

**GENDER ISSUES IN POLICING: WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN CANADIAN LAW
ENFORCEMENT**

by

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Abstract

Canadian police departments have recently faced court challenges related to gender differences in the workplace (Merlo, 2013, Drews, 2013, CBC, 2014). The most notable case to date is the gender-based harassment and discrimination class action involving nearly 400 female RCMP officers in British Columbia that alleges women have experienced physical assault, unwanted sexual touching, rape, sexist comments, threats, harassment, bullying and gender discrimination.

Gender equity research specific to policing conducted in the United States points to women police having “less power and lower status” than men (Gerber, 2001). The most recent research (Garcia, 2003, Gerber, 2001, Morash, 2012, Woodfield, 2007, Silvestri, 2003, Walsh, 1997) looks at other non-traditional occupations for women and at police forces in the U.S. and England, but research on the Canadian context is lacking and only examines the number of women in Canadian policing (Hutchins, 2014, Prenzler, 2013).

To determine how women police officers are experiencing working in Canadian police departments semi-structured qualitative interviews and demographic surveys were conducted with ten currently serving women police officers in British Columbia and Alberta and Ontario. The most current data (Statistics Canada 2016) relating to numbers of women in Canadian police forces was examined to determine any recent changes that have occurred in relation to numbers of women employed in various ranks in Canadian police departments.

This study concludes that the culture as well as the policies and procedures of police departments continue to marginalize women police officers, thereby preventing the achievement

of gender equity. Much more can be done to improve policies to support the employment of women in policing.

Lay Summary

Early policing organizations developed masculine subcultures (Barrie & Broomhall 2012:141, Brown & Heidensohn 2000; 44). In Canada women were excluded from becoming uniformed police officers until the 1970s. Previous studies have indicated that the first women officers initially experienced resistance, sexual harassment and inequality within the male oriented occupation of policing (Barrie & Broomhall 2012: 70, Brown & Heidensohn 2000; 155) This study examines the culture of Canadian policing using interviews and demographic surveys with 10 women officers and data from Statistics Canada (2017). The goal was to determine how women police officers are currently experiencing policing in Canada. Are the numbers of women officers in each rank growing? Do women officers continue to experience inequality in Canadian police departments? Does the culture and the policies and procedures of police departments continue to marginalize women officers?

This study concludes that the culture as well as the policies and procedures of police departments continue to marginalize women police officers, thereby preventing the achievement of gender equity. Much more can be done to improve policies to support the employment of women in policing.

Preface

This research study was approved by The University of British Columbia Okanagan Research Services Behavioural Research Ethics Board, 333 University Way, Kelowna, BC V1V 1V7. Ethics Certificate number H16-00403.

I designed this research study in collaboration with my committee members Dr. Bonar Buffam (Supervisor and Principal Investigator), Dr. Peter Urmetzer and Dr. Ilya Parkins of UBC Okanagan.

I was responsible for conducting all interviews and demographic questionnaires with the study participants, transcription, and coding of the digitally recorded interviews.

I also conducted the analysis of the data obtained in this study

I created the charts used in this thesis using data obtained from The Canadian Department of Vital Statistics.

Chapters 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the manuscript are based on a study conducted by me and written in collaboration with my committee members Dr. B. Buffam (Supervisor), Dr. Peter Urmetzer and Dr. Ilya Parkins of UBC Okanagan. I was responsible for writing the manuscript, which was then reviewed by my supervisor and committee members.

Parts of Chapter 1 (Introduction and Methodology) were written by me as part of a Research Proposal assignment completed for Dr. John Wagner's Research Methods Class in March of 2016 at UBC Okanagan.

The demographic questionnaire used in this study was produced in collaboration with Dr. Peter Urmetzer, UBC Okanagan History and Sociology Department.

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List of Abbreviations

CBC – Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

IAWP – International Association of Women Police

OPP – Ontario Provincial Police

PTSD – Post Traumatic Stress Disorder

RCMP – Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Stats Can. – Statistics Canada

UN – United Nations

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I want to express my gratitude to the faculty, staff, and my fellow students at UBC Okanagan, who have inspired me to continue my work in this field. I owe thanks to Dr. Bonar Buffam, for his guidance and mentorship as my supervisor and for always taking the time to provide me with encouragement no matter how busy he was with his own work/research.

I thank Dr. Ilya. Parkins for being a member of my committee, for providing her expertise in the area of gender studies, and for coherent answers to my questions about gender and hegemonic masculinity.

To Dr. Peter. Urmetzer, I will be forever grateful for you providing me with expertise and mentorship, particularly in the creation of the demographic questionnaire.

To my neighbour Dr. Sally Stewart, UBC Okanagan, School of Health and Exercise Science I want to thank you for your encouragement and support without which, I would never have started along the path to completing my Masters.

To my fellow graduate students, Darren Tanaka and Dorjan Lecki, thank you for your friendship and support.

Special thanks are owed to my family (especially my children) for their support and understanding throughout my years of university. It is your turn now.

Lastly, but certainly not least, I would like to thank the ten women who agreed to anonymously participate in this study. I cannot thank you enough for sharing your experiences.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to all police women, especially those who “led the way” by being the first women and mentoring the ones that followed.

To my long-time friend and mentor, RCMP Cpl. (retired) Jan Bondy-Chorney who was not part of this study, but she was one woman who led the way.

1.1 Introduction and Context

Canadian police departments have recently faced court challenges related to gendered power differentials in the workplace (Merlo, 2013: 1-48, Drews, 2014, CBC, 2014). The most notable case to date is the gender-based harassment and discrimination class action suit involving nearly 400 female RCMP officers in British Columbia. The plaintiffs in this case alleged they experienced physical assault, unwanted sexual touching, rape, sexist comments, threats, harassment, bullying and gender discrimination.

Gender equity research specific to policing in the United States concludes that women police have “less power and lower status” than men (Gerber, 2001: viiii). The most recent research looks at other non-traditional occupations for women and at police forces in the U.S., England and Europe (Garcia, 2003, Gerber, 2001, Morash, 2012, Woodfield, 2007, Silvestri, Spasic, 2011, 2003, Walsh, 1997). This research concludes that women police officers have experienced harassment and gender discrimination, but research on the Canadian context is lacking and only documents that the numbers of women in Canadian policing have increased (Hutchins, 2014:1, Prenzler, 2013:122).

To address this gap in the literature, this project examines how women police officers experience their work in Canadian police departments. Data was collected from semi-structured qualitative interviews with 10 currently serving women police officers from across Canada. These women also completed demographic surveys that provided information on their numbers of years of service, what type of policing they had been involved in, their rank, what

age group they were in, their marital status, their level of education, whether they had children and if so, their ages.

The most current data relating to the number of women in Canadian police forces was examined to determine recent changes that have occurred in relation to numbers of women employed in various ranks within Canadian police departments (Statistics Canada 2016 and 2018). This data confirmed that there is inequality in the numbers of women in all ranks of Canadian policing. There is also a stratification of inequality as the higher the rank, the fewer women police officers there are. This suggests that women officers are not being promoted to the higher ranks and are remaining in the lower ranks, the majority at the Constable rank.

Information from Statistics Canada (2016 & 2018, Chart 3.8.1) shows that, of a total of 68,664 police officers in Canada 14,332 of them (20.9%) were women. In the senior police ranks there were 332 women (12.4%) of a total 2679. In the Non-Commissioned Officer ranks there were 3184 women (18.0%) of a total of 17640 officers, and in the Constable rank there were 10816 officers (22.3%) of a total of 48,459. The statistics for 2017 were very similar with 14752 (21.4%) of 69027 Canadian police officers being female. In the senior ranks between 2015 and 2017, there was an increase of (2.3%) 384 of 2615 officers (14.7%) of them being female. In the Non-Commissioned Officer ranks, 3369 (19%) of 17755 NCOs were women, a small increase (.94%) from 2015. In the Constable rank 10999 (22.6%) of 48657 officers were women, a very small increase (.3%) from 2015.

1.2 Review of the Literature

Research involving the experiences of women police officers has shown that the entry of women into this traditionally male occupation has been resisted at all levels and many people still regard law enforcement as an inappropriate job for women (Martin 1980: 79, Morash & Haarr 2012:3, Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013:117, Spasic, 2011:31, Barrie & Broomhall, 2012: 210, Brown & Heidensohn, 2000: 52,74, Martin, 1996:4). One of the reasons that women officers continue to face oppression within policing is that the full introduction of women into policing was achieved through force of employment law rather than by the desire for reform from within police departments (Brown & Heidensohn 2000:74).

Research, particularly in liberal democratic countries, has determined that, although the numbers of women in the profession of policing has increased (Brown, 2007:209, Chan et al, 2010:425, Jain et al, 2000:47, Martin,1996, Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013:115), these percentages are expected “to plateau around 30%” (Prenzler & Sinclair,2013: 116). Some researchers believe these numbers have leveled off because of difficulties in recruitment as well as policies and procedures that discriminate against and marginalize women police officers (Burke et al, 1997:520, Silvestri et al, 2013:69). Others state that these low numbers contribute to women officers continuing to “face resistance to their promotion and retention in the police” (Spasic, 2011:32).

The most recent research on gender equity either studies women in other non-traditional occupations or only examines police forces located in the United States, Australia and the United Kingdom (Chan et al 2010, Garcia 2003, Gerber 2001, Morash 2012, Rabe-

Hemp 2009, Silvestri 2003, Woodfield 2007, Walsh 1997). The most recent Canadian study (Bikos, 2016) involved interviews with female police officers belonging to five police services from southwestern Ontario. Bikos' study revealed that the culture of these police organizations values masculine stereotypes, a practice that puts female officers at a disadvantage. Some of these masculine stereotypes include the expectation that police officers are "fearless and have heroic demeanor, physical and emotional strength, assertiveness and intelligence" (Kurtz, 2008:220). Women officers who may be smaller in size, not as physically strong, and may choose not to use force while policing are not seen as "good" police officers. The stereotype relating to small stature is faced by all women officers no matter what size they are. I was unable to locate any research that indicates that smaller male officers experience similar issues. This would indicate that the male officers ignore the potential for these stereotypes to be applicable to smaller male officers. It could also mean that the smaller male officers are considered part of the norm of policing while the women are considered out of the norm.

Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity states that men dominate women on a global level and this notion explains differentiation between men and women (2005:832). Hegemonic masculinity also "applies to gender relations among men [...] because it establishes a dominant idea of what it means to be a man" (Kurtz, 2008:220). Examining this concept further, Connell and Messerschmidt (as cited in Kurtz, 2008:221) suggest that there are hierarchies of hegemonic masculinity in the local, regional and global arenas. This concept applies to the culture of policing which is established predominantly by the relations between police officers at the local level, police administration at the regional level and the public at the national and global level. Male police officers, organizational leaders, Canadians, and the

global community see policing as masculine. Connell and Messerschmidt's study found that there are "consistent conceptions of hegemonic masculinity related to law enforcement that permeate all three levels of analysis." (as cited in Kurtz, 2008:221). This concept of hegemonic masculinity and male dominance extends to society's institutions, including the institution of policing because the policies of police organizations were, and still are, made for men, by men and more specifically, white heterosexual men.

For women officers "hegemonic masculinity...and the gendered character of workplaces" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 832, 834) mean that, in the past, they have been marginalized within male dominated policing organizations. Society and the media view policing as a masculine job associated to male attributes of strength, physical prowess, and aggressiveness (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000:61, Natarajan, 2005: xiii). North American society and the culture of policing condones and values the use of aggression and physical force as a means to maintain social order (Kurtz, 2008:220, Natarajan, 2005; 297).

The use of force and acceptance of aggression can be partially attributed to the historical influences of police forces being initially modeled after military regiments. Members of military organizations were males who were subjected to military etiquette, rules and regulations. Recruits initially follow the rules of the organization in order to avoid physical punishment and later did so to avoid being shamed and to obtain the respect of officers and fellow soldiers (Erving Goffman, 1959: 20). This led to the military units having group behaviours and values engrained within their training so that stepping outside of the norm was not accepted. The training provided to police officers is very similar to what is

provided to the military. Police officers are trained to behave and work according to a group mentality based on group norms, which include masculine ideals. As this training was designed for men, it does not take gender differences into account. Women officers are expected to receive the same training as men, to conform to the rules as men do and to perform policing in the same manner as male officers. The problem with these expectations is that many “women as individuals have different natural and acquired skills than many men” (Natarajan, 2008:173). These differences can contribute positively to policing, including favouring “a community-oriented approach to policing which is rooted in strong interpersonal and communication skills which emphasizes conflict resolution over force” (Natarajan, 2008:167). Women officers’ abilities in policing are however, being judged by standards meant for evaluating men.

Judging women officers’ abilities by men’s standards puts women officers at a disadvantage because masculinity and male officers are valued more in policing than women officers. This partially results from the fact that initially women were only allowed into policing organizations as “nurturers” doing “social work” with women and children (Natarajan, 2005:5, Chan, Doran and Marel, 2010:425), because their “frail physiques” were seen as not allowing them to deal with violent behaviour (Brown and Heidenshohn, 2000:44, Drew & Prenzler, 2013:459, Spasic, 2011:27) and therefore, they were not thought of as real police officers. Modern day police women deal with all aspects of policing, but the historical image of women officers as social workers remains. Policing continues to be a masculine profession where women encounter resistance due to the perception which still exists that the

traits associated with being a good police officer are those associated with accomplishing masculinity (Kurtz, 2008: 222, Martin, 1996:2).

Another way to explain why women are marginalized within policing organizations is to think of gender as a way that social practice is ordered. Connell (2005:71) explains that “Gender relations, the relations among people and groups organized through the reproductive arena, form one of the major structures of documented societies.” In patriarchal societies women have been valued for reproductive reasons and men are thought of as the head of the family with the associated responsibilities of providing for and protecting women and children. These gender relations created by society place males in a dominant position within society and this extends to society’s institutions, including policing. Women officers challenge the dominant position of men and the subordination of women within policing organizations. By doing so they also challenge the gender relations of society. According to Connell, “When the conditions for the defence of patriarchy change, the basis for the dominance of a particular masculinity are eroded” (Connell, 2005:77).

Police work is defined as “masculine” (Crank; Garcia as cited in Rabe-Hemp 2009; Kurtz 2008: 220, Barrie & Broomhall, 2012: 23) and the construct of policing as “masculine” causes female officers to be outside the norm of gender in their profession which, makes them, the sociological other within police departments. This othering is a common experience for marginalized groups (hooks, as cited in Rabe-Hemp, 2009:125). In police work, this “points to the strength of patriarchy in society and masculine hegemony in police culture.” (Rabe-Hemp, 2009:126).

It is of critical importance to understand whether Canadian women officers continue to experience policing differently than men. If they do, how do these findings affect women as they negotiate policing organizations? To address these questions my research examined gender in the institutional environment of Canadian policing, using the lens of relations between police officers at the local level, and through policies and statistics of police administration at the regional and national level. My research addressed areas not covered by the current literature, examining how the culture and policies and procedures of Canadian police organizations affect the experiences of women officers, who are marginalized through their subjection to different working conditions than men. These conditions include exposure to incidents of sexual harassment, being assigned different duties than male officers, being provided with less participation within specialty units, discrimination through less training and development, and fewer opportunities for promotion; collectively these prevent women from achieving equality within policing organizations.

1.3 The Methodology

This research directly relates to how gender equality is constructed for women in the workplace. I adopted a feminist methodology to facilitate intimacy with participants to allow them to speak openly about their experiences within their working environment of policing, which is usually closed to outsiders. Although there is no one correct method for feminist research (Fonow & Cook, 2005:2214), the methodology I used started with two key features of feminist research, the first being that there is inequality in society and the second is that some feminist research should be “on women, for women, with women” (Doucet and

Mauthner, 2006: 40). This methodological approach allows for “more of an egalitarian exchange” (Palys, 2008:189) between the researcher and their participants, using the idea of “collaboration and feelings of mutual respect” (McDowell, 1992:406) as a guiding principle of the research. Many female officers have an interest in improving their work place for themselves and for women who become officers in the future. When participants initially spoke to me to arrange their interviews, they expressed some trepidation about being interviewed. I spoke to each participant about the goals of the research; once they realized that addressing inequality was one of the goals of the research, the women were less reluctant and consented to speak about their experiences. As each interview progressed, the women began to open up providing more details of their experiences. At the end of several of the interviews, after recording the answers to structured questions I provided the women with the opportunity to discuss anything that they thought was important to understanding their experiences as a woman in a police force. At this point I disclosed to them that I had previously been a police officer and the women were less reluctant to speak to me. They disclosed intimate feelings and sensitive information that had not come up previously in the interviews.

Conducting semi-structured interviews with these women allowed for a feminist approach, examining the culture of policing from the viewpoint of the women directly involved in the culture of policing. This ensured that their words were heard and presented from their perspectives instead of from the institutional norms of men (Allen 2011:31, Doucet and Mauthner 2006:39). Similar to previously conducted research (Morash and Haarr, 2012:10), this was achieved by presenting my findings-based on direct quotations of the women police officers.

Ten cisgendered women police officers from five different Canadian police departments were interviewed. To recruit participants, I used a “snowball” approach, contacting female RCMP officers from my professional network to refer myself to other female police officers. Use of the snowball procedure can be effective in studies of unusual groups (Palys, 2008: 126, Salamon, 1984), sensitive topics (Berg, 2001:33) and social systems and networks (Noy, 2008:331). It has been successfully used in previous studies of female police officers (Morash and Haarr, 2012). Using snowball sampling to select interview participants can “contribute an invaluable type of knowledge” (Noy 2008: 330) that might not be obtained using other methods. The use of snowballing allowed me to use police officers I knew personally to reach police officers I did not know who would be willing to participate in the study. Police officers tend to be tight knit groups that are suspicious of and closed to outsiders which can lead to “...practical and conceptual difficulties to overcome including access to information and informants...” (Brown, Heidensohn 2000: 1). Snowballing allowed me to generate a sample without having to know the participants and without contacting their respective police departments, which have been resistant to this kind of research. Most officers initially contacted were from the same police department. I was interested in the experiences of women in all police organizations within Canada, so participants were sought who belonged to at least three different police departments. To offset the likelihood that all “snowball” participants would be from the same department, I placed an advertisement with the International Association of Women Police (IAWP) to recruit additional participants. Using a second method of recruitment addressed the main danger of depending on snowball sampling: that the snowball subjects may associate with and refer the researcher people who

were of similar rank and service, potentially adversely influencing the study (Palys, 2008:126).

The selection criteria initially limited participants to female officers from at least three police departments in BC and Alberta who had completed at least two years of police service. Later, the search for participants was expanded to allow female officers from any department in Canada to become part of the study. Women officers of varying ranks and tenure were interviewed to ensure a broad range of experiences were captured and reflected. This was also important because rank and tenure may influence “women’s resources for doing gender and standpoint” (Sprague as cited in Morash and Haarr, 2012:8). A focused sample was obtained that would allow for the examination of women officer’s life stories over all their years of policing to determine if there had been any change in those experiences. These experiences were examined in relation to changes in time as the women moved through their careers to determine if progress was being made within the policing organizations. By interviewing women with varying years of service and ranks, the researcher was better able to determine the nuances of these potential changes.

In-person interviews are usually preferred by researchers as they offer “face-to-face non-verbal clues” that telephone interviews will not provide (Berg, 2001: 82), however the interviews for this study were conducted by telephone as the participants were in cities that were not within commuting distance of the researcher. Each participant chose the location to conduct the interview as it was important for them to be able to speak freely. Participants were provided with a promise of confidentiality; neither the officer’s names nor their respective police departments were disclosed. This guarantee of confidentiality was of paramount

importance as I wanted the participants to feel comfortable providing any information about their experiences, even if it was negative. This research was completely funded by the researcher. It was particularly important for the participants to know that no police resources were used in this study. This minimized the likelihood that the words of the participants were not censored in any way.

Using semi-structured interviews allowed for the most efficient use of participant time, for a high rate of participation (Palys, 2008:157), and for questions to be prepared ahead of time. Methodologically, conducting semi-structured interviews using open-ended questions meant obtaining “phenomenological input from respondents” (Palys, 2008:158), first person point of view resulting in rich, qualitative data regarding women officer’s experiences. Using interviews allowed for probing of further information, sampling to the point of redundancy and potentially generated new ideas or hypotheses (Palys, 2008:159). This interview format allowed for the response to any information each participant provided, including any that took the research in a new direction, yet it ensured the questions prepared facilitated obtaining relevant information. During the interviews, I worked to establish rapport with each study participant to make them feel comfortable enough to answer the questions honestly.

Berg offers a “dramaturgical analysis of the interview” which describes the roles of the interviewer and the participant and the expectations that each bring to the process (2001:67). Berg states that the interviewer is “both an actor, director, and a choreographer” and that it is important to pay attention to verbal and non-verbal clues when interviewing to determine whether the respondent is being truthful or evasive (2001:92,94). When an interviewer rushes

into sensitive questions without establishing a rapport, participants may decide not to be truthful; research has shown that participants are not typically comfortable disclosing information when they do not know the interviewer well enough to either trust them with the information, or the reaction that will come from the interviewer after disclosure. As an interview is not a natural encounter (Palys, 2008:188), ensuring participant comfort during interviews was critical so participants would not use any evasive tactics or respond untruthfully, as studies have shown some subjects do (Palys, 2008:188, Berg, 2001: 100, Bernard, 2013:208). Disclosing the researcher's previous employment as a police officer, without specifically commenting on experiences, helped to establish rapport, encourage conversation, and overcome any reluctance the subjects may have had to discussing their experiences.

For practical reasons I was only able to interview ten police officers. These reasons included time constraints, logistics and that policing environments are closed to those considered outsiders. Police officers belong to close knit groups who do not speak to persons outside of policing about what happens within their departments. Additionally, police departments do not like their officers speaking with researchers without authorization from the police department particularly if negative information is involved. Some researchers have suggested that conducting six to twelve interviews may be enough to achieve a desired research objective if the group involved is rather homogeneous, but they caution about making assumptions with regard to groups that are heterogenous or if the domain of inquiry is diffuse (Guest, Bunce & Johnson 2006:79). As women police officers are subjected to a wide variety of working environments it would be more prudent to conduct a larger number of interviews

to insure the achievement of saturation. The small sample size means that the conditions of this study and its analysis would have to be replicated using a larger sample size to verify that the experiences of the women in this study are truly representative of what Canadian women police officers experience in their workplaces (Berg, 2001;36). The results of the study, combined with other previously conducted research (Bikos, 2016, Montgomery, 2013), does demonstrate that some women Canadian police officers are still experiencing gender power differentials in police departments.

1.4 Ethical Considerations

A pseudonym was created for each participant to enable the researcher to describe their experiences without using their real names. Each participant was assured that no one reading this thesis would be able to identify any of the participants or the police service to which they belong. This was a very important and necessary aspect of this study as each of the participants was acutely aware of the potential negative impact on their careers should their co-workers become aware of their involvement in this study, particularly if they related experiences that might reflect negatively on their police service.

Where possible, the exact words of the women officers were used. At times, the researcher had to change a word to mitigate the possibility of providing identifying information for either a study participant or their police department. I was concerned about the use of occupational terms that through my policing experience were typically known to be used only by members of a particular police department. When substituting a word to prevent identification of a police department, the meaning of what had been stated by the participant(s) was not changed.

Five women I contacted did not become participants in this study for personal reasons. Two declined out of fear that male colleagues or their police department would find out that they were involved in the study. Two willing participant women officers were not interviewed as they had severe Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) partially attributed to experiencing sexual harassment in policing and participation in the study might have been detrimental to their health. One officer declined to be interviewed because she stated she had PTSD from police work and was not strong enough emotionally to undergo the interview process.

Sixty percent of the study participants identified as white, and the other forty percent identified as having some (or all) First Nations heritage. Inclusion of First Nations Officers was a result of my being able to interview one officer of First Nations heritage who then spoke on my behalf to others who subsequently agreed to be interviewed. The indigenous officers did not disclose any incidents involving racism, but I attributed this to the officers working only in First Nations communities. Rather than discussing the experiences of these women in terms of their indigeneity, I prioritized issues of gender for both white and indigenous female officers.

While conducting the participant interviews I was aware of my own experiences in policing and how this could shape the knowledge that was produced by this study. To mitigate this, I did not speak to any of the participants about my experiences in policing other than to let them know that I had worked as a police officer. I worked to maintain the integrity of this study by using the specific words and experiences of the women who were interviewed.

During their interviews, participants were asked questions about a number of themes: harassment and discrimination (including exposure to sexual comments, innuendos, sexually explicit material being posted, sexist jokes, emails, or unwanted touching); their experiences as a female police officer; leadership and promotion; their experiences with supervisors; balancing their work and family life; parental leave and job sharing; as well as questions regarding their future aspirations within their policing organization. Additionally, they were also asked to provide any information that they thought might be important to discuss regarding their experiences as a woman in a police force. The interviews were digitally recorded and later transcribed and coded by the researcher. I started with open coding and then coding frames were used to examine the content of the interviews to find common themes. I ended up examining incidents of harassment, the “old boys club”, issues around pregnancy and family, life/work balance, promotions, the use of back up, self-efficacy, structures, and policies. For more information on these codes see Appendix A - Interview Guide and Appendix F - Codes.

After completing each interview, I asked the women to complete a demographic questionnaire (See Appendix B) that included questions concerning their family structure, their age, and years of service. Having them complete a questionnaire cut down on the amount of time involved in transcription, particularly for questions that were close-ended. I also analyzed available data from Statistics Canada for 2015 and 2017 (Statistics Canada 2016 and 2018) that indicates how the numbers of women have changed in Canadian policing. This data is provided to Statistics Canada by Canadian police departments. Examining historical data demonstrated how the numbers of women are changing at each rank level. This allowed

for insight into whether there is only inequality in numbers at the Constable ranks or if it continues and increases as the rank level increases, and if the numbers of women entering the police profession are increasing, decreasing or leveling off.

1.5 Push Back From Research

At the beginning of the study there was a problem with my data collection. A police department learned that I had been in contact with some of its female officers, as per the protocols of the BREB proposal. The department sent an email outlining its research policies which stated that researchers could not contact officers without obtaining permission from the department's research unit. Police officers in other departments were prohibited by organizational policies from speaking to researchers without approval of the police department. As it was important that female officers speak openly without fear of reprisal, allowing a department to have knowledge of whom the researcher was speaking to was not acceptable. As a result, the research procedures were amended to exclude contacting officers from the complaining police department and to ensure that study participants did not use resources from their police departments while participating in the study. The research proposal was resubmitted with amendments. These amendments required a series of changes to the required practices: work email addresses of any potential participant were not used, no one was contacted at their work place, and it was made very clear to participants that they were not to speak to the researcher (or anyone else) about this study while they were at work. All participants were contacted privately, and they referred others for the study to me through their home email or telephone. This department's concern about its female officers being interviewed demonstrated a well-known aspect of the policing culture detrimental to women,

that officers are not to criticize their department or co-workers. Access to information and informants is closed to outsiders (Brown, Heidensohn 2000;1,105). The department's concern over the research demonstrated that the women officers in this study who expressed concerns about the confidentiality of participating were correct in thinking that their department(s) would not like them speaking about their experiences. Earlier research suggests that fear of negative publicity was a principal reason for police departments to control researchers' contact with their officers (Brown, Heidensohn, 2000; 105). The police women in this study wanted to ensure anonymity as they feared their co-workers would learn they were part of this study. From speaking with them the main reason for this was a fear of being ostracized by co-workers because the culture of policing has an unwritten rule that police officers always stick together and do not criticize each other to outsiders (Brown, Heidensohn, 2006: 96). This insures that individual officers do not go outside of their group norms. In regard to gender relations, this makes sure the women officers behave in a similar manner as their male counterparts and that they do not speak out against anyone within the group. One example of this is that female officers rarely make harassment or discrimination complaints against male officers.

A second unintended aspect of this research was that the women officers interviewed were relatively senior in tenure, with an average of 18.4 years of service. There were three possible reasons for this: a) The media attention to the RCMP lawsuit has brought the issue of harassment and discrimination of women officers out of the private sphere of the police departments into the public sphere, b) police departments are palpably concerned about how negative media coverage affects their image, and c) being afraid to speak out is also directly

related to women officers' need to belong (Brown, Heidensohn, 2006; 74) and the potential repercussions if they are seen as criticizing their department or male co-workers. Women with junior service are less likely to be comfortable with their position as it takes time for women to negotiate their position within the male dominated culture of policing (Brown, Heidensohn, 2006; 74). The women who participated in this study were very careful about being interviewed in a manner that did not allow their male colleagues to be aware of their participation. The women officers asked questions about who would have access to their personal information and how the information would be reported. They were reluctant to be interviewed until assured that they and their department would not be identified and that the information they provided would be reported in a manner that would not allow them to be identified.

The reluctance of female officers to be interviewed without ensuring the protection of their identities may have been connected to their need to rely on their male co-workers for assistance as back up. Police officers are often required to back each other up in violent situations and to use force (Brown, Heidensohn, 2006;29, Natarajan,2008;31) and women officers (as do male officers) often rely on their co-workers for assistance in these situations. Several of the participants in this study spoke about the use of back up and "having each other's backs" (Sally, Jean, Lynnette). Complicating this reliance on each other is also the "code" police officers have which calls for them to always stick together as a group. This is referred to as the "blue line" or the "blue curtain of silence" (Brown, Heidensohn, 2006: 96). Part of this code stipulates that police officers do not report on each other as they usually deal

with any problems within their group rather than reporting situations to superior officers or outside agencies.

The use of snowballing can result in certain similarities among the sample of participants. Police officers who are more senior tend to be close friends with other officers of similar levels of service. This was reflected in the fact that the first few participants were of senior tenure, so they passed the study contact information on to other women with senior service. The women with senior service may not have known women with junior service for a lengthy period and may not have trusted them not to disclose their participation in the study to others.

The ten women interviewed were cisgender women. One disclosed that she was gay and nine identified as heterosexual. Four of the women identified as First Nations. During the interviews the First Nations officers provided information on their experiences similar to the experiences of other participants. They did not disclose information regarding any racial harassment.

The interviews were digitally recorded and then each was transcribed and coded by the researcher. See Appendix F for common themes that were established during the process of coding. The data from the demographic questionnaire was tabulated, but not used as an appendix as some of the information could result in identifying study participants.

Chapter 2 explains the results of the interviews with the women police officers. It includes information on a number of themes, including harassment and discrimination, experiences as a female police officer, leadership and promotion; experiences with

supervisors, balancing work and family life, parental leave, job sharing, future aspirations within policing organizations and any other information deemed relevant to their experiences as a woman in police organizations. Chapter 3 uses data from the study and examines policies and procedures of police departments that affect women officers and makes recommendations for areas of further research in policing organizations. Chapter 4 explains the conclusions reached through analysis of this study in combination with information from previous research. Suggestions are provided for police departments to improve their policies and procedures to support women police officers to potentially increase their numbers.

Chapter 2. The Findings

2.1 Hegemonic Masculinity in Policing

It was clear from the responses of the women police officers involved in this study that the hegemonic masculinity within male dominated organizations which has previously been noted by researchers is still well entrenched within policing organizations (Connell 1995:77, Rabe-Hemp,2009:116, Silvestri, 2012;236, Brown, Heidensohn, 2006; 155, Bikos, 2016:2). The cultural practices in policing allow male police officers to continue to dominate women police officers. This perpetuates the “ideological legitimization of the global subordination of women to men” (Connell: Messerschmidt, 2005:832). The women officers in this study reported examples of having to prove they belong in policing, including sexism and incidents of harassment, policies and procedures that do not support women, a lack of promotional opportunities, low percentages of women officers in all the police ranks, lack of access to specialty units, and a lack of support for women officers who have families.

Nine of ten women police officers in this study reported having experienced issues with the expectations of their male co-workers and the public that they behave in a masculine manner. North American society’s including the institution of policing support hegemonic masculinity. Male officers believe that policing involves solving problems through use of force (Brown, Heidensohn 2000: 29). The idea that force is required to be a good police officer has typically been a problem for women police officers (Kurtz, 2008:220, Brown & Heidensohn, 2000:81) and the study participants reported it continues to be a problem for them. Several participants (Sharon, Sally, and Marlene) mentioned incidents where male

officers would not use female officers as backup, particularly in situations where another male officer was available. Sally related an incident when she was assisting a male officer and he was ignoring her attempts to help and instead, was looking around for help from a second male officer. Sally stated, "It's because we are female. We aren't good enough for backup". With reference to the male officers behaving this way toward the female officers, Sharon stated, "...you can't change it". She also stated with a sense of defeat, "...my belief is the police world is a man's world, has been and always will be". Marlene talked about having a black belt in karate, but still having to prove herself by physically removing a male person from a local bar. She stated the male officers were "waiting to see how fast she got her person in the car". Anne-Marie related that she had to "prove herself in more ways than one... and that it was not for the community, more for the guys I worked with". Sally reported that she believed male officers would choose a male partner over a female partner if they could.

The conflict between the social norms expected of women, that they be nurturing, empathetic, soft and submissive and the masculine norms expected of police officers of "aggressive behavior, physical strength, and solidarity" creates gender conflict for women officers (Crank, 1998; Garcia, 2003 as cited in Rabe-Hemp, 1995:116, Martin 1980). The women officers in this study reported trying a number of responses in attempts to demonstrate to their male co-workers and the public that women can be strong and masculine and therefore, as good as the male police officers. They felt they had to prove themselves physically to their co-workers and describe numerous incidents of making difficult arrests to show their male co-workers they could do the job of policing. As in previously noted studies (Crank, 1998; Garcia, 2003 as cited in Rabe-Hemp, 1995:116, Martin 1980), the women reported having to

find a balance between appearing too masculine by wearing no make-up and “dressing down” and thus being labeled “butch” (Brown, Heidensohn, 2006; 150) or “lesbian” (Rabe-Hemp, 1995:114). If they appear too feminine they risk being labeled as “badge bunnies” (Rabe-Hemp 2009:123) or “pansy police” (Miller 1999:70), terms used in policing to describe a woman police officer who looks nice, but whom the men think cannot do the job (Rabe-Hemp 2009:123).

2.2 The Roles of Women Officers in Policing

The roles of women in policing have changed over time. Historically, women were initially hired by policing organizations in the 1800s only for the purposes of looking after female prisoners. The women were employed as Matrons who searched women, guarded drunken or suicidal prisoners, and acted as chaperones (Barrie & Broomhall 2012: 210, Brown & Heidensohn 2000: 74). As time progressed the duties of women in policing organizations expanded. There was “...great hesitation in using women in policing....” And women were only fully integrated into policing as officers in the 1970s as a “...result of equity legislation rather than a desire for reform or social justice from within police organizations” (Brown & Heidensohn 2000: 74, Barrie & Broomhall 2012: 210).

This study supports previous literature which stated, “one mechanism of hegemonic masculinity in policing organizations is to maintain female police in roles that male officers have historically defined as not “real police work” (Rabe-Hemp, 1995:120). These duties usually involve dealing with women and children as either victims or offenders. Previous research has shown that female officers felt that they were given duties involving women and

children victims because it's "women's work" (Rabe-Hemp 2009:116). The women police officers in this study confirmed that this still occurs. Jean stated that there were times when she was assigned duties specifically because the supervisor felt the duties were feminine, particularly duties involving dealing with women and children. One specific example of these duties provided by Jean was her description of how she considered her supervisor a chauvinist and how there was "a lot of clashing with his beliefs and my role as a female police officer..." Jean further stated, "I was assigned all the sexual assaults because I was a woman...the guys didn't do the sexual assault investigations". Jean stated this in a resentful manner that indicated she felt it unfair that she was given all the sexual assault cases. Jenny explained this in a more accepting way stating that women officers would end up with more spousal or sexual assault files because the women victims would ask for a woman officer and this was "...a role female officers were expected to play so everyone feels comfortable." Whatever the reason for them being assigned these tasks, women officers completing these tasks more often than male officers "maintains the hegemonic masculinity at work in the police occupation." (Rabe-Hemp 2009: 116). These files being assigned only to women officers instead of only at the request of a female victim continues the historical idea that women police officers should only complete tasks that involve women victims and inmates and children (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000:45, Natarajan, 2000:163). The male officers consider this social work and of less importance than other real police work, particularly those duties that require the use of force. The men consider the women officers incapable of handling all police tasks (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000:81).

Brown and Heidensohn (2000:29) related the idea that police need to use force as leading to an “elision which is frequently made: coercion requires force which implies physique and hence policing by men.” Some study participants made reference to the public associating policing with masculine traits and, therefore having expectations of female officers based on these traits. Sharon stated she had to be “...more masculine, just a bit tougher” when she dealt with very strong males. Numerous researchers (Silvestri 2012:236, Chan, et al 2010:426, Kurtz 2008: 222, Brown & Heidensohn 2000:80) have identified this “cult of masculinity” in policing as being what limits women police officer’s access to high rank, specialist roles, and ultimately full acceptance and equality within policing organizations.

Kurtz (2008:216) asserted that “localized aspects of the community extend directly into the organizational culture”. If one considers a unit in policing as part of the “community” than each unit has the ability to contribute to the culture of policing. If most of the members of each policing unit or section associate policing with aggressiveness, physicality and the ability to use force and masculinity, these attributes will be what is valued by the unit. If most of the units in a police department value those masculine attributes, then these will be reflected in the culture of the organization. Gerber (2001:23) explains this by using status theory. She theorizes that the personality traits valued in a group were associated with the individuals in the group who had the highest status within the group. If most of the group is male, as is the case in policing, the males in the group will have the highest status and therefore, male personality traits and gendered behaviors like the use of force and aggressiveness will be more accepted and valued.

Another way to understand why male officers are valued more than female officers is to look at it from the perspective of organizational behaviour. McShane and Steen (2009:334) state that "...organizational culture consists of the values and assumptions shared within an organization" and that it "...defines what is important or unimportant in an organization....". In Canada, historically, "...men were key actors in the shaping of organizational structures..." (Ramsay and Parker, 1992:260) and the values and assumptions and organizational culture of policing were and still are based on men. The hierarchy within organizations was established using a patriarchal system where men were given more power than women. When women began working they entered employment in positions seen as less important than those of men. McShane and Steen (2009: 261) explain this as women being "segregated into lower status and lower waged positions within organizations". In short, policing organizations were made by men and men continue to dominate them and it is their masculine traits and personalities that are most valued by police departments.

Some of the women (Marlene, Anne-Marie, Jolene, Sharon, Lynnette) reported challenging the hegemonic ideal by trying to do as well or better at the job than their male co-workers. This sometimes involved showing that they could physically accomplish certain tasks, such as making arrests or intervening in physical altercations. Several study participants (Sally, Michaela, Sharon) reported that it was difficult being a female officer and they felt they had to be twice as good at their jobs as any male officer to be accepted by their co-workers and the public, and especially to be considered for promotion.

Many of the study participants described circumstances when there was conflict over women's roles in policing and how the male officers treated them. One study participant, Jenny, provided an example of her supervisor micromanaging her and not letting her make any decisions. She described this as feeling like she was a "secretary with a gun on my hip. I'm supposed to sit at my desk and wait to be told what to do." Jenny also described only being sent on training courses if there was not a male available to attend.

Jolene provided examples of how she was affected by the male majority. She stated she had to try to fit in with the male officers by having to "try to be more masculine" and that she broke her wrist in two places while doing training with the men because she was trying to show the guys that she was "...as bad ass as them..." She stated there were times when she felt she was treated differently because she was a woman. Specifically, she discussed how the male officers would "look down on her" when she called in sick, and how when she was pregnant she was made to feel she had to choose between being a mother and a police officer. She also didn't think women officers were treated equally for promotions.

Jean described how she felt females experienced promotional opportunities differently than men. In her police department there were no females in the higher ranks except for one female Sergeant. When she applied for promotion she knew she would not get it because a male officer had also applied for the position and it was a male Inspector who made the decision as to who was promoted. Jean stated she saw how the department was run and decided to stay where she was and "ride off into the sunset" rather than seek promotion.

Michaela described a scenario when she was placed in charge of a crime scene and a male officer higher in rank than she was not happy about her role. Specifically, he was not happy about her overseeing the scene because she was a woman. She had to get a second male officer (higher in rank than the first male) to intervene on her behalf so the first one understood that she was in charge. She advised that he made it clear that his objections were only because she was a woman. Michaela stated she did not think she was treated differently in relation to promotion, but she acknowledged hearing comments within her organization about persons of colour, or women applying for positions actually having an advantage because of their colour or gender. Michaela advised she did not think the numbers of women in policing would ever equal those of the men and that there are less women in the higher ranks than men.

Sharon talked about male supervisors who had “old school personalities” that did not believe women should be in a police force. She also spoke about male supervisors excluding female officers from files or duties. She stated the supervisors had the attitude that they should only send male officers whenever they had to deal with “a big violent male wanted on a warrant.” Even when she spoke up about having the same training as the men the supervisor stated, “No, we’ll just take some of the boys.” Sharon minimized these behaviours saying it was better now that many of the “old school males had retired”, however, she indicated that this behaviour is still occurring. She realized her contradiction and then explained it by stating that she was finding the behaviours were not as bad as in the past. Sharon stated that the male officers often did sexist things in the office in a group setting where it was harder for someone

to stand up for themselves. She stated, “It’s hard being a female. It is a very male oriented field...”.

Lynnette described a supervisor who didn’t like women officers who treated the women differently by “not supporting their ideas, commenting to other Sergeants or supervisors about their incompetence, not sending them on courses, basically showing favouritism to male officers.” She stated he was an isolated example of discrimination she saw within her department, but he was the officer of the highest rank in that particular police station, so it was very hard to prove, and nothing was done about it. These examples demonstrate that as shown in past research the working relationships and the conduct of the male officers toward the female officers remained a significant source of stress for female officers (Cox, 1996: Spasic, 2011:31).

Some study participants stated that they felt they perform policing duties differently than men by being more empathetic and that this leads to women officers getting better results in some scenarios (Jolene, Jenny). The public “veers toward them” (Jolene) and always want to speak to the female (Jenny) because they deal with people differently. Jolene stated that men (male officers) “can be “condescending, rude or arrogant” and that she “...kind of gets better results than some of the guys because the guys act like arse holes to the public.”

Study participants reported that male co-workers and members of the public question the belonging of women in police work; they challenged female officers about their motivation for being police officers. Men asked them personal questions, made sexually suggestive comments, and even tried to touch them physically in ways they stated would never

be attempted on or tolerated by male officers. There were several examples provided where female officers had to negotiate their way through these situations. Marlene was asked by her field coach if she was a “concubine.” Jean was advised to quit and become a fitness instructor. Jolene was asked if she wanted to be a mom or a cop. When she was unmarried, Jolene was also asked by a supervisor if she would accompany a police guest (a famous sports player) to a police function and then “entertain him, if you know what I mean.” She took this to mean that the supervisor was suggesting that she sleep with the guest. When she was a single mother a supervisor told Jolene, she should “get rid of her kids so she could find a man.” Marlene explained male police officer’s way of thinking that she was only in policing to find a husband. One participant (Vanessa) described how she turned down the sexual advances of three male police coaches and then heard that one of the male officers was telling everyone not to bother with her because “she was frigid.” A member of the public tried to grab Jenny in the vagina and she reported that she “took him down, like he went down to the floor and that was that.” Jolene reported a male she worked with grabbed her crotch while they were in a social setting. These situations required the female officers to negotiate their gender within policing organizations. If a female police officer replied to these suggestions in a negative manner then she was potentially labeled a lesbian or frigid (Vanessa), particularly if she showed a lack of sexual interest in a male co-worker. If she replied in a positive way, then she was not there to do police work, but only to find a husband. By concentrating on their physical appearances and sexual value, the male officers and male members of the public have confirmed that they think of the female police officers in patriarchal ways. They are not looked at as equals to the

male officers, and, as past studies have indicated, they are “display value that diminishes their value as professional police officers” (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000: 70).

A second way to look at incidents of female officers having their sexuality questioned is to consider it as a form of social control within policing organizations. If police women did not behave in a manner that male officers expected from women who live in a patriarchal society, the men suggested that the women must be gay. Ramsay and Parker (1992:267) theorized this by stating that “colleagues who do not conform to dominant values are the victim of speculation about their sexuality as a means of social control”.

When asked when in their career these types of incidents occurred, participants related that it was generally within the first few years of their employment. One participant (Vanessa) stated she “wasn’t sure whether it was a rape culture or not or just that women are devalued or just that the men are being hired at the point in their life where they’re looking for a bit of action.... but there’s something maybe not a rape culture, but something where women are devalued”. Several participants stated that the farther along they were in their careers the fewer harassment related comments were made to them. Participants did not seem to know if this was a result of experience and seniority and knowing how to deal with these types of comments, if men were more accepting of them when they had more service, or if it was because the females (and males) were older and tended to be in relationships. Perhaps because this occurred more frequently at the beginning of police women’s careers, it suggested that newly hired women officers may be more vulnerable to harassment. This finding could have potential relevance for harassment policies for police departments. Police departments should be vigilant about encouraging female officers to speak out about incidents of harassment,

particularly when they are newly hired. Police departments should also support new women officers by providing them with women coaches or mentors who are familiar with harassment policies to encourage disclosure of incidents of harassment.

2.3 Female Police Officers and the Internalization of Sexualization

Incidents of sexual harassment by male police officers directed either toward themselves or other women were reported by all ten of the female participants. The incidents varied in severity from sexist emails, jokes and comments to incidents where the male police officers physically touched female officers. Many of the disclosures regarding incidents of harassment were recounted in a nonchalant manner that minimized the behavior of their co-workers. Many of the female officers also stated that they became so accustomed to the misogynistic attitudes of their co-workers that they did not react to the harassment unless it was directed toward them. If it was directed at other women, they ignored it. An example of this was when Vanessa recounted how the male officers in a recruiting unit made negative comments about moving women along in the police recruiting process, stating, “Oh, it’s got a vagina, we’ve got to move it forward”. Vanessa ignored this comment but did react when one of her co-workers (while sitting in a police car doing surveillance) forcefully put her head in his groin and said, “While we’re waiting for something to happen here you might want to do something useful.” Vanessa moved her head from his groin but did not take any further action. Vanessa described these types of incidents happening “almost continually” throughout her career, yet she also excused the behavior of her co-workers stating, “it’s just those inappropriate or just plain stupid guys.” When talking about the sexual talk of her co-workers, Anne-Marie stated, “I know I’m working in a man’s environment and sometimes we put up

with lots of stuff before we say anything....it doesn't bother me as long as it's not directed towards me." According to Jolene, "I kind of got used to their sexual comments. You know like it just kind of almost didn't faze me anymore because I would just throw them out because they're idiots and it wasn't directed at me. It was usually somebody else." Jean stated she experienced sexual comments that were not related to her, but to "women in general." She stated that she does not think it is going to change anytime soon, even though there are protocols and policies in place, explaining that "women have always been treated a little bit less than." Michaela stated that sexual jokes are common and that she used humor to deflect the comments, and she expressed confidence from a previous career working with men and the men felt that from her, so they did not bother her. Sharon initially stated she felt supported by her supervisor, but later she related how he would take "just the boys" to go and deal with a violent individual or would exclude the women when going for a drink after work. Her contradictory feelings were explained by relating that her previous supervisor had been so much worse; this one seemed better. Sharon also shared that she overheard male co-workers making comments about female officers who were pregnant as being "always pregnant or knocked up." She also recounted how a female co-worker told her that a male supervisor, upon learning of her pregnancy, stated that the female officer should get "unpregnant" and how the women officers were considered as "just going to make babies."

The sexism of the participants' male co-workers is so embedded in the culture of policing that the female officers either did not initially acknowledge it or they attempted to minimize the behaviors by excusing them as normal male behaviors. One participant (Jenny) described an incident when a male supervisor asked the participant's husband about her

“putting out” and being “very active”; yet, this same participant, when asked about sexist behavior, replied that nothing had been said directly to her.” Later, Jenny explained that the behaviors were so common that her response became like “water off a duck’s back” that she rationalized the behaviors by thinking “this isn’t as hard as I’ve already been through. I’ll be okay.” Many of the participants stated that they were more likely to complain about harassment if it occurred later in their career. They would get “angry” and speak up, but there was a sense of frustration because there had been training for workplace harassment, yet seemingly no results from it other than behaviours no longer being displayed overtly.

The women in this study felt there were limited avenues of redress within police departments to deal with harassment. The incidents they disclosed were minimized when reported and the women felt the harasser was not dealt with. The women did not want to complain and deal with harassers because of difficulty in proving the actions and their beliefs that things will not change. Several of them provided examples of harassment complaints being investigated, but nothing significant was done to the harassers. In only one circumstance was a harasser dismissed from his employment, yet it was also a direct result of something else he had done; the harassment was treated as a secondary issue.

Several study participants (Jolene, Marlene, Michaela, Jenny, Sharon) referenced their organizations having courses and policies on harassment and discrimination, but they stated that they do not think this really changes anything because these gendering practices still occurred, just less overtly. They spoke of women officers being outnumbered by men, particularly in the senior ranks and often they were the only female in their detachment or unit. Anne-Marie described this as, “There’s not enough women period.” Many of the participants

made reference to policing as being “male dominated” (Lynnette), “a very male oriented field” (Sharon). Jean made reference to how male officers try to “dominate and intimidate women” and how males in society “attempt to use physical size to intimidate” female officers and that there will always be “men who have issues with strong female personalities”. Sally stated, “It is challenging because my belief is the police world is a man’s world It is a different world for a man, much easier for promotions, for acting, to gain respect...there are definite hurdles to go through being a female officer.”

When she talked about training for workplace harassment and discrimination, Jolene stated, “I don’t think it really changes anything”. Marlene stated, “You believe the situation is not going to change because you see it happening to other people and there’s been no change. Jean stated, “I don’t really think it’s going to change anytime soon. Like there’s all these protocols and policies are in place and it’s still going to be there”. The study participants stated that all their departments have policies in procedures in place to prevent harassment, but they do not work. The harassment is still there, it is just done in a less visible way.

Previous research indicates that “the discrimination faced by modern women officers is less blatant, less visible, and as a result, more insidious” (Silvestri, 2003:172) and “subtle and less overt” (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000:81). The experiences of the study participants demonstrated that this is still the case. Lynnette advised that “people are very aware of the work place harassment and discrimination policies that exist in today’s policing....so the guys are very selective about the audience before they make a comment just to be respectful of those who may take offense to something that’s said.” Lynnette also described a male

Detachment Commander who she knew did not believe women should be in policing and who discriminated against female officers, but he “was smart and he did it in a way that what he was doing could not be proven and he is cautious of what he says”. An example she provided was that he would intentionally deny the female members training courses, but there was no way that they could complain because they could not prove he was choosing males over females.

Policing has historically been “an almost pure form of masculinity” (Fielding, 1994: 47 as quoted in Brown & Heidensohn, 2000: 84). In the past, policing and male police officers have been associated with physical strength and the use of force. The women police officers in this study stated that they tended to use fewer physical methods of policing than their male co-workers. This use of less physical methods may explain some of the harassment experienced by women police women officers. One theory proposes that incidents of sexual harassment within police departments happen because male officers are compensating for losses in hegemonic masculinity within policing (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000: 84). The male officers see the use of these less physical or forceful methods and the female officers themselves as a threat to the masculinity of policing and they respond by sexually harassing the women.

Some of the police women in this study reported resisting the masculinity of policing by attempting to retain feminine characteristics and qualities while policing. These women also reported incidents of sexual harassment. This confirmed previous research that showed some women officers responded to the masculinity of the policing occupation by attempting to remain as feminine as possible. Some have suggested that this retention of femininity attracts sexual harassment from the male officers (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000:75), but this cannot be

the only factor as all the women in the study reported being harassed, yet only some of them reported attempting to maintain their femininity. Blaming the harassment on the female officer's exhibiting femininity also borders on victim blaming which can be a reaction by some to cases of sexual harassment (DeJudicibus & McCabe, 2001:401-417). Another way this could be explained is that research on sexual harassment has determined an "environment where there is a high level of sexualized behaviour that is socially acceptable may alter perceptions and behaviour & interpret harassing behaviours as normal interactions" (DeJudicibus & McCabe, 2001:416). From the perspective of a policing environment where there is "sex talk all the time" (Lynnette) some of the male officers may not see sexual behaviour toward the women officers as harassment because they consider the behaviour as normal interactions. This research study determined that the participants experienced harassment early in their careers when they were new to policing and not confident enough in their abilities to stand up for themselves and report harassment.

Previous research has demonstrated that female officers have differential rates of reporting harassment and that sexual harassment is associated with male officers trying to maintain power and driving women away from policing (Brown & Heidensohn 2000:154-158). Male officers feel threatened by the presence of women officers, associating the entry of women into policing with "...a threat to the solidarity of police culture" (Heidensohn, 1996 as cited in Spasic, 2011:31).

Other research points to the entry of women into the solely male domain of policing being seen as non-traditional women in need of control by men (Heidensohn & Brown 2000:42). Brown (2007:223) states that, when under threat, "an organization draws on

repertoires grounded in the occupational culture to focus responses that will preserve the dominant identity.” In the case of policing, the dominant identity is male. To change the dominant identity in law enforcement, police organizations need more than just numbers of female officers; they need to value “...both feminine and masculine attributes” (Brown, 2007: 223).

Research has determined that there are stereotypes that preserve the male culture of policing and prevent women officers from fully integrating into policing, include that women are emotional, are less able to deal with crises, are satisfied with repetitive tasks, are passive and cannot give orders (Spasic, 2011:27). These stereotypes lead to assumptions about women’s police officers’ roles and abilities and are passed from one generation to another. The stories of the women officers in this study show that these stereotypes still exist within this generation and therefore continue to perpetuate the masculine culture of police services. To change the masculine culture of policing police departments must do more than just targeting the recruitment of higher numbers of women officers. They must support women officers who face the demands of having a family and must change their policies and procedures to encourage women to seek and obtain promotion to the higher ranks.

The next chapter discusses policies and procedures of police departments that affect women officers and makes recommendations for further research in policing organizations. Changes to police department policies and procedures may assist in supporting women officers moving them closer to fully integrating into policing.

Chapter 3 - Policies and Procedures in Support of Women; are they there?

3.1 Policies Made by Men for Men

I was unable to obtain documentation from police departments to examine how their policies and procedures discriminate against women, but many of the study participants mentioned that policies in police departments are made for men. One study participant Marlene expressed her feelings by saying “the police world is a man’s world, has been and always will be”. One example Marlene provided was that women must cut their hair or put their hair up. She stated that by doing this the departments are “sending a clear message that you need to be a man, perform like a man, look like a man and act like a man” and that “there is a reason they call it the old boys club”.

Another example Marlene provided was the way in which promotions are determined in police departments. Police department promotional boards use competencies when reviewing applicants’ files for promotion. Study participants stated that women officers do not experience participating in promotional boards in the same way as the male officers. The women stated that the quality of their promotional experiences was poor and they did not feel that they had as much chance at promotion as their male colleagues. Michaela explained this further by stating that the members of the promotional boards were almost always male and, therefore they evaluated examples provided for promotional opportunities using male values. They did not appreciate that women officers used different problem-solving methods than men and that women officers respond to policing situations differently than men. For promotional

purposes women are still being judged by the expected responses of men. The women believe that no matter how hard they work they will not be promoted.

The study participants perceived that women police officers had to work much harder than male officers to get ahead. Sally stated that “more males are placed in acting supervisor positions than women and that you really had to excel to be put in an acting position as a female. It is a different world for a female police officer.” Sharon explained how she felt about herself and her female co-workers having to work harder than her male co-workers as it being “a constant battle trying to prove myself and it wasn’t only me, it was the other females on the watch”. This demonstrated that the women officers feel they still “face the resistance to their own role” from within policing organizations, a phenomenon that was identified in previous research (Spasic, 2011:31).

3. 2 Existing Policies and the Numbers

The women officers are acutely aware of there being fewer women in policing than men. Vanessa believes that “police departments are recruiting to obtain numbers of women, not for retention”. The low percentage of women in all levels of policing reported by the study participants is supported by information from Statistics Canada (2015, Chart 3.8.1). Although women have been permitted to join police services as regular officers since the 1970s, the numbers of Canadian female Constables are still far from equal to the numbers of Canadian male Constables. This inequality becomes worse in the higher ranks of policing. The higher the rank, the less women there are.

One of the potential reasons for the low numbers of women in policing is that women officers who become mothers are disadvantaged in policing. Police work is “structured to accommodate a male chronology of continuous and uninterrupted employment.” (Silvestri, 2012 246-247). This means that police officers are not expected to take lengthy periods of time off. Examples of these interrupted periods of employment might be parental leave or leave without pay to care for parents. This puts women officers at a disadvantage because women are often expected to be caregivers which can result in them requiring shorter working hours. Officers who do not work full time hours on a continuous basis throughout their career can be looked at as being less credible and as having less commitment to their policing organization (Silvestri, 2012:247). This perceived lack of commitment for those who do not work full time can put women officers at a disadvantage in several areas of policing, including promotion, receiving training, or being placed in specialty units.

At the end of each interview the participants were given the opportunity to provide the interviewer with any information they deemed relevant to their experiences as women in policing. Many of the study participants responded by disclosing intimate feelings about how they felt about being a woman officer. These included feelings of being “devalued, hopeless, not seeing a future and having no support” (Vanessa); feeling like they “had not enough mentorship” and were “thrown to the wolves” (Marlene); frustration at “having to be this amazing female police officer for male members to respect you....we are going to be strong women and they don’t like it.” (Sally). Jenny stated that women officers face different challenges than men and the men “don’t get it and I don’t know if they ever will”. Anne-Marie advised that there is “no consideration of amenities for women, particularly for fly in

communities.... there are more men in higher positions and not enough women there”. The comments made by the participants are reflective of policies and procedures that do not support women officers, promotional policies that are unfair to women officers, low numbers of women officers in all levels of policing and a lack of female support and mentorship.

Anne-Marie disclosed to me that one of the reasons she joined a police department was because she believed First Nations People must police themselves. She explained this by stating that due to experiences with residential schools and removal from homes by the RCMP First Nations peoples distrust the RCMP. Jolene disclosed after the interview that she was frustrated by “the old boys club”, that it will “Always be there” and that she just plans on “staying under the radar” until she gets her pension. Jean also reported frustration with “not going anywhere” and she also used the words “flying under the radar” to describe her current situation in the police department. Michaela described seeing other female officers “being intimidated” by their male colleagues. She stated she knew how to handle herself, but “The shy type, the easy going will get stomped on”. At the end of our interview she disclosed her frustration over and fear of being removed from a specialty team due to a required test that is clearly discriminatory for women due to their smaller stature. Sharon stated that she would retire if she could. She cited numerous incidents of “very, very sexist behaviour” by male colleagues toward the female officers calling policing “very male oriented”. Lynnette called policing “very sexual”, stating that “There’s a lot of sex talk every day, every shift 12 hours, there’s lots and lots of it, but I just think it’s part of it”. She then stated that she was used to it due to her previous life experience, so it did not bother her.

3.3 The Promotional System

Most of the women in this study (8 of 10 participants), even though they are eligible to apply for promotion, have no intention of doing so. They stated they are going to “do their time to obtain their pension”, until they leave their police organization. They give a variety of reasons for not seeking promotion, family stresses, feeling devalued as employees, not caring anymore, being tired of their organization, or policing and its associated stresses. Many of the women officers feel that male officers have an advantage in police departments, particularly when it comes to promotion.

The study participants described their departments’ promotional system in various ways as being unfair to women officers. Jolene stated that women officers were not treated equally for promotional purposes. Jean described how she felt females experienced promotional opportunities differently than men. In her police department there are no females in the higher ranks except one female Sergeant. When she applied for a promotion, she knew she would not get it because a male officer had also applied. It was a male Inspector who got to choose who was given the position. Jean stated after she saw how the department was run she decided to stay where she was and “ride off into the sunset”. Sally stated, “my belief would be that they would pick a male over a female absolutely”. Jenny stated, “in the end, upper management gets to pick”. Anne-Marie stated, “There’s definitely more men in higher positions, but I also look at the numbers. There’s not enough women, period”. Anne-Marie also stated that the male officers “do not see us (the female officers) as officers...”. Marlene explained that “the people on the promotional boards are males, that there is the odd female on

there, but still the majority is male”, “that they are looking at it from their perspective” and that “there are a lot more males on the job than women”. The belief that men will pick a man to promote over a woman is supported by research which indicates that men display prejudices regarding women and their potential as managers (Brown & Heidensohn 2000:82). This may be associated with a perception of others that, because of their roles as mothers and wives, women police officers cannot handle the extra responsibilities required in the higher police ranks. The women officers themselves may even believe this (Morash & Haarr, 2010:19) and not apply for promotions.

Vanessa (who also does not have children) spoke about women officers and promotion stating, “I see how much harder it is for the women who have kids and have to work shift work and have to juggle all those things and there’s a lot of women in the police force that have kids and I just don’t think they have the energy to get through the process...”. If women who have children do not have the energy to apply or go through the promotion process, there will be very few women officers who make it through to the higher ranks. As only a percentage of those women who apply are promoted, the low numbers of women applying will result in even fewer who are eventually promoted.

One of the consequences of women officers not being interested in promotion is that there is a stratification of inequality in the ranks of police departments. The higher the rank, the fewer women are in that rank (see chart 3.8.1). This glass ceiling to promotion has been documented by previous research (Belknap and Shelley 2002; Franklin, 2005; Heidensohn, 1992; Garcia, 2003; Martin, 1980; Miller, 1999; Pike. 1985; Price, 1985, Remmington, 1983; Schulz, 2004

as cited in Rabe-Hemp 2008;252). The comments of the women interviewed in this study indicate there are not enough women in the lower ranks of policing and even fewer women in the higher ranks. The data obtained from Statistics Canada (2016: Chart 3.8.1) confirm these study findings; there is still inequality within all the ranks of policing. The overall percentage of women in Canadian Police Departments (20.8%) is still well below being equal to the percentage of male officers 79.2% (Chart 3.8.2, Statistics Canada, 2015).

3.4 Job Sharing

All ten of the women in this study reported that their police departments had policies and procedures in place to allow women to job share but doing so was not encouraged. This was shown in different ways, from the lack of encouragement by supervisors to the lack of structured administrative methods to assist women in accomplishing job sharing. In other words, it is one thing to have policies in place, but another to support the use of them. For example, police departments did not keep lists of women who were interested in job sharing; when one woman (Sally) asked why, her police service cited privacy issues as the reason for not doing so. The women were told to find their own job-sharing partner, which is difficult to do. Could it be considered a privacy issue if the women signed a consent form allowing their name to be on a list that was provided to other interested officers or another way to put a stumbling block in front of those women who might chose to work part time?

By not encouraging or supporting job sharing, police departments are risking women police officers either quitting policing altogether or going off duty on extended leaves. Sally stated she was off work for four years because she could not find a suitable job-sharing

partner. Another officer, Jolene, was so annoyed over her treatment while having her children that she quit working for one department, had her family and once her children were school aged, she joined another department because they offered her part time work. Eventually she returned to full time policing with that department. Another woman related how the male (OIC) Officer in Charge of Human Resources told a female co-worker returning from a maternity leave that people “coming back from mat leave are a pain in the ass”. One participant explained that women police officers who become pregnant are not replaced (their positions remain vacant) which results in their co-workers receiving a larger work load so some of their male co-workers resent the women being on parental leave.

3.5 Access to Specialty Units

Two of the study participants discussed some of the specialty units in policing and expressed concerns over supervisors who specifically excluded women from these units. They also indicated that police departments used selection criteria that make it difficult for women to join these units. Some examples of these units are Emergency Response Teams, K-9 Units, or bicycle patrol. One of the women (Michaela) was already working in one of these specialty units when her department changed the selection criteria in a manner that made it likely that she would not qualify to remain in her position. Both women indicated that supervisors used the differences in size and strength of women as excuses to exclude them from these specialty units even though the women officers had shown they were capable of doing those duties. The experiences of these study participants demonstrate that the myths about women officers’

physical limitations still exist despite research conducted in the 1970's and 1980's that showed that women officers are just as effective as men (Drew & Prenzler, 2013:459).

3.6 Role Conflict: Wife, Mother or Police Officer?

The women in this study who had children have related experiencing work-family conflicts that are often more pronounced than those experienced by their male co-workers. This finding is in line with other studies (Kurtz, 2008:217, Silvestri, 2012:247) that have found that female officers have unresolvable conflict between their roles as mothers and as police officers. Women officers experienced increased levels of emotional exhaustion and burnout as a result of the expectation that they not only perform well as police officers, but also maintain “domestic roles as mothers, wives and caregivers” (Kurtz, 2008:217). The women who did not have children acknowledged that their co-workers who had children faced more challenges in relation to parenting and the shift work that is often a requirement in policing. The women officers who had children indicated that they sometimes had supervisors who did not understand the difficulties of having children and working in policing. One participant (Jolene) found being a mom and a police officer very challenging and felt that it had a negative impact on her career with the first police department she worked for. She stated that the men in the first police department made comments about her having children and that she should make up her mind if she wanted to be a cop or a mom. This role conflict that she experienced caused her to eventually leave the first police department and then later when her children were older she joined another department. She found childcare particularly challenging especially when working in a unit that required her to be on call. She described

one incident where her supervisor changed the time of her shift and then “wrote her up” when he called her in earlier and her child care provider was not available to work earlier. Jolene summed up her feelings by referring to policing as an “old boys club that always will be”. Sally described how she tried to use her holiday time to leave work an hour early to pick up her children from after school care and how her male co-workers made an issue of it. One participant (Marlene) stated that there are differences for women police officers who have families. She explained it by sa: “The guy says I’m not going to be home then the rest of the family picks up the slack. The woman must make arrangements or must take leave or holidays”.

Previous research has found that “policing and motherhood have long been deemed incompatible” (Brown & Heidensohn 2000: 137). Police departments struggle to deal with women police officers who also have roles as mothers (Brown & Heidensohn 2000:112; Rabe-Hemp, 2008:252) and this study showed that this continues to be the case. The women officers in this study who had children (Sally, Jenny, Anne-Marie, Jolene, Jean and Michaela) described being a mother as a disadvantage to a policing career. Sally stated, “...other members just didn’t understand what it’s like to have a family”. Anne-Marie stated she was a stay at home mom until she became a police officer and that she was lucky she had a supportive husband and children who were older (in their 20’s) when she started her policing career. Jolene was told to choose between being a cop and a mother and, while being pregnant, had such a hard time with one police department that she left and joined another department when her children were older. Jean explained that one of her children went to live with his grandparents due to her moving to a small community to do police work. She then related how

one of her co-workers made comments about her getting rid of her child so she “could find herself a man”. Michaela stated it is necessary for any police officer, including males to have a supportive spouse when there are children in the family. Sharon talked about the difficulties of other female officers who had children and how they were spoken about in a negative way about “being pregnant again” and “being on mat leave again”.

Marlene (who did not have children) explained the difficulty for female officers who are mothers by stating that female police officers are sometimes not selected for promotion out of concern that they may “go off on maternity leave or you know they are not as involved because they’re going to have to do things with their kids and not be available and stuff like that”. This suggests that there is a perception that the ideal police officer is one who is male and does not have children. Vanessa who did not have children spoke about women officers who were mothers and promotion stating, “I see how much harder it is for the women who have kids and have to work shift work and juggle all those things and there’s a lot of women in the police force that have kids and I just don’t think they have the energy to apply or go through the promotion process....” If women officers who have children do not have the energy to apply or go through the promotion process, then there will be few women officers who make it through to the higher ranks. As only a percentage of those that apply are promoted, the low numbers of women applying will result in even less who are eventually promoted.

3. 7 - The Potential for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

One study participant (Vanessa) stated that she thought women police officers could potentially be at higher risk of experiencing PTSD because of the duties they are assigned more often than men, specifically due to being women. These duties included investigating domestic assault and sexual assault cases, many of which involved children as victims. Vanessa stated that women are assigned these duties more frequently with “no understanding of how this affects women”. Previous research has confirmed these study findings that women police officers were assigned these types of duties more often (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000:80-81, Jackson, 2006:50, Natarajan, 2005:294) as they were thought to handle them better than males.

Research has shown that women officers have a suicide rate approximately 4 times the rate of women from the general population (Marzuk et al, 2002:2069, Spasic, 2011:30). There has been very little empirical research conducted to examine any correlation between police women’s duties, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, and suicide so it has not been determined if these are linked to the higher rates of suicide among police women (Kurtz (2008:217).

Chapter 3 Section 8 TABLES and CHARTS

Table 1. Police officers by rank and gender, Canada, provinces and territories (source: Statistics Canada, 2016 & 2018. The data below is a part of CANSIM table 254-0005. Geography = Canada4 Statistics = Number of police officers7)

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>2011</u>	<u>2012</u>	<u>2013</u>	<u>2014</u>	<u>2015</u>	<u>2016</u>	<u>2017</u>
<u>Total # of police officers</u>	<u>Total #</u>	<u>69,424</u>	<u>69,505</u>	<u>69,250</u>	<u>68,806</u>	<u>68,772</u>	<u>68,859</u>	<u>69,027</u>
	<u>Males</u>	<u>55,820</u>	<u>55,673</u>	<u>55,252</u>	<u>54,650</u>	<u>54,447</u>	<u>54,304</u>	<u>54,275</u>
	<u>Females</u>	<u>13,604</u>	<u>13,832</u>	<u>13,998</u>	<u>14,156</u>	<u>14,332</u>	<u>14,555</u>	<u>14,752</u>
<u>Senior Officers</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>2,600</u>	<u>2,517</u>	<u>2,463</u>	<u>2,382</u>	<u>2,347</u>	<u>2,285</u>	<u>2,231</u>
	<u>Females</u>	<u>273</u>	<u>278</u>	<u>287</u>	<u>291</u>	<u>332</u>	<u>348</u>	<u>384</u>
<u>Non-Commissioned Officers</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>15,127</u>	<u>15,020</u>	<u>14,675</u>	<u>14,463</u>	<u>14,456</u>	<u>14,301</u>	<u>14,386</u>
	<u>Females</u>	<u>2,842</u>	<u>2,942</u>	<u>3,019</u>	<u>3,086</u>	<u>3,184</u>	<u>3,187</u>	<u>3,368</u>
<u>Constables</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>38,093</u>	<u>38,136</u>	<u>38,114</u>	<u>37,805</u>	<u>37,643</u>	<u>37,718</u>	<u>37,658</u>
	<u>Females</u>	<u>10,489</u>	<u>10,612</u>	<u>10,692</u>	<u>10,779</u>	<u>10,816</u>	<u>11,020</u>	<u>10,999</u>

Footnotes:

1. Represents actual police officer strength as of September 30 for 1986 to 1995; as of June 15 for 1996 to 2005; and as of May 15 since 2006.
2. Includes personnel who have obtained senior officer status, normally at the rank of lieutenant or higher, such as chiefs, deputy chiefs, staff superintendents, superintendents, staff inspectors, inspectors, lieutenants, and other equivalent ranks.
3. Includes personnel between the rank of constable and lieutenant, such as staff-sergeants, sergeants, detective-sergeants, corporals and all equivalent ranks.
4. Total for Canada includes police officers in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Headquarters and Training Academy.
5. Excludes personnel from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Headquarters.
6. Excludes personnel from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Training Academy.
7. Represents the actual number of police officers as of September 30 for 1986 to 1995; as of June 15 for 1996 to 2005; and as of May 15 since 2006.

Source: Statistics Canada.2016. *Table 254-0005 - Police officers by rank and gender, Canada, provinces and territories, annual*, CANSIM (database). (accessed:)

Source: <http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/cansim/pick-choisir?lang=eng&p2=33&id=2540005>

Table 2. Percentage of Male and Female Canadian Police Officers 2015

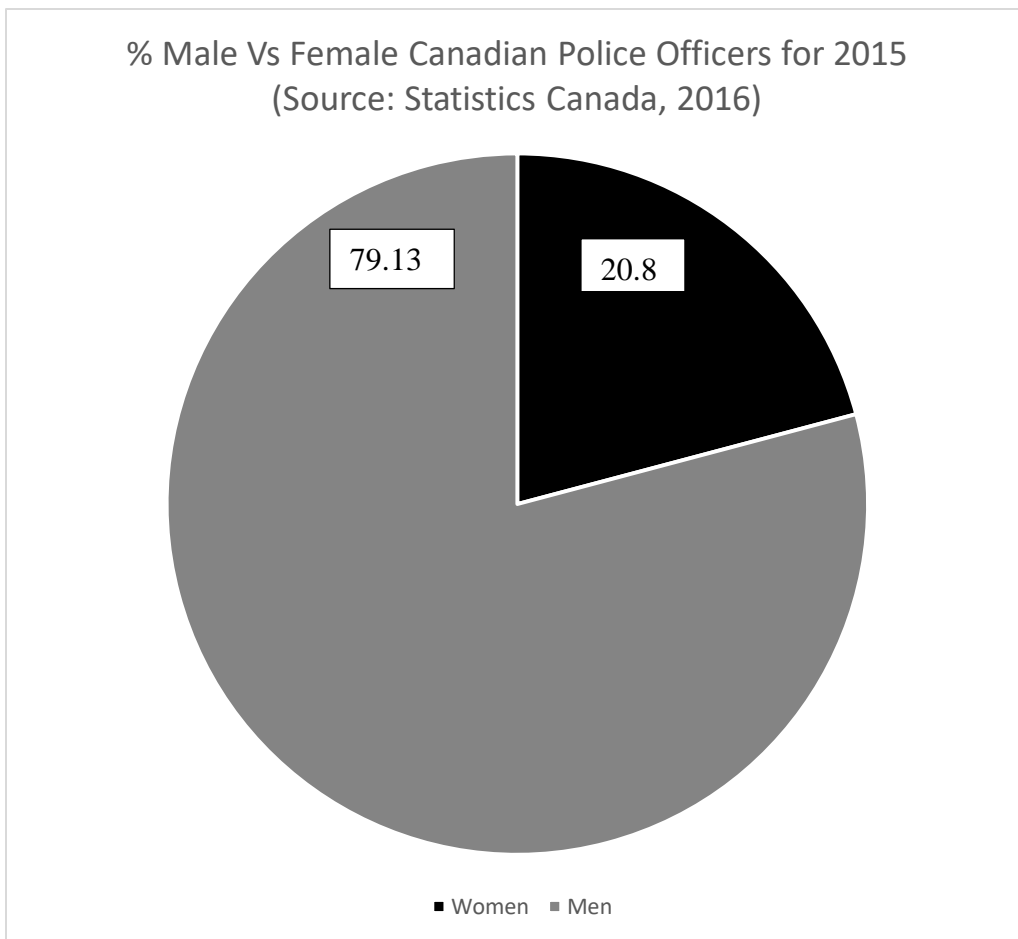
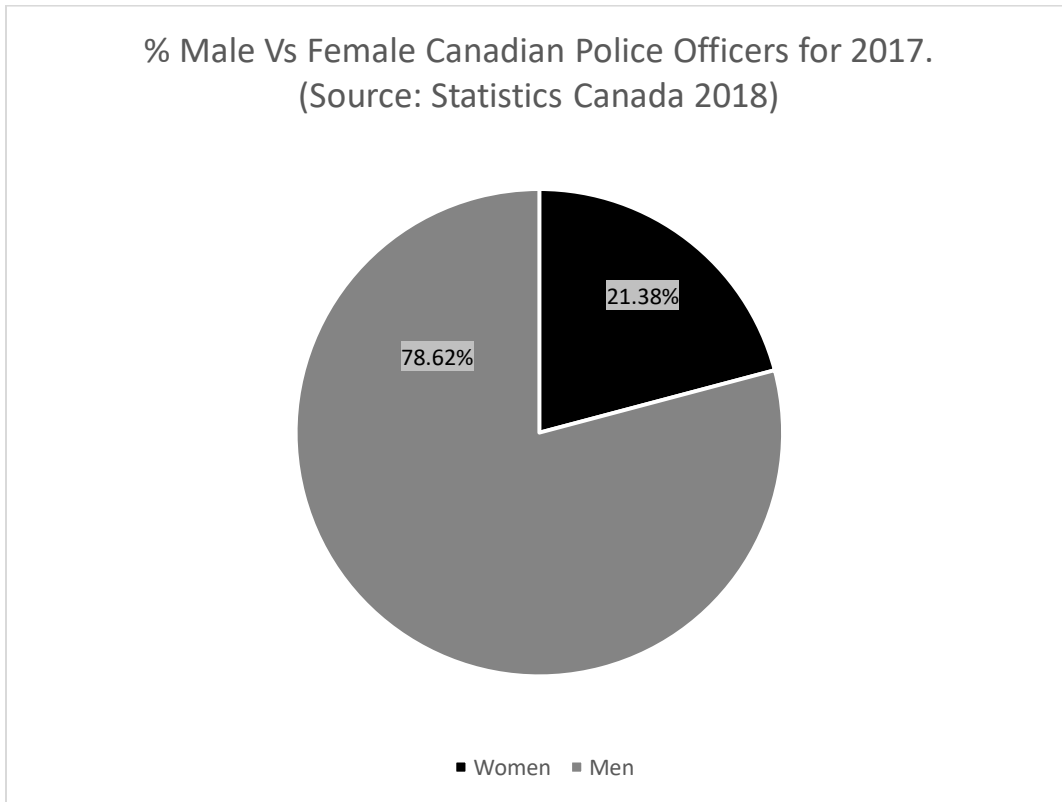


Table 3. Overall Percentages of Male vs. Female Canadian Police Officers Taken from Statistics Canada

Table 35-10-0078-01



3.9 - Areas of Further Research

- A) One potential area of further research is in the police promotional system as it relates to women police officers. The women in this study expressed concerns over the fairness of police promotional systems. Further research in this area might determine whether women police officers are being treated unfairly or whether this is just their perception.
- B) A second area of research involves examining job sharing in police departments. Whether Canadian police departments offer job sharing, how many women officers would like to job share, but have not been able to, and if women officers are using job sharing is it valuable information?
- C) A third area of potential research involves examining the use of mentoring for women police officers. It is of value to investigate if mentoring is something that police departments are using for women police officers and if so, does it assist police departments in retaining women and in dealing with incidents of sexual harassment?
- D) Another area of potential research could be examining the retention of women officers, including determining the percentages of those who get hired versus those that leave, obtaining statistics of how many women officers leave policing before obtaining a pension, the numbers of women leaving within the first five years, ten years or fifteen years of joining compared to the numbers of male officers who leave is of critical interest. It would also be important to know if police departments are making efforts to increase the number of female officers in all ranks and to research what female officers in these higher ranks experience?

E) Another area of potential research could be around parental leave. Information pertaining to the number of police officers utilizing parental leave and how do the numbers compare between male and female is of value.

The next chapter (4) are the conclusions reached from analysis of this study in combination with previous research. Suggestions are provided for police departments to improve their policies and procedures to support women police officers, potentially increasing their numbers in all ranks.

CHAPTER 4 - Conclusion

This study has shown that, although women have been part of Canadian police departments for over forty years, they continue to experience oppression within policing. This oppression is likely occurring for many reasons including, historical influences, the nature of Canada's patriarchal society, the low numbers of women versus men within all ranks of policing organizations and the lack of administrative policies supporting women. The first historical influence contributing to the oppression of women officers is that policing has always been a male dominated field. Women officers were initially only employed for specific functions that involved the policing of other women or children and this unfortunately, resulted in "occupational segregation by sex" (Natarajan 2005:11). Women officers were not seen as real police officers and they were viewed as only involved in policing to represent women and children (Brown & Heidensohn 2000:43-45). The second historical influence involved the expectation of society that because policing involves the use of force, real police officers had to be big and strong and therefore, male (Brown & Heidensohn 2000:29). The idea that women officers are best able to deal with issues involving women and children and that they were not strong enough for real police work has continued into modern day policing. This perpetuates the hegemonic masculinity that has always been in police culture. Women officers continue to be frequently assigned duties that involved women and children more often than male officers particularly, domestic violence and sexual assault cases. Male officers either consciously or unconsciously choose not to use the female officers as back up and supervisors resist assigning women officers to specialty policing units. Those in charge of police organizations

and the male police officers still viewed women police officers as being mainly employed in policing to deal with women and children and not strong enough to do real police work.

Women officers also must prove themselves to the public because the patriarchal nature of North American Society means that the public still views policing as masculine.

Women continue to experience oppression while employed as police officers because the patriarchal nature of Canadian society had been embedded within its institutions and although changes are being made, there is still a long way to go before women will reach full equality within Canadian Society. Research in Canada continues to show that women have not reached equality. They have lower status and lower wages within organizations (Ramsay and Parker, 1992: 261). Policing thus far, has remained a male dominated field Chart 3.8.2 and 3.8.1 (Statistics Canada 2016) showing low numbers of women officers in the higher ranks of policing demonstrated that women had not reached equality within any level of policing, including management. The women in this study communicated this by indicating that often they were the only woman working in their unit or detachment, that there were few women in the higher ranks and that women officers faced different challenges than men (Marlene, Sally, Jenny).

Historically, Canada's patriarchal society has subjected women to the control of men and this control has extended to its institutions, including the institution of policing and its organizational culture (Rabe-Hemp, 2009:126). Ramsay and Parker (1992: 259) theorized that "...within organizations women experience a double oppression. As subordinates they are subject to bureaucratic regulation of their behavior, and as women they are excluded as equal

organizational participants by patriarchal structures and processes”. Policing organizations are structured in a similar manner as the military. An individual’s rank and their tenure are of great importance to their role and thus, their status within a policing organization. More rank and tenure mean more power and more ability to effect change. By keeping the majority of women officers in the lower ranks policing organizations continue to be male centred. Most police decision makers are male. As the dominant group within policing, the men continue to make policies and procedures that reflect the interests of the majority who thus far, are male. The administrative policies and practices of police departments marginalize women because they make it more likely that women will not make it to promotion to the higher ranks and that they will spend less time in the organization before they quit or retire. Many of these policies and practices that prevent women officers from fully integrating into policing centre mainly around women officer’s roles as mothers and wives. These barriers include access to parental leave, child care (Spasic, 2011:32), job sharing and particularly, the irregular hours required in policing.

Policing organizations have been slow to change (Barrie & Broomhall 2012: 241). This slow change noted by researchers has been experienced by the women officers involved in this study who had lengths of service between 9 and 30 years of service. Many of the women told stories about supervisors who were not supportive of women and whom were careful in how they discriminated against women officers, so nothing could be proven. Discrimination and sexual harassment still exist in policing organizations, but they are more insidious (Silvestri, 2003: 172). Women officers express frustration at the lack of change in their policing organizations, are not interested in obtaining promotion, and have thoughts of

leaving their careers in policing prior to obtaining pensionable service levels. All these experiences show that policing organizations still have a long way to go in achieving equality for women officers.

This existence of hegemonic masculinity and the gendered character of policing organizations has previously been established by research into police departments and organizational behaviour (Brown, 2007:223, Brown & Heidensohn 2000:74, Barrie & Broomhall 2012; 236, Connell & Messerschmidt 2005:834, Fielding 1994:47, Rabe-Hemp 2007:252, Bikos 2016). The women in this study have discussed the various ways in which women officers continue to be controlled and subordinated within policing organizations. These include incidents of sexual harassment, being assigned different tasks or duties than male officers, social isolation such as not being invited for coffee or not being used as back up by male members, being kept out of specialty units perceived as masculine, as well as supervisors using covert methods of discrimination such as withholding training, micro management, and denial of promotions. In addition, police administrative policies, particularly those meant to assist gender-specific obstacles such as job sharing, parental leave, and the promotional process, purport to assist the employment of women, but they marginalize them (Rabe-Hemp, 2008:252).

Parental leave is an example of this marginalization. Police departments offer parental leave to police officers, but when women officers take this leave, they are placed at a disadvantage for selection to specialty units and/or promotion. They are seen as less dedicated to their careers and taking time away from their careers may "...preserve gender differences in

terms of perceptions about women's supposed lack of career commitment...." (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000: 90).

This study and previous research have shown that males continued to dominate the police service in terms of numbers (Barrie & Broomhall, 2012; 236, Brown & Heidensohn, 2000: 158, Statistics Canada, 2016) and this means that with the rare exception, the police officers in charge of the distribution of assignments to other police officers are male. Women officers are assigned duties that male officers deem appropriate for their gender. Examples of these duties are domestic violence cases and offences involving children. This idea of specific duties being more appropriate for women officers is exacerbated by police services being bureaucracies because the "structure of these organizations is rooted in old ideas about the division of labour" (Kurtz 2008: 218). The men decide where women officers work, what duties they perform, what training they receive, what promotions they may apply for and what promotions they receive or do not receive. This means that the men are making most of the decisions that affect how policing organizations are managed, including who will be involved in decision making within the organizations. This institutionalization of gendered authority results in men having control over the functioning of the organization including the management of policies and procedures that affect women employees.

There are few women who make it to the higher ranks within policing organizations (Barrie & Broomhall, 2012;236, Stats Can 2016). This absence of large numbers of women in policing allows male officers to continue having control over the management and operational policies of policing organizations and ensures policing continues to be "a masculine

occupation” (Barrie, Broomhall, 2012;141). The few women who do make it to the higher ranks of policing risk experiencing token dynamics which can include an increase in discriminatory behaviour (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000:119).

The women officers in this study referred to the male officers in charge as the “old boys club” and stated that they still experienced the effects of gendered institutional norms. Specific examples of these effects that participants mentioned included selection for specialty units being dependent on whether an officer would “hang out with the guys after work” (Vanessa). Women officers believe there have been no changes with men who harass women officers because the men are in charge. Women officers refer to policing as the “old boys club” because the women see themselves as “the other” within policing as they are treated differently than the men. It is a rare occasion when women do manage to join a specialty unit because male officers in charge put barriers in the way of women officers who attempt to join, including physical expectations that are not necessary to the job function.

The women officers in this study asserted that one change they observed in their careers was that some of the discriminatory behaviors directed toward women were done less overtly. The male officers are being careful about what verbal comments they make and who they make them to. The male officers are less likely to send emails with discriminatory content as they do not want have documentation of discriminatory actions. Female officers in this study allege that male supervisors are discriminating against women officers in ways which are not easily proven such as, denying them training or promotional opportunities This change

from overt to covert sexism in policing organizations has been documented by previous research (Brown & Heidensohn 2000; 104, Silvestri 2003: 172, Chan 2010: 441).

The comments mentioned by the women officers in this study tell us that they feel less valued within their police organizations and that no matter how hard they work, they feel they will never be as valued as the male officers. The female police officers do not feel that their opinions, ideas and operational plans are listened to by their male co-workers or by their male superiors. This lack of respect has been noted in previous studies (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000: 117) and it points to Western society's "gender norms conditioning who will be legible" (Butler, 2009, iii) within male-dominated policing organizations. Women in patriarchal societies are not expected to be placed in charge of men and that expectation extends to society's institutions including policing organizations where women officers are not expected to be placed in charge of male officers. Ramsay and Parker (1992:261) explained this as "understandings of responsibility and authority within organizations are not given by structures, but rather are built through practice and experience; the distinct culture of the organization".

One potential outcome of feeling devalued is that female officers may not try to obtain promotions. This was evident in this study as eight of the ten participants stated they were not going to pursue promotion. If the proportion of women in this study who indicated that they were interested in promotion (2 of 10) is similar to the proportion of interested female officers in most police departments then the pool of women interested in promotion is very small.

The findings of previous research that policing continues to be a male dominated profession (Brown & Heidensohn 2000:74, Barrie & Broomhall 2012; 236, Rabe-Hemp 2007:252, Bikos 2016:25) and Statistics Canada (2015, chart 3.8.1 and 3.8.2) were affirmed by the comments of women in this study. The numbers of police officers in each rank (chart 3.8.1) demonstrated that women police officers continue to be horizontally and vertically segregated as is common in occupations where being a male is considered the norm. This “glass ceiling to promotion” which prevents women officers from reaching the higher ranks has been noted by previous research (Belknap and Shelley 2002; Franklin, 2005; Heidensohn, 1992; Garcia, 2003; Martin, 1980; Miller, 1999; Pike. 1985; Price, 1985, Remington, 1983; Schulz, 2004 as cited in Rabe-Hemp 2008;252) and by statistics provided by police departments (Statistics Canada, 2015: chart 3.8).

Research suggests that it is not just the numbers of women police officers that matter, but the “duties, geographic location and administrative position of women officers appear to play a role” (Brown, Heidensohn 2000: 103). Ramsay and Parker (1992:260) described this as women being “...placed differently in the organizational hierarchy...”and as “...women commonly performing different tasks to those performed by men”. Women police officers were working in the same job as male officers, they were still not employed in equal numbers in any rank in policing. As rank in a policing organization determines the ability to direct others and make changes in policies this inequality continues to allow the men to retain power within policing organizations. In addition. the retention of power by the male officers continues to make the female officers within policing organizations less valued.

The retention of power by males in policing organizations has been compared to dynamics of domestic relationships (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000:155) where women are beaten into submission by men. The men in policing see women officers as potential threats for promotion to specialty units and to the higher ranks. This threat results in male officers believing that to keep their power within the organization women officers must be subjugated; kept in their place below the men. The women involved in policing have an investment in their careers and they don't want to leave policing. Instead of challenging the norms or culture of policing which could label them as being difficult or making trouble for the organization many women decide to adapt in ways that make it less likely that they will stand out among the majority male officers. This adaptation by women officers was very evident in this study when the participants spoke of promotion. Many of them had given up on it and used terms like "flying under the radar" to describe how they intended to finish out their careers.

The subjugation of women applies to all female police officers, but it is amplified for women who have families and/or children. Women officers who have families note conflicts between the requirements of policing of being available to respond quickly when needed and work at any time and those of being a mother. They noted that supervisors were men who did not understand the difficulties of balancing being a mother and a police officer. Women who do not have children observe other female officers with children struggling to juggle family responsibilities with policing duties. Although there have been some changes in Canadian society, the majority of domestic labour, including parenting responsibilities are still expected to be performed by women (Hiller 2006:107). Women are told by society that they are to look after their children. Women in our patriarchal Canadian society are expected to obviously have

them, to raise them, to make sure they are taken care of. All those things come back to the women, including women police officers. This causes women police officers to experience role conflict. An example of this is when a child is sick. Does the mother (who is female police officer) stay home or go to work when her child is sick? Either decision she makes results in conflict. If she goes to work, she is an “unfit mother” (Brown & Heidensohn 2000:92). If she chooses to stay home and look after her child, she is a bad police officer or may be labeled as unreliable. Women officers find it difficult to be seen as a good police officers and good mothers.

Previous research showed that 19% of men and 4 % of women believe that women officers who have children should not expect a “serious career” (Brown & Heidensohn 2000:92). Women police officers put pressure on themselves to perform well as police officers and as mothers because they are aware of this role conflict. Canadian Society has had the expectation that working women will complete their employment duties and then come home and perform domestic duties which include caring for children. The completion of these domestic duties has been referred to using the term the “second shift” and this expectation of women has not changed (Hiller 2006:107).

Female officers feel pressure from their colleagues to perform as well or better than male officers. They also place this pressure on themselves. Women officers describe having to work “twice as hard” (Michaela), “we just have to work so much harder to get ahead....we have to work twice as hard to be respected” (Sally), “It was a constant battle to prove myself”

(Sharon), “Women have to prove....its male dominated and we want to make sure that we fit in” (Lynnette).

Women police officers minimized their male colleagues misogynistic behaviour by blaming the policies of the organizations they worked for rather than the male officers for the behaviour they displayed. One example of this misogyny is the policy relating to parental leave. When women police officers took parental leave their positions were not backfilled. Them not being replaced resulted in their co-workers having to pick up additional job responsibilities while the women were off. Their male coworkers became frustrated with the shortage of staff and additional work load and some of the negative and very sexist comments about women officers being pregnant directly related to this policy of not replacing them. The actions of the male officers toward the female officers are seen reflective of organizational policies rather than personal choice. The result of this situation is that a policy that is meant to support women by giving them time with their children actually ends up causing them a great deal of stress in their workplace and marginalizes them because it results in them being treated differently than the male officers. The women blame their policing organizations rather than individual male officers. This practice of blaming their organizations rather than their colleagues may also be associated with the women officers wanting to fit in with the male officers. The women officers agree with their male colleagues needing the women to be replaced when they are on parental leave. The male officers see parental leave as concessions being given to the women officers. This resenting of concessions (like parental leave) given to female officers has been noted in previous research (Brown & Heidensohn; 2000:137).

Women officers continue to be frustrated with “the old boys club” attitudes in policing and its lack of change. There are protocols and policies in place in policing organizations which attempt to change the way male officers treat the female officers which often involves the displaying of sexually explicit behavior. These policies are ineffective as the women officers are still experiencing sexual harassment. The women feel powerless to make changes in their policing organizations as they risk being ostracized by their co-workers for making a complaint and because their experiences are that in the past their complaints have not been taken seriously.

4.1 Recommendations for Change

Police organizations have traditionally been slow to change (Barrie, Broomhall 2012; 241) and changing the masculine culture of policing is going to be a long process met with resistance. There is no quick fix to the problem of gender inequality (Ramsay & Parker, 1992:274), but the following are some recommendations that may assist police organizations in working toward equality and achieving positive change for women:

Police departments should review their promotional policies. Many departments have policies that do not consider the numbers of female officers in each rank. Employment equity plans need to be put in place that ensure that fully 50% of all promotions at each rank are designated to be filled by female officers. This should include all levels of policing including those of senior management. Research indicates that having small numbers of women in the senior policing ranks puts them at risk of “token dynamics whereby they find themselves visible and singled out for special attention in ways their male colleagues are not” (Brown.

Heidensohn 2000: 103). Having equal numbers of women may assist in ensuring that this “token dynamics” will not occur.

Promotional boards should be held in a manner that are fair for all officers. The decision-making process for promotions should involve equal numbers of men and women. The promotional process must be transparent. Failure to ensure this will result in less women applying for promotion and ultimately, in less women attaining higher rank and therefore, equality within all policing ranks.

Promotional procedures should take the use of problem-solving models into consideration. Prior research showed that female officers respond differently than male officers, they use different management styles, (Brown, Heidensohn 2000: 84) and they tend to use different methods to resolve issues in policing. Police promotional boards currently do not take this into account. Women officers view policing situations differently than men and that these differences were not considered during promotional processes which made women officers less interested in partaking in promotional processes.

Women officers who take time off for family reasons are at a disadvantage for promotion because police departments use time in rank as part of consideration for promotion. Promotional policies need to be reviewed to determine a fair way to account for women (or male) officer’s loss of time due to family reasons so they are not unduly penalized for taking this time. Some departments allow the female officers to financially purchase this missing time back for pension purposes, but they do not take it into account when determining promotions. Reviewing and revamping the promotional system to make it fair for women may

encourage more of them to apply for promotion. Equality for women police officers will not be achieved without encouraging women officers to participate in promotional opportunities.

Police departments should review their hiring practices particularly with the view to not only hiring, but also retaining and promoting female officers. Previous researchers have recommended affirmative action policies (Drew & Prenzler, 2013:470). Police departments should determine why women are not being attracted to a career in policing. When they are leaving employment in policing female officers should receive an exit interview to determine the reason(s) they are leaving. These exit interviews should be conducted in an anonymous manner that allows the women to be open about their reasons for leaving. Obtaining this type of information will allow police departments to work on retention of female officers which could ultimately assist police departments in achieving equality.

A mentoring program should be initiated for all new female police officers. Being assigned a female mentor may assist new female officers during the first years of their careers. As this study has shown that harassment and discrimination was particularly prevalent in the beginning years of women's policing careers this may assist them should they face these types of incidents. A mentoring system could also assist women officers in the promotional process which might also contribute to police departments having larger numbers of women applying for promotion and potentially attaining higher ranks.

Police departments should ensure they provide training to new women officers in how to deal with incidents of sexual harassment and discrimination. Sexual harassment has been shown to occur more frequently early in women police officer's careers. Teaching women to

respond to these types of incidents from the outset of their hiring might decrease the chances of them tolerating these types of behaviors from their co-workers and the public.

Police departments must review their processes and procedures for dealing with complaints of harassment and discrimination. Women officers are reluctant to lodge complaints as they feel that their complaints are not taken seriously and dealt with appropriately. These complaints need to be taken seriously and police departments must be proactive in preventing sexual harassment of women officers particularly when they first start in policing.

Police departments should be encouraged to offer part time positions to police officers who wish to reduce their workload, particularly due to family responsibilities. This should include proactively assisting police officers in finding other officers whom are interested in participating in job sharing. This could encourage officers who have family responsibilities to stay working in policing. As family responsibilities often fall on women ((Hiller, 2006:107, Brown, 2007: 219) and can result in officers leaving policing (Beck & Chistyakova, 2001 as cited in Spasic, 2011:32) this could keep some women officers employed in policing who might otherwise feel they have to leave.

My final recommendation for change is that policing organizations begin conducting gender audits on a regular basis. Comprehensive gender audits in the policing context examine institutional and/or operational policies, programs, practices, and activities to determine the impact they have on women and men within the organization-and in the community and focus on women's representation in policing (Montgomery, 2013:6). Conducting gender audits in

multiple police departments would determine how most women officers are experiencing working within Canadian police departments. This could identify barriers to women officers attaining gender equality and assist police departments in recruiting and retaining women officers.

Achieving gender equality in the workplace empowers women and girls (UN, 2018) and increases their status. As policing has been identified as "... a core public service in all modern states" (Drew & Prenzler, 2013:459) to achieve gender equality in society it is important to achieve gender equality in police departments. For women in Canadian policing to achieve this, the working environment in police departments must change. Firstly, Canadian police departments need to experiment with affirmative action policies for hiring, retention and promotion of women. Secondly, research (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000:77) has shown that it is not just numbers that matter. For the culture of policing to change there must be a change in the relationship between the "dominants and the tokens" (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000:77) in policing organizations. This means policing organizations must not only increase the number of women officers in their departments, but must also provide supportive, less misogynistic working environments. Further research should be conducted to determine what methods work best to encourage the achievement of gender equality within police departments. Gender equality in policing "will not be reached until males and females describe identical work experiences, satisfactions and well being at all hierarchical levels" (Burke, Richardsen & Martinussen, 2006:521).

Since this study was started there have been some changes in Canadian policing that have the potential to affect change for women police officers. First, the gender-based lawsuit women officers filed against the RCMP alleging physical assault, unwanted sexual touching, rape, sexist comments, threats, harassment, bullying and gender discrimination. has been settled. In 2016 RCMP Commissioner Bob Paulson publicly apologized to all female RCMP members, civilian members and employees for the gender and sexual orientation-based discrimination, bullying and harassment they endured while employed by the RCMP (CBC News, 2016. See transcript Appendix G). The Canadian government agreed to compensate the female police officers involved and put aside 100 million dollars. The number of claimants involved in the lawsuit has since swelled from 400 to 4000 and as each claimant is eligible for compensation of between \$10,000 and \$220,000 the government has had to seek additional incremental funding more than the original 100 million dollars from the Treasury Board (CBC News, Tunney, 2018).

The second change which has occurred in policing which has the potential to influence change is that the largest police department in Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police is now headed by a woman. On March 2, 2018 Assistant Commissioner Brenda Lucki was appointed as RCMP Commissioner. While this may be seen by some as a positive step for women some women, including retired RCMP Superintendent Angela Workman-Stark (now a Professor of Organizational Behaviour at Athabasca University) do not believe that Lucki's appointment alone will result in significant cultural change within the RCMP unless Lucki

receives significant support from the government. As Workman-Stark put it, for change to occur Lucki will have to have “...the right people on her leadership team acknowledging and taking ownership of the behaviours that need to change and committing to put the appropriate mechanisms in place for this to occur” (Quan, National Post, March 9, 2018). Lucki may also be subjected to, “...token dynamics whereby... she may find herself visible and singled out for special attention in ways that her male colleagues are not” (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000:103). Further research will be needed to determine how or if, Lucki’s promotion to Commissioner will assist the RCMP in making changes toward achieving gender equality within the RCMP.

Conducting more studies such as this one that specifically focus on learning from the experiences of women police officers may assist Canadian police departments in amending their policies and procedures to support the hiring and more importantly, the retention and promotion of women police officers.

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List of Appendixes

Appendix A - List of Interview Questions asked of study participants

Appendix B - Demographic Questionnaire.

Appendix C - Advertisement to obtain study participants.

Appendix D - Copy of email sent to potential study participants.

Appendix E - Consent form provided to all participants

Appendix F – Coding used for interview analysis

Appendix G – Apology issued to women officers by RCMP Commissioner

Appendix A - Interview Guide

Before we start this interview I would just like to reassure you that you will not be personally identified as having been a part of this study. Your name and the name of your police organization will remain confidential and protected at all times. I also want you to know that you may stop this interview at any time you decide that you no longer wish to continue. Should you become upset over any disclosure you make, I can provide you with the contact information for a member of your employee assistance program. I am going to be asking you some questions regarding your experiences as a woman police officer in a police organization. At any time during or at the end of the interview please feel free to provide me with any information that you deem relevant to your experiences.

The Organization

Please explain your role in the organization. What type(s) of policing have you performed?

Harassment and Discrimination

Are you aware of your organizational policies on harassment and discrimination?

Have you ever experienced sexist behavior while at work (sexual comments, innuendos, sexually explicit material being posted, sexist jokes, emails, or unwanted touching).

If yes, when was this?

Have you ever been involved in making a harassment or discrimination complaint about someone at work?

If yes, please explain.

If yes, was this a supervisor?

Have you ever experienced sexist behavior while at work (sexual comments, innuendos, sexually explicit material being posted, sexist jokes, emails, or unwanted touching)?

If yes, when was this?

How much service would you have had when this occurred?

Did you file a complaint either formally or informally?

If yes, explain what happened.

How did you feel about the complaint process?

Were you satisfied with the results of making your complaint?

If you had a negative experience involving another employee where you did not file a complaint, please explain what happened.

Why didn't you file a complaint?

If yes, was this a supervisor?

What do you think about how the media coverage of the female RCMP member's class action harassment complaint has played out?

Experiences as a Woman Officer

How did you experience working with the other employees?

Do you think your experiences in policing have been affected by your being a woman?

While working in policing, have you ever felt you had to purposely respond differently to a situation than a male co-worker because you're a woman?

While working in policing, have you ever felt you had to purposely modify your behaviour to be seen as either more feminine or more masculine?

If so, what happened and why did you feel you had to modify your behavior?

Have you ever been treated differently by someone at work because you are a woman?

Leadership and Promotion

Would you please explain your experiences with your supervisors?

Have you felt supported by your supervisor(s)?

What have your experiences been with obtaining or attempting to obtain promotion(s) within your organization?

Do you see the promotional system as being experienced differently by female officers compared to male officers?

Do you intend on continuing to seek promotion within this organization?

Balancing Work and Family

What were your experiences with balancing your work and your family life?

Have you ever had to choose between family commitments and your work?

Have you noticed any differences in how male versus female co-workers experience this work life balance?

Parental Leave and Job Sharing

Have you ever been on parental leave?

If yes, what were your experiences on parental leave?

If no, were you ever in a position to take parental leave and chose not to?

If so, why did you chose not to?

Have you ever been in a job sharing position?

Have you ever been interested in job sharing?

If you were interested in job sharing and did not do so, explain why you did not job share.

General

How many years do you plan on working for this organization?

Have you ever considered leaving your employment with the police department?

If yes, why?

Is there anything else that you believe is important to discuss regarding your experiences as a woman in a police force?

Appendix B – Demographic Questionnaire

Participant number:

Demographic Questionnaire

For comparative purposes, in addition to the information you have provided in your interview, it would be helpful if you would take a few moments and answer some general questions about yourself and your work. Please keep in mind that your answers will be kept confidential. Do not write your name on this document.

General information

- 1) How old are you?
A) 19-25 B) 26-30 C) 31-35 D) 36-40 E) 41-45 F) 46-50 G) 51-55 H) 56-60 I) 61-65

Marital Status and Family

- 2) Please circle your marital status:
 - a) Single
 - b) Married
 - c) Common-law
 - d) Separated
 - e) Divorced
 - f) Widowed

- 3) How many children (including step children), do you have?
 - a) 0
 - b) 1
 - c) 2
 - d) 3
 - e) 4
 - f) 5

g) 6

4) What are their ages?

5) What ethnicity do you identify with?

a. White

b. Aboriginal/First Nations/Metis (please specify _____)

c. Asian

d. European

e. Latin American

f. African

g. Other, please specify

h. Decline to answer

i. Don't know

The Organization

6. What rank do you hold in your police organization?

7. In what year did you become a police officer?

8. How many police officers work in your detachment or police station?

9. Please state the size of the detachment(s) or police stations you have worked in.

- a. Small (Less than 20 officers) b. Medium (20-100 officers) c. Large 100 plus officers

Educational History

10. What is the highest level of schooling you have received?

- a. Some High School
- b. Completed High School
- c. Some College
- d. Completed College
- e. Some University
- f. Completed Undergrad/University degree
- g. Graduate Degree
- h. Other, please specify.

11. If you have a degree, what was your major/minor?

12. Have you taken any other training or professional development programs or courses?

13. Is there anything else in your personal background or interests that has provided you with expertise in your work area?

GENDER ISSUES IN POLICING

SEEKING FEMALE POLICE OFFICERS FOR RESEARCH STUDY



UBC Okanagan Masters student seeks female police officers with 2 or more years of service working in police departments in BC or Alberta to voluntarily participate in research study examining women's experiences in policing.

Do you want to contribute to improving policies and procedures to support women in policing?

Participants will be asked to provide approximately two hours of time to speak with a researcher. Confidentiality will be maintained. Participants names will not be used.

To volunteer please email:
l.reil@alumni.ubc.ca

If you require further information contact the Principal Investigator at:
bonar.buffam@ubc.ca



Appendix D - Email sent to Potential Participants (with consent form)

Attached is a consent form related to participation in a University of British Columbia Okanagan (UBCO) research study involving the study of women police officers and their experiences in the profession of policing, particularly the effects of gender on the workplace. If you agree, you will be asked to participate in an interview outside of your work hours, which will take approximately 1-2 hours to complete. With your consent, the interview will be audio recorded. Upon conclusion of the interview you will be provided with a short demographic questionnaire which should take approximately 15 minutes to complete. Please carefully read the consent form before signing it. The interviewer will require the signed consent form before you are interviewed. Please bring it with you to the interview or email it to the investigator if the interview is to be done by telephone. Please do not discuss this study while at work as it may put you at risk of being identified as a participant in this study and could cause you to experience hostility in your workplace. You are not able to participate in this study if you are currently involved in an ongoing investigation (class action, work place, or individual) that would restrict your ability to fully answer questions related to this this research topic.

If you know of any other female police officer that may wish to participate in the study provide them with my contact information email at l.reil@alumni.ubc.ca or my telephone at 250-545-1539. Participants must be able to conduct the interview in English; be currently serving in a police department anywhere in Canada, or have retired in the past 5 years; and

have completed at least 2 years of service. Please stress that they should contact me **from their home email or telephone when they are NOT WORKING.**

Please DO NOT forward this email to the work email address of any other police officer or discuss this study while working. No part of this study is to be conducted using the resources (department email, telephone or work time) of any police department. To protect the confidentiality of participants, any contact with the researcher, including the subsequent interview, is to be conducted with officers on their own time.

Thank you,

Lynda Reil

Co-Investigator.

Appendix E – Consent Form



a place of mind
THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

GENDER ISSUES IN POLICING

Consent Letter

Study Team:

Principal Investigator:

Bonar Buffam, Assistant Professor,

Unit 6, History and Sociology, UBC Okanagan

bonar.buffam@ubc.ca

250-807-9223

Student Researcher/Co-investigator:

Lynda Reil, Masters Student,

Unit 6, History and Sociology, UBC Okanagan

l.reil@alumni.ubc.ca

Purpose:

The purpose of the study is to examine gender in the institutional environment of law enforcement by addressing three principal questions: How does gender affect the work undertaken in Canadian policing organizations? How do women experience policing and negotiate the working environment of law enforcement? Do the policies and procedures of police departments cause women police officers to experience policing differently than men?

Study Procedures:

Participants in this study must fit the following criteria:

- Canadian police officer, currently serving or have retired in the past 5 years;
- Identify as female;
- Be located within Canada; and
- Must have completed at least 2 years of service in a police department.
- English speaking as interview and questionnaire will be conducted in English only.

This study specifically targets the experiences of women in Canadian police forces; therefore, those officers identifying as male will not be interviewed.

This study will not include women officers who are currently involved in an ongoing investigation involving their workplace (i.e. class action, work place, or individual law suit) that would restrict their ability to fully answer questions and potentially compromise their confidentiality.

Participants will be asked to participate in an audio recorded interview approximately 1-2 hours in length and to complete a short demographic questionnaire that will take approximately 15 minutes. Participants will be asked about their experiences as a woman police officer, including support for parental leave, harassment and discrimination in the workplace, as well as leadership and promotion policies. The confidentiality of study participants will be maintained at all times. The final thesis and related publications from this research will not include any information that would identify the study participants or their police department. No police resources will be used during this study. Participants are NOT to discuss this study, conduct their interview or complete the demographic survey while working.

Should a participant state that they do not want their interview to be audio recorded the investigator will make written notes throughout the interview, but will not audio record it.

Study Results:

Results of this study will be used for the completion of Lynda Reil's UBCO Master's thesis and may be published or presented in an academic venue and/or in an academic journal. The thesis will be a public document available through the internet via the UBC cIRcle website.

Potential Risks and Benefits of the Study:

If you participate in this study, there are two potential associated risks.

1) The risk of an employer(s) or other employees learning of the officer's participation in the research. This could negatively impact the officer's career by creating hostility from other police officers and supervisors as well as compromise promotional opportunities.

The researcher will mitigate this risk by maintaining confidentiality of the participants at all times, and by conducting this study without using police resources. To further mitigate this risk, all contact between the researcher and the officer, including the interview, will take place while participants are off duty from police work. No contact will be made using participants' work email or work telephone. All emails between participants and the researcher will be double deleted as soon they are no longer required. As an additional safe guard the researcher will double check to ensure all emails have been deleted after completion of each interview.

To mitigate the risk of being identified as being involved in this study participants are requested to double delete any emails involving contact with the researcher, to avoid any mention of this study while at work and not to use their work email or telephone to contact the researcher.

The risk of participant recounting unpleasant experiences involving harassment or discrimination in the workplace that could be upsetting.

If required, participants will be provided with information on how to access counseling through their members assistance program or their health benefit plan.

Your participation will contribute to a better understanding of the experiences of women police officers within the institutional environment of law enforcement.

Confidentiality:

Any materials (interview recordings or transcripts, questionnaires, etc.) with personal data will be kept in a secure location during the research project. If materials are digital, they will be kept in encrypted storage. The co-investigator will transcribe the audio recording of each interview. Once the accuracy of the transcription has been verified by the Principal Investigator the audio recording will be double deleted. Only the Principal Investigator and Co-investigator will have access to the audio recordings before they are deleted. All written research materials will be handed over to the Principal Investigator upon completion of the study. The Principal Investigator, Dr. Bonar Buffam, will keep all the materials securely stored under lock and key in a filing cabinet at UBC Okanagan for a minimum of five years after publication of the study, at which time they will be securely destroyed. Participation is voluntary and can be withdrawn at any time up until the writing of the final report. If consent is withdrawn prior to completion of the report, related material will be securely destroyed. The final report will not contain any information (e.g. name and specific place of work) that would lead to the identification of the participant. If it is necessary to refer to individual participants, pseudonyms will be used.

Reimbursement of costs:

Please advise the researcher of any costs incurred as a result of your participation in this study (transportation, parking, babysitting etc.). You will be reimbursed for expenses upon attendance at your interview.

Contacts for Information about the Study:

If you have any questions or desire further information with respect to this study, you may contact the researchers. Contact information is provided above.

If you have any concerns or complaints about your rights as a research participant and/or your experiences while participating in this study, contact the Research Participant Complaint Line in the UBC Office of Research Services toll free at 1-877-822-8598 or the UBC Okanagan Research Services Office at 250-807-8832. It is also possible to contact the Research Complaint Line by email (RSIL@ors.ubc.ca).

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you may refuse to participate or withdraw from this study at any time.

Your signature below indicates that you have received a copy of this consent form for your own records.

Your signature indicates that you consent to participate in this study.

Please initial to confirm that you are agreeing to your interview being audio recorded. If you do not wish for your interview to be recorded please do not initial and your interview will not be recorded.

Participant signature

Date

Printed name of the participant signing above.

Appendix F – Coding Used to Analyze Interview Results

THE CODES

The following are the six sets of codes that emerged as a result of the interviews:

**Years of experience -----Rank-----Job
function**

**Supervisors-----↔-----
Promotion**

**Employee Dynamics-----Harassment complaints----- formal-----
informal**

Use of Force-----Violence toward Police-----Injury

Gender/Equity

Appendix G

Public apology read by RCMP Commissioner (now retired) Bob Paulson on October 6, 2016 to Regular members, civilian members and public service employees who experienced gender and sexual orientation-based discrimination, bullying and harassment in the RCMP:

Good morning. Forty-two years ago, almost to the day, women joined the RCMP as full-fledged police officers for the very first time. It was an historic moment for a national police force whose history is so rich and so intertwined with this incredible country.

The new recruits were very publicly sworn-in by the highest ranking officers in an effort to demonstrate that these pioneering and courageous women would be supported and helped into what would be a very challenging role.

Throughout my thirty-one years of policing, I have found that people seek out and join the RCMP as police officers, civilian members, and public servants, because fundamentally it is noble work in the service of Canadians. People come here - to play a role - a key and unique role - in keeping Canada and Canadians safe and secure.

The RCMP has always sought to fulfill our mandate and perform our duties without fear, favour or affection. There is honour in that. That attracts the best people from across the varied and diverse population, which is Canada.

If you've ever been to Depot, you'll know of the tremendous pride, hope and excitement in the cadets who graduate in their Stetsons, high browns and red serge as they head off to every corner of this country to their new duties...without fear, favour or affection. The last thing, the very last thing, any of them would ever expect from this honourable Canadian institution is that their ability to contribute to our crucial mission would be constrained, impeded, defined or even affected by their gender.

No, they rightfully and quite reasonably expect to be developed, supported, encouraged, enabled and protected as they are deployed to the dangerous and challenging work that is policing. They expect to be treated fairly and equitably and, when assessed, then judged on their dedication, courage, competence and performance.

This has not been the experience for too many of the women who have come to the RCMP since that hopeful day forty-two years ago. Instead of succeeding and thriving in a supportive and inclusive workplace, many women have suffered careers scarred by gender and sexual discrimination, bullying and harassment.

Some of these women left the RCMP, heartbroken, disillusioned and angry. Others stayed and were forced to find ways on their own to cope with this inexcusable condition since they did not see an organization that was willing to change.

Still others courageously tried to make themselves heard by management only to find they were denied movement and opportunity or judged adversely and punished within the RCMP for their efforts.

The impact this has had on those who have experienced this shameful conduct cannot – must not – be solely understood as an adverse workplace condition for which they must be compensated. For many of our women this discrimination and harassment has hurt them mentally and physically. It has destroyed relationships and marriages, and even whole families have suffered in the result. Their very lives have been affected.

Sexual or gender based discrimination and harassment and the lack of effective systems and processes to have prevented and eliminated them from our workplace is absolutely at odds with what the RCMP is supposed to be. It is at odds with what we all need the RCMP to be.

To the representative plaintiffs here today: Janet Merlo who has so courageously taken the lead to represent so many women who have been adversely affected and to Linda Davidson and all the women you represent:

Indeed to all the women who have been impacted by the Force's failure to have protected your experience at work, and on behalf of every leader, supervisor or manager, every Commissioner: I stand humbly before you today and solemnly offer our sincere apology.

You came to the RCMP wanting to personally contribute to your community and we failed you. We hurt you. For that, I am truly sorry. You can now take some comfort in knowing that you have made a difference. Because of you, your courage and your refusal to be silenced, the RCMP will never be the same.

I must also apologize to all Canadians. I know how disappointed you've been with the Force as you heard some of these very public and shameful examples of disgraceful conduct within our ranks.

Since being appointed Commissioner, indeed as I became Commissioner, as I stood in the foyer of our Parliament to be announced and introduced, I was enveloped in the swirl of outrage over some, then, very public failures to have protected our employees and to have eliminated the behaviours which were giving rise to the deep disappointment Canadians were registering with the Force. I remember clinging to my firm belief that improved leadership and enhanced accountability were central pillars to what had to be significant change in the Force.

The announcement that brings us all here today is another huge step in the ongoing work which is the cultural transformation of the RCMP. Today, we are jointly announcing a

settlement agreement in two class action law suits on behalf of female current and former regular, plus civilian members and public service employees. This settlement, which is still subject to approval by the Federal Court, broadly sets out two main elements:

Firstly, continued organizational change elements, which include new initiatives and a commitment to forge ahead and be accountable for those we have already started; and, secondly, an independent claims process and compensation scheme for all the women who experienced gender and sexual orientation-based discrimination, bullying and harassment in the RCMP from September 16, 1974 to the date the agreement receives the approval of the Federal Court.

The claims, the assessments and compensation will be managed independently by Justice Bastarache and his team. I know I can speak on behalf of the plaintiffs and the RCMP to say how grateful and fortunate we are to have secured his help.

As I've indicated the agreement must be approved by the court and so it would be premature to discuss the terms of the agreement in any detail. I understand the agreement, in its entirety, will be public shortly.

Permit me to take a moment, however, to thank those who have worked so tirelessly for so many years to get us to this point: Of course the plaintiffs Janet Merlo and Linda Davidson and all the women you represent. Counsel for the plaintiffs David Klein, Won Kim and Sandy Zaitzeff. Our litigators from the Department of Justice, Mitch Taylor in Vancouver and Gina Scarcella in Toronto, both of whom are here today. Liliana Longo from RCMP Legal Services and all of the people from the RCMP and the various government departments who have helped us bring this agreement together.

Ministers Goodale and Mihychuk, thank you and thanks to the Government of Canada for the forbearance, confidence and support in helping make this right for so many people who have served in the RCMP. This agreement is a further commitment from the RCMP to keep building on its efforts to eliminate gender discrimination and harassment.

The harassment problem in the RCMP was enabled by an organizational culture that developed over time in isolation from the values of the communities we serve. Effective accountability and enlightened leadership have been instrumental in bringing us back alongside with modernity.

This agreement demonstrates an RCMP that is accountable to its employees and its citizens. The terms of this agreement will require enlightened leaders at all levels of this organization to make good on our promise of culturally transforming the RCMP so that every employee of this great Force can contribute fairly, equitably and safely to our mission of keeping Canadians and Canada safe and secure.