The College of Wooster Libraries
Open Works

Senior Independent Study Theses

2018

Masculinity (De)construction and Policing: A Comparative Study of Representation, Policies, and Legitimacy

Sarah Huffman
The College of Wooster, shuffman18@wooster.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://openworks.wooster.edu/independentstudy

Part of the Comparative Politics Commons

MASCULINITY (DE)CONSTRUCTION AND POLICING: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
REPRESENTATION, POLICIES, AND LEGITIMACY

By: Sarah Lynn Huffman

An Independent Study Thesis
Submitted to the Department of Political Science
At the College of Wooster
March, 2018
In partial fulfillment of the requirements of I.S. Thesis

Advisor: Boubacar N'Diaye

Second Reader: Matthew Krain

Abstract

The culture of policing oftentimes equates police competency with masculinity, valorizing physicality and bravery, but at the expense of other characteristics included in policework such as service and protection. The introduction of more female officers into police services leads the question as to how their increased representation (de)constructs traditional masculinist attitudes and affects gender inclusive policy and actions of a police service, encompassing police response to cases of domestic and sexual violence. This study investigates whether higher gender equity in a police service increases gender inclusive policy and actions by the police and whether this factor, in turn, increases public perceptions of legitimacy of the police. Legitimacy is measured through frequency of citizen participation with the police, perceptions of police neutrality (e.g. fairness), feelings of respect, and levels of trust in the police. This study employs a comparative approach to measure these variables in democratic countries with similar political cultures, using the United Kingdom and Canada as case studies. Findings from this study demonstrate a complex relationship between these variables, but evidence suggests a correlation between increases in gender equity, gender inclusive policy and actions, and public perceptions of legitimacy. Within the United Kingdom, gender equity of the police increased in both entry-level and leadership positions. Gender inclusive policy and actions also increased as rates of reporting of sexual and domestic violence increased over time, and more specialized resources were allocated for these cases. Interestingly, the United Kingdom also has a significantly less militarized police service. Canada lagged in both variables: gender equity has stagnated in recent years and there has been little noticeable improvement in gender inclusive policy and actions. However, both countries continue to face a problem of attrition, where cases of sexual violence are dropped before reaching court. Additionally, women in both Canada and the United

Kingdom reported to have higher perceptions that the police 'did a good job' compared to men. Future research should investigate the relationship between victims of violence and perceptions of the police, to determine whether male victims of gendered crimes are less likely to believe that the police did an effective job at handling their case. Key recommendations to increase these factors in police services include standardizing accountability and recording measures across police departments to more effectively monitor progress. Police services can also coordinate with national police advocacy groups for women to ensure they have proper resources to reduce rates of sexual harassment as well as rates of leave for female officers.

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank my advisor, Professor N'Diaye, for his help and encouragement throughout the independent study (IS) process. He taught me a great deal about the process of research, reminding me to work steadily throughout, but also to give myself important breaks. He taught me that the 'fog clears' as you continue throughout the research process, which was an important reminder to me—allowing for development throughout for the best possible learning experience.

I also would like to thank the incredible political science faculty for their outstanding care for their students and for inspiring in me a passion for the material. I would especially like to thank Professor Krain for generating my interest in the field of political science with his first-year seminar on human rights (and wrongs). I also would like to thank Professor Leiby for inspiring my passions related to gender, political framing, and issues related to sexual violence and the security sector. My experience as a research assistant for her was invaluable, and it has encouraged me to grow my critical thinking ability and to question many gendered assumptions.

I would also like to thank the wonderful support network offered from Political Science Club. I am very happy to have invested my time over the years with such wonderful and passionate political science students; you all have been incredibly helpful to me and have reminded me about my passion and excitement for this field of study. All words of advice and support have been incredibly helpful.

To my family for their continued support throughout my senior year, thank you for always offering words of encouragement and strength. I could not have reached this point without the great amount of love you have shown to me, and the sacrifices you all have made to make it possible for me to have new learning experiences.

I also would like to thank my Common Grounds family, which I have been a part of for my four years here. You all have provided support and care for me when I needed it. I could not envision my college experience without you all.

Finally, I would like to thank my friends for providing a listening ear, a hug, or a trip to look forward to when I felt overwhelmed with this IS. This year has been one of the best because of you all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

Many envision an ideal police officer as a strong, hardline crime-fighter; their work is physical, adventurous, and brave. This subsequently codifies an ideal police officer with masculinity and excludes aspects of police work associated with femininity, such as social services, administration, and emotional work (Chan et al. 2010:426; Prokos et al. 2002: 442; Martin 1999: 115). Officers maintain and emphasize differences between female officers, segregate their positions, and in some cases, even engage in sexual harassment against female officers to maintain the vision of masculinity within policework (Prokos et al. 2002: 441-443). As a result, policewomen remain on the fringe of most police services; for example, in Canada only 20% of police officers were female in 2013 (Hutchins 2013). This culture of masculinity extends to police officers who respond to reports of domestic violence and rape, raising the question of how police are likely to respond to victims of violence when there is a high degree of marginalization amongst their female peers.

Many liberal democratic countries continue to face challenges related to perceptions of legitimacy in key institutions, principal of which remains the police service, whose officers are frequently the most direct, visual representatives of the state (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012: 153). Some countries, such as Liberia, have created measures to increase the number of women in the police service as part of security sector reform in a post-conflict setting, to develop gender equality and legitimacy as well as to boost the protection of women (Haglund et al. 2017: 4). Thus, the international community has recognized the nexus between these factors. However, while this concept is fundamental for the security and stability of any state, most analysis tends to remain in the context of post-conflict states. Similar connections outside of the post-conflict

state require further analysis to determine key mechanisms for maintaining security and legitimacy even in relatively stable countries.

This independent study (IS) seeks to build off this puzzle by investigating the question *how do gender inclusive policies and actions in the police service affect public perceptions of the legitimacy of the police service?* In this analysis I will consider if greater gender representation at a descriptive level will change police attitudes related to hypermasculinity, leading to more inclusive responses to women's interests. Greater respect to women's interests through police policy and action should increase public perceptions of the legitimacy of the police service. Legitimacy is often characterized by four key aspects in the procedural justice model, including (1) citizen participation (2) neutrality (3) dignity and respect and (4) trustworthy police-citizen interaction (Mazerolle et al. 2013: 246). Greater gender integration across *all* modes of police work should inspire changes in actions and policies from both male and female actors, resulting in the following hypothesis: *High gender equity in the police service is likely to increase the prevalence of gender inclusive policy and actions by the police.* My independent variable, for this hypothesis, is gender equity and my dependent variable is gender inclusivity in policy and in action. Gender integration affects female-officer-to-female-citizen interaction as well as gendered norms which might value both masculine and feminine forms of police work.

Because of the mechanisms described above, to address this research question, I also posit the second following hypotheses: *high gender inclusivity in policy and action is likely to increase public perceptions of legitimacy of the police service.* This IS will determine how the gender equity of the police service has changed over time and how this, in turn, has affected gender-inclusive policy and action. My independent variable for this hypothesis is gender inclusivity in policy and in action while my dependent variable is public perceptions of the

police service. This framework will employ feminist institutionalism, which considers both gendered distributions of power, as well as "the ways in which institutions shape political behavior and outcomes in gendered ways" (Gains and Lowndes 2014: 525). I will argue that more inclusion of gender sensitive policy will lead to higher positive perceptions on the legitimacy of the police service. The concept of gender inclusivity refers to policies and actions by the police service that boost women's interests—which, for this study, focuses on two chief aspects: encouraging the 'autonomy' and 'well-being' of women as well as addressing gender gaps (Childs and Krook 2009: 133). Specifically, this IS will examine policy toward violence against women and girls, which addresses the autonomy and well-being of women, as well as examine policy related to the equal representation of female officers in all forms of police work.

Past research has focused on how female officers act differently [use of excessive force, levels of complaints, etc.] and what kinds of work they are placed into, rather than determining how the presence of female officers and gender-inclusive policy can increase public perceptions of the police service. The topic of this IS synthesizes different fields of research including (1) legitimacy of the police service (2) descriptive and substantive representation and (3) critical actor theory. Critical actor theory is more accurate than simple measures of descriptive representation, which essentialize women and assumes that women are inherently representative of the interests of other women (Mansbridge 1999: 639). In this analysis, I will also consider the effects of community policing, which is a crucial component of a legitimate police service—that is often feminized, side-lined, and presented as not 'real police work' (Herbert 2006: 493). Female officers are frequently delegated roles for community policing at a higher rate than other positions due to perceptions that they are better communicators; however, the roles they are placed in are not taken as seriously (Schuck and Rabe-Hemp 2008: 93-94).

Keeping in mind this theoretical foundation, this IS considers the concept of gender policy and tangible actions from the police service to determine if these factors affect public perceptions on the legitimacy of the police service. The connection of gender adds a new nuance to past studies related to the legitimacy of the police service, which typically consider community policing and procedural justice at the crux of the issue, but do not address the ways these concepts are gendered. Additionally, past studies related to gender in the police tend to focus on the instrumental effects of increasing the number of women represented rather than other, subtler forms of influence.

This IS will be structured as follows. In Chapter 1, I will review the scholarly literature that has set the foundation for this IS, drawing attention to gaps in the literature. Then Chapter 2 will detail the methodologies of this IS. This chapter will review the comparative case study approach and the selection of my cases, and then conceptualize and operationalize key concepts and variables used throughout the remainder of the IS. Afterward, Chapter 3 reviews the findings from my first case study, the United Kingdom, and provides preliminary conclusions. Similarly, Chapter 4 reviews and presents the findings from my second case study, Canada, and provides preliminary conclusions. This IS will end with a concluding chapter, synthesizing the findings from the two case studies, along with a critical evaluation, and providing suggestions for future research on this topic.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

Females tend to only make up a small portion of police services, and alongside this, police policies as well as police interactions towards female citizens have been under critical review for decades. Male-dominated police services remains the norm and policewomen continue to face harassment and discrimination (Brown 1998: 265). While steps have been made to increase female representation in police services and to boost women's interests, overall, these processes remain sidelined and obscured. States also seek and respond to citizens' reactions to increase their legitimacy—police are important to analyze as they are the day-to-day enforcers of the law who most directly interact with citizens (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012: 127). These two processes share a great deal of overlap, and oftentimes pursuing one policy related to increasing representation and boosting women's interests can also increase legitimacy. Previous bodies of literature tend to consider these various aspects of the police, gender, and perceptions of legitimacy separate—but fewer synthesize these seemingly distinct elements together.

First, I will review literature on representation and gender in political and administrative bodies. Afterward, I will focus on literature related to gender, police behavior, and policy. This section focuses on gendered assumptions, perceptions, and police behavior across genders, as well as how police officers have historically dealt with issues related to violence against women. Then, I will review scholarship related to police legitimacy, focusing on the different ways authors have conceptualized this term and different mechanisms that are identified for building legitimacy. Within this review, I will consider how constructions of legitimacy relate to gendered narratives of police officers. Finally, this chapter will address gaps in the literature that this IS seeks to investigate further and provide concluding thoughts.

Gender Representation

There is universal recognition of the gender gap that exists in most political and administrative bodies. One core concept to address this gap is *descriptive representation,* which refers to "individuals who in their own backgrounds mirror some of the more frequent experiences and outward manifestations of belonging to the group" (Mansbridge 1999: 628). Descriptive representation is an important component, but not enough on its own, as it must produce substantive representation, which refers to the adequate representation of the "perspectives, opinions, and interest characteristics of any group" (Mansbridge 1999: 636). In the context of this IS, more female police officers must also correspond to greater representation of women's interests, otherwise there is not a meaningful difference in outcome.

Schuck (2014) finds that there is symbolic importance in addition to substantive outcomes, whereas: "the mere presence of demographic diversity… [as] an indicator of the organization's commitment to equal opportunity and access to power can promote the legitimacy of public bureaucracies" (55). Thus, more female officers can lead to a higher priority of women's interests but also generate symbolic representation for female citizens. Another study focused on symbolic representation across lines of race and found that minority citizens are more likely to view police actions as legitimate when they interact with a minority police officer; however, the study also found that white people perceived police actions as more legitimate when they were conducted by a white officer (Theobald and Haider-Markal 2009: 419). This draws attention to the varying ways identity can affect perception, though this IS limits itself to an analysis of gender. Studies on racial difference of perceptions leads to the question if female officers might reduce legitimacy for male citizens or increase legitimacy for female citizens.

A related concept to descriptive representation is *critical mass*, which argues that a certain number of representatives of a disadvantaged group [women] must gain representation before highlighting the interests of their constituency to the main group in power [men] (Mansbridge 1999: 636). However, this theory is quite simplistic, and the concept of *critical actors* is more explanatory. This alternative focuses instead on individual responses regardless of gender, as women can be antifeminist or take on masculine values while men might decide to work toward women's interests (Childs and Krook 2009: 126-127; Gains and Lowndes 2014: 529). Thus, in understanding growing gender equity in a political or administrative body, men can be understood as gatekeepers to reform and as actors within this process (Wood and Ramirez 2017: 18). Critical actor theory also rejects gendered assumptions about women and men— essentialist arguments tend to assume that women will represent all of women's interests regardless of difference (Mansbridge 1999: 628).

In the discussion of gender and representation, the concept of women's interests must also be clearly defined, as this term is relatively malleable. According to Childs and Krook (2009), the concept of women's interests encompasses "policies that increase the autonomy and well-being of women … [and] as areas where surveys discover a gender gap in the population" (133). Building and addressing women's interests relates to the police service through gender gaps in the force, the delegation of 'feminine' police work to female officers, and policies related to violence against women, to name only a few. Additionally, the expected actions and response by the police service are changeable as gender is 'dynamic, relational, and ongoing' (Chan et al. 201: 428).

Gender, Police Behavior, and Policy

The presentation of police as a gender-neutral institution is reductive and oftentimes inaccurate. The goals and procedures of the police service as a means of institutionalized violence cause it to be gendered and reproduced as masculine (Prokos and Padavic 2002: 455). This institution emphasizes *hegemonic masculinity* within its actions and behaviors, as it includes themes of "subordination of women, heterosexism, uncontrollable sexuality, authority, control… independence, aggressiveness, and capacity for violence" (Prokos and Padavic 2002: 442). The hegemonic masculinity model also presupposes participation from subordinated groups (Chan et al. 2010: 426-427). The demonstration of masculinist behaviors within the police service can reinforce feelings of separation, difference, and even lack of respect from the citizens that police interact with (Herbert 2006: 498).

Considering the gendered nature of police work, many studies have examined how female and male police officers navigate their experiences through the lens of gender. Scholars have historically referred to the active separation, prevention, and under-representation of sworn female officers as the blue curtain (Winfree and DeJong 2015: 50). Small gains have been made more recently, but deep division remains. One common finding in policework is a dualistic perspective between masculine and feminine policework, the emphasized difference between genders, and the relegation of different duties as a result. Policewomen are often placed into roles for community policing because of perceptions from peers that they are better suited for this kind of work (Schuck and Rabe-Hemp 2008: 93-94). Imbedded within this delegation is the subsequent devaluation of feminine styles of policework, particularly community policing, as men reinforce their superiority while framing it through the lens of 'natural difference.' Despite these divisions, scholars examine that all forms of policework require both feminine and

masculine aspects, ranging from crime prevention to maintaining order and servicing the requests of citizens (Martin 1999: 115).

Female officers are not only victims to this institution but also react to masculine expectations and/or subordination in a variety of ways. One study finds that there are typically three responses female officers have: (1) emphasize their feminine attributes as different from men (2) Reject gendered differences and emphasize equality for all police officers and (3) believe that they have differences from men but that equal status should exist for both genders in the service (Chan et al. 2010: 431). This study also found that women can change their reaction and belief system over time. Understanding that women play an important role in masculinity (de)construction in the police service suggests more studies are necessary in understanding how both women and men can affect expectations within the police service, its goals, and its behaviors.

Another body of research devotes itself to the question of whether women have different behaviors in the police service. Several studies have researched whether women are more peaceable, or, in the case of policework, less prone to the use of excessive force. The research from Schuck and Rabe-Hemp (2008) found that female officers typically use less force than male officers; they conclude that police should hire more female officers because of these differences and that there is an untapped potential to improve citizen-police relations as well as citizen perceptions (108). Their argument is instrumental in arguing that there are tangible differences in police styles. Another article, which studies the peaceability of females more generally in post-conflict settings, finds that the perceptions of women as less prone to violence is just as important as actual behavioral differences (Shair-Rosenfield and Wood 2017: 1000). Finally, one article finds that those who support gender equality are less likely to support the use of force

in traditional security measures (Wood and Ramirez 2017: 15). These articles all provide support in different ways that more women in the police service, which is inherently gendered as masculine, could change the values of the police service either from real or perceived difference, and that greater support for gender equality could build more peaceable options for the police service.

Other researchers have focused on how a greater number of female officers contribute to more comprehensive and effective policy addressing sexual assault and domestic violence cases. Findings suggest that more female officers positively relate to increased rates of reporting for sexual assaults, which can encourage male officers to also act as they gain awareness and sensitivity to policies related to women and respond to the examples set by female peers (Meier and Nicholson-Crotty 2006: 853-856). The study by Gains and Lowndes (2014) is a key work that my IS builds from; this study examined how the identities of Police Crime Commissioners (PCCs) affected the likelihood of violence against women and girls to become a priority, finding that there is a positive correlation between female PCCs and its prioritization (544). Other researchers analyzed arrest statistics and policy implementation in the United States to determine how police respond to domestic violence, with a focus on how often perpetrators are arrested and how the police treat female victims, finding abysmal progress (Winfree and DeJong 2015: 51). Additionally, other research finds that gender inclusion did not affect actions towards violence against women at all. For example, Nelson (1996) conducted a case study of all-female police stations, which were constructed for building police legitimacy in Brazil. She found that all-female forces were not any more effective, or compassionate, towards female victims of violence. In fact, other factors such as the entrenched hegemonic masculinity system, as well as

factors such as race and class, worked to reinforce discriminatory practice against female victims rather than make any difference (145).

Police and Legitimacy

Globally, many states have identified legitimacy within their police service as an issue of importance for law enforcement. "Legitimacy" is conceptualized in a variety of ways, and many scholars emphasize different ways of constructing legitimacy. However, there are a few commonalities. Generally, the literature recognizes two key components of legitimacy: the 'right to rule' and the 'obligation to obey.' The right to rule pertains to a form of normative compliance wherein the public believes that the police have moral authority over the citizens (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012: 21). The obligation to obey considers the sense of duty that citizens have for complying with authority, rather than compliance coming from fear or anticipation of certain rewards or consequences from the police service (Sargeant et al. 2012: 21). Additionally, in the presence of these two components, the public considers authority to have "a moral right to exercise their power" that the public can withdraw from at any point, thus making legitimacy conditional (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012: 125). Finally, the concept of legitimacy can change by the power-holder or by the audience, wherein the power-holder is the body exercising power while the audience refers to the public. Power-holders can present themselves in different ways to justify how they exercise their power (Lee and McGovern 2013: 107-108). This means that power-holders (such as police officers) can change their presentation, policies, and actions to respond to and interact with public perceptions.

While most scholars would agree with the core concepts of legitimacy listed above, there are differences in literature, and in police response, related to how the police can build a legitimate service. Some scholars subscribe heavily to eudaemonic legitimacy, which equates

legitimacy with effectiveness; however, Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) argue effectiveness is necessary for a legitimate power but not sufficient—other factors are equally important. Ultimately, the measure of police effectiveness in fighting crime tends to only loosely relate to public perceptions of the police (147). The procedural justice model provides a more nuanced and normative understanding of legitimacy, which focuses on gaining cooperation and compliance by improving perceptions through four main aspects: (1) participation (2) neutrality (3) respect and dignity of persons and (4) trustworthiness (Sargeant et al. 2012: 21; Mazerolle et al. 2013: 246). While these terms are oftentimes more difficult to measure than statistical data related to crime rates and police effectiveness, it has been found through many studies that perceptions matter.

When considering the procedural justice model, building public trust is particularly important as trust captures different aspects of citizen perceptions. Trust includes how citizens perceive the police as effective against crime, if they are fair, and if the morals of the police align with that of the public (Lee and McGovern 2013: 108). Procedural justice emphasizes the position that both groups [the police and the public] hold similar beliefs regarding law-abiding behavior and shared expectations of their roles (Sargeant et al. 2012: 22). Finally, within the aspect of trust, the public believes that the police care about their wellbeing and for all involved parties when there is a positive police-citizen interaction (Tyler 2004: 95). This element is likely to be largely affected by greater gender equity within the police service, due to different expectations and values generally assigned to different genders. The presence of female officers could affect perceptions related to trust within the procedural justice model because of perceptions that women are less corrupt and more trustworthy (Shair-Rosenfield and Wood 2017: 1000). Thus, it does not necessarily matter if women are more peaceable than male

officers, but merely the perception that they are. Peaceability, in this context, refers to the idea that women share an innate characteristic of being more pacifistic and "inherently resistant to war and militarism" through either biology or socialization (Shair-Rosenfield and Wood 2017: 996). Additionally, respect and dignity of persons by the police could also improve with increases in gender equity and gender inclusive policies. One key example is policy in handling cases of violence against women, as there are many cases of marginalization for these victims. However, despite these advantages female officers provide, researchers draw attention to the fact that some negative symbolic associations might come with increases in gender inclusivity, because it challenges assumptions of traditional power and masculinity (Chan et al. 2010: 426).

Community policing is another component of procedural justice, which is often difficult to define. Scholars refer broadly to community policing as a goal by a police service to designate resources and management to improve community problem-solving and empowerment (Schuck 2014: 58; Herbert 2006: 485). One fault of the traditional procedural justice model is that it does not address the culture of professionalism where police view themselves as separate and authoritatively superior; this tends to create tension between community-police interaction and affects citizen perceptions related to respect and trustworthiness (Herbert 2006: 498). Despite some of its limitations based on police behavior, community policing has gained international traction as a major goal for police to pursue.

Different Conditions of Legitimacy

The literature on legitimacy tends to focus on specific states under certain conditions. Many scholars study state security and the legitimacy of police officers in post-conflict situations. The post-conflict period tends to be a tumultuous time which can either worsen or improve gender egalitarianism. In some cases, such as in Rwanda, initiatives succeed at

boosting gender equality and women's interests because of the changing nature of norms and as part of a larger movement to rebuild after civil war (Haglund and Richards 2017: 2). Alternatively, women can often face much greater levels of domestic violence and sexual assault after a conflict has ended because of an increased culture of violence.

Factors including the level of democratic institutionalism of the state as well as its political culture affect how legitimacy is conceived by the public and how authorities respond. Democratic states tend to be more constrained by the public, as more gender equitable values were found to reduce public support for state involvement in violent conflict (Wood and Ramirez 2017: 18). This study has preliminary evidence for the relationship between gender egalitarianism, legitimacy, and peaceability. There is also a unique relationship in democratic states between the police and the public where the police must simultaneously act subservient to the public, separate from the public, and generative of public interests (Herbert 2006: 492). Oftentimes these acts create conflict with one another and different police behave in some ways more than others, but the expectations of each remain.

The political culture of a state affects the expectations of authority and public perceptions of legitimacy. Different states hold different values and place more value on instrumental values of police efficiency over normative aspects of trust, respect, and fairness of the police service. For example, countries such as Australia and the United Kingdom were found to value trust in the police service whereas Ghana valued police effectiveness the most (Mazerolle et al. 2013: 248). These differences suggest that the concept of eudaemonic legitimacy might be explanatory for police legitimacy in some countries more than others. Concepts of democracy and political culture are important to recognize in studies of police legitimacy, but are difficult to articulate and measure. Some studies such as Wood and Ramirez (2017) assume that more democratic

countries will have higher levels of gender equity, when research has demonstrated that police services in democratic countries still face a major deficit.

Bringing the Literature Together

This collection of research leaves many questions. This IS seeks to synthesize and combine each of these themes to understand how female officers influence police policies, behaviors, and values, subsequently improving citizen perceptions of the police service. A higher and more powerful concentration of policewomen can challenge assumptions that equate police competency with masculinity. Female citizens have been found to respond more to and have higher favorability for female police officers (Schuck and Rabe-Hemp 2008: 95). Greater gender equity and inclusion can improve de facto legitimacy by providing more representation for approximately half of the governed to keep it in line with proportionality (Mansbridge 1999: 651). Ultimately, greater interaction and value of citizens' expectations of participation, neutrality, respect, and trust by and from the police service should improve legitimacy measures.

This IS builds off previous research by internationalizing previous studies which tend to focus on the police culture and police response to women in the United States (Winfree and DeJong 2015), by extending research designs from previous studies to states with similar political cultures to the United States. Other bodies of research focus primarily on rebuilding in post-conflict settings where there is poor governance; however, the blue curtain in the police service still exists in many states and is worthy of study in all contexts. More studies in different countries can help increase the generalizability of this phenomenon to better understand the scope of the problem and to begin to work toward potential solutions forward. The study by Gains and Lowndes (2014) employs a research design quite like the research question of my IS, due to its connection between gender representation and gender-inclusive police policies and

response, which are measured through police actions toward violence against women. My IS will go a step further by connecting these factors to broad citizen perceptions.

A great deal of research is present on the relationship between policewomen and gendered policies, but fewer studies extend the presence of gender inclusive policies and behaviors in the broader context of perceived legitimacy by the public. My IS will incorporate both elements. One factor which might limit the impact of legitimacy perceptions include negative symbolic attitudes associated with women, due to negative gendered stereotypes. It is important to consider this limitation because my IS argues that greater gender representation, if both hypotheses are upheld, leads to greater overall legitimacy perceptions. This prospect provides a counterargument to mine—suggesting that because the police (as an institutionalized force that can employ violence) is so masculinized, more women might be associated with negative public attitudes. However, even if there are some negative symbolic aspects, it is still likely to improve legitimacy perceptions for women to a degree greater than men. Previous results remain inconclusive regarding this phenomenon, which calls for more studies to replicate this question.

Gender equity is key within the police service, and my IS will study its effects on the police service—but the concept of gender equity requires more nuance. It must be accompanied by equal integration of policewomen into all modes of policework, rather than have women relegated to traditionally feminine positions. This equal integration is necessary to diffuse gender-inclusive police attitudes into the whole of the police service. Additionally, this IS will also consider gaps in leadership positions, as greater gender representation still lacks meaningful change if there remain significant leadership gaps. Even then, there is still some research that suggests gender equity is not enough, and that other factors remain important. The research from

Nelson (1996) calls into question the relationship between the descriptive representation of women and gender-inclusive policies and behaviors completely. Her research analyzed the ways in which all-female police services failed to be gender inclusive; raising other theoretical questions—such as how aspects of class and race might equally affect behavior, or even matter more. Nelson's study is an antithesis to my argument, but there are few similar studies; thus, the inconclusive nature of this field requires more research for more conclusive results. The study by Nelson demonstrates that women can masculinize themselves to match an institution rather than deconstruct masculine expectations; the question remains when and why this happens. Studies have also analyzed the relationship between race and legitimacy perceptions and found, namely, that minority citizens were more likely to view minority officers as legitimate (Theobald and Haider-Markel 2009). These scholars raise the importance of considering the complexities of intersectionality between race, class, sexuality, and gender into police behaviors and citizen perceptions.

This IS will employ the procedural justice model in its analysis of legitimacy, specifically through an in-depth analysis of the indicators of trust and respect and dignity of persons, as these concepts are highly affected by gendered behaviors and perceptions. Previous researchers have found that people tend to associate women with peaceability and trust. Overwhelmingly masculine police responses through displays of aggression and physicality are likely detrimental to these indicators from citizens. Findings have been mixed related to behavioral differences between male and female officers, and thus my IS takes a slightly different approach— circumventing this problem. My research argues that gendered perceptions matter more regardless of actual difference. This IS will build onto this body of research related to *how* greater inclusion of female officers affects police services, through an in-depth comparative case

study approach. This approach will help explain the causal mechanisms between these variables and what theoretical aspects matter most. The case study approach is an effective methodological approach due to the complexities and mixed results of past research; this study provides meaningful results related to police behavior and citizen perceptions even if I do not find support for my hypotheses. The next chapter will detail the specific methodological approach of my IS, why I use the comparative case study approach, and what case studies I will use.
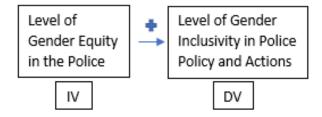
Chapter 2: Methods

The previous chapter provided an overview of the literature on gender representation, gendered behaviors and actions by the police, and police legitimacy—in this review, some questions remain inconclusive and unanswered. Much of the debate concerns how and when gender equity matters, and whether gender inclusive policies matter to the public for legitimacy perceptions. This IS seeks to answer the following question: *how do gender inclusive policy and actions in the police service affect public perceptions of the legitimacy of the police service?* This IS posits the following two hypotheses in response:

H_1: *High gender equity in the police service is likely to increase the prevalence of gender inclusive policy and actions by the police.*

H_2: *High gender inclusivity in police policy and actions is likely to increase the perceptions of legitimacy of the police service.*

Figure 1: Model for H_1

Gender equity is the independent variable (IV) in the first hypothesis (H_1) while the level of gender inclusivity in police policy and actions is the dependent variable (DV). I argue a more gender equitable police service will have a greater level of gender inclusivity in police policy and actions. H_1 (as displayed in Figure 1) demonstrates an argument distinct from, but related to, the second hypothesis (H_2).

H$_2$ states higher levels of gender inclusivity in police policies and actions leads to an increase in legitimacy perceptions of the police. In this case, the level of gender inclusivity in police policy and actions is the IV while legitimacy perceptions of the police is the DV (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Model for Hypothesis 2

These hypotheses can be tested separately, and the variables defined and measured differently, which will be explained in greater detail later. The hypotheses were intentionally disaggregated because the causal mechanisms for each are slightly different and independent of one another. Because of the complexities of these two hypotheses, a comparative case study approach will be utilized.

Comparative Case Study Method and Case Selection

This approach utilizes a longitudinal and cross-national comparative case study approach, with my two countries, the United Kingdom and Canada, as the unit of analysis. Data will be collected through research from primarily government documents (e.g. *Juristat*, PEEL assessment, Home Office), while supplemented with independent survey data to measure public perceptions of the police, such as from Ipsos MORI. From these sources, I measure key factors and statistics that represent changes in these variables, over time.   Changes in key factors and statistics, specified below, are used to measure how rates of gender equity of the police service, gender-inclusive policies and actions, and public perceptions of the police have changed over

time. This study will examine changes between 2003 and 2017 in each respective country; an

analysis over time helps expand the data sample.

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom exhibits many factors important for this IS, and it shares many

characteristics that help reduce the chance of exogenous factors affecting the results. Important

characteristics of the United Kingdom include the presence of an established democracy, as well

as a political culture similar to the United States. Selecting a country with similar characteristics

to the United States is key because much of the existing literature that this IS expands upon was

conducted in the United States. If this IS finds results similar to those in the United States, it

suggests similar phenomenon are occurring in other countries. Democracies were chosen

because political institutions are far more constrained by public perceptions and that citizen

perceptions are much more likely to depend on factors of trust and respect rather than overall

police effectiveness. Additionally, countries that have undergone a significant conflict in recent

years, or countries with security sectors that lack professionalism, are far more likely to have

worse legitimacy perceptions (or other exogenous factors), affecting the validity of my study.

Conflict and post-conflict settings can also change the culture of violence against women and

have variant effects on the treatment and agency of women in society. Thus, the United

Kingdom helps isolate the phenomenon of interest, which are gender inclusive police policies

and actions as well as public perceptions of legitimacy.

Additionally, the United Kingdom has a lot of publicly available information through its

annual PEEL assessment—it considers the levels of effectiveness, legitimacy, and efficiency of

the police (Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services, 2017).

There are also other reports including statistical bulletins from the Home Office. Another

government office, known as the Association of Police and Crime Commissioners has information pertaining to police visions and plans on police reform, which provides more information for a close reading of police priorities. The number of government-produced data and information of the police helps ensure there is enough information to provide for meaningful results.

Canada

Canada was chosen for similar reasons to the United Kingdom because it has not faced recent conflict, and it is an established democracy, with a similar political culture to the United States and to the United Kingdom. Canada also has a unique connection with the policing culture from the United Kingdom as their policing history refers back to the roots of policing within the United Kingdom (Beare and Murray 2007: 314) Because they are similarly-rooted, this IS also considers how beliefs on the roles of policing is enacted within these two countries, and can control for this factor when examining gendered differences. Another similar characteristic between Canada and the United Kingdom is that they both have federalized systems of policing, which are regionally divided. This structure is an important factor to examine in an analysis of gender and policing, as it can demonstrate ways that decentralized policing affects police policies and agendas at the national level and how this works in practice.

These case studies were chosen through the method of difference approach—meaning that Canada has a variance on the independent variable, namely, the number of women in the police service, but is similar in all other ways relevant to explaining the outcome of interest. There is a degree of variance in the total percentage of women in the police force in Canada, with women only accounting for 21% of all total officers in a 2016 report from *Juristat* (Greenland and Alam, 2017). Comparatively, in the United Kingdom, the number of female

officers as a percentage of the total was 29% (Hargreaves et al. "Police Workforce…" 2017). This difference is critical when examining the causal mechanisms of my two hypotheses.

Canada is an excellent case study because there is a great deal of publicly available data, including many annual reports with information on the number of female police officers (and leaders), goals/agendas for violence against women and cases of sexual violence, and survey data on perceptions of the police service. The government produced data and reports provided by Juristat has specific statistics by year for police-reported sexual assaults, crime statistics, self-reported sexual assaults, and family violence (Juristat 2017). The high availability of government-produced reports, with information similar to those produced in the United Kingdom means this IS has enough information to produce meaningful, comparative results.

Conceptualizing and Operationalizing Concepts and Variables

There is a series of terms that require specific definition in this IS as they can have various meanings. Additionally, these terms must be carefully conceptualized and operationalized for the comparative case study approach, to ensure validity of this study. In order to maintain clarity for the next chapters, which present my case studies, it is also necessary to deconstruct key terms and variables to ensure my measurements are systematic and comparable.

Gender Equity

The concept of gender equity can mean many different things, but for this IS, refers to descriptive representation, where there is gender inclusion that proportionally matches the population. Gender equity has many components, the first of which considers the number of women represented. Complete gender equity in this category envisions a rate of about ½ female-to-male officers, to mirror the population. However, most police services fall drastically under

this estimate: according *Juristat*, female officers were only 20% of the total police service in Canada (2013). Furthermore, gender equity also incorporates an equal representation of women in leadership roles and an equal representation of women in roles that exist outside of traditionally feminine roles. An example of a traditionally feminine role for this IS includes those dedicated to community policing—this broad term means any initiative designating resources for problem solving, outreach, and empowerment from the police to the community (Schuck 2014: 58; Herbert 2006: 485). Importantly, gender equity means men would also be represented outside of traditionally masculine roles, which tend to be those associated with the institutionalized use of force (Prokos and Padavic 2002: 455). A leadership role will refer to any position that can make decisions or place orders on other police officers, or those roles that help make platforms or goals for the police service. These various aspects culminate in the following definition of gender equity: *proportional representation of genders that (1) reflect the public (2) are equally represented in leadership roles and (3) perform functions beyond those allocated to their traditional gender roles.*

Other studies, such as Gains and Lowndes (2014), have analyzed the relationship between female leadership in the police and gender inclusive policies by analyzing annual reports to collect information-(537-538). I replicate the use of this method when measuring my variables, modeled after such studies as Gains and Lowndes (2014) and Weldon (2011). It is important to note that my analysis of gender equity is only intended to reflect the definition of gender equity for this IS, and the analysis is not fully comprehensive nor necessarily transferable to other studies. For each country-year, I will consider the following questions while reading relevant documents:

1. How are gender gaps represented statistically and how does it compare to the prior year?
2. Is increasing female officer equality specifically identified as a priority? How?

3. Are female officers specifically mentioned in roles outside of community policing or other 'femininized' positions?
4. Are female officers specifically mentioned in leadership roles? When?
5. Are male officers mentioned in traditionally 'feminized' roles? When?
6. Are male and female police officers represented differently in reports through text or images? If so, how?
7. Are there implied differences between the function of male and female police officers?
8. When are female officers represented as a source of authority?
9. Do police incorporate gendered stereotypes in their reports? If so, what stereotypes are reproduced?
10. How do female officers interact with male police officers? Do they feel a sense of belonging?

This information can be found through public websites and other annual reports from national databases. Conducting close readings of national police reports, documents, and statistical bulletins allows for this IS to consider the complexities behind the types of roles female officers are placed into and whether they are given leadership positions. These types of questions are included to provide a systematic and comparable overview between years and across countries.

Gender Inclusive Policies and Actions

The concept of gender inclusive policies and actions is quite broad, and thus must be clearly defined for this variable to be both measurable and comparable. Gender inclusive policies and actions refers to: *the prioritization of women's interests, namely sexual violence and domestic violence cases, both formally in police agendas and reports and informally through police performance, attitudes, and response to gendered crimes.* This definition helps encapsulate the different aspects of a gendered approach for policing, in both its policies and actions. Gender inclusive policies *and* actions are coded in the same variable because they do not have significant meaning unless both aspects are considered together and are congruent. However, my review of primary and secondary sources will also highlight any incongruencies existing between formal police agendas and police performance.

The data for this variable is collected from a review of national police reports, to assess the level of prioritization the police have toward domestic violence cases, violence against

women, and sexual violence cases. The concept of prioritization focuses on an analysis of the

presence and success of initiatives related to domestic violence, violence against women, and/or

sexual violence cases. An initiative refers to an identification by the police that a certain topic is

a common problem and that there is a concrete plan to address either prevention or to increase

resources for victims; this differs from a goal because it demonstrates observable action. I

review these reports through a close reading of government reports and documents about police

responses. Important materials include the rates of reporting, as well as arrest rates for sexual

assault, inspired from previous research from Meier and Nicholson-Crotty (2006). Questions

included in my close reading are the following:

1. What are the initiatives to address domestic violence cases?
2. What are the initiatives to address sexual violence cases?
3. What are the initiatives to address violence against women cases?
4. Are there cases of sexual violence or harassment against female police officers? If so, when and how did they occur?
5. How do police follow up with reports of domestic violence and/or sexual violence?
6. How do the police typically act as first responders to victims of violence?
7. Are female police officers more likely to be sent out as first responders after reports of domestic violence?
8. Are there specialized units or police training for officers on these topics?
9. How do arrest rates differ for crimes related to sexual or domestic violence compared to other crimes?
10. How common is sexual harassment or assault against female citizens by police? In what situations does it occur?

Legitimacy Perceptions

For this IS, Legitimacy refers to: *the belief from the public that the police have a 'right to rule' over the citizens and citizens have an 'obligation to obey' because the police are believed to be a moral institution with beliefs that align with the public.* Public perceptions of legitimacy

will be based largely off the literature from the procedural justice model, which emphasizes

aspects related to (1) participation (2) neutrality (3) trust and (4) respect and dignity of persons.

This IS measures significant changes in legitimacy perceptions in any of these categories (i.e.

participation, fairness, trust, and respect and dignity of persons), noting key trends over time.

This IS reviews a variety of surveys from both independent and government databanks.

Public perceptions of legitimacy are measured by analyzing a series of indicators, which

includes public confidence, public trust, satisfaction levels, and feelings of respect. I also

consider the likelihood of people to interact with the police, or to make a complaint.

Participation indicates faith that the police are representative of their interests and act on behalf

of the people. I ask the following questions during a critical reading of these surveys to consider

participation as well as larger thematic questions:

1. How often do people report sexual violence? If it is not often comparable to other crimes, why?
2. How often do people file complaints about the police? Do they feel comfortable in doing so?
3. Are there differing trends in how women and men perceive the police?
4. Do positive symbolic attitudes toward female officers outweigh negative symbolic attitudes?
5. How did gender affect citizens' response to trust, respect, and dignity of persons?

These questions seek to capture the causal mechanisms between differing gendered police

policies and actions and subsequent public perceptions of police. These questions specifically

seek to understand if symbolic attitudes of the police matter, and if so, when they matter.

Conclusion

This comparative case study considers changes in each variable in each country-year,

however, there is still limited generalizability as I only analyze two countries. This IS conducts

close readings of comparable primary government documents and surveys for the United

Kingdom and Canada. In this review, I consider any incongruencies in gender representation,

police policies and actions, and legitimacy perceptions. The core argument of this study operates

under the assumptions that women have different behavioral characteristics, which cannot be

directly measured through the various indices of this study, but have important implications

related to the behavior and agendas of the police. The case study method is important as it

considers the complexities in gendered interactions to understand the different ways police and citizens navigate gendered roles and expectations, and the various effects this has. The following chapter reviews my findings for the United Kingdom case.

Chapter 3: The United Kingdom

The first woman joined the police service in 1916 in the United Kingdom (Brown 1998: 279). Over 100 years later, female officers now make up nearly 30% of the total service (Hargreaves et al. "Police Workforce…" 2017). While this marks progress, the police response to gender-sensitive issues remain highly variable alongside slow increases in gender parity over time. This variation raises the prominent question: *how do gender inclusive policies and actions in the police service affect public perceptions of the legitimacy of the police service?* Current events within the United Kingdom elucidate that progress is not linear—hundreds of officers were reported committing sexual abuse against female civilians, with a large portion of them having already been victims of domestic violence (Grierson 2016). Officers often emphasize their narrative as crime fighters, rather than protectors or servers to the needs of the public. This framework reinforces the masculine expectations of the police—suggesting that greater descriptive representation has not eliminated this narrative. By exploring the complexities of the United Kingdom's police service, I investigate the following hypothesis: *High gender equity in the police service is likely to increase the prevalence of gender inclusive policy and actions by the police.* This IS also posits its second hypothesis: *High gender inclusivity in police policy and actions is likely to increase the perceptions of legitimacy of the police service.* This study will review the relevant political and historical background of the United Kingdom and then provide preliminary results from its review of the government reports over a fourteen-year period, by addressing whether there was support for H_1 and H_2.

The information was collected through an analysis of over forty secondary sources from statistical bulletins and reports from a variety of government bodies, including the Home Office, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary (HMIC), and the Association of Police and Crime

Commissioners (APCC), as well as independent bodies such as the Independent Police

Complaints Commission (IPCC). This IS focuses on England and Wales, as most of the reports

are provided by the Home Office, the Office for National Statistics, and other various

government bodies focused on these regions, at the exclusion of Northern Ireland.   The period

investigates the years from 2003 to 2017, starting after the implementation of the Police Reform

Act 2002.   This act established the IPCC, allows for the designation of Community Support

Officers, Investigating Officers, and Detention Officers from civilian bodies ("Police Reform

Act 2002" 2002). Both changes recommitted the government to initiatives increasing police

police-community interaction, legitimacy and transparency.

Political and Historical Background

The United Kingdom has many unique features related to its police service. Its

government has emphasized public relations and the image of a caring, community-focused

police service. As part of this initiative, most officers remain unarmed as less than 5% of

officers carry firearms regularly (HMIC 216: 18; Clowes et al. 2004: 49). Additionally, the

police service is managed by the Home Office at the national level, and the police are divided

into 43 local forces (Clowes et al. 2004: 11). These aspects provide the police service with

unique challenges, especially given the fact that funds for the police service nationally have

substantially been reduced by nearly 1/5 since 2010 (HMIC 2015: 10). There have also been

movements to nationalize recording and to increase police transparency through the creation of

new bodies such as the College of Policing, which is meant to standardize and increase

comparability of studying crime and police handling of cases (HMIC 2013: 58). As part of this

movement, the government has attempted to increase democratization of the police through mass

reform and increased departmental collaboration (HMIC 2013: 48).

Police Reform and Criminal Justice Reform

One core aspect of the ethos behind the legitimacy of the United Kingdom's police service is the concept of 'policing by consent,' which was introduced in 1829. This concept began with Robert Peel's Nine Principles of Policing which were a series of values taught to every office at the founding of the London Police department (Home Office 2012). Importantly, these principles of policing emphasized aspects of public confidence and respect, which are the same indicators recognized today as paramount to building a legitimate institution through a democratic government and to strong public approval (Keane and Bell 2013: 234-235). The United Kingdom has a history of prioritizing legitimacy in its police, which has broad implications for this study.

The Police Act 1964 provided the most substantive reform since the founding of the national police service. This act divided the police service into regional bodies, established the Secretary of State as the head, and created local leadership for each regional body ("Police Act 1964" 1964). This act set up a tripartite system with the Home Secretary as the head, and the Chief Constable and the Police Authority as the leaders of each regional body (Rogers 2013: 136-137). The hierarchy of the local police range from the Chief Constable at the top to the constable at the lowest level ("The Police Act 1964" 1964), which is important when considering the range of positions female officers occupy. Finally, the Police Act of 1964 established a policy for how each regional body should respond to complaints against the police (Porter and Prenzler 2012: 153). Thus, at a relatively early stage, the police continued to boost elements of democracy and legitimacy within its police.

The next major reform to the police service did not occur until the Police Reform Act 2002, which established the IPCC (Keane and Bell 2013: 237; "Police Reform Act 2002" 2002).

Though initially the IPCC only investigated a small portion of all reported complaints, while the police service handled the rest, its role has grown over time. Because the IPCC is independent, there are concerns that the IPCC lacks any way to enforce its recommendations for greater transparency (Porter and Prenzler 2012: 154; 162). Another core aspect of Police Reform Act 2002 is the introduction of civilian staff into the police service as an effort to increase community-police cooperation, with roles consisting of neighborhood watch as well as police community support officers (PCSOs) (Clowes et al. 2004: 41-43). This signified part of a greater movement toward community policing, which integrated more female police officers compared to sworn ranks, such as constable, which will be explored in greater detail later.

While the police service has tended to appear 'soft,' considering it is a largely unarmed service, riots in 2011 leading to civilian deaths created backlash against the police service, reducing perceived confidence in the police (Keane and Bell 2013: 242; O'Connor 2012: 4). This led to the most recent wave of police reform, under the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2012. This act replaced Police Authorities under the original tripartite system with police and crime commissioners (PCCs) and created Police and Crime Panels to 'check' the powers of the PCCs (Newburn 2012: 37). Unlike the previous Police Authority of a regional department, PCCs are elected by the public every four years and review the 'efficiency and effectiveness' of the Chief Constable ("Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011" 2011). However, this effort assumes active civic participation and elections when a survey found many citizens of the United Kingdom were unaware of what these positions meant (Rogers 2013: 141). Additionally, it also reduced national powers by removing some of the powers of the Secretary of State (Newburn 2012: 38). Ultimately, these series of acts demonstrate that the

United Kingdom has been committed to addressing legitimacy issues amidst various public incidences which have undermined public confidence.

Female Officer Workplace Discrimination

Female police officers have had a history of marginalization within the police service, but signs of progress began in the early 1970s. Finally, they were able to integrate with male officers and legislation was passed requiring equal pay—however, female officers were less than one in twenty police officers, and they faced sexual harassment and workplace discrimination (Gregory and Lees 2002: 22). In fact, a *de facto* quota was discovered by the Policy Studies Institute (PSI)—the quota restricted the number of female officers to be recruited and the departments available to women (Gregory and Lees 2002: 25; Brown 1998: 265). This suggests that gender inequality was deeply imbedded within the institution of policing; this fact must be considered even when there is progress in descriptive representation.

By 1996 women made up approximately 14% of the police service at the national level (Brown 1998: 270). Descriptive representation has steadily increased, with each regional police service increasing its relative proportion of female officers consistently every year since 2009 (British Association for Women Policing 2014: 4). However, programs devoted to the promotion of equality and/or diversity in the police are "doing no more than providing statistical returns," likely in part due to little funding (British Association for Women Policing 2014: 12). While female officers are making up a larger portion of the police, they continue to face obstacles in attaining high-level positions, with many forces lacking substantive female representation at the chief officer level or above (British Association for Women Policing 2014: 9). Part of the problem includes that initiatives, such as Police Now, focus on boosting recruitment levels for women rather than providing resources for upward mobility for constables

and other officers (Astley 2018: 73). It is difficult for female officers to gain promotions above

Inspector as they are required to be interviewed by multiple high-level officers. Female officers

are also expected to have a wide breadth of experience in technical positions, while

simultaneously relegated to community-based positions by high-level officers (Astley 2018: 81;

McCarthy 2013: 264).

Sexual harassment and assault against policewomen by their peers remains a

longstanding issue. It gained notoriety with the Halford case of 1990, wherein Alison Halford

publicly complained about sex discrimination and prior harassment incidences dating back to the

1960s (Gregory and Lees 2002: 21; Brown 1998: 265-266). The problem went beyond Alison

Halford: rates of sexual harassment were much higher than rates for civilian women, with rates

reaching as high as 70% (Brown 1998: 272-273; 279). This hostile environment forced female

officers to navigate this space in a variety of ways, but the dilemma was frequently whether to

present their feminine characteristics, which often caused female officers to become "de-

professionalized" (Gregory and Lees 2002: 23). The work-culture of the police emphasized

putting in long hours of work at the expense of personal life, which made it difficult for women

who also wanted to put time into their personal lives (Astley 2018: 72). Though there is no

longer such overt discrimination, women are still placed into roles that deal with traditionally

feminine positions, such as administrative or community-based positions, based on gendered

stereotypes (Brown 1998: 267; 275). This relegation into spheres for women sidelined from the

larger domain of policing makes it difficult for new, radical ideas of policing to permeate the

police service.

Sexual Violence, Domestic Violence, and the Problem of Attrition

At the national level, the United Kingdom has demonstrated that the criminal justice system and the police department take the problems of domestic violence and sexual violence seriously, though there has been significant variation in the implementation of national goals. In the 1990s, the Home Office introduced separate domestic violence units (DVUs) and domestic violence officers (DVOs), though they face problems of being underfunded and understaffed (Hoyle and Sanders 2000: 15; 28). At the local level, as many police officers presented attitudes that did not take these DVUs seriously, undervaluing the female officers who frequently staffed them (Brown 1998: 266). Additionally, because DVOs still had to take on their regular responsibilities as a police officer, many expressed feelings of stress, and left the position after a period of just several months (Hoyle and Sanders 2000: 28-31). Similarly, Specially Trained Officers (STOs) in charge of handling sexual offence cases faced problems of poor management and were frequently overworked (Central Office of Information et al. 2007: 55-57). Importantly, while these separate units were created to specialize and address this as a commitment to tackling domestic and sexual violence, the lack of necessary resources represents a low priority from many police forces.

The United Kingdom continually faces the attrition problem, defined as "the process by which rape [and other sexual offence] cases drop out of the legal process, thus… not result[ing] in a criminal conviction" (Kelly et al. 2005: 7). This is relevant to my variable 'gender inclusive policy and actions' as attrition is very common in early stages when victims either choose to not report to the police, or during the initial police investigation. Most victims do not report sexual offences to the police—about 15% of victims of sexual violence report to the police and less than 15% of reported cases reached the trial stage (Ministry of Justice et al.

2013: 6; "Crime in England and Wales…" Office for National Statistics 2011: 62; Kelly et al. 2005: 34; 77). Factors such as a 'lack of evidence' as well as the decision for the victim to withdraw their charges contribute to attrition problem (Kelly et al. 2005: 40; Hohl and Stanko 2015: 333). Oftentimes, police report 'lack of evidence' for cases where the victim never had access to an early evidence kit (EEK); the HMIC found that the availability and readiness of EEKs varied considerably across police force (Central Office of Information et al. 2007: 61). Despite national efforts to address the attrition problem, conviction rates remain below 10% (Hohl and Stanko 2015: 325; Kelly et al. 2005: ix). The number of reported sexual offences have continually increased while the absolute number of convictions have remained roughly the same since the 1970s (Kelly et al. 2005: 25), suggesting that the police are recording more crimes but are doing little to ensure effective investigations. This signifies that the police do not provide adequate resources to address sexual violence.

Victims might also withdraw charges if the police do not believe the victim, which was found to occur when the case involved alcohol or when the victim was perceived as unrespectable (Hohl and Stanko 2015: 324; 334-336). When victims did report to the police, they tended to report forms of sexual violence falling under the 'most serious sexual offences,' which includes rape and sexual assault rather than other forms such as harassment (Ministry of Justice et al. 2013: 19). In many instances, the police have 'no-crimed' reports of rape— meaning the police recorded that they believed no crime occurred. The HMIC has highlighted this aspect as problematic as the level is noticeably higher than for other sexual offences (Ministry of Justice et al. 2013: 22-23; 65). There have also been instances where individuals have felt threatened to be charged with a false allegation or coerced into withdrawing, which cannot be statistically represented (Hohl and Stanko 2015: 336). At the national level, the

Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) has brought attention to this, noting that the police use of stereo-typing places onerous burden on rape victims (Hohl and Stanko 2015: 337).

Nationally, the police have underperformed in recording sexual offences as well as in detecting sexual offences; in recent years, the rate of reporting has increased substantially while rates of sexual assault have not increased (Ministry of Justice et al. 2013: 20). One explanation for this increase in reporting is the introduction of the Sexual Offence Act 2003, which broadened the definition of rape to include oral penetration and the National Crime Recording Standard (NCRS) was introduced as a way of standardizing police records (Central Office of Information et al. 2007: 36). Rates for detection of sexual offences varied substantially between police forces, covering a range of seventy percent in 2002 (Central Office of Information et al. 2007: 10). Variation in regional police departments also relates to the readiness and level of training of front line officers, technologies for recording evidence, and the level of information provided to victims (Central Office of Information et al. 2007: 11; 40; 139). As a result, it is difficult to draw conclusions at the national level about police response to gender-inclusive policies and their subsequent actions.

Policing attitudes are another key factor, particularly the imbedded culture of masculinist attitudes. Concepts of 'soft' policing have gained traction since 2003—referring to programs addressing community-police interaction, domestic violence initiatives, and youth programs. 'Soft' policing programs provide an alternative path for police to gain legitimacy, rather than through force, and create new ways of conceptualizing traditional policing (McCarthy 2013: 261-263). The government has demonstrated this commitment through its mandate for neighborhood police teams to form in regions nationally by 2008, its mandate for Youth Offending Teams in 2003, and its recommendation to increase the number of PCSOs nationally

(Flanagan 2008: 46; 51; Flanagan 2006: 65). While female officers have been able to make an impact within these fields, often by emphasizing feminine characteristics for programs strongly associated with building a legitimate institution, this space can also create new obstacles (McCarthy 2013: 264). This is because these programs must be adopted as part of the police culture itself rather than an alternative space or program (McCarthy 2013: 276). Additionally, the presence of female officers has been identified as an issue of importance for many female victims of sexual assault (Kelly et al. 2005: 69); this suggests that soft policing programs with female officers could boost public confidence in the police, especially from victims. The following section will identify preliminary results for how the police have responded to building gender equity, their history of gender inclusive policy and actions, and how these factors relate to public perceptions of legitimacy.

Results

H_1: High gender equity in the police service is likely to increase the prevalence of gender inclusive policy and actions by the police.
Gender Equity (IV)

The descriptive representation of female officers since 2003 has shown signs of progress. In nearly every year the HMIC has prioritized increasing the number of female officers (HMIC 2015: 28). By 2017 the proportion of overall female officers increased by 0.5%, demonstrating consistent growth from each regional force since 2008 (Hargreaves et al. "Police Workforce…" 2017: 31). In 2016 the number of female officers over the total number of police officers was 28.6%, which was an improvement from the prior year, but the Home Office identified that there was a greater disparity at higher ranks of leadership above constable (Hargreaves et al. 2016: 4). In 2012, percentage for female officers was 26.8, in 2013 the percentage was 27.3, in 2014 the percentage was 27.9, and in 2015 the percentage for female officers was 28.2 (Woods 2015: 5;

12; Home Office 2014: 3; Home Office 2013: 7). This demonstrates pattern of small, but consistent growth, as in 2004 females had only account for 20.2% of the total police force (Flanagan 2006: 41). While this growth is not significant from year-to-year, over time, it demonstrates a consistently positive trend.

Descriptive representation is not growing equally across all police ranks. The number of female officers is weighted heavily toward the lowest rank, constable, where female officers make up an average of 31%; females also constituted 60% of the total police staff (Hargreaves et al. "Police Workforce…" 2017: 32-33). The gap between the proportion of female constables (30.6%) and sergeants (21.7%) represented a significant obstacle of upward mobility for women, and this gap has shown few signs of closing (Hargreaves et al. 2016: 30; Woods 2015: 22; Home Office 2014: 8). Females were far more likely to be represented as PCSOs, as they made up 44.9% of all PCSOs (Woods 2015: 20). This demographic demonstrates that police tend to relegate female officers to community-based positions, signifying that occupational stereotypes are still present. In 2013, and earlier, the proportion of female representation in leadership positions (chief inspector or higher) was below 20% (Home Office 2013: 7; Flanagan 2006: 28). The proportion of females in police positions has increased in every role except for police staff and PCSOs, where it has decreased. In 2013 female police staff made up 68.2% of the total, and females made up 47.0% for PCSOs (Home Office 2013: 13; Povey 2004: 32). The decrease in the proportion of female officers in community-based and administrative positions demonstrates a positive direction in gender equity as they were comparatively over-represented in these areas due to gendered stereotypes. The gap in leadership attainment hinders the overall achievement of the United Kingdom for gender equity.

There is a significant amount of variability between departments on the descriptive representation of female officers (O'Connor 2010: 11). The Home Office found in its statistical overview that some departments had significantly higher proportions of female representation, reaching as high as 35% while other regional departments, including London, lagged significantly behind at levels as low as 23.3% proportionally (Hargreaves et al. 2016: 29). This follows the relationship observed for gender inclusive policy and actions, reflecting the same trend of the previous variable: there are increases in gender representation, but this growth is not weighed equally in all aspects nor in every department.

Gendered stereotypes continue to be reproduced at both the national and regional levels. One common theme I observed in the images of the government reports was the repeated masculinization of violence (and the use of force): male officers were the *only* ones represented carrying firearms (HMIC 2015: 29; HMIC "State of Policing…" 2014 : 60). Another common theme included the pairing of community-police interaction with female officers in images. Female officers were typically depicted as PCSOs and having conversation with civilians, under subheadings related to dealing with vulnerable populations, sexual offences, or domestic abuse (HMIC 2015: 14; 24; 45; HMIC "State of Policing…" 2014: 42; 88). At a descriptive level, no report represented two female police officers together, instead, when female officers were depicted they were only represented either alone or with a male officer (HMIC 2016; Flanagan 2008: 13). The government documents' use of visual media reproduced several gendered stereotypes about the perceived role of male and female officers. This theme demonstrated that some aspects of the masculine police culture, and its expectations, remain present.

In conclusion, gender equity has improved, specifically for the descriptive representation of female officers. The national agenda has made key steps toward addressing increased

representation of female officers, through supporting initiatives such as the Gender Agenda as well as emphasizing principles of equality and diversity under the Police and Justice Act 2006 (Flanagan 2008: 18; 32). However, some alarming trends continue such as the differences in female representation in leadership as compared to lower ranks, such as constable. Additionally, statistics also show that voluntary resignation for officers is 16% higher for females than male officers, though the report does not provide an explanation for this discrepancy (Hargreaves et al. "Police Workforce…" 2017: 32-33). This could be another indicator that women are less likely to be satisfied with their fieldwork, or with the work environment their peers offer. Importantly, gender equity reflected similar trends to the gender inclusive policy and actions variable: both improve with time, but the growth was not ubiquitous or consistent across the whole country.

Gender Inclusive Policy and Actions (DV)

The United Kingdom has demonstrated a moderately strong initiative to create gender inclusive policy and actions, though the progress has not been linear or equally distributed in each regional police force. There is also preliminary evidence that suggests a correlation between a more gender equitable police service and comparatively higher levels of gender equity. The index for gender inclusive policy and actions of yearly reports did not provide meaningful year-on-year comparisons due to the small sample size, but the series of systematic questions generated from the methodology of this IS demonstrates that information increasingly became more transparent and commonplace, particularly after 2014. This effort from the national government demonstrates a commitment to addressing sexual and domestic violence; despite these advances, serious problems remain.

The degree to which police record sexual offences as crime has remained comparatively low over time and contributes to the problem of attrition. In recent years, the level of recorded

crime for sexual offences has increased in response to a series of recommendations from the HMIC (O'Connor 2010: 8). Substantial gains have occurred especially since 2012—the accounts of sexual offences recorded doubled between 2012 and 2016 (Office for National Statistics 2016: 32). This is not reflective of an increased epidemic of sexual abuse, but rather of an increased willingness from citizens to report their cases to the police (Office for National Statistics 2017: 40). Many police reports have referred to this phenomenon as the Operation Yewtree Effect (HMIC "State of Policing…" 2014: 41; HMIC 2013: 99-100). Increased reporting came soon after the investigation by the police and the HMIC into hundreds of allegations of sexual abuse against public entertainer, Jimmy Savile (HMIC "State of Policing…" 2014: 19-20). Prior to this public case, the number of recorded sexual violence cases remained roughly the same for several years (Office for National Statistics 2016: 32). This trend suggests that the police are slowly prioritizing gendered forms of violence, in large part as a response to pressures from the national government amidst public scandals.

While the national government has reported increases in the recording of sexual offences, it remained under-recorded in 2014, with approximately ¼ of offences going unrecorded (Office for National Statistics 2015: 21). By 2017, the recording of sexual offences increased by 19% with 129,700 recorded offences making up 2% of total police recorded crimes, with crimes against children accounting for over 1/3 of the increase (Office for National Statistics 2017: 10; 40; Hargreaves et al. "Police Powers…" 2017:11). In 2016, recorded sexual offences increased by 21% compared to the year prior (Office for National Statistics 2016: 31). In the year of 2015, sexual offences against children accounted for almost ½ of the increases and this year experienced the first year over 100,000 cases of sexual offences were recorded (Office for National Statistics 2015: 2; 20). These statistics signify that Operation Yewtree brought a lot of

attention toward the issue of child sexual abuse, with little sign of slowing from available data in 2017. Overall, police recorded crime for sexual offences in 2014 increased by 32% and these increases were observed in *all* 43 regional police departments (Office for National Statistics 2014: 24). Prior to 2013 the number of recorded sexual offences faced much smaller increases, but over the span of six years sexual offences went from 1% to 2% of total police recorded crime (Office for National Statistics 2011: 18; 28; Office for National Statistics 2010: 38). While the implementation of measures might vary regionally, each police force is prioritizing increasing proper recording of sexual offence cases, likely because this issue has gained more national attention.

Though there were increases in rates of recording, statistical analyses of the police use of cautions and the gap in the detection rate demonstrate that police were not taking victims of sexual offences seriously. Cautions are "given by, or on the instructions of, a senior police officer when an offender admits guilt, where there is sufficient evidence for a realistic prospect of conviction and where the offender consents to the caution being issued" (Office for National Statistics 2013: 32). The rate for cautions has remained high for sexual offence cases. In 2013, over a thousand cautions were issued, concluding a case without a conviction (Office for National Statistics 2013: 12). This provides evidence that the police would overuse cautions rather than pursue conviction for sexual offenders. Over time the use of cautions has decreased, as in 2010 there were over two thousand cautions for approximately fifty thousand total recorded offences (Office for National Statistics 2010: 174). A reduction in the number of cautions is one step toward more gender inclusive police policies and actions.

Detection rates were another key measure of gender-inclusive police policy and actions used in government reports. The detection rate counts as 'detected' if a "notifiable offence has

been committed and recorded… and a suspect has been identified and has been made aware that they will be recorded as being responsible for committing that crime" (Office for National Statistics 2013: 32). According to this definition, cautions would also count as 'detected' even though there is not a conviction—further signifying how difficult it was, and is, for victims of sexual violence to get convictions for their offenders. In 2012, the detection rate for rape was at approximately 23% and the detection rate for 'other sexual offences' was at approximately 31%; the detection rate has stayed at about 30% since 2003 (Office for National Statistics 2013: 17; Office for National Statistics 2012: 11; 21). Interestingly, detection rates for male victims of rape has remained higher than female victims of rape, with men at a 31% rate and females at a 24% rate in 2011 (Office for National Statistics 2012: 17). The analysis of detection rates does not show improvement, and it shows that rape cases are less likely to be detected, especially if the victim is female. Also, detection rates remain low for rape cases despite that approximately ½ of recorded sexual offence crimes are rape (Office for National Statistics 2017: 26).

Domestic violence has also been increasingly prioritized by the national government—the Home Office has created several initiatives to address this problem, changing the police response. Domestic violence gained much more attention from national bodies after an investigation into the handling of domestic violence cases in 2004 found major problems related to attrition, arrest rates, and the collection of evidence (Povey 2004: 48). Domestic violence necessarily requires more resources than is typically provided as these crimes accounted for approximately 8% of all recorded crime in 2014 (HMIC "Everyone's Business…" 2014: 5). Like trends related to sexual offences, police recorded higher numbers of domestic violence cases within the last few years: in 2017, there was an 18% increase from the year prior (Office for National Statistics 2017: 38). The national government acknowledged systemic problems

with the police handling of domestic violence cases again in 2014. One year after the publication of the HMIC report, there was over a thirty percent increase in recorded crime of domestic violence cases (Zoë Billingham 2015: 6).   While the rate of recording increased, the number of adults who self-reported domestic abuse did not substantially change from the previous year, nor have there been significant changes since 2009 (Office for National Statistics 2017: 38; Office for National Statistics 2016: 28). This signifies that the increases in recording are not caused by an actual increase in domestic violence, but rather the willingness of individuals to report these crimes and by police to properly record these incidents. Overall, this review of domestic violence recording issues shows similar trends to the handling of sexual offence cases, signifying that the police took both issues more seriously over time, particularly after receiving pressure from national bodies.

The arrest rates for domestic violence illustrate that, over time, prosecution has begun to be taken more seriously: between 2004 and 2005 the arrest rate increased by five percent (Flanagan 2006: 39). The United Kingdom also made it mandatory to arrest after a domestic violence victim reported an incident, to avoid their revictimization by the same offender (Hoyle and Sanders 2000: 18).   Despite the mandatory arrest policy, repeat victimization remained a key concern with nearly ¾ of cases of domestic violence falling under this category (Office for National Statistics 2011: 36; 44). A critical factor contributing to this problem is that some police forces have no universal terms for 'repeat victimisation' or vulnerability. This discrepancy has inhibited a swift and effective police response to the handling of domestic violence cases and remains unaddressed (HMIC "Everyone's Business…" 2014: 10; HMIC 2015: 23).

Arrest rates for sexual violence have risen much slower than the rate of recorded crime, though in 2017 sexual offences made up 4% of all arrests (Hargreaves et al. "Police Powers…" 2017:11). In the previous year, arrests for sexual offences rose by nearly 20% as compared to 2015 (Hargreaves et al. 2016: 9). In 2015, sexual offences rose by nearly ten percent from 2014; in 2014, the arrest rate for sexual offences increased by 7% from the year prior, and in 2013, the arrest rate had not increased, nor had it for the several years prior (Home Office 2015: 16; Home Office 2014: 7; Home Office 2013: 5). Between 2009 and 2011 there were increases in the arrest rates as well (Home Office 2011: 5-6; Mulchandani et al. 2010: 12; Hand et al. 2009: 12). Before 2008, the arrest rate for sexual offences did not have any significant variation and was much lower than current rates (Hand and Dodd 2008: 12-13). Because arrest rates have not changed significantly while the number of recorded crimes of sexual offences is increasing, this means that fewer offenders are comparatively getting arrested.

Women are not the only victims of sexual or domestic abuse. Male victims have faced their own series of unique concerns, including that there was no available data on male victims of rape and other sexual offences before 2003/4 (Office for National Statistics 2010: 52). Over the years, police-recorded rape of males increased proportionally more than police-recorded rape of females, at 15% and 22% respectively (Office for National Statistics 2010: 77). This evidence demonstrates that officers did not initially pay attention toward recording practices toward men, but that later on, police officers were more likely to record male incidences of rape. Other concerns include that males make up nearly 100% of all of those arrested for sexual offences, while females routinely make up only between 2% and 3% of those arrested for sexual offences (Home Office 2015: 12; Hargreaves et al. 2016: 10; Hargreaves et al. "Police Powers…" 2017: 13). The police have paid *more* serious attention to cases which fall under the stereotypical

female-as-victim, male-as-perpetrator paradigm. This approach is less gender-inclusive to all forms of sexual and domestic violence.

The actions of the police in the United Kingdom illustrates a disparity between the national agenda and the regional response. For example, one report from HMIC in 2007 reported that the introduction of neighborhood policing would address various community problems, such as domestic violence (Flanagan 2008: 15). However, a report from the national government eight years later identified that neighborhood policing, and other community initiatives, were uninvolved with addressing domestic violence cases (Zoë Billingham 2015: 19). While the top leadership of the police in the United Kingdom has prioritized domestic abuse, empirical evidence demonstrates alarming trends (HMIC 2015: 10; HMIC "Everyone's Business…" 2014: 15). This prioritization of domestic violence has not necessarily disseminated to local levels of policing. For example, another major goal at the national level emphasizes eliminating child sexual exploitation (HMIC 2013: 72-73; HMIC "State of Policing…" 2014: 58; HMIC 2015: 38). The HMIC noted that not every regional police department had identified 'child protection' as an issue of concern (Flanagan 2006: 55). The HMIC also observed incongruities between the level of integration and accountability when dealing with sex offenders (Flanagan 2008: 52). One report aptly phrases this gap as, "domestic abuse is a priority on paper but, in the majority of forces, not in practice" (HMIC "Everyone's Business…" 2014: 6). These discrepancies reaffirm that while rates of recording are increasing, other factors such as detection rates, the use of cautions, the use of resources, and arrest rates, mentioned here, require further progress, though they are each slowly moving forward.

H_2: High gender inclusivity in police policy and actions is likely to increase the perceptions of legitimacy of the police service.

Gender Inclusive Policy and Actions (IV)

Importantly, rape accounted for approximately ½ of all reported sexual offences: this signifies that victims are far more likely to report their sexual offence if they view it as serious *enough* (Office for National Statistics 2017: 26). This simple statistic demonstrates a key underlying phenomenon—victims of sexual abuse are less likely to report crimes if they are not rape, likely driven by fears of not being believed or that their report will be discredited.

In 2009/10 there had been an increase in reporting of six percent (Office for National Statistics 2010: 24). Though these gains were much slower, over a long span of time it demonstrates consistent, significant growth. A key aspect driving these increases prior to Operation Yewtree was the 2003 Sexual Offences Act which criminalized indecent exposure as a sexual offence (Flanagan 2006: 16). In 2003 sexual offences only constituted 0.81% of total recorded crimes, before the introduction of the NCRS (Povey 2003: 18; Povey 2004: 21). The year 2003 was notable not only because of the introduction of NCRS and the 2003 Sexual Offences Act, but also the implementation of pilot programs for sexual assault referral centers where victims could meet with STOs (Povey 2003: 25). Since the beginning of the 21st century, legal and national changes to the police agenda have built more resources to create more gender inclusive policy and actions.

Overall, the rates of self-reported victimization within the last twelve months from a sexual offence have stayed at around 2.5% for females and 0.4% for males (Ministry of Justice et al. 2013: 6). This average has stayed roughly the same, hovering between 1.5% and 2.4% from 2009 to 2017 (Office for National Statistics 2017: 10; 40). For rape itself, adults who reported victimization of rape or attempted rape within the past twelve months has fluctuated between 0.3% and 0.6% since 2005 (Office for National Statistics 2015: 22). These statistics provide

evidence for the fact that increased rates of reporting and are not coming from changes in the actual numbers of sexual assault against civilians. Another important factor is that rapes and "sexual assaults involving a knife or sharp instrument" has totaled less than 1,000 cases every year, only a small portion of all reported cases (Office for National Statistics 2017: 43; Office for National Statistics 2016: 36). This is significant as it dismisses many stereotypes, demonstrating that this type of sexual offence is only a small portion.

While police have progressed in the recording of domestic violence cases, as previously mentioned, many of these programs remain underfunded, undertrained, and underutilized (Zoë Billingham 2015: 11; 13). For example, while many forces have designated specialized officers to deal with these issues, as well as public protection units (PPUs). However, many other community-based positions such as PCSOs remained uninvolved and they remain undertrained for responding to domestic violence cases; frontline officers are also frequently untrained or only receive online training (Zoë Billingham 2015: 19; 82; 9). Additionally, the attitudes of local police leadership are highly variable. There were incidences in 2014 where high-ranking officers expressed 'poor attitudes,' disseminating to the attitudes of their frontline officers, according to HMIC ("Everyone's Business…" 2014: 10; 12). Initiatives to address domestic violence and sexual offences both remain under-resourced, with regional departments oftentimes lacking the necessary technology to work toward a conviction. In an investigation by HMIC they found that photographic evidence of violence was only used in ½ of the cases; the more frequent use of photographic evidence would substantially strengthen many cases (HMIC "Everyone's Business…" 2014: 12; 47). The label of 'high risk' has oftentimes been under-utilized, as many police forces have created a quota system to conserve resource. The 'high-risk' identification is intended to relegate independent domestic violence advisers (IDVAs) to particularly sensitive

cases where individuals are at risk of physical harm—underusing this resource potentially puts more people at risk of harm (HMIC "Everyone's Business…" 2014: 8; 14; 16).

Police attitudes and responses toward sexual and domestic abuse are also indicative of the atmosphere of their workplace and reflect the attitudes they have toward gender inclusivity in the workplace. The most overt violation of a gender-inclusive approach are acts of sexual abuse against civilians by the police and against their peers. In 2016, public cases of sexual abuse through sexual exploitation by police officers was released: the case of Stephen Mitchell, an officer who had coerced women he had arrested into sexual favors in exchange for release, is a prominent example (Grierson 2016). In 2015 and 2016, hundreds of similar cases of sexual abuse were documented against police officers in 42 of the 43 forces; those most likely to be victimized by officers were previous victims of domestic abuse (over 1/3 of those sexually abused by the police) (Grierson 2016; HMIC 2016: 65). This is a clear form of corruption that each police department has not addressed equally. Some forces do not classify 'the abuse of authority for sexual gain' as corruption, which would require it to be independently addressed by the IPCC (Grierson 2016; HMIC 2016: 64) This calls into question how comfortable victims of domestic and/or sexual violence might feel with reporting to the police, when there are high profile cases of police sexually abusing citizens and other officers (Gregory and Lees 2002: 37), coupled with little assurance of an independent investigation. The Domestic Violence, Crime, and Victims Act 2005 created nationalized standards for police to follow when dealing with victims, but this has not been adequately or uniformly implemented (HMIC "State of Policing…" 2014: 23). The remaining high variability of police responses could potentially contribute to gaps in confidence between the general civilian population and victims of violence toward the police, though little information was available on this relationship.

Females are far more likely to be victims of domestic violence—young women reported rates of domestic violence at almost 13% compared to the average of 6% for adults, and women typically make up about ¾ of all recorded cases of domestic abuse (Office for National Statistics 2016: 29; Office for National Statistics 2010: 79). This is interesting considering that the public perceptions toward the police tended to be slightly higher for women surveyed. This potentially could be an aggregate, as victims of violence would likely be less likely to support the police. The information provided here remains inconclusive.

Perceptions of Legitimacy (DV)

The United Kingdom has prioritized encouraging public confidence through greater police transparency by providing open and free information (O'Connor 2010: 3). At the same time, the government has cut a significant amount of the police strength as well as the funding for the police since 2010—meaning that the police work on confidence-building initiatives while they also receive fewer resources and people (HMIC 2016: 17).

Public ratings of the police had fallen between the 1980s and early 2000s, then began to increase again (Parfrement-Hopkins and Hall 2010: 9). A British Crime Survey (2010) found that the percentage of people who "thought their local police force did a good or excellent job" increased nearly 10 percent since 2003, from 47% to 56%, meaning that the public support for this statement remained moderate (Parfrement-Hopkins and Hall 2010: 9; 12). Other key indicators of legitimacy that the British Crime Survey measured include public confidence, perceptions that the police treat people fairly, and the perception that police treat individuals with respect. In 2010, the percentage of people who agreed that they had confidence in the police increased fourteen percentage points over a five-year span: rising from 55% in 2005 to 69%; in 2012, this continued to increase to 75% (Parfrement-Hopkins and Hall 2010: 15; IPCC 2014: 14;

Office for National Statistics 2011: 97). Thus, this indicator (confidence) increased from

moderate levels to a high level of support in 2014. But only ½ of respondents agreed with the

statement that the police 'could be relied on when needed' (Parfrement-Hopkins and Hall 2010:

14).   In 2010, 65% of respondents to the BCS agreed with the statement that police treat people

fairly, demonstrating a moderate level of approval (Parfrement-Hopkins and Hall 2010: 9).

Finally, the indicator that measures respect has changed little, remaining at a very high

percentage of approval (Parfrement-Hopkins and Hall 2010: 15; 19). This statistical overview of

survey results demonstrates that indicators of legitimacy continue to increase. Public confidence

in the police has increased the most. Only one indicator stayed the same—the belief that the

police will treat the respondent with respect—because the respondents had already had high

agreement with this statement.

     The complaint process is also indicative of the willingness of citizens to interact with the

police process. Over time, the number of complaints that the police received has also steadily

increased. In 2004, the number of complaints that the police received increased, which had not

happened the previous several years (Povey 2004: 34; Povey 2003: 32). It is possible this

increased willingness to file a complaint could be connected to the implementation of the Police

Reform Act 2002. This trend continued, and the IPCC reported that "the public are slightly more

confident about making complaints to the police" (Ipsos MORI 2016: 4-5). At the same time,

the number of appeals the IPCC has received waivers over time—from a little over a 1,000 in

2005 to nearly 7,000 in 2013, to just less than 4,000 in 2016 (Ipsos MORI 2016: 12; IPCC 2014:

11). Ultimately this shows that the increased willingness to put in a complaint, while viewed

negatively by the police, illustrates more public confidence in the institution itself by its citizens.

The level of contact between the community and the police provide insight into how this affects public perceptions of the police. Men and women reported similar rates of contacting the police (Parfrement-Hopkins and Hall 2010: 31). The creation of PCSOs from Police Reform Act 2002 did effectively encourage high levels of police-community interaction, with a little over ½ of respondents reporting that they saw PCSOs monthly (Parfrement-Hopkins and Hall 2010: 21). However, while the public have observed the police more frequently, they tend to interact with them much less and rarely engage in conversation about community concerns (Parfrement-Hopkins and Hall 2010: 25).

In addition to data from the IPCC and the British Crime Survey, HMIC instituted a program in 2014 to measure police efficiency, effectiveness, and legitimacy (PEEL), as a nod to Robert Peel who had introduced the nine principles of policing (HMIC "State of Policing…" 2014: 16). Th PEEL assessment includes questions such as "how effective is the force at protecting those who are vulnerable from harm, and supporting victims?" (HMIC 2016: 42). This question signifies that the police, at the national level, recognize the connection between legitimacy alongside values emphasizing gender-inclusive policies. At the same time, the PEEL assessment found that legitimacy has demonstrated the least change over time, since its start in 2014, with only four forces improving out of 43 (HMIC 2016: 49). The suspected connection between gender equity and public confidence is not new either, as a report in 2005 identified this relationship as important (Flanagan 2006: 51-52).

Public perceptions cannot be interpreted as uniform and distant from other aspects of people's identities. This analysis must also disaggregate along various factors likely to affect peoples' views of the police to draw meaningful conclusions. According to the BCS, women and men were found to have relatively similar perceptions according to indicators of fairness,

their willingness to complain, and how happy they were with the way police treated them (IPCC 2014: 45-48). By 2016, women agreed with the statement that they were "happy with the way that police contacted them" at a rate of 72% compared to men, who agreed 66% of the time (Ipsos MORI 2016: 47). Women were more likely to agree with the statement that the "police did a good job," by about five percentage points, in 2010 (Office for National Statistics 2010: 160). The IPCC reports in 2016 that women self-reported that they were likely to complain at rates substantially higher than men in a variety of scenarios, including if a police officer engaged in sexist behavior (17). However, the IPCC reported that the number of actual complaints received, in both 2014 and 2016, were from those who were "male, White, and over 30 years old" (IPCC 2014: 11). This discrepancy between self-reported willingness to complain and received responses suggests that there is a gendered difference between actions with the police officer, outside of self-reported perceptions. The other findings did not go along with the expected outcome, as I had predicted that females were less likely to be happy with police, and to perceive them as fair, due to the police history of gendered stereotypes, sexual abuse against civilians, and other factors.

Another survey focusing on the experience of victims of crime, found that rates of satisfaction toward the police were still quite high (HMIC "State of Policing…" 2014: 85). Future studies should investigate the impact that gender-inclusive policy and actions from the police have on the public perceptions of the police, specifically from victims of sexual or domestic violence. Qualitative data from interviews have found that these victims have had negative personal experiences with the police that have reduced their confidence in the police (HMIC "State of Policing…" 2014: 84), however, little statistical data was available for their experiences. Finally, while this IS does not focus on the effects of race and ethnicity, the survey

data provided in this section has found that confidence levels and the likelihood to complain to the police were consistently lower for BME groups, often due to a fear of facing harassment (Ipsos MORI 2016: 4-7; IPCC 2014: 53).

Conclusions

The United Kingdom has demonstrated a slow but steady level of progression toward higher gender equity, higher gender inclusive policies and actions, while simultaneously moving toward higher rates of public confidence and satisfaction with the police. This demonstrates a plausible connection between these variables. Some other exogeneous factor could also be causing these three variables to increase, such as leadership changes under the Home Office or due to public scandals. The response by police forces are complex, especially for gender equity and gender inclusive policies and actions, as there is a "discrepancy between rhetoric and reality within forces" (British Association for Women Policing 2014: 8). While on-paper, the police agenda is very progressive, there is evidence of continual gendered stereotypes and obstacles in moving forward in these aspects, especially for services to respond to domestic violence victims—these services remain underfunded, undertrained, and ultimately undervalued. The progress in these paths is also not a fully linear one. Further studies could expand upon this connection through a small regional comparison between police forces or through an examination of the public perceptions for victims of domestic violence or sexual violence. The aggregate level of legitimacy perceptions demonstrated that it was quite high over time and increasingly improving; disaggregating the picture could demonstrate important findings about who are the most responsive to the police.

Chapter 4: Canada

Canada is both uniquely progressive and regressive toward policies related to gender and policing. For example, a Human Rights Watch released a report in 2011 titled, "Those Who Take Us Away," highlights police failures to reconcile with abuses against indigenous women (Rhoad 2013). However, in other capacities, the police have made significant steps toward building a culture that incorporates community concerns. This chapter continues analyzing the question *how do gender inclusive policies and actions in the police service affect public perceptions of the legitimacy of the police service?* Within this discussion, key themes unique to the Canadian government come to the forefront. These themes include the decentralization of governmental policy, governance, and policing, the historical expansion of policing roles, and a series of scandals relating to recent sexual harassment allegations against the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) as well as complaints against the handling of treatment for crimes against Aboriginal women. First this chapter reviews the relevant political and historical background within Canada, to better understand the current situation. Relevant information includes the policing structure within Canada, the historical treatment of various groups by the police, reforms and initiatives to address vulnerable groups, workplace discrimination in policing against women, and police responses to sexual and domestic violence over time. The following section provides results from the analysis of government documents and determines if there is support for H_1 or H_2.

The information for the results section was derived from an analysis of over fifty government documents, which were primarily released from Juristat, the Canadian Center for Justice Statistics. These reports were government-produced findings on intimate partner violence (IPV), sexual offences, and reports from various surveys on public perceptions as well

as perceptions of crime and safety. I focus on the time-period after 2003, meaning this chapter

reviews changes in gender equity, gender inclusive policy and actions, and public perceptions of

legitimacy over a fourteen-year time-period.   The review begins in 2003 because that is when

most information is most accessible from online databases.

Political and Historical Background

The police are organized into federal, provincial, and municipal forces, and these policing

units oftentimes interact with and are constrained by bureaucratic pressures, which results from a

fragmented governing system. The RCMP represent the police at the federal level and are

contracted to many provincial or municipal forces (Beare and Murray 2007: 325). Various

political bodies (including ministries) oversee the monitoring and reforming of the police: at the

federal level, the justice ministry is responsible; at the provincial level, the Minister of Security

and Public Safety is responsible; at the municipal level, local governments and police boards are

responsible (Tator et al. 2006: 94; Sossin 2007: 118). There are only two provincial police

forces (Ontario and Quebec) that are not run by the RCMP, out of ten total provinces, and the

RCMP serve as municipal police in nearly 200 different municipalities (Beare and Murray 2007:

335; Sossin 2007: 113-114). This inter-relation between policing and government is represented

in that local government leaders often select the police chief and that various government bodies

are responsible for setting the police budget; recently, as the budget has shrunk, policing has

been more constrained by government bodies (Sossin 2007: 117-118; 126; Beare and Murray

2007: 357). This police structure shows that policing in Canada lacks centralization and is

dependent on the federal system.

While the police are not nationalized, and police practices have widely varied, some

efforts in the mid-20th century standardized provincial policing. The province Ontario passed the

1946 Police Act, enhancing regulation of local policing and created a provincial police

commission to manage organized crime, and included provincial efforts to handle appeals,

training, and planning (Marquis 1994: 35). After Ontario passed this act, other provinces

followed this precedent. The Parliament also maintains some degree of authority through its

supervision of the Criminal Code (Sossin 2007: 114; 125). Mandates for policing reform are

often handled at the provincial level, creating a lack of unification in police policy, limiting

powers of the federal government (Sossin 2007: 114).

Police Reform and Criminal Justice Reform

The Canadian police refer to the tradition of England policing practices, and oftentimes

police officers working in Canada were from England (Beare and Murray 2007: 314). However,

while some of the traditions from the police traced back to the roots of the United Kingdom, the

roles of the police in Canada often extended far beyond traditional roles of security or protection-

based policing. The police focused on 'crime control,' rather than protection policies, which

violated citizens' rights and diverted from the policing culture influenced by England (Marquis

1994: 24). In the early 1900s, the RCMP were responsible for 'national security measures,'

which lasted until 1984. Other roles they were responsible for, earlier on, included handling

forest fires, arbitrating disputes, providing supplies to indigenous populations, enforcing

compulsory school attendance for indigenous children, and other activities (Beare and Murray

2012: 328-329; Rhoads 2013: 29). Part of this variance and lack of accountability was due to the

divide in urban-rural communities and in policing practices, resulting in "differences in styles of

management, working conditions, and pay" (Marquis 1994: 26). The police in Canada have not

only been influenced by its English history, but also by related policies and actions of the United

States police. For example, Canadian police have received training sessions from the United

States, are part of the same associations, and attend the same conferences. Weaponry from the

police are also advertised and presented at police conferences, which likely increases the

weaponization of the police, emphasizing the focus on the use of force by the police (Beare and

Murray 2007: 361). Canada's policing styles have thus been impacted by the policing style of

the United States as well as England; these factors help explain how Canadian policing might

have extended beyond the traditional role of policing.

This orientation of policing has led to some corruption between the police and the

government (Beare and Murray 2007: 334). By 2004, there were investigations into government

involvement in RCMP matters, as well as a series of police misconduct, wrongful convictions,

and a lack of police accountability in Toronto, from the Ferguson Report (Sossin 2007: 97-98).

The Ferguson report revealed an "overly militaristic hierarchy," but implied the issues from

policing stemmed from 'bad apples' rather than any systematic problem (Tator et al. 2006: 111).

In the Toronto Police Service, two former presidents of the Toronto Police Association were

implicated in misconduct; meanwhile, investigations of the RCMP have found high levels of

corruption in exchange for money within the municipality (Tator et al. 2006: 108-109).

Recently, people have also come forward with allegations and evidence of overt racist words and

actions against people of color and indigenous populations, including suspicious deaths (Tator et

al. 2006: 106). This level of corruption, and its public scandals, could have undermined public

confidence in the police at the national level.

The treatment by police officers historically differed based on factors of class, political

ideology, race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation. Police officers responded to 'dangerous

classes,' which in the early 1900s also included, on the part of the RCMP, leftist organizations,

labor unions, and students (Beare and Murray 2007: 355). Some examples of this discrimination

include that the Police Association had published articles in the 1980s outwardly against LGBTQ people as well as anti-Semitic and anti-black articles (Beare and Murray 2007: 355-356). Despite some of these problematic histories, the Canadian government has created initiatives in the 1990s on a series of issues such as child sexual abuse, domestic violence, and indigenous rights (Beare and Murry 2007: 359). These changes represent at least a shallow attempt to reconcile past group tensions.

The police culture has been characterized as, "for the most part subjective, outside public scrutiny, not generally subject to review, and based on standards which… [were] never explained" (Marquis 1994: 28). Another study characterized police work as holding political conservatism, racialized attitudes, pessimism, and suspicion (Tator et al. 2006: 99-100). An audit of the police in Toronto in the early 1990s, for example, revealed that the police demonstrated beliefs and attitudes about individuals based on their race, and that views held from police officers tended toward 'conservative' and 'authoritarian' thought (Tator et. al. 2006: 103-104). While Canada has identified poor race relations from the police as an issue, current training measures have been insufficient, and the police (through unions and other police associations) resist civilian review measures that are intended to increase accountability (Tator et al. 2006: 109).

The complaints system for the police in Canada is handled by numerous bodies. Each complaints system is highly dependent on the province, and the provincial government's legislation. For example, in British Columbia, there are three bodies to investigate the police: The Office of the Police Complaint Commissioner handles municipal level complaints; the Commission for Public Complaints (CPC) handles all complaints against the RCMP; finally, the Independent Investigations Office (IIO), established in 2011, handles any particularly 'serious'

allegations (Rhoads 2013: 41-42). Only the CPC is a national complaints system out of these three bodies. A new bill had been introduced to increase police accountability and replace the CPC with the Civilian Review and Complaints Commission, extending measures for addressing sexual harassment complaints as well (Rhoads 2013: 44). In other provinces, the level of accountability can differ substantially. For example, the Ontario Civilian Commission on Police Services (OCCOPS) has faced significant critique because this body allows for the chief of police to dismiss complaints, without further investigation into the complaint (Sossin 2007: 106).

Female Officer Workplace Discrimination

The first few female officers were present in the early 1900s, and they were placed in highly feminized positions—dealing with the protection of women and children. Their placement would remain highly marginal until the 1970s (Marquis 1994: 38). The early 1970s was a marked step forward for female integration into the force, as women were now able to attend police colleges and gain the constable rank (Beare 2008: 274). However, their positions and representation emphasized highly feminized and impractical stereotypes which perpetuated their segregation. The original RCMP uniform for women included high heels, a skirt, and a hand clutch, which did not change until 1989 when they would wear the same standardized uniform regardless of gender (Beare 2008: 275). Though there were some legal protections based on gender that were instituted, such as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom, these measures failed to prevent discriminatory treatment (Beare 2008: 276).

The police also originally had strict height and weight requirements, which oftentimes excluded women and many people from different ethnic groups (Tator et al. 2006: 105). By 1991, females made up less than 10% of the total police service. The masculinized environment, focusing on the police use of force, framed the field as men's work, despite various feminized

aspects of the field, including paperwork and social work (Bonnie et al. 2000: 303). As the number of women in the police service has increased, they have continued to be 're-segregated' into feminized positions of the field, defined as 'women's work' (Bonnie et al. 2000: 294). Some progress has been made in increasing the leadership and representation of females in public positions as well as in training stations, but these rates have crept at a slow pace: by the end of the 1990s, while 11% of police officers were female, female officers only made up 2% of senior positions (Beare 2008: 278; 280; LeBeuf 1996: 13). Additionally, evidence shows that some police officers, especially white male officers are favored at a systemic level: "the Ontario Provincial Police commissioner… had previously held three chief of police positions… one might suppose that the seeming endless recycling of white males from chief/commission position to the next… account[s] for some of the low job satisfaction of the marginalized outsiders" (Beare 2008: 286). Overall, females have historically faced difficulty integrating into the police force, especially for leadership positions.

In the Canadian police force there is overt discrimination through the continual production of female stereotypes. One example of stereotyping includes that, in 2008, the website for the RCMP refers to the role of females for the RCMP as, "serving as wives, public servants, civilian members, and as regular members," demonstrating the prioritization of women into traditionally domestic spheres above other forms of public and police work (Beare 2008: 273). Another policy common during the 1980s forebode married members of the police force from working in the same jurisdiction; this oftentimes forced females to resign from their positions to avoid transferring long distances (Beare 2008: 277). These forms of both overt and subtle discrimination have, in the past, driven away new female recruits at rates substantially higher than male recruits, while the RCMP has not critically investigated this difference (Beare

2008: 277). At the formal level the RCMP has a 'zero tolerance policy' when it comes to sexual

harassment, as it has basic programs to address the concerns of female officers, but this has not

substantially changed police practices or culture (Beare 2008: 288).

Sexual harassment of female officers by their peers has been a serious issue historically

as well as today. Various law suits by RCMP officers have drawn attention to gender-based

discrimination and sexual harassment; many female officers in the RCMP also have little faith in

the handling of sexual harassment cases (Rhoads 2013: 41-42). Many cases of sexual

harassment were high-profile, occurring across Canada against a variety of police chiefs (Beare

2008: 282). Some high-profile cases include harassment against senior female police officers,

such as Corporal Catherine Galliford from the RCMP—who reported years of sexual harassment

in British Colombia, including someone exposing his genitals to her (Griffiths 2011). After this

incident, she was discharged in 2010 on 'medical grounds,' and she sought this discharge

because of her harassment; the public case of Corporal Catherine Galliford led to other officers

coming forward with similar instances of sexual harassment, including groping (Griffiths 2011).

This incident did cause some leaders to call for greater representation of women and more

serious investigation, due to the "trivializing of the issue of violence against its [police] female

members of staff" (Griffiths 2011). Interviews of female police officers in Canada finds that

they were frequently subjected to sexist jokes, felt pressure to work harder, and worried about

appearing weak (Gillis 2017). These incidences of sexual harassment call into question two

things: *how do these incidences affect public confidence of the citizenry, particularly women*

and female officers? And, how do the police respond to sexual and domestic violence cases

when these incidences demonstrate police frequently engaging in sexist behaviors themselves?

In response to these discrepancies, current and former female officers have recently worked

together to create the National Women in Law Enforcement Association, to address systemic discrimination and harassment issues through a common network (Gillis 2017). This is meant to encourage female officers to come forward with complaints because they frequently fear retaliation (Gillis 2017).

Previous surveys have found that, as female officers gained more field experience, they were less likely to recommend the field of policework to others (LeBeuf 1996: 11). Other research investigating stress levels found that family and career conflicts were a concern for many female officers, as well as male officers (LeBeuf 1996: 20-21). Women of color on the police force also are frequently even further under-represented, and they are much more likely to leave before the completion of training (LeBeuf 1996: 23). This demonstrates that females are frequently more frustrated as time goes on with the police field, that males and females both are increasingly valuing a greater work-personal life balance, and that women of color face even higher levels of marginalization.

Sexual Violence, Domestic Violence, and the Problem of Attrition

Sexual violence remains a serious problem in Canada; 86% of all victims of sexual offences are women and girls while men make up over 90% of offenders: this falls in line with the perception of women-as-victim, male-as-perpetrator (Johnson 2012: 613). Studies have also found that cases of sexual violence with a female offender are widely under-reported, especially in cases where the victim was also female (Wong and Schoot 2012: 1276; 1288). It is important to keep in mind that variances between gender and victimization statistics are not necessarily representative of actual rates of sexual violence for male and female victims. Crime surveys have found that women report only about 8% of sexual assaults to the police, and that about 3% of women are typically assaulted every year (Johnson 2012: 613; 616). This statistic

demonstrates that sexual offences are common and that they are underrepresented in the criminal justice system. Interestingly, police recorded sexual assaults have dropped since 1993, which could indicate a decreased willingness for women to report crimes (Johnson 2012: 617).

The police have a history of poor response to reports of sexual violence. In 1983, the Criminal Code had removed offences of "rape, attempted rape, indecent assault on a male, and indecent assault on a female," instead replacing these offences with a tiered scare of sexual assault offences (Du Mont et al. 2003: 468). Level I is the lowest involving any cases that do not fit the higher tiers, level II includes situations that involve bodily harm or a weapon, and level III is the most serious with, "wounding, maiming, disfiguring, or endangering the life of the victim" (Johnson 2012: 618). While this was meant to increase reporting of sexual offences, it has undermined the seriousness of many sexual assaults: 98% in 2007 were recorded as a level I offence (Johnson 2012: 618; Du Mont et al. 2003: 468). When this reform was first implemented, the number of recorded crimes in level II and level III were proportionally higher, but they have both decreased over time; there are numerous examples of rapes, including assaults with force and/or injury included as a level I sexual assault (Johnson 2012: 619-621). This reform could have negatively affected public perceptions of the criminal justice system, especially for women, as this change has effectively placed some rapes into the same category as 'unwanted sexual touching' (Johnson 2012: 621; Du Mont et al. 2003: 469). Additionally, in some provinces the arrest rate for sexual offences was significantly lower than rates for assault (Dawson and Hotton 2014: 674). Other problems related to police response include poor follow-up procedures, a lack of accountability, and generalized indifference to a thorough investigation (Rhoads 2013: 38-39).

Police have demonstrated many stereotypical expectations when it comes to rape cases. Victims of sexual assault are more likely to report to the police in cases where it conforms to 'real rape' stereotypes, which include a violent and forced act, by a stranger, in a public place, where the victim is often white, innocent, and 'virtuous' (Johnson 2012: 623-624; Du Mont et al. 2003: 469). In one specific example of police incompetence, demonstrated by the cases Jane Doe v. Metropolitan Toronto Commissioners of Police, a woman was raped by a man coined as the 'gentleman rapist,' as he welded a knife but never harmed the victims. The case was developed because the police were aware about the risks and failed to warn the area prior to the assault, when the police had reported similar risks in higher-class communities (Sossin 2007: 115-116; Beare 2008: 293-294). There are resources to specially equip some police to deal with victims of sexual assault, through more comprehensive training; victim-resources are also available such as crisis support, medical care, and evidence-gathering kits (Du Mont et al. 2003: 467-468). Despite these advances, the behavior and actions of the police have been incongruent with their dedication on paper.

The expectations of police behavior from female victims of sexual assault reduces their likelihood of coming forward with reports in many circumstances. One study found that the main factors that increased the likelihood of reporting were in cases of injuries or when they were physically coerced, at a rate several times higher than women without sustained physical injuries (Du Mont et al. 2003: 477-479). Factors that did not make a difference included the presence of alcohol, the race of the victim, age, and employment status (Du Mont et al. 2003: 477-479). This demonstrates that the main reasons affecting womens' variance in reporting comes from how serious or legitimate they might believe their own assault is, rather than any perceptions about how their moral character might be judged (Du Mont et al. 2003: 481).

Particularly marginalized groups such as sex workers are much less likely to have positive views of the police, and subsequently, much less likely to report sexual offences. According to one survey, sex workers reported that the police did a poor job at a rate two times higher than the average (Benoit et al. 2016: 460). The general populace also reported that they had "not very much" or "no confidence at all" in the police 15% of the time while sex workers responded to these answers with a rate of 63% (Benoit et al. 2016: 460). Specific concerns from participants in interviews also reported fears of being stigmatized or discriminated against, reporting incidences of treatment by the police which lacked respect; one sex worker referenced that police perpetuated the belief that "if you're getting paid for sex then you can't be raped" (Benoit et al. 2016: 462-463). These concerns from sex workers made them less likely to report sexual offences to police, though some sex workers have reported positive interactions with the police as well (Benoit et al. 2016: 463).

There are also instances where the police have sexually assaulted civilians; this act represents the absence of gender sensitivity as it is an overt act of violence. Public cases of sexual assault by police against civilians might also be expected to lower some civilians' confidence in the police. In one heinous example, in 1984, a woman reported being taken to a discrete location and repeatedly raped by multiple officers. When she reported this case to the police department, it was described as a 'figment of her imagination' despite evidence from rape kits, and her moral character was attacked—they were only indicted years later, after her suicide (Beare 2008: 290). Aboriginal women are especially vulnerable to police abuse. There have been recent incidences of young Aboriginal women and girls being beaten, attacked by police dogs, and even raped and threatened by RCMP in northern British Colombia (Rhoad 2013: 6; 8; 12). Women have also reported being drugged and forcibly strip-searched without reasonable

cause (Rhoad 2013: 61). Another public incident involved the high-profile case against a provincial court judge, which included the complicity of up to ten RCMP officers in a case of sexual exploitation of girls as young as twelve; others reported that child sexual exploitation remained a problem in the region (Rhoads 2013: 31-33).

The attrition rate, or the "gradual dropping off or discontinuation of cases… [as they] proceed through the [justice] system" (Johnson 2012: 626), is another major concern within Canada. Sexual assaults are frequently marked as 'unfounding,' meaning the police did not consider a crime to have taken place, at rates higher than other crimes. However, this data was not systematically analyzed as Statistics Canada stopped releasing this information after 2000 and worried that "it has become a catch-all for complaints" (Johnson 2012: 627). The unfounding rates, prior to 2000, varied significantly across jurisdictions, suggesting that this category was used inconsistently and might reflect different police (mis)conceptions of sexual assault (Johnson 2012: 627). Additionally, of the cases that are founded, less than one-half resulted in charging a suspect, and only approximately 10% led to a conviction (Johnson 2012: 633). The conviction rate has remained relatively stable since the 1990s (Johnson 2012:632). This demonstrates little change in the overall justice system over time, and that there remains inconsistency in how sexual assault crimes are recorded.

Domestic violence, IPV, is recognized as a serious issue throughout Canada. At the legal level, domestic violence is not included as a separate and unique chargeable offence, but depending on the case, will be charged under another given offence, such as common assault (Tutty et al. 2006: 3). IPV accounts for approximately ¼ of all violent crime (Peirone et al. 2017: 2; Dawson and Hotton 2014: 657). Importantly, over time, survey data has found that

there has been a decrease over time in self-reported spousal violence, reducing from 8% to 6% between 1999 and 2009 (Dawson and Hotton 2014: 657).

How police respond to IPV is significant because they tend to act as gatekeepers to important resources; police response is not equal in all cases, however: police are less likely to arrest the accused partner in cases of repeated IPV incidences (Peirone et al. 2017: 3; 15). Studies in Canada have also found that the police were more likely to lay a charge in cases where there was victim injury, if the victim was a woman (Dawson and Hotton 2014: 655). Additionally, the police response to charging cases varied wildly upon the region: in some places it was as high as 88% but as low as 56% in other areas (Dawson and Hotton 2014: 668). Both female and male victims typically do not contact the police in cases of IPV, but men are much less likely to report IPV; LGBTQ couples are also vulnerable to IPV, at rates sometimes twice as high (Tutty et al. 2006: 1-2).

The gender of the victim also affects the police response, wherein police were more likely to follow up with cases when the victim was female; analysis of satisfaction rates also finds that women are more likely to be satisfied than men with the handling of their case, when they reported domestic violence (Peirone et al. 2017: 6; 13). Police are also far more likely to remove the partner when the victim was female and to press charges if the victim is female (Peirone et al. 2017: 14-15; Dawson and Hotton 2014: 676). Peoples' experiences of police, when reporting domestic violence, also varied depending on the ethnicity of the victim. In one instance, an Aboriginal girl reported that her arm was broken when the police responded to her call about domestic abuse (Rhoad 2013: 51). There are repeated cases of similar incidences, while the complaints process is lengthy and oftentimes lack effective insight to ensure an independent investigation—the investigation can be led by the RCMP itself, as the IIO is

independent, but only investigates claims involving death or major injury (Rhoad 2013: 10). Because of police apathy (and abuse) toward Aboriginal women, they have reported a lack of confidence in these institutions and oftentimes do not believe the police can protect them (Rhoad 2013: 8). Women from other minority groups, such as from the Middle East and Asia, are less likely to report domestic violence to the police (Tutty et al. 2008: 35). Conversely, Aboriginal women were found to report domestic violence at rates three times higher than the average rate, which reflects their actual increased vulnerability to domestic violence, which is about three times higher (Tutty et al. 2008: 35; Rhoads 2013: 25).

The police have changed their charging policy to respond to domestic violence over time, as it used to be considered a private matter; the 1980s showed an increase in seriousness of domestic violence charges (Dawson and Hotton 2014: 658). Importantly, there is not one universal charging policy, as it is dependent on the province and municipality, but pro-charge policies have been universally adopted (Dawson and Hotton 2014: 656; Tutty et al. 2008: 7-8). However, when considering the police decision to charge, it is important to note victims oftentimes do not want to lay charges (Dawson and Hotton 2014: 656; Tutty et al. 2008: 47). Respondents from British Columbia have reported that the police have based their decision to arrest on trivial issues such as the presence of witnesses, alcohol use, and if there were other illicit activities (Tutty et al. 2008: 9-10). Another concern by victims of domestic violence included that they never received follow-up information about the case, emergency services and shelters, and whether charges were laid (Tutty et al. 2008: 60). Finally, provincial variance remains a concern as the proportion of domestic violence charges changes considerably between provinces (Dawson and Hotton 2014: 655; 659). The police response has led to different degrees

of satisfaction, but typically with the majority still approving of police response (Tutty et al. 2008: 50-52).

Police training programs for domestic violence are implemented in each jurisdiction, especially in response to the Protection Against Family Violence Act (1999) and the 1995 Victims of Domestic Violence Act; however, this training was oftentimes met with disregard by the police, with some incidences of harassment against trainees (Tutty et al. 2008: 10-11). Female Canadians who had faced experiences with police after reporting domestic violence reported highly positive experience with domestic violence units compared to standard officers (Tutty et al. 2008: 62). This evidence suggests that the creation of separate dedicated units has helped boost public confidence and satisfaction with police response to these crimes. Rates of satisfaction are much lower for non-specialized officers, especially when the expectations from victims vary from the received services: specific complaints from victims include that "they were not taken seriously, that the police lacked sympathy… [and] were especially critical of women who called the police multiple times" (Peirone et al. 2017: 6). Like cases of sexual violence committed by police officers, there are also incidences of IPV committed by police officers. There was one public incident of a homicide committed by a police officer in 2003 against his wife, drawing attention to this issue (Beare 2008: 296). The police response to IPV is varied, and not always taken seriously, but the increase in specialized resources and separate domestic violence units is a sign of progress.

Results

H_1: High gender equity in the police service is likely to increase the prevalence of gender inclusive policy and actions by the police.

Gender Equity (IV)

The number of female officers within Canada has steadily increased over time, and in 2016, female officers were proportionally 21% of all police (Greenland et al. 2017: 3; 8). In

2015, female officers made up 20.8% of the total and, in 2014, female officers made up 20.6% of the total police force (Mazowita et al. 2016: 9; Hutchins 2015: 14). The proportion of female officers increased significantly and then began to stagnate after 2007, with minimal annual increases afterward (Hutchins 2015: 29). While this demonstrates small progress, and while the proportion of female officers within leadership positions is also steadily increasing, they remain only a small proportion of the total. Additionally, it is important to note that there is significant variation in female representation between the provinces and territories; in one province it is below 10% while in Quebec the rate is 24.7% (Hutchins 2015: 14). This demonstrates that local policies and police departments, rather than national policy, can either help or hinder the descriptive representation of female police officers.

The gap in leadership positions is even more prominent: in 2016, female officers were only 13% of all senior officers (Greenland et al. 2017: 3). A year prior, in 2015, female officers comprised 12.4% of all senior positions, and were only represented in 5.5% of all senior positions in 2005 (Mazowita et al. 2016: 3). In 2014, female officers made up 10.9% of all total senior positions, and, in 2013 female officers made up 13% of all officers in senior ranks (Hutchins 2015: 14; Hutchins 2014: 13). Senior officers make up less than 5% of all available police ranks, and the rank constable designated the rank of approximately 70% of all police officers (Mazowita et al. 2016: 4). For positions in between constable and lieutenant, female officers made up 18% of all total available positions in 2015 (Mazowita et al. 2016: 9). In recent years, the proportion of female constables is increasing at a slower rate compared to the increases in female officers at senior ranks, demonstrating that the gap is slowly closing between female representation in lower ranks and higher ranks (Greenland 2017: 9). Between 2006 and 2013, the number of female officers at the constable rank stayed between 21% and 22%, with minimal

movement (Hutchins 2014: 32). Women can join and stay in lower ranks, such as constable, while obstacles remain for upward mobility, though this gap is slowly closing.

When women do join the Canadian police service, they are often disproportionately delegated to civilian-based positions. In 2016, for example, women made up nearly 70% of all available civilian personnel (Mazowita et al. 2016: 9; Hutchins 2014: 16). The roles within civilian personnel were also gender-segregated: women made up nearly 90% of clerical support staff and 76% of communications employees. For example, while they were also far less likely to be represented as a police recruiter, as women were only 22% of recruiters (Hutchins 2015: 13; Hutchins 2014: 12). Interestingly, in recent years the gender-segregation for civilian-based positions has increased. By the end of the 1980s women made up between 50% and 60% of all civilian-based positions and the percentage of women in civilian positions has continually increased since, to a steady rate just below 70% (Hutchins 2015: 13).

Gender Inclusive Policy and Actions (DV)

The frequency of major sexual assaults (levels II and III) faced decreases in police reports (Perreault 2013: 3; 15). In 2002, for example, level I charges initially made up 88% of all total police-reported sexual offences while level II and level III made up 2% of all reported sexual offences (Kong et al. 2003: 2). Over time, the number of level II and level III sexual offences have decreased: in 2005, for example, level III decreased by 11% (Gannon 2006: 7). However, in 2004 the number of level II offences increased by 8%; in 2003, the number of level III increased 17% representing significant fluctuation in the reporting of major sexual assaults (Sauvé 2005: 7; Wallace 2004: 7). While there is variation among major sexual assault offences, they make up an incredibly small percentage of the overall offences: in 2012, level I offences comprised approximately 91% of all sexual assaults (Sinha "Measuring Violence…" 2013: 29).

In 2010, there was an overall increase in the number of sexual assaults, but that was from increases in level I sexual offences (Brennan et al. 2011: 15). Aggravated sexual assaults (level III) have declined over time, and, in 2011 and in 2014, the numbers declined by approximately 22% from the previous year. However, between 2012 and 2013 the rate increased; this variation is likely because the frequency is incredibly small, at a rate of 0.39 per 100,000 Canadians (Boyce 2015: 17; Brennan 2012: 16). Over a ten-year period, between 2004 and 2014: "level I declined by 19%, level II declined by 28% and level III declined by 50%" (Conroy et al. 2017: 11). Between 1998 and 2007, level III had decreased by 41.1% comparatively (Dauvergne 2008: 11). Thus, level III has demonstrated the largest decreases, though there have been a few yearly exceptions to this trend; the decrease in level III offences is not necessarily reflective of the change in the actual nature of committed sexual offences, as approximately 9% of reported sexual offences involved a weapon (Gannon et al. 2005: 10). These trends demonstrate that police are likely to under-record the seriousness of sexual offences, and to mischarge more serious sexual offences as a level I offence.

Vulnerabilities to sexual offences include an individual's gender, age, ethnicity, sexuality, and mental health; those who also had prior childhood abuse or homelessness were at even greater risk (Conroy et al. 2017: 3; Perreault et al. 2010: 10). Sexual offences tend to disproportionately affect women, as 85% of all victims who reported to the police were women; they also were eleven times more likely to be victims of sexual offences than men (Kong et al. 2003: 7; Gannon et al. 2005: 6; Sinha "Measuring Violence…" 2013: 8). However, at the same time, men likely significantly under-report sexual offences to a greater degree than women, as self-reported surveys do reveal that women are victimized at rates much higher than men, but not to the degree reflected (85% female) in reports to the police (Perreault et al. 2010: 11).

Additionally, when men do report sexual offences, police officers are becoming less likely to

charge these offences as level II or level III offences, decreasing by 34% between 2009 and 2013

(Juristat 2015: 31). Recent data demonstrates that vulnerabilities remain for young women,

wherein approximately ½ of all reported sexual offences were committed against women

between the ages of 15 and 24 (Conroy et al. 2017: 7; Perreault 2015: 11; Sinha "Family

Violence…" 2013: 60). Aboriginal people are also particularly vulnerable to sexual offences, as

the rate is nearly two times higher for Aboriginal people; however, some studies have found this

is due to other risk factors than their Aboriginal identity (Perreault 2015: 16-17; Perreault et al.

2010: 10; Perreault et al. 2016: 11). Interestingly, the same patterns of vulnerability to sexual

violence were not demonstrated for people who identified as other visible minorities or if they

were a recent immigrant (Gannon et al. 2005: 1). These vulnerabilities reaffirm the importance of

a specialized police response that is cognizant of the risks of certain individuals to sexual

offences.

The problem of attrition is a significant obstacle for victims of sexual offences in Canada.

Studies have found that cases of sexual violence are continually dropped from all stages of the

criminal justice system, with many dropping out before it even reached court: only 43% of

reported incidents resulted in a charge, and less than ½ of charges proceeded to court (Rotenberg

2017: 3). Additionally, this frequency of withdrawals from the criminal justice system is unique

to sexual offences, as non-sexual assault charges are completed at a rate twice as high as the rate

for sexual offences (Rotenberg 2017: 3). Another important aspect includes the likelihood for

police to lay a charge in cases where a weapon was used (Rotenberg 2017: 3; 21). In addition to

the likelihood that police do not lay charges as frequently for crimes of sexual offences, they

frequently mark sexual offences as 'unfounded,' with approximately 16% of sexual offences

included in this category—meaning that the police "concluded that no violation of the law took place nor was attempted" (Kong et al. 2003: 9). Interestingly, the unfounding rate for sexual offences is significantly higher than for other violent crimes (Kong et al. 2003: 9). There are significant gaps in available data as Statistics Canada stopped collecting the unfounding rates of offences since the early 2000s. Though in April 2017, the Police Information and Statistics Committee (POLIS) called for a standardized set of standards for collecting and recording unfounding rates; preliminary results will be released in July 2018 (Rotenberg 2017: 6; Conroy et al. 2017: 11). Other factors also contribute to attrition, including that victims often do not wish to proceed with a trial, or the Crown might determine that there is insufficient evidence for a trial (Rotenberg 2017: 8). Finally, cases where there were male victims and female offenders were the most likely to drop out of the justice system, and they were the least likely to have charges laid (Rotenberg 2017: 24; 29). Ultimately, this evidence suggests that the police are less likely to consider a sexual offence to have occurred, or mark as 'founded,' and significantly less likely to lay charges (Kong et al. 2003: 1; Keighley 2017: 19).

The police treatment of sex workers remains another considerable issue. Recent legislation in 2014 has incorporated new offences into the Criminal Code including purchasing sexual services (Keighley 2017: 31; Rotenberg 2016: 2). Many females were charged with prostitution-related offences between 2009 and 2014, whereas after 2014, females made up only 9% of those charged (Rotenberg 2016: 2; 8). Interestingly, females tend to be those who have the majority of contact with police as repeat offenders (83%), though they only make up a small portion of those charged (Rotenberg 2016: 10; 15). Finally, females were the most likely to be victims of human trafficking, making up over 90% of all victims (Karam 2016: 3). These statistics suggest that females are both uniquely treated in these crimes, and they might also be

subject to some degree of harassment or targeting from police officers, especially due to the disproportionate amount of repeat offences for females compared to males.

How police treat incidences of IPV is also significant; approximately 7% of women and 6% of men have experienced violence from a spouse or common-law partner within the last five years; in 2014, this number decreased to approximately 4% (Gannon et al. 2005: 7; Burczycka et al. 2016:3). Additionally, the scope of IPV is large as these reports make up more than ¼ of all reported violence offences, where women report approximately four out of every five incidences of IPV *(Juristat* 2015: 4; Sinha "Family Violence…" 2013: 38; Burczycka et al. 2016: 23). Women are also far more likely to experience more severe forms of spousal violence, that result in injury or involve a weapon (Gannon et al. 2005: 7; Perreault et al. 2016: 10; Burczycka et al. 2016: 7). While the rates of self-reported spousal violence have gone down as well as the rates of recorded spousal violence, evidence demonstrates a widening gap, where only 30% of females report victimization to the police, rather than 36% in 2004 (Sinha "Measuring Violence…" 2013: 10).

Certain people are more at risk of IPV than others; in the Territories, Aboriginal people have represented 75% of all victims of spousal violence and over 90% of the most serious forms of IPV (Perreault et al. 2016: 14; Perreault et al. 2012: 12; Burzycka et a; 2016: 16; Brennan 2011: 5). Status of Women Canada created an initiative to address spousal violence against Aboriginal women in 2014, and the Canadian government announced a more serious response from police to address homicides of Aboriginal women; finally, First Nations policing has been an initiative since 1991 for First Nations peoples to administer their own policing (Burczycka et al. 2016: 4; Brennan 2011: 9; Greenland et al. 2017: 6; Brzozowski et al. 2006: 10). Reflecting the data of sexual offences, individuals most likely to report IPV were younger females (aged 25

to 34 years old) (Sinha 2012: 5; 29). Additionally, immigrant women were at a lower risk of spousal violence compared to other women (Sinha "Measuring Violence…" 2013: 61). Individuals self-identifying as a visible minority were also less likely to experience spousal violence (Burczycka et al. 2016: 14). Research demonstrates that rural areas experience higher levels of IPV than metropolitan areas (Burczycka et al. 2018: 58). The Territories face the highest rates of spousal violence, and this rate has not decreased over time as observed in the provinces; additionally, the rates of more serious forms of spousal violence, including those causing injury, was higher in the Territories (Perreault et al. 2016: 3; 12; 24). Some areas in the Territories have significantly higher rates, such as Nunavut, where 14% of Canadians with spouses reported experiencing some form of spousal violence within the past five years (Perreault et al. 2012: 11). Finally, a major risk factor includes previous victims of spousal violence, where previous victims are most likely to experience more severe forms of violence, comprising more than half of victims of spousal violence (Perreault et al. 2012: 5; Burczycka et al. 2016: 5).

When the police did respond to incidences of IPV, victims indicated that they removed the accused perpetrator away approximately 53% of the time, and victims were typically satisfied with the police response, at a rate of 71% of the time (Perreault et al. 2012: 15). When the victims were female, the response by the police was typically more thorough. Police were more likely to offer a warning, remove the accused, and to lay charges when the victim was female (Sinha "Measuring Violence…" 2013: 97). The national government has also identified family violence as a significant concern, as annual reports have been released under the Federal Family Violence Initiative (Burczycka et al. 2017: 3). Over time reports of family violence have been increasing, where the rates for female victims have decreased more; rates for sexual assault

against children and youth decreased between 2010 and 2015 (Burczycka et al. 2017: 42; 57;

Juristat 2015: 4). In situations of family violence, women and girls are more vulnerable to

sexual offences (*Juristat* 2015: 5; Sinha "Family Violence…" 2013: 7; 10; Sinha 2012: 60). In

2010, Police laid charges in approximately 56% of instances of family violence—this rate is

higher than the average for other crimes (*Juristat* 2015: 11; Sinha 2012: 5).

*H$_2$: High gender inclusivity in police policy and actions is likely to increase the perceptions of
legitimacy of the police service.*

Gender Inclusive Policy and Actions (IV)

The number of self-reported sexual assaults according to the General Social Survey on

Canadians' Safety (GSS) found that, in 2014, people reported sexual assaults at a rate of 22 per

every 1,000 Canadians, which has not changed significantly since surveys conducted in 1999,

2004, or 2009 (Conroy et al. 2017: 3; Perreault et al. 2010: 11). The self-reported rates of sexual

assault have stayed the same while the rates for victimization of other crimes has steadily

decreased between 2004 and 2014 according to the GSS (Perreault 2015: 3; Conroy et al. 2017:

3). Sexual offences remain gendered—wherein nearly 90% of self-reported sexual offences

were committed against women (Conroy et al. 2017: 6).

The trends for sexual assault have changed over time, as the reported rates to the police

have steadily declined since the 1990s (Wallace 2004: 7), while the number of self-reported

sexual assaults have remained roughly the same (Perreault 2015: 5; Perreault et al. 2010: 5-6).

By 2002, sexual offences accounted for approximately 1% of all total crime, and it made up

approximately 9% of all violent offences; this signified 27,094 total reported incidences (Kong et

al. 2003: 2). The total number of police-reported sexual offences has remained comparatively

low over time; in both 2004 and 2005, there were approximately 23,000 reported sexual

offences, while in 2006, the number declined to 22,136 (Silver 2007: 11; Gannon 2006: 7; Sauvé

2005: 7). These numbers represented a significant decrease from the mid-1990s, reverting to numbers of reporting sexual assault to the police observed in 1985 (Gannon 2006: 7; Sauvé 2005: 7; Wallace 2004: 7). The numbers continued to decline to rates below 21,000 into 2009 (Dauvergne et al. 2010: 15). In 2010, there was an exception as there had been slight increases in the number of police-reported sexual assaults to above 22,000 incidents (Brennan et al. 2011: 5). The number of sexual assaults reported by Canadians declined thereafter, as the number was 21,800 in 2011, and in 2014, the number was down to approximately 20,700 cases from 21,300 the year prior (Brennan 2012: 16; Boyce 2015: 17; Boyce et al. 2014: 17). By 2016, the number began to increase again to approximately 21,000, but over time the trend has continually gone down (Keighley 2017: 19).

While the rates of overall reported sexual assaults were declining, there were a few exceptions. The number of individuals who reported sexual violations against children, for example, increased substantially (30%) (Keighley 2017: 3; 19). Recently, children began to make up a majority (55%) of the total number of sexual offences that are reported to the police (Cotter et al. 2014: 3). These changes are likely due to federal policy from the passing of Bill C-26 in 2015; this bill increased the penalties for child sex offenders (Keighley 2017: 13). However, this bill is not fully responsible for the increases in police-reported sexual offences against children, as small increases occurred in 2014, 2013, 2012, and 2011 (Boyce 2015: 3; 17; Boyce et al. 2014: 3; 17; Perreault 2013: 13; Brennan 2012: 12). In 2013, the number of level I sexual offences was significantly higher for children, wherein the rate was 141.5 per 100,000 for children compared to the rate for adults, which was at 37.5 per 100,000 (Juristat 2015: 39). Additionally, there were increases in the number of police-reported incidences of child pornography, which is in part due to the efforts of the British Columbia Integrated Child

Exploitation Unit (Boyce 2015: 17). In 2009, the number of sexual offences was much lower prior to these consistent annual increases, as only 2,600 sexual offences were reported in that year (Dauvergne et al. 2010: 15). The increases in police-reported child sex offences are also attributed to legislation such as Bill C-10, which was established in 2011 to make mandatory minimums for child sex offenders as well as a recommendation from the Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights, in 2011, to focus on strategies to address sexual offences against children (Cotter et al. 2014: 4). Finally, it is important to note that sexual offences against children tend to be reported much later after the incident itself occurred, compared to sexual offences against adults (Cotter et al. 2014: 12). This demonstrates that national policies can make a difference in the reporting rates of sexual offences, and that the national government has prioritized sexual offences against children as a specific issue.

The number of sexual offences that are reported to the police range considerably based on the given province or territory. Some areas have much lower rates of police-reported sexual offences, with the lower rates in provinces including Quebec and Ontario (Silver 2007: 2). The territories also tend to have the highest rates, and in 2002 in Nunavut the rate was 1,017 per 100,000 Canadians whereas the rates in Quebec and Ontario were 71 per 100,000 and 74 per 100,000 respectively (Kong et al. 2003: 3). Recent trends have demonstrated a change in this disparity, where the largest declines were in the Northwest Territories and there were small increases in Quebec and several other provinces (Keighley 2017: 19). The Territories and the Provincial North tend to have higher rates of other criminal offences in addition to police-reported incidences of sexual offences, which also includes higher rates for sexual offences against children (Allen et al. 2015: 12; Cotter et al. 2014: 3). These discrepancies do not

necessarily signify that the police policies are solely responsible, as the self-reported rates of sexual offences might also vary depending on the region.

The actions and resources provided by the police, particularly toward victims of domestic and sexual violence, can affect how and when victims are willing to report crimes, as well as their perceptions of the police. Many victims of violence rely on police-based victim services, defined as "victim services that are offered by a federal, provincial or municipal police service" (Allen 2014: 8). Police-based services made up approximately 42% of available resources, which declined to 36% of available victim resources in 2011/2012 (Brzozowski 2007: 1; Allen 2014: 3). Additionally, the availability and types of victim services differs based upon province or territory: some provinces, such as Nunavut, had no police-based services while others had many, such as British Colombia (Munch 2012: 6; 16). People who used any victim-based services besides those offered from the criminal justice system, in 2003, reported their incident of sexual offence to the police (Kong 2004: 1). Police-based victim services were least likely to partner with other victim services and frequently tried to pursue methods of restorative justice, about ¼ of the time (Kong 2004: 8; 16).

Approximately only about 5% of all incidences of sexual assaults are reported to the police in 2014, whereas a decade earlier approximately 8% of all sexual assaults were reported to the police—both abysmal numbers, as other crimes tend to be reported about 1/3 of the time (Perreault 2015: 3; 25; Gannon et al. 2005: 12; Conroy et al. 2017: 3; 17). Rates of reporting for victims of spousal violence varied, and have decreased over time, but victims were more likely report if they were female victims with physical injury and who faced repeated incidences of spousal violence (Sinha "Measuring Violence…" 2013: 10; 95; Sinha 2015: 3). In 2009, women were less likely to report their victimization to the police, down to 30% while the rate of

reporting was significantly lower for male victims—which has not decreased over time—remains at approximately 13% (Sinha 2015: 9; Sinha "Measuring Violence…" 2013: 94). Rates of reporting for male victims of spousal violence might also be lower because they frequently face less severe forms of violence that do not result in injury (Sinha "Measuring Violence…" 2013: 94). In the territories, police tended to be notified of spousal violence more frequently than in the provinces and were frequently notified in some territories more than others, with the Northwest Territories and Nunavut at higher rates, at 61% and 50% respectively (Perreault et al. 2016: 18; Perreault et al. 2012: 15). However, police were more likely to lay charges of violence against women in Ontario and British Colombia, while the least likely to lay charges in the Northwest territories against the accused (Sinha "Measuring Violence…" 2013: 101). Data collection from the 2014 GSS found that only 19% of victims of spousal violence contacted the police to report the incident, demonstrating that the rates are continually declining (Burczycka et al. 2016: 10). Aboriginal women were just as likely as non-Aboriginal women to report incidences of spousal violence to the police (Sinha "Measuring Violence…" 2013: 97).

IPV, composes both dating violence and spousal violence; reports of dating violence for men and women have increased over time at relatively similar rates, between 40% and 50% between 2004 and 2008 (Mahony 2010: 5; 8). Unlike dating violence, the rates of recorded spousal violence against women has decreased over time; however, self-reported rates of spousal violence have also declined over time (Mahony 2010: 9; Burczycka et al. 2016: 5). While the reporting of overall sexual offences has been decreasing, victims reporting sexual assault in cases of IPV have increased; in 2015, the rate increased (7%) from the year prior and there had been another significant increase between 2010 and 2014 (15%) (*Juristat* 2015: 31; Burczycka et al. 2017: 48; Burczycka et al. 2018: 58). Women comprise most crimes of sexual assault committed

as IPV, at 18 per 100,000 compared 0.5 per 100,000 for male victims (Burczycka et al. 2017: 48). It is important to note that police were much more likely to lay charges when the victims of IPV were female, and this difference was most distinct for youth aged 15 to 19 (Sinha "Family Violence…" 2013: 46; Sinha 2012: 5; Mahony 2010: 5; 10). Police officers tend to treat IPV quite seriously, and they are significantly more likely to lay charges in incidences of IPV, for example, in 2013 over 70% of reported cases of IPV resulted in charges (Beaupré 2015: 6; *Juristat* 2015: 27; Sinha "Family Violence…" 2013: 46). This high rate is likely due to universal pro-charging policies in every regional police department, which were instituted in every region in the 1980s (Sinha "Family Violence…" 2013: 46).

Perceptions of Legitimacy (DV)

Overall the positive perceptions of the police remain high. According to the General Social Survey on Social Identity, over ¾ of Canadians have "a great deal or some confidence in the police" and the police are the highest rated government institution (Cotter 2015: 3). Specifically, 37% of Canadians stated that they had a "great deal of confidence in the police" (Cotter 2015: 5). Canadians also agreed with the statement that the police were approachable 73% of the time; Canadians also agreed that the police treated people fairly 68% of the time (Cotter 2015: 3). Interestingly, when Canadians interacted with the police, through any form of contact, they tended to rate the police performance as lower; however, information sessions offered by the police did not decrease public perceptions of the police (Cotter 2015: 3; 12). Over time Canadians' perceptions of the police have increased, as more people agree with the statement that the police are "doing a good job" through a series of categories (Cotter 2015: 10). When people reported that they had confidence in their police they also reported that they tended to feel safer walking alone after dark, according to the 2014 GSS (Perreault 2017: 20).

Additionally, peoples' personal sense of safety was over 90% according to surveys from 2004 and 2009 (Brennan 2011: 6; Gannon et al. 2005: 4).

People in the territories thought that the police did a good job at being approachable, with 68% agreeing with that statement (Cotter 2016: 3). This rate is slightly lower than the rate in the provinces. Additionally, people in the territories were more likely to report that the police did a poor job when they had contact with the police in the last year (Perreault et al. 2012: 20). The rates of perceived personal safety in the territories for people was slightly lower than in the provinces, but still high, at nearly 90% (Perreault et al. 2012: 20). Specifically, people in Ontario, a province, were most satisfied with personal safety whereas people in the territories were less likely (Perreault 2017: 3). People in British Colombia reported the lowest perception of personal safety, but it was still at 89% (Brennan 2011: 6). Approximately 36% of people in the territories stated that they had a "great deal of confidence" in the police, while the rates for Aboriginal residents were much 13% lower than non-Aboriginal residents (Perreault et al. 2016: 4). Data from the territories also finds that people in the territories have high confidence in the police, like the provinces, with over 80% reporting confidence in the police (Perreault et al. 2016: 23). People in the territories also reported that the police were doing a good job at being approachable 64% of the time (Perreault et al. 2016: 23). Over time the number of people believing that the police are doing a poor job at treating people fairly has decreased from 15% to 12% (Perreault et al. 2016: 23; Perreault et al. 2012: 18).

Certain provinces also face difficulties with confidence in the police, as British Colombia, according to Angus Reid Institute (2016), found that people are confident in their police 54% of the time, which is drastically lower than the 77% reported in Quebec, for example (2). Some possible reasons for this include the scandals of sexual harassment against females in

the RCMP as well as the high number of homicides against Aboriginal women (Angus Reid Institute 2016: 4). A problematic aspect to measuring public perceptions of police in Canada include, that, each provincial and municipal police department asks different questions than asked on the GSS; this reduces comparability and makes it more difficult for the national government to offer recommendations (Maslov 2016: 33). Overall, people were relatively equally likely to have confidence in the RCMP as their municipal police department (Angus Reid Institute 2016: 1).

Individual perceptions of the police might also vary based on personal experience, including whether they have been a victim of violence. For victims of spousal violence, over 2/3 were satisfied with how the police responded; women were significantly more likely to report satisfaction with the police outcome than men, and, men were more likely to report that they were 'very dissatisfied' with how the police responded (Burcyzcka et al. 2016: 10). Female victims of spousal violence were more likely to be satisfied with police response in spousal relationships than from non-spousal violence (Sinha "Measuring Violence…" 2013: 98). Victims of sexual offences tended to have lower levels of confidence in the police, as they were 16% less likely to have a "great deal of confidence in the police" and 5% more likely to have "no confidence at all" in the police (Conroy et al. 2017: 3; 12). Victims' of spousal violence had no major changes in perceptions of the police between 1999 and 2009 (Sinha 2015: 16). Not surprisingly, people who reported incidences of crime to the police were more likely to believe that the police were "doing a good job at enforcing the law" (Cotter 2015: 14).

Females had significant differences in perceptions of the police compared to males. Women were less likely to feel safe but are more likely to feel safe in 2014 than they were in 1999; men are also more likely to feel safe in 2014 than they were in 1999; however, Arab and

West Asian women are even less likely to feel safe (Perreault 2017: 3; 15). Female Canadians tend to have higher confidence in all government institutions, including the police, with 79% of females reporting confidence in the police compared to 73% of males—higher perceptions of the police were noticed in most indicators of police perceptions (Cotter 2015: 3; 11; 19).

Aboriginal people have much lower ratings of the police than other groups: only 49% agreed with the statement that the police were "doing a good job of treating people fairly," and they were less likely, overall, to believe that the police were doing a good job in many other indicators, including 'ensuring the safety of citizens' and 'enforcing the laws' (Perreault et al. 2016: 24; Perreault et al. 2012: 18; Brzozowski et al. 2006: 12; Cotter 2016: 5). Aboriginal women tended to agree less with the statements that the police "were doing a good job of enforcing the laws" and at "treating people fairly" (Brennan 2011: 13). Aboriginal people in the territories also reported higher rates of dissatisfaction with the police than non-Aboriginal people and have less confidence in the police as an institution (Perreault et al. 2012: 5; Cotter 2015: 3). Similarly, people who reported that they faced discrimination by the police were over 50% less likely to agree with the statement that police "were doing a good job treating people fairly" and 45% less likely to agree that the "police were doing a good job being approachable and easy to talk to" (Cotter 2015: 14). In conclusion, the major factors of identity that reduced peoples' perceptions of the police were if they identified as an Aboriginal person and if they were a victim of violence (Cotter 2016: 6).

Conclusions

Progress for gender equity within the Canadian police force has begun to slow recently, at least based on overall statistics of the total number of female police officers, but women are continuing to slowly make increases at the higher ranks of police leadership. The lack in

progress in this regard might, in part, be a byproduct of few national advocacy networks for

female police officers, though recently an advocacy network has been established, known as the

National Women in Law Enforcement Association (Gillis 2017). The results for gender

inclusive policy and actions by the police remain mixed. Some obstacles remain, such as the fact

that domestic violence is not a marked separate offence in Canada; additionally, the police are

more likely to charge cases of sexual and domestic violence that result in physical injury and/or

include the use of a weapon, which signifies that police might consider these cases as more

'legitimate' reports that subscribe to traditional stereotypes of what constitutes these gendered

crimes. At the same time, police repeatedly undercharge sexual offence some crimes as level I,

when some instances might constitute level II or level III crimes. Areas that have the least

available police-based victim services also tended to have very high rates of sexual offences,

including the territory Nunavut.

Finally, the results for public perceptions of legitimacy demonstrated unexpected results.

Though there was not a well-established independent complaints mechanism, overall perceptions

of the police remain high, and women tended to have more support for the police in most

indicators. This leads into a new potential avenue of research: perhaps male victims of violence

are less likely to view the police as trustworthy or fair than female victims of violence.

Preliminary analysis of available statistics demonstrates that male victims tend to be less

satisfied with the police response than females. Finally, series of scandals related to gendered

crimes likely affect peoples' perceptions of police: in British Colombia, where scandals of sexual

harassment and ignoring violent victimization against Aboriginal peoples have been released,

people have lower levels of confidence in the place. Analysis of variation across provinces and

territories in Canada could yield interesting results; some studies have found that police interact

with citizens differently based on local factors. Analyzing the relationship between the number

of charges in IPV and victim satisfaction could help provide more prescriptive recommendations

for policing in Canada (Dawson and Hotton 2014: 658; 677-678).

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Previous research left gaps in its analysis of how gender and policing were related; previous research had focused on questions such as: *Do female officers behave differently than male officers?* or *how are female officers treated in the workforce?* However, less research considered how the representation of female officers affected changes in police policies as well as how gender-inclusive policies might affect public perceptions of police legitimacy. This IS sought to answer the question: *How do gender inclusive policies and actions in the police service affect public perceptions of the legitimacy of the police service?* It investigated this question through a comparative study of the United Kingdom and Canada, focusing on the effects of policing policy in democratic countries with similar political cultures. Through this case study approach, this IS tested two hypotheses:

H$_1$: *High gender equity in the police service is likely to increase the prevalence of gender inclusive policy and actions by the police.*

Overall, the data reviewed suggest a correlation between the level of gender equity and gender inclusive policies and actions. Gender equity also considered the levels of harassment and discrimination in the workplace that female police officers faced. In both the United Kingdom and Canada, both gender equity slowly increased over time, with the number of female officers increasing to 28.6% in 2016 (Hargreaves et al. 2016: 4). Recently, Canada has begun to face levels of stagnation in gender equity as the total number of police officers has hovered around 21% (Greenland 2017: 3). One factor that might explain this difference is that a national advocacy agenda and platform for female police officers existed in the United Kingdom for at least a decade prior to Canada, through the Gender Agenda, for example (Flanagan 2007: 18; 32). The gender gap in leadership is also continually narrowing in both countries, but this gap remains larger than the gender gap at constable rank in both countries.

Meanwhile, Canada has only recently begun to develop a national advocacy group for female police officers called the National Women in Law Enforcement Association (Gillis 2017). Similarly, the United Kingdom has a more developed policy on domestic and sexual violence cases. While the United Kingdom had slow growth in gender inclusive policy and actions, Canada stagnated and had virtually no progress in this category. This is interesting because the United Kingdom also has a much higher number of female officers. While this suggests progress, both countries continue to have significant problems with attrition for domestic and sexual violence cases, and they remain significantly under-recorded in frequency and severity. Overall, the variable of gender inclusive policy and actions demonstrated a lack of complete linear progress, but over a fourteen-year period (2003-2017) demonstrated growth in the United Kingdom, but not in Canada.

H$_2$: *High gender inclusivity in police policy and actions is likely to increase the perceptions of legitimacy of the police service.*

This hypothesis also received mixed support. The levels of recording of sexual offences within the United Kingdom has increased substantially over time while in Canada the number of sexual offences recorded have decreased over time. Surveys measuring sexual offence victimization have found self-reported rates of sexual violence to stay the same over this time-period. This signifies that victims are becoming more likely to report sexual offences in the United Kingdom, but less likely in Canada. This suggests that the police are using less gender inclusive approaches in Canada. However, both countries have high rates of public confidence in the police force. Thus, my IS found little support for this hypothesis overall. However, the public confidence in the police for victims of violence is likely negatively affected.

Public perceptions across gender lines found results different than expected: In both the United Kingdom and Canada, women were more likely than men to believe that the police 'did a

good job.' This calls to future questions about why this might be the case given police

performance on gendered issues, including various scandals such as the instance of a police

officer sexually exploiting arrested women in the United Kingdom (Grierson 2016). Research

from Canada revealed that male victims of domestic violence were less satisfied than female

victims (Sinha "Measuring Violence…" 2013: 98). This relationship should be further studied in

subsequent research. Additionally, though females were more likely to believe the police did a

good job, they were still less likely to engage in some police processes, as a study in the United

Kingdom found that most people who made complaints against the police were male (IPCC

2014: 11). Finally, the police in both countries tended to take more seriously reports of sexual

offences that carried traditional stereotypes related to sexual violence, including that it involves

force or the use of a weapon, the male is the perpetrator, and the female is the victim. These

instances tended to have higher rates of success, through higher reporting rates, recording rates,

and conviction rates, through the criminal justice system in both Canada and the United

Kingdom. Perhaps male victims lose more faith in the police because of lower gender-inclusive

police policies and actions that fail to account for varying nuances in sexual violence cases, and

for all the victims this crime affects.

Some limitations to the conclusions of this IS include that several important aspects of

information collection were unavailable and/or completely missing in Canada. For example, the

United Kingdom had more publicly available information on 'no-crimed' rate, whereas the

Canadian equivalent (unfounding rate) failed to release information between the early 2000s and

is due to release the next report in July 2018. The difference in available information made it

difficult to compare all facets, but even the failure to collect such key information related to

sexual offences reveals some aspects of how (un)seriously Canada is tackling the problem of

sexual violence. On the other hand, Canada had more data on LGBTQ communities and sex workers, whereas the United Kingdom did not account for these factors in its studies. Finally, the unique history of Canada created some important distinctions and challenges in its policing, and gender equity, namely through its tenuous relationship with the Aboriginal peoples primarily in the Western provinces, such as British Colombia.

One final limitation to this study was that it focused primarily on aggregate data; smaller-scale, regionally-based studies could reveal more key findings on how victims of sexual and domestic violence perceive the police. Future studies should also examine the effects of other exogenous factors that might affect gender inclusive police policy and actions as well as public perceptions of legitimacy. Both variables were increasing in the United Kingdom, but it might be driven more by leadership changes, public scandals that drew attention to the issue, otherwise known as the Operation Yewtree effect, or the less militarized policing culture in the United Kingdom, as most police officers do not carry a gun. One final prospect that requires further analysis is the degree of decentralization of police policies. While the United Kingdom and Canada both had regional police departments, Canada's police system was more decentralized and there were few national-level policies. This could help explain the lower levels of gender equity and gender-inclusive police policies and actions. Additionally, larger-scale studies could analyze a greater number of countries, as a larger sample would have higher generalizability than this study, as this IS limited itself to an analysis of two cases. Other studies could also study the effects of gender equity, gender inclusive police policies and actions, and public perceptions in different political and/or cultural systems than examined in this analysis.

Keeping these findings in mind, there are several key ways police services can work to increase gender inclusive police policies and actions. First, police services should have uniform

and centralized data systems so that they can effectively analyze changes in domestic and sexual

violence cases over time. Second, police services should work with and support national

advocacy organizations for female officers, as exemplified in the case of Gender Agenda, to

increase the networks for female officers and reduce sexual harassment among peers. Third,

police services should create and properly funded and specialized sexual and domestic violence

units, and trainers should offer on-the-ground rather than online training programs for police

officers to handles these cases. Finally, higher-level leadership bodies should improve

accountability measures at local levels of policing to ensure that the police are not exhibiting

corrupt behaviors, such as sexual exploitation of civilians. Police services can also make certain

changes to increase public perceptions of policing, as well as to measure more effectively

progress over time. Government bodies should establish independent police complaints

mechanisms so that individuals feel more comfortable reporting issues with police, especially for

sensitives issues such as sexual harassment, or assault. Second, police departments should

periodically review surveys of victims of crimes, and they should ensure that locally-conducted

surveys are comparable to nationally-conducted ones so that they can measure progress over

time. Finally (and perhaps the most challenging), police services should integrate female and

male police officers into all modes of police work to help dispel myths that equate police

competency with masculinity. Deconstructing and reconstructing the ethos of policework can

help create new avenues of effective and legitimate policework that value and emphasize the

protection and service of individuals.

References

Allen, Mary. 2014. Victim Services in Canada, 2011/2012. *Victim Services in Canada, 2011/2012.* Minister of Industry.

Allen, Mary, and Samuel Perreault. 2015. Police-Reported Crime in Canada's Provincial North and Territories, 2013. *Police-Reported Crime in Canada's Provincial North and Territories, 2013.* Minister of Industry.

Angus Reid Institute. 2016. "Most Canadians Express Confidence in Police, but Those Levels are Lower Among Visible Minorities." *Angus Reid Institute*.

Association of Police and Crime Commissioners. 2014. Association of Police and Crime Commissioners Annual Report 2013/14 *Association of Police and Crime Commissioners Annual Report 2013/14*.

Astley, Janet. 2018. "Conflicts and Challenges of Gender in the Workplace: The Police Service in England, Wales and Northern Ireland." In *Hidden Inequalities in the Workplace*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

AuCoin, Kathy. 2006. Children and Youth as Victims of Violent Crime. *Children and Youth as Victims of Violent Crime*. Minister of Industry

Beare, Margaret. 2007. "Steeped in Politics: The Ongoing History of Politics in Policing." In *Police and Government Relations: Who's Calling the Shots?* ed. Margaret E. Beare and Tonita Murray. University of Toronto Press.

——————— . 2008. "Women and Policing: The Few Among the Many." In *Honouring Social Justice*. University of Toronto Press.

Beaupré, Pascale. 2015. Cases in Adult Criminal Courts Involving Intimate Partner Violence. *Cases in Adult Criminal Courts Involving Intimate Partner Violence*. Minister of Industry.

Benoit, Cecelia, Michaela Smith, Mikael Jansson, Samantha Magnus, Nadia Ouellet, Chris
　　Atchison, Lauren Casey, Rachel Phillips, Bill Reimer, Dan Reist, and Frances M. Shaver.
　　2016. "Lack of Confidence in Police Creates a "Blue Ceiling" for Sex Workers' Safety."
　　Canadian Public Policy, *42*(4): 456-468.

Billingham, Zoë. 2015. Increasingly Everyone's Business: A Progress Report on the Police
　　Response to Domestic Abuse *Increasingly Everyone's Business: A Progress Report on
　　the Police Response to Domestic Abuse*. HMIC.

Bottoms, Anthony, and Justin Tankebe. 2012. "Beyond procedural justice: A dialogic approach
　　to legitimacy in criminal justice." *The journal of criminal law and criminology, 102(1)*:
　　119-170.

Boyce, Jillian. 2015. Police-Reported Crime Statistics in Canada, 2014. *Police-Reported
　　Crime Statistics in Canada, 2014*. Minister of Industry.

Boyce, Jillian, Adam Cotter, and Samuel Perreault. 2014. Police-Reported Crime Statistics in
　　Canada, 2013. *Police-Reported Crime Statistics in Canada, 2013*. Minister of Industry.

Brennan, Shannon. 2011. Canadians' Perceptions of Personal Safety and Crime, 2014
　　Canadians' Perceptions of Personal Safety and Crime, 2009. Minister of Industry.

————————— . 2011. Violent Victimization of Aboriginal Women in the Canadian
　　Provinces, 2009. *Violent Victimization of Aboriginal Women in the Canadian Provinces,
　　2009.* Minister of Industry.

Brennan, Shannon, and Mia Dauvergne. 2011. Police-Reported Crime Statistics in Canada, 2010.
　　Police-Reported Crime Statistics in Canada, 2010. Minister of Industry.

Brennan, Shannon. 2012. Police-Reported Crime Statistics in Canada, 2011. *Police-Reported
　　Crime Statistics in Canada, 2011*. Minister of Industry.

British Association for Women Policing. "Gender Agenda 3." 2014. *Gender Agenda 3*.

Brown, Jennifer. 1998. "Aspects of discriminatory treatment of women police officers serving in forces in England and Wales." *The British Journal of Criminology*, *38*(2): 265-282.

Brzozowski, Jodi-Anne. 2007. Victim Services in Canada, 2005/2006. *Victim Services in Canada, 2005/2006.* Minister of Industry.

Brzozowski, Jodi-Anne, Andrea Taylor-Butts, and Sara Johnson. 2006. Victimization and Offending Among the Aboriginal population in Canada. *Victimization and Offending Among the Aboriginal population in Canada.* Minister of Industry.

Burczycka, Marta, and Shana Conroy. 2017. Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2015. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2015*. Minister of Industry.

—————————————————————. 2018. Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2016. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2016*. Minister of Industry.

Burczycka, Marta, and Dyna Ibrahim. 2016. Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2014. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2014*. Minister of Industry.

Central Office of Information, Ronnie Flanagan, and Stephen Wooler. 2007. Without Consent *Without Consent*. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary.

Chan, Janet, Sally Doran, and Christina Marel. 2010. "Doing and undoing gender in policing." *Theoretical criminology*, *14*(4): 425-446.

Childs, Sarah, and Mona Lena Krook. 2009. "Analysing women's substantive representation: From critical mass to critical actors." *Government and Opposition*, *44*(2): 125-145.

Chow, Henry. 2010. "Police-public relations: Perceptions of the police among university students in a western Canadian city." *International Journal of Criminology and Sociological Theory*, *3*(2).

Clowes, Neil, Harjinder Dhesi, Francis McCann, and Richard Worth. "Law Enforcement Reference Manual."

Conroy, Shana, and Adam Cotter. 2017. Self-reported Sexual Assault in Canada, 2014. *Self-reported Sexual Assault in Canada, 2014.* Minister of Industry.

Cotter, Adam, and Pascale Beaupré. 2014. Police-Reported Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth in Canada, 2012. *Police-Reported Sexual Offences Against Children and Youth in Canada, 2012.* Minister of Industry.

Cotter, Adam. 2015. Public Confidence in Canadian Institutions. *Public Confidence in Canadian Institutions.* Minister of Industry.

————. 2016. Perceptions of Police Performance in the Territories, 2014. *Perceptions of Police Performance in the Territories, 2014.* Minister of Industry.

Dauvergne, Mia. 2008. Crime Statistics in Canada, 2007 *Crime Statistics in Canada, 2007.* Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

Dauvergne, Mia, and John Turner. 2010. Police-Reported Crime Statistics in Canada, 2009. *Police-Reported Crime Statistics in Canada, 2009.* Minister of Industry.

Dawson, Myrna, and Tina Hotton. 2014. "Police charging practices for incidents of intimate partner violence in Canada." *Journal of research in crime and delinquency*, *51*(5): 655-683.

Du Mont, Janice, Karen-Lee Miller, and Terri L. Myhr. 2003. "The role of 'real rape' and 'real victim' stereotypes in the police reporting practices of sexually assaulted women." Violence Against Women, 9(4): 466-486.

Erickson, Bonnie, Patricia Albanese, and Slobodan Drakulic, S. 2000. "Gender on a jagged edge:

The security industry, its clients, and the reproduction and revision of gender." Work and occupations, 27(3): 294-318.

Flanagan, Ronnie. 2006. Annual Report 2004-2005. *Annual Report 2004-2005*. London: Crown Copyright.

——————— . 2008. Annual Report 2005-2007. *Annual Report 2005-2007*. London: Crown Copyright.

Flatley, John, Chris Kershaw, Kevin Smith, Rupert Chaplin, and Debbie Moon. 2010. Crimes in England and Wales 2009/10. *Crimes detected in England and Wales 2009/10.* Office for National Statistics.

Gains, Francesca, and Vivian Lowndes. 2014. "How is institutional formation gendered, and does it make a difference? A new conceptual framework and a case study of police and crime commissioners in England and Wales." *Politics & Gender*, *10*(4): 524-548.

Gannon, Maire. 2006. Crime Statistics in Canada, 2005. *Crime Statistics in Canada, 2005.* Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

Gannon, Maire, and Karen Mihorean. 2005. Criminal Victimization in Canada, 2004. *Criminal Victimization in Canada, 2004.* Minister of Industry.

Gillis, Wendy. 2017. "Canadian female police band together to change intolerable working conditions." *Toronto Star*. https://www.thestar.com/news/crime/2017/10/23/canadian-female-police-band-together-to-change-intolerable-working-conditions.html (February 22, 2018).

Greenland, Jacob, and Sarah Alam. 2017. Police Resources in Canada, 2016. *Police Resources in Canada, 2016.* Minister of Industry.

Gregory, Jeanne, and Sue Lees. 1999. "Police Culture and its Contradictions." In *Policing Sexual*

Assault, ed. Jeanne Gregory and Sue Lees. Psychology Press.

Grierson, Jamie. 2016. "Hundreds of police in England and Wales accused of sexual abuse." *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/dec/08/hundreds-police-officers-accused-sex-abuse-inquiry-finds (February 22, 2018).

Griffiths, Sian. 2011. "Who would be a female Mountie?" *The Independent*. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/who-would-be-a-female-mountie-6279852.html (February 22, 2018).

Haglund, Jillienne, and David L. Richards. 2017. "Enforcement of sexual violence law in post-civil conflict societies." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 0738894217695536.

Hand, Timothy, Amartej Singh Rishiraj, and Ravi Mulchandani. 2009. Police Powers and Procedures, England and Wales 2008/09. *Police Powers and Procedures, England and Wales 2008/09.*

Hand, Timothy and Lucy Dodd. 2008. Police Powers and Procedures England and Wales 2007/08. *Police Powers and Procedures England and Wales 2007/08.*

Hargreaves, Jodie, Chris Linehan, and Chris McKee. 2016. Police Powers and Procedures, England and Wales, Year Ending 31 March 2016. *Police Powers and Procedures, England and Wales, Year Ending 31 March 2016.*

Hargreaves, Jodie, Hannah Husband, and Chris Linehan. 2017. Police Powers and Procedures, England and Wales, Year Ending 31 March 2017. *Police powers and procedures, England and Wales, year ending 31 March 2017.*

———. 2017. Police Workforce, England and Wales, 31 March 2017 *Police Workforce, England and Wales, 31 March 2017.*

Hargreaves, Jodie, Jack Cooper, Eleanor Woods, and Chris McKee. 2016. Police Workforce,

England and Wales, 31 March 2016. *Police Workforce, England and Wales, 31 March 2016.*

Herbert, Steve. 2006. "Tangled up in blue: Conflicting paths to police legitimacy." *Theoretical criminology*, *10*(4): 481-504.

HMIC. 2013. State of Policing: The Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2012/13. *State of Policing: The Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2012/13*. London: HMIC.

HMIC. 2014. Everyone's Business: Improving the Police Response to Domestic Abuse. *Everyone's Business: Improving the Police Response to Domestic Abuse.* HMIC.

———. 2014. State of Policing: The Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2013/2014. *State of Policing: The Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2013/2014*. London: HMIC.

———. 2015. State of Policing: The Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2015 *State of Policing: The Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2015*. London: HMIC.

———. 2016. State of Policing: The Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2016 *State of Policing: The Annual Assessment of Policing in England and Wales 2016*. London: HMIC.

Hohl, Katrin, and Elisabeth A. Stanko. 2015. "Complaints of rape and the criminal justice system: Fresh evidence on the attrition problem in England and Wales." *European Journal of Criminology*, 12(3): 324-341.

Home Office. 2011. Police Powers and Procedures England and Wales 2010 to 2011. *Police Powers and Procedures England and Wales 2010 to 2011.*

—————. 2012. "Definition of policing by consent." *GOV.UK*.

https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/policing-by-consent/definition-of-policing-

by-consent (February 22, 2018).

—————. 2012. Police Powers and Procedures England and Wales 2011/12. *Police Powers*

and Procedures England and Wales 2011/12.

—————. 2013. Police Powers and Procedures England and Wales 2012 to 2013. *Police*

Powers and Procedures England and Wales 2012 to 2013.

—————. 2013. Police Workforce, England and Wales, 31 March 2013. Police Workforce,

England and Wales, 31 March 2013.

—————. 2014. Police Powers and Procedures, England and Wales, Year Ending 31 March

2014. *Police Powers and Procedures, England and Wales, Year Ending 31 March 2014.*

—————. 2014. Police Workforce, England and Wales, 31 March 2014. *Police Workforce,*

England and Wales, 31 March 2014.

—————. 2015. Police Powers and Procedures, England and Wales, Year Ending 31 March

2015. *Police Powers and Procedures, England and Wales, Year Ending 31 March 2015.*

Hoyle, Carolyn, and Andrew Sanders. 2000. "Police Response to Domestic Violence: 'From

Victim Choice to Victim Empowerment'." *British Journal of Criminology*, *40*: 14-33.

Hutchins, Hope. 2014. Police Resources in Canada, 2013. *Police Resources in Canada, 2013.*

Minister of Industry.

—————. 2015. Police Resources in Canada, 2014. *Police Resources in Canada, 2014.*

Minister of Industry.

Ipsos MORI. 2014. "Public Confidence in the Police Complaints System: Research

Commissioned by the Independent Police Complaints Commission." *Public Confidence in the Police Complaints System: Research Commissioned by the Independent Police Complaints Commission.*

—————. 2016. "Public Confidence in the Police Complaints System: 2016 Report Prepared for the Independent Police Complaints Commission." *Public Confidence in the Police Complaints System: 2016 Report Prepared for the Independent Police Complaints Commission.*

Johnson, Holly. 2012. "Limits of a criminal justice response: Trends in police and court processing of sexual assault." *Sexual assault in Canada: Law, legal practice and women's activism*, *640*: 305-341.

Juristat. 2015. Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2013. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2013*. Minister of Industry.

Karam, Maisie. 2016. Trafficking in Persons in Canada, 2014. *Trafficking in Persons in Canada, 2014*. Minister of Industry.

Keane, John, and Peter Bell. 2013. "Confidence in the police: Balancing public image with community safety–a comparative review of the literature." *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, *41*(3): 233-246.

Keighley, Kathryn. 2017. Police-Reported Crime Statistics in Canada, 2016. *Police-Reported Crime Statistics in Canada, 2016*. Minister of Industry.

Kelly, Liz, Lovett Jo, and Linda Regan. 2005. A gap or a chasm? Attrition in reported rape cases A gap or a chasm? Attrition in reported rape cases. Rep.

Kong, Rebecca, and Kathy AuCoin. 2008. Female Offenders in Canada. *Female Offenders in Canada*. Ottawa: Minister of Industry

Kong, Rebecca, Holly Johnson, Sara Beattie, and Andrea Cardillo. 2003. Sexual Offences in Canada. *Sexual Offences in Canada.* Minister of Industry.

Kong, Rebecca. 2004. Victim Services in Canada, 2002/03. *Victim Services in Canada, 2002/03.* Minister of Industry.

LeBeuf, Marcel-Eugène. 1996. "Three decades of women in policing: A literature review." Canadian Police College.

Lee, Murray, and Alyce McGovern. 2013. "Force to sell: Policing the image and manufacturing public confidence." *Policing and society*, *23*(2): 103-124.

Mahony, Tina H. 2010. Police-Reported Dating Violence in Canada, 2008. *Police-Reported Dating Violence in Canada, 2008.* Minister of Industry.

Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women? A contingent 'yes'." *The Journal of politics*, *61*(3): 628-657.

Marquis, Greg. 1994. "Power from the Street: The Canadian Municipal Police." *In Police Powers in Canada: The Evolution and Practice of Authority,* ed. R.C. Macleod and David Schneiderman. University of Toronto Press.

Martin, Susan. 1999. "Police force or police service? Gender and emotional labor." *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, *561*(1): 111-126.

Maslov, Anton. 2016. Measuring the Performance of the Police: The Perspective of the Public. *Measuring the Performance of the Police: The Perspective of the Public*. Ottawa: Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada.
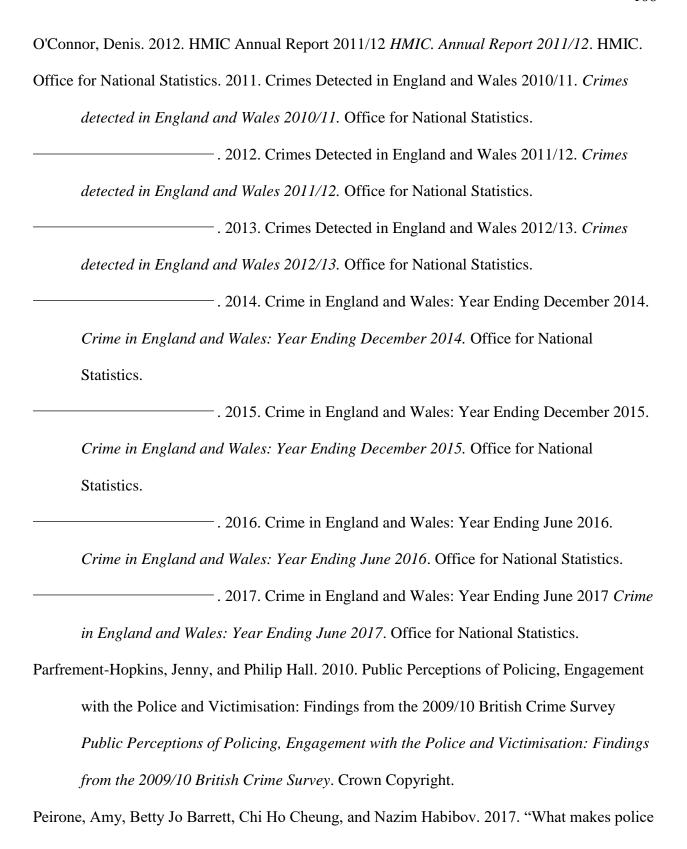
Mazerolle, Lorraine, Sarah Bennett, Jacqueline Davis, Elise Sargeant, and Matthew Manning. 2013. "Procedural justice and police legitimacy: A systematic review of the research evidence." *Journal of experimental criminology*, *9*(3): 245-274.

Mazowita, Benjamin, and Jacob Greenland. 2016. Police Resources in Canada, 2015. *Police Resources in Canada, 2015.* Minister of Industry.

McCarthy, D.J. 2013. "Gendering 'Soft'policing: multi-agency working, female cops, and the fluidities of police culture/s." *Policing and society*, *23*(2): 261-278.

Meier, Kenneth, and Jill Nicholson-Crotty. 2006. "Gender, representative bureaucracy, and law enforcement: The case of sexual assault." *Public Administration Review*, *66*(6): 850-860.

"Ministry of Defence Police Act 1987." 1987. *The National Archives*. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1987/4/introduction (February 23, 2018).

Ministry of Justice, Home Office, and Office for National Statistics. 2013. An Overview of Sexual Offending in England and Wales: Statistics Bulletin *An Overview of Sexual Offending in England and Wales: Statistics Bulletin*.

Mulchandani, Ravi, Timothy Hand, and Lakhvinder Kaur Panesar. 2010. Police Powers and Procedures England and Wales 2009/10. *Police Powers and Procedures England and Wales 2009/10.*

Munch, Christopher. 2012. Victim Services in Canada, 2009/2010. *Victim Services in Canada, 2009/2010.* Minister of Industry.

Nelson, Sara. 1996. "Constructing and negotiating gender in women's police stations in Brazil." *Latin American Perspectives*, *23*(1): 131-148.

Newburn, Tim. 2012. "Police and crime commissioners: the Americanization of policing or a very British Reform?" *International journal of law, crime and justice*, *40*(1): 31-46.

O'Connor, Denis. 2010. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary in 2009/10. *Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary in 2009/10.* HMIC.

O'Connor, Denis. 2011. HMIC Annual Report 2010/11 *HMIC. Annual Report 2010/11*. HMIC.

O'Connor, Denis. 2012. HMIC Annual Report 2011/12 *HMIC. Annual Report 2011/12*. HMIC.

Office for National Statistics. 2011. Crimes Detected in England and Wales 2010/11. *Crimes detected in England and Wales 2010/11*. Office for National Statistics.

————————————. 2012. Crimes Detected in England and Wales 2011/12. *Crimes detected in England and Wales 2011/12*. Office for National Statistics.

————————————. 2013. Crimes Detected in England and Wales 2012/13. *Crimes detected in England and Wales 2012/13*. Office for National Statistics.

————————————. 2014. Crime in England and Wales: Year Ending December 2014. *Crime in England and Wales: Year Ending December 2014.* Office for National Statistics.

————————————. 2015. Crime in England and Wales: Year Ending December 2015. *Crime in England and Wales: Year Ending December 2015.* Office for National Statistics.

————————————. 2016. Crime in England and Wales: Year Ending June 2016. *Crime in England and Wales: Year Ending June 2016*. Office for National Statistics.

————————————. 2017. Crime in England and Wales: Year Ending June 2017 *Crime in England and Wales: Year Ending June 2017*. Office for National Statistics.

Parfrement-Hopkins, Jenny, and Philip Hall. 2010. Public Perceptions of Policing, Engagement with the Police and Victimisation: Findings from the 2009/10 British Crime Survey *Public Perceptions of Policing, Engagement with the Police and Victimisation: Findings from the 2009/10 British Crime Survey*. Crown Copyright.

Peirone, Amy, Betty Jo Barrett, Chi Ho Cheung, and Nazim Habibov. 2017. "What makes police

officers act? Police response to instances of intimate partner violence." *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 0886260517734222.

Perreault, Samuel. 2013. Police-Reported Crime Statistics in Canada, 2012. *Police-Reported Crime Statistics in Canada, 2012*. Minister of Industry.

——————————. 2015. Criminal Victimization in Canada, 2014. *Criminal Victimization in Canada, 2014*. Minister of Industry.

——————————. 2017. Canadians' Perceptions of Personal Safety and Crime, 2014 *Canadians' Perceptions of Personal Safety and Crime, 2014*. Minister of Industry.

Perreault, Samuel, and Laura Simpson. 2016. Criminal Victimization in the Territories, 2014. *Criminal Victimization in the Territories, 2014*. Minister of Industry.

Perreault, Samuel, and Shannon Brennan. 2010. Criminal Victimization in Canada, 2009. *Criminal Victimization in Canada, 2009*. Minister of Industry.

Perreault, Samuel, and Tina Hotton Mahony. 2012. Criminal Victimization in the Territories, 2009. *Criminal Victimization in the Territories, 2009.* Minister of Industry.

 "Police Act 1964." 1979. *The National Archives*.

http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1964/48/contents (February 23, 2018).

"Police Reform Act 2002." 2002. *The National Archives*.

http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2002/30/contents (February 23, 2018).

"Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011." *The National Archives*.

http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2011/13/contents/enacted (February 23, 2018)

Porter, Louise, and Tim Prenzler. 2012. "Police oversight in the United Kingdom: The balance of independence and collaboration." *International journal of law, crime and justice*, *40*(3): 152-171.

Povey, Keith. 2003. Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary 2002-2003. *Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary 2002-2003.* London: Crown Copyright.

—————. 2004. Annual Report 2003-2004. *Annual Report 2003-2004*. London: Crown Copyright.

Prokos, Anastasia, and Irene Padavic. 2002. "'There oughtta be a law against bitches:' masculinity lessons in police academy training." *Gender, Work & Organization*, *9*(4): 439-459.

Rabe-Hemp, Cara. 2008. "Female officers and the ethic of care: Does officer gender impact police behaviors?" *Journal of criminal justice*, *36*(5): 426-434.

Rhoad, Meghan. 2013. "Those who take us away: Abusive policing and failures in protection of Indigenous women and girls in Northern British Columbia, Canada." Human Rights Watch.

Rogers, Colin. 2013. "The Commissioner cometh: The challenge for democratic policing in England and Wales." *International journal of law, crime and justice*, *41*(2): 132-143.

Rotenberg, Cristine. 2016. Prostitution Offences in Canada: Statistical Trends. *Prostitution Offences in Canada: Statistical Trends.* Minister of Industry.

—————. 2017. From Arrest to Conviction: Court Outcomes of Police-Reported Sexual Assaults in Canada, 2009 to 2014. *From Arrest to Conviction: Court Outcomes of Police-Reported Sexual Assaults in Canada, 2009 to 2014*. Minister of Industry.

Sargeant, Elise, Kristina Murphy, Jacqueline Davis, and Lorraine Mazerolle. 2012. "Legitimacy and policing." In *Policing and Security in Practice*, ed. Tim Prenzler. New York, NY: Macmillan.

Sauvé, Julie. 2005. Crime Statistics in Canada, 2004. *Crime Statistics in Canada, 2004*. Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

⸻ . 2009. Victim Services in Canada, 2007/2008. *Victim Services in Canada, 2007/2008.* Minister of Industry.

Schuck, Amie. 2014. "Female representation in law enforcement: The influence of screening, unions, incentives, community policing, CALEA, and size." *Police quarterly*, *17*(1): 54-78.

Schuck, Amie, and Cara Rabe-Hemp. 2008. "Women police: The use of force by and against female officers." *Women & Criminal Justice*, *16*(4): 91-117.

Shair-Rosenfield, Sarah, and Reed M. Wood. 2017. "Governing Well after War: How Improving Female Representation Prolongs Post-Conflict Peace." *The Journal of Politics*, *79*(3): 995-1009.

Silver, Warren. 2007. Crime Statistics in Canada, 2006. *Crime Statistics in Canada, 2006.* Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

Sinha, Maire. 2012. Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2010. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2010*. Minister of Industry.

⸻ . 2013. Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2011. *Family Violence in Canada: A Statistical Profile, 2011*. Minister of Industry.

⸻ . 2013. Measuring Violence Against Women: Statistical Trends. *Measuring Violence Against Women: Statistical Trends*. Minister of Industry.

⸻ . 2015. Trends in Reporting Criminal Victimization to Police, 1999 to 2009. *Trends in Reporting Criminal Victimization to Police, 1999 to 2009.* Minister of Industry.

Sossin, Lorne. 2004. The oversight of executive police relations in Canada: The Constitution, the

courts, administrative processes and democratic governance.

Tator, Carol, Frances Henry, Charles Smith, and Maureen Brown. 2006. *Racial Profiling in Canada: Challenging the Myth of 'a Few Bad Apples.'* University of Toronto Press.

Theobald, Nick, and Donald P. Haider-Markel. 2009. "Race, bureaucracy, and symbolic representation: Interactions between citizens and police." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *19*(2): 409-426.

Tutty, Leslie, Karen Wyllie, Paige Abbott, Jennifer Mackenzie, Jane Ursel, and Jennifer Koshan. 2008. "The justice response to domestic violence: A literature review." Calgary, Alberta, Canada: University of Calgary.

Tyler, Tom. 2004. "Enhancing police legitimacy." *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, *593*(1): 84-99.

Wallace, Marnie. 2004. Crime Statistics in Canada, 2003. *Crime Statistics in Canada, 2003.* Ottawa: Minister of Industry.

Winfree, Thomas Jr., and Christina DeJong. 2015. "Police and the war on women: A gender-linked examination behind and in front of the blue curtain." *Women & Criminal Justice*, *25*(1-2): 50-70.

Wong, Thessa, and Rens Van de Schoot. 2012. "The effect of offenders' sex on reporting crimes to the police." *Journal of interpersonal violence*, *27*(7): 1276-1292.

Wood, Reed, and Mark D. Ramirez. 2017. "Exploring the Microfoundations of the Gender Equality Peace Hypothesis." *International Studies Review*.

Woods, Eleanor. 2015. Police Workforce, England and Wales, 31 March 2015. *Police Workforce, England and Wales, 31 March 2015.*