, 2021). In total, 3,086 claims and 644 interviews with claimants were reviewed, with compensation coming to 2,304 of the claimants. The report stated how the RCMP police culture accepted a culture of misogyny and homophobia, while questioning whether a revamping of policies could ever change the present oppressive culture against women, which led to 52 recommendations being made. In another Federal Court ruling, the Federal Court substantiated a claim against the RCMP when they refused to allow people who worked part-time (mostly women based on gender ideologies of women's place in the home) to pay back their pension, ultimately portraying long-standing and systemic gender discrimination (Fraser v. Canada, 2018).

I reviewed research and literature that involved gender issues and policemen (Burke & Mikkelsen, 2005; Chan et al., 2010; Haake, 2018; Lobnikar et al., 2016; Murray, 2021), but I did not discover any research that was similar in approach to my current study. For example, in a study completed by Murray (2021), Murray found that although policemen and policewomen did not adhere to the 'old boys club' within policing, that policemen, more than policewomen, denied any gender differences and gender bias in the workplace. In another study, Haake (2018) found that after interviewing 17 senior policemen and 11 senior policewomen that there was a gendered division of work where men and women worked in separate divisions, that policemen and policewomen typically followed traditional gender roles, and how there was unequal status between policemen and policewomen. When Burke and Mikkelsen (2005) studied gender differences between policemen and policewomen in Norway, they found that policewomen

perceived they had fewer equal opportunities than policemen, that policewomen suffered more discrimination and sexual harassment than policemen, and how this resulted in policewomen having less job satisfaction and perceptions of fewer job opportunities within policing. If police organizations are looking to reform the gender differences amongst policemen and policewomen, it will require a "systematic change in behavior, along with integrity and competence enhancement, in conjunction with the gradual elimination of cynicism and the traditional (macho masculine and authoritarian) mentality within the police culture" (Lobnikar et al., 2016, p. 397). In summary, my study separates itself from past research on gender and policing as my study is Canadian based, with most of the previous studies being done in other parts of the world. My study also separates itself from the previous research as it the only one that has drawn upon the National Institute of Justice Report (Starheim, n.d) and the subsequent 30x30 initiative, and it involves and centres senior ranking policemen's experiences and perspectives in relation to gender equality and gender equity issues and what is being done to address these issues.

Summary of National Institute of Justice Report and 30x30

On December 3-4, 2018, the National Institute of Justice (NIJ) hosted a special event where they brought together almost 100 attendees that consisted of police officers, policing researchers, related professional partners, stakeholders, who came from the United States and beyond. Although the event focused on recognizing research as it related to women in American policing, it inevitably generated a prioritized research agenda to counter the barriers that are advancing women within the American and Canadian policing profession. Subsequently, the NIJ made public a report entitled *Women in Policing: Breaking Barriers and Blazing a Path* (Starheim, n.d.), which then spurred the 30x30 initiative. The report was not intended to be an inclusive answer to ending systemic gender oppression within policing, but rather a launching

point from which to guide further research. The report provided an overview of themes for further research that related to police culture, how to measure women's performance within policing, along with information that related to the recruitment, retention, and promotion of women into policing.

Keeping in line with this report, the 30x30 was created and is an initiative that speaks largely to improving women's experience in policing with recruitment, retention, and representation of women throughout the ranks. The 30x30 strives to achieve 30 percent representation of policewomen by 2030. If a police organization wants to participate in the 30x30, they will be required to implement a series of stages, along with anticipated completion dates and reporting requirements that include: formerly signing a pledge indicating the organizations commitment, press releases, internal communication within organizations acknowledging their commitment to the 30x30, developing and assessing internal surveys for women, formally making hiring, retention, and promoting of qualified women a priority within organizational Mission statements and Strategic Plans, and affirming a zero tolerance for discrimination and harassment.

This report and 30x30 situated itself well into my proposed research as the attendees at the initial conference believed that it was critically important to identify men's perspectives around barriers and challenges that women encounter in policing, while also gathering information on how police organizations can improve the representation and experiences of women in policing. Equally, they saw the requirement of men to be a part of this process and to become change agents and allies in support of advancing women in policing. Although men are seen as being crucial to gender reform within policing, this allyship may be challenging as the policing environment has been historically and currently assembled in a gendered fashion as to

advance, favor, and be controlled by men (Murray, 2021; Prokos & Padavic, 2002; Sewell & Williams, 2021; Silvestri, 2003; Snow, 2010; Wells & Alt, 2005). There are also colonial gender ideologies (Garcia, 2021) that perpetuate a cult of masculinity (Atkinson, 2016; Fielding, 1994; Morash & Haarr, 2012) and a form of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995) that can implicitly and explicitly display signs of patriarchy and misogyny (Atkinson, 2016; Garcia, 2021). With that said, the intention of my research is not to further privilege men's voices as it often the case within policing, but to create a baseline from which to work. This cannot be achieved without going directly to the under-represented men's voice in police research that is related to barriers to women. It will be crucial to know what senior ranking policemen perceive (or not), believe, see, hear, feel, know, and witness when it comes to the barriers and challenges that effect women's representation, status, and well-being within policing.

History of Policewomen in North America: Past to Present

Prior to the discussion on the barriers and challenges that women encounter in policing, it will be important to understand the history and progression of women's rights and entry into the workforce generally, to women into policing specifically. The evolution of women's rights and entry into policing creates a context to understand the lived realities and experiences of women in policing today.

Historically, women have been involved within the profession of policing for a long time and have made considerable strides along the way, with this journey also demonstrating the individual, organizational, and societal challenges that women faced and continue to confront in society and policing today. What can often be forgotten when reviewing this related literature and reading what is often referred to as victories, milestones, and accomplishments for women, are the daily and ongoing struggles that women endured in the fight for this equality. Despite the

countless accomplishments by women over the last century, there were several key dates and events in recent history that created a more inclusive and equal place for women in Canada.

Although progress has occurred for centuries in terms of equality for women, the late19th and 20th centuries, described by many as the first wave feminism (Allford, 2019; Rampton, 2015), marked several of these accomplishments and provided a launching point for further change and advancements for women (Armour & Staton, 1990). The courage to confront equality issues during this time would require women to step out of status quo and the private realms of their home to being more present within the public realm. As Bacchi (1989) has illustrated, the suffrage movement from 1877 to 1918 marked such a time of intentional action and effort on behalf of not only women, but men as well. Despite the composition of these suffragists being principally women, the suffragists were an elite group of people who were largely white, employed, Protestant, educated within employment fields like doctors, educators, and businessmen, who were attempting to maintain social order through a commitment to the traditional family structure (Bacchi, 1989). The suffrage movement was vital to the advancement of women given how issues related to the home, which at the time were essentially related to the realm of women, were being settled within Parliament by men. The climate during this time was not so much about reform to the traditional sex roles within society or to advance women in the educational and occupational realms, but to maintain the Christian values and to double the family representation upon the electorate.

Eventually, through decades of movement and fighting the resistance in the late 19th and early 20th century, women's right to vote provincially started in Manitoba in 1916, leading to other provinces following thereafter, culminating in most women having the right to vote

federally by 1918 (Government of Canada). However, most women did not have the Federal vote, as Chinese and Indo-Canadians were not given the right to vote until 1947, with Japanese Canadians following in 1948 (Crowson, 2016). Finally, some 42 years after most women were given the right to vote, First Nations men and some First Nations women in Canada were given the right to vote in 1960 (Cooper, 2016). Coincidentally, as the suffragist movement transitioned through the late 19th and early 20th century, it also marked a time and need for policewomen.

Prior to having policewomen, the responsibility of policing not only came from the community members themselves but came under a principle known as the hue and cry, where capable men would call out for help and be relied upon to apprehend criminals (Griffiths, 2016). Although women could utilize the hue and cry, only men at the age of 12 were formalized into policing themselves, which deterred and prevented women from participating in policing duties (Müller, 2015). However, the need for policewomen became more evident during the suffragist movement, as the upper-class suffragist women were appalled at being arrested by lower class policemen, the police stations were not equipped to deal with women prisoners, and there were cases of sexual violence against women who were locked up (Snow, 2010). Although this led to women being hired as matrons as early as 1845 in New York, they did not have police powers as they could not make arrests or carry weapons, which resulted in a call for the hiring of policewomen (Wells & Alt, 2005). During this same time, Rose Fortune, a freed African American slave, fled to Canada and became Canada's first unofficial policewoman (Corsianos, 2009). With Canada following suit, the Toronto Police Department introduced women into policing by hiring women as matrons in 1888 (Griffiths, 2016).

As the 20th century progressed in Canada in terms of immigration, industrialization, transportation, technology, and through the First World War and into the Second World War, so did the social reforms and the movement of women into the workforce (Bacchi, 1989). This led to a small minority of women who were trying to break free from this dominant and prevailing narrative to gain personal and economic independence inside and outside the home. A sampling of these women includes Dr Emily Stowe, the first woman physician in Canada in 1867, Clara Brett Martin, the first women lawyer in Canada in 1897, Emma Baker, the first women to receive a Ph. D in Canada in 1903, to having the first woman to serve in the Canadian Army in 1914 (Government of Canada, 2021). In 1918, the Vancouver Police Department hired the first two women police officers in Canada, but like the matrons, they did not have the same powers as the policemen, they were only issued badges, a whistle, a callbox key, and their duties were oriented toward dealing with women and children, all while getting paid less than the policemen and rarely leaving the police station (Griffiths, 2016).

One of the most influential moments came in 1929, when Emily Murphy, Nellie McClung, Louise McKinney, Irene Parlby and Henrietta Muir Edwards, also known as the Famous Five, had the highest court in Canada change the legal definition of “persons” to include women (Edwards v. Canada, 1929). The British North America Act of 1867 referenced the word “persons” when discussing more than one person and the pronoun “he” when referring to one person. Given this terminology, one could infer that the British North America Act indirectly stated that a person could only be a man, that a woman was not a person, thereby precluding women’s participation in the political sphere (Government of Canada, 2021). As Smith (2016) would illuminate, this accomplishment of legally identifying women came after 13 years of hardship and struggle, with the Supreme Court initially reinstating the British North America

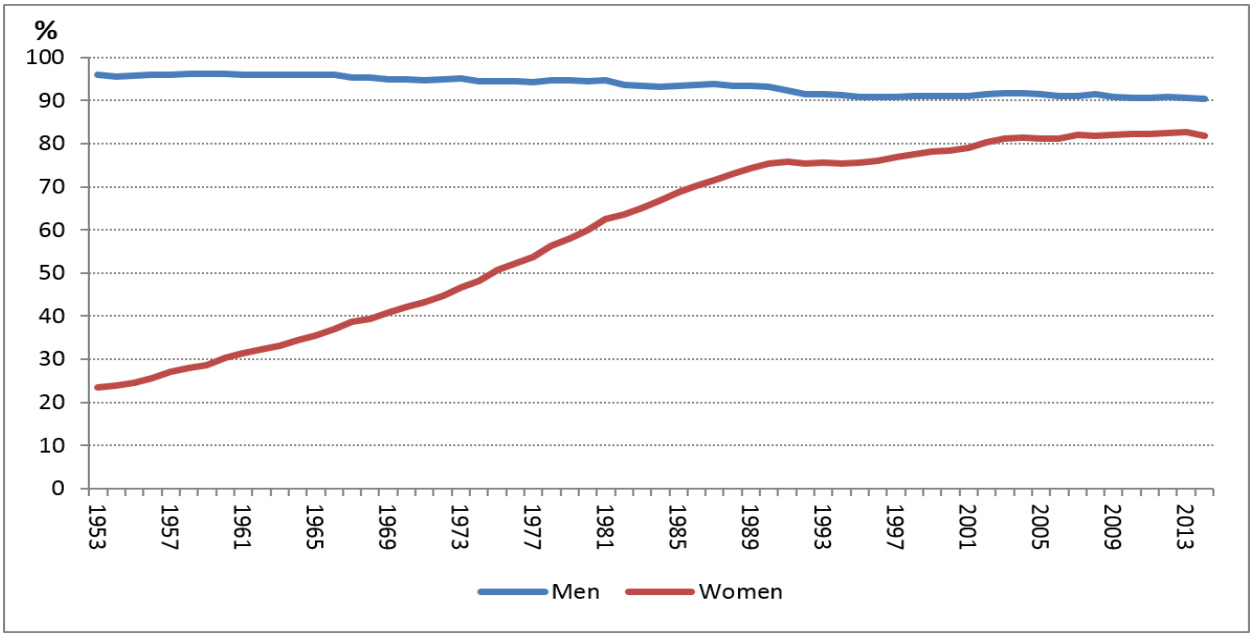
Act's identification of how women were not persons in 1916, ending with Canada's highest court of appeal declaring women as persons in 1929. Although this decision was not inclusive of all women, this decision became a catalyst for change by empowering women to enter and change the public and political domains where men often controlled and governed.

During World War I, women demonstrated that they could stand alongside the men and were given special duties related to keeping an eye on spies and those who would instigate sedition (Snow, 2010). As World War II progressed, women not only gained valuable training and experience alongside the men, but when the war ended, women were recruited into Canadian police forces (Moore, 1997). However, like their predecessors, these policewomen would still have limited duties as compared to men (Schulz, 1993), and where to utilize women and in what capacity was still up for debate (Schmidt, 2015). In 1972, New York city permitted women to work in patrol for the first time (Burke & Hirschfield, 2006) and by 1973, the British Columbia Police Commission permitted policewomen to carry a firearm and to work in the patrol division, which up until this point, was an area restricted only to men (Moore, 1997). In 1974, after decades of observation and investigation in respect to women's rights movements, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) swore in their first women into Troop 17 (Schmidt, 2015).

As the 20th century progressed into its latter half, so did the participation of women into the Canadian workforce, with this period marked as the second wave of feminism starting in 1960 (Renaud, 2015). The second wave could be characterized as a time where peace and civil rights movements were happening, along with an emphasis on challenging traditional gender roles, reproductive rights, and improving women's position, location, and status within employment fields (Cavanagh, n.d.). Several women engaged in economic independence by stepping out of the home and into the paid labour force, with an emphasis on employment equity

reforms (Marks et al., 2016). As evidenced in Chart 1 below (Statistics Canada, 2015), during this second wave women continued to join the workforce in record numbers as men maintained a relatively stable and slow decline.

Chart 2: Labour force participation rates of men and women aged 25-54, 1953-2014



Although advancements were made during the second wave of feminism in relation to an increased participation of women and equality in the workforce, it did not come without its limitations and shortcomings, which were identified and brought more to light by the third wave of feminists in the 1990s (Mambrol, 2017). Some would argue that the third wave feminists continued the work of the second wave feminists, with diverse tactics and movements that emphasized the ongoing inequity and oppression against women (Snyder, 2008). For example, the Me Too movement, which started in 2006 by an African American woman named Tarana Burke, was one of many movements that highlighted sexual violence and how unsafe workplaces can be for women. Tarana Burke inspired and encouraged young Black and Hispanic women to speak up and voice the prevalence of sexual violence (Gibson et al., 2019), which ultimately

facilitated world-wide conversations about sexual violence, especially in the workplace. Whether it is the Me Too movement, or the fact that in 2014, sexual assault was the only violent crime not on the decline (Statistics Canada, 2014), or the well-known and highly publicized 1991 case where Anita Hill brought forward sexual misconduct in the workplace (Blumell & Mulupi, 2021), these instances and countless others raised the global consciousness around the unsafe, violent, and unsafe challenges that women endure in their personal and professional lives.

These challenges continue to exist despite the Canadian Human Rights Act, Canada's Employment Equity Act, and the Federal Contractors Program, which all address issues that relate to preventing and prohibiting discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, and other grounds (Government of Canada, 2021). One additional ground of discrimination that many may not think of, but is related to my study, is discrimination based on leadership. As noted previously in Chart 7, which provided statistics on the ratio of men and women in policing and their leadership status, is how predominant men are in the upper ranks, or what is often synonymous to leadership positions within policing. With women's representation being largely in the lower ranks and men occupying positions of leadership in Canadian policing, there are certainly possibilities for gender discrimination. There is an abundance of research related to various topics around leadership and gender discrimination, with research looking at such topics as why there are a lack of women as leaders within organizations. For example, are women not in leadership positions based on a male-dominated organizational culture (Eagly & Carli, 2007), not in leadership positions based on subordinates' opposition to women in leadership positions (Vial et al., 2016), or are women not seeking leadership positions because women just do not want to be in leadership positions (Kenrick et al., 2004)? Some research has also indicated how the public thinks women in leadership positions will suffer harsher penalties for workplace

failures than their male counterparts and how women's fear of imagined gender discrimination will moderate their leadership ambitions (Fisk & Overton, 2019). The once coined phrase by Schein (1973) of 'think manager, think male' has been replicated in another study decades later (Schein et al., 1996), suggesting that gender discrimination and leadership is pervasive both socially and organizationally; this observation informed this current study.

Potentially adding further difficulty for women in the workforce has been the recent and ongoing Covid-19 pandemic. A recent study in 2019 revealed that 61.4% of women aged 15 and over were in the Canadian workforce (Statistics Canada, 2019). However, in 2020, research into the first two months of the Covid-19 Pandemic has shown women's decline in the labor force to 55.5%, with more women than men dropping out of the labor force, as 29% of dual-income households showing women as the primary earners, leaving more women unemployed and returning to family and household related duties (RBC Economics, 2020). Given that policing is an essential service, it is doubtful that the labor force involving policewomen will decline, but time will tell if it has an impact on women applying to becoming policewomen.

In summary, whether someone reviews the American (Snow, 2010; Wells, 2005) or Canadian literature (Schmidt, 2015) on the introduction and struggles of women into mainstream society, there are reoccurring themes where women are in a continual fight for acceptance, respect, equality, equity, and overall health and wellness. Women have been seen as second-class citizens and the disparity between men and women is evident. It was not long ago where women could not vote, participate in government, own property, and when women entered the labour force, they still had concerns for ongoing pay inequities, discrimination, sexual assaults, and violence (Sangster, 2021). The acceptance and participation of women into the workforce over the 19th and 20th centuries was slow and when it came to entering the policing profession, even

slower. The fact that women were introduced into policing as matrons, then later accepted as full-time policewomen without the same powers as policemen, speaks to women being seen as less than, inferior to men, and not as capable. The facts mentioned within this historical review also speak to this being a struggle being initiated by women, with limited allyship, along with structural and societal barriers that have prevented women from their full participation and fulfillment within society.

Culture and Police Culture

Culture can be defined in hundreds of ways (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952), whether one looks to the well-known anthropologist Sir Edward B. Tylor's historical definition of culture (1871), where he states that culture "is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man [sic] as a member of society" (p.1), to a broader, present, and accessible definition of culture from Merriam-Webster (2022) that includes:

> the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group
>
> the set of shared attitudes, values, goals, and practices that characterizes an institution or organization
>
> the set of values, conventions, or social practices associated with a particular field, activity, or societal characteristic
>
> the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon the capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations

When reviewing these definitions of culture, the definitions speak of fluidity, ongoing communication in its varied forms, learning, sharing, reproducing meanings, and how culture is experienced in the wider society and permeated through organizations. It is therefore important to know and understand the prominence of societal culture(s) as this can have a significant impact on organizational culture (Kwantes & Glazer, 2017). As noted in the previous chapter, if one were to look at the culture around men and women's role both socially and in the workplace over the past 150 years, women have been negatively impacted and oppressed in terms of gender discrimination, being excluded from certain jobs, unequal pay, and various forms of violence.

The reality is that organizations are gendered and dominated with masculinity (Acker, 1990). This dominance was recently evidenced in a 2020 international study conducted by Ipsos, involving 27 countries and 20,204 interviews with men and women, where they found that women, more than men, were unable to work beyond contracted hours, had more childcare, worked more part-time, and workplaces on a global scale did not treat men and women equally (Ipsos, 2020). Not only can these indifferences and inequalities exist explicitly, but they can also be implied, unspoken, and embedded within an organization's procedures (i.e., policies), structures, systems, and routines (Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015), which can perpetuate discursive practices that maintain gender discrimination in the workplace. The totality of these experiences amounts to an organizational culture that was likely intended to be inclusionary, but clearly represents and demonstrates how exclusionary it is (Rutherford, 2011). This exclusionary aspect of culture can even be seen within the language used in the definitions of culture mentioned earlier, where Tylor's definition of culture speaks more of a Victorian era and the language used, specifically 'habits of man', marginalizes women, as it suggests that the only people with knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, customs, and capabilities are men. The Merriam-Webster

definition also speaks of ‘sharing’, which is true, but I wonder who gets to share? This definition appears simplistic and fails to recognize the social hierarchies, privilege, and power within society and the organizations they can be replicated in. For me, these limiting definitions of culture illuminate many things and at minimum, offer insight into the embedded and often unspoken nature of unequal power relations and gender discrimination prevalent in society and within organizations. Feminist scholar Stimpson (2015) furthered this assertion when she stated how women have been confined and restrained within society and not seen as agents in the creation of culture. Stimpson calls for a reform in many facets that make up culture, including arts, science, education, laws, which can create a shifting of theory to a practice that highlights women as equal to men.

Culture can therefore be seen as something that is often preserved and maintained through time and presumptively carry forward values, belief systems, and actions that can either benefit or oppress those within that culture. Given how culture is often maintained and perpetuated over time within society and within organizations, a deeper understanding and awareness of one’s culture can be a significant indicator for predicting future behavior and for recognizing where change can happen. Leading researcher and educator Schein (2017) furthered this importance with his assertion that avoiding and overlooking an organization’s culture can lead to an organization failing to create change and reform. Afterall, my study is being done with the full intention and hope that police organizations will review what has been done, what is currently being done, and work toward changing the lives of policewomen for the better. Given the prominence of culture within wider society and knowing how this culture can impact organizations, it is evident that societal culture could also have an impact on police

organizations, as through hundreds of years of policing a culture would undoubtedly be created, maintained, and perpetuated.

After an extensive review of research, books, or online articles related to policing, a consistent and common theme mentioned is the notion of police culture (Atkinson, 2016; Bikos, 2016; Brown et al., 2019; Haake, 2018; Murray, 2021; Sylvestri, 2017). In my experience, having lived within a policing environment myself for many years, it is a term that is often voiced to account for anything good or bad that happens within the policing world. Police culture is commonly used to explain why women encounter sexism, discrimination, prejudice, stereotyping, lack of women's representation amongst the ranks or within police organizations, and other forms of oppression, and it is also seen by some scholars as an overarching and oversimplified term to account for all the present inequities known in policing (Silvestri, 2017; Sklansky, 2007). Some of the prevalent themes that make up this police culture include the police "code of silence" (Lobnikar et al., 2016), hegemonic masculinity (Biros, 2016; Fielding, 1994) cult of masculinity (Atkinson, 2016; Rabe-Hemp, 2009), and doing gender through physicality or time (Silvestri, 2017).

My study does not underestimate the significance of policing culture in exploring the persistence of women's marginalization in policing. However, given the broader and persistent gender discrimination that exists in Canadian and western societies, and its intersections with larger systems and mechanisms of oppression like hegemonic masculinity, colonialism, patriarchy, heteropatriarchy, and heteropaternalism, it will be important to investigate how they could have informed, created, and perpetuated the dominant themes that make up police culture. Later in this literature review, I define more fully the meaning of each of these forms of

oppression; at this point my purpose is to link police culture to these larger systems of oppression.

Oppressive Systems and Policing

Prior to discussing the larger systems of oppression like hegemonic masculinity, colonialism, patriarchy, heteropatriarchy, and heteropaternalism, one must acknowledge how intersectionality is linked with these systemically oppressive systems. The term intersectionality was created by Kimberlé Crenshaw and recognizes that each person has their own social identity, consisting of such things as their gender, race, class, sexual orientation, and religion, which taken alone or in combination, can create a range of experiences where people can be empowered, discriminated, to oppressed (Targeted News Service, 2017). When people interact and overlap with systemically oppressive systems that maintain dominant values, norms, and belief systems against particular social identities, how this can perpetuate biases, prejudices, and discrimination. Therefore, one can see that intersectionality is a way to see how power intersects with people and overlaps with oppressive systems in a way that can further the inequality and inequity amongst people within society.

Hegemonic Masculinity

The culture of policing has an ideology of policing revolving around a cult of masculinity (Atkinson, 2016; Fielding, 1994; Morash & Haarr, 2012) as historically and traditionally policing was established and controlled by men (Sewell & Williams, 2021; Silvestri, 2003; Snow, 2010; Wells & Alt, 2005). This cult of masculinity has been upheld and sustained through a form of hegemonic masculinity, which R. W. Connell (1995) designates as a “configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy in

patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordinate position of women" (p. 77). This hegemonic masculinity was evidenced in the gender division of labor (Belknap, 2001) with women working in community policing as opposed to SWAT teams (Rabe-Hemp, 2018), through claims that policing is too treacherous for women and how they do not have the physical prowess to handle these situations (Connell, 1987), or through "portrayals of institutions as gender-neutral and the practice of gender-blind sexism, gender inequality is both obscured and reinforced" (Murray, 2021, p. 95). An anecdotal example of this is often in the semiotics within the confines of the police department, where advances of gender equity are lost in organizational charts and visual imagery that depict a male dominated space and place where men are continually seen in the upper echelon in terms of rank.

Colonialism

Canadian policing was strongly influenced through the evolution of policing in England (Marquis, 1993), along with the migration of British immigrants into Canada and their implementation of English common law and British Law; it inherently brought colonial belief systems in respect to women's involvement in policing (Griffiths, 2016). These Victorian belief systems, values, and thoughts formed ideologies around gender within the family, political, employment, and religious spheres, where ultimately women were seen as the property of men, where women's rightful place was within the home, and where displays of patriarchy were present and invasive in most aspects of relationships and social life (Garcia, 2021).

As Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill (2013) point out, settler colonialism has been a gendered process in Westernized countries like Canada, where they use forms of heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism to gender those amongst them and ultimately create a narrow definition of the male/female binary. Heteropatriarchy represents systems, habits, customs, and traditions that

normalize and focus on male dominance, the male/female gender binaries, and heterosexual identities (Harris, 2011). Whereas heteropaternalism means the "presumption that heteropatriarchal nuclear-domestic arrangements, in which the father is both center and leader/boss, should serve as the model for social arrangements of the state and its institutions" (Arvin et al., 2013, p. 13). These colonial systems create, maintain, and perpetuate a culture where men are seen as the dominant species, women are viewed as the "other" (Johnson, 2005, pg. 39), and highlight assumptions that when two things are compared, as in this case, men versus women, that one must be ranked or determined to be better (Ife, 2013). When colonial systems of patriarchy, heteropatriarchy, and heteropaternalism are maintained and viewed as routine and natural, the "male gender is perceived as strong, capable, wise, and composed and the female gender is perceived as weak, incompetent, naïve, and confused" (Arvin et al., 2013, p. 13). This ideology then views men as the protectors of society over women, further inhibiting women from entering the policing profession or being seen as a police officer (Garcia, 2021). Furthermore, women become overlooked in terms of their knowledge production, their own agency, all while continuing and perpetuating a gender division that is heterosexual, homophobic, and transphobic (Lara, 2021). A related policing example of this occurred during the Cold War with the Soviet Union between 1947-1991, where the Canadian federal government deemed homosexuals a national security risk, as it was perceived that homosexuals and lesbians could be blackmailed into surrendering government secrets. Ultimately, this manufacturing of a heterosexual hegemony by government officials resulted in utilizing the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to identify hundreds of gay men and women who eventually lost or were demoted in their jobs (Kinsman, 1995).

Patriarchy

Patriarchy, by definition, could be described as a system of male dominance, where men maintain and implement control, power, and decision making over women within all aspects of social life (Batliwala, 2013). What is important to remember when reviewing oppressive systems such as patriarchy, is how patriarchy is a culturally manufactured system that privileges men; it is a system that everyone participates in; and is a system related to power and the supremacy of not only men over women, but among men against other men as they strive for prominence, position, and control (Johnson, 2005). This notion of privilege, which can be defined as "any entitlement, sanction, power, and advantage or right granted to a person or group solely by birthright membership in a prescribed group or groups" (Black & Stone, 2005, p. 245), can lead to the oppression of anyone not in this group. What can also be forgotten is how these same social systems have been "intentionally designed to reward specific demographics for so long that the system's outcomes may appear unintentional but are actually rooted discriminatory practices and beliefs" (Equity vs Equality: What's the difference, 2020, para 4). Batliwala (2013) reminds us that when issues related to patriarchy are addressed, not only does it empower women, but it also liberates men. The stereotypes and gender ideologies associated to men have limited them in the expression of other traits that may be determined to be socially unacceptable. This freeing of men then offers up opportunities for women to also operate and against the gender roles.

Operationalizing Oppression in Organizational Cultures

As colonization and its oppressive systems infiltrate society, it is fair to suggest that they will also infiltrate organizations, as organizations are like mini societies. As colonization moves from the wider society and within organizations, people can become oppressed and ruled by a hierarchical system that constructs notions of gender from a colonizer's position, thereby taking

command of everything related to power, gender, and work (Lugones, 2008, as cited by Lara, 2021). When these systems are combined with the structure of police departments as bureaucracies, with set policies, rules, and procedures, along with a clear hierarchy that has men at the top making the most important decisions, it amplifies the struggles that women must endure. This form of top-down decision making was introduced and popular during the Enlightenment Period and is still prominent within organizations and institutions today (Ife, 2013). It has also been argued that this form of bureaucratic control may be difficult to depart from as the "iron law of oligarchy", with its emphasis on being ruled by the few, specifically men, is still visible in most organizations (Raelin, 2016, p. 144). Within this top-down approach, knowledge, power, and leadership are possessed by those at the top, or within this present research context, held by senior ranking policemen. This one-way stream of decision-making may be appropriate at times, but it is a structurally limiting constraint. These limiting constraints do not provide opportunities where all employees can communicate, collaborate, internalize, and hopefully alter an oppressive police culture.

Once this oppressive culture is embedded, it can be challenging to overcome considering its deep structures, described as the "hidden sites and process of power and influence, the implicit culture, the informal values and systems of reward and recognition, all of which have an enormous impact on how people and organizations actually function" (Batliwala, 2013, p. 200). For example, these deep structures could come in the form of implicit biases around gender ideologies, gossiping, rumours that ruin member's credibility, or cliques who create and resist organizational change. This is a powerful concept as it speaks to what is not spoken, what may be invisible, but is something one can feel and can impact the oppressed on a continual and unquantifiable basis. This deep structure can be further compounded with the men in the senior

ranking positions, as it demonstrates the continuation and perpetuation of the patriarchy prevalent in society, one which continues to oppress women in both their "private" and "public" realms (Batliwala, 2013, pp. 190-191).

Harro's Cycle of Socialization

If one were to wonder how these inequitable social systems could develop into oppressive cultures today, one could look to Harro's (2000) Cycle of Socialization, where people are socialized intentionally and unintentionally from birth. Harro (2000) suggests that from the moment people are born, people have their own gender, ethnicity, mobility, skin color, sexual orientation, and so forth, which makes people susceptible to systems of oppression. These systems are present, continual, from obscured to explicitly visible, and have been built and maintained through time. As life progresses, people are educated and trained by their parents, role models, and later through schools, churches, institutions, and media about the cost/benefit analysis of complying with these cycles of socialization. When confronted with the choice to be complicit in this cycle or not, the cycle affects the oppressor and the oppressed. Whichever choice they choose, people learn how things are, one of which is gender and the inequitable role that gender plays within relationships, social systems, and in this context, a police organization. Therefore, the long standing and traditional gender role ideologies learned through cycles of socialization, which originated in colonial practices and oppressive systems, are important factors in understanding the oppression of women within policing at past and present.

"Doing Gender" in Organizations

Given the established research whereby policing is seen as a gendered and hierarchical organization, one could look to Acker's (1990) ground-breaking work on gendered organizations

to help explain the gender inequity that occurs within a policing context. This work situates gender as not something people are biologically born with, but is created through a cultural and social context, whereby gender is not seen as something that people have, but rather something that people do. People 'do gender' through their organizations division of labor, cultural symbols, employee relation, or gendered signage. Acker also questions organizations that present as gender neutral, as this is typically far from the reality. For example, an organization may post a job with a view that it is gender neutral, but the job description will imply and favor men. Anecdotally speaking, after hearing senior ranking policemen state how they are looking to hire the 'best person' or 'best candidate', the result is that these people are often men. One reason why women encounter this barrier comes from Feminist scholar Joan Williams (2001), who argues that the ideal worker is a man, as men have fewer at-home related duties, which frees them for work and in turn, further precludes women from the workforce.

If one were to review the history, literature, research, and statistics within this study and others, along with Ackers (1990) theory on gendered organizations, it would suggest that the ideal worker in policing is a man. The privilege that is extended to men can then be socialized and reproduced through employees and integrated into organizational structures, leading women to be further disempowered, thereby furthering the differences between men and women and their exclusion from the labour force.

When policewomen eventually enter the dominated space of men, women must then balance which socially constructed gender they are at work (West & Zimmerman, 1987), thereby providing a dilemma of whether to conform and adapt to job-related masculine customs and norms associated to policing, or to imitate stereotypical feminine roles (Martin, 1980). Whichever choice women make, they place themselves in a predicament where they can be

criticized either way (Jamieson, 1995). In limited studies, women were not only found doing their gender and police work at the same time, but the women also believed they were better than men when it came to community policing and often shared a belief that policing was not just for men (Rabe-Hemp, 2007; Terpstra & Schapp, 2013). During another study, when research compared gender and emotions in Westernized countries, women showed more prosocial emotions than men, which can present as a threat to Western conceptions of masculinity, making women appear as weak and less powerful than men (Fisher & Meansted, 2000).

A Gender Spectrum Not a Gender Dichotomy

It is apparent that women doing gender is a challenging process and how this process will inevitably be ongoing for the foreseeable future. Not only is there a dilemma of whether to conform and adapt to job-related masculine customs and norms associated to policing, or to imitate stereotypical feminine roles socialized through society, but what about the women themselves? Afterall, as feminist scholars bell hooks (2000) and Kimberlé Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality (Targeted News Service, 2017) remind us, women are not a homogenous group. Everyone is unique, with each aspect of a person, whether it be their race, gender identity, sex, sexuality orientation, class, ability, nationality, citizenship, religion, and body type, they can all intersect and form layers of discrimination and oppression. The westernized hegemonic gender paradigm of two genders as only male and female, along with the sex/gender congruence, will not fit everyone's gender representation or expression (Davis, 2009), as gender can be seen as fluid and not everyone will identify on a gender spectrum (Gould, 2021). This is a complex and dynamic interaction involving challenges at the personal, organizational, and societal level. What is alarming is how much oppression can occur when only looking at one aspect of diversity, that of gender, and how oppression is amplified when one looks at people from an

intersectional lens. The gender dichotomy is a useful concept, but it is underselling a much more complex enigma.

Unspoken Cultural Norms and Expectations

Acker's (1992) theory on gendered organizations extends to the issue of time or more specifically, to consider time within police work in the creation of an ideal worker (Williams, 2001). Anecdotally and through research (Silvestri, 2006), this concept of time is considered of utmost relevance as an unspoken narrative, as ideal workers are rewarded for working full time, with no breaks in their employment, as time and experience earned during a policing career is more valuable than any skills and experience learned away from the job. That being said, women who take time away from police work (e.g., maternity leave) can be adversely affected when it comes to future job transfers or promotions (Silvestri, 2017). In a recent Canadian Study completed by Langan, Sanders and Agocs (2017), researchers interviewed policewomen who had interrupted police time based on maternity and taking care of the family. The researchers discovered that women suffer negative consequences pre, during, and post maternity time, as the women had feelings of isolation, were believed to be a burden as they needed to be accommodated or placed on light duties, and upon return to work believed that they had to prove to others that they were worthy of doing police work. Further adding to these barriers, research that focused on stress levels for policemen and policewomen found that policewomen who were mothers experienced higher levels of stress than policemen, with family dynamics having no effect on policemen (Kurtz, 2012). The negative effects of this unspoken narrative around police time could be partially explained through what Marshall and Mitchell (1991) describe as "assumptive worlds" (p. 397), or when people are formally and informally socialized to espouse shared values, customs, and belief systems, which can inevitably direct their future behavior.

Inevitably, the unspoken assumption or expectation coming from the above-noted experiences is that the ideal worker is a man and that taking time away from policing can lead to career suicide. Therefore, when combining gender expectations and unspoken cultural narratives around time, it further compounds the barriers against policewomen and reinforces cultural narratives, the gender binary and the differences between men and women, ultimately leading to women being seen as less than, not an ideal worker in the police setting, and a one-sided struggle for women to overcome. Of note, it will be interesting to see future research on paternity leave for men in policing and if this becomes a challenge/barrier for men as well.

Code of Silence

The concept of silence or more specifically, the police code of silence, has shown to be living strong within police organizations (Bikos, 2016; Kutnjak et al., 2019; Lobnikar et al., 2016; Rothwell & Baldwin, 2007) and is believed to be one of the many restraints holding back the safety, well-being, and advancement of women in policing. This code of silence refers to the unofficial and undocumented aspect of policing culture whereby police are deterred from reporting various forms of misconduct by their colleagues (Sullivan et al., 2004). Many studies have discovered the presence of this code of silence and excessively elevated levels of gender-related prejudices, stereotyping, and discrimination from coworkers against women in policing (Haarr & Morash, 2013; Rabe-Hemp, 2008; Seklecki & Paynich, 2007). Although this code of silence may relate to more specific behaviors and interactions that amount to misconduct, it also speaks about the overall and long-standing minimization and silence about gender oppression in policing, with Ahmed (2017) reminding us that “silence about violence is violence” (p. 260-261). Whether the violence is subtle or direct, one time or continuous, it reflects acts of oppression and violence against women. The fact that there are hundreds and hundreds of police departments in

North America, with only a small percentage participating in the 30x30, is highly suggestive that police organizations are resistant to change, gender-blind, or do not see the reform of gender inequality and gender inequity as a priority to change. What was and has been silenced for so long is no more, as the manifestation and implementation of the 30x30 has created environments where intentional discussions and hopefully reforms will take place.

Allyship and the Bystander Effect

The term allyship can often be misused and interpreted in unusual ways, but in simplistic terms, allyship comes from "a member of the dominant group who acts to end oppression in all aspects of social life by consistently seeking to advocate alongside of the group who is oppressed in relation to them" (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017, p. 211). Allies should inspire, advocate, support, share opportunities for growth within their organization, recognize the inequalities present in society, and believe in changing and challenging the status quo (Taber et al., 2015). I am also inspired by Lynn Gehl's (n.d) view on allyship, as she reminds us that an ally is many things, but at a minimum could be someone who often goes unnoticed, lives and sees the oppression on a daily basis in ways that others may not, does not seek validation, listens more, uses a power-with instead of a power-over approach, is in a continual state of learning and reflecting on how they can become better allies, and acts because it is truly the right thing to do. What allyship is not is a type of "performative allyship" (Kalina, 2020; Thorne, 2022), an allyship characterized when someone does something to look and feel good about oneself, an act more for oneself than for those being oppressed. Along with performative allyship issues, there are certainly other studies that speak to the effectiveness of allyship as an approach for reform (Sawyer & Valerio, n.d.; Bourke, 2020). Despite this, the idea of allyship is one that could be applied to policing, given

that high-ranking officers have the power and decision-making authority to make changes and can foster an inclusive and gender equitable workplace.

When I researched the theme of allyship and policing, there were few studies relegated to this topic. However, in one such study, Haake (2018) wrote how gender equality should be a "a joint project for both men and women" and how this process should be incorporated into the police culture (p. 247). Haake's study also revealed policemen's opinions on why policewomen were not in leadership positions, positing that women were deficient in specific abilities, lacked confidence, and how there was a lack of policewomen as mentors. What is intriguing about this study is what is not stated, as policemen would point out reasons why policewomen were not promoted, offering up suggestions that could lead someone to infer that it was a women's issue to overcome, while the policemen themselves did not offer themselves as possible mentors or allies.

In another related study, Bikos (2016) found that during times of conflict and challenges within policing, many women were afraid of speaking up. The reasons for not speaking up could be plentiful and could happen to anyone, but part of the reasons could come from the bystander effect. The bystander effect was first introduced by John Darley and Bibb Latané (1968), who described a phenomenon where the amount of people present during an emergency will determine a person's probability of helping another person. More specifically, the results of Darley and Latané's research showed that the more people present during a crisis, the less likely someone would intervene. This inclination not to intervene or help someone was often influenced when bystanders falsely assumed that other bystanders would take action to end the crisis, thereby leading bystanders not to report anything. This failure to report would continue as

the bystander would not want to inaccurately perceive a crisis when there was not one, leading to further contemplation of what to do about it.

A recent and applicable, yet non-policing example, came from a study done in Australia by Nash, Grant, Moor, and Winzenberg (2021). This study is significant as there is a shift in dialogue from the women who are being oppressed to prominent and powerful men leaders, with the hope that men will take a united front to recognize gender equality issues, confront and reform the systems that are barriers for women, while being agents for change. Although some of the results identified some barriers to men, as in facing apprehension about how their work can be seen by others as personal gain or performative allyship, it did indicate that men were more prone to contest gender bias if they were more knowledgeable about it, believed that gender equality was meaningful, they leaned away from status quo masculine gender norms, and dedicated themselves to overcome the barriers that women encounter. In sum, this research suggests that allyship or ally-styled interventions could be important tools for advancing women in policing.

Tokenism

In 1986, Statistics Canada began to measure the percentage of women in policing and discovered that women represented 4% of police officers in Canada. From this point on the representation of policewomen has continued to increase. In 2019, women accounted for 22% of total sworn police officers in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2019). With the explicit 30x30 goals of increasing women's representation in the coming years, along with the anticipated questions directed toward senior ranking policemen around this 30x30 initiative, the concept of tokenism and the token woman may arise. Tokenism, with its theoretical roots in Kanter's (1977) tokenism

theory, is still a relevant concept when it comes to women and their struggle in professions dominated by men.

When Kanter (1977) first introduced the concept of the token, it referred to a group of people (women) who comprised less than 15% of the entire work group. Kanter discovered that women within these organizations were pushed into what were characterized as feminine related work positions, were subjected to more pressure to perform, and had to overcome more barriers and challenges than men. Although this study focused on Fortune 500 companies and not specifically policing, given tokenism's relevance, it would not take long for tokenism to be introduced into the policing context and to see comparable results.

There is currently no shortage of research where tokenism has been specifically researched as it relates to policewomen (Archbold & Schulz, 2008; Krimmel & Gormley, 2003; Martin, 1979; Stichman et al., 2010; Yoder, 1991). Some of the themes within this research parallel Kanter's (1977) findings, with women not trying for promotion as they do not want to get hired as the token woman, how the women felt more like a statistic, ongoing stereotyping and discrimination, which inevitably can take away from a woman's self-worth and belief that they are just as capable as anyone else to do the job, along with decreased feelings of inclusion and increased feelings of visibility. If race and gender were studied, minorities also experience tokenism, with some study results indicating that race is a more compelling predictor of tokenism than gender (Gustafson, 2008; Stroshine & Brandl, 2011).

In summary, there is a vast amount of research and literature that speaks to policing being historically and currently built in a gendered manner as to benefit and privilege men (Bevan & MacKenzie, 2012; Garcia, 2021; Murray, 2021; Prokos & Padavic, 2002). Even from early beginnings in 19th century Canadian policing, the ideal physical attributes, preferred image, and

hired police officer was a man (Griffiths, 2016). When women first entered policing, they were placed into stereotypical feminine roles, as in taking care of troubled youth, other women, and protecting young girls (Belknap, 2001), and even in present day studies the same result occurred (Martin & Jurik, 2007; Morash & Haarr, 2012). The police culture has been the prominent theme as to why women have been oppressed, with men taking centre stage and assisting in this perpetuation of oppression. Although men are being condemned for the maintenance of this oppressive state, some scholars remind us that it is not the men by themselves that are the issue, it is the overpowering system of patriarchy that is the source of this problem that needs to be addressed (Batliwala, 2013).

Despite men, oppressive systems and cultures, women are increasing in the occupation of policing. Feminist activists have increased awareness and acted against gender discrimination, have contributed to women's suffrage, women's increased participation in the labour force, and raised the social consciousness around ongoing misogyny and sexism within organizational and societal realms (Bisong & Ekanem, 2014). The notion of policing and gender are inextricably intertwined, with an abundance of literature and research devoted to a better understanding of the barriers and challenges facing policewomen, to appreciating the daily struggle that women endure in the fight to end their oppression, and in the hope that this knowledge will produce actionable changes to improve the lived experiences of policewomen.

Although women never asked for or deserved these barriers, these barriers have largely been an issue for women to raise, challenge, and overcome. There is an abundance of police related research where women have provided evidence about these barriers and the women's understanding and position is more clearly stated and understood than the men's when it comes to understanding these barriers and how to overcome them.

In closing, this literature review separates itself from others because it has offered an exploration of the ’how’ and the ‘why’ instead of just the ‘what’ has happened to women in policing. It considered the how and the why through a review of all the police related research, while considering the oppressive systems and cultures that are present and invasive in society and policing. This review implicitly and explicitly calls out some aspects of these oppressive systems and cultures within a policing environment and demonstrates the continued challenge that women continue to face within policing today. Finally, all this awareness and understanding is great as awareness can be considered the first stage of any change or reform; however, my study goes further and reveals the degree of awareness of men about the barriers against women, what level of allyship from men is present in overcoming such barriers, and further assesses if women will continue in this struggle by themselves. The analysis of the results (Chapter 4) and discussion (Chapter 5) will lay out an action plan and recommendations for police departments to consider in moving toward operationalizing gender equality and equity within the workplace.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Qualitative Study

This study used a qualitative approach as it examined the practical realities of policing, while highlighting participant's voices and experiences, all with a goal of providing new awareness, insights, and meaningful understanding that may have been previously unknown (Saldaña et al., 2011). While initially I considered a quantitative approach, I became convinced that "future research needs to examine gender issues in policing in greater depth using qualitative methodology" (Burke & Mikkelsen, 2005, p. 23). Furthermore, the qualitative methodology has a tradition of seeking out descriptive and fulsome personal perspectives to gain a better understanding of people within a given situation (Taylor et al., 2016). Specifically, this study tried to offer a place for senior ranking policemen to express and convey their understandings of the barriers against women in policing. Given this purpose, it was imperative to utilize a research strategy that would allow and promote an exploration of senior ranking policemen's thoughts, feelings, and understandings that originate from real life organizations. When qualitative research reaches its full capacity, it can begin the "questioning of taken-for-granted knowledge, exploration of little-known phenomena, samples, or context, and co-creation of learning and sense-making, among many other purposes" (Köhler et al., 2022). The qualitative approach would therefore provide a space whereby past knowledge could be reaffirmed as possible new awareness and understanding could promote further insights, reflections, and research within this current field of knowledge. Throughout this research process I also used specific methods of data collection (e.g., semi-structured interviews) to provide methodological congruence (Creswell, 2013), which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Additionally, I used a process of analytic analysis informed through grounded theory (Saldaña, 2011). Grounded theory was first introduced in 1967 by Glaser and Strauss (Cho & Lee, 2014) and in simplistic terms refers to a process whereby "you're looking carefully at the small details to get to the bigger picture…" (Saldaña, 2011, p. 115), which fits well into my constructivist worldview (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This inductive and bottom-up approach is the foundation of grounded theory as it relies exclusively on the data (Adeoye-Olatunde & Olenik, 2021), with this data originating and centering from the senior ranking policemen's experiences and perspectives.

Ethics

My study was approved by the University of Victoria's Human Research Ethics Board. Included with this ethics approval process was the development of participant consent forms for in-person, telephone, and online platforms for interviews, interview scripts that included the questions asked of the participants, along with two recruitment letters and two pre-approval letters from police organizations authorizing me to contact their police members for the purposes of interviews. A copy of this approved ethics application is in Appendix A, along with a second approved ethics application, as I requested an amendment on one of the Participant Consent Forms for one of the police organizations I was working with.

Recruitment

The recruitment of participants came from two police departments in Western Canada that have undertaken the 30x30 initiative. Considering the current Covid-19 pandemic, the recruitment started with an e-mail to the Chief of Police of each respective police organization, as this was the safest way to initiate communication with the selected police departments and

eventual participants. Each Chief of Police was provided with an invitation to participate letter and a participant consent form that outlined who I was, my involvement in an ongoing study with the University of Victoria, the purpose of the research, and to consider, if they were interested in participating in the study, what participation entailed. The participant consent form further outlined the proposed use of the data collected, the foreseeable risks and conceivable benefits of participation in the study, anonymity, confidentiality, voluntariness and withdrawal procedures, data management procedures, along with the future use of and disposal of the collected data. If the Chief of Police authorized my research, I requested that each Chief of Police forward my initial email to other senior ranking policemen within their police department. This process would give the senior ranking policemen the freedom to choose whether they want to participate in the research and if they did, they would have to proactively contact me.

Although the initial goal of my study was to gather ten participants who are employed in either the Inspector, Deputy Chief, or Chief ranks, I only recruited nine participants. The recruiting of these participants took approximately three and a half months, whereby I had follow-up conversations (e-mail, phone) to the respective police organizations to see if anyone else was interested in participating in this study, which resulted in a slow filtering in of additional participants. Although the explanations for this slow recruitment are unknown and the reasons for not participating could be diverse, I believe some of these reasons could be related to time constraints of the participants, the Covid-19 pandemic, and to personal uncomfortableness of the topic being discussed. Vetted copies of the Invitation to Participate Letter and Participant Consent Forms for the two participating police organizations are in Appendix B.

Participants

The participants were specifically selected given their many years of policing experience as this would provide an array of experiences, opportunities, and examples related to the research questions and objectives of the study. The participants in this study commonly had 20-30 plus years of experience within the policing field, had worked in various and often several different police units or sections in their policing career, thereby exposing them to various work/unit cultures and practices, were responsible for varying work groups within their organizations, and were currently in positions of influence and change within their respective organizations. Although I did not request any demographic data (age, race, ethnicity, religion, etc.) of the participants, the group was largely a homogenous group who presented as White men. The participants came from two police organizations in Western Canada that have undertaken the 30x30 initiative. I excluded participants who were retired as this study wanted to center more on the perspectives and experiences of currently employed senior ranking policemen. Additionally, the current senior ranking policemen were capable of providing a historical account given their years of experiences on the job, while offering insight into current practices, ideologies, and future strategies to enhance the representation and experiences of policewomen within police organization.

Anonymity, Confidentiality, and Voluntariness

The anonymity, confidentiality, and voluntariness of my study was paramount given the potential personal and organizational cost of sharing information about a topic that could garner unwelcomed attention from the public and their own organization during or after the study was completed and disseminated. When I requested that each Chief of Police forward my initial email to other senior ranking policemen within their police department during the recruitment phase, this process gave the possible participants the freedom to choose whether they wanted to

participate in the research. The interested participants would then have to proactively and independently contact me to discuss the research and what their involvement entailed. This process provided the participants further anonymity within their own police organization and within the study itself while providing a higher level of voluntariness.

All the participants were informed that any information collected from them as part of this study would be protected. When I interviewed each participant, they each received a pseudonym (Male 1 through Male 9), as this method increased levels of anonymity and confidentiality. If other names were provided during the interviews, pseudonyms were substituted by the researcher. Additionally, if details or context were provided that could potentially identify the participant, I eliminated it from the transcript and therefore excluded it from use. Although the participants were not anonymous to me, I assured all the participants that I would not disclose who participated in this study or the name or location of their police organization. I was the only person who had access to the data, which was stored on my personal username/password protected computer.

The participants were all informed of their anonymity, confidentiality, and voluntariness in the participant consent form and verbally prior to the commencement of any interview, where I believe it prompted a higher level of comfort, openness, and transparency when answering the proposed research questions.

Method

The method of data collection was via semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews provide a means to “talk to people to get to know them, which-in a trivial sense-is also the goal of qualitative research” (Brinkman, 2014, p. 33). It is easy to see why semi-

structured interviews are one of the most common qualitative research method techniques for data collection (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000) as they offer an opportunity to probe deeply into personal and social matters between the participant and the interviewer. Therefore, the fundamental advantage of the semi-structured interview is that it allows the interviewer to be purposeful in their line of questioning while still offering a space for the interviewer to explore other areas that may come during the interview, thereby enhancing the field of understanding (Adeoye-Olatunde & Olenik, 2021). I was guided by Brinkman's (2014) approach to doing one on one structured interviews over group interviews, whereby the advantages of being able to deliberately direct the interview to the research objectives could be achieved while trying to establish an isolated space and atmosphere for the participants to be open, frank, and honest.

The line of questioning within the interviews was purposeful and designed to lead the participant on a journey of their perceptions, belief systems, and their first-hand experiences. The line of questioning started with what I would consider are easier to more thought-provoking, challenging, and controversial questions, as this process allowed for continual rapport building and trust between the participant and I, leading to potentially more openness and transparency about the topic being questioned and ultimately more robust data (Adams, 2015). The questions covered the following themes: how men see and perceive women's involvement in policing; what barriers men perceive women encounter in policing and what impact police culture has on this; if and what men or their organization have done to counter these barriers; what level of impact will the 30x30 have on police organizations; and whether the inequality existing for women was a men's or women's issue to overcome, or both?

In sum, considering the personal and complex issues being questioned, semi-structured interviews allowed for more rapport building, ultimately leading to increased trust and

confidentiality, while providing a space to obtain rich amounts of information for future data analysis. All nine interviews were only audio-recorded, and the participants directed where, when, and how they completed their interview (In-person, Zoom, Microsoft Teams, or phone). Of the nine interviews completed, five were completed in-person and face-to-face, two via Zoom, one through Microsoft Teams, and one through a phone call. The shortest interview was just over 28 minutes, and the longest interview was one hour and 10 minutes, with the mean interview time of 51 minutes and 29 seconds.

Interview Protocols

A prepared list of eight open-ended questions was utilized with all nine participants. The questions were provided to each of the participants ahead of the interviews to allow time for the participants to think about what would be asked and hopefully provide their best answers. When the interviews were being conducted and in the likely event that an answer required further clarification, also known as "unscheduled probes" (Qu & Dumay, 2011, p. 247), the follow up question was a reframing of what was already stated, similar too: "You mentioned [what words exactly stated], can you tell me more about that?" The purpose of this approach was to remain consistent and more objective, to center the interviewee's voice as a knower, and these types of questions add more descriptions and experiences to the question being asked. A copy of the interview script is in Appendix C.

Publicly Declared Emergencies

Given the current Covid 19 pandemic occurring during my research, I followed the British Columbia Public Health Order (PHO) and was continually aware that completing face to face interviews could stop at any time. I utilized email and phone calls as much as possible as it

was a safe way to initiate communication with the selected police departments and eventual participants. I continually reviewed the University of Victoria Communicable Disease Plan and the PHO and adhered to their protocols and any organizational protocols that I was involved with.

Advantages and Issues in Qualitative Research

All the participants in my study knew that I was employed as a police officer. The benefits of being an insider doing research within my own field of work were plentiful, including not being a newcomer and being quickly welcomed into the group, thereby gaining the acceptance and trust of others (Ryan, 1993), being familiar with the culture and jargon (Reed & Proctor, 1995), and enabled less preparation time given familiarity in the area being discussed (Bonner & Tolhurst, 2002).

In the world where ‘safe’ spaces are being sought, I occupied and maintained this space, given my positionality, social location, and overall privilege. I utilized this privilege, both earned and unearned, that I have within society and mainly in my police organization, to collect in-depth information, ultimately adding to the field of knowledge existing within this area. I believe that the benefits of my insider status outweighed the costs to an outsider collecting the data.

Although there are advantages and added benefits to being an insider, there was a cost to being an insider, which included possibly being biased into findings (Bonner & Tolhurst, 2002), possibly missing out on routine information that may be useful (Gerrish, 1987), or not being viewed as a researcher and more of an advocate with possible role conflicts (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Given that I have been a police officer since 2005, I recognize that I have conscious and unconscious biases that were, to the best of my ability, held in check. For example, I anticipated

that participants might feel uncomfortable and also identified moments where I could draw assumptions that might or might not be accurate. I was also mindful that the participants might not be overly truthful in their responses as we are employed within the same field of work and might be concerned our paths might cross in the future. The disadvantages of being an 'insider' requires me to acknowledge that I do not want to tarnish the image of the police, which may have limited my capacity to critically review and analyze the data. While attempting to be as objective and bias free as possible by continually reviewing my thinking for assumptions I know that I cannot be entirely objective. I cannot 'turn off' my background, insights, reflections, beliefs, and biases that may consciously and unconsciously surface in this study. I also know that I cannot disable my gender analysis lens, which often makes me look for things that are oppressive against women, instead of seeing possible strengths, areas of growth, and how things are improving for women in policing. I humbly recognize this passion and emotion for gender equality and equity and how this could leave me less open-minded and blind to other realities. I countered and mitigated this bias by ensuring that any conversations I had prior to or during the interviews with participants was limited. For example, I consciously restricted discussions about my knowledge and background in relation to gender justice issues as I believed this could impact the responses and/or participation in the study. I developed a structured interview script and questions, which I strictly adhered to during the interviews. Therefore, my voice before and during the interviews was just to just to build rapport, ask questions and clarifying questions, which created a space for active listening and centering of voices of those who matter, the participants.

Coding

Data collected from this qualitative research was comprehensive and required a strategy to first summarize and then interpret the data. The inductive analysis I completed consisted of a thematic analysis aligned with grounded theory, during which I summarized the findings by discerning patterns and then created codes following a careful review of the transcripts and my analytical categories. My coding strategies were completed and largely informed through the qualitative research methods of Saldaña (2011; 2013; 2014).

To initiate the coding process, I transcribed all the interviews verbatim. This initial transcription process provided a recollection of the interview(s) by providing an overview of the perspectives, beliefs, opinions, and experiences of each of the participants. When I reviewed each transcript a second time and noticed a pattern(s), I then created a broad code that summarized the essence of what was being stated using gerunds (e.g., "ing" words), or words that explain actions, also known as process coding (Charmaz, 2015), where the words are exemplified and inferred through the data (Saldaña, 2011). These words or codes were important in the ongoing analysis of my study as I am searching for "ongoing action/interaction/emotion/ taken in response to situations, or problems, often with the purpose of reaching a goal or handling a problem" (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, pg. 96-97). If new codes were created or if codes were not present in some interviews and not others (e.g., 'owning'), I would re-analyze the transcripts to ensure I did not oversee or neglect this code inadvertently; these reviewing processes lead to a deeper understanding of the data. By adhering to this process, I was able to use inductive coding methods to match the grounded theory approach. By attempting to trace concepts from the participants knowledge and experience, while considering the lack of data available on the experiences of senior ranking policemen, I was able to utilize this information toward theory development. Therefore, this careful inductive examination of the participant's

voices offered the potential to develop a theory while trying to understand why barriers to women in policing persist today. The identified codes were then grouped together or clustered into three emerging categories based on mental processes (e.g., ‘learning times’), human actions (e.g., ‘changing times’), and conceptual ideas (e.g., ‘benefitting times’) (Saldaña, 2014).

Following the analysis of each transcript, an analytic memo was created from the information gleaned. The analytic memo provided its own form of analysis by summarizing the important codes, categories, themes, and connections therein, and ultimately providing further insight into the phenomenon being questioned (Adeoye-Olatunde & Olenik, 2021; Saldaña, 2014). The analytic memo process also provided a space to see if there was any plausible interaction, interplay, and interrelationships between the codes and categories drawn from the inductive process to the concepts (e.g., patriarchy, hegemonic masculinity, doing gender, allyship) addressed in my literature review (Saldaña, 2011). For example, as I completed each analytic memo, I saw aspects of the data that addressed components of patriarchy or allyship (or lack thereof), with these concepts and many others becoming the emergent themes that eventually became prevalent across the interviews.

In summary, the analysis of the transcripts became an iterative process (Galletta & Cross, 2013), with a particular interest in the apprehensions of participants, to particular attention to what is not being stated, along with specific and reoccurring terminology, phrases, and concepts, ultimately leading to a thematic analysis and summation of the findings (Saldaña, 2014). Throughout this process I selected descriptive quotes that embodied the emergent themes, which corroborated the assertions and theorizing that derived from the data set (Carmichael & Cunningham, 2017).

Trustworthiness

Throughout the analysis I engaged in a pragmatic process to ensure the reliability of my study through the trustworthiness criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability, as summarized by Lincoln and Guba (1985). The credibility of my study was demonstrated as I had a lengthy, protracted, and iterative engagement with the data through the detailing of thought processes about possible codes and themes, to the way I stored and kept my data in a secure, systematic, and structured way. I further increased the credibility of my study when I forwarded all nine participants a copy of their transcript and requested that they review it for accuracy and representation of their views. After this process was completed, two of the nine participants further expanded on what they initially stated, which added a more fulsome account of their views and more information that was reanalyzed. In this manner, I attempted to align the participants understandings and properly interpret them for future readers and researchers. I tried to achieve transferability and dependability by ensuring there was a logical and detailed methodology that could be replicated by others. The confirmability would be demonstrated through me demonstrating the trustworthiness criteria, through corroborating how my interpretations were developed from the data, and through thick descriptions of how and why I chose specific methodologies and analytical choices (Lincoln & Guba, 1989).

Having summarized my research methodology and methods, in the next chapter, I will share the results of my study.

Chapter 4: Results

As outlined in Chapter 3, the results of my study were produced through a systematic and structured coding and analysis process. This process started with the interviews, where eight questions were asked of the participants, with questions that evoked the perceptions of senior ranking policemen, explored their beliefs, and eventually to explore the actual witnessing and experiences that these participants had with policewomen. These questions asked the participants what policewomen bring to the policing profession, to the perceived and real barriers that policewomen encounter, to conversations about how participants witnessed these barriers and if they did anything about it, to why policewomen are not equally represented or amongst the senior ranks, and who and what is being done within police organizations to counter the barriers and challenges facing policewomen. After all the nine interviews were transcribed and coded, 19 broad codes emerged. These codes were relatively consistent and common across the nine interviews. From these codes, three categories (mental processes, human actions, and conceptual ideas) were developed. Through an iterative process with the data, several themes were determined to be consistent and dominant. These themes became visible and prevalent across the nine interviews based on the volume and saturation of codes and through the analytic memo writing process. For example, when the participants spoke about the barriers facing policewomen a “challenging” code was created, while an “overcoming” code was created when the participants mentioned means to reduce the barriers facing policewomen. This process inevitably resulted in more “challenging” codes than “overcoming” codes (double to quadruple), suggesting a lot of knowing and witnessing of the barriers against policewomen over the years and not much happening to change it. In another example, a code of “collaborating” was created when the participants mentioned when they worked in partnership with policewomen, with the eventual

shortage and scarcity of this code suggesting a theme where there was a possible lack of allyship happening. Refer to Table 1 as it illustrates the step-by step process I completed from the interviews to the coding, categorizing, theming, to assertions and theorizing.

Along with these repetitive themes came examples and quotes that illustrate a systematically oppressive policing environment that has been resistant to women's entry, wellness, and success within the profession. This systemically oppressive culture was seen and heard to affect women' entry into policing, their lack of opportunities for changing of jobs internally, to promotion, and beyond. This belief became more evident during the interviews, as the rapport with the participants was quick and the responses were, at times, more telling and truthful than anticipated. The next sections of this chapter will illustrate these points.

The Value of Policewomen

Male 7: "I don't believe men are any further advanced or capable…"

Male 3: "…I don't know if there's any difference really, between what women bring and men bring to the police service, I always think of them as, as really interchangeable".

Although a significant portion of my study focused on the barriers that women encounter in policing and what is being done to overcome these barriers, all the participants expressed the value that women bring to the policing profession. As some of the policemen (Male 2, 8) noted, women have had a different life path than men and how women encounter different challenges and experiences along the way. Overall, the participants mentioned how women can be more thoughtful, nurturing, better communicators, multitaskers, emotionally intelligent, critical thinkers, supportive, collaborative, and how policewomen get less complaints and are involved in fewer physical confrontations than men.

Societal and Institutional Barriers

Male 8: "…males and females are not going to have the same experiences growing up, they're not going to have the same experiences going through school or university, because their gender alone is going to allow them to have different experiences, challenges, complex, that they're going to have to overcome".

All the participants in this study identified barriers and challenges that women encounter before they enter policing, to the institution of policing itself as a barrier. From the onset, women have been negatively influenced to enter policing by their parents and society (Male 2, 3), with the pressure from family not to join because there were safer jobs than policing. Male 4 stated how there is a public perception that policing has a "machismo" and "high testosterone kind of approach", which may not resonate with women wanting to enter the profession. This was further highlighted when Male 3 stated how policing is seen as "dangerous", with a "boys club" that's "not gone…it's still here". Many of the participants spoke of policing as a tough and demanding profession, filled with conflict, where the weak are recognized and physicality is celebrated. Male 1 may have summarized the societal and institutional barriers best when he stated how there is a "male dominant society", with policing being controlled by men "since its inception".

Policing: A Gendered Institution

Male 5: …"they [women] feel they have to be better to be as good as a man."

As women attempt to join the policing profession, there is a reliance on masculinity, musculature, and physical strength with entry physical tests that women find more challenging than men (Male 4, 7), along with ineffective hiring practices (Male 9). In a telling and

apologizing moment with Male 7, he stated how early in his career he even questioned women's participation in policing and how he would talk amongst other men about how organizations were allowing women with "deficiencies" into policing as organizations wanted to "meet a quota".

To make things even more challenging, the internal policies were not gender neutral, they had male-dominated language, which can have unintended consequences (Male 2, 6, 9). An example of this was provided by Male 6, where he outlined the process of pregnancy and maternity leave for women, with formal and informal procedures that provide such things as light duties, which can carry a perception of tokenism that accompanies stigma, often making women feel less valued. Through further reflection, this participant stated that when women go on maternity leave and upon their return, their time away from work is also not valued, thereby inhibiting their career and growth in the organization, ultimately leading to women feeling less self-worth, value, and belonging in the organization.

The dominance of men was further on display when participants spoke about women and their opportunities for internal job transfers and promotion. Male 8 stated how only 15 years ago there were aspects of the "good old boys club", where senior ranking policemen would promote their friends who were men, along with the unfortunate reality that there are still some of these policemen left. Male 7 then added that decisions are largely made by men who occupy most of the leadership positions, and where women are seen by their men counterparts as not being equal. Furthermore, Male 8 stated that because there are so few women amongst the senior ranks, women do not see themselves in that role or believe that it is attainable. In another related example, Male 1 described how senior ranking policemen from long past would not want women in the senior ranks based on conversations heard in the lunchroom, changeroom, or coffee talk,

and how this talk of ending oppression was considered something that would pass in short order. This belief was furthered by Male 4, who stated that there are still some police organizations that feel diversity within policing is just “white noise” and how “this will pass, these things come and go”. Overall, when the participants were questioned as to why women were not being given as many job transfers to highly regarded sections or promotions, many of the participants stated how women would not go for a job transfer or promotion because women were not as confident (Male 5, 7), they take more time before going for promotion as they do not feel as prepared to apply (Male 1, 2, 3, 5, 8), how there are fewer women than men in policing to go for promotion (Male 8), and how women were less assertive in their career goals as compared to men (Male 1).

The promotional biases and practices did not end there, as Male 8 stated how he witnessed policewomen doing more than some policemen, but it was policemen who were the ones getting the job transfer or being promoted before the policewomen. Male 9 furthered this controversy when he described married couples within policing and how the policewomen would take a backseat to their husband’s career, thereby placing policemen in positions where they were given more job opportunities and promotion before their police officer wives. Male 9 further elaborated on a lack of opportunities for women when he stated how there is a narrative around people dealing with critical incidents who often get promoted, which speaks to taking charge, controlling a situation, with men often getting these opportunities over women. Finally, there is still a bravado around the “big arrest” and the officer who was able to calm someone down through de-escalation techniques (Male 1), or how showing emotion by either men or women was seen as a sign of weakness, insecurity, and a lack of confidence (Male 2, 3), thereby limiting opportunities for progression and advancement within police organizations.

What was often described by many participants as the effects of ongoing socialization into gender ideologies, women were stereotyped into guardian type roles, where they are seen as more effective in dealing with survivors of sexual violence/gender-based violence (Male 1), and how women are traditionally taking over as the caregiver with family, aging parents, and dealing with most things related to the home (Male 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9). Along with these ideologies, two participants (Male 1, 3) noted how women also have a dual role or gender dichotomy, which can cause an inner conflict and dilemma where they must choose to abide by stereotypical gender roles or the more masculine police ideology. Male 3 provided examples when he stated how "It's the challenges of trying to balance personality, where if you're kind, you're just really almost perceived as a weakness, where if you were assertive, it comes across as well bitchy and tend to not, no one wants to work with you", which can leave women in a state where they cannot be their authentic selves. As some of the participants made clear, if one woman is perceived as weak (Male 3, 5), all women can be affected by this stigmatization. However, men can be aggressive and mad if they want and can also be kind, which are both acceptable. Male 3 took this one step further by adding that there is more forgiveness to a man, while there is quicker conscious and unconscious bias toward women that give them a negative reputation.

The Power and Consequence of the Unspoken Narrative

As women are struggling with the challenges of doing gender, this often transitioned into challenges with women doing time, which further compounded and created further barriers against women in policing. This was evidenced when multiple participants (Male 4, 5, 6, 8, 9) spoke about women doing gender by taking on the caregiver role at home and then doing time while being either on maternity leave or job-share (job-share is synonymous with part-time work). This time away from policing accompanies a perception that only time doing police work

matters. For example, Male 5 stated that when women are on maternity leave, they are missing "policing experience", with Male 1 furthering this by stating "the more (police) service you have, the more experienced you are, the better you will be". This does have an element of logic, but this unspoken narrative could also leave perceptions that police experience is the only experience that can add value to a policing career. Male 9 added to what Male 1 and 5 stated, when he stated how the return of women to policing from maternity leave makes women less competitive for other job transfers or promotion, as these women often return to a position that is not highly valued, thereby giving women less experience and a well-rounded career that can make them more competitive for job-transfer or promotion. Male 4 stated how he had conversations with women about job-share and going on maternity leave, with all the women being upset as they knew this would be the end of their careers. This contention from women that going on maternity leave or taking time away from policing was a form of career suicide was certainly a lived reality as Male 4 commented how past senior leaders openly discussed how they did not support job-share within a policing environment, which negatively impacts women on many levels. It was apparent that some of the senior leaders were aware of the consequences to doing gender and/or doing time, as Male 9 stated how he would not have received the jobs he did or his promotions if it was not for his wife doing gender and allowing him to put in that much needed police experience time. In sum, it was apparent through the participant's perceptions and examples that policing and gender are negatively intertwined, with the women, over the men, having to suffer the consequences.

Police Culture Lives Strong

Male 2: "The traditional landscape of policing is, as I mentioned, male dominated. This mindset is ingrained and heavily entrenched in police cultures".

The concepts of culture or more specifically, police culture, were likely the most common words mentioned throughout the nine interviews. When police culture was referenced, it was not referenced in a positive light. Rather, police culture was often utilized to account for all things in policing that often require changing. Male 1 stated how "policing has been a very, we want to call it rigid culture. And is not subject to change very much". This police culture was described by both Male 2 and Male 6 as a culture that affects women in a "negative way", with Male 6 elaborating how police culture would be difficult to change, as police culture thrives and survives all the time, with people not even realizing it is happening. Police culture was best summarized by Male 2, where he described policing as a traditionally male dominated profession, with male dominated views, perspectives, perceptions, biases, traditional norms, judgements, and outlooks, that have all been entrenched through decades of history, which inevitably turned into barriers and challenges for women on a conscious and unconscious level. Male 7 furthered these challenges when he described how men do the decision making, men are in leadership positions, and how there is systemic oppression against women and people would be "foolish" to think otherwise. This gender disparity amongst the rank could not be forgotten, as Male 3 described locations around their police organization displaying men as the Chief of Police, reminding everyone of who is in power. The unfortunate reality of changing police culture was articulated by Male 1, where he stated how the recent phenomenon of changing police culture to reduce and recognize barriers to policewomen is so new that it will take time, along with a re-socializing/unlearning of an oppressive culture to a more equality and equity-based culture that sees the value of women in policing.

Overall, it was clear that the culture within policing is oppressive to women and if women choose to challenge this culture, Male 2 states it will require a "strong will and confidence" to go

against the “culture of the system” and the “hierarchy of the structure”, which he doesn’t think happens often. Male 2 furthered these points when he stated how women may choose to be silent, thereby implicitly accepting the culture, which can “impact their feeling of inclusion…could negatively impact their confidence to find new things or compete for new positions, or to really, truly feel a sense of equity in the organization”.

Witnessing Barriers

Throughout the interviews with the nine participants, it was evident that the participants were aware of unfair barriers and challenges that only women were encountering, which many of them came to understand and see even early into their policing careers. Subsequently, when the participants were asked if they had been in situations where they had witnessed these barriers and challenges and what they did about it, their answers were varied. The responses ranged from offering suggestions to women on daycares that open early in the morning to assist in their childcare issues (Male 1), encouraging women to build up their resumes, coaching and mentoring (Male 1, 7), to immediately addressing men when they discuss biases against women and telling men why this is inappropriate (Male 3, 4, 8), to listening, supporting, and validating when women discuss the barriers against them (Male 2, 6, 7, 8), to changing policies and challenging the practices and traditions that are discriminatory against women (Male 4, 6, 8, 9). Over the course of the nine interviews, only a few of the participants (Male 3, 4, 8) mentioned examples where they proactively engaged other policemen after these policemen brought up or spoke of traditional oppressive practices. This proclivity not to intervene could be, in part, due to the bystander effect, which will be discussed further in the Discussion section (Chapter 5).

Recognizing Privilege

> Male 4: “I have, have enjoyed in my life, tremendous privilege, most of it, unbeknownst to me. But when it comes to opportunity, and privilege, and a lack of barriers to pretty much whatever I have set my mind to wherever I wanted to do, it really doesn't get, you know, arguably any better than it does for, for people like me, in today's society”.

A few the participants (Male 3, 4, 5, 7) recognized and owned up to their privilege and the fact that the world does not get any better than it does for them, with these participants presenting as cis-gendered, white, and able-bodied. Male 3 elaborated on this former point when he stated how men have the privilege “across Canada” in management positions within policing, and how he blamed men for not developing the leadership and confidence in women to move up through the ranks. With Male 4 corroborating this statement when he mentioned how men have the power and privilege that inherently created this systemic gender oppression as men largely occupy the senior ranking positions within policing. Finally, Male 7 recognized how challenging it must be to be a minority in a male dominated policing profession.

Avenues for Reform

> Male 1: “…we really need to communicate and have developed an understanding of what those barriers are in order to be addressing them. And the biggest thing is now, the willingness to understand that there are barriers, and the will to try to change those. So I think those are one of the key things departments are doing is recognizing there are barriers, and then having a desire to want to change and break down those barriers, where traditionally, they been, you know, for the most part relatively ignored…”

It was widely acknowledged by all the participants that women suffer from many barriers within policing and how reform starts with everyone becoming more aware of the barriers

women encounter, to everyone working together, hearing each other, and about changing the daily practices, behaviors, and norms to shift police culture for meaningful change. As it relates to this study, the most significant change for these participants and their respective police organizations will be the 30x30. The 30x30 strives to achieve 30 percent representation of policewomen by 2030, along with improving women's experiences in policing with recruitment, retention, and representation of women throughout the ranks.

When the participants were asked directly how much of an impact the 30x30 will have on changing police organizations and more specifically, upon improving the lived experiences of policewomen, almost all the participants (8 of 9) discussed how the 30x30 will have a significant and improved influence for women in policing. Male 2 grounded this influence by realistically stating that the 30x30 will be a "significant starting point to drive many future initiatives." This influence will come in the form of police organizations being more intentional by formally making the hiring, retaining, and promoting of women a strategic priority (Male 1, 3, 4). The 30x30 will educate, provide knowledge, and create optimism (Male 8), thereby helping others to understand the challenges that women encounter in policing, while also creating an impetus for police organizations to review their policies, processes, recruiting strategies, and systems to not just create equality, but equity (Male 1, 4, 6, 7, 9). Furthermore, the 30x30 will reaffirm the zero tolerance of discriminatory practices and harassment of women (Male 1), have the built-in accountability measures where police organizations report back on what they are doing (Male 6), and acknowledge that the 30x30 is not the fix all solution and how it will require ongoing assessment, with no finish line to this type of work (Male 4). With no finish line to this work, Male 9 reminds us that time is also a barrier to consider as things are slow to change within policing.

Despite several of the participants believing that the 30x30 will have a significant influence on changing the lived experiences for policewomen, there were a few participants who may have unintentionally/unconsciously waivered on how much of an impact the 30x30 will have. For example, Male 1 started with saying how the 30x30 will have a "really big impact", but as the answer went on, he ends with "I think" and "I hope" it does change the situation for women. Male 5 stated how the 30x30 will be "huge" and ended the answer by stating how he is "hoping that we're, we're in a good place with that". Finally, this was further echoed by Male 7 stating how he believes "everyone in our organization will be on board" to ending the answer with, "I think we will continue to do everything we can".

When the participants were asked what police organizations were doing to understand, change, and reduce the barriers and challenges that women encounter within policing, the participants varied in their responses. As a baseline, a few of the participants (Male 4, 6) recognized how the barriers and challenges facing policewomen have been historically ignored, silenced, or were just unknown and unrecognized by policemen. The responses then ranged from not knowing what was being done (Male 8) to understanding what is being done at the local, provincial, and federal levels (Male 2). With Male 4 stating how recent events and "the murder of George Floyd, policing, the profession as a whole, from every corner has been under the microscope". Male 6 further reiterated this when he mentioned how recent Canadian events, specifically the "TRC" (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) and the "MMIW" (Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women) have:

"… made it okay for people to voice a concern for something that they don't feel is right… And so in policing, recognition of some of the challenges that exist for women that work in

this profession, and a dedication and a commitment to making it better, I think, is just part of that".

Along with the 30x30, some of the participants also provided specific examples to what they were currently doing, which included re-examinations of their policies and processes (Male 2, 6, 9), the formation of diverse committees that raise awareness and promote equitable changes (Male 2, 9), to coaching and mentoring of policewomen.

The coaching mentioned by Male 1 and 7 consisted of encouraging women to go for various promotions or job transfers, while there was no mention of men mentoring as there was a "lack of mentors right now in the senior officers ranks for, you know, junior females that are going there. And the female recruits or female constables are less likely to reach out to a male counterpart and say, Help me". This message of women as mentors with no mention of men as mentors continued with Male 4, 5, 7, and 8. However, Male 3 did mention a mentorship program for policewomen and policemen within his organization.

Finally, the participants mentioned recruiting initiatives (Male 1, 2, 9), to working on a new promotional system that removes biases (Male 9), to proactively speaking with women about their challenges (Male 4, 6), all while publicly acknowledging their commitment to reducing and overcoming the oppression of policewomen (Male 6). Another participant (Male 6) spoke about how he was able to make changes for policewomen who went on maternity leave, while also proactively doing internal surveys with policewomen to better understand what barriers and challenges are present and reporting back on what was going to be done to resolve or make the issue(s) better. A few of the participants also spoke about paternity leave for policemen (Male 4, 5, 9), having more conversations and creating space to discuss women's barriers (Male 1, 4, 6), as all avenues to possibly change gender ideologies and women's

position, location, and overall safety within policing. Despite these possible changes, Male 7 acknowledged that these changes in processes and mindsets came as a realization later in his personal and professional development, with Male 9 adding that ending the oppression against women will take as long, if not longer, than the amount of time it took to create and sustain the oppression.

Whose Issue is this?

> Male 4**: "**So how can we say this isn't a men's issue… we have created the issue… So it's the job of the chief to really create the space and the addresses, processes, and make those changes that are required to bring about the kind of representation and diversity that we're looking for because we know the value, right, we know the value".

When the participants were directly asked if the inequality for women in policing was a women's or men's issue to overcome, or both, all the participants generally stated that it was an issue for both men and women to overcome. Both Male 1 and 7 stated how overcoming these barriers should be done with consultation and collaboration with women as men may think they know what to do, but they do not really know. With that being said, both Male 5 and 8 quickly pointed out that this issue should not be left with the affected group to produce solutions to reform.

Some of the participants also pointed out how women have a role to play in overcoming and reducing the discrimination they experience. For example, Male 8 stated how he witnessed policewomen acquiescing to inappropriate statements made by men, which he did not like as he felt it was further perpetuating issues. Furthermore, many of the participants stated how women would not go for a job transfer or promotion, which would place them in positions of influence, as women were not as confident (Male 5, 7), they were less assertive than men (Male 1), and

policewomen take more time before going for promotion as they do not feel as prepared to apply (Male 1, 2, 3, 5, 8).

Overall, most of the participants (Male 3, 4, 5, 6, 7) specifically mentioned that the issues and barriers facing policewomen is more of an issue for policemen to resolve than it is for policewomen. Policemen should be more responsible for overcoming these barriers as there are more men in management positions (Male 3) and positions of privilege (Male 7), and these conversations about the barriers need to also come from men to other men (Male 5). Whether this was a men's, women's, or an issue for both to resolve, Male 2 and Male 4 argued that it is more of a "societal issue", with Male 9 adding that it is also an organizational issue to overcome. In summary, most of the participants commented on how they have the power and opportunity being amongst the upper ranks to influence change, how men largely occupy these spaces, and how these positions influence the culture of their police organizations.

Limitations

Although most of the results from this study have replicated the results of other similar studies, the methodological approach in this study separates itself from the others and provides fresh new insights into the barriers and challenges that policewomen encounter. The current results do not come from policewomen, they come from senior ranking policemen's perspectives, views, beliefs, and first-hand witnessing. Senior ranking policemen have been underrepresented in studies involving barriers against women in policing and there has been limited related research completed in a Canadian context or in a manner that speaks to the 30x30 strategy. This lack of research may speak to how challenging it is to get this perspective and where I had to use my own positionality, social location, privilege, and "insider status" (Ryan, 1993; Bonner & Tolhurst) to get a seat at this table. However, this insider status did accompany a

cost, as I have conscious and unconscious biases, outlooks, and belief systems, which I did my best to keep in check throughout the data gathering and presentation of the findings in this thesis.

The homogeneity of the participants was also a limitation in this study as I did not request specific demographic data or attempt to determine how much intersectionality there was amongst the participants. Future studies would add value to the research in this area by intentionally selecting senior ranking policemen who may be of different ethnicities, sexual orientation, etc., then the mostly (presenting) White and able-bodied men within this current study. Another limitation to this study could be the sample size of my participants, as Saldaña (2011) recommends "that anywhere from ten to thirty interviews be conducted to generate enough data to formulate a grounded theory" (p. 116). Although the sample size could be greater and therefore the assertions and theorizing more compelling, Charmaz (2014) also argues that a smaller sample size could still provide meaningful and important results, which I believe is evident in my study given the caliber of the interviews and the comprehensive analysis. Despite some of the methodological drawbacks that include the lack of intersectionality, the smaller sample size, and that only two police agencies within Canada participated, which may limit the generalizability and replication to other settings, I believe the results are constructive, powerful, and informative. In the closing chapter, I build on these observations and provide a potential roadmap for addressing barriers to women's full participation in policing.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Systemically Oppressive Systems and Culture

One of the central focuses of this current research was not only to identify which barriers and challenges continue to persist for women in policing today from a senior ranking policemen's perspective, but to try and learn the possible causes and roots to why and how the barriers facing policewomen started and continue to be perpetuated today. What became apparent through speaking with the participants was how oppressive social systems like patriarchy presented themselves and helped inform, create, and maintain a police culture that continues to hinder women's parity, equality, and wellness within policing. As previously discussed, patriarchy is a socially constructed system that maintains inequality through such things as family, religion, and institutions, whereby the hegemony and dominance of men over women becomes commonplace, routine, and seen as natural.

Through the participants use of language, stereotypes, anecdotal examples, perceptions of other police officer's belief systems, or first-hand accounts through witnessing, findings from this thesis demonstrates that patriarchy is present within today's police institutions. What was informative and often heard within the interviews was how often the word "dominated" was used in the context of policemen's parity, position, and status in policing. To dominate means to "have supremacy or pre-eminence over another, exercise of mastery or ruling power" (Merriam Webster, n.d.). Although the participants could have stated different words or phrases, they chose words that speak to control and a power over (Batliwala, 2013) and acknowledge the reality of what is happening to policewomen.

Many of the participants stated how policing has historically and traditionally been a profession dominated by men, with Male 6 highlighting how even “Right now, policing is a very much male dominated occupation, and profession. In Canada, it's very much a white male dominated profession”. This theme of male dominance continued throughout most of the interviews as participants explicitly stated how the policing profession has been dominated by men since its inception, how masculinity is attached to policing, how society in general is even dominated by men, and how men have been the ones to put up the barriers to women’s overall advancement. Accompanying this over representation and dominance of policemen came their views, perspectives, perceptions, biases, traditions, judgements, and outlooks, which became entrenched in what many described as a police culture, which ultimately manifested into barriers and challenges for policewomen that persists today.

The participants recognized the visual underrepresentation of women amongst the ranks, policemen’s lack of insight into barriers and challenges policewomen encounter, how traditional social gender ideologies in the home and workplace deter or hinder policewomen’s progression, and how reducing or eliminating gender discrimination is a relatively new phenomenon within policing. The participants further expressed how policing has primarily been the occupied space of men since its inception, how policing has been imagined and maintained in a masculine identity, how policies and procedures have unintended consequences for women, and how men occupy the senior ranks more than women. Within this top-down approach, knowledge, power, and leadership are possessed by those at the top, or within this present research context, held by senior ranking policemen. This one-way stream of decision-making may be appropriate at times, but it is a structurally limiting constraint. These limiting constraints do not provide opportunities

where all employees can communicate, collaborate, internalize, and hopefully alter an oppressive police culture.

This dominance has created barriers and challenges that have turned into devastating personal and professional consequences for policewomen. What should be men and women working together has turned into men versus women. Whether it is the negative aftereffects of the gender dichotomy, doing gender or doing time, the generalized and stereotyped perceptions and processes emanating from these culturally constituted explicit and subtly reinforced narratives encourage and reinforce the gender binary and the inequality between the two sexes. When organizations (re)present themselves with gender neutrality and equality for all, yet the composition of men and overall culture demonstrate male dominance, herein signifies a patriarchal system within policing.

What became evident when mentioning what women bring to the policing profession involved the participants comparing men and women, which was likely done both implicitly and at times explicitly. As previously described, systems of heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism were created and maintained, in part, with a narrow definition of the male/female binary, with men being seen as the strong, capable, and dominant species, and women being seen as the other, weak, and incompetent (Arvin et al., 2013; Johnson, 2005). When statements such as “they (women)bring more of” are mentioned, it can reinforce the gender binary, the differences between men and women, turn to men versus women, and subtly ranks one gender as better than the other (Ife, 2013).

Still a Women’s Issue

As previously mentioned, not only did the participants provide an exhaustive list of barriers and challenges that policewomen experience and how policing “wasn’t a female friendly place” (Male 9), but specifically how these barriers and challenges have discouraged policewomen in applying for job transfers or promotions. Some of the barriers mentioned by many of the participants included how policewomen lack the confidence and belief in themselves, or how policewomen did not see other policewomen in leadership positions and did not believe it was a reality for them to be in these positions. These same participants mentioned that they learned about these barriers through conversations with policewomen or through previous research. Although these barriers and challenges are evident given the participants first-hand accounts and knowledge of past research (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Kenrick et., 2004), the participants, at times, did see these barriers as a women’s issue to overcome. This belief was further corroborated in another study completed by Haake (2018), where the answers of men and women were compared in relation to the question of why women were not in leadership positions, with only the men suggesting answers that made it a women’s issue to overcome. What was also thought provoking was how some of the participants listed this type of barrier as one of the first barriers mentioned as to why policewomen are not represented amongst the upper ranks in police organizations.

Unfortunately, this was not the only occurrence where the participants made suggestions that this was a policewomen’s issue to overcome. When discussing the barriers to policewomen or what police organizations are doing to overcome this lack of representation of women amongst the upper ranks, many of the participants spoke about the lack of policewomen or policewomen in leadership positions as mentors for other policewomen. Although one participant mentioned how policewomen were less likely to reach out to policemen or how some of the participants did

mention coaching the odd policewomen only after the policewomen approached them for help, the lack of policemen mentioning where they could be a mentor to advance policewomen was disheartening. Afterall, almost all the participants mentioned how the barriers facing women must be countered by men and women, both organizationally and societally, which could come in the form of true allyship. The discouraging impression of what is not being stated was also felt when discussing policewomen being on maternity leave and missing out on policing experience, with policing experience over any other experience being more highly regarded when going for job transfers or promotions. Although police experience is relevant and important, the skills and experience learned from motherhood should not be denied, as motherhood teaches multi-tasking, patience, perseverance, working through adversity, and much more, which are all skills necessary to be an effective leader (Kinghorn, 2013). By looking at women through a deficit lens instead of a strength-based lens is believed to be further inhibiting policewomen's progression within policing.

Tokenism on Display

As previously mentioned, Kanter (1977) discovered that organizations with fewer women were often pushed into what were characterized as feminine related work positions, which was evidenced in this study when policewomen were considered by some of the participants as more capable to deal with domestic violence and sexualized violence investigations than policemen. Kanter (1977) also believed how women had more pressure to perform than their men counterparts, as evidenced in this current study when Male 6 stated how policewomen have "a harder hill to climb. And it's a bit of a different push", or further illustrated by Male 8 when he stated how policewomen "within our organization that have done a lot, but have been slowed to be respected", while also having to overcome more barriers and challenges than men. The

discussion on tokenism did not stop there, with a few of the participants stating explicitly how tokenism is either thought of or spoken about by both policewomen and policemen in the course of their duties. In this way, tokenism can be perceived, assumed, as well as experienced. For example, in terms of women working in feminine related work positions, some of the participants mentioned how women were better suited and more effective in dealing with survivors of sexual abuse and gender-based violence work units. These participants could then have a bias that has led to a tokenistic characteristic, which could unintentionally lead or force policewomen to enter these types of work-related positions, thereby perpetuating tokenism. When it comes to promotion or job transfers, some of the participants mentioned how women would likely wonder if they were selected because they were a woman and if so, how the women would not want this. Another participant mentioned how women were given light duties during pregnancy and how these same women returning from maternity were given positions that allowed a better work/life balance, and how this could be perceived as tokenism. In sum, it was clear that that tokenism does play a role in a policing environment, it is present, not uncommon, and how tokenism should be avoided.

Impacts of Gender and Socialization

Keeping in mind Harro's Cycle of Socialization (2000), most of the participants spoke either implicitly or explicitly about the ongoing socialization that can negatively affect women's lived realities within policing, with Male 7 highlighting how "for every generation of discrimination, mistreatment, whatever you want to call it, you're going to take a generation to get over it". Some of the participants noted how the ongoing socialization of barriers for women in the family and public realm would start well before women entered policing, as evidenced by one participant when he believed there would be pressure from family not to join policing because

there were safer jobs. Essentially, the socialization was noted to start from childhood, which continued within the family and later public spheres. At an early age, men would be socialized and bring in conscious and unconscious biases about women's role generally, then later to women's role specifically in policing, which was believed to still be occurring. For example, when participants would provide examples of policewomen typically being the caregiver at home and continuing this role in related police jobs and duties, how policemen would become the protector of policewomen if policewomen were disrespected at a call, suggesting that (police)men continue in their socialized gender ideologies. As women then entered policing, one participant stated how women's lived experiences before and during policing that relate to women's oppression and discrimination could and would also be re-told to other policewomen, which continually reminded policewomen of their daily struggle and lived reality within policing. This same participant expanded on this and stated how this story telling could then create a mindset for policewomen that they are not seen as equal to men. Through decades and decades of this socialization, one participant stated how this created a culture and norms whereby women would continue to be oppressed. Despite police organizations recent phenomenon of trying to change police culture to reduce and recognize barriers to policewomen, it was widely recognized that this changing of an oppressive culture to a more equal and equity-based police culture will take time, re-socializing, and unlearning.

Starts with Awareness

It was widely acknowledged by almost all the participants that there needs to be an awareness of the barriers and challenges that policewomen encounter before there will be any reform for policewomen, with Male 1 taking it one step further by stating how there needs to be a "willingness to understand that there are barriers, and the will to try to change those". Given

the belief that awareness was the first stage of change and how pivotal awareness is, it was illustrative that there were few mentions about how this awareness was happening for all policemen. The participants spoke about the 30x30 as an initiative being managed through the senior leadership ranks, where there is some intentionality around creating the space and place for discussions around policewomen, their challenges, and how to overcome said challenges, but not much after that. Very few participants mentioned proactively putting in personal work to become more aware and alive to the challenges encountered by anyone other than themselves, as demonstrated with their acknowledgement surrounding their privilege, positionality, and social location.

It was apparent that this awareness that is so instrumental to change may be limited to the senior ranking officers. What is being missed is a collective form of agency and understanding from the top-down to the bottom-up, where there are opportunities for engagement, reflection, learning, and meaningful change. If awareness and togetherness are central aspects of change for policewomen, then police organizations should consider ways and processes around furthering these areas as part of their strategy in improving women's experiences in policing. This is where police organizations need to get more intentional, triage the barriers against women as a priority beyond the 30x30, and consider aspects and forms of more allyship, coaching, and mentoring.

To Be or Not to Be an Ally

While all the participants acknowledged that improving the lived experiences of women in policing was an issue that men and women need to do together, most of the participants also stated how not just men, but senior ranking policemen had a significant role in changing the inequitable aspects of police culture, given their power, privilege, and position. One participant took it even further when he stated how improving the lived realities of policewomen was all up

to the Chief of the police department, as the Chief can role model, set the example, and ultimately create the space and place for change. Within this current study, some of the participants spoke of coaching policewomen, but there were limited displays of allyship. When allyship was displayed, it came in the form of participants intentionally speaking and listening to policewomen to understand what they need, placing themselves in positions to support, coach, and to intervene when barriers are presented, and joining local, provincial, and federal associations/committees to support and learn more about the barriers that can then be challenged and addressed.

What was disheartening about some of the participants responses to countering the inequality through a display of allyship, was how surface level it appeared. The participants have been in policing for likely two to three decades or more, they have heard, witnessed, and learned about the many barriers facing policewomen, but there was a limited mention about doing anything beyond the situation to change anything. The fact that some of the participants took none to limited action(s) could be a result of the bystander effect, as maybe they believed someone else would report the injustice, or maybe through further contemplation they become indecisive and end up not reporting it. Anecdotally, I can say that I too have not spoken up when I encountered what I considered to be an unjust situation, as I had a fear of power that was held amongst the senior ranking leaders in the room at the time, a fear of retribution or recourse, to feelings of isolation and not belonging if I did speak up. The fact that I had these feelings and thoughts, despite my privileged position, suggests it is likely even worse for policewomen.

Although the participants in my study provided some examples where allyship was displayed and could produce positive change for policewomen, the participants also provided examples where there were missed opportunities in the past and present where policemen could have been

advocates for women. These missed opportunities start with a suggestive theme where policewomen are the ones who must overcome their own unwelcomed and unfair societal and institutional resistance to women's inequality. Some of the participants provided supportive examples of this when they discussed how much of the positive changes for women have been lead through influential policewomen and not policemen, how policewomen were not being promoted based partially on the fact there were a lack of policewomen as mentors, or how some of the participants witnessed policewomen struggling with balancing their career with the care for their children, with no mention of men or policemen assisting. There may have been some allyship within these examples that was just not mentioned, but when they are not stated and policewomen continue to face the same challenges they did in decades past, it suggests that a lot needs to change and could come in the form of more allyship, as this is not a women's issue to overcome. With most of the participants stating implicitly and explicitly how their positionality offered power and decision making to influence change within police organizations, how important men are in improving the lived experiences of policewomen, and how this is clearly not an issue for women to solve on their own or with limited assistance, a more intentional and authentic form of allyship could have promoted more positive changes for women in policing.

On the surface, allyship appears to bring people together for a common purpose to overcome oppression, but it is not without its faults. If one were to review allyship through a more critical lens, it would demonstrate, perpetuate, and highlight the differences, hierarchies, and divisions of people within society. To say that allyship reflects people from a dominant group helping the oppressed, suggests that allies have all the power and privilege. The ally has options when to use their positionality, social location, and power when it is convenient for them, basically turning it on and off as they choose, as marginalized groups endure the daily and persistent oppression,

thereby doing little to unsettle or dismantle status quo (Bourke, 2020). This understanding that allyship has differing perspectives could then pose an internal dilemma with the ally where they want to work with marginalized groups, but they may not with the shame and impression of being part of the problem. In my experience, the mere bringing up of one's privilege in conversations about social justice in a police setting has made people feel uncomfortable, emotionally charged, and can initiate and bring about personal withdrawal. If the ally then feels or perceives their position as futile or coming from an unfavorable position to be in, what some consider to be a "White-22" (Collins & Jun, 2017), this could further detract potential allies in their promotion of social justice.

Strategy versus Culture

As the corpus of data was collected and analyzed, it became apparent that there was some discrepancy in how well the 30x30 could enhance women's position, status, and well-being within policing. As previously noted, when the participants were asked directly how much of an impact the 30x30 would have on policing, most of the participants stated how the 30x30 will have "a major impact" (Male 3) on changing the lived experiences for policewomen. However, there were a few participants who started their answer with a strong affirmation and belief that the 30x30 would create meaningful changes, but as they ended their answer, this strong belief turned to a hoping and thinking that the 30x30 will improve the lived experiences of policewomen. This uncertainty in how effective the 30x30 will be may originate and be sourced to earlier statements about police culture being so strong that it overpowers any strategy, with Male 6 stating how police culture affects policewomen in a "very negative way" and how police culture "lives and thrives and survives, long after my workday is over and sometimes in the middle of the night and happens quietly over time, and you don't realize that it's happening".

Although the 30x30 is needed and likely an impetus for further change, to believe that increasing the representation and experiences of policewomen through policies and strategies is the best business case to advancing women's equality and equity in the workplace is up for debate. The well entrenched values, norms, belief systems, practices, and policies entrenched within police culture are continually being cycled, maintained, then perpetuated, which makes me wonder if Peter Drucker's famous quote, "Culture eats strategy for breakfast" (as cited by Willis, 2022, pg. 18), will be accurate in describing the current state within policing environments. Feminist scholar Batliwala (2013) reminds us that "culture is far slower to change than formal policy or law, and law and policy do not automatically create changes in culture" (pg. 115). Haake (2018) furthers this debate by stating how increasing the numbers of women in policing may not be the best strategy to advancing gender equality in policing, but it could be a stimulus for transformation within police departments.

Chapter 6: Recommendations

As part of this study and final thesis, I wanted to provide some recommendations and avenues for consideration to improve the equity, diversity, and inclusion work being done by police organizations. Although the following recommendations are not exhaustive or listed in priority, they do provide opportunities to aid in improving the lived realties of policewomen, to aid in the work being done with the 30x30, and to hopefully create meaningful and sustainable change within police organizations moving forward.

The Silence Speaks Loudly

The police code of silence or what is known as the unspoken aspect of police culture where police officers are deterred from exposing forms of misconduct by their colleagues was brought up within my study, which aids in understanding why the equality and equity for women in policing has persisted for so long. Firstly, all the participants mentioned countless barriers that only women have to endure and encounter, which was evidenced during the coding process where it became apparent that the participants were highlighting and mentioning double to quadruple the number of challenges and barriers that policewomen encounter as compared to movements, changes, and reforms that are improving the lives of policewomen. This was made evident when Male 7 stated that what “gets valued gets dealt with… that which gets recognized gets addressed”. Presumably, this could suggest that there is a lot of knowledge about the barriers and challenges women face, but with the code of silence there is not much movement to overcome these barriers, as these barriers are not being valued and therefore not being addressed. Dare I say, if the barriers do not affect the policemen, it will not be triaged as important and ultimately be left unaddressed.

Although the current participants have all been encouraging in their outlook and intentionality to the barriers that policewomen encounter likely more than ever before because of the 30x30, it will take more than the 30x30 to get where we ought to be. Afterall, as it was made clear in this study, the barriers and challenges facing women have been historically ignored, with some participants commenting how it has only been in the last five to fifteen years that police organizations have recognized and worked on the barriers against women in policing. For officers who do have the courage to confront these barriers and misconduct, they will face a challenging police culture and hierarchy that is resistant to change, which will likely result in officers choosing to remain silent, thereby implicitly accepting this code of silence that negatively affects policewomen. The silencing and doing nothing to minimal over the years speaks loud and clear why women have not progressed in policing and why the perpetuation of gender oppression has continued to this day. The time and need for men to step up has never been greater, with Brown (2018) reminding us that, “If not me then who? If not now, then when” (p. 180). Whether it is “critical hope” (Grain & Lund, 2016) or the radical imagination (Khasnabish & Max Haiven, 2014), the community needs to recognize what is, then visualize the world as a place where change can happen.

Allyship and Bystander Training

This thesis has highlighted the pros and cons of allyship, along with understanding and experiencing where allyship can be an effective strategy for change. To be an ally means that you are aware of your privileged position, you understand the barriers, challenges, and issues of people who are marginalized, and you authentically and proactively engage in behavior and action to counter the discriminatory practices, traditions, and belief systems of those who perpetuate them. Where allyship meets bystander training is in this latter point, as bystander

training tries to counter the adverse effects of harassment, microaggressions, sexism, discrimination, and every other “ism” in the workplace. Biro (2021) emphasizes that bystander training can create a culture whereby people are united and supported to confront inappropriate behavior in the workplace, which is imperative knowing the bystander effect and in terms of this study, how police culture can also resist a form of whistleblowing. Once members within a police organization become aware of the challenges and barriers facing policewomen, police organizations could utilize and empower their own workers as active bystanders to address workplace oppressions. Given this is an everyone’s issue to resolve, mobilizing peers to confront and educate through a shared and collective good could be a useful tool to changing the narratives, beliefs, perspectives, and outlooks of those who have held policewomen from feeling valued and appreciated within a police organization. Katz (2018) asserts that engaging men to do this work will be critical, essentially getting “them beyond defensiveness toward proactive bystander and leadership behavior” (p. 1805). Essentially, there would be a need for policemen to start ‘policing’ themselves as further silencing about oppressive statements, beliefs, acts, traditions, and values could demonstrate a level of complicity.

When reviewing and combining the challenges underlying allyship, the bystander effect, along with the known challenges of a police culture, it provides some further evidence why women have been marginalized within policing, with limited changes to improving the experiences of policewomen. Afterall, the amalgamation of the personal barriers with the bystander effect, the social and organizational gender norms that divide the sexes and maintain hierarchies, along with the barriers of a police culture that embody a hegemonic masculinity and code of silence, will offer ongoing resistance to the effectiveness of allyship work.

The National Institute of Justice report (Starheim, n.d.) reminded everyone that women did not create the barriers and challenges set before them and how they will not be able to overcome them on their own. If allyship work is done, along with bystander education, it must go beyond the surface level education and skill building required to deal with adverse situations, to a more comprehensive understanding of the social systems and ensuing oppressive culture that ultimately inhibits men's participation in improving women's position, location, status, and well-being within organizations and society at large. Whichever approach and process it is, one should undoubtedly expect it to be slow through the encountering of both social and institutional resistance, as change is "never a neat, tidy process, but an extremely chaotic and messy business" (Batliwala, 2013, p. 55). Despite these many challenges, I would argue that maintaining silence, being unaware of the complex social and institutional barriers preventing women's full participation in society or hoping the issues and challenges that women encounter will naturally disappear through time, will only maintain status quo and the oppression of women in policing. Allyship, when done authentically and combined with not just words, but action, could offer a collective agency for change. The senior ranking policemen within this study are already doing various levels of allyship, both implicitly and explicitly, with only time and hopefully further research to see what effect it will have on improving the lived realities of policewomen.

Mobilizing Privilege Toward Critical Social Justice Practices

What is abundantly clear is that the concept of privilege and its manifestations within allyship are deeply connected, complex, and multifaceted. Despite these challenges, Ng (2015) states that to make changes "it is imperative to engage in conversations about privilege, power, gender, and race-ing. Only then will we achieve solidarity for all" (p. 159). It is in this critical introspection of one's own privilege where the ally will begin their work (Kivel, 2018). This

work will then transition into grappling with the uneasiness of their earned and often unearned privilege (Stewart, 2012), while becoming an authentic partner with the oppressed group and maintaining accountability to the allies who are not committed to change (DiStefano et al., 2000), all while being committed to action that is deeply rooted in a type of social justice that looks to disassemble oppressive social systems (Freire, 2008). If one were to draw upon this work within policing, it is not just social justice that is needed in policing, it is a shift to what Sensoy and DiAngelo (2017) describe as a critical social justice practice, as this involves the recognition of inequality and how unequal power relations operate on a continual basis at the micro and macro level, all while formulating and organizing for real change and action to occur. Although Kashtan (2016) reminds us how some people are born into various aspects of privilege and how one cannot excuse themselves from their privilege, people should remember that "to opt out of conversations about privilege and oppression because they make you uncomfortable is the epitome of privilege" (Brown, 2018, p. 195). Notwithstanding the challenges embedded within this privilege and allyship work, some scholars (Butterwick & Villagente, 2015; Taber, 2015) will continue to express how allies can inspire, advocate, support, share opportunities for growth within an organization, recognize the inequalities present in society, all while changing and challenging status quo.

Diversity Management

As the 21st century moves forward, police organizations should continue to see the value in diversity, not only in gender, but in all dimensions of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, physical abilities, religious beliefs, as differences should be celebrated. According to the 2016 Census, 22.3 % of Canadians identified as a visible minority, with a projected increase to 31.2% to 35.9% by 2036 (Statistics Canada, 2016). With these projections, countless organizations

worldwide are rapidly becoming more diverse and because of it, organizations are responding to this demand through diversity management programs (Kim, 2006). Much of these diversity management programs are being initiated in response to environmental uncertainties or because other organizations within the same field are doing it. However, not only does the term diversity management often get diluted under other synonyms, but the programs themselves vary dramatically, resulting in "a serious obstacle for creating useful measures of the diversity management construct" (Pitts et al., 2010, p. 869). Despite the varying levels and challenges with diversity management programs, diversity management starts with knowing an organizations current metric diversity and the processes in place to reach higher goals, should give precedence to an inclusive work environment, and be lead through a diverse leadership team (Reiners, 2021).

Through a literature review of diversity management, I was intrigued by Pitts (2006) model of diversity management. Although this model is wide-ranging and does not directly relate to policing, it does have a specific focus on policy implementation as it relates to diversity management, which aligns with the work in this current study. This model provides an explanation of how an organization can improve the performance of its employees through diversity management, with an emphasis on three interconnected components: "recruitment programs, programs aimed to increase cultural awareness, and pragmatic management policies" (Pitts, 2006, p.253). Although the effectiveness of diversity on employee and organizational performance has varied results, they do look promising (Wise & Tschirhart, 2000). Given this, the essential starting point of any diversity management program must enhance its diversity through recruiting strategies. Following this recruitment, organizations will need to build in cultural awareness through programs and assess their positive and/or negative impact on organizational performance. Lastly, each organization will establish realistic and achievable

programs and policies that promote a positive work experience for their underrepresented employees, which is like what the 30x30 policy initiative is trying to do. Whether police organizations are following a specific diversity management program or not, what they are enacting with the 30x30 policy is a model like Pitts (2006), and with time, further research, and assessment, will assist in determining their effectiveness.

Although the 30x30 policy does provide a vision and roadmap for the future, it does not in and of itself provide assurances of success without proper policy implementation, which includes measures of benchmarking progress and tracking changes over time. Cerna (2013) reminds us how policy changes co-exist with policy implementation and how policy changes or reforms can sound and appear realistic and achievable on their surface, they are multifaceted, complex, and their determination of what is success may be difficult to discern.

Effective Policy Implementation

Given that the 30x30 policy initiative is relatively new and its awareness, processes, and outcomes will take time to present themselves, it will be imperative that police organizations continually review and assess how they are implementing the 30x30. Through a review of various policy implementation literature, there is no shortage of insights, teachings, and models to explain and illustrate how someone can facilitate an effective and prosperous policy implementation. Although not directly related to policing, the early policy implementation work of Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979) could provide information and pathways for police organizations to consider. Whether it is this model or others, I believe a model should be utilized that could aid in framing, understanding, and analyzing the policy pathways undertaken by police organizations. Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979) provide an overview of five key conditions that need to be present for achieving the stated objectives of the policy, which include:

1) the program originates from a complete theory that connects changes in the target group behaviors to the anticipated objectives and outcomes;
2) the policy decisions contain simple and uncomplicated directives that arrange the implementation process into manageable stages for optimal target group compliance;
3) the leaders and organizations have the managerial skills and ability to achieve their objectives and desired outcomes;
4) the program is maintained and supported by organized constituency groups during this process;
5) that over time, the desired outcomes and objectives are not derailed by any opposing or differing policy or socio-economic conditions.

Even if the 30x30 is implemented over a long time-period, it may only change the "condition" for women and not the "position" (Batliwala, 2013, p.47). The condition refers to the current concern or problem (obtaining 30% women by 2030), which can be quicker to address, while the position refers to addressing a more complicated issue, such as why the continued gender inequality and patriarchy exists within the deep structures and power present in women's work and family realms. To further illustrate this point, although some police organizations may have a sizable ratio of female to male police officers, there are often little to no females in high-ranking positions, which shows that the position has not changed for women. This example illustrates how organizations often want the quick fix or band-aid solution, but the real work, which involves getting messy, uncomfortable, and living in the conflict, is what needs to take place to deal with these deeply rooted issues.

Let's Get Comfortable with the Uncomfortable

The pathway to a collective form of change could be explained through what Harro (2018) describes as the Cycle of Liberation. As Harro's (2000) Cycle of Socialization describes and explains how there are patterns of oppression, then similarly there could be patterns toward some level of liberation, which starts at the individual level and works toward a coalescing and partnering to dismantle oppressive systems. The individual starts this liberation by greeting and welcoming their uncomfortableness as an entry point, not an exit point. Then through ongoing listening and dialogical exchange comes awareness, understanding, and empathy with others, thereby creating a shared or collective power that will need to be maintained and sustained, with the hope of social justice change.

Conclusion

The dominant themes from my study suggest that policemen can lack the awareness to the barriers that women encounter, how the ideal police officer is still a man, how the importance of overcoming the barriers to policewomen have not been properly or efficiently triaged as needing to be changed until more recently, and how overcoming the barriers against policewomen may still largely be an issue for women to resolve. The assertions and theorizing I state from my study are not intended to be the "one size fits all" or the "be all" explanation to why and how policewomen are in this challenging position. Rather, the assertions and theorizing I state were developed in an attempt to understand how the barriers and challenges against policewomen have been maintained and perpetuated through time.

The findings of this study further illustrate the cultural challenges inherent within policing that marginalize policewomen and provide barriers to their overall well-being and position within a policing environment. Accompanying these cultural challenges and barriers are socially oppressive patriarchal systems of social organization that identify, magnify, and

perpetuate the ostensibly inherent control and power of men over women. Patriarchy and other oppressive systems have become so deeply ingrained that they appear natural, which is evidenced in the way people are socialized into gender norms and ideologies that position men as the better of the sexes. Although women have been fighting for parity, equality, and equity for hundreds of years in both the public and private realms, oppressive systems remain a fact of society and present themselves in policing organizations.

The hope of achieving greater gender quality should go beyond reviewing statistics and achieving 30x30, to deep and meaningful internal reflection around social norms and social systems, with the goal of authentic and meaningful action that demonstrates equality for all, regardless of gender. To remember that beyond the statistic or 30x30 is a woman who should be valued and respected. Ultimately, the implication of my study is a call out for current and future members of leadership to recognize and acknowledge one's personal, organizational, and societal role in the oppression of women and to work with others to improve this situation. To deconstruct what they have known, to unlearn, and spread new insights and scholarship that creates the courage to confront and dedication to social justice. It is the hope that the barriers and challenges against women are recognized as a societal and ultimately an everyone's issue to overcome.

The epiphany and late realization in someone's career of what it must be like to be a minority or even becoming more aware of gender oppression speaks to a privileged life of men and not seeing or experiencing barriers and challenges. In turn, this clearly suggests that more work needs to be done with junior policemen to determine their level of knowledge and mindset into improving women's lived experiences in both the public and private realms. Policemen should gain an awareness and understanding of how they can influence, change, shift, and impact

police culture and organizations to improve and advance gender equality and equity in the workplace. The benefits of this collective social group of senior ranking policemen and all policemen could propel police organizations in moving toward changes in policies, practices, strategies, and overall actions in respect of advancing women's experiences, well-being, and safety within police organizations.

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Appendix A: First Approval

University of Victoria

Office of Research Services | Human Research Ethics Board
Michael Williams Building Rm B202 PO Box 1700 STN CSC Victoria BC V8W 2Y2 Canada
T 250-472-4545 | F 250-721-8960 | uvic.ca/research | ethics@uvic.ca

Certificate of Approval

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR	**Catherine McGregor** (Supervisor)	**ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER** Expedited review - delegated	**21-0299**
PRINCIPAL APPLICANT	**MARK Pamminger** **Master's student**	ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE	19-Nov-2021
		APPROVED ON	19-Nov-2021
UVIC DEPARTMENT	**Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies EPLS**	APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE	18-Nov-2022

PROJECT TITLE **Barriers to Women in Policing**

RESEARCH TEAM MEMBERS **None**

DECLARED PROJECT FUNDING **None**

DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPROVAL
tcps2_core_certificate.pdf - 29-Aug-2021
image10-20-2021-040032-1.pdf - 21-Oct-2021
image10-20-2021-040032-1.pdf - 21-Oct-2021
Interview Script.docx - 21-Oct-2021
Nov 9, 2021 Memo to M. Pamminger re Master's Research Request.pdf - 15-Nov-2021
[Police Agency name] Participant Consent Form.docx - 16-Nov-2021
[Police Agency name] Participant Consent Form.doc - 16-Nov-2021
[Police Agency name], Invitation to Participate in a Research Study.docx - 16-Nov-2021
[Police Agency name], Invitation to Participate in a Research Study.docx - 16-Nov-2021
[Police Agency name], Invitation to Participate in a Research Study.docx - 16-Nov-2021
[Police Agency name], Invitation to Participate in a Research Study.docx - 16-Nov-2021

CONDITIONS OF APPROVAL

This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the protocol.

Modifications
To make any changes to the approved research procedures in your study, please submit a "Request for Modification" form. You must receive ethics approval before proceeding with your modified protocol.

Renewals
Your ethics approval must be current for the period during which you are recruiting participants or collecting data. To renew your protocol, please submit a "Request for Renewal" form before the expiry date on your certificate. You will be sent an emailed reminder prompting you to renew your protocol about six weeks before your expiry date.

Project Closures
When you have completed all data collection activities and will have no further contact with participants, please notify the Human Research Ethics Board by submitting a "Notice of Project Completion" form.

Certification

This certifies that the UVic Human Research Ethics Board has examined this research protocol and concluded that, in all respects, the proposed research meets the appropiate standards of ethcis as outlines by the University of Victoria Research Regulations Involving Human Participants.

University of Victoria

Office of Research Services | Human Research Ethics Board
Michael Williams Building Rm B202 PO Box 1700 STN CSC Victoria BC V8W 2Y2 Canada
T 250-472-4545 | F 250-721-8960 | uvic.ca/research | ethics@uvic.ca

Certificate of Approval - Amendments

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR:	**Catherine McGregor** (Supervisor)	**ETHICS PROTOCOL NUMBER** Expedited review - delegated	**21-0299**
PRINCIPAL APPLICANT:	**MARK Pamminger** **Master's student**	ORIGINAL APPROVAL DATE:	19-Nov-2021
		APPROVED ON:	11-Feb-2022
UVIC DEPARTMENT:	**Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies EPLS**	APPROVAL EXPIRY DATE:	18-Nov-2022

PROJECT TITLE: **Barriers to Women in Policing**

RESEARCH TEAM MEMBERS: **None**

DECLARED PROJECT FUNDING: **None**

DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN THIS APPROVAL:
tcps2_core_certificate.pdf - 29-Aug-2021
image10-20-2021-040032-1.pdf - 21-Oct-2021
image10-20-2021-040032-1.pdf - 21-Oct-2021
Interview Script.docx - 21-Oct-2021
Nov 9, 2021 Memo to M. Pamminger re Master's Research Request.pdf - 15-Nov-2021
[Police Agency name]_Participant Consent Form.docx - 16-Nov-2021
[Police Agency name], Invitation to Participate in a Research Study.docx - 16-Nov-2021
[Police Agency name], Invitation to Participate in a Research Study.docx - 16-Nov-2021
[[Police Agency name], Invitation to Participate in a Research Study.docx - 16-Nov-2021
[Police Agency name], Invitation to Participate in a Research Study.docx - 16-Nov-2021
[Police Agency name], Participant Consent Form_Revised.doc - 04-Feb-2022
[Police Agency name] Permission Letter.pdf - 04-Feb-2022

Conditions of approval

This Certificate of Approval is valid for the above term provided there is no change in the protocol.

Amendments
To make changes to the approved research procedure in your study, please submit "Amendments" or "Annual renewal with amendments" form. You must receive research ethics approval before proceeding with your amended protocol.

Renewals
Your ethics approval must be current for the period during which you are recruiting participants or collecting data. To renew your protocol, please submit a "Request for Renewal" form before the expiry date on your certificate. You will be sent an emailed reminder prompting you to renew your protocol about six weeks before your expiry date.

Project Closures
When you have completed all data collection activities and will have no further contact with participants, please notify the Human Research Ethics Board by submitting a "Notice of Project Completion" form.

Certification

This certifies that the UVic Human Research Ethics Board has examined this research protocol and concluded that, in all respects, the proposed research meets the appropriate standards of ethics as outlined by the University of Victoria's policies for research involving human participants.

Appendix B

Invitation to Participate in a Research Study

Study: Barriers to Women in Policing

My name is Mark Pamminger and I have been employed as a police officer with the Saanich Police, located in greater Victoria, British Columbia, since 2005. I am a Master of Arts student in the Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies at the University of Victoria. My academic focus is to research the past and current perspectives and lived experiences of women in policing from a male police officer's point of view.

I am aware that the [Police Agency name] have taken the 30x30 Pledge and this 30x30 Pledge is a catalyst for my research. The 30x30 has acknowledged the lack of research with male participants and by participating in this study, the participant will be adding to the field of knowledge and hopefully inspiring further research into areas that require further exploration and study into improving the lived experiences of women in policing.

I am interested in learning about the senior ranking (Inspector, Deputy Chief, and Chief) male police officer's first-hand experiences of what barriers are present and being witnessed in advancing women's position, location, status, and overall safety within policing. It is anticipated that through this information it will determine, at what level, these barriers are being maintained, sustained, and perpetuated within policing, then hopefully inspire mindsets and action toward removing the barriers that are hindering women's overall advancement in the profession.

This research study requests participants to engage in an interview with the researcher. The interview is expected to take approximately 30-60 minutes. There is no renumeration or financial incentive for your participation. Given the Covid-19 pandemic, I would comply with the most current BC Public Health Order Covid-19 protocols (last updated October 29, 2021), I have also reviewed the UVIC Communicable Disease Plan, and the guidelines as outlined in UVIC's Human Research Ethics Covid-19 Bulletin #6. Any information collected from the participants as part of this study will be protected, would remain anonymous, and all information will be confidential. The attached Participant Consent Form will provide more details of this study.

Lastly, please provide me with your written consent to interview senior ranking policemen, who occupy positions within the administration division, who hold a rank of either Inspector, Deputy Chief, or Chief. If your police department decides to participate in this study, I would request that the Chief forwards my e-mail, along with this Invitation to Participate and attached Participant Consent Form, to only senior ranking policemen within his police department. These senior ranking policemen will then have the choice to anonymously participate in this study or not and if they do, I will request that they make contact with me at [Researcher's email address], or by phone at [Researcher's phone number]. I will set up times and dates for the interview that are convenient for the participants. At the end of my study, I will also provide you with a summary of my research findings, which you may find useful to consider as you implement the 30x30 Pledge.

Thankyou, Mark Pamminger

Additional Invitation Letter to Second Police Organization

Invitation to Participate in a Research Study

Study: Barriers to Women in Policing

My name is Mark Pamminger and I have been employed as a police officer with the Saanich Police, located in greater Victoria, British Columbia, since 2005. I am a Master of Arts student in the Department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies at the University of Victoria. My academic focus is to research the past and current perspectives and lived experiences of females in policing from a male police officer's point of view.

I am aware that the [Police Agency name] have taken the 30x30 Pledge and this 30x30 Pledge is a catalyst for my research. The 30x30 has acknowledged the lack of research with male participants and by participating in this study, the participant will be adding to the field of knowledge and hopefully inspiring further research into areas that require further exploration and study into improving the lived experiences of women in policing.

I am interested in learning about the senior ranking (Inspector, Deputy Chief, and Chief) male police officer's first-hand experiences of what barriers are present and being witnessed in advancing female's position, location, status, and overall safety within policing. It is anticipated that through this information it will determine, at what level, these barriers are being maintained, sustained, and perpetuated within policing, then hopefully inspire mindsets and action toward removing the barriers that are hindering female's overall advancement in the profession.

This research study requests participants to engage in an interview with the researcher. The interview is expected to take approximately 30-60 minutes. There is no renumeration or financial incentive for your participation. Due to where the researcher is physically located, the interviews will be by telephone or web-based technologies. Any information collected from the participants as part of this study will be protected, would remain anonymous, and all information will be confidential. The attached Participant Consent Form will provide more details of this study.

Please consider this letter as an invitation to participate in this research by contacting me at [Researcher's email address], or by phone at [Researcher's Phone number]. I will set up times and dates for the interview that are convenient for the participants.

Lastly, please provide me with your written consent for approaching members of your police unit to participate in this study. At the end of my study, I will also provide you with a summary of my research findings, which you may find useful to consider as you implement the 30x30 Pledge.

Thankyou,

Mark Pamminger

University of Victoria

Participant Consent Form

Project Title: Barriers to Women in Policing

Researcher: Mark Pamminger, Graduate Student, Department of Educational Psychology & Leadership Studies at the University of Victoria. Mark Pamminger has been a police officer since 2005 with the Saanich Police, located in Victoria, British Columbia. Mark Pamminger may be contacted by phone at [Researcher's Phone number] or through e-mail at [Researcher's personal e-mail address].

Supervisor: Dr. Catherine McGregor, Faculty, Department of Educational Psychology & Leadership Studies at the University of Victoria. You may contact Dr. Catherine McGregor if you have further questions by phone at [Supervisor's Phone number] or through e-mail at edadgr@uvic.ca

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research:

- The main purpose of this research will be to reveal the past and current perspectives and lived experiences of women in policing from a policemen's point of view. More specifically, to uncover the senior ranking policemen's first-hand experiences of what barriers are present and being witnessed in advancing women's position, location, status, and overall safety within policing. It is anticipated that through this information it will determine, at what level, these barriers are being maintained, sustained, and perpetuated within policing, then hopefully inspire mindsets and action toward removing the barriers that are hindering women's overall advancement in the profession. This study will provide a baseline of information from which to work from and will hopefully inspire further research into areas that require further exploration and study.
- The final objective will be to provide some recommendations for police organizations and particularly men, to support and advance women's perspectives and experiences within policing.

This research is important because:

- Decades of research has continued to demonstrate how women in police organizations have been systemically oppressed. The combination of increased women in policing and the call for more police transparency, accountability, and reform, means there is no greater time to start this research than now. The knowledge gained can hopefully create a movement and be a catalyst to counter this systemically oppressive culture to one where true equality and equity exists for not only women, but for everyone.

Participation:

- You have been selected as the researcher is looking to gather information from men who hold positions within the rank of Inspector, Deputy Chief, or Chief.
- Participation in this project is entirely voluntary.
- Whether you choose to participate or not will have no effect on your position [e.g. employment] or how you will be treated.

Procedures:

- If you consent to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include the following:
  - A face-to-face interview with me where I will use a pre-written interview script
  - I hope to complete an audio recording of this interview that will be transcribed, which I will use to ensure all your answers are not taken out of context and for me to reflect and analyze what has been stated at a later time
- **Duration:** 30-60 minutes
- **Location:** At time and place convenient for you
- **Inconvenience:** *Participation in this interview may cause you some inconvenience as it asks of your time to participate. To lessen any inconvenience created by your participation, your interview can be arranged at a time and location that is most convenient for you.*

Compensation:

- There is no financial compensation for participating in this study.

Benefits:

- The participants can benefit from an awareness and understanding of how they can influence, change, shift, and impact police culture and organizations to improve and advance gender equality and equity in the workplace.
- The benefits of this collective social group of senior ranking policemen participating in this study include an enhanced level of knowledge and empowerment that could propel police organizations in moving toward changes in policies, practices, strategies, and overall actions in respect of advancing women's experiences, well-being, and safety within police organizations.
- Society will benefit from observing and knowing the police are working with and encountering a long-standing issue within policing that has historically been silenced, minimized, and not openly spoken about.

Risks:

- Given how the police have garnered significant media attention throughout North America for their lack of transparency and accountability when it comes to various issues and their reforms, police organizations could receive unwelcomed attention after the dissemination of the results.
- You could have some emotional and psychological discomfort from more intentionally thinking about your own behavior, actions, gestures, or ways of being, when it comes to creating a better space and place for women in policing.
- There is risk in visibly participating in this study. If colleagues see that you are participating in this study, it could lead to people talking behind your back or possible embarrassment.
- Given the current Covid-19 pandemic, there are health risks associated with in-person interviews and possible exposure to Covid-19 as relevant for this research.
- The only police departments where I am seeking participants from are the departments doing the 30x30 Pledge.

- **Risk(s) will be addressed by**: The researcher is aware that there are only three police departments in Canada doing the 30x30 Pledge. Although knowledgeable people may determine through an internet query which three police organizations are doing the 30x30 Pledge, the researcher has chosen to do research with only two of the three police departments, which will increase organizational anonymity and reduce the risk of receiving unwanted attention from the media or others. When the final thesis is completed, the information shared will be in an aggregate form and in a manner where participants and organizations will not be identified or stated. The risk of feeling discomfort about the current position of women in policing can be minimized by becoming more aware of what you can do to enhance women's experience, speaking to counsellors, or speaking with trusted colleagues/friends/family. The risk of colleagues observing you in this study can be minimized by allowing you to select where and when the interview can be completed and with the recommendation that the participant not state their involvement in the study with others. As I am employed with the Saanich Police, I am aware that the Saanich Police adhere and follow the BC Public Health Order. I have also reviewed the UVIC Communicable Disease Plan and guidelines as outlined in UVIC's Human Research Ethics Covid-19 Bulletin #6. Overall, the safety protocols include indoor masking, hand sanitizing, physical distancing, etc, will be strictly adhered too. If contact tracing is required, participants will be advised if they have or may have come into contact with an individual who has tested positive for COVID-19. Contact information for participants will be stored in a separate file from research data in the event that follow up is needed.

Researcher's Relationship with Participants:

- The researcher may have a relationship to you as we are both employed as police, and we may cross paths with one another in the future.
- To help prevent this relationship from influencing your decision to participate, the following steps to prevent coercion have been taken: I am not your employer and am not in a position of authority over you.

Withdrawal of Participation:

- You may withdraw at any time without explanation or consequence.
- Should you withdraw, your data that has been obtained thus far will be destroyed as soon as possible.

Anonymity and Confidentiality:

- Any information collected from you as part of this study will be protected. If names are provided, pseudonyms will be used. If details of your context may identify you, I will remove this information and not use it.
- Although you will not be anonymous to the researcher, you will be anonymous in this study. I will not disclose who participated in this study or their police organization. I will be the only one who has access to the data, which will be stored on my personal username/password protected computer. The supervisor in charge of this study will only have access to the data in an aggregate form. This data will either be on my person or in a secure location with locked doors, windows, locked cabinets, and with limited viewing.

Research Results will [may] be Used/Disseminated in the Following Ways:

- Directly to you after the research is completed and finalized after approval from oral examination.

- Once this thesis is complete, it will be available on the internet via UvicSpace.

Disposal of Data

- Data from this study will be disposed of after I have received approval from the University of Victoria and the study is deemed complete. All electronic data will be erased from computers, paper copies will be shredded.

Questions or Concerns:

- Contact the researcher and/or Supervisor using the information at the top of page 1;
- Contact the Human Research Ethics Office, University of Victoria, (250) 472-4545 ethics@uvic.ca

Consent:

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you consent to participate in this research project.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	*Signature*	*Date*

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

University of Victoria

Participant Consent Form

Project Title: **Barriers to Women in Policing**

Researcher: Mark Pamminger, Graduate Student, Department of Educational Psychology & Leadership Studies at the University of Victoria. Mark Pamminger may be contacted by phone at [Researcher's Phone number] or through e-mail at [Researcher's Personal e-mail address]

Supervisor: Dr. Catherine McGregor, Faculty, Department of Educational Psychology & Leadership Studies at the University of Victoria. You may contact Dr. Catherine McGregor if you have further questions by phone at [Supervisor's Phone number] or through e-mail at edadgr@uvic.ca

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research:

- The main purpose of this research will be to reveal the past and current perspectives and lived experiences of women in policing from a policemen's point of view. More specifically, to uncover the senior ranking male policemen's first-hand experiences of what barriers are present and being witnessed in advancing women's position, location, status, and overall safety within policing. It is anticipated that through this information it will determine, at what level, these barriers are being maintained, sustained, and perpetuated within policing, then hopefully inspire mindsets and action toward removing the barriers that are hindering women's overall advancement in the profession. This study will provide a baseline of information from which to work from and will hopefully inspire further research into areas that require further exploration and study.
- The final objective will be to provide some recommendations for police organizations and particularly men, to support and advance women's perspectives and experiences within policing.

This research is important because:

- Decades of research has continued to demonstrate how women in police organizations have been systemically oppressed. The combination of increased women in policing and the call for more police transparency, accountability, and reform, means there is no greater time to start this research than now. The knowledge gained can hopefully create a movement and be a catalyst to counter this systemically oppressive culture to one where true equality and equity exists for not only women, but for everyone.

Participation:

- You have been selected as the researcher is looking to gather information from men who hold positions within the rank of Inspector, Deputy Chief, or Chief.
- Participation in this project is entirely voluntary.
- Whether you choose to participate or not will have no effect on your position [e.g., employment] or how you will be treated.

Procedures:

- If you consent to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include the following:
  - A face-to-face interview over Zoom with me where I will use a pre-written interview script.
  - I will only complete an audio recording of this interview (video not recorded) that will be transcribed, which I will use to ensure all your answers are not taken out of context and for me to reflect and analyze what has been stated at a later time.
  - Please be advised that Zoom is an online program located in the United States and can be accessed from the United States. As such, there is a possibility that information about you may be accessed without your knowledge or consent by the United States government in compliance with the US Freedom Act. This information about you could be the e-mail address I use to make contact with you.
  - Zoom does not sell any personal data that is collected, Zoom does offer free encryption of meetings, and the recordings can be passcode protected, which I would do.
  - If you do not want to use Zoom, the interview can take place over a recorded phone call.
- **Duration:** 30-60 minutes
- **Location:** At time and place convenient for you
- **Inconvenience:** *Participation in this interview may cause you some inconvenience as it asks of your time to participate. To lessen any inconvenience created by your participation, your interview can be arranged at a time and date that is most convenient for you.*

Compensation:

- There is no financial compensation for participating in this study.

Benefits:

- The participants can benefit from an awareness and understanding of how they can influence, change, shift, and impact police culture and organizations to improve and advance gender equality and equity in the workplace.
- The benefits of this collective social group of senior ranking policemen participating in this study include an enhanced level of knowledge and empowerment that could propel police organizations in moving toward changes in policies, practices, strategies, and overall actions in respect of advancing women's experiences, well-being, and safety within police organizations.
- Society will benefit from observing and knowing the police are working with and encountering a long-standing issue within policing that has historically been silenced, minimized, and not openly spoken about.

Risks:

- Given how the police have garnered significant media attention throughout North America for their lack of transparency and accountability when it comes to various issues and their reforms, police organizations could receive unwelcomed attention after the dissemination of the results.
- You could have some emotional and psychological discomfort from more intentionally thinking about your own behavior, actions, gestures, or ways of being, when it comes to creating a better space and place for women in policing.
- There is risk in visibly participating in this study. If colleagues see that you are participating in this study, it could lead to people talking behind your back or possible embarrassment. This risk can be minimized by offering each participant a say in where and when the interview can be completed.

- **Risk(s) will be addressed by**: The risk of receiving unwanted attention from the media or others can be minimized and managed by reminding you that throughout this study you will be safeguarded through anonymity and affiliation to any specific police organization. The risk of feeling discomfort about the current position of women in policing can be minimized by becoming more aware of what you can do to enhance women's experience, speaking to counsellors, or speaking with trusted colleagues/friends/family. The risk of colleagues observing you in this study can be minimized by allowing you to select where and when the interview can be completed.

Researcher's Relationship with Participants:

- The researcher may have a relationship to you as we are both employed as police, and we may cross paths with one another in the future.
- To help prevent this relationship from influencing your decision to participate, the following steps to prevent coercion have been taken: We do not work together in the same police department, I am not your employer and am not in a position of authority over you, what you state within this interview will be kept anonymous and confidential.

Withdrawal of Participation:

- You may withdraw at any time without explanation or consequence.
- Should you withdraw, your data that has been obtained thus far will be destroyed as soon as possible.

Anonymity and Confidentiality:

- Any information collected from you as part of this study will be protected. If names are provided, pseudonyms will be used. If details of your context may identify you, I will remove this information and not use it.
- I will be the only one who has access to the data, which will be stored on my personal username/password protected computer. The supervisor in charge of this study will only have access to the data in an aggregate form. This data will either be on my person or in a secure location with locked doors, windows, locked cabinets, and with limited viewing.

Research Results will [may] be Used/Disseminated in the Following Ways:

- Directly to you after the research is completed and finalized after approval from oral examination.

Disposal of Data

- Data from this study will be disposed of after I have received approval from the University of Victoria and the study is deemed complete. All electronic data will be erased from computers, paper copies will be shredded.

Questions or Concerns:

- Contact the researcher and/or Supervisor using the information at the top of page 1;
- Contact the Human Research Ethics Office, University of Victoria, (250) 472-4545 ethics@uvic.ca

Consent:

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you consent to participate in this research project.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	*Signature*	*Date*

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Revised Participant Consent Form to allow for Microsoft Teams interview

University of Victoria

Participant Consent Form

Project Title: Barriers to Women in Policing

Researcher: Mark Pamminger, Graduate Student, Department of Educational Psychology & Leadership Studies at the University of Victoria. Mark Pamminger has been a police officer since 2005 with the Saanich Police, located in Victoria, British Columbia. Mark Pamminger may be contacted by phone at [Researcher's Phone number] or through e-mail at [Researcher's Personal e-mail address]

Supervisor: Dr. Catherine McGregor, Faculty, Department of Educational Psychology & Leadership Studies at the University of Victoria. You may contact Dr. Catherine McGregor if you have further questions by phone at [Supervisor's Phone number] or through e-mail at edadgr@uvic.ca

Purpose(s) and Objective(s) of the Research:

- The main purpose of this research will be to reveal the past and current perspectives and lived experiences of women in policing from a policemen's point of view. More specifically, to uncover the senior ranking policemen's first-hand experiences of what barriers are present and being witnessed in advancing women's position, location, status, and overall safety within policing. It is anticipated that through this information it will determine, at what level, these barriers are being maintained, sustained, and perpetuated within policing, then hopefully inspire mindsets and action toward removing the barriers that are hindering women's overall advancement in the profession. This study will provide a baseline of information from which to work from and will hopefully inspire further research into areas that require further exploration and study.
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- Decades of research has continued to demonstrate how women in police organizations have been systemically oppressed. The combination of increased women in policing and the call for more police transparency, accountability, and reform, means there is no greater time to start this research than now. The knowledge gained can hopefully create a movement and be a catalyst to counter this systemically oppressive culture to one where true equality and equity exists for not only women, but for everyone.

Participation:

- You have been selected as the researcher is looking to gather information from men who hold positions within the rank of Inspector, Deputy Chief, or Chief.
- Participation in this project is entirely voluntary.

- Whether you choose to participate or not will have no effect on your position [e.g., employment] or how you will be treated.

Procedures:

- If you consent to voluntarily participate in this research, your participation will include the following:
  - A face-to-face interview with me where I will use a pre-written interview script
  - I hope to complete an audio recording of this interview that will be transcribed, which I will use to ensure all your answers are not taken out of context and for me to reflect and analyze what has been stated at a later time
  - If a face-to-face interview is not appropriate or comfortable for the participant, the use of Microsoft Teams or a recorded phone call is available.
- **Duration:** 30-60 minutes
- **Location:** At time and place convenient for you
- **Inconvenience:** *Participation in this interview may cause you some inconvenience as it asks of your time to participate. To lessen any inconvenience created by your participation, your interview can be arranged at a time and location that is most convenient for you.*

Compensation:

- There is no financial compensation for participating in this study.

Benefits:

- The participants can benefit from an awareness and understanding of how they can influence, change, shift, and impact police culture and organizations to improve and advance gender equality and equity in the workplace.
- The benefits of this collective social group of senior ranking policemen participating in this study include an enhanced level of knowledge and empowerment that could propel police organizations in moving toward changes in policies, practices, strategies, and overall actions in respect of advancing women's experiences, well-being, and safety within police organizations.
- Society will benefit from observing and knowing the police are working with and encountering a long-standing issue within policing that has historically been silenced, minimized, and not openly spoken about.

Risks:

- Given how the police have garnered significant media attention throughout North America for their lack of transparency and accountability when it comes to various issues and their reforms, police organizations could receive unwelcomed attention after the dissemination of the results.
- You could have some emotional and psychological discomfort from more intentionally thinking about your own behavior, actions, gestures, or ways of being, when it comes to creating a better space and place for women in policing.
- There is risk in visibly participating in this study. If colleagues see that you are participating in this study, it could lead to people talking behind your back or possible embarrassment
- Given the current Covid-19 pandemic, there are health risks associated with in-person interviews and possible exposure to Covid-19 as relevant for this research.
- The only police departments where I am seeking participants from are the departments doing the 30x30 Pledge.

- **Risk(s) will be addressed by**: There is an option to do an interview through Microsoft Teams or recorded phone call, which keeps everyone safe from Covid-19. If Microsoft Teams is used, only a stand-alone audio recorder will be used to record the interview. The researcher is aware that there are only three police departments in Canada doing the 30x30 Pledge. Although knowledgeable people may determine through an internet query which three police organizations are doing the 30x30 Pledge, the researcher has chosen to do research with only two of the three police departments, which will increase organizational anonymity and reduce the risk of receiving unwanted attention from the media or others. When the final thesis is completed, the information shared will be in an aggregate form and in a manner where participants and organizations will not be identified or stated. The risk of feeling discomfort about the current position of women in policing can be minimized by becoming more aware of what you can do to enhance women's experience, speaking to counsellors, or speaking with trusted colleagues/friends/family. The risk of colleagues observing you in this study can be minimized by allowing you to select where and when the interview can be completed and with the recommendation that the participant not state their involvement in the study with others. As I am employed with the Saanich Police, I am aware that the Saanich Police adhere and follow the BC Public Health Order. I have also reviewed the UVIC Communicable Disease Plan and guidelines as outlined in UVIC's Human Research Ethics Covid-19 Bulletin #6. Overall, the safety protocols include indoor masking, hand sanitizing, physical distancing, etc, will be strictly adhered too. If contact tracing is required, participants will be advised if they have or may have come into contact with an individual who has tested positive for COVID-19. Contact information for participants will be stored in a separate file from research data in the event that follow up is needed.

Researcher's Relationship with Participants:

- The researcher may have a relationship to you as we are both employed as police, and we may cross paths with one another in the future.
- To help prevent this relationship from influencing your decision to participate, the following steps to prevent coercion have been taken: I am not your employer and am not in a position of authority over you.

Withdrawal of Participation:

- You may withdraw at any time without explanation or consequence.
- Should you withdraw, your data that has been obtained thus far will be destroyed as soon as possible.

Anonymity and Confidentiality:

- Any information collected from you as part of this study will be protected. If names are provided, pseudonyms will be used. If details of your context may identify you, I will remove this information and not use it.
- Although you will not be anonymous to the researcher, you will be anonymous in this study. I will not disclose who participated in this study or their police organization. I will be the only one who has access to the data, which will be stored on my personal username/password protected computer. The supervisor in charge of this study will only have access to the data in an aggregate form. This data will either be on my person or in a secure location with locked doors, windows, locked cabinets, and with limited viewing.

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Questions or Concerns:

- Contact the researcher and/or Supervisor using the information at the top of page 1;
- Contact the Human Research Ethics Office, University of Victoria, (250) 472-4545 ethics@uvic.ca

Consent:

Your signature below indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researchers, and that you consent to participate in this research project.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	*Signature*	*Date*

A copy of this consent will be left with you, and a copy will be taken by the researcher.

Appendix C

Interview Script: Barriers to Women in Policing

1. What attributes, skills, and abilities do women bring to the policing profession?

2. What barriers and challenges do you perceive women encounter in the policing profession?

3. Despite growing membership and representation amongst women in policing, why are women not equally represented throughout the upper ranks or amongst the upper ranks at all?

4. How do you think the policing culture impacts women's retention, promotion, and lived experiences in policing?

5.Various barriers and challenges for women have been brought up today. Have you been in situations where these barriers and challenges have been witnessed? If so, were you able to do something about it or no? Please explain

6. I understand that the department you are working for is a part of the 30x30, can you explain the level of impact this will have on changing police departments and more specifically, upon improving the lived experiences of policewomen?

7.What are police departments doing to understand, change, and reduce the barriers/challenges that women encounter within policing?

8.Is the inequality existing for women in policing today a women's issue or a men's issue to overcome, or both? Please explain.

In the likely event that an answer requires further clarification, the follow up question would be a reframing of what was already stated, similar too: "You mentioned [what words exactly stated], can you tell me more about that?" The purpose of this approach will be to remain consistent and more objective, to center the interviewee's voice as a knower, and these types of questions add more descriptions and experiences to the question being asked.

Table 1

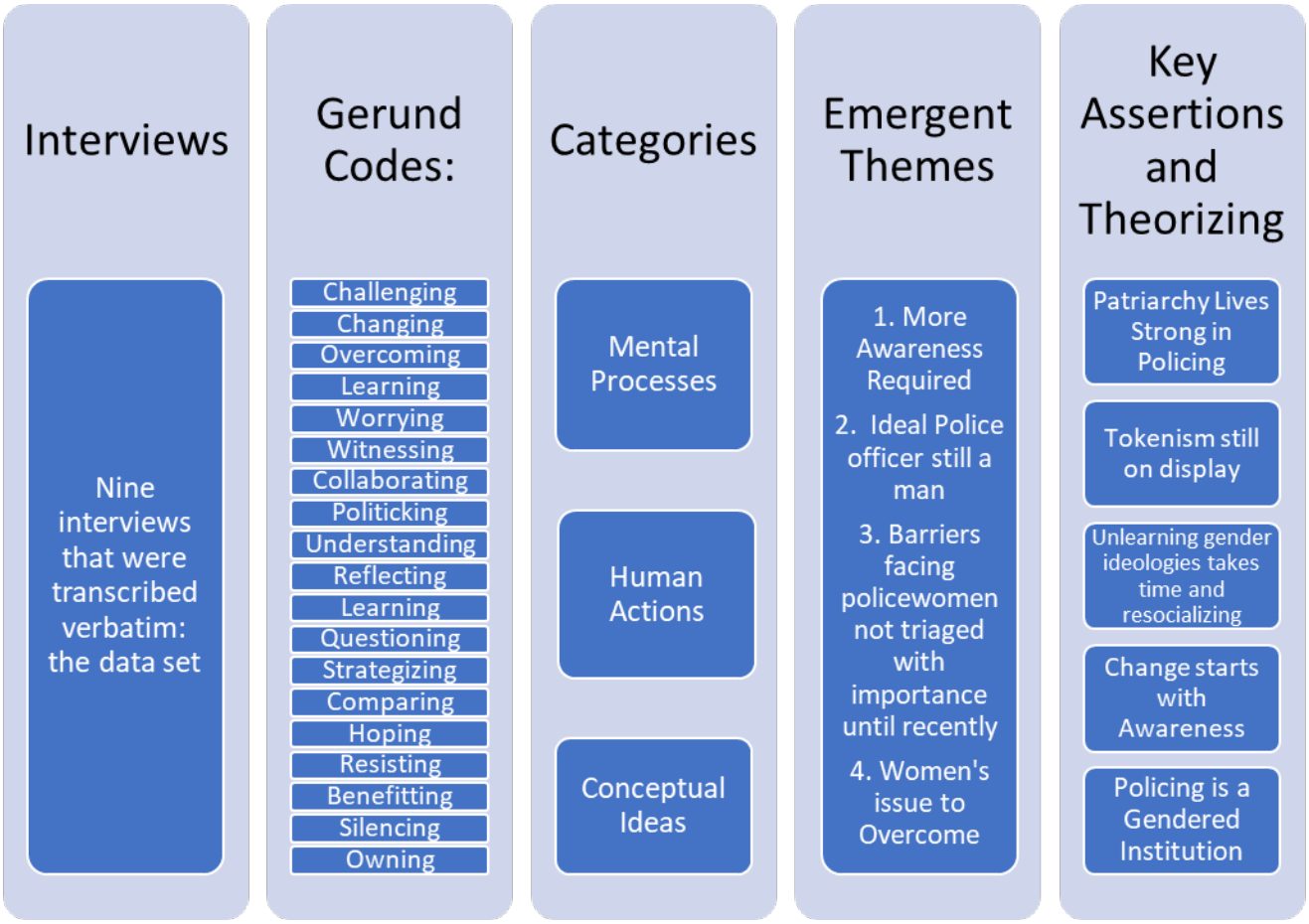

Table 1: Illustrates stage by stage process from the data derived from the transcribed interviews, through the development and creation of gerund type codes, to category development, the development of themes consistent within the dataset, to assertions and possible theorizing.