



UNIVERSITY OF
PORTSMOUTH

**Engendering change or an enduring status quo?:
An analysis of the gendered experiences of senior
police officers and the impact of gender on
leadership in contemporary policing**

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The thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award
of the degree of Doctor of Criminal Justice of the University of Portsmouth
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DECLARATION

Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and the conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J.A. Alexander', written in a cursive style.

Jackie A. Alexander

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My thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father Raymond John Martin
15 May 1944 – 25 August 2019. I hope I made you proud.

DISSEMINATION

Other publications by this researcher:

Alexander, J. (1995) *PC or not PC: that is the question: an investigation into the differential career patterns of male and female police officers in the Nottinghamshire Constabulary*. MA Thesis, University of Manchester. Available from National Police Library.

Gaston, K., & Alexander, J. (1997). Women in the police: factors influencing managerial advancement. *Women in Management Review*. 12(2). 47-55.

Gaston K., & Alexander J. (2001). Effective organisation and management of public sector volunteer workers : Police Special Constables. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, (1), 59.

ABSTRACT

Drawing on and contributing to the theoretical frameworks of police culture, leadership, and gender, this thesis critically examines the perceptions and experiences of male and female senior police officers (superintendent rank and above) in England and Wales. It considers whether gender and/or gender bias impacts on career progression, and how this may be preventing the service from achieving police reform.

Utilising a mixed methods approach, the extant literature from a broad range of international studies and primary and secondary data are considered. Quantitative and qualitative analyses of 231 surveys and thirty one-to-one interviews are conducted, facilitating comparisons by both rank and gender, allowing similarities and differences within the data to be drawn.

Key findings, which are likely to be of relevance to police forces worldwide, include the similarity of senior officer career paths, particularly for those achieving the highest ranks, and the career advantage provided through subjective sponsorship. Leadership styles emerge as homogenous, with agentic traits and traditional approaches persisting. A 'time served' and 'long-hours' culture, together with challenges with regards to juggling work and family life, prevail. Most senior women in the study were married to police officers and were significantly more likely than the males in the study to have no children or small families.

Despite evidence of the positive impact increased diversity could have for police reform, the number of female police officers remains disproportionately low, with evidence that the numbers are in danger of receding further. Female new recruit proportions are unchanged in a decade, and promotion rates appear to have flat-lined, with female promotions to sergeant and chief constable ranks particularly low. Women are also leaving policing prematurely. Despite this, there are no centralised concerns being expressed regarding gender disproportionality, suggesting a tacit acceptance of the stereotype of policing as a male-dominated profession.

This research concludes that while there is evidence of some genuine desire for transformation, the traditional elements of police culture, masculine characteristics of organisational leadership, and prevailing constructs of gender combine to produce a 'Groundhog Day' effect, which continues to over-shadow attempts to change.

Recommendations to assist police forces in achieving those benefits associated with organisations that value diversity are proposed, with a focus on gender parity in recruitment, a national graduate-entry scheme with summer internships; temporary promotion opportunities and steps to help women achieve the first supervisory rank highlighted as particularly likely to facilitate change.

Key words

Police culture; leadership; gender; diversity; hegemonic masculinity; sponsor; recruitment; graduate entry; temporary promotion.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
APA	Association of Police Authorities
APCC	Association of Police and Crime Commissioners

BAME	Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic
BAWP	British Association for Women in Policing
CC	Chief Constable
Ch Insp	Chief Inspector
Ch Supt	Chief Superintendent
DCC	Deputy Chief Constable
FOIA	Freedom of Information Act
HMIC	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary
HMICFRS ServiceInsp	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary & Fire and Rescue Inspector
LGB	Lesbian Gay and Bisexual
MPS	Metropolitan Police Service
NPCC	National Police Chiefs' Council
PCC	Police and Crime Commissioner
PC	Police Constable
PNAC	Police National Assessment Centre
PSA	Police Superintendents' Association
Sgt	Sergeant
SCC	Strategic Command Course
Supt	Superintendent

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The research context

“A number of senior female police officers have suggested that the working culture of the police has become much better for women, with macho stereotypes ... vanishing from the service.” (British Association for Women in Policing (BAWP), 2019, p.1).

As UK police forces celebrate the milestone of 100 years of women in policing (Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), 2019), there has been renewed focus on how the contributions and experiences of women officers have changed over time. The BAWP has recently reported female chief officers’ positive perceptions regarding the progress of women in policing, citing views that the “macho canteen culture ... (is) long gone”, and that a gender balance across specialist roles has now been achieved (BAWP, 2019, p.1).

While at times of celebration optimism may prevail, this thesis takes an evidence-based approach as to whether, and how, the organisational landscape in which women officers, particularly senior officers, operate has changed. While Acker’s theoretical work highlighting how the institutional structures of societies themselves “are organised along lines of gender” (Acker, 1992b, p.567) does acknowledge that the processes resulting in gender differentiation and sex segregation may alter over time and place, contemporary policing norms have been observed as recently as 2009 to still “mirror a whole history of earlier research” (Loftus, 2009, p.191), with a prevailing culture characterised by enduring elements of hegemonic masculinity and resistance to change. This therefore raises the question; are women officers today really operating in an environment free from macho stereotypes, with equal access to all areas, as suggested in the BAWP article above?

Certainly, as indicated in workforce data returns (Home Office, 2018), the years between the appointment of Britain’s first female chief constable,

Pauline Clare, in 1995, and the first female commissioner of the MPS, Cressida Dick, in 2017, saw the proportion of women in senior police positions increase. This study considers whether an increase in the numerical representation of female leaders is matched by any significant change in how policing is experienced by those serving in it, or how police leadership is delivered.

There are important reasons for examining the experiences of senior officers by gender. Firstly, from a wider organisational research perspective, failing to consider gender is considered to “contribute to the perpetuation of inequalities in the workplace” (Banihani, Lewis & Syed, 2013, p.400), where concepts of the “ideal worker” are linked to work engagement, and such engagement is widely considered easier to achieve for those without family responsibilities, or who will put work first (Acker, 1990; Banihani, Lewis & Syed, 2013).

More specifically in a policing context, Silvestri (2003), referencing an increasing volume of evidence into how female officers’ involvement in, and contributions to, policing have been distinctly different to that of males, has identified a continuing gap in academic knowledge regarding *senior* women, describing them as “unchartered territory in terms of research and analyses” (p.3). Silvestri (2017) notes that a considerable amount of the research that has been conducted in the intervening years, has oversimplified the reality of women’s career experiences in policing, concentrating on numerical representations of women rather than “a more meaningful exploration of the various gendered cultural formations within policing” (p.292), and how these might limit career opportunities and advancement. Silvestri has argued that the success of senior policewomen has been despite an unchanging organisation, rather than because of the transformational change policing claims to support, highlighting the need for greater consideration of the “cultural and structural conditions that enable the ‘heroic male’ to emerge as the ‘ideal’ police leader” (2018, p.309).

With police reform consistently high on political agendas (Hadley, 2014), engagement with gender-related issues is widely considered central to

addressing the called-for changes (Heidensohn, 2008; Brown & Silvestri, 2019). Whether as an antidote to a crisis of public confidence, by bringing about “a transformative effect on operational style, organizational management and probity of police conduct”, (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000, p.94); or by creating the “equitable praxis” (Corsianos, 2011, p.17) arguably necessary to achieve the ideological changes required for police-community partnerships and social change, greater female representation and a more diverse police force is considered essential (Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO), Association of Police Authorities (APA) & Home Office, 2009). So has an increase in female representation brought about these anticipated positive effects, or does a gendered policing environment which protects the status-quo (Swan, 2016) persist?

Research aims and objectives

Despite evidence of the positive impact diversity in police leadership teams could have on aspirations to bring new skills into policing; better represent the public; and change culture, women officers remain under-represented. While women make up over 50% of the population, even following a growth in numbers considered “dramatic” (Home Office, 2010, p.1), they still represent just 29.8% of all officers in England and Wales¹ (Home Office, 2018). This is despite the ‘Equality, diversity and human rights strategy for the police service’ (ACPO et al., 2009), articulating the need for a more representative police service. The proportion of women at senior posts, which for the purposes of this research is taken to be at superintendent rank and above, is 25.7% (Home Office, 2018).

Drawing on the theoretical frameworks of organisational culture, leadership, and gender, derived from an extensive review of the relevant literature, this thesis explores the experiences of senior officers within the context of gender. The overall aim, i.e. the research purpose, is to critically examine the

¹ This refers to the 43 Home Office Police forces in England & Wales

experiences and perceptions of senior officers with a view to determining whether gender and/or gender bias impacts on the career experiences and progression of police officers; and, if so, whether this is preventing the service from achieving police reform. With the “discourse of professional doctorates emphasis(ing) the importance of the connection with practice”, (Fenge, 2009, p.166), this aim is with a view to identifying actions to help policing achieve those benefits associated with organisations that value diversity.

This aim will be operationalised through consideration of any causal relationships presented by the variables in the following research question:

Do the career experiences and identifiable barriers and success factors of officers who have achieved senior rank differ significantly by gender?

In order to achieve this aim, the following objectives have been identified:

- To critically examine and analyse the existing theoretical frameworks and wider associated international literature from the fields of organisational culture, leadership and gender.
- To identify and analyse pertinent secondary data relating to police workforce demographics in order to establish any trends by gender and how this might impact on police career patterns.
- To use a mixed methods approach to explore the experiences and perceptions of male and female senior officers in relation to the barriers and success factors they have encountered in achieving senior rank, with a particular focus on gender.
- To situate the findings within the existing theoretical frameworks of police culture, leadership and gender in order to contribute to academic knowledge and practitioner understanding with regards to the impact of gender on career advancement in policing.

Research audience

With the theoretical frameworks of organisational culture, leadership and gender widely informed by key contributors from across the globe, this study has reviewed a broad range of international literature, including comparative research specifically into gender and policing between different countries (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013; van Ewijk, 2012); seminal studies from both the United States (Martin, 1979) and the UK (Heidensohn, 1992); and more contemporary literature for example, from Europe, including the Netherlands (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013), Sweden (Haake, Rantatalo & Linberg, 2015), and Germany (Stemple, Rigotti & Mohr, 2015). In reviewing this literature, it was noted that key studies have found enduring and similar barriers across the globe, particularly with reference to the recruitment, retention and career advancement of women in policing even in the most developed countries (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013). It is thus apparent that while this thesis is conducted only in the UK, its findings and recommendations are likely to be generalisable and relevant to a wide international audience

While written primarily for an academic audience, as a professional doctorate this research also aims to contribute to professional practice (Bourner, Bowden & Laing, 2001). Other audiences who may find this work interesting and relevant include policy makers, e.g. National Police Chiefs' Council (NPCC) and the College of Policing; together with those responsible for scrutinising policing and monitoring and reporting on efficiency and effectiveness; i.e. the Home Office, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Service (HMICFRS), and Parliament.

In addition, the research may interest police support networks such as the BAWP, whose aims include raising the awareness and understanding of issues that affect women in the police service; and other groups supporting improvements in more diverse representation in policing, including the International Association of Women Police, and HeForShe (York, 2019).

With a renewed international focus on gender issues and on the underrepresentation of women in management roles more generally (van

Ewijk, 2012), the research findings are also likely to be relevant to organisations outside of policing, both in the UK and abroad.

Thesis structure

With chapter one briefly establishing the context in which this research is set, together with its aims, objectives and intended audiences, chapters two to four consider the key research fields in terms of situating and interpreting this study and its findings.

Chapter two seeks to define the role that culture plays in organisations and in policing specifically, how policing culture has developed historically, and analyses its contemporary features. Focusing in particular on the “inescapable, controversial, surprisingly stubborn and recurring theme” (O’Neill & Singh, 2007, p.1) of police occupational culture, which is considered to be both the focus of, and the main inhibitor to police reform, chapter two also considers the findings of early contributors to this field, e.g. Skolnick (1966), whose work is considered revolutionary for bringing academic interest to an area previously under-researched (O’Neill & Singh, 2007). It features evidence of an enduring traditional and masculine culture, despite developments over the decades that might have been expected to impact more powerfully on cultural change (Loftus, 2009).

Chapter three examines leadership in policing, including the view that police leadership is in a constant state of crisis (Rowe, 2006). It highlights concepts of transactional and transformational leadership styles and their gendered connotations, and debates the evidence-base for asserting that a more balanced gender representation might help address the challenge of ensuring more effective police leaders who are able to deliver police reform (Davis & Bailey, 2018; College of Policing, 2015). It also considers whether the view that transformational leadership will inevitably produce the cultural reform that academics, policy makers or senior police leaders envisage may be over-simplistic (Cockcroft, 2014).

Chapter four explores how policing might be gendered at every level: individual, structural and cultural (Dick, Silvestri & Westmarland, 2014). It contends that despite diversity in policing being considered key to effectiveness, policing remains dominated by white males. It calls for a refocus on improving gender representation and integration in order for police reform initiatives and community-oriented policing initiatives to succeed. The chapter highlights the 'business case' for women in policing; considers the patterns of progression and regression of women officers; and explores what gender means in terms of organisations and policing, including social and cultural resistance to women as police officers. It also notes the key barriers impacting on female representation in policing.

Chapter five details the research methodology employed, and explains the rationale for a mixed methods approach. The researcher's paradigm and epistemological position is established, and the methods utilised and choice of survey instruments is justified, evaluated and critiqued. This chapter also critically analyses the relevant practical, theoretical and ethical issues anticipated and encountered during the research phase.

Chapter six focuses on the secondary data, while chapter seven discusses the primary data analysis. Both chapters consider key findings with regards to any evidence of differential experience by gender impacting on career experiences and progression of police officers. These chapters also explore how any bias identified manifests itself, or prevents the service from achieving the transformations it claims to desire, particularly in terms of having a more diverse representation in senior ranks.

The secondary data includes an analysis of police workforce statistical returns since 2000, as well as force responses to Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests. The primary data analysis considers survey responses, together with issues emerging from the one-to-one interviews. The chapter is broken down into four key areas: the general career experiences of participants, with a particular focus on 'time served' and postings; career progression and the impact of career support, including mentors or sponsors;

leadership styles; and finally the effect of external factors on career opportunities or choices made.

The final chapter (chapter eight) concludes the research, setting out key conclusions and responding to the research aim. Implications for practice are considered and recommendations relevant to the findings are made. Opportunities for future research are highlighted.

Original contribution to knowledge

This thesis will contribute positively to the existing body of academic evidence, providing valuable and original insight into the gendered experiences of senior officers and the impact of gender on police leadership today. It seeks to establish whether the increase in female representation in policing over the course of recent decades has engendered change, or whether the status-quo characterised by a dominant macho culture and traditional leadership styles endures. Underpinned by academic theories of organisational culture, leadership and gender, and supported by a wide-ranging review of relevant literature and secondary data, the research question is framed to establish the extent to which the experiences of research participants might be gendered. It also considers whether any such experiences identified are more widely generalisable, and thus of relevance to academics and to policing policy-makers.

The research is situated within what has been described as the “burgeoning literature” (Ely & Meyerson, 2000, p.105) between feminist and organisational theory, with discourses on the study of gender and organisations having been developed over the decades by researchers such as Acker (1989; 1992), and Mills and Tancred, (1992). Ely and Padavic (2007) refer to a “proliferation” of studies considering how the sexes differ in various ways, “from leadership style to negotiation skills to work values” (p.1121). What sets this research apart however, is the number and extent of the participation of senior police officers in England and Wales, a group generally considered to be difficult to access (Silvestri, 2006). In addition,

with the thesis being undertaken as part of a professional doctorate, the analysis is conducted by a “researching professional”, (Schildkraut & Stafford, 2015, p.183); in this case a senior female officer with over 30 years service. While requiring the engagement of reflective practice to minimise subjectivity and address ethical issues, this “insider” researcher position provides a unique perspective (Costley, Elliott, & Gibbs, 2010, p.1).

CHAPTER 2: CULTURE

Introduction

Studying culture is key to understanding how institutions operate, and in exposing their complex and concealed features (Schein, 1992; Cockcroft, 2013). Although defining culture is a major challenge, (Kiely & Peek, 2002; Alvesson, 2002), this chapter explores the emergent definitions and considers how those working in organisations, and specifically in policing, might behave and respond the way they do. It considers how policing culture and subcultures have developed historically, analyses their contemporary features, and considers the cultural opportunities and barriers that organisations experience when attempting to introduce change or reform (Chan, 1996; Charman, 2017; Schein & Schein, 2017). While the phrase 'police culture' is used throughout this thesis as a singular concept, it is intended to include the pluralities of different 'cultures' that exist and impact on policing over time and space, and through the variety of policing experiences (Westmarland, 2008).

The development, role and impact of organisational culture

Academic discourse has shifted from culture simply being considered an unconscious set of values that govern behaviours, towards being something that can be consciously manipulated to frame people's experiences (Campeau, 2015). Culture is considered a critical aspect of organisational performance and effective leadership (Mullins, 2005), and consequently managers are keen to understand how to manage it (Chan, 1996). While this makes culture interesting to the corporate world, there is notable disagreement between academics and corporate consultants with regards to notions of organisational culture (Charman, 2017), notions which Schein (1984) considers dependent on critical variables, such as whether the prevailing culture proves a barrier or enabler in response to emerging environmental issues.

Detert et al., (2000) explore empirical studies and observe that most definitions agree that culture comprises a mixture of shared practices, values and beliefs, creating the “social glue” (p.851) that holds an organisation together. Paoline and Terrill (2014) present several examples of definitions of culture over the decades, e.g. Geertz in the 1970s; Van Maanen in the 1980s; and Manning in the 1990s, and note common themes. These include culture as “a shared group phenomenon” (p.5), and that the function of a group culture is not limited to the organisational context, but also helps group members address broader issues that arise at work, in the wider organisation, or indeed in life more generally.

While accepting that the term ‘culture’ is multi-layered and complex (Marshall, 1998; Charman, 2017), the following definition of culture offered in this study has been selected as one derived from the work of the organisational theorist Schein, whose work has informed that of many key scholars of police culture (Chan, 1997; Loftus, 2009; Cockcroft, 2013), assisting them to develop useful theoretical frameworks and situate police culture within a wider cultural institutional world:

“... the accumulated shared learning of (a) group as it solves its problems of external adaption and internal integration; which has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, feel, and behave in relation to those problems. This accumulated learning is a pattern or system of beliefs, values, and behavioural norms that come to be taken for granted as basic assumptions and eventually drop out of awareness” (Schein & Schein, 2017, p.6).

Schein and Schein emphasise that the most important aspect of this definition is in shared learning experiences, which subsequently define the group and its purpose, creating a sense of group identity and a “cultural DNA”, (2017, p.7 & p.9).

Numerous academics (Alvesson, 2002; Loftus, 2009; and Schein & Schein 2017), have observed how organisations, particularly larger ones, can also evolve and develop ‘subcultures’, some of which can have a greater influence than the main culture itself. Lok, Westward and Crawford (2005)

explore the view that subcultures may align to, or be in opposition with the main culture; can generate conflict between the subculture and the organisational culture, or even take precedence over it; and assert that the subculture can have the greatest impact on members' attitudes about the organisation they work for. Others have explored how organisations rarely have a single organisational culture at all, and that culture may best be defined in relation to groups, rather than organisations (Whelan, 2017). On both macro and micro levels, the Scheins' notion of shared assumptions depends on how these are accepted by new members in a group and how organisational culture thus becomes passed down to new members through a process of "socialisation", which largely occurs when first entering an organisation (Charman, 2017, p.17).

Schein and Schein (2017) also observe how, when trying to define something as abstract as culture, it can be helpful to consider cultural origins and evolution, to the extent that it has an unconscious impact on behaviours, becoming embedded in a group's psyche. Charman (2017) meanwhile contends that culture is "a socially constructed reality" (p.15), and that acknowledging and understanding both symbolism and shared values are key to understanding an organisation and how these deeper elements impact on day to day encounters. It is from these multifarious perspectives that this chapter examines the development of police culture and subcultures, and its impact on the contemporary organisation, including recruitment, career development, leadership and gender in policing.

A historic analysis of police occupational culture and subcultures, social identity and group membership

Workman-Stark (2017) highlights Schein's proposal that, beyond a specific organisation, cultures may also present as occupational cultures, with this being particularly likely where the training is to shared standards and values, members come from similar backgrounds and with a similar education, and are in regular contact with others in the same occupation, as is the case in policing. In terms of defining *occupational* culture, this has been described as

the “collective bond and professional world-view that arises ... as a result of the common strains encountered on the job”, (Paoline & Terrill, 2014, p.6) and which relates collectively to those working in the policing profession. This is differentiated from police *organisational* culture, which is associated rather with a particular agency within policing, and which may be subject to greater variation depending on the force, a specific setting, e.g. urban or rural, or even roles within the same setting, e.g. uniform or detective (Paoline & Terrill, 2014). With a range of differently derived experiences, it is policing cultures plural, rather than any one singular culture that should be taken into account (Westmarland, 2008).

The mainly ethnographical studies of early researchers, e.g. Westley, Rubenstein, Skolnick and Bittner were considered groundbreaking. Westley’s 1953 paper, ‘Violence and the Police’ is held to be the first academic publication to consider aspects of policing issues which later became recognised as “culture” (Cockcroft, 2013, p.22), while Skolnick’s (1966) enduring portrayal of a police ‘working personality’ identified the combination of three key elements of police work that have recurred and endured in studies of police culture: danger, authority and efficiency, (Loftus, 2010; Workman-Stark 2017). With the constant potential to encounter danger, Skolnick observed how officers become suspicious of everyone and, as a result, socially isolated. Their authority led them to enforce a level of morality which even they could barely adhere to, encouraging public hostility, reinforcing isolation and promoting solidarity amongst officers (Skolnick, 1966). Observing the pressure to be efficient in the face of internal and external demands made Skolnick’s thesis unique (O’Neill & Singh, 2007) and it has been described as the “*locus classicus*” (Reiner, 2010, p.118) for studying police culture.

Cain (1971) is considered a key researcher of police culture in the 1970s (O’Neill & Singh, 2007), and one of the first to identify differences within the police culture, noting marked variations in the experiences of officers working in urban or rural forces, as well as in how they interacted with the public. Cain’s concepts of ‘easing behaviours’, referring to aspects of daily police life such as tea-stops and drinks in pubs is considered significant in terms of

identifying how behaviours become considered as acceptable through subcultural norms (Cockcroft, 2013).

While the police use of discretion is considered a core feature of early police culture research, where most studies emphasise similarities in policing culture, the “middle period” of research foci (Cockcroft, 2013, p.27) moved towards a greater acknowledgement of cultural variation. Research by Manning in the 1970s/1980s focussed on uniformed officers, and his ethnographical studies in a number of forces remain significant texts for police culture researchers (O'Neill & Singh, 2007). Manning found that, as well as a distrust of the public, police culture was complicated by role conflict and ambiguity, with junior officers valuing the exciting and visible aspects of ‘real’ police work, such as the thrill of the chase, while senior officers, distanced from such activities, concerned themselves with presenting a more diverse picture of police work (Kiely & Peek, 2002).

Chan (1997), challenged previous research findings on the basis that observations regarding the socialisation of new recruits did not take account of an individual’s attitudes on joining policing and their own active role in shaping culture; that police cultures do not exist in a vacuum; and that they failed to address internal differences between officers performing different functions and the multiple cultures that had evolved (Chan, 1996; 1997; Cockcroft, 2013). This last criticism is also presented by Reiner (1992), whose assertion that police cultures should not be considered ‘monolithic’ has been described as “seminal” (Silvestri, 2017, p.291). Both Chan and Reiner have been credited with moving the debate about policing culture forward, by taking wider perspectives of the external issues that can have an impact, and recognising a greater range of policing styles and cultures (Hendriks & Van Hulst, 2016).

Characteristics of police culture and internal/external impact

Reiner’s studies, spanning over 40 years, are considered to have a key role in the development of British criminology (Newburn, Peay & Reiner, 2012), and his observations regarding police culture continue to be widely cited by

academics in the field (Loftus, 2009; Cockcroft, 2013). With the characteristics observed by Reiner having been proposed as “the authorised version of ‘cop culture” (Waddington, 2012, p.90), they are considered significant to this chapter. Reiner’s five core elements of police culture have remained relevant and generally unchanged since first developed by him in 1985 (Waddington, 2012), and are summarised as mission-action-cynicism-pessimism; suspicion; isolation/solidarity; conservatism; and machismo; with the recent addition of two further elements: racial prejudice and pragmatism (Reiner, 2010). This section explores Reiner’s elements in more detail, examining the impact of each characteristic internally, particularly with regards to career experiences and gender. Externally, impact on service delivery and the relationship with the public is considered.

Mission-action-cynicism-pessimism: This element begins with the notion that policing is more than just a job, with the purpose of preserving a way of life for society, and protecting the weak from predators. This action-centred portrayal of police work is often at variance with the mundane reality of daily policing (Fielding, 1994). This feature has arguably prevented the police from embracing initiatives that require a softer approach, including community-based initiatives, problem-oriented policing, and multi-agency partnerships (Davies & Thomas 2003; Loftus, 2009; McCarthy, 2013).

Cynicism and pessimism stem from frustration with barriers to the mission, with a sense that societal morality is under-siege, leading to a pressure to achieve results which may not always be ethical (Workman-Stark, 2017). In sharing cultural values and beliefs, cynicism has been found to pervade the attitudes passed on to new recruits as part of the ‘canteen culture’, a term describing the informal process where stories, often cynical and discriminatory in nature, are shared between colleagues, arguably influencing both their attitudes and actions as police officers (Waddington, 1999a; Van Hulst, 2013). Being accepted by, and learning from more experienced colleagues, is particularly important to new recruits, who are expected to forget all they have learned in training school, and to “learn on

the job for real”, (White & Heslop, 2012, p.344), and quickly become protective of their perceived “new family”, (Alcott, 2012, p.9).

Suspicion: Reiner argues that a suspicious nature results from officers needing to constantly look-out for danger and evidence of offending. This leads to stereotyping, with those individuals demonstrating particular characteristics being disproportionately targeted, a cycle which is unfair and counter-productive. Loftus (2009) highlights further negative outcomes of suspicion, i.e. ordinary members of the public being treated unsympathetically and with scepticism. Internal consequences also arise, with “outsiders” such as civilians and community support officers, liable to attract prejudice, (Kiely & Peek, 2002, p.182).

Isolation/solidarity: Reiner considers how shifts, long hours, fear of public hostility, aspects of the discipline code, and work-related stress combine to make officers feel socially isolated. A ‘them and us’ perspective also operates internally at varying levels within policing, e.g. between ranks or ‘street cops’ and ‘management cops’ (Reuss-Ianni, 1983). New colleagues are treated suspiciously until they are trusted to keep the code of silence and provide back-up in dangerous situations (Campbell, 2012; Workman-Stark 2017).

More positively, some elements of police culture, particularly solidarity and camaraderie, can help officers maintain their morale and well-being (Kiely & Peek, 2002; Charman, 2017). Camaraderie can reduce stress, with a post-work drinking culture allowing officers to informally debrief their experiences (Brough et al., 2016). However, other features of police culture, e.g. machismo and long hours, have been found to impact negatively on mental health, work-life balance, and personal relationships (Coombe, 2013).

Conservatism: Exploring political orientations, Reiner finds evidence of police officers being both “politically and morally” conservative, (2010,

p.126). He considers that officers with “a conservative outlook” (p.126) are also more likely to apply and be selected into policing, and to find acceptance within it.

Machismo: “Old-fashioned machismo”, (Reiner, 2010, p.128) is a widely reported feature (Fielding, 1994; Westmarland, 2001; Young, 1991), with a world-view including sexism; a masculine ethos including alcoholism; sexual indulgence; sexual harassment including serious sexual assault; and a reluctance to accept women or homosexuals. Fielding considers these stereotypical cultural values “an almost pure form of hegemonic masculinity” (1994, p.47), as well as noting that female officers are particularly vulnerable to sexual harassment from male colleagues (Fielding, 1994).

A masculine culture, the notion of danger and physical risk, and the resultant pervasive image of “the ideal man as autonomous, brave and strong” (Workman-Stark, 2017, p.22), pressurises officers to conform to a macho stereotype. They consequently value physical and “crime-fighting” elements over the more frequently encountered, “social service” aspects (Cochran & Bromley, 2003, p.89), which are considered ‘feminine’, are negatively perceived, and serve to marginalise anyone who cannot fit into the “boys’ club” (Workman-Stark, 2017, p.23). While female talent is undervalued in many organisations, its impact in policing is magnified with physical strength highly regarded, leading to shared accounts of women being “nice in their place, but not up to the job” (Westmarland, 2001, p.130).

Although women do overcome cultural barriers and gain senior police roles, a tendency for them to nonetheless support the macho status-quo has been noted, (Dick & Cassell, 2004; Silvestri, 2006). This includes total commitment to the job, and an ambition for promotion and power, even to the point of accepting “that motherhood may be incompatible” (Silvestri, 2006, p.277). Where women do not subscribe to macho norms, they face the dual challenge of being considered credible both for being female and trying to operate outside of cultural norms. Thus women can be marginalised from

wider policing activities and find themselves with a limited portfolio which inhibits career progression (McCarthy, 2013).

In this study, the impact of this element of police culture on career development and advancement is particularly significant, with the “cult of masculinity” being noted by Silvestri for its “ruinous effects on women and some men” (2003, p.22). With regards to women, Reiner suggests that pressures to adapt and conform to “the traditional ethos of masculinity” succeed over attempts at police reform (2010, p.134), and also finds mixed evidence with regards to a premise that more women in senior positions will impact on leadership styles or organisational ethos. These concepts will be explored and analysed in more detail in the following chapters and the research phase of this study.

Racial prejudice: Reiner considers that racial prejudice in policing is inextricably linked with racism in society more generally. Holdaway (1996) identifies a link with over-policing and harassment, while Waddington questions links between “talk and action”, arguing that “racist canteen banter” does not itself mean that police officers will actually commit racist actions (1999a p.287; p.288). Waddington’s observations are contentious however, relying on the need to evidence aggressive racist behaviour, rather than other forms of racial discrimination such as a lack of appropriate action and racist attitudes (Olisa, 2005). Shiner (2010), considering the police response to stop and search recommendations following the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (Macpherson, 1999), also proposes a “firmer relationship between word and deed” in police practice (Shiner, 2010, p.947).

Pragmatism: Reiner considers this final notable element of police culture to include a “down-to earth, anti-theoretical perspective”, which is demonstrated at every rank (2010, p.131). While noting some evidence of recent change, a desire to get through each day with the minimum of bureaucracy has historically limited innovation and support for evidence-based research.

While observing these key cultural characteristics, Reiner nonetheless emphasises that policing culture is not inadaptably, and that cultural variations depend on both structures and individual differences. The following section focuses on contemporary studies of police culture, and considers whether there are significant signs of evolution, or if these classic characteristics and consequences endure.

The manifestation of contemporary police culture

With Reiner's observations remaining largely unchanged since their development in 1985 (Waddington, 2012), this section will now consider more contemporary studies. These are largely characterised by a closer inspection of cultural differences, considering complexity and variation, more sophisticated definitions, and rejecting notions of an inflexible culture (Whelan, 2017; Paoline, 2003).

While some researchers observe some shifting away from the "traditional roots" of police culture (Kiely and Peek, 2002, p.167), particularly in respect of scrutiny, and improved customer service, others have found sustained similarities when comparing contemporary culture to that observed in earlier studies.

Loftus (2009), for example, focuses on emerging considerations and discussions with regards to diversity, including both "cultural and gendered identities" (p.xiii). Taking account of significant developments, for example workforce modernisation and increasing numbers of civilians, the impact of the Stephen Lawrence inquiry (Macpherson, 1999), community policing, and increased accountability, Loftus anticipated finding police culture to be in a state of flux. However, despite identifying some fracturing of culture between different subgroups, Loftus did not find evidence of new dominant cultural themes, and concluded that a classic police culture, as identified by the earliest ethnographers endures:

"there unequivocally remains a range of dispositions and practices which mirror a whole history of earlier research ... (the) classic

features remain virtually untouched by current reform initiatives” (Loftus, 2009, p.191-192).

Paoline and Terrill (2014) explore the competing viewpoints that have been central to academic debates, i.e. the distinction between the occupational perspective and organisation, rank and style perspective: “cultural homogeneity versus heterogeneity”, (p.162). While observing some signs of change, they also concluded that cultural homogeneity persists, with the same characteristics as those identified over 50 years ago:

“much of what the founding fathers of police culture researchers described as the dominant features still finds support today” (Paoline & Terrill, 2014, p.164).

Other studies have however, exposed more hopeful signs of positive change. For example, officers appear less judgemental and cynical of the public; are not all indifferent towards rules or regulations; and are more positive about evidence-based policing (Willis & Mastrofski, 2017). Charman (2017) explores whether enduring criticisms of police culture are justified and how the prevailing culture comes to be communicated and understood by new recruits. Her study found that the formation of identity of new recruits was not limited to work experiences, but included the influence of other groups, including friends and family. Charman found both enduring *and* emerging cultural characteristics in the lower ranks, including “cynicism, communication, comradeship, code of self-protection and compassion” (Charman, 2017, p.322). Charman finds the concept of “comradeship” (p.328), to be the most important characteristic to new recruits, although limited to the specific team with which an officer worked. This new form of solidarity appears to have more boundaries than previously, with evidence of moving from a “blue code of silence” to a more limited “blue code of self-protection” (p.334). Charman suggests that individuals are now responding to an organisational environment which has become increasingly risk-averse and more publically accountable.

In her research, Charman found that officers considered “communication” an essential skill rather than “strength and authority” (p.259), and notes that softer skills were valued regardless of gender. This might be indicative of a cultural move away from masculinity, supporting the suggestion that “police cultures should be considered less as having their origins in masculinity but rather in policing itself” (Charman, 2017, p.327). These observations are significant in terms of whether there has been any significant cultural change with regards to the “cult of masculinity” (Silvestri, 2017, p.289).

The tension between what aspects of masculinity persist in policing culture, and the impact that gender has had on cultural change, both in terms of sex and social constructs, is a specific focus of this study, and will be explored further in later chapters and during the analysis of the research findings.

Cultural change: enablers

With organisational culture able to “inhibit or defeat a reengineering effort before it begins” (Detert et al., 2000, p.850), and with evidence of a predominantly negative impact on officer behaviours, service delivery and reform efforts (Chan, 1996; Loftus, 2009; Brough et al., 2016), it might be concluded that most elements of police culture will prevail. However, with culture impacting on so many aspects of organisations, including decision making, rewards, career-advancement, and performance (Mullins, 2005), rejecting the possibility of cultural change is not an option if policing is to avoid a “perpetual state of crisis” (Dearden, 2018, para.1).

While accepting that culture is a key barrier to reform, particularly in the public sector (Smith, Cree, MacRae, Sharp, Wallace, & O’Halloran, 2017), and especially in policing (Loftus, 2009; Whelan, 2017), this final section explores some enablers that can potentially promote cultural change and assist endeavours for policing to “reinvent itself for a new age” (Deloitte, 2018, p.42).

Although McConville, Sanders and Leng (1993), claim that the culture is impenetrable, Schein and Schein (2017), suggest cultural change is possible, providing what is required is “consistent with the group’s cultural

DNA” (p.7). Davies & Thomas, (2003, p.681) also discuss the potential for a “new public management” approach for policing, providing innovation, problem-solving and enterprise are prioritised. Loftus (2009) also highlights a comprehensive range of potential enablers, including:

“... changes in policy, recruitment and training; an emphasis on progressive leadership; amendments to the composition of the workforce; the introduction of measures to mainstream equality; and shifts in the organisations guiding principles” (p.19).

Schein describes the relationship between leadership and culture as unique, and as “two sides of the same coin” (Schein, 2004, p.1), concluding that the greatest challenge is for leaders to be able to recognise existing cultural limitations and bring in change. Some contemporary studies contend that transformational leadership is the key to successful cultural change (Mash, De Sa & Christodoulou 2016; Workman-Stark, 2017). Davies and Thomas consider how new leadership skills and the development of “problem-oriented leaders” (2003, p.683), could lead to more community-focussed policing. They emphasise how mentoring, and coaching, a so called “feminine style of leadership” (p.684), could assist, and stress the need to move away from authoritarian styles. Workman-Stark (2017) considers the top-down nature of policing to be advantageous, placing senior leaders in a key position to influence behavioural change. Others, however, caution against the notion of progressive leadership as an enabler for cultural change, particularly as “senior officers tend to be cut from the same cultural cloth as lower-ranking officers” (Cockcroft, 2014, p.6).

Loftus (2009) suggests that changing the workforce composition could also enable cultural change, an observation made some decades earlier by Schein:

“It cannot be overlooked that new members do bring new ideas and do produce culture change, especially if they are brought in at high levels of the organization”, (Schein, 1984, p.10).

The recent introduction of 'direct entry' police leaders is one which theoretically has the potential to help achieve cultural change. While early days, there is optimism regarding the potential for senior direct entrants to tackle culture regarding 'time-served', and also macho elements in particular, having "the potential to loosen the firm attachment between police leadership and idealized notions of the 'heroic male,'" (Silvestri, 2018, p.320).

However, while having the potential to move away from senior officer "group think" and change culture with "fresh ideas" (Smith, 2016a, p.311), it is likely that, for now, these direct entrants may be more symbols than deliverers of change (Silvestri, 2018). Strongly opposed by many senior police leaders, recruited only annually and in small numbers (just nine superintendents in 2014), not yet accepted by all forces, and themselves subject to the prevailing culture, anticipating any significant cultural impact from direct entrants in the short-term is ambitious (Smith, 2015). As one direct entry superintendent has explained, the strength of the police culture can be very impactful:

"Even after just a couple of months, I can feel the culture seeping into me, so after 18 months of training, will my ability to bring in new perspectives be diminished?" (Smith, 2016a, p.321).

Schein (1984) identified the need to replace large numbers in an organisation if the original culture was to be relinquished. So while accepting the value in direct entry, bringing external people into senior police posts is unlikely to bring about change, especially when in such small numbers.

In terms of workforce composition then, what evidence is there that changes, and in particular a focus on introducing a more diverse workforce, is an enabler to cultural reform? While transformational styles considered central to cultural reform may be more closely associated with females (Silvestri, 2007; Stemple, Rigotti, & Mohr, 2015; Brown & Silvestri, 2019), and women now represent almost 30% of all officers (Home Office, 2018), the examination of police culture in this chapter highlights that traditional elements of policing culture endure and that it remains largely gendered in its nature (Metcalf & Dick, 2002; Silvestri, 2003). Brown's (2007) assertion that

“police occupational identity was and still is privileged by a masculine orientation” (p.205) remains echoed by Silvestri (2018), finding that “the cultural and structural conditions that enable the ‘heroic male’ to emerge as the ‘ideal’ police leader” (p.309) persevere.

The possibility of cultural change through an increased representation of women will be explored further in later chapters of this study, although in terms of pure numbers, even in the highest ranks, it appears that simply changing workforce composition may not be enough, (Dejevsky, 2017).

In Loftus’ study (2009) the diversification of the workforce and progression of minority officers had been placed high on the agenda, introducing a coordinated plan with a high profile recruitment campaign, proactive recruitment of officers, and flexible working practices. As a result it did see a gradual rise in the number of female officers and an unprecedented rise in female promotions, but these changes were considered “excessive and unwarranted” and were thus “vehemently resisted and resented” (Loftus, 2009, p.63), despite white male officers still forming the prevailing group within the organisation.

Silvestri (2006) emphasises that despite such resistance, the opportunities for reform that could be achieved by removing existing hierarchical structures, and embedding new working patterns such as flexible working are too great to give up on:

“Any strategy that offers the potential to ... break down the hierarchical nature and rank mentality of the police service and loosen the stronghold that men hold in policing is a project worth pursuing” (p.279).

In addition to those enablers highlighted by Silvestri (2006) and Loftus (2009), Chan’s (1996) work draws on Bourdieu’s (1990) concepts of ‘field and habitus’, which are also considered key to any successful cultural reform initiative (Gardner, 2015). Chan (1996) uses the analogy of sport to suggest that the ‘field’ represents the markings or rules of a game, while the ‘habitus’ is its objectives: changes to either can impact on how a player plays the game, but if the field is altered in a way that also reinforces new

objectives, then this will greatly assist the desired objectives being achieved (Marks, 2007b; Gardner, 2015). This concept is also reiterated by Schein and Schein, 2017:

“one of the great dangers inherent in culture-change programs is to assume that strategy and the external adaptation issues are somehow separate from culture and to focus the desired cultural changes just on the internal mechanisms by which a group makes life pleasant for itself” (Schein & Schein, 2017, p.8).

One further area relevant to the consideration of police culture is with regards to the role played by the police ‘unions’, i.e. the Police Federation and the Police Superintendents’ Association (PSA). With their finance and power, these unions are generally considered to have considerable influence, but are arguably a significant barrier to police reform, being “steeped in entrenched traditional police cultural norms” (Marks, 2007b, p.143). If the unions were prepared to adapt, forging “new identities and new alliances” (O’Neill & Singh, 2007 p.9) then they arguably have the potential to be significant agents for change, and to “shape police culture in new, progressive directions” (Marks, 2007, p.229).

Yet there remains limited evidence of these unions being prepared to embrace change unless forced to do so. For example, in 2014, following a crisis of confidence from the public, government and members alike, the Police Federation, who represent the largest proportion of officers (i.e. officers to the rank of chief inspector), commissioned its own Independent Review (Normington, 2014), revealing an urgent need for them to engage in a programme of “deep cultural change” (Casciani, 2014, para.27). The report highlighted that the Federation had a culture of opposing police reform, as well as poor behaviour by its members, the under-representation of women and minority ethnic officers and a lack of transparency. However, when the Police Federation Chair Steve White stepped down some three years later, he announced concerns that the Federation was still blocking reform and “thwarting the progress of women and people from black and minority ethnic communities” (Dodd, 2017, para.1), and there remains limited evidence of the Police Federation using their cultural influence to “engage in new

directions” or “push the thinking of their membership base”, (Marks, 2007, p.229).

Conclusion: An organisation in transition?

Loftus observes that “there has been growing consensus that police culture is in transition” (2010, p.16), although “just how far it has come is still debated”, (Workman-Stark, 2017, p.30). These views, however, appear to emphasise the notion of one police culture, or an “inheritance” model of culture (Charman, 2017, p.338), capable of moving in one direction. Charman examines the less prominent model of “cultural sedimentation” (p.338), where characteristics of culture build in layers, “ so that existing characteristics are strengthened ..., old characteristics become further buried... and new characteristics begin to take shape”. (p.339). In this model, new top layers gradually compress, and with time diminish the bottom layers, with the degree of alteration dependent on pressures and changes from ‘the field’ of policing, e.g. structure, function and accountability.

This study considers how gender in policing has impacted on this cultural layering, and the extent to which the existing cultural foundation, albeit ever shifting and feeling different depending on where an individual stands, is assisting or inhibiting policing to maximise the benefits that a more diverse workforce can bring. It will seek to highlight opportunities for enablers for cultural change to be employed positively and thus assist policing to achieve its vision to meet the needs of increasingly diverse and complex communities, with “a more sophisticated response” to the challenges it faces, and the ability to transform and adapt (Association of Police and Crime Commissioners (APCC) & NPCC, 2016, p.2).

The importance of studying police culture specifically from the perspective of gender, and how the traditionally masculine nature of organisational cultures impacts negatively on women is highlighted by numerous academics (Silvestri, 2003; Young 2007; Cain, 2011). Further consideration of this impact of culture is included in chapter four.

CHAPTER 3: LEADERSHIP AND POLICING

Introduction

In exploring whether gender impacts on leadership in contemporary policing, this chapter seeks to provide an insight into academic organisational leadership theories, including leadership styles and perceptions of 'effectiveness'. It also explores the concern that police leadership is in a constant state of crisis (Rowe, 2006) and the resultant calls for police reform (Golding & Savage, 2008). It considers whether altering the "gender dynamics in leadership" (Koeppel, 2014, p.158) might help respond to the challenge of ensuring effective police leaders capable of delivering the required 'professionalisation agenda' (Davis & Bailey, 2018; College of Policing, 2015). The critical examination of these areas will help establish whether, and how, gender-associated issues impact on how policing is delivered by its senior leaders, and why the contribution to knowledge made by this research is important from both academic and practitioner perspectives.

Concepts of leadership in organisations

There are numerous definitions of leadership (Bass, 1990; Davis & Bailey, 2018), as well as a complicated and conflicting relationship between concepts of 'leadership', often considered entrepreneurial and innovative, (Adlam & Villiers, 2003; Grint & Thornton, 2015), and 'management', with a contradictory focus on "stability, structure and control" (Davis & Bailey, 2018, p.14).

Accepting the vast spectrum of definitions, the College of Policing's broad definition of leadership as "the quality which connects an understanding of what must be done with the capability to achieve it" (2015, p.6) is considered suitable for the purposes of this study, where culture and leadership become

entwined with the focus on gender and the question of what needs to happen if change is to be achieved.

Building on the seminal work of Burns (1978), who identified the transforming power and moral purpose of leaders, a significant body of literature in the last 40 years has focussed on transactional and transformational leadership styles. While transactional leaders are described as operating with power (Haslam, Reicher & Platow, 2011), with followers rewarded when they meet expectations (Koeppel, 2014), transformational leaders are instead found to use their influence to inspire and motivate their teams to deliver results (Bass, 1999).

Transformational leadership styles have become increasingly popular, (Cockcroft, 2014), with Bryman and Stephens (1996) adding trust, empowerment and change orientation to Bass's original 'four Is' dimensions of transformational leadership: idealised influence or charisma, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualised consideration. They thus created their concept of 'new leadership', emphasising the importance of using trust and sharing power (Bryman & Stephens, 1996). This contrasted with 'traditional' leadership, a concept which added to transactional contingent reward styles the dimensions of 'instrumental leadership', where leaders give clear instructions and provide sufficient resources to ensure the task can be achieved; as well as management by exception, i.e. only intervening when things go wrong (Bryman & Stephens, 1996).

In the last 20 years scholars (Foster, 2003; Silvestri, 2007; Cockcroft, 2014) have increasingly emphasised the value of transformational leadership styles, specifically with regards to their impact on followers. This impact includes unanticipated high levels of performance and increased commitment to collective rather than individual goals (Ng & Sears, 2012), and on their ability to bring about cultural, and thus successful, organisational change (Bass and Riggio, 2006). This is considered particularly significant given the findings in chapter two regarding how key characteristics of police culture can impede the success of police reform attempts.

Transactional and transformational styles form the basis of many police leadership studies (Bryman & Stephens, 1996; Golding & Savage, 2008; Cockcroft, 2014), and have thus been selected as the styles that will broadly underpin leadership considerations in this study. This approach is supported by key findings from Home Office research into the expectations and impact of police leadership (Dobby, Anscombe and Tuffin, 2004), indicating that transformational leadership styles are essential for every supervision level in policing, and are considered by officers to be the most effective types of leadership behaviour. There is concern that an absence of such behaviours has a significant negative impact:

“Those leaders who are not having positive impacts shown to be associated with transformational leadership may be having a damaging effect on the motivation and morale of the staff they manage and possibly on the quality and efficiency of the service as a result” (Dobby et al., 2004, p.25).

A third leadership style, albeit less frequently observed (Bass, 1990; Bryman & Stephens, 1996) is described as ‘laissez-faire’, where leaders leave their followers to work without direction or supervision. Generally this style is considered to result in poorer work outcomes and to be the least productive and least satisfying leadership style (Bass, 1990, p.546). It may however, be combined with both transactional and transformational leadership styles, and form part of a leadership continuum (Bass, 1990).

Recent scholars also observe that effective leadership is not limited to an individual’s preferred style, but also relies on the context in which that leadership is delivered. While transformational leaders may be considered to be the most effective “in both the long and short term” (Golding & Savage, 2008, p.732), it is accepted that both styles have their place, and that the “best” leaders are able to employ whichever style is most appropriate to the circumstances (Bass, 1999, p.21). In addition, the relationship between the leader and their followers as a group is significant, as social relations and social ‘categories’ or perceptions of group membership can be fluid and renegotiated (Haslam et al., 2011, p.65). Again, given the nature of police

culture, including the relationships between “street cops and management cops” (Reuss-Ianni, 1983, p.1), and concepts of group membership, these are factors that should also be considered in terms of police leadership.

Characteristics and challenges of police leadership

Whether organisational management or leadership principles are even relevant for policing is subject to some debate. Waddington, for example, queries whether policing is in fact manageable or controllable, concluding that a unique case exists for the police, who “defeat attempts to impose rational management” (1999b, p.243), due to its reactionary nature and span of responsibilities. Others however, do consider that effective leaders can have a positive impact on police outcomes (Golding & Savage, 2008), and there is concern regarding an apparent absence of such leaders (Haberfeld, 2006; Schafer, 2010).

In addition to the findings of the Home Office report on expectations and impact of police leadership (Dobby et al., 2004), other scholars have similarly highlighted the positive influence of transformational and shared leadership styles in policing over more traditional or transactional styles (Anderson, 2000; Masal, 2015), and calls for transformational styles to be developed have increased (Silvestri, 2007).

The success of attempts to introduce transformational leadership styles into policing however is debatable, with scholars finding that challenges and barriers prevail (Davis & Bailey, 2018). A tendency for policing to repeatedly revert back to more traditional leadership styles has been noted (Adlam & Villiers, 2003), and is frequently attributed to elements such as “mechanical hierarchies”, (Grint & Thornton, 2015, p.95), and managerial, as opposed to leadership, orientations. A command-based leadership approach (Davis & Bailey, 2018; Herrington & Colvin, 2016), which can be relied upon in difficult times, is generally considered the norm for public services as a whole, not just policing (Adlam & Villiers, 2003). Villiers (2003, p.28) identified a number of axioms regarding police leadership that have also been widely highlighted

in other studies (Davis & Bailey, 2018), and which are summarised and explored further below:

Leadership exists: Villiers considered the phenomenon of leadership as distinct from management or supervision, and concluded that police leadership is “underdeveloped” (p.28). Davis and Bailey (2018) more recently also highlight evidence of police leadership as “conceptualised in managerialist terms” (p.14), with managerial principles of efficiency and effectiveness enduring. This evidence conflicts with contemporary policy rhetoric regarding the need for innovation and collaboration (APCC & NPCC, 2016).

Every officer is a leader: Villiers considered the role of discretion in policing and the powers conferred on all officers, meaning that leadership is a characteristic required of all ranks. Punch (2009) similarly describes the need for leadership at all levels while Pearson, Goff and Herrington (2013) have more recently considered how this leadership will vary according to the rank. The College of Policing’s leadership review (2015) similarly asserts that their definition of leadership is both necessary and capable of being developed at every police level.

The ‘military’ style of leadership still exists: Villiers observed how policing still practised an autocratic or military style of leadership. Others have termed this style as ‘instrumental’ (Bryman & Stephens, 1996) or ‘command-and-control’, with a reliance on rank and centralised tasking (Grint & Thornton, 2015; Silvestri, 2011; Davis & Bailey, 2018). Van Maanen (1983) suggested that line-managers focussed on rules because they were easier to establish in an otherwise complex working environment. Discourse analysis-based studies have also continued to highlight a penchant for rank-led and task-oriented leadership styles (Rowe, 2006). Pearson, Goff and Herrington

(2013) found strong decision-making ability to be necessary for police leaders to secure “legitimacy and respect” (p.18) among those they supervised. Other studies have, however, found that there is an appetite for more consultative leadership styles (Silvestri, 2007; Meaklim & Sims, 2011).

The College of Policing argues strongly for a need to move away from a reliance on a command-approach to leadership, considering that it presents “potentially the greatest obstacle to the culture of candour and challenge that is necessary to succeed in the future context” (2015, p.18).

Leadership by example has been neglected: This refers to how senior officers personally lead those under their command. Given few opportunities, such as riot situations, where policing requires leaders to act in this ‘heroic’ style, Villiers considered it largely absent from police leadership. Notwithstanding the lack of opportunity to practice it in every-day operations, Bryman and Stephens (1996) however, found that even perceptions of leaders being able to effectively take operational control and lead from the front, enhanced a leader’s reputation and standing.

Unheroic leadership: Despite limited opportunities to physically and heroically lead their teams, policing does bring opportunities to lead by example in terms of demonstrating integrity and morale courage. Acting ethically and establishing trust with those being supervised, is considered a critical characteristic for police leaders (Pearson, Goff & Herrington, 2013). Villiers noted that middle managers would like to see more evidence of such leadership amongst those in the most senior positions.

The need for a new style of command: Despite a general acceptance among senior leaders that a more democratic and consultative style was required, Villiers observed the culture of the service continuing to operate against such a change, even among those willing to embrace it: “In reality,

the bulk of senior commanders remain autocrats – even those who advocated changing the culture” (2003, p.29).

Foster (2003) has similarly argued that the internal police culture acts as a significant barrier in preventing more transformational styles of leadership from flourishing. Schafer (2010) queries whether, as well as the impact of culture on the delivery of change, an individual’s personality also underpins their ability to demonstrate more transformational leadership characteristics, such as being caring, fair and flexible, and if so, to what extent can leadership development courses really bring about such changes. Davis and Bailey (2018), while noting evidence of more consultative approaches to leadership taking place in “low-risk and less visible situations” (p.18), such as in station-based interactions, still generally found leadership reverting to command-and-control styles given the pressures, complexities, and focus on achieving efficiency and effectiveness.

The blame culture: Villiers observed how police leaders allow officers to act independently and use their discretion widely, until something goes wrong. At this point, there is a search for someone to take the blame, rather than a search for truth or for an opportunity to learn from the mistake. Punch (2009) similarly describes a culture where senior officers will, on occasion, ignore “rule-bending” (p.35) in exchange for quick results, but will soon disappear if the situation goes wrong, subsequently allocating blame (p.240).

A culture of generalised cynicism: As discussed in chapter two, cynicism with regards to both the public and towards the effectiveness of policing itself is a key feature of policing, and extends to its leaders. Villiers observed mixed attitudes towards leaders in policing, with little evidence of leaders ever being admired, other than for dubious qualities such as “ruthless cunning” (2003, p.30) or a clear focus on achieving results. Rowe (2006) also found suspicion towards leaders trying to introduce change.

Distrust of charisma: Villiers noted that few police leaders are considered 'charismatic'. Bryman and Stephens (1996) suggest that chief officers are the most likely to exhibit a charismatic leadership style, and while also finding a lack of support for such an approach to leadership, particularly among lower ranking officers, Schafer (2010) notes that views will vary from one individual to the next: "One person's self-centred egoist is another person's confident visionary" (p.647). Silvestri and Paul (2015, p.198) consider that charisma, or the "cult of personality" is an insufficient model for senior leaders in what are more "complex" times for policing, with selflessness, transparency and public service now more necessary characteristics of police leaders.

A masculine culture?: While claiming not to have personally observed any overt prejudice towards women in the police service, Villiers did conclude that those women who have made it to senior positions will have had to do so "against the odds" (p.31), and by conforming to a prevailing masculine culture. This aspect of police culture and its impact on leadership is examined in more detail later in this chapter, and in chapter four.

A culture of anti-leadership?: It is observed that many in policing are generally uncomfortable with notions of leadership per se, and that despite the hierarchical structure, the culture is generally "egalitarian" (Adlam & Villiers, 2003, p.31), leading to an inability to challenge those who are being led. The influence of 'followers' is also considered an important aspect of leadership styles in policing, with recent research highlighting how police leaders are "poor change agents" (Haake, Rantatalo, & Lindberg, 2017, p.764), squeezed between pressures from both the ranks above and below, and tending to prioritise the expectations from below.

The pool of potential leaders: There is evidence that chief officers do not see a need to look externally to find quality people to develop into their top

leaders (Smith, 2015). Villiers supports this view in terms of the attributes police recruits bring, but suggests that their “vision and idealism” (2003, p.32) dissipates by the time they reach senior rank. Rowe (2006) advocated the need for external recruitment into senior posts if attempts at police modernisation were to be achieved.

Following the Winsor Review (2012) into police remuneration and conditions, and amid considerable controversy (Smith, 2015; Hoggett, Redford, Toher & White, 2018), direct entry routes, were introduced at inspector and superintendent rank. While described as a “watershed” (Smith, 2015, p.161), fewer than half of all forces have allowed direct entrants into their senior posts (College of Policing, 2019), and issues relating to identity and leadership credibility endure (Hoggett et al., 2018).

Recognition of the need for doctrine: Villiers challenged the view that policing generally preferred a pragmatic, rather than theoretical approach to its business. Villiers observed police middle managers as frustrated by a lack of progress in terms of the ‘professionalisation’ of policing, and cites police service interest in theories of transformational leadership as an example of a genuine interest in ‘what works’. Davis and Bailey (2018, p.13) however, find that the continuing “emphasis on ‘what works’” is more about a focus on day-to-day task effectiveness and is a continuing barrier to the police exploring those wider theories and meanings of leadership that will help them bring about the innovation and people-focussed approach that the complexity of contemporary policing challenges require (Neyroud, 2011).

In summary, Villiers’ observations, together with the supporting evidence of other academic studies, establish the characteristics of police leadership as predominantly transactional and resistant to change, even when there is a desire articulated by leaders to do so. Leadership is shown to be inextricably linked with the dominant traditional and macho police culture as presented in chapter two, a culture which undermines attempts to introduce alternative

leadership styles and for reform programmes to succeed (College of Policing 2015; Herrington & Colvin, 2016).

The perpetual crises of police leadership

Taken together, a number of these premises listed by Villiers, have merged to create what has been described as a leadership crisis (Golding & Savage, 2008), with concerns around the quality of leaders and their ability to overcome cultural barriers in particular, and meet new challenges being used to validate government intervention and police reform programmes. Although it is most likely that the quality of police leadership is consistent with other public sector and private organisations (Golding & Savage, 2008), such has been the extent of calls for police reform and the associated improvements in leadership, that the crisis is considered by some scholars to be “never-ending” (Rowe, 2006, p.760).

The 1990s were particularly problematic in terms of police leadership crises; with allegations of sex discrimination and racism (Charman, Savage & Cope, 1999). The Sheehy report into police responsibilities and rewards recommended significant changes to leadership structures and contracts in order to introduce cultural reforms (HMSO, 1993), while the Stephen Lawrence inquiry (Macpherson, 1999) reflected on the impact of a “failure of leadership” (para. 46.1). A major police reform programme established under a Labour government at the start of the millennium referred to challenges with technology and working with communities, and recommended a number of key leadership themes including enhanced professionalism, new points of entry and enhancing police leadership (Home Office, 2004, Rowe, 2006; Golding & Savage, 2008). Neyroud’s review of police leadership and training concluded that radical change was needed as policing now faced “*very tough and very different demands*” (2010, p.2), recommending the development of a new professional body for policing, with a framework to enable “a transformation of the culture of learning” (p.2). In 2012, the College of

Policing was established as the professional body for everyone who works for the police service in England and Wales.

The College of Policing (2015) has since reiterated leadership challenges in terms of funding, together with diminishing legitimacy and the need for new responses. With contemporary developments in policing (e.g. austerity, technology, and terrorism) considered to be some of the greatest challenges of the last 60 years (Hogget, Redford, Toher & White, 2018), the APCC and NPCC vision describes both cultural and leadership changes as “vital if policing is to innovate at the pace required” (2016, p.8).

This period has also seen serious police leadership failings, including deficiencies in decision-making and integrity, triggering “unprecedented scrutiny” (Davis, 2017, p.18). Media attention has included the Rotherham and Hillsborough inquiries (BBC News, 2018; Hough, 2012). Chief officer misconduct has also been the specific focus of academic research, with abuse of force procedures, and personal conduct, including sexism, bullying and sexual misconduct, highlighted as particular issues (Hales, May, Belur & Hough, 2015). Risk factors include a sense of entitlement, an absence of challenge, and the ethical climate of the force itself, which is shaped by leadership styles as well as by the organisational culture, training, selection processes, and approaches to performance management. Links between achieving senior rank and reverting to bullying behaviours have also been indicated by academic research into the future of policing, where a “do as I say and not as I do’ mentality among the top brass” was reported, (Bradford, Brown & Schuster, 2012, p.32).

The Independent Police Commission into the future of policing (2013) has described police leadership failings as negatively impacting on public confidence and policing legitimacy, and questioned whether police leaders were capable of leading the service through new ways of working and financial austerity. They considered the findings of the Winsor Review (2012), and in particular Winsor’s observation that the current means of identifying leaders, with an emphasis of learning on the job, was “inadequate”, concluding that police leadership qualification, training and

promotion processes required “an overhaul” (Independent Police Commission, 2013, p.120).

With recent research into contemporary policing indicating that most attempts to modernise police leadership continue to end with the same result: an adherence to, or reversion back to, transactional leadership styles (Silvestri, 2007; Davis & Bailey, 2018), this study now explores whether the gender of senior police officers offers any opportunities for a new approach to leadership that could enable policing to step off the wheel of perpetual crises, and move to a position where the police organisation and leadership is tangibly transformed. Is there evidence that the gender of a leader, and specifically a police leader, influences effectiveness to this extent?

Leadership styles and gender

Historically leadership, like policing, has been constructed in macho terms, with an emphasis on power, authority, and competitiveness (Fleming, 2015; Davis, 2017). “Think manager-think male” is described as a global phenomenon (Schein, Mueller, Lituchy, & Liu, 1996, p.33), while contemporary scholars have extended this to include “think follower, think female” (Braun, Stegmann, Hernandez Bark, Junker & van Dick, 2017, p.377). Implicit leadership theories also serve to define the stereotyped images and the classic role conflict between women and leaders (Hoyt, Simon, & Innella, 2011; Eagly & Karau, 2002), while the subtle message heard by women in the workplace is that “they aren’t real leaders’ – men are,” (Smith, Rosenstein & Nikolov, 2018, p.5). These concepts become particularly relevant during the analysis and discussion of the primary data obtained from the surveys employed during this research (chapter seven).

In terms of overcoming the barriers to change, particularly the limiting nature of organisational culture, transformational leadership has been highlighted as most likely to achieve success (Cockcroft, 2013). While transactional leadership has its place, in terms of using existing power and structures to achieve organisational aims and implement existing policy (Tucker & Russell,

2004), it is the transformational approach that promotes change, influences the mind-sets of followers, and encourages acceptance of change and innovation: "In short, the message is clear; masters of the use of participatory styles are also the masters of change", (Silvestri, 2007, p.40). Persuaded by the evidence regarding the effectiveness of transformational leadership styles, and noting the specific call for them to underpin police leadership approaches (Dobby et al., 2004; Silvestri, 2007), this section considers the links between gender and the ability to provide different and more effective, i.e. transformational, leadership styles.

From the analyses of the continuing crises of police leadership and repeated failures to implement enduring change, it appears that attempts by the organisation and by individuals to operate as a transformational organisation are yet to succeed, and it is here that an increased focus on gender may prove advantageous. While there is research noting no significant difference in leadership styles between men and women, (Cliff, Langton, & Aldrich, 2005), an increasing number of studies over recent years (Alvesson & Billing, 2009) do suggest that women may be more naturally inclined towards leading in a transformational way, and that organisations that implement diversity strategies are the most likely to be associated with transformational leadership (Alimo-Metcalfe, 1995; Ng & Sears, 2012). It is therefore contended that an increase in the numbers of senior women leaders in policing could lead to greater transformational leadership and also influence cultural change (Heidensohn, 1992; Brown, 2003; Silvestri, 2007), although there is evidence that this may be less likely in male-dominated organisations, where women may have to adopt more masculine styles (Koeppel, 2014).

Rosener's (1990) study, for example, found that female executives no longer needed to lead in a traditional command-and-control style to succeed, but were instead employing the skills and approaches that they had gained from their "shared experience as women" (p.119). These women were observed to be forging their own paths to success, and were unconsciously utilising participatory leadership styles. These encouraged employee involvement,

shared both power and information, and sought to motivate through enhancing a sense of self-worth for others and creating excitement with regards to work (Rosener, 1990). These are all characteristics of a transformational leadership style (Ackoff, 1999). Rosener contended that these approaches were rooted in women's socialisation experiences and tending to have not previously enjoyed "formal authority over others" (p.124). She concluded that women therefore had to find alternative ways to achieve results and to survive in the business world.

Rosener found that men, on the other hand, predominantly relied on transactional leadership styles, for example exchanging rewards for performance and employing traditional notions of organisational power and authority. Other academics have concluded that the difference in leadership styles may be the result of expectation, with followers looking for women to behave in a certain way (transformational), and women responding to that expectation (Alvesson & Billing, 2009). Whether early socialisation, family life or organisational culture, research continues to suggest that in many contexts, differences in style do endure.

Bass and Avolio (1994) also investigate degrees of difference between male and female leaders, applying their own Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ). The MLQ is considered a primary measure of transformational leadership, evaluating the four distinct factors identified by Bass: idealised influence or charisma, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualised consideration (p.554). Their research showed women scoring more highly in all areas of transformational leadership, and were consistent with Rosener's findings (1990). Given the qualities that women bring to leadership, they concluded that "perhaps it is time the glass ceiling was shattered" (p.558). Yet, over twenty years later scholars continue to find evidence that women's careers are constrained by the barriers of a glass ceiling (Valdini, 2015), as well as a "sticky floor" attempting to keep them in their place as followers rather than leaders (Braun et al., 2017, p.384). Theories relating to constructs of gender, including gender as a social construct, are further explored in chapter four.

Analysing performance over seven years, McKinsey & Company (2013, p.7) identified that those companies with a “critical mass” of women in senior positions performed better than those without women in their top posts, and highlighted leadership styles as contributing to the success of those companies with more women. Like Rosener over twenty years earlier, McKinsey & Company found female leaders more likely than men to be concerned with developing others and exhibiting participatory styles, while men were more likely to rely on individualist decision-making, and “control and corrective action” (p.7). Recent research by Moreno-Gómez, Lafuente, and Vaillant (2018) similarly found that gender diversity, particularly at the top echelons of corporations, is positively associated with business performance. They emphasise, however, that it is the breadth of diversity of the executive teams, rather than being all-male or all-female driven, that make them “more innovative” and “quicker to implement change” (p.107). The case for heterogeneity in leadership teams is further supported by research by Perryman, Fernando and Tripathy (2015).

Yet despite evidence that women tend to lead in more effective transformational styles, the ‘intuitive’ image of the effective leader being male (and white) persists, and can impact on the perceptions of women as being suitable for leadership posts (Hoyt et al., 2011; Eagly & Karau, 2002). The notion of transformational and ‘feminine’ styles of leading being associated with reform and success has not translated into actual senior appointments, with recent figures showing that women still remain significantly under-represented in positions at the top of organisations (Smith et al., 2018).

It is also noted that evidence regarding women as being more likely to exhibit transformational leadership styles is not universally accepted (Ergle, 2015), and that studies also highlight more negative characteristics of female leaders, such as the ‘queen bee’ phenomenon, which has been associated with senior women in male-dominated organisations and in policing in particular (Derks, Van Laar, Ellemers, & de Groot, 2011). This is where senior women are considered to achieve success by emphasising how they differ from other women and fail to support female career advancement:

“Instead, they emphasize having masculine competencies and characteristics, distance themselves from other women and more often than not oppose rather than support the advancement of female subordinates (Ellemers, Rink, Derks & Ryan, 2012, p.176)

However there is also a large body of research that identifies that where women fail to exhibit transformational leadership styles, this may be linked to a need to adopt male traits and to adapt to the prevailing norms of an organisation in order to fit in and be successful, rather than consciously wishing to distance themselves from other women (Savell, 2009; Österlind, & Haake, 2010; Picker & Nagle; 2015).

This section will now consider how these findings are reflected in a policing context, and whether there is evidence that women leaders in policing are more transformational than their male counterparts and are effective “agents of change”? (Silvestri, 2007, p.39).

Leadership and gender in policing

Given the particularly macho nature of policing as discussed in chapter two, and the masculine constructs of leadership described in the section above, female leaders in policing may be especially likely to experience resistance and gender bias during their journey into leadership roles (Haake, 2018). Although there is a limited amount of academic analyses of leadership in policing, and even less specifically on gender and leadership (Silvestri, 2007; Koeppel, 2014), themes have emerged with regards to how women in policing ‘do’ leadership (Silvestri, 2006; 2007) and the contribution they can make to transforming policing, especially at times of crisis (Heidensohn, 1992; Mano-Negrin & Sheaffer, 2004).

Österlind & Haake (2010) found women police leaders articulating a preference for a transformational style that broke from traditional masculine and authoritarian approaches, while Silvestri and Paul (2015) observe that senior women themselves associate their styles “strongly with a

transformational approach” (p.196). Silvestri’s (2003) research found that while women preferred to engage in a participatory style, their approach often met resistance due to the hierarchical structure and mission-action culture, resulting in them being perceived negatively as “the ‘weak’ ... link in the managerial chain”, (Silvestri & Paul, 2015, p.197).

Rather than having their transformational skills welcomed, the skills which policing leadership and strategic discourse purports to desire, female leaders often find that transactional styles are awarded greater value, and they are being urged to “muscle up” (Silvestri, 2003, p.132). There is a sense that women leaders in policing are finding their efforts to utilise participatory and motivational styles unsupported, even when they are likely to achieve the best results. This can lead them to adopt coping mechanisms in consonance with transactional leadership styles, such as aligning themselves more with their own rank colleagues rather than other women; adapting to the traditional occupational culture, and working harder and longer (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Silvestri, 2003; Koepfel, 2014). Observing the “smart macho culture” (p.38) and understanding that being results-driven, competitive, and individualistic is what is rewarded in policing, Silvestri (2007) suggests we should not be surprised by senior officers still choosing to use transactional styles of leadership.

Yet not all studies concur that women in police prefer a transformational style and only move away from it as an adaption response. Studies by Engel (2000, 2001), for example, suggest that in policing, gendered preferences do not replicate those found in the wider world of work, and that women who enter policing actually prefer more traditional and transactional approaches. There is also the issue of representation, with some scholars recognising that the transformative effect of women’s leadership styles will not be achieved until they are represented in sufficient numbers in the organisation (Ward & Prenzler, 2016). Although the numbers of women in policing and in senior leadership roles continues to rise, the critical mass of 35% considered necessary for a minority group to make a real impact in terms of change (Brown & Woolfenden, 2011) still appears some years away. While Whittred

(2008), questions the lack of a national strategy focussing on increasing the numbers of women leaders, Silvestri (2017), however, urges against a reliance on the numbers and the potential for policing to become more transformative and effective in terms of delivering reforms, even if the proportion of senior female leaders does increase (Österlind & Haake, 2010). As already identified in this chapter, such is the power and complexity of police culture, the performance pressures, and the bureaucracy of its structures, that even when leaders, regardless of gender, purport to support new ways of managing, they find themselves reverting to traditional styles (Davis & Bailey, 2018).

Concluding thoughts

The emerging picture from the research to date is that women and leadership in policing has not been widely studied, and is an important area of research. This is based particularly on the evidence that in other professions it is acknowledged that greater gender-balance in leadership teams is proving effective in terms of both performance and change management (Koeppel, 2014; Moreno-Gómez, et al., 2018).

Within the present literature there are conflicting findings regarding the existence or extent of different leadership styles by male and female senior officers (Engel, 2000; 2001; Silvestri, 2007), although it does appear that the organisation is struggling to move away from a predominantly transactional style, despite policy and rhetoric (Davis & Bailey, 2018). There is evidence that regardless of gender, there are barriers to implementing transformational leadership styles due to the “cultural and structural conditions” that endure (Silvestri, 2018, p.309), while the ability for police leaders to function as “agents of change” and bring about organisational reform is highly uncertain (Haake et al., 2017, p.764).

Finally, while discussing leadership in terms of male and female officers, it is also important to be mindful of reinforcing stereo-typical notions of women and men leading in opposing ways. Österlind and Haake, (2010) found

considerable variation in leadership preferences within gender groups, and also noted the impact of the organisational context. Observing the police leadership style to be predominantly 'masculine' is not the same as saying all male leaders lead in a transactional style, or that all female leaders are skilled as transformational leaders or prefer participatory approaches. Constructs of gender, rather than biological differences are considered further in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4: GENDER AND POLICING

Introduction

“Policing by consent ... can only be achieved by retaining legitimacy within the communities we serve through transparency, engagement and an ethical and fair application of the law by a workforce that reflects the people it serves”, (NPCC, 2018, p.6).

Opening the foreword to the 2018 NPCC diversity, equality and inclusion strategy, this statement establishes the importance of a diverse police force fairly representing the people it serves. However, as with the Home Affairs select committee report on diversity in policing (House of Commons & Home Affairs Committee, 2016), the foreword concentrates primarily on race. While there is substantial governmental discourse around the under-representation of Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) officers, the fact that women only represent around 30% of all serving officers (Home Office, 2018), despite representing over 50% of the population (Gov.UK, 2019), attracts no official comment. In summarising police workforce data, for example, the Home Office (2018) discusses only BAME under-representation. Although academics have for some time, noted “no rational reasons why men should dominate policing” (Heidensohn, 1992, p.247), on the significant under-representation of females, the Home Office is silent.

This chapter focuses on gender in policing, and questions the silence that belies the reality of an organisation which, despite some progress over the 100 years of female involvement, is gendered at every level: individual, structural and cultural (Dick et al., 2014). While diversity in policing is considered key to its effectiveness (ACPO, APA & Home Office, 2009), policing remains “the preserve of (white) men” (Silvestri, 2017, p.290).

This chapter begins with a wider exploration of what ‘gender’ means in terms of gender theories and organisations, before focussing specifically on gender and policing. It considers the ‘business case’ for women police officers; the

progress and regression of women during the last century; and the social and cultural resistance to women in policing. It summarises the key barriers for the advancement of women officers today, and also highlights how these barriers appear to have slowed previous gains in terms of female officer numbers (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013).

Gender and gendered organisations

Joan Acker (1989; 1992; 1992b) is considered “a pioneer” by social researchers with regards to her seminal work, (Maddock, 1999, p.90), which endeavoured to explain how organisations and occupations “are gendered at both institutional and individual levels (Silvestri, 2003, p.23). Her definition of gender as the “patterned, socially produced, distinctions between female and male, feminine and masculine” (Acker, 1992, p.250), is still considered key to understanding people’s experiences in the workplace, including how employees experience “encouragement, scepticism, support and suffering”, (Alvesson & Billing, 2009, p.1).

Distinguishing between gender as an anatomical difference between the sexes and as a social or cultural construction is considered essential to understanding how and why gender is experienced differently in organisations, and how gender ideology has evolved and come to guide perspectives of the appropriate roles for men and women (Acker, 1992b; Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016).

While noting the need for more inclusive demographic categories that “go beyond the traditional gender binary of male/female” (Broussard, Warner & Pope, 2018, p.606), the binary split is still considered relevant for this thesis. A pilot study conducted with senior officers indicated that the vast majority of the research audience were likely to self-identify their gender as either male or female; arguably an unsurprising result given the conservative nature of police culture as identified in chapter two, and evidence of policing as an environment “where binary gendered ideologies” prevail (Panter, 2017, p.305). As will be discussed below however, theories of gender go beyond

the biological labels that remain widely used to determine the identification of an individual's gender, and these biological descriptors are themselves subject to degrees of fluidity (Gabilondo, 2018). Gender as a construct is considered malleable (Acker, 1992b), and will be perceived and treated differently depending on, for example, cultural contexts or time and place (Cockburn, 1985; Alvesson & Billing, 2009). Researchers have identified a range of connected theories with regards to gender and its relationship with organisations (Maddock, 1999), and some of these are explored in more detail below.

Gender as a social construct

This theory emphasises the impact of experiences such as socialisation during childhood, and conforming to socially expected sex norms (Ely & Padavic, 2007). This socialisation is argued by some theorists to result in the differences between 'masculinity' and 'femininity', which become the key characteristics of the 'gender system', referring to the "values, experiences and meanings that are associated with men or women or that define a masculine or feminine image" (Ely & Padavic, 2007, p.1128). The dominance of either masculine or feminine will depend on both the historical or social context, with idealised forms of masculinity coming to be described as "hegemonic masculinity", (Connell, 1990, p.83), a concept that has attracted much debate (Nascimento & Connell, 2017) and which is discussed further below.

The expectations of certain positions within social roles are considered to be shared by society and, in terms of gender, lead to the existence of consensual and normative understandings about the attributes of men and women. Eagly and Karau (2002) describe how these understandings stereotype how men or women actually behave, and also prescribe norms for how they ought to behave, particularly men as "breadwinners" and women as "homemakers", (Eagly & Karau, 2002, p.574).

The descriptive and injunctive norms associated with gender have been subject to a large body of research (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Saint-Michel, 2018). Men have become associated with agentic characteristics, such as “aggressive, ambitious, dominant, forceful, independent, self-sufficient, self-confident and prone to act as leader”, while women are assigned communal attributes, for example, “affectionate, helpful, kind, sympathetic, interpersonally sensitive, nurturant, and gentle” (Eagly & Karau, 2002, p.574). The beliefs around differing traits for males and females have been shown to be strongly held and shared by women and men (Maddock, 1999; Stemple, Rigotti & Mohr, 2015). Where individuals do not fit the expected norms for their gender, i.e. women who display more agentic or ‘masculine’ traits, or men who display communal or ‘feminine’ behaviours, then role incongruity is likely to be perceived (Saint-Michel, 2018).

For women in policing, the impact of social constructs becomes particularly evident when it comes to balancing shift-work and long hours with caring for children. There is evidence that women officers, even when their partners are also in the police, are most likely to take the primary responsibility for organising child-care, with part-time working almost exclusively the preserve of female officers (Gaston & Alexander, 1997; Bury, Pullerits, Edwards, Davies & DeMarco, 2018). In negotiating and balancing work and home lives, women are also likely to be more wary than men of applying for new posts or promotion due to concerns about the potential impact on their child-care arrangements, (Maddock, 1999; Rabe-Hemp, 2008a).

Role congruity theory

Role congruity is grounded in the theory of gender as a social construct (Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000). It posits that where a man or woman takes on a role that is not aligned to expectations about what is appropriate for their gender, then role incongruity is perceived and prejudice is likely to ensue. This phenomenon is particularly associated with women leaders in

organisations, with leadership socially associated with agentic characteristics, and leading to a global 'think manager, think male' stereotype (Schein et al., 1996, p.33). In responding to such prejudice, women leaders may then learn or feel compelled to conform with the expected norms for leadership, and exhibit the same characteristics as 'masculine' peers (Eagly & Karau, 2002). This behaviour can create its own paradox; with female leaders then facing prejudice for behaving contrary to gendered injunctive norms, (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Eagly and Karau (2002) go on to suggest that prejudice towards women leaders can create a more negative assessment of their potential for leadership compared to men, or of their performance once in a leadership position. The extent of prejudice is likely to be associated with how agentic that specific leadership role is defined, as well as with characteristics of the 'perceiver' (p.576), with the more traditionally inclined less likely to approve the 'incongruity' in expected behaviours. Men are more likely to perceive traditional, agentic leadership styles positively (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Moderating factors to these prejudices are acknowledged however, with a move towards leadership roles becoming increasingly 'androgynous' (Eagly & Karau, 2002, p.578), suggesting that perceptions of women as generally less suited for leadership than men may decline. A further moderator to prejudice has been observed when a female leader exhibits a generally masculine approach to leadership, but also demonstrates 'added value', exhibiting communal features not necessarily required for the leadership role. (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Others however, contend that communal behaviours are afforded less credit when emanating from women, due to these characteristics being anticipated from females, while being considered "exceptional" from men (Stemple et al., 2015, p.260).

Focussing specifically on policing, role congruity theory can help explain resistance towards women officers, particularly in those roles that are considered more masculine such as firearms (Cain, 2011). It can also help explain why women officers may still gravitate towards police work

traditionally undertaken in greater proportions by females, such as supporting victims of sexual abuse or community oriented policing (Haake, 2018). Avoiding or removing themselves from male-dominated police teams, where they experience greater conflict between their gender and work identity, is considered one way for women to cope and escape the negative impacts of role incongruity (Veldman, Meeussen, van Laar, & Phalet, (2017).

'Ressentiment'

For women who do continue in police roles that have greater male representation, or put themselves forward for supervisory or leadership posts, entrenched resistance towards them, or 'ressentiment' (Loftus, 2009, p.82), can manifest itself in particularly challenging forms. For example, sexual harassment is a recurring feature as one form of control and segregation (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Brown, Fleming, Silvestri, Linton, & Gouseti, 2018). Shelley, Morabito, and Tobin-Gurley identify such behaviours as ranging across "remarks on sexual orientation, derogatory name calling, putdowns, affectionate terms of address, and hostility and degradation" (2011, p.355), all intended to create a hostile environment that reminds women that they are unwelcome in policing. Senior women are particularly vulnerable to discriminatory treatment and sexual harassment since they are perceived to be an even greater threat to the "gender hierarchy" (Brown et al., 2018, p.3). The effects of such harassment have been associated with negative performance, both at individual and organisational levels, ill-health and premature wastage (Brown, Gouseti, & Fife-Schaw, 2018).

Theories around identity, social identity and acceptance are also useful in understanding how officers might respond to the challenges they encounter in their working environment; or how a group might respond to someone who challenges their own notions of social identity (Rabe-Hemp, 2008a; Brown et al., 2018).

Social identity and gender identity theories

Identity theory refers to how a person self-categorises in relation to the world around them and how this categorisation leads to assumed roles, with expectations forming a set of guiding standards for how a person behaves (Stets & Burke, 2000). Gender identity thus relates to how a person makes sense of themselves as a male or female, developing from an individual's understanding about what it means to be that gender, and how that shapes or influences how they behave (Ely & Padavic, 2007). It includes the "ascription or rejection of accepted gender roles and norms" (Swan, 2016, p.1). These understandings are intertwined with the internal and external forces also influenced by matters linked to gender, such as occupational gender; the surrounding culture; experiences of 'ressentiment', and social constructs, which can either reinforce, or change concepts of traditional gender stereotypes.

Whereas identity theory relates to roles and behaviour, social identity relates to a person's knowledge about the extent to which they belong to a social category or group (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Stet & Burke, 2000), with each social group comprising members who share a common view of themselves as members of the same social category. Through a categorisation and social comparison process, those similar to the self are labelled the 'in-group'; while those who differ are the 'out-group'. Understanding where they sit in relation to a social group can impact positively or negatively on an individual's self-esteem, while the social identity will influence the behaviour of the group as a whole (Stets & Burke, 2000; Charman, 2017).

Where a group feels threatened by an out-group member, they may respond by emphasising the differences between them and the other person, for example, becoming more competitive in order to gain advantage, or exhibiting hostile behaviours such as sexual harassment (Brown et al., 2018). Similarly, individuals may accentuate aspects of their own identity in order to gain acceptance from the in-group, as well as conforming with the group's values and culture.

Martin's (1979; 1980) POLICEwoman or policeWOMAN dichotomy describes how such adaptive behaviours may present in the policing environment, with POLICEwomen emphasising their professionalism, assertiveness and achievement, while policeWOMEN adopt "the stereotypic roles into which they are cast" (Martin, 1980, p.206). Brown (1994) further develops Martin's theories, suggesting that women adopt differing roles as a coping mechanism in a predominantly masculine environment. These range from the "feminine officer" who "tends to permit male dominance on the job and is not taken seriously by men" (p.50), to the "neutral-impersonal officer" who, while determined to achieve equality by a professional and business-like approach, often experiences more strain as a consequence, attracting resentment for having the confidence to demonstrate "adaptive compensatory skills" (p.50).

In a similar vein, Franklin (2005, p.3) observes how women can be "defeminised" or "deprofessionalised" by the group response to them and their capabilities. Defeminisation occurs where an officer is categorised by the dominant group as masculine in nature, and as a consequence is considered competent. Deprofessionalisation represents the opposing extreme, occurring when females accept subordination, and become considered too feminine and incompetent as police officers (Heidensohn, 1992; Rabe-Hemp, 2008a). In male-dominated professions, a tendency has been observed for women to adopt the same attitudes and values as their male peers in seeking to gain acceptance of the social group (Metcalf & Dick, 2002), and this can include a general acceptance by women in policing of cultural norms, including those that are sexist, stereotypical and denigrating of women (Martin, 1979). This has also been observed to lead to the 'queen bee' effect as discussed in chapter three and also later in this chapter. It is of course important to note that all of these typologies describe responses at opposite ends of a continuum, with individuals actually falling at different places on that continuum, which change with time or roles (Banihani, Lewis & Syed, 2013).

Twenty years after Martin's observations, researchers were still observing similar tendencies (Heidensohn, 2000), although some evidence of change has emerged, with a suggestion that identities may be becoming more complex (Morash & Haarr, 2012). As more women join policing and enter senior ranks, traditional male and female stereotypes and the hierarchies "which devalue female-associated, caring traits" may be beginning to unravel (Haake, 2018, p.244). As discussed in more detail in chapter two, other studies suggest that the social identity of officers is also altering in response to an organisational environment which has become increasingly risk-averse and more publically accountable, and due to more external influence from other groups, including friends and family (Charman, 2017).

Recent research (Swan, 2016) has further considered the relationships between gender identity and job satisfaction and workplace experiences. Swan's study indicates that policing may be attracting women who have a stronger masculine identity in the first instance, or that these characteristics evolve due to the experiences they encounter once they have joined. Either way, it might be considered that the current balance is more POLICEwoman than policeWOMAN. Swan's research found evidence that women officers whose characteristics associate with an 'androgynous' gender identity, "displaying behaviours that fluctuate most easily between both masculine and feminine roles" (Swan, 2016, p.13), experience greater job satisfaction than women with a masculine gender identity. This evidence may support the "cleverer" ways that Haake (2018, p.247) has observed in terms of how women are now negotiating the policing environment, and would benefit from future research. In addition, it is accepted that while the word constraints of this thesis preclude any in-depth consideration of the plurality of masculinities in police practice and culture (Kennedy & Birch, 2018), further assessments of whether male officers are also utilising a wider range of gendered approaches in the workplace would be welcome from a research perspective, and would help develop academic considerations in a policing context of "masculine femininities and feminine masculinities" (Paechter, 2006, p.253).

Hegemonic masculinity, emphasized femininity and police cultures

In gaining a better understanding of inequality by gender, the concept of hegemony has been widely explored as a means of observing how power can be maintained over a social group through “persuasion” that their oppression and subordination is appropriate, (Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016, p.245). The term “hegemonic masculinity” has been defined as a “culturally idealized form of masculine character” (Connell, 1990, p.83), pressurising men to “acquire and retain the symbols that express manhood, such as strength, success, and control” (Abrams, 2013, p.567). While it has proved a controversial term and has attracted some criticism (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), the concept has been used to help explain the extent of male dominance (Paechter, 2006; Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016), with the underlying principles arguably helping scholars understand how such control could be considered part of the natural order, while also differentiating between the dominance which may be adopted by a group, rather than by the actual individuals within it (Abrams, 2013).

“In general, the global understanding of hegemonic masculinity equates manhood with being in control, able, dependable, and successful. It is normative in that it embodies a society’s most valued way of being a man. By expecting other men to position themselves in relation to it, it enables men who conform to this valued stereotype to sustain a certain level of power over women, and other men who do not conform to the hegemonic masculine ideal”, (Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016, p.246).

Contrasted and compared against the concept of hegemonic masculinity, is that of “emphasized femininity”, which seeks to explain how women can come to submit to male dominance through deference and acceptance of hegemonic notions of what it is to be an “ideal” woman, (Hechavarria & Ingram, 2016, p.244).

From a policing perspective, aspects of police culture have been described as “an almost pure form” of hegemonic masculinity (Fielding, 1994, p.47).

Writing in the 1990s, Fielding lists the following features as contributing to this assessment:

“aggressive, physical action; a strong sense of competitiveness and preoccupation with the imagery of conflict; exaggerated heterosexual orientations, often articulated in terms of misogynistic and patriarchal attitudes towards women; and the operation of rigid in-group/out-group distinctions whose consequences are strongly exclusionary”. (1994, p.47).

Waddington (1999a) asserted that these cultural characteristics together created a “cult of masculinity” (p.294), and over the ensuing decades many scholars have similarly noted the ‘hyper-masculine’ nature of police culture and its deleterious impact on women who face hostility, sexism, sexual harassment and misogyny (Franklin, 2005; Shelley et al., 2011; Silvestri, 2017). Men who do not meet the normative of “white, heterosexual masculinity” (Walklate, 2004, p.74), may similarly find themselves differentially treated and undervalued.

While an understanding of hegemonic masculinity theory assists in gaining a deeper understanding of behavioural responses in a given environment, it is also important however to reconcile this understanding with “a recognition of diversity and difference (that not all ‘masculinities’, and therefore not all men, are the same)” (Collier, 1998, p.22).

Gendered institutions, occupations and organisations

Acker defines gendered institutions as meaning that “gender is present in the processes, practices, images and ideologies, and distributions of power” (1992b, p.567). She cites the law, politics, religion, the academy and the state as being dominated from the male perspective to the point that such institutions are defined by the “absence of women”. Only one institution, the family, is considered to have been defined by women, although even here, Acker notes that the role has been “subordinate” (1992b, p.567).

While many institutions previously dominated by men have made positive progress in terms of increasing female representation, policing is still considered to be an exception, experiencing continued difficulty in recruiting, retaining, and promoting women officers, (Shelley et al., 2011). Maddock (1999) noted that interviews and assessment processes are areas of organisational business that are particularly susceptible to gender bias with women frequently “selected and appraised against male characteristics” (p.43). Writing more recently, Banihani, Lewis and Syed (2013) noted that typically male attributes remain the benchmark for professional reward.

Features such as the perceived occupational requirements of “aggressive behaviour, physical strength and solidarity” (Rabe-Hemp, 2008a, p.252) together with the value afforded to working long hours and competitive presenteeism (Davies & Thomas, 2003), are also considered further evidence of an organisation gendered in masculine terms. Assessing policing against Acker’s four gendered processes that underpin her theory of gendered institutions (1989; 1992), policing has been found to meet each one. For example, hegemonic masculinity is embedded in the culture; women are controlled and segregated through the long-hours culture, concerns about their “suitability” for certain roles, or a hostile and sexualised work environment; through the way that gender is ‘done’ and the construction of gendered personas (Martin, 1979; Shelley et al., 2011).

Research into the time required to navigate through and climb each rank in policing (Silvestri, Tong & Brown, 2013; Silvestri, 2017), provides further evidence of how the hierarchical structure of police organisations becomes a barrier to the progress of those concerned with managing domestic arrangements and in particular child-care. With these tasks still predominantly performed by women, the structural impact is greater on women officers than on their male peers. Other policing occupational features connected with time, such as over-time and on-call requirements, and generally negative perceptions of part-time working and career breaks, normalise “extreme work” (Turnbull & Was, 2015, p.512), and act against career advancement for women officers:

“the cultural markers of the ‘ideal’ police leader – credibility, commitment and competency – are best achieved through the possession of a ‘full time and uninterrupted’ career status” (Silvestri, 2017, p.296).

As with hegemonic masculinity, we are reminded that the negative impacts of gendered institutions can be felt by all those who try and operate outside the given “norms” for an organisation, with gender culture “oppress(ing) not just women, but anyone wanting to break free from professional or managerial formalities”, (Maddock, 1999, p.9).

The ‘business case’ for increasing the representation of women in policing

There are a range of reasons that support increasing the proportion of police posts that are held by women (Brown & Silvestri, 2019). While the proportionate representation of women in all organisations is warranted from a social justice perspective (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013), in policing there is the added need to ensure that communities are properly represented (Brown & Woolfenden, 2011). The 1990s also brought an emerging interest in diversity from an organisational ‘benefits’ perspective (Ghorashi & Sabelis, 2013), and in policing, a ‘business case’ has developed in terms of how a more diverse police workforce can transform the service and public perceptions of policing legitimacy, with “better staff management ... better relationships with the community... (and) better-quality services, leading to increased public confidence” (ACPO, et al., 2009, p.7).

For example, as discussed in the previous chapter, transformational leadership styles are more closely associated with females (Silvestri, 2007; Stempel, Rigotti, & Mohr, 2015), and are considered key to effective contemporary policing. They are considered to have the potential to move away from command-and-control styles and improve public perceptions, particularly in respect of legitimacy (Laverick & Cain, 2015). How police forces treat people and whether they operate fairly, ethically and lawfully is

considered critical to maintaining public support and cooperation (HMIC, 2016), and recent research has also highlighted the positive impact that diversity in the highest ranks of police forces has on internal perceptions of organisational fairness, (Alderden, Farrell & McCarty, 2017).

The link between increased diversity in leadership teams and effective, innovative organisations is documented within wider organisational studies (Chow & Crawford, 2004; Lambert, 2016). The breadth of viewpoints that diversity can bring is also considered capable of producing “real operational advantages” for policing, (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2013, p.41), and key to the success of police organisational change programmes (Dick, et al., 2014; Picker & Nagle, 2015). If present in sufficient numbers, it has been noted that women can also raise standards of integrity, with theories of representational bureaucracy demonstrating an association between increased diversity and positive behaviours in organisations (Ward & Prenzler, 2016; Choi, Hong, & Lee, 2018).

‘Feminine’ styles, as discussed earlier in this chapter, are considered particularly useful in “uncertain” times (Rosener, 1990, p.120), and in policing it has been consistently noted (Heidensohn, 2000; Silvestri, 2003) that women are often relied on in times of crisis, being perceived to have a positive reforming effect.

Davies and Thomas (2003) also note how a masculine competitive approach to policing is fundamentally at odds with community-oriented policing initiatives and equality principles, promoting the important role of more “feminized” (p.683) styles of policing and leadership if more tolerant and diverse ways of working with communities are to be achieved. They advise, however, that such ways of working are not necessarily associated with being male or female, but are about gendered identities rather than biological sex.

Whether women and men actually police or lead differently remains a contended point (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000). There is a growing consideration of how differing constructs of gender impact on leadership,

rather than on how those who identify as male or female carry out their roles (Rabe-Hemp, 2008b). Some also caution against the ‘business case’ approach to increasing female representation, highlighting that it can serve to exploit “otherness” (Ghorashi & Sabelis 2013, p.79), or lead to a stereotyping of the changes that women may bring. This places unreasonable pressure on women to “bring something different and better to policing” (Silvestri, 2015, p.62).

Notwithstanding differing viewpoints regarding why women are good for policing, a comprehensive review of the academic and policing literature during this research study found no evidence *against* the rationale for the proportionate representation of women in policing. Nonetheless, women have continued to meet with resistance in terms of acceptance and advancement. The following section examines how this has manifested itself since the appointment of the first female officer with warranted police powers in 1915.

A brief history of women in policing

The history of women in policing is essentially one of progression and regression (Joyce, 2011). The proportion of female police officers is currently just under 30%, and while the proportion grows each year, representation is just 2.7% higher than it was five years ago. With the overall number of all police officers reducing in recent years, in terms of actual numbers there are now over 500 fewer women officers than at their peak volume (36,417) in 2010 (Home Office, 2018, p.33). In terms of senior leadership (in this study categorised at the rank of superintendent and above), women represent 25.7% of senior posts.

Averaged across all ranks, the proportion of female promotions in the period 2017/18 (26%) was one percentage point down on the previous year. Workforce data is examined in more detail in chapter six, but these headline figures set the scene for the progress, or absence of it, that has been experienced by women officers over the course of the last century.

Women's experiences in policing cannot be removed from the changing roles of women in the wider labour force (Anderson, Brown & Campbell, 1993). Becke (1973) traces the use of women as police civilian assistants in 1919 through to advances in equal employment in 1973, while Jones (1986) examines the key milestones for women in policing from 1900-1975, together with developments following the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act.

While it is evident that the earlier roles of female police officers largely entailed responsibilities involving women, children and community relations, even this restricted contribution to policing attracted hostility and resentment among male police officers, (Jones, 1986, p.1).

The work of women's movements in the early 1900s, followed by the mobilisation of women during the First World War, led to their involvement in policing nearly a century after the introduction of 'Peel's New Police' in 1829. 1915 saw the appointment of the UK's first female with warranted powers (Jackson, 2006), and in 1918, the Home Office approved a number of 'Women Police Patrols'. These patrols however had limited status, no formal powers, and met with both public and police hostility and prejudice, (Lock, 1979).

The employment of policewomen was subject to local discretion and, despite recognition of women's 'usefulness' by a Royal Commission in 1929 (Jones, 1986), some ten years later only 45 of 183 police forces in England and Wales employed female constables. It took the Second World War to boost female recruitment, when public perceptions of women officers also improved (Jones, 1986, p.4). This recognition, however, remained restricted to traditional concepts of acceptable work for women, i.e. dealing with female victims and offenders, juveniles, child-neglect and domestic problems. Women were employed in separate policewomen's departments with their own ranks, promotion structure and lower pay-scale.

This situation remained relatively unchanged until 1975, when the Sex Discrimination Act significantly altered the position of policewomen, who officially achieved equality, (Horne, 1975). This act, however, had limited impact on the numbers of women joining, their deployment and their promotion. By 1988, while the overall proportion of women in policing had increased, the numbers at sergeant rank had virtually halved from 11.2% of all women officers in 1971 to 5.8% in 1988, (Adler, 1990). Now competing directly against men for promotion, women enjoyed less success than previously, and some even had to relinquish their senior status as the separate male and female departments were joined together (Silvestri & Paul, 2015).

By the 1990s, almost two decades after the introduction of equal opportunities legislation, women officers were still being deployed differently to men, even when accounting for length of service (Anderson et al., 1993). The Equal Opportunities Commission (1990) expressed concerns regarding women officers being encouraged into traditional areas of policing, largely involving women and children, and not being fully integrated. While in the early 1990s the HMIC found no evidence of specialist posts being formally closed to women, they established that differential deployment was widespread, with under-representation in traffic and training departments and over-representation in community relations and juvenile liaison (HMIC, 1992).

However, by 1995, with the appointment of Britain's first woman chief constable, some claimed that finally "the police service (was) in step with the times" (The Mail on Sunday, 1995, p.48), and that the glass ceiling had been "shattered" (Gibbons, 1995). On entering the new millennium, three out of 43 forces were led by a female chief officer (NPCC, 2018) and the potential for a fully integrated and diverse policing workforce seemed possible.

Entering the new millennium:

"Two steps forward, one step back ...", (Silvestri, 2015, p.56).

Despite some optimism regarding this rise in female chief officer numbers, not all were convinced that this could address the deep-rooted forms of gendered discrimination that women officers had endured during the previous century (Silvestri, 2003). Indeed, two decades later, the appointment of Cressida Dick as the MPS commissioner, was similarly described as “breaking ‘the glass ceiling’” (Pendlebury & Wright, 2017), suggesting that despite the earlier progress of women, the ceiling had remained intact. Some observers also questioned the difference a female lead could actually bring, asking:

“what difference – if any – it makes to have a (highly competent) woman at the helm of an organisation which remains, with its notorious ‘canteen culture’, still a boys’ club in so many ways” (Dejevsky, 2017, para.1).

Analysing key factors promoting diversity in policing since 2000, Silvestri (2015) notes the impact of the Stephen Lawrence inquiry (Macpherson, 1999), the introduction of the Race Equality Duty, 2002, the Gender Equality Duty, 2007, and the implementation of gender equality impact assessments. These were used by public bodies to demonstrate how they were fulfilling their duties with regards to diversity and gender equality. Followed by the introduction of the Equality Act, 2010 and Equality Duty, 2011, also requiring public bodies to show how they were tackling discrimination and advancing equality for women and other minority groups, at policy level at least, principles were established which moved responsibility for equality from the individual to the institution, (Silvestri, 2015).

However, with the responsibility for police forces transferring from Police Authorities to elected Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) in 2012, the publication of data regarding female recruitment, retention and progression was no longer required. Austerity measures introduced from 2010 also lead to cuts to police numbers and to functions not considered essential, including support networks. It is argued that these changes disrupted the representation and advancement of women in policing, moving responsibility

for diversity back to individuals, and putting “three decades of progress under threat”, (Laverick & Cain, 2015, p.368).

Within the service, BAWP has introduced three ‘Gender Agendas’ since the start of the millennium (BAWP, 2014). The first two, in 2001 and 2006, set out five long-term aims, including a need for policing to: consistently demonstrates how it values women; achieve a more diverse balance across ranks, roles, structures and specialisms; have women’s voices included in policy forums influencing service delivery; understand competing demands in achieving a work/life balance and a successful career; and have a working environment and suitable equipment to enable women to do their job professionally. The third Gender Agenda (BAWP, 2014) assessed progress and established a new strategic plan to support the progress of women at national, force, and individual levels. While this assessment observed some positive changes and good practice, it highlighted that further steps were required if women were to have equal importunities and a fulfilling police career:

“the research shows we have been unable to retain some really talented people ... Some forces still do not have any ACPO level police officers or police staff, and there continues to be a lack of female representation in some specialist posts. ... (The research) highlights the concern amongst some surveyed that having a representative workforce is no longer seen as important. Many feel that the police service is regressing rather than moving forwards on this issue, (BAWP, 2014, p.3).

In line with this assessment, the proportion of women officers in policing has improved only marginally in the eight years since 2010, moving from 25.7% to 29.8 %, (Home Office, 2018). It thus appears likely to be some time before female officer representation reaches suggested targets of 35% (Home Office, 2010), a target described as the “critical mass” at which a minority group will enjoy a change in status with reduced discriminatory treatment (Brown & Woolfenden, 2011, p.357). These figures are explored in more detail in chapter six.

With May (2011), as Home Secretary, suggesting a vision for police 'reform' that centred on 'crime-fighting', it is perhaps unsurprising that forces may not have perceived a need to consider recruiting or promoting officers with a more diverse and potentially 'softer' skill-set:

“Some people question why we’re reforming the police. For me, the reason is simple. We need them to be the tough, no-nonsense crime-fighters they signed up to become.” (May, 2011, para.9).

This call for a tough style of police delivery appears to contradict what has otherwise been described as a very different agenda for policing, characterised by an increasing focus on the quality of service rather than performance targets, better engagement with communities, and transformative leadership, all of which women in particular are considered to promote (Picker & Nagle, 2015; McCarthy, 2013). Instead, the Home Secretary’s call yet again marginalises the value of 'softer' police activities often considered the forte of women officers (Rabe-Hemp, 2009; McCarthy, 2013), and appears more in line with traditional concepts of policing styles and an enduring “heterosexist male’ police culture” (Silvestri, 2018, p.313).

This brief analysis of the history of women in policing, characterised by progression and regression (Silvestri, 2015), accords with the barriers created by cultural features as discussed in chapter two, particularly “the traditional ethos of masculinity” (Reiner, 2010, p.134). The following section considers why any search for good practice studies in respect of the advancement of women in policing may still continue to “evoke pessimism” (Ward & Prenzler, 2016, p.248).

Barriers and enablers for the progression of women in policing

The manifestation of the gendered theories as discussed earlier in this chapter combine to create a uniquely masculine environment for women officers to navigate, despite the actual need for masculine characteristics at the point of delivery to have been recognised as persistently exaggerated

(Van Wormer, 1981; Audit Commission, 1990; Corsianos, 2011). Yet while other organisations are reporting higher levels of commitment to managing gender diversity (McKinsey & Company, 2018), policing, appears to have taken backward steps (Laverick & Cain, 2015). This is despite the strength of evidence regarding an enduring masculine operating environment and calls for reform (Silvestri et al., 2013; Fleming, 2015; Picker & Nagle 2015).

Through the examination of gendered theories a number of significant barriers and enablers for the progression of women officers have already been established. The following section summarises some of these along the themes of postings and promotions; partners and children; and career support and organisational policies. These areas are particularly relevant to the analysis of the survey data which emerged during this research study, and which will be explored in chapters six and seven.

Postings and promotions

Notions that less 'commitment' from female officers towards the organisation or to a successful police career are contributing to more limited career progression when compared with men have generally been discounted (Dick & Metcalfe, 2007). While studies on the subject of officer promotional aspirations are limited (Gau, Terrill & Paoline, 2012), there is some evidence that on joining policing women are as ambitious as their male counterparts, but that this ambition fades faster in females than in men within a few years of joining (Gaston & Alexander, 1997). The reasons for this appear to come from many quarters, including concepts of "perceptual tendencies" experienced by minority groups (Archbold, Hassell & Stichman, 2010, p.288), which can result in women feeling forced into stereotypical 'feminine' roles and consequently missing out on opportunities that may lead to promotion. They also include having to work harder than their peers or being subjected to great scrutiny (Kanter, 1977, p.210), and feelings of "isolation or polarisation" (Archbold et al., 2010, p.288). Any, or all, of these reactions can impact on confidence, causing women to seek more experience in a post

before putting themselves forward for new opportunities (Archbold & Hassell, 2009).

It has been observed in organisations generally that women can soon get left behind in terms of early promotion success. Without an early 'track record' established, women can soon struggle to catch up with their male peers in terms of career opportunities and advancement (McKinsey & Company, 2018). Not applying for promotion (Winsor, 2012); not taking opportunities as presented; choosing to specialise for a significant period of time; or even just being indecisive (Gaston & Alexander, 1997), can limit the amount of advancement that can realistically be achieved during a police career that, until recent changes to terms and conditions, has tended to last thirty years. Thus in policing terms, any evidence of women taking longer than men to reach the first-level supervisory ranks is likely to have as significant an impact in terms of gender advancement than the proverbial 'glass ceiling'.

While promotion processes may be perceived as generally 'fair' by women themselves (Archbold et al., 2010), these are often themselves gender biased processes (Dick & Metcalfe, 2007). There is also considerable evidence that opportunities that help individuals develop their careers will often come as the result of sponsorship, with someone identifying in an individual "the wit and will to rise" (Caless, 2011, p.78). Both senior men and women in policing generally claim not to have worked with set career plans, but to have taken opportunities as they presented themselves, or were offered (Österlind & Haake, 2010). How these opportunities become available can be an arbitrary process, and may depend on relationship building, internal politics, and resilience, with managing difficult relationships and workplace politics key to success in most organisations, not just policing (Bond & Shapiro, 2014). They are also likely to lack transparency and depend on gendered notions of the "ideal worker" (Silvestri, 2006, p.269), who is then able to rise quickly by being invited to board the "glass elevator" (Braun et al., 2017, p.384).

Concepts of sponsorship have also been identified as impacting on the number of applications received from both males and females for chief officer

posts, where it appears that a belief that a preferred candidate will have already been 'lined up' for a post is limiting the number of applications received (College of Policing, 2017). It can be argued that having become used to being sponsored at various stages of their own careers, these senior officers find it difficult to believe that the selection processes are genuinely transparent when it comes to selection for the top posts.

Some researchers propose that, to demonstrate commitment and engage in workplace advancement, women in male dominated organisations succeed by adopting the same attitudes and values as their male peers (Marsden & Kalleberg, 1993), or at least with those "stereotyped male characteristics synonymous with the role of a police officer", (Österlind & Haake, 2010, p.5). In doing so, these women may also distance themselves from other women and purposefully choose not to assist them in advancing too, a phenomenon described as the "queen bee" effect (Braun et al., 2017, p.377); behaviour which has been associated with senior women in male-dominated organisations, and in policing in particular (Derks et al., 2011), as already highlighted in chapter three.

Even if not done to actively prevent the success of those following behind them, accepting rather than challenging the way the organisation operates can have the same impact in terms of senior women failing to assist the careers of other women, (Silvestri, 2006).

Partners and children

The impact of marital and parental status is also widely recognised as a key barrier for female career progression in policing (Rabe-Hemp, 2008a; Archbold & Hassell, 2009; BAWP, 2014), and may in fact be a more significant barrier than gender alone. While women may successfully balance family and career ambitions in other organisations, in policing the significance of 'time', and its impact particularly on the careers of women officers, is highlighted through the work of Silvestri (2006). It is through "the doing and managing' of time", that, Silvestri argues, officers establish

organisational commitment and credibility, and demonstrate the “informal competencies necessary for police leadership” (p.266). The opportunities for women in this regard are established by Silvestri as being less than equal.

Those who try and balance their work and family life through part-time working may also find themselves perceived as “part-able, part-committed and part-credible”, (Silvestri, 2006, p.274). Although, as identified by Turnbull and Was (2015), even working full-time may not be enough, as in fact “extreme hours” are what are expected in the “inspecting” ranks, while Caless (2011) described chief officers as “workaholics” (p.74), whose hours should cause concern with regards to the ability to think straight or make rational decisions under pressure. This is in addition to the perceptions created among others that, if they aspire to such leadership roles, they have to demonstrate a similar degree of “presenteeism” (Caless, 2011, p.69).

Studies also indicate that women with families are also more likely than their male peers to feel reluctant to change their working pattern by applying for a promotion or a new opportunity which could directly, or indirectly, enhance their career prospects. This has been found to be due to a concern that they might not be able to manage their established child-care patterns as well as they are currently able to, thus revealing the “complexity of both organizational and personal variables that factor into the decisions of female officers to participate in promotion” (Archbold & Hassell, 2009, p.58).

Even without the added challenge of managing children, there is evidence of what has been described as a “marriage-tax” (Archbold & Hassell, 2009, p.56), with women also concerned about the impact of a shift-change on their ability to spend time with a spouse or partner. This situation becomes accentuated when that partner is also a police officer.

Career support and organisational policies

Addressing the inequalities of female progression remains an issue for private and public companies globally, and there is evidence that despite

articulating a commitment to gender diversity, evidence of meaningful progress is limited. As with policing, it is claimed that “progress isn’t just slow, it’s stalled” (McKinsey & Company, 2018, p.3), and that companies are simply not treating diversity as “the business imperative it is” (p.32).

Ensuring that promotion processes are free from gender bias, which includes monitoring outcomes to establish that this is being achieved, is recognised as a crucial step in improving female representation in all companies (McKinsey & Company, 2018). Failing to ensure that such processes are free from gender bias is similarly recognised as a barrier to female progress in policing (Dick & Metcalfe, 2007).

Role models have also been identified as one way to help encourage officers’ career aspirations (Ward & Prenzler, 2016), and the absence of senior female role models is considered to be particularly impactful on women (Österlind & Haake, 2010). Silvestri, (2003), Archbold, Hassell and Stichman, (2010) and Österlind and Haake, (2010) all consider the important role that mentors can play in the career development of women, a role that has been recognised in organisations more widely as key to helping female’s address resilience issues and to navigate organisational politics, and thus achieve improved career advancement (Bond & Shapiro, 2014).

However, there is evidence that it is being sponsored, rather than just being mentored, that brings greater career advancement (Hewlett, 2013), and that this advantage is enjoyed by more males than females in organisations (Newman & McDonald, 2019; Amitabh, 2019). Women are noted to be “over-mentored and under-sponsored” (Newman & McDonald, 2019, p.95), with mentors being found at any level in an organisation, and focussed on assisting mentees to understand career ambitions, build skills and expand networks; while sponsors are typically at a senior level and will use their influence to advocate the career advancement of an employee, expecting high performance in return (Newman & McDonald, 2019). Put succinctly, “while a mentor is someone who has knowledge and will share it with you, a sponsor ... has power and will use it for you” (Ibarra, 2019, p.3). This is a critical distinction given that mentoring, while useful, is not considered

sufficient to help women break career barriers, and women have been found to both underestimate the impact sponsors can have on their career advancement, and to feel uncomfortable about being perceived to gain an advantage due to who they know (Amitabh, 2019).

In addition, the ability to set goals, track and report on the progress of women are proposed as “basic steps” for corporate companies (McKinsey & Company, 2018, p.33), although such reporting now appears largely absent in policing (Laverick & Cain, 2015). This is a further barrier for women, and the need for positive action policies and external measures of accountability have been promoted with the argument that, without them, it is difficult to determine whether forces are enforcing “diversification standards and incentivizing community policing” (Picker & Nagle, 2015, p.14). Forces are thus able to avoid public scrutiny and the benefits that transparency can bring in terms of changing police culture.

Conclusion

Given the combined impact of the theories that have been examined in relation to gender and their effect on women in policing; the history of women in policing; the barriers that women officers continue to face; and the issues that are similarly impacting on the advancement of women in other organisations; the fact that women still comprise under 30% of the police officer establishment and only just over a quarter of all senior posts at superintendent rank and above, does not, arguably, seem so hard to comprehend. It may even be considered a testament to the resilience and commitment of women in policing that, despite all of these obstacles, they have made the progress that they have, and which is considered further in chapters six and seven.

However, it is proposed here that the continuance of such under-representation should not be considered inevitable either. In the same way that large corporations are being advised to “double down on their efforts” (McKinsey & Company, 2018, p.3) and to have evidence-based strategies to

improve female participation and representation, a comprehensive range of interventions, “involving all levels of the organisation’s structure, culture, employers, employees, men and women” (Haake, 2018, p.250), has the potential to establish the conditions for gender parity in policing too.

While equality in terms of the numbers of men and women does not necessarily equate to gender equality given the wider definitions that constructs of gender carry, there is some evidence that “quantitative” gender equality can enhance “qualitative” gender equality (Haake, 2018, p.250). Proportionate representation also supports the principle of policing by consent (Brown & Woolfenden, 2011; NPCC, 2018). Increasing numbers of females must, however, also be accompanied with efforts to address the “gendered nature of police culture” (Silvestri, 2017, p.298) if the benefits of diversity are to be achieved. These benefits apply to men, as well as women in policing, given that they also remain bound to traditional concepts of masculinity that impact not just on the service that is being delivered, but also on their own well-being:

“Although, men are also trapped in the confines of rigid definitions of masculinity, most appear willing to pay the price in exchange for peer group loyalty and public status. The strains of this are beginning to show among young men, who are frozen in their peer group’s image of male role models” (Maddock, 1999, p.110).

Concluding thoughts on the importance of culture, leadership and gender theoretical frameworks to thesis

Chapters two, three and four established the most relevant aspects of the theoretical frameworks; culture, leadership and gender, that underpin the experiences of senior police officers within the context of this study, and which support the thesis aim of critically examining the experiences and perceptions of senior officers with a view to determining whether gender and/or gender bias impacts on the career experiences and progression of police officers.

The examination of police culture highlighted the pluralities and impact of culture in wider organisations and then on policing and women in particular. While contemporary scholars consider the police organisation to be in “a state of flux and transition” (Brown & Silvestri, 2019, p.2), with the potential to bring cultural change and police reform, this chapter highlighted the perennial role that culture has played as a major barrier to police reform programs, with the classic features of police culture, including an exaggerated sense of mission, cynicism, suspicion and machismo, still dominating (Loftus, 2009; Paoline & Terrill, 2014). With a more diverse workforce considered an enabler to cultural reform, and the transformational styles associated with women (Stemple et al., 2015), any upward trajectory of women in policing, both in terms of the proportions and types of posts held, should be considered a real opportunity for change. Any evidence of such change will be considered during the analysis of the research findings.

Chapter three considered organisational leadership theories, with a focus on transformational and transactional leadership styles. It established the characteristics of policing as predominantly transactional and resistant to change, even when a will for change is articulated by its leaders. While many organisations outside of policing are profiting from a greater diversity of leadership styles, the prevailing links between police leadership and a dominant macho culture were observed. In policing, there is evidence of women leaders finding their attempts to employ more participatory styles being rejected, while transactional styles are rewarded. While some studies suggest women adopt more traditional styles in order to progress into senior police positions (Koeppel, 2014), others posit that gender preferences differ in policing and that women who enter this field actually prefer more traditional approaches (Engel, 2001). This thesis will seek to establish the preferred leadership styles of both senior men and women in policing today, and to progress this ‘nature or nurture’ debate regarding preferred leadership styles.

Chapter four has focussed on gender and policing, and considered a range of gendered theories which, when combined with the cultural and leadership

theoretical frameworks, expose the uniquely masculine environment that women officers operate in. The career experiences of women have been shown to have seen periods of progression and regression over the course of the last one hundred years, frequently related to external events (e.g. the world wars; equality legislation, police reform attempts and public austerity) rather than internal factors. While most of the last decade has actually seen limited progress for women both in terms of overall representation in policing and in reaching senior positions, diversity strategies within both policing and government appear to have been diverted to ethnicity rather than gender. The need for specific gender-focussed political interventions has been highlighted if women are to secure further career advances in policing.

The enablers and barriers historically impacting on the advancement of women in policing have also been explored, in particular postings and promotions; partners and children; and career support and organisational policies, and these themes will also be considered during the analysis of the research findings.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter establishes the research context and methodology. It explores the rationale for a mixed methods approach, taking account of the researcher's epistemological position. The choice of method and survey instruments is justified, evaluated and critiqued. The approach to data collection and analysis is explained, and limitations are considered. It critically analyses the relevant practical, theoretical and ethical issues anticipated and encountered, and how findings from the primary data collection phase highlighted the need for further data to be sought from secondary sources as the project progressed.

The research topic

This study evolved from an academic and professional interest in gender and policing spanning over twenty-five years. Conducting a study into the career patterns of young-in-service officers (Alexander, 1995), which noted that women were less likely than men to take police promotion exams; were less decisive in relation to career decisions, and called for an increase in mentoring for women officers and female role-models, engendered in the researcher an enduring interest in progress by gender and how gender impacts on policing.

A founder member of her force's women's network and a member of BAWP, the researcher has remained curious about gender in policing since conducting her original research in the early 1990s. This interest includes not just how and why women's representation in, and experiences of, policing might differ from those of their male colleagues, but also whether a 'business case' for increasing diversity of representation in policing remains relevant. This refers to evidence that policing could be transformed through a more

representative police service, especially at senior leadership level (ACPO, APA & Home Office, 2010; College of Policing, 2015).

While the researcher's original study, (Alexander, 1995), focussed on officers in one police force, exploring the impact of gender on the lateral and vertical career choices and development of young-in-service officers, this current research explores those concepts from a wider national and 'reversed' perspective; through the lens of female and male officers across England and Wales who have achieved senior rank (superintendent or above), and are thus generally at the later stages of their policing careers. It is anticipated that this approach, taken at a different point in time, both in terms of the decade of study and the 'time served' of participants, provides an opportunity to examine contemporary perspectives. The focus of this research is the experiences and perceptions of senior officers with a view to determining whether gender and/or gender bias impacts on the career experiences and progression of police officers; and, if so, whether this is preventing the service from achieving police reform.

Silvestri, Tong and Brown (2013) discuss how understanding and tackling causes of under-representation by gender, ethnicity, and sexuality is likely to assist the "paradigm shift" (p.61) that police reform demands. It has the potential to inform strategies to address the enduring masculine culture and improve the career advancement of those who might bring a different approach. In considering gender however, it is important to look beyond gender as a defined protected characteristic, and to consider wider constructs. A number of studies, for example, suggest that it is more important to recognise how gender, in an organisational context, refers to social constructs which reinforce gender roles and masculine or feminine norms, rather than biological differences, (Silvestri, 2007; Banihani et al., 2013; McGinley, 2015). Consequently, the required transformation of policing to meet contemporary needs will be unlikely to depend on any one gender, or on an increased representation of women in policing per se.

It is from these complex perspectives that the variables examined by the research question in this study has been framed.

Research aims and objectives

Although women make up over 50% of the population, they currently represent 29.8% of all officers in England and Wales (Home Office, 2018). The proportion of women in superintendent posts or above is 25.7%. Despite some recent progress, increases in the proportion of female officer promotions are considered by some as likely to “flat-line” (Ward & Prenzler, 2016, p.243), while others argue that, while policing culture and leadership remains gendered in its nature, numerical increases alone are unlikely to impact significantly on service delivery (Metcalf & Dick, 2002).

The overall aim of the research is to critically examine the experiences and perceptions of senior officers with a view to determining whether gender and/or gender bias impacts on the career experiences and progression of police officers; and, if so, whether this is preventing the service from achieving police reform. With the “discourse of professional doctorates emphasis(ing) the importance of the connection with practice”, (Fenge, 2009, p.166), these aims are with a view to identifying actions to help policing achieve those benefits associated with organisations that value diversity.

This aim will be operationalised through consideration of any causal relationships presented by the variables in the following research question:

Do the career experiences and identifiable barriers and success factors of officers who have achieved senior rank differ significantly by gender?

In order to achieve this aim, the following objectives have been identified:

- To critically examine and analyse the existing theoretical frameworks and wider associated literature from the fields of organisational culture, leadership and gender.
- To identify and analyse pertinent secondary data relating to police workforce demographics in order to establish any trends by gender and how this might impact on police career patterns.

- To use a mixed methods approach to explore the experiences and perceptions of male and female senior officers in relation to the barriers and success factors they have encountered in achieving senior rank, with a particular focus on gender.
- To situate the findings within the existing theoretical frameworks of police culture, leadership and gender in order to contribute to academic knowledge and practitioner understanding with regards to the impact of gender on career advancement in policing.

The research then considers what lessons the findings can provide to the police service in terms of contributing to organisational change through maximising diversity and removing gender-bias. This will include recommendations for how professional practice might be improved at strategic and policy-maker levels to assist the service in meeting its own aspiration of becoming:

“a more representative workforce that will align the right skills, powers and experiences to meet challenging requirements” of policing in the next decade (ACPO & NPCC, 2016, p.8).

The research setting and audiences

The research commenced with a comprehensive review of existing literature on gender; the examination of which indicated the critical relationship with culture and leadership studies. Literature within these fields was consequently also included within the review, which focussed on, but was not limited to, studies conducted in police research sites.

Secondary data examined included Home Office statistics and FOIA data supplied by police forces. The primary data, comprising the more significant part of the study, included a comprehensive and largely quantitative on-line survey, widely distributed to female and male senior officers (superintendent and above) in Home Office police forces in England and Wales. This was supported by follow-up semi-structured telephone interviews with thirty senior

officers, allowing for a more in-depth and qualitative exploration of career experiences, including barriers and opportunities, personal circumstances, and leadership styles.

Surveying both female and male officers was necessary for analyses by self-defined gender to be made. Interview participants volunteered to participate in interviews following completion of the on-line survey, and are thus also from Home Office police forces. 231 surveys were completed and analysed, and over 31 hours of recorded interviews were transcribed and subjected to line-by-line analysis. This approach allowed for both breadth and depth of study, increasing the potential for the findings to be generalisable across policing, and for any ensuing recommendations to have a greater evidence-base. Further ethical considerations are discussed later in this chapter.

While written primarily for an academic audience, professional practice is central to the Professional Doctorate (Fenge, 2009), and the importance of bridging the gap between academic and professional audiences is emphasised (Neumann, 2005). Therefore, while seeking to contribute to and advance the academic literature in the field of gender and organisations, this research also aims to identify good practice and make recommendations regarding changes that might assist the police service in meeting its aspiration of having a more representative workforce that is better able to respond to its contemporary challenges (APCC & NPCC, 2016).

In line with Robson's (2011) discussion on potential audiences, the target audience for this research also includes policy makers and others in positions of power, for example NPCC and the College of Policing, and those responsible for scrutinising policing and reporting on efficiency and effectiveness; i.e. the Home Office, HMICFRS and Parliament, who have in recent years accused police leaders of "guarding" the route to senior ranks, and having a poor record of "diversity or innovation" (House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, 2013, p.41).

With evidence that organisations that value and nurture diversity perform more effectively (Lambert, 2016), there has been a renewed focus on under-

representation of women in all senior roles, making gender “a relevant topic” (Perryman, Fernando & Tripathy, 2015, p.579) for researchers and practitioners alike. Thus, the findings from this research are also likely to be of interest and relevant to organisations beyond policing.

The research design & instruments

Why mixed methods?

Given the complex nature of this research study, mixed methods, with its ability to contribute to a “better understanding of wicked problems” (Onwuegbuzie & Poth, 2015, p.1), was selected as the most appropriate research instrument. The rationale for this choice of methodology included evidence that mixed methods provides an opportunity to cast a wide net, resulting in greater representativeness and generalisability (Denscombe, 2010), while also valuing the voice of participants.

Davies (2007) observes that the choice of method may not be a matter of the researcher choosing their preferred method, but “what kind of knowledge he or she is seeking to make, uncover and construct” (p.10). As this research seeks not just to identify differences by gender, but also to uncover underlying causes in a complex organisation, it became increasingly evident that mixed methods, with its ability to “provide a fuller description and ... more complete explanation of the phenomenon being studied” (Denscombe, 2010, p.135) was an appropriate approach. This is considered to remain the case even when balanced against time-scales and the amount of additional work that a mixed methodology inevitably entails.

Having selected a mixed methods approach, a plan and timetable were required to ensure that the project was achievable within the timescales available, including the researcher’s time, other processes such as obtaining relevant permissions, and allowing for the unpredictability of demands (Davies, 2007; Denscombe, 2010). The research plan included milestones for completing the review of relevant literature and available secondary data;

for the process of obtaining favourable ethical opinion; for the design, distribution and analysis of an on-line survey; and for the development, implementation and systematic analysis of semi-structured interviews. Time was also allowed for draft reports, consideration of supervisory feedback, and to produce a final submission.

Creswell's (2009) recommendations in respect of the choice of method and methodology were considered carefully. Creswell summarises the options as being dependent on worldviews, strategies of inquiry; methods and practices, as well as the research problem; personal experiences; and the audience for whom the report will be written (2009, pp.17-18). These were considered in turn and came to underpin the principal framework for this investigation and the mixed methods approach taken.

Appropriate research methods have been subject to vigorous debate for over a century, (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), leading to "paradigm wars" (Kelle, 2006, p.293), and the "incompatibility thesis", (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p.14). Paradigms are considered able to "organize reality by giving structure, framework, and perspective from which to investigate reality", (Hagan, 2014, p.9), and are also referred to as "worldviews" or "epistemologies" (Creswell, 2009, p.6).

Among the four key worldviews explored by Creswell: postpositivism; constructivism; advocacy/participatory and pragmatism (2009, p.6), it is the fourth that best describes the epistemological approach taken in this research. Pragmatism involves "a concern with applications – what works – and solutions to problems" (Creswell, 2009, p.10), with researchers at liberty to choose the methods, techniques, and research procedures that they consider most suited to their research needs and research purpose. While it has been suggested that mixed methods may be "under-appreciated and utilized in contemporary criminological research" (Maruna, 2009, p.123), the recent promotion of evidence-based policing by the College of Policing provides a degree of reassurance that, while there is a developing

appreciation of the need for robust research, it should not be limited to any one specific methodology (College of Policing, 2016).

With regard to strategies of inquiry, Creswell describes how mixed methods research has the advantage of combining approaches from both qualitative and quantitative methods, thus arguably providing the “best answer” to the research question (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998, p.x) and “superior” research that is able to reduce bias (Kelle, 2006, p.303). While the strategy of triangulation, investigating “a single social phenomena from different vantage points” (Brannen, 2005, p.176) is possible within the same method, it is considered inferior to the triangulation that takes place across methods, and which increases confidence in the validity of the findings, (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007). Researchers need to be confident that their findings are “an accurate reflection of some underlying truth”, (Denscombe, 2010, p.146), and this was assisted in this study by being able to compare findings with external benchmarks, including Home Office data, as well as being able to consider data from the alternative angles of largely closed questions (the survey) and the open questions posed in the interview.

Within mixed methods Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) explain how sequencing processes or using inductive/deductive logic can be utilised. One example is the “QUAN/QUAL sequence” (p.46), which starts with a quantitative method and then proceeds to a follow-up qualitative study. This approach was considered appropriate for this study as it allowed for a large number of survey responses to be analysed, thus maximising the generalisability of the findings and recommendations. Those results could then be used to inform the design and approach for the smaller number of one-to-one interviews, with a view to further testing and bringing the quantitative data to life (Kelle, 2006).

“Any real world study must ... take serious note of real world constraints” (Robson, 2011 p.51), and time constraints naturally limited the amount of initial analysis that could be done in respect of the survey findings, and the number of interviews that could be held (thirty in total), producing a dominant

(quantitative) - less dominant (qualitative) mix of methods. The combining of the methods was justified in line with the “five justifications” for combining quantitative and qualitative research developed by Greene, Caracellin and Graham (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner, 2007, p.115): triangulation, complementarity, development, initiation and expansion.

Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2004) also observe how mixed methods analyses can enhance how key findings are interpreted, e.g. supplementing statistical significance findings in quantitative research with “*verstehen*” (p.774), i.e. a degree of understanding from a participant’s perspective. The degree of personal information that was offered by the interview participants in this study, for example their thoughts, feelings and responses to professional challenges that they encountered, may be considered as achieving that deeper understanding of behaviours.

The scoping phase

Having determined the preferred methodology and research instruments, a pilot study was conducted as part of the scoping phase. A rigorous piloting process is considered particularly critical for structured questionnaires (Davies, 2007), and given the amount of questions drafted for the proposed survey, and sensitive nature of some of the questions posed, it was important to test the effectiveness of the methodology thoroughly. The pilot, once given appropriate consents and University ethical approval, was conducted across three Home Office forces that had consented to the survey being distributed. Using three different police forces helped ensure that language and terminology were universally understood.

An anonymous survey was designed using an on-line survey tool (BOS), and initially tested with three participants in each of the relevant forces. A nominated third party in each force then distributed a survey link to all relevant officers, i.e. 103 male and 25 female senior officers, in the three forces concerned. The overall pilot survey response rate was 40.1% (n= 40)

of all males and 58.3% (n= 14) of females surveyed. These responses helped to determine the content of the semi-structured interviews, which were held with six volunteers.

The pilot proved an essential part of the main research preparation and in refining the approach. For example, feedback on how respondents had been requested to navigate their way around questions that were not directly relevant to them, prompted a decision to make better use of 'routing' facilities that would automatically take respondents to those questions that were personally relevant. Arranging one-to-one interviews proved problematic given the changing work commitments of senior officers, and some required re-arranging several times. These practicalities became significant when determining how to conduct the larger number of interviews across a wider geographical area for the main thesis.

The IBM SPSS computer programme was used to help analyse the quantitative data obtained from the pilot surveys as it facilitates complex statistical analysis and can generate tabulated reports and charts. Using this programme during the pilot ensured that the researcher was skilled in the use of this analysis tool and able to interrogate the data effectively.

The main survey was then further tested with two volunteers from the PSA, allowing for the final product to be refined prior to being launched.

Thus only when there was a reasonable amount of confidence that the chosen research methods were "suitable, valid, reliable and effective" (Sarantakos, 1993, p.276), with foreseeable issues addressed, did the main research study commence.

Ethical approval

Prior to the main survey data-collection phase commencing, written consent from the NPCC and PSA and favourable ethical opinion from the supporting

University was obtained (Appendix A, p.207). The following sections outline the key ethical considerations.

Research ethics has been described as a particularly contentious area for contemporary academic research, evoking vigorous debate (Wiles, 2013; Miller, 2012), being criticised for a perceived deluge of unwieldy regulatory frameworks (Johnsson, Eriksson, Helgesson & Hansson, 2014). However, it is widely recognised that operating ethically is critical for professional integrity and that researchers who do not treat participants with respect impact negatively on the reputation of social research (Denscombe, 2010). Throughout the research process, care should be taken regarding recognised or potential ethical issues, which do not cease once a research ethics committee has allowed a proposal to proceed (Wiles, 2013, p.2).

In conducting this research, the British Society of Criminology Code of Ethics and the on-line Research Ethics Guidebook: a resource for social scientists, provided useful frameworks, and particular considerations were addressed via an application for favourable ethical opinion before the commencement of data collection. The obligation to uphold high ethical standards (Davies, 2007; Punch, 2006) was considered throughout the duration of this study, and a declaration of ethical conduct has been completed (Appendix B, p.211).

Insider/outsider research

With this thesis being undertaken within the context of a professional doctorate, and the analysis conducted as a “researching professional”, (Schildkraut, & Stafford, 2015, p.183), careful consideration needed to be taken of the position of the researcher as an ‘insider’, and in particular with regards ‘social situatedness’, a concept originally proposed by Vygotsky (1962), and explained by Costley, Elliott, and Gibbs, (2010):

“Situatedness arises from the interplay between agent (you, the researcher), situation (the particular set of circumstances and your

position within it), and context (where, when and background). Organizational, professional and personal contexts will affect the way a piece of research and development is undertaken” (p.1).

Where a researcher sits in relation to their chosen field of study is thus an important aspect of their ontological position, impacting on their assumptions, on how research questions are formulated, and how the research is carried out (Bryman, 2012). Objectivism, for example, requires researchers to take a “value-free” approach to their studies (Neuman, 2000, p.547) and is associated with rigorous quantitative data that can be subjected to statistical analysis, thus removing subjectivity. Conversely, constructivism is associated with the interaction between the researcher and the ‘actors’ involved in their study; it is more subjective and is largely associated with qualitative research (Bryman, 2012).

As a serving police officer with everyday access to internal interactions, meetings and data; a female and a superintendent; the predominant position of the researcher in this study is that of an ‘insider’. Being a researching professional might naturally suggest constructivism as the ontological position (Smith, 2016b), bringing an inevitable degree of researcher bias (Weatheritt, 1986). However, by utilising a mixed methods approach with the use of significant statistical analyses and supporting qualitative elements the approach becomes more pragmatic. While there remains subjectivity, with the research influenced by personal experience and theoretical assumptions, the mixing of methods here serves to help balance the impact of personal bias gained from an insider researcher position (Brannen 1992).

Examining core research issues specifically in policing, the position of an ‘insider’ researcher is considered further complicated by “tense role conflicts” (Brown, 1996, p.182), and the potential for the researcher to be viewed with suspicion by participants, who may alter their responses accordingly. Elements of police culture are described by Brown as creating a position for researching officers which is more accurately described as “outside insider” (p.181). While it is noted that this position, as with other insider research, has

its own tensions, again the methodology taken is believed to mitigate the potential issues that could impact on the reliability of the findings, as discussed further below.

Ethical issues, risks, and mitigating factors

A number of ethical issues and risks were identified in relation to this project, and steps taken to mitigate them are outlined below.

Informed consent: Securing informed consent is a desirable feature of ethical research, with participants having “rights” (Davies, 2007, p.45). Participants should be provided with clear information regarding the research, their participation, and issues of consent. These rights were set out in a letter that contained the survey link (Appendix C, p.212). The survey outlined the general purpose of the research; that participation was voluntary; and that consent would be inferred by completion of the survey, and could be withdrawn up to the point of on-line submission.

The fact that the researcher was a fellow serving officer was not referred to in invitations to participate or during the data-collection phase. The research was clearly positioned as independent from the supporting bodies (NPCC & PSA), with the ‘student role’ emphasised through use of university email addresses, together with University of Portsmouth branding in all written communications. Contact details were also supplied for any complaints that might arise. Inevitably, a number of those invited to participate may have been aware that the researcher was a serving superintendent, particularly in forces local to her own area, and this may have impacted on decisions regarding participation. A few interview participants knew the researcher professionally, although no interviews were held with anyone that the researcher had directly worked with or had ever had line-management responsibility for. No participants were ‘junior’, and the likelihood of the researcher and any participants working directly together in future was small, given both the researcher’s and the participants’ career stages. Ethical

concerns regarding power dynamics in ethnographical studies in policing were thus limited (Rowe, 2007).

For those participating in one-to-one interviews, information regarding consent was provided in emails arranging the interviews (see Appendix D, p.213) and was also verbally confirmed and recorded at the commencement of each interview. Participants were advised that they could terminate the interview at anytime, and could withdraw consent for the information they provided up until the point that data analysis took place. During the course of the research, no interviews were terminated and no requests withdrawing consent were received.

Anonymity and confidentiality: The ESRC Framework for Research Ethics (2015) requires that the confidentiality of information supplied by participants and their anonymity must be respected. In social research terms, confidentiality typically refers to an agreement not to disclose data without consent, and anonymity means that the identity of a participant is protected (Neuman, 2000).

Careful consideration was taken regarding how best to maintain both confidentiality and anonymity throughout all stages of the research process. In terms of confidentiality, the identity and email addresses of potential survey participants were preserved through having the survey instrument and interview invitation circulated via the NPCC and the PSA. At no time was any list of those eligible to participate shared with the researcher. Both supporting bodies were advised that all electronic data would be password-protected and stored in line with data-protection principles, while documentation was anonymised and stored securely. It was made explicit that raw data could not be shared with the NPCC or PSA, or used by forces for human resources or performance-related issues.

The use of the Online Surveys (formerly BOS) tool provided for anonymous returns of completed surveys, helping ensure that participants would not feel pressurised to participate, as the researcher could not know who had responded. Participants were also informed that the survey was being

circulated to all relevant officers in England and Wales. This large potential participant group meant that the chance of ascertaining identities from survey information was unlikely.

It can be difficult to completely protect subject confidentiality (Neuman, 2000) and care must be taken not to 'accidentally' reveal identity. This issue is particularly relevant where participants may be high profile and more easily identifiable. This can be the case for many senior officers, and in particular women, who are a "minority within a minority" and thus have increased visibility (Silvestri, 2011, p.9). For example in this project, while the identities of the interviewees were known to the researcher, steps were taken to help ensure that this identity was protected. This includes assigning only the gender and broader rank category (superintendent or chief officer) to interview comments referred to in the analysis phase of this research.

Notwithstanding these actions, however, there will always remain some risk, where rich and personal accounts are provided during a study of this nature, that some interview participants will still be identifiable by those they are closely associated with, or with whom they have shared their unique policing experiences. Anonymity and confidentiality has been protected as far as is considered feasible, but the extent will depend on the audience who subsequently access the thesis or information from it (Hammersley & Traianou, 2012).

Duty of care: As well respecting the rights of participants, researchers also have a duty of care towards them. As a serving police officer there is also an on-going duty to behave in accordance with legislation, such as data protection, professional standards in policing and the code of ethics. These "multiple responsibilities of practitioner research" (Coy, 2006, p.429) involve anticipating potential ethical issues, including potential revelations of misconduct or participant welfare issues. In this study the introduction to both the survey tool and the interviews included a reminder of the duty to comply with police conduct and ethical codes. Rowe (2007) highlights the issue of "guilty knowledge and dirty hands" (p.44), and it was made clear to

participants that if any evidence of mal-practice was exposed that necessitated an intervention, then appropriate action would be taken.

While neither the survey nor interview content was considered particularly sensitive, it is not always possible to predict those issues which might affect participants (Wiles, 2013). During the pilot study, it became apparent that even the most experienced colleagues could become emotional when asked to talk about personal circumstances, and thus to minimise the risk of undue emotional impact, the information provided prior to participation reminded participants that they could withdraw consent, could skip questions, or terminate the interview at any time without providing any reason. It was also incumbent on the researcher to use their professional judgement and take personal responsibility for managing any interview where a participant showed undue signs of distress or anxiety, and to take any appropriate steps required.

Another consideration in conducting this research was organisational reputation, and it was recognised that the findings might indicate that gender, or indeed other protected characteristics, have had an impact on the career development opportunities offered or experienced by the senior officers involved in the research. This could pose reputational issues for policing if direct or indirect discrimination is identified. However, forces have a Public Sector Equality Duty as well as responsibilities under the Equality Act to ensure that discrimination is eliminated and equality of opportunity promoted, and the research findings equally have the potential to assist forces in achieving this.

Survey design & sampling

The first instrument employed was an on-line anonymous survey designed using the 'Online surveys' tool. As it was considered professional and important to demonstrate that the surveys had been tailored specifically for the two distinct populations, two separate but similar surveys were designed; one for those in the superintending ranks (i.e. superintendents and chief

superintendents) and one for chief officers (i.e. assistant chief constables, deputy chief constables, chief constables and their equivalents) (see Appendix E, p.214).

Home Office workforce data for the relevant year (Home Office, 2017), indicated a survey population in Home Office forces of:

- 892 superintendents (684 male, 208 female)
- 323 chief superintendents (249 male, 74 female)
- 209 chief officers (153 male, 56 female)

As there would have been some change to numbers between the time of Home Office data collection (reported as at end March 2017) and the date of survey launch (October 2017), the survey population is approximate.

The choice of an on-line survey as a research instrument has become increasingly popular, and in line with the advantages recognised by Gilbert (2008), was considered an appropriate research instrument for this study. Its advantages included the removal of sample bias by facilitating e-mail access, via the third party organisations, to the entire target population across all 43 forces; it allowed busy professionals to choose when to complete; it afforded confidentiality and anonymity to participants; and it provided the researcher with the ability for coded responses to be automatically input into IBM SPSS for data analysis. This approach also minimised the potential for any former acquaintance with any of the target participants to affect the responses given.

In designing the survey and its distribution, steps were taken to ensure that the instrument was ethical, effective and likely to maximise response rates, which can be lower in surveys than for other methods of data collection (Bryman, 2012, p.235). Other limitations include respondents becoming fatigued and abandoning the survey. With no interviewer available to answer queries, the design needed to ensure that self-completion was straightforward, with all the survey questions making sense. This was

particularly important given that terminology might differ between 43 forces, and that the survey needed to be able to be completed in the target time (15 minutes) given how busy participants were likely to be.

Piloting the survey with members of the target population proved, as suggested by Davies, “vital” (2007, p.93), with feedback leading to several amendments before the final product evolved, e.g. the decision to ‘route’ the survey, making navigation depending on personal circumstances more efficient. Appendix F (p.215) shows the survey map, with sequence, routing and relationships between the survey pages. While coding and developing such maps required the researcher to learn new skills and was time consuming, it encouraged a higher return rate by saving participants time and frustration from questions that were not directly relevant to them.

Consideration was taken of Davies’ (2007) “twenty quality questions for carrying out a successful survey” (p.71) and any questions not considered essential in terms of contributing to the research objectives and adding to the quality of the investigation were removed (Chisnall, 1991). Also, the “basic bald questions” (Davies, 2007, p.89) were put later, once interest had been gained and maintained, (Gilbert, 2008), as were the more complex and personal questions regarding attitudes of partners and impact of children on careers.

The use of free-text questions in surveys is considered important in terms of adding to the richness of the data as a whole, and because they can be broken down and analysed with a view to establishing particularly significant items (Bell, 1987). While valuing the opportunity to achieve this, the time that would be involved in subsequently coding and analysing open responses from a larger population led to a decision to limit open questions to just one question, placed at the end, once “the respondent (had) become committed” (Gilbert, 2008, p.198). Participants were invited to add comments in respect of any factors they felt had impacted on their career advancement, either positively or negatively, such as home life, educational experiences, personal protected characteristics or experiences of organisational culture.

A range of closed question types were utilised in the survey, depending on the information being sought. The categories included multiple choice, ranked, scale questions and grids (Davies, Francis & Jupp, 2011, p.66).

Although surveys were considered an appropriate research instrument for this study and participant population, they are not without drawbacks, which should be considered before a survey is selected as an appropriate instrument, distributed and analysed. The issue of non-returns and the time-consuming process of follow-up efforts is one consideration. With regards to this survey, the support of the NPCC and PSA was critical in agreeing to send out reminders, and the pilot had helped to indicate the optimum number of reminders in relation to the additional returns that could be anticipated. It is also important to acknowledge the impact of non-returns on the validity of the research itself, and to the potential for this to create a biased sample, (Moutinhou & Evans, 1992).

Furthermore, the absence of personal contact means that respondents cannot query any questions, and interesting and relevant information may not be extracted because it is not specifically requested. Utilising the mixed methods approach however, afforded a further opportunity to address these 'gaps' through the individual interviews.

Sampling and response rates

The "history of research is tied up with the theory of sampling" (Davies, 2007, p.53) and there are a wide range of sampling options available to social researchers (e.g. quota sampling, purposive sampling, simple random sampling). All are considered to produce various degrees of "representativeness and bias" (Davies, 2007, p.63).

Pragmatism is the underlying philosophical position taken for this research, and taking into account the time and resources available, and the opportunity to access the whole research population via the supporting bodies, the decision was made for the survey link to be sent to all officers who met the

criteria of being a senior police officer in England and Wales, rather than determining a representative sample. This does not, however, guarantee that all officers opened the survey email or accessed the link provided. Given these constraints, along with the busy work schedules and the high volume of emails received by senior officers, it was difficult to anticipate the survey response, although the pilot indicated that it was likely to be adequate.

An unanticipated factor that invariably impacted on final response rates was in relation to technical difficulties in one of the largest forces, where prospective participants were unable to open the link via their work computers or laptops. A small number of responses were received from this force as officers used their personal computers or mobile phones instead, but inevitably only a small number went to these lengths to access the survey. With senior officers in this force representing 21.5% of the entire target population, the impact on final response rates received was significant.

231 surveys were returned in total, representing 16.2% of the survey population. If the large force experiencing technical difficulties together with the ten responses known to be received from that force are excluded, the response rate rises to almost 20%. Responses were received from 176 superintendent ranked officers, and 55 chief officers, as indicated in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Number of survey responses by gender & rank							
Gender	Supt	Chief Supt	ACC/or equivalent	DCC/or equivalent	CC/or equivalent	Chief Officer (rank unspecified)	Total
Male	84	37	12	9	6	2	150
Female	43	11	15	7	3	0	79
Not stated	1		1	0	0	0	2
Total	128	48	28	16	9	2	231

Debates around what constitutes an adequate sample size for research purposes abound (Piovesna & Senior, 2018), and it is common for social

researchers to work with data sets of varying proportions due to the difficulties in amassing large response rates (McNeish, 2017).

In this study, it is contended that the response rate is adequate for the purposes of the research question. They have been received from a wide cross-section of ranks and represent both genders; can be tested by statistical analyses for significance; can be compared to those received during the scoping phase; will be further explored through the more qualitative data provided through the semi-structured interviews; and can also be compared to secondary data analyses and previous findings from a wide literature review.

Survey analysis (coding & validity)

Coded survey responses were analysed through use of the IBM SPSS statistical software package. With qualitative and quantitative research able to inform each other (Archibald, Radil, Zhang & Hanson, 2015), an early interpretation of key survey findings and consideration of the free-text comments were used to help determine the content for the semi-structured interviews.

Once all surveys were completed, appropriate analysis took place by way of SPSS for the survey, and by transcribing and coding the interviews. The survey tool allowed numerical data to be uploaded directly to IBM SPSS, thus saving time. SPSS itself is widely used across social and behavioural sciences, being recognised as a “very powerful and useful tool” (Logio, Dowdall, Babbie & Halley, 2008, p.29), providing the researcher understands how to utilise it (Field, 2013). University of Portsmouth workbooks (Hayden, Shawyer, Sparrius & Bennett, 2015); text books (Field, 2013), together with on-line tutorials were employed to assist in using SPSS effectively. Use ranged from testing theories and exploring data, and calculating basic descriptive statistics through to more complicated analysis involving multiple crosstabs, re-coding data into the same or different variables, and splitting files.

IBM SPSS tools were also used to create a probability calculation (p) derived from Pearson's chi-square statistic. This measures the strength of the association between variables and is able to establish whether an observed relationship is significant or has merely arisen by chance. The probability of independence is also known as the observed significance level and if the probability is less than 0.05 ($p < 0.05$), the hypothesis that the two variables are independent is rejected. Thus, if $p < 0.05$, then there is a 95% probability that the relationship did not occur by chance. If $p < 0.01$, this probability rises to 99%.

65 participants provided free-text comments at the end of the survey. These helped inform the content for the semi-structured interviews and were also subject to analyses, along with the transcribed interviews conducted with the thirty volunteers.

Interviews & sampling

The semi-structured interview

A semi-structured interview (Appendix G, p.216) was employed, allowing flexibility in questions depending on conversation flow, while still ensuring the required information was covered, (Davies, Francis & Jupp, 2011). Thirty-two volunteers initially came forward, with thirty still serving when the interviews were planned. All of these thirty volunteer participants were interviewed. These comprised 14 female participants and 16 male, and were spread across the senior ranks as follows (Table 2):

Gender	Supt	Chief Supt	ACC	DCC	CCs	Total
Male	9	4	0	2	1	16
Female	7	1	5	0	1	14
Total	16	5	5	2	2	30

Acknowledging the indirect costs to the organisation and busy roles of participants, as well as the subsequent time that would be needed to transcribe the recorded responses, interviews were planned to take no more than one hour, including administration. Face-to-face interviews were originally planned but, due to an injury, the researcher was unable to travel during the two-month period in which interviews had been arranged. After careful consideration, rather than postpone this phase and delay the entire study, a decision was taken for all interviews to be conducted by telephone instead. Video interviews were not considered appropriate as the injury sustained by the interviewer would be likely to detract from the interview process.

Telephone interviews

Traditionally, the use of telephone interviews in social research has not been advocated (Cachia & Millward, 2011) except for when the interviews are intended to be “simple and brief” and when “quick and inexpensive results are sought” (Sarantakos, 1993, p.196). The telephone is not typically utilised in academic social research (Bryman, 2012) and has generally been considered “second-rated” (Cachia & Millward, 2011, p.265).

During the scoping phases for this research, however, organising face-to-face interviews with busy senior officers proved challenging, and some had to be cancelled and reorganised several times at short notice. With interviewees based across England and Wales, potential risks were identified regarding the researcher travelling long distances only to receive short-notice cancellations, or for participants to feel pressurised to engage even if they had changed their mind at the last minute. Given these considerations, once unforeseen circumstances prevented the researcher from travelling, there was a practical impetus for the pros and cons of conducting telephone interviews to be reconsidered.

With deeper reading, it became apparent that telephone interviews are a viable alternative for collecting qualitative data. Cachia and Millward (2011) specifically endorse telephone interviews for semi-structured interviews, and particularly where there is a clear target audience. They parallel the use of the telephone with the evolution of internet-use for research purposes, and also highlight how a telephone conversation naturally echoes that of a semi-structured interview. Sturges and Hanrahan's (2004) empirical comparative study using semi-structured interviews similarly concluded that telephone interviews were as effective as those done face-to-face. Some scholars have found that telephone interviews may even be preferred when sensitive topics are being discussed, and can increase notions of anonymity (Fenig, Levav, Kohn & Yelin, 1993; Greenfield, Midanik, & Rogers, 2000). Even without non-verbal communications, telephone interviews can actually enhance the richness of data collected, with "changes in voice tonality (e.g. denoting anger or sarcasm), hesitations or silent moments serv(ing) as opportunities for probing," (Cachia & Millward, 2011, p.272).

Together with their practical advantages, i.e. greater flexibility; the participant able to select the most convenient location for themselves on the day; and reduced travel time, costs and carbon emissions; it became apparent that telephone interviews were a suitable, or even preferable, option to the face-to-face interviews initially planned. All participant volunteers agreed to the telephone interview, with some openly welcoming the additional flexibility this provided them with.

In addition to the information given by e-mail in response to the initial expression of interest, further information was provided and consent verbally re-confirmed at the start of the recorded interview. Consent must be informed (Robson, 2011), and researchers should balance information to participants regarding their "right not to participate" (p.201), with the potential for information given to impact on the responses or behaviours then observed. In respect of this research, a number of participants appeared to be surprised with the formality of the process and did not seem interested in the

'small print', despite working in an organisation used to bureaucratic and formal procedures.

To record the interview, a mobile phone was used by the researcher and set on 'speaker', and a separate digital voice recorder was utilised. This was tested before the first interview and found to produce a good quality recording.

Consideration was also taken of Davies' (2007) advice in respect of conducting interviews, including allowing the interviewee to dictate the pace; the design of the interview schedule; probing and using "pre-planned questions to prompt relatively unstructured replies" (p.104). Care was taken to engage the participant in free-flowing conversation, and to keep alert for, and explore further, all comments of interest (Davies, 2007, p.193). The interviews lasted an average of one hour each. Compared against the pilot interviews, there was no difference in interview length between those conducted face-to-face or those conducted over the telephone.

In relation to the recorded interviews, despite the time involved, these were transcribed verbatim rather than risking missing anything that might "emerge as significant only later on" (Bryman, 2012, p.486).

Interview analysis

Once the interviews were transcribed, thematic analysis through a coding process commenced. Thematic analysis is a tool that enables patterns within data to be identified, analysed and reported (Braun & Clarke, 2006), with the themes derived from information pertinent to the research question under consideration. Coding enables data to be organised into meaningful groups and assists in identifying the different themes (Robson, 2011). Cognisance was taken of Braun and Clarke's (2006) checklist of criteria for good thematic analysis. Coding entailed each interview being read line by line, with notes around themes annotated down the right hand side. This process was time-consuming but gave the researcher a detailed knowledge of content and a

sound understanding of the relevant themes, or “typologies and taxonomies” (Davies, 2007, p.193).

Given the volume of transcript material, over 31 hours 15 minutes, and the number of emerging themes, it became apparent that a more sophisticated approach was required to manage the process of data analyses effectively. The software package NVivo 12 was thus used, which includes tools for recording and linking ideas in a wide range of ways, and facilitates searching and exploring patterns of data and ideas (Richards, 1999). Initially full coding was repeated, with the 30 interview transcripts coded line by line, and descriptive codes, or ‘nodes’ were assigned as they were identified, e.g. ‘motivations to join’, ‘long hours’, and ‘bullying and harassment’. Appendix H (p.217) lists the final codes and references made.

This iterative line-by-line coding process was important, as rather than looking for ‘pre-set’ themes assigned by the researcher, which carries the risk of introducing greater bias, it helped ensure that the coding reflected ‘the authenticity’ of the participants’ stories and their comprehension of their experiences (Davis, 2017; Charmaz, 2014).

The next stage involved reassessing the initial codes and integrating these into themes and concepts, which were then used to provide substance and underpin the findings from the surveys with personal accounts.

Secondary data

Home Office data

The Home Office website was used to explore police workforce data relating to the Home Office forces. This data provides annual information relating to the demographic make-up of forces in terms of rank and gender, thus allowing an accurate assessment of the current representation of men and women in senior police ranks to be made. While some recognised limitations of secondary data include a lack of familiarity with the data sets and data-

quality (Bryman, 2012, p.315), the provenance of the Home Office statistics allowed for confidence in the product, with the Home Office seeking to “produce and publish timely, accurate and objective statistics” (Home Office, 2016a, para.4).

Force data from Freedom of Information Act requests

As the research progressed it became apparent that there was no force or centralised data readily available to assess the progress of officers through the initial selection process, and then through the promotion processes to each rank by gender. This information was considered significant in terms of the research question, aims and objectives. After careful consideration and consultation with the research supervisor, the decision was taken to employ Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests to try and establish this detail.

The FOIA gives applicants the right to access recorded information held by public sector organisations, and requires the relevant organisation to respond within 20 days. The legislation, introduced in 2000, can be a “powerful tool for social researchers” (Savage & Hyde, 2014, p.303). However, while considered a “vital tool” in investigative journalism (Savage & Hyde, 2014, p.303), academic researchers do not yet appear to have realised its full value (Brown, 2009, p.89). Savage and Hyde (2014) also acknowledge that there have been ethical concerns regarding data generation, but conclude that, providing the public authority releases the data correctly, ensuring that it does not breach data management principles, then any ethical risks are mitigated. Savage and Hyde (2014) conclude that the data generated from an FOIA request is particularly valuable when used alongside other research tools.

Despite these convincing arguments, the researcher still had reservations from the perspective of a researching practitioner, particularly due to the knowledge that responding to these requests can be costly and time-consuming. However, the research aims and objectives are themselves

intended to support policing in its quest to promote diversity (APCC & NPCC, 2016), and the analysed FOIA returns have the potential to be of value to force HR leads and other researchers (Wilson, 2011). FOIAs can also be refused where the amount of work involved or cost to extract the data is considered excessive. It was thus determined that the potential 'return' to policing on the investment made by forces was justified. Supervisor permission was sought and the FOIA approach agreed.

The FOIA request highlighted the applicant's research role and did not reference her position as a serving senior officer. A copy of the FOIA request is attached (Appendix I, p.219), and the analysis of responses can be found in chapter six.

Reflective practice

Scott, Brown, Lunt and Thorne (2004) describe a principal aim of professional doctorates as being "the development of the reflective practitioner" (p.57), pointing to Schon's distinction between "reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action" (Schon, 1983, p.141) when considering how a student reconciles practice setting with the academic community. While reflection-in-action has been described as an instinctive process, a "thinking on your feet" (Copley, 2011, p.23), reflection-on-action is more about stepping back after an event, and exploring what happened "to formulate new understandings ... and develop new skills" (Copley, 2011, p.23). While not all accept Schon's contribution to be as crucial as others (Black & Plowright, 2010, p.7; Moon, 1999, p.14), it appears generally accepted that reflection and reflective practice in some form is beneficial for learning organisations and personal development (Christopher, 2015).

Copley's 'Reflective Practice for Policing Students' (2011) recommends a number of models including Gibbs' (1988) reflective cycle. Gibbs' cycle poses questions over seven stages, and also allows the opportunity to explore emotions, which are identified by a number of writers as essential to effective reflection, and useful in developing practice and identifying ethical

values (Bolton, 2001). Gibbs' cycle was used for the purposes of reflective learning during the course of completing this professional doctorate and in particular throughout this main thesis.

Limitations

Throughout this chapter, limitations with regards to the research, and steps taken to mitigate their impact, have been considered, for example with regards to insider/outsider tensions, ethical considerations, managing bias in interview processes, and "real world constraints" (Robson, 2011, p.51). It should also be noted that this study focuses on the experiences of senior officers and does not provide a comparative analysis of those officers who have not (yet) achieved senior rank. The literature reviews, secondary data, and previous experiences of interview participants allow for some comparisons and conclusions to be drawn, but conducting the same research across all ranks would be a fruitful approach for a future study.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to describe the research setting and the methodology employed to achieve the aims and objectives of the study.

Despite the challenge of mixed methods being "more time-consuming, difficult, and complex than monomethodological studies", (Maruna, 2009, p.127), given the depth and breadth of the findings produced, the choice of method is considered by the researcher to have been effective. These findings are discussed in more detail in chapters six and seven, while the previous chapters have provided further context in terms of the key literature that underpins this research and which provides the rationale for the choice of study and the chosen aims and objectives.

CHAPTER 6: SECONDARY DATA - FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

Chapters six and seven explore key research findings with regards to any evidence of differential experiences or identifiable barriers and enablers impacting on the career experiences and progression of male and female police officers reaching the rank of superintendent or above. They consider how any differences identified manifest themselves or prevent the service from achieving the transformations it claims to desire, particularly in terms of having a more diverse representation in senior ranks.

While consideration was given to presenting the findings and the discussion of data implications as separate chapters, the decision was taken to combine them. One reason for this approach, in line with the pragmatic perspective that underpinned the choice of a mixed-methodology (Creswell, 2009), is that it avoids the repetition of key findings during a separate analysis chapter, thus assisting in keeping within the “real world constraint” (Robson, 2011, p.51), of the permitted thesis word limit. With the use of both quantitative and qualitative survey instruments producing a considerable amount of data, this approach was also useful in helping to “keep the detail of the data in focus without losing sight of the big picture of the research” (Monash University, 2019), clearly establishing the links between patterns emerging from the analysis and the research question, and systematically relating those connections to the existing research and theory.

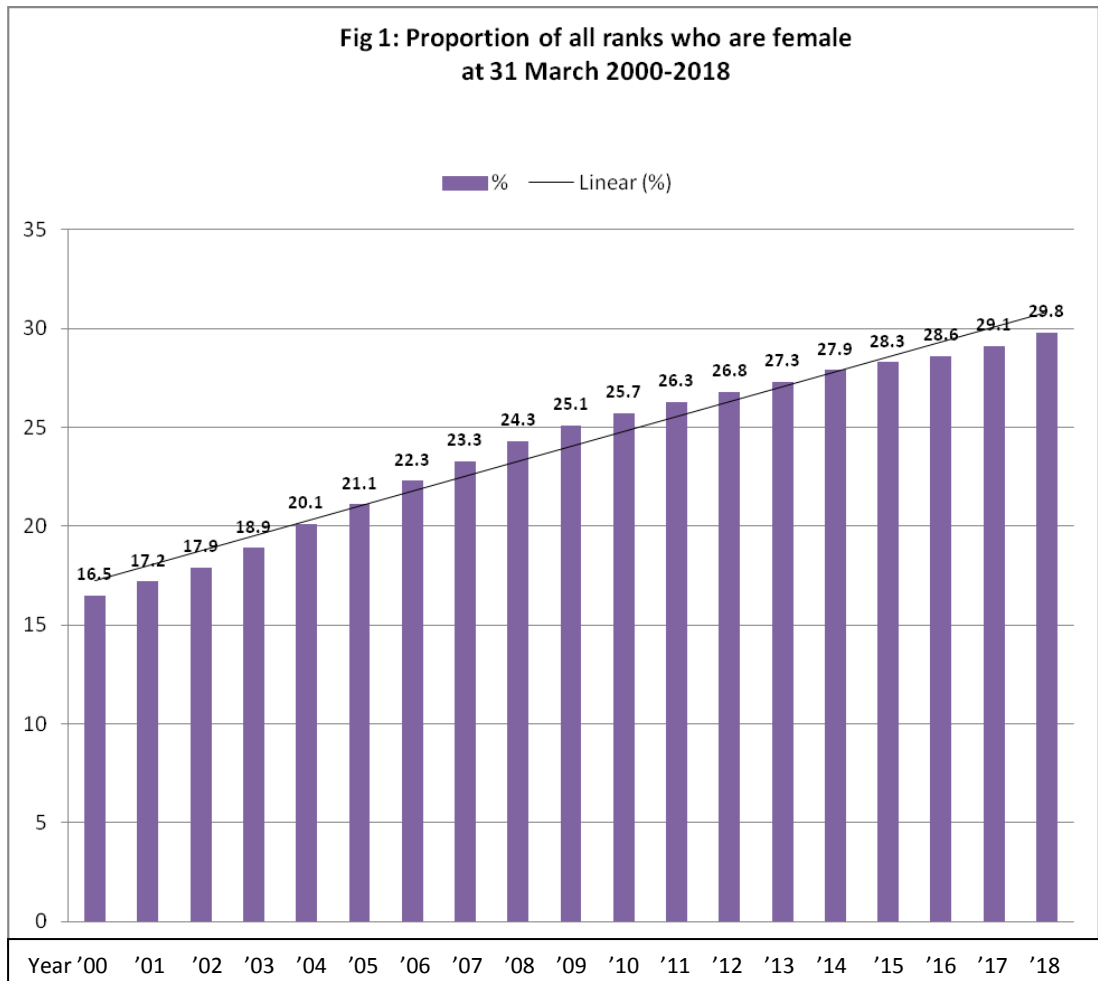
This chapter analyses secondary data retrieved from the Home Office police workforce statistical returns and obtained from force responses to the FOIA requests. This analysis aims to assist in establishing the wider context in which those participating in the surveys and interviews are operating, and thus ‘sets the scene’ before moving onto an examination of the primary data findings (chapter seven).

Analysis of Home Office police workforce data 2000-2018

The annual Home Office police workforce bulletins include a breakdown by gender and some commentary on the statistics presented. The limited progress made in recent years with regard to the gender profile of police officers is barely acknowledged. While the latest bulletin does refer to females being “underrepresented”, this observation follows the positive assertion that the actual figure is “again the highest proportion on record”, (Home office, 2018, p.7). In order to gain a fuller understanding of the national trends regarding female officer representation, analyses was carried out using Home Office statistical data produced annually since 2000, including an examination of the Home Office statistical bulletin archives, (2000-2010) and supporting data tables. This analysis revealed considerable disparity across forces with regards to representation by gender.

While the proportion of female police officers does continue to grow annually, now comprising 29.8% of police officers in the 43 forces in England and Wales (Home Office, 2018), the overall national growth rate has slowed and proportions vary considerably between forces.

A review of Home Office statistical bulletins reveal that while 2000-2010 saw the numbers of women increase by 9.2% (to 25.7%), the period since then has seen a reduction in growth, increasing by just 4.1% during the eight years to March 2018 (Fig.1). This trend follows the predictions of other commentators (Brown & Bear, 2012), and the history of “progression and regression” (Silvestri, 2015, p.59) revealed in chapter four. 2016 saw an increase of 0.3% in female officer numbers, the smallest annual rise in the last decade. While the proportion of females has grown marginally faster since then, by 0.4% in the 12 months to March 2017 and a further 0.6% to March 2018, these small gains make the aspiration endorsed by the APA for women to achieve 35% of the work force seem some time away, and certainly not by 2020 as previously predicted (Brown & Woolfenden, 2011).



Source: Home Office Workforce Data Tables 2000-2018

With overall police numbers falling due to austerity measures (Laverick & Cain, 2015), the actual numbers of female officers at March 2018 are 570 less than at their peak at 31 March 2010, when 36,988 females were serving.

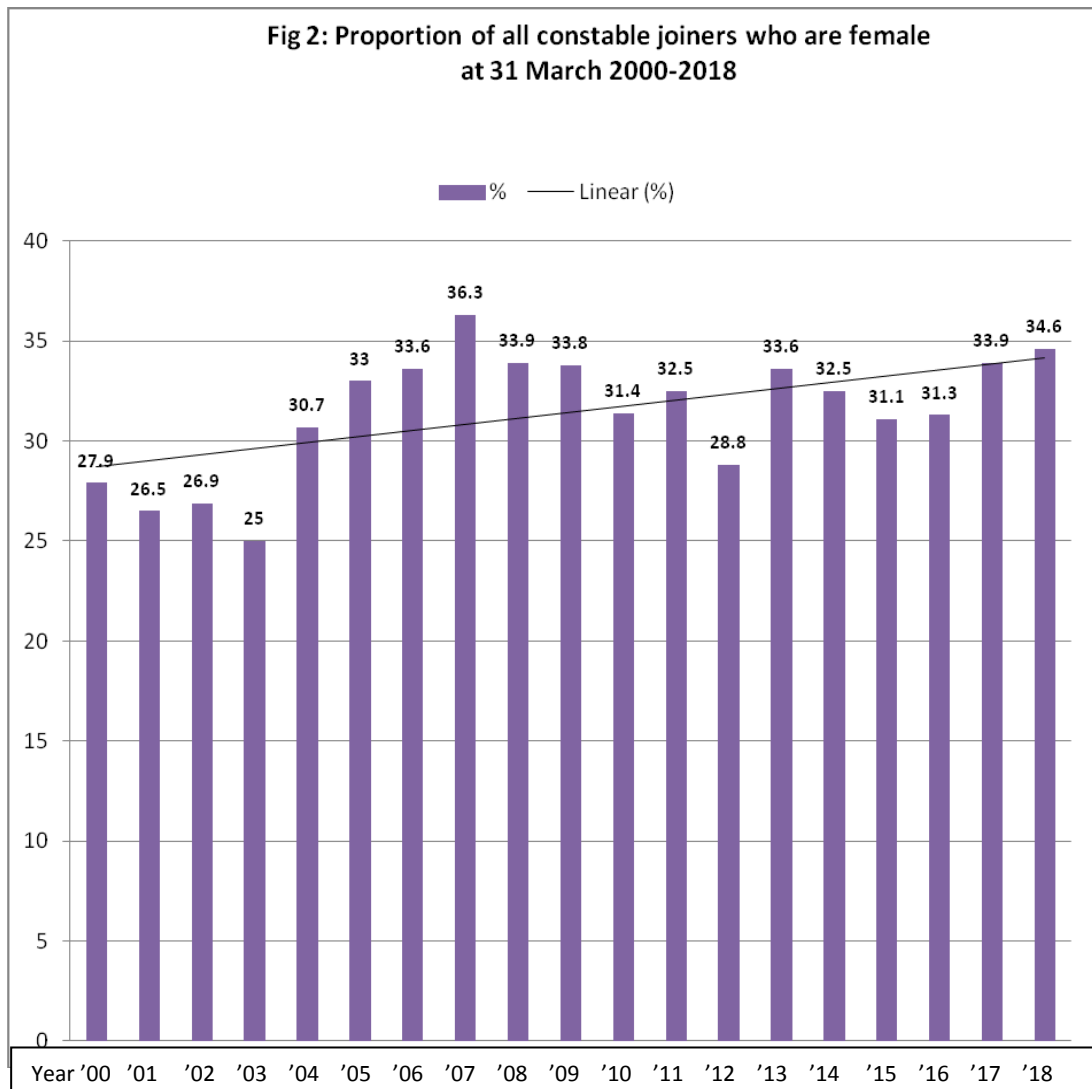
Women officers are continuing to leave policing in higher proportions than men, with 36% of female leavers leaving through voluntary resignations in 12 months compared to just 19% of men (Home Office, 2018, p.34). However, the Home Office commentary does not highlight this as a cause for concern. The data tables produced allow for comparisons of leavers by gender, and breaks down reasons for leaving by force. They do not, however, include a break-down of the reasons for leaving by gender, and while some reference to gender differences is made, normal retirements and voluntary resignations

are reported as if there was no difference between them. This is despite the former being due to police service reaching its natural end, and the other being due to an unknown premature factor.

The proportion of female leavers should cause some concern, particularly when considered alongside officer wellbeing data. This data indicates that, as well as being more likely to be on recuperative or restricted duties, women are proportionately more likely to be absent long-term (excluding maternity or paternity leave) than their male colleagues (Home Office, 2016b).

Meanwhile, the proportion of female constable joiners remains unchanged for over a decade. While the period from 2015 - 2018 saw annual increases (from 31.1% to 34.6%), the Home Office conclusion that the recent increases in joiner rates is indicative of “a trend towards an increasing proportion of female officers” (Home Office, 2018, p.34) is debatable. Constable joiner rates are no higher than those of a decade ago (36.3% in 2007, and 33.9% in 2008), and do not appear to be due to any targeted female recruitment campaign. Despite ACPO, APA and the Home Office articulating a need for a more diverse workforce (2009), constable joiners actually fell from 33.8% in 2009, and did not recover again until 2017, suggesting no coordinated activity to increase female officer representation (Fig. 2).

Taking joining and wastage trends into account, it seems most likely that the “critical mass” of 35% presented as “necessary to change the minority status of a group and minimize discriminatory treatment” (Brown & Woolfenden, 2011, p.357) will take at least another decade to achieve in terms of female officer representation, unless new and more effective ways for female recruitment, selection, retention and promotion are introduced at a pace.



Source: Home Office Workforce Data Tables 2000-2018

Achieving female representation at the 35% level is clearly possible, however, being first achieved by Cumbria in 2014, and Wiltshire in 2016. Other forces, however, are significantly below 'average' in terms of female officer representation, with the lowest being the City of London (23%), Cleveland (25%), and the MPS, at just 26.2% female representation. With the MPS comprising almost 25% of all police officers in England and Wales, their impact on overall police workforce data is significant. As well as their officer female representation being among the lowest, the MPS female officer joiner rates are also below national average (32.9% compared to 34.4%). Considerable effort is clearly required if the MPS is to achieve its recently announced campaign aim of ensuring half of its officer workforce comprises women (BBC, 2018).

In terms of rank, while there is evidence of some progress in terms of female representation, the Home Office's (2018) explanation that the majority of female officers serving at constable rank is likely to be a reflection of "the increasing proportion of the workforce that is female" (p.33) is unconvincing, given that female representation has, for over a decade, been significantly higher than the 22.8% currently serving at first level supervisor, i.e. sergeant rank.

With this first supervisory rank achievable within just a few years of service, there is no rationale in terms of 'time served' for women not to have already achieved this rank in numbers proportionately closer to their overall police service representation. Furthermore, the proportion of female new promotions to sergeant in 2017/18 (25.8%) is actually less than that reported by forces five years ago, (29.2% at 31 March 2013), when women made up even smaller proportions of constable numbers, (Appendix J, p.222).

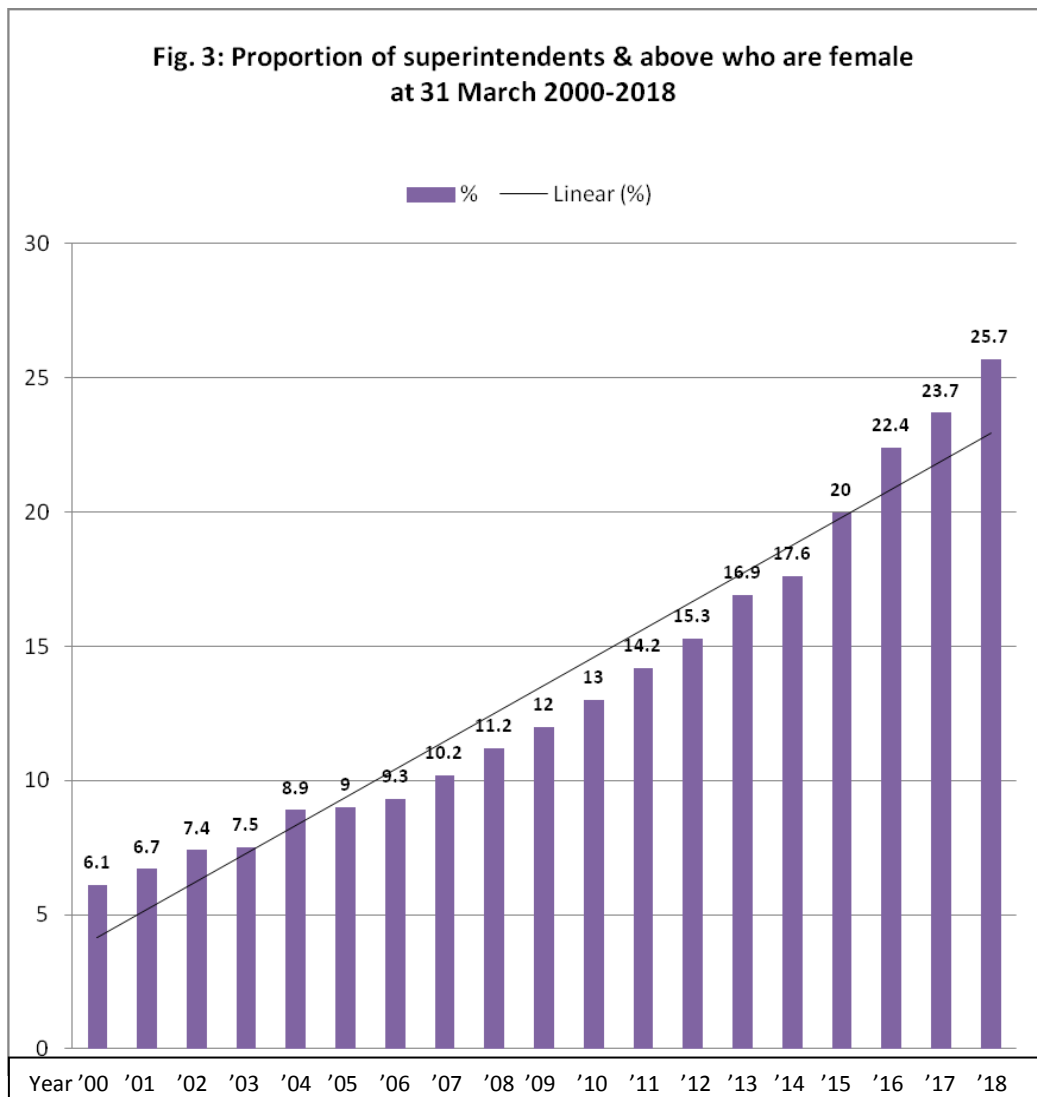
Given that, generally, each rank has to be progressed through to achieve the next, the number of women in the ranks above sergeant are, however, currently proportionate to those serving in the rank below (Table 3).

Table 3: Proportion of female officers by rank, at 31 March 2018	
Chief officers	27.1%
Chief superintendent	22.6%
Superintendent	26.4%
Chief inspector	25.1%
Inspector	23.3%
Sergeant	22.8%
Constable	31.6%

Source: Home Office, 2018

In fact, the proportion of women supervisors rises with each rank, except at chief superintendent where a noticeable ‘dip’ occurs. It is in the chief officer ranks where women actually hold their largest share of a supervisory rank (27.1%). Thus the data shows that, once the first supervisory rank has been ‘breached’, women are achieving career progression through the ranks in equal proportions to men, with chief superintendent rank also an exception.

For the purposes of this research, the primary focus is on the senior ranks of superintendent and above. Analysing Home Office data since 2000 indicates that the rise of women holding ranks of superintendent and above has increased four-fold since the start of the millennium, from 6.1% to 25.7%, and has almost doubled since 2010 (Fig. 3 below).



Source: Home Office, 2018

While the numbers still, in real terms, mean that women senior leaders in policing remain a minority, it could be contended that the 'slowing' of progress evidence in terms of overall female officer representation is not being mirrored in senior promotions. However, deeper analysis of the number of female promotions over the course of the last five years (Appendix J, p.222) shows that promotion rates for women may have plateaued, and that the overall rise in the female share of senior ranks is more likely due to a greater proportion of male retirements, given their historic higher numbers in the workforce and ranks, rather than recent increases in female promotions. For example, all ranks, except those of superintendents, saw a smaller proportion of female promotions in the period 2017-18 compared to the 12 months before. Female chief superintendents saw their highest proportion back in 2014/15, and female chief officers in 2015/16.

It is thus concluded here that only significant increases in the number of women recruited as police officers will translate into a sustainable greater representation of females in all leadership roles. There is already evidence that increasing the proportion of constables will have this impact given that in those forces where there is currently the largest overall female officer representation, Cumbria and Wiltshire, their proportion of female sergeants is already significantly above the national average of 22.8%, standing at 30.3% and 32.7% respectively. Lessons should be learned from the experiences here, with Cumbria citing "hard work" and a focus on supporting women through development programmes as part of the reason for their success (Ward & Prenzler, 2016, p.245).

Analysis of the Home Office (2018) data reveals considerable force disparity regarding the proportion of women in all supervisory ranks. Focussing on senior women, i.e. superintendent and above, the range is particularly wide, varying from a low of 6.7 % in Leicester, where there are no female superintendents and just one female at chief officer level, to a high of 40% in both Hampshire and Gwent. Yet despite such wide variations, no evidence emerged during the course of this research of any representative body or policing stakeholder using data to make these sorts of comparisons, or of

any questions being asked as to why such wide disparity might exist. This is despite concerns being expressed about the gender pay-gap in policing (Collins, 2018), which will inevitably be related. Appendix K (p.223) shows a full breakdown of the proportion of female senior officers by force.

From the Home Office data it was not possible to analyse separately the numbers of chief constables, deputy chief constables and assistant chief constables, or their equivalents in the MPS or City of London Police. These ranks are combined as ‘chief officers’ in the Home Office reports. In order to ascertain the proportions and distribution of women within these senior ranks, the following information was collated from individual force websites (Table 4²).

Table 4: Chief Officers by rank and gender serving in the 43 forces in England & Wales (not including central service secondments)			
	Male	Female	% Female
Chief Constables	43	5	10.4
DCCs	36	14	28
ACCs	71	32	31.1
Total Chief Officers	150	51	25.4

Source: Collated from the 43 Home Office Police force websites, 02.02.2019

While women in policing are proportionately represented at assistant chief constable rank and deputy chief constable rank, there is a significant drop at the top position of chief constable where women represent only 10.4% of chief constables operating in police forces. As two of these women serve in the MPS, only four out of the 43 forces were headed by a female at the time

² It should be noted this data is 10 months older than that collated by the Home Office (2018) report, and as such the overall chief officer numbers may differ. Also, the MPS has 6 officers who operate at the equivalent rank of chief constable, making the total number of chief constables 48, rather than 43.

of this data collection, despite it being almost a quarter of a century since the first female chief constable was appointed.

2017/2018 saw female chief officer appointments across all three ranks fall from a high of 31.6% of chief officer appointments made in 2015/16, to 22.6% in 2017/18. Eight out of 43 forces (18.6%) still had no female representation in any of the chief officer ranks at 31 March 2018.

Secondary data: analysis of police force Freedom of Information Act responses

With recruitment and promotion processes handled by individual forces, there is no centrally-collated information available to facilitate comparisons by gender of promotion applications and success across forces. FOIA requests were thus used in an attempt to obtain this information from the 43 Home Office forces.

Although the FOIA specifies that responses should be made available within 20 days, over 50 working days were allowed before responses were analysed. 16 forces were able to supply some of the requested data, and eight forces determined that an exemption to providing the data applied, i.e. it was too time consuming or not held in a way that allowed retrieval without checking individual records. The remaining forces had not responded to the request at the time of data analysis.

Given the limited number of forces able to provide relevant information, only the most significant findings are reported on.

Recruitment

Six forces supplied data that allowed for comparison between the various stages of the recruitment process (Appendix L, p.224). This related to 15,507 police constable applications over the period 2015-2018, and is considered of sufficient volume to provide useful insights in terms of gender.

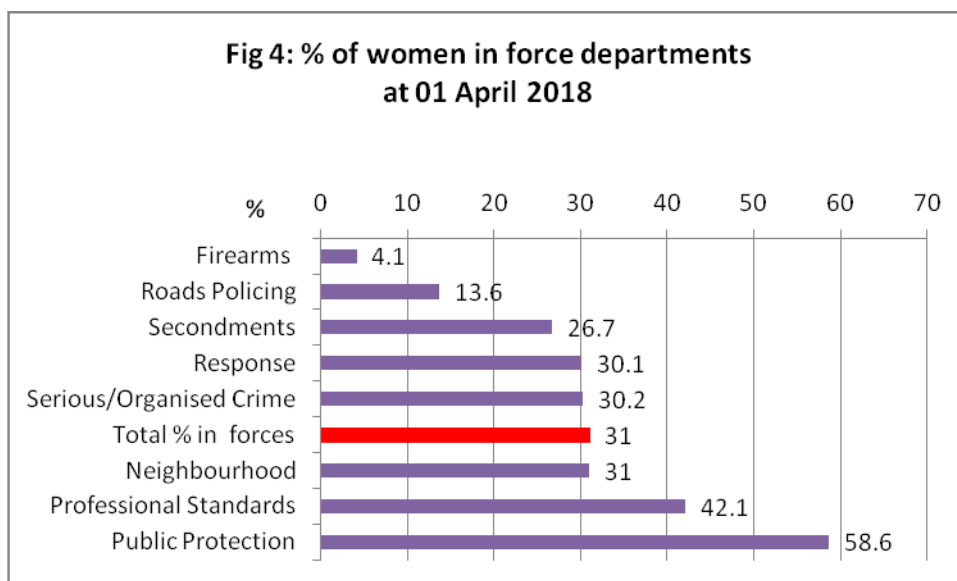
The application rates from females were consistent over each of the three years, comprising between 32.5% to 33.5% of all applications received annually. Women were less likely than men to fail at the application or assessment centre stage, and more likely than men ($p < 0.000$) to be recruited when compared to the number of applications. While the ratio of application of men to women was approximately 2:1, the selection ration was 3:2.

It is thus apparent that the rate of initial applications for police constable appointment is a major contributor to the disproportionately low number of women being recruited into the police, compared to their proportion in the population. If women are to be recruited in greater numbers, then there needs to be a focus on attracting their applications in the first instance, or, from a police reform perspective, on making policing a more attractive career for women.

Distribution of resources by gender

11 forces, with a total of 27,036 police officers at 31 March 2018, were able to supply information relating to the distribution of resources by gender (Fig. 4).

These force returns show that, consistent with Acker's (1989; 1992) identification of how organisations are gendered, with males and females segregated according to notions of gender roles, and with Alvesson and Billing's (2009) notion of how most jobs are "sex-typed" or have "a certain gender symbolism" (p.70) , there remain police departments where men continue to dominate. For men, these include firearms and roads policing, while women remain over-represented in the 'public protection' areas of policing, where crimes predominantly against women, children and vulnerable people are investigated. Women are also disproportionately present in force professional standards departments, where public complaints and internal conduct matters are considered.



Source: FOIA responses from 11 forces

Promotion examinations

Before applying for promotion to sergeant, and then to inspector, officers must pass the qualifying examinations set annually by the College of Policing (College of Policing, 2019a). To be eligible to sit the sergeant examination candidates must have completed their two year probationary period, and they must be promoted to sergeant before taking the examination to inspector. After these first two ranks, there are no further national qualifying examinations.

Data relating to 2,414 officers was supplied regarding the sergeants' qualifying examination, (Appendix M, p.225). This related to applications to sit the examination between 2015-2018 and indicates that:

- women are more likely than men to withdraw from the process prior to sitting the examination ($p < 0.01$),
- there is no significant difference in pass rates by gender,
- over the three years 2015-2018, the proportion of female examination applicants grew from 24.3% to 30%.

Overall, while the number of women taking the qualifying examination for sergeant remains 2.1% less than their proportions in the constable rank itself (31.6% at 31 March 2018), women do appear to be becoming as likely as their male peers to be taking this necessary step for applying for promotion to the first supervisory rank. Further research into why women withdraw from the process before taking the examination might assist in closing the gap that still exists between the numbers of women and men taking the qualifying examination for promotion to sergeant.

With regards to the inspectors' qualifying examination, data relating to 1,041 officers applying to sit the annual examination between 2015-2018 was supplied (Appendix M, p.225). The data indicates that, once having achieved the rank of sergeant, there is no notable difference between men and women in terms of the proportions applying for, withdrawing, or passing the qualifying examination for the next rank. Female application rates have remained consistent over the last three years.

Promotion boards

Once qualified to apply for promotion, the next step is usually for officers to apply for promotion via a 'promotion board' process. This is set by individual forces and differs depending on the force and rank applied for. For example, some processes may involve a sift of applications followed by interviews, others may include some sort of assessment centre, particularly for more senior posts. Chief officer posts can only be applied for on successful selection to, and completion of, the Strategic Command Course.

From analyses of the FOIA responses the following key points relevant to this study emerged:

- Despite evidence of women qualifying in similar proportions to males for promotion to the first supervisory rank of sergeant, this has not translated into a proportionate number of women actually applying for promotion to this rank. Based on 2992 applications for promotion in

the period 2015-2018, female applications for promotion to sergeant fell significantly from 27.8% to 21.2% of all applications ($p < 0.01$). By 2018, female applications were 10% less than their representation in the constable rank (31.6%). A breakdown of promotion applications is provided (Appendix N, p.226).

- Based on the proportion of female applicants who are successful, there is no evidence that force selection processes for the rank of sergeant disadvantage women. Women passed the process in significantly greater proportions than men ($p < 0.01$), which may support previous research findings that women are less likely to apply for promotion opportunities until they are certain they are ready (Young, 2007; Metcalfe & Dick, 2002). However, this higher pass rate is not sufficient to close the 'gender gap' in terms of the numbers of women being promoted to sergeant compared to men.
- The data is consistent with previous observations regarding female reluctance to apply for promotion to the sergeant rank (Rabe-Hemp, 2008a; Archbold & Hassell, 2009), and with the Home Office (2018) data detailing the lower proportions of females sergeants nationally. Addressing under-representation of women in this first rank will require a commitment by forces to understand and address barriers to applying in the first instance.
- Based on 985 male and female applications between 2015-2018 for inspector rank, and 484 for chief inspector, women appear to be applying for promotion to inspector and chief inspector ranks in proportions that are consistent with the eligible numbers of their gender.
- From reported applications to superintendent rank (324 male and females between 2015-18), there was no evidence of differential treatment by gender in respect of success in promotion applications.
- Between 2015-18, while generally applying in proportionate numbers, females were consistently less successful than males in the chief

superintendent promotion process. This may be of particular note given that Home Office Data (2018) also shows a decline in female promotion rates to chief superintendents since 2014. It is suggested by the FOIA data that it is not the attraction of the rank that is proving a barrier to female progression, but that other factors are at play.

- While women were proportionately represented in their applications to ACC posts during the three year period (29.2% of applications), only two (15.4%) of the 13 promotions to ACC in the reporting forces between 2015-18 went to women, (Appendix O, p.229).
- There was no evidence in the reporting forces of differential treatment by gender for promotions to DCC.
- There were no female applications or promotions to chief constable in the reporting forces between 2015-18, during which time six males were promoted to this rank.
- Application and success rates for all ranks varied significantly by force and by year. Ensuring that women are not disadvantaged, and are consistently applying and succeeding in similar proportions to their male colleagues, will require forces to monitor, share and learn lessons from their processes.

Temporary promotions

Temporary promotion processes are outside of national regulations. They are often not subject to the oversight that is applied to formal promotion processes in terms of ensuring a fair approach. For example, they may be dependent on an individual being in a department when a vacancy arises, being asked to apply, or simply being awarded the temporary post on an informal basis. The issue of sponsorship and the subjective way this can bring advantages to a select few has been previously documented (Caless, 2011). Opportunities such as temporary promotion enable applicants to demonstrate suitability for the next rank, and develop skills and self-

confidence. They afford both the organisation and the individual time to determine whether a permanent promotion might be an appropriate next step, although this would normally be subject to a more formal process.

From the FOIA returns it was evident that women were proportionately less likely than their male counterparts to be given temporary promotions. Of a total of 1656 reported temporary promotions across the ranks in the period 2015-2018, just 330 (19.9%) were to female officers (Table 5).

The selection and impact of temporary promotions is thus considered an area worthy of further scrutiny, as there appears to be an absence of academic or police research into how these promotions are awarded and the impact that they have on career advancement in policing. Given the extent of previous research indicating that for women in particular, a lack of self-confidence, alongside concerns about how they might manage a change of role at work with home responsibilities, is a barrier to female promotion applications (Archbold & Hassell, 2009), it is contended here that the opportunity to 'try out' a promotion first would be a very positive step in encouraging the career-advancement of women in policing. At the moment however, women do not appear to be benefitting from this opportunity to the same extent as men.

Table 5: Force Temporary promotions between 1.4.15 to 31.3.18		
	Male	Female
Temporary sergeant	785	205
Temporary inspector	372	76
Temporary chief inspector	92	32
Temporary superintendent	40	14
Temporary chief superintendent	28	2
Temporary chief officer	9	1
Total	1326	330
% of all temporary promotions	80.1%	19.9%

Source: FOIA returns

Conclusion

As evident from the limited information contained in the annual Home Office workforce reports, there is currently no centralised collation of data providing a detailed analysis of the career journey of officers. There is no stage-by-stage data collated with regards to force recruitment, promotion applications, or temporary promotions, and no comparison of force resources by department to demonstrate gender distribution in forces. The limited number of FOIA responses illustrates that the majority of forces do not collate or examine such data even locally, and information is evidently not being used to inform forces regarding the career experiences of officers by gender. Forces and the government are at best ignorant of, and at worst disinterested in, those specific areas of disproportionality and gender bias highlighted here.

Without collating and examining more detailed data centrally, the opportunity for forces to identify, share and learn from best practice is non-existent, and there is no opportunity for targeted activities addressing under-representation by gender to be developed.

Given the acknowledgment of the positive benefits that diverse leadership teams can bring to policing (Silvestri, 2015; HMIC, 2016), and evidence regarding the additional support required by minority groups, particularly in “work roles traditionally dominated by white men” (Alderden, Farrell & McCarty, 2017, p.x), it is suggested here that the previous recommendations from the Home Office (2010) in respect of the publication of annual plans prioritising action for female recruitment, retention and progression are revisited, together with further research into the promotion gender gap and the introduction of exit interviews with female leavers.

There should be a clearer focus specifically on recruitment targets for females; the under-representation of women in the rank of sergeant; and promotion rates, including temporary promotions, by gender. Annual data provided by the Home Office relating to chief officer proportions and

promotions, should report on the three specific ranks of ACC, DCC and chief constable separately, rather than combined as 'chief officers'.

The above suggestions are incorporated into specific recommendations in chapter eight.

CHAPTER 7: PRIMARY DATA - FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter considers key primary data findings obtained from the survey responses, together with the main issues which emerged from the thematic analysis of the interview transcripts. As explained in chapter six, while consideration was given to presenting the results and the discussion of their implications separately, they have been combined in order to avoid repetition during separate analysis chapters, and to help establish the links between emerging patterns and the research question.

Given the quantity of data generated by the survey instruments, a further challenge was determining how to filter and select the most relevant issues for analysis. Returning to the choice of methodology, the quantitative analysis was intended to provide data that would assist with determining the most significant issues and in providing a degree of statistical reliability and research generalisability, while the qualitative interviews were largely utilised to add richness and contextual understanding of the key themes emerging from the quantitative stage. Employing a hermeneutical approach requires a researcher to strive to determine the intended meanings of a text (Bryman, 2008, p.532), with consideration for social and historical context. During the analysis phase the researcher sought to utilise this approach, moving backwards and forwards between the key survey findings and the interview transcriptions, and using knowledge obtained during the review of existing literature to help interpret subjective meanings and identify those findings most relevant to the research question.

The key findings have been organised according to the themes derived from the thematic analysis: the general career experiences of participants, with a particular focus on 'time served' and postings; the impact of any career support, including mentors or sponsors; leadership styles; and the effect of external factors on career opportunities or choices made. Throughout the

analysis reference is made to the theoretical frameworks in respect of leadership, culture and gender, and how these influence or support the observed findings.

Unless otherwise indicated, throughout this chapter the responses for 'superintendent ranks' include combined responses from superintendents and chief superintendents, while those from 'chief officer ranks', combine responses from ACCs, DCCs and chief constables, and their equivalents. 'Senior officers' indicate all of these ranks combined.

Primary data analysis

As detailed in chapter five, an anonymous survey was emailed via a third-party to all male and female officers of superintendent rank and above in the Home Office forces in England and Wales. A total of 231 survey responses, approximately 16% of the target population, were returned. Participants were not obliged to respond to every question in the survey, and the analysis of each question is based on the number of responses received to that question.

From these surveys, thirty volunteers volunteered to engage in one-to-one interviews, which were conducted by telephone. These volunteers represented male and female officers in both superintendent and chief officer ranks.

Rank and gender

As previously discussed, survey participants were asked to indicate their rank and gender (Table 6). For gender, the options were 'male', 'female' or 'other', with the option to specify exactly how gender should be recorded. No participants selected 'other', although two did not answer the question on gender. Two male chief officers did not provide their specific rank.

Table 6: Rank and gender of survey respondents				
Rank	Male	Female	Not specified	Total
Superintendent	84	43	1	128
Chief superintendent	37	11		48
ACC or equivalent	12	15	1	28
DCC or equivalent	9	7		16
CC or equivalent	6	3		9
Chief officer (specific rank unspecified)	2			2
Total	150	79	2	231

Based on Home Office workforce data (2018), the number of survey participants represents 14.6% of all those serving in the superintendent ranks, and 24.7% of all chief officers. In terms of gender, the proportion of female participants compared to males within the superintendent ranks was 54:121, i.e. 30.8% female, compared to 25.2% nationally. For chief officers the female proportion rose to 25:29, i.e. 46.2% female, compared to 27.1% nationally. It is considered likely that the higher proportion of female chief officer responses is due to the survey being promoted by a female chief officer at a conference where many female chief officers were present. Together with the factors described in chapter five, i.e. the cross section of ranks; the mixed methods approach; and the use of statistical analysis, the number of survey participants is considered sufficient for the objectives of the thesis to be achieved and for the findings to be generalisable.

Ethnicity and sexual orientation

Participants were predominantly white, with just one female superintendent and four male superintendents identifying as BAME, (2.8%). All chief officers

were white British. These small numbers are in line with national statistics (Home Office, 2018), which show 4.3% of all superintendent ranks and 2.3% of chief officers as BAME.

Most men in this study identified as being heterosexual, with only one male identifying as gay, and three preferring not to say. Amongst the females, 13 (16.5%) identified as gay or lesbian and three preferred not to say. With around 2% of the UK population identifying as lesbian, gay or bisexual (LGB), (Office for National Statistics, 2019) it appears that the proportion of gay and lesbian females in senior officer posts may be higher than might be anticipated when compared to the reported number of gay and lesbian women in the general population.

It is acknowledged that the intersectionality of ethnicity and sexualities with gender is an important aspect of studies into diversity which, while challenging to merge into “a coherent account” (Acker, 1992b, p.566), is nonetheless considered likely to facilitate an understanding of the dynamics of “difference and sameness” (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013, p.787). While any detailed consideration of intersectionality is beyond the limits of this thesis, the demographical make-up of the participants in this study is also significant to their experience and to the study of diversity in policing (Jones, 2015), and the survey data suggests that further research in this area would be of value.

For example, there are many similarities across all minority groups with regards to experiences and barriers to career advancement, and it is contended that the findings that emerge in this study echo those recognised by Afful (2018) in her study into the impact of values, bias, culture and leadership on BAME under-representation in the police service, particularly around biased and thus discriminatory processes; a marginalisation of equality and diversity issues; and the absence of accountability in recruitment and promotion processes.

Additionally, the absence of senior male officers identifying as gay is in line with the findings of other researchers who have identified both how

heterosexism is one of the key ways that “hegemonic masculinity at work in police agencies is maintained” (Rabe-Hemp, 2008a, p.253); and also how being senior in rank is perceived as being likely to attract “discrimination in both deployment and promotion” (Jones & Williams, 2015, p.203). While Jones identifies the “career related costs” (2015, p.74) of disclosing an LGB identity in policing, it appears from this study that that cost may be borne only by male LGB officers. This may, in line with McGinley’s (2013) observations on masculinity, labour and sexual power, be a product of notions of male superiority, meaning that “women who emulate men can be forgiven” (p.799) while men who challenge the masculinity of other men are considered “traitors” for weakening their hold on power. With regards to policing, this is an area that would be fruitful for further study.

Theme 1. General career experiences: motivations for joining, acceptance, time served and postings

In chapter four, a wide range of gender-related academic research was explored highlighting how theories including social and gender identity, role congruity, hegemonic masculinity and emphasised femininity, and the evolvment of gendered institutions and organisations combine to create a host of barriers for the career advancement of women in particular (Acker, 1989, 1992). From a policing perspective, key barriers have been established (Rabe-Hemp 2008; Archbold & Hassell, 2009; Ward & Prenzler, 2016) and can still be summed up as the “combination of external demands and internal constraints” recognised two decades ago (Whetstone & Wilson, 1999, p.141). In this section, general career experiences are considered and a range of primary factors identified which subsequently impact on career advancement by gender, including initial motivations for joining the police, acceptance into policing, time served, and earlier career postings.

Motivations for joining

As discussed in chapter two, understanding the initial attraction of policing as a career is important to this research given the link between an individual's concepts about the role of policing and the style of working they are likely to adopt (Chan, 1997; Charman, 2017). Police cultures do not exist in isolation and explorations into the socialisation of new recruits needs to take account of the attitudes they bring, which are associated with their own perceptions of what 'being' a police officer entails (Cockcroft, 2013).

From a gender and leadership perspective, this importance is further magnified as it presents an opportunity to explore differences by gender prior to joining and before exposure to the impact of police cultures, particularly with regards to the cultural characteristic of hegemonic masculinity (Haake, 2018). It also facilitates the exploration of whether evidence found by other researchers of a homogeneous "policing personality" (Twersky-Glasner, 2005, p.65) at the point of recruitment extends to those who achieve senior positions and differs by gender. Part of the 'business case' for increasing the number of women entering policing and senior positions is a link between increased diversity in leadership teams and effective, innovative organisations (Chow & Crawford, 2004; Lambert, 2016). However, the evidence for such a link and the associated business case may not be as strong if policing is shown to attract or recruit the same type of person in the first instance, thus limiting the amount of difference they arrive with.

The secondary data analysis illustrated that, in accordance with job "sex-typing...(and) gender symbolism (Alvesson & Billing, 2009, p.70), women are less likely than men to apply to join the police and this, unless addressed, will continue to limit the proportion of senior officers who are female. Recognising what motivates successful police applicants by gender has the potential to assist in future recruitment plans, and may also assist in explaining some of the differential career postings and early promotion decisions by gender, as identified in the analysis of the FOIA resource returns.

From a given list of nine options, survey respondents were asked to rank their motivations for joining the police. Appendix P (p.230) illustrates the responses.

Focussing first on primary motivations, public service was the most popular choice for joining the police; interesting and varied work the second; and exciting work the third most popular choice of respondents, with no difference either by gender or between the ranks. This perception of policing as a “noble cause”, while also being “fun, challenging, (and) exciting” (Reiner, 2000, p.120) is in accordance with the cultural norms associated with policing as highlighted in chapter two.

An interest in working in an organisation that offered opportunities to both serve the public and do something interesting and exciting similarly came through strongly during the interviews, regardless of gender. Perceptions of policing tended to be based on conversations with peers who were already police officers for men, or family members and television programmes for women. The following are typical of many explanations provided during the interviews:

“Policing really interested me, and I don’t mind admitting some of that came from what I had seen on the telly, whether that was Juliet Bravo or The Bill.” (Female chief officer).

“My dad was in the job, so I suppose there was always the family police in the backgroundbut probably more than anything ... I wanted to do something that was going to be exciting ...and I really wanted to make life better for people that could not make it better for themselves.” (Female chief officer).

“I suppose to help people, so public spirited, looking after people.” (Male superintendent).

The majority of interviewees (both genders) admitted that choosing policing was generally a spontaneous decision, e.g. prompted by seeing a recruitment advert at the time of looking for employment. This suggests that actively targeting media and forums popular with females could assist in increasing female application rates, particularly if female role models,

emulating the ‘Juliet Bravo effect’, were apparent in the recruitment campaign. Focussing recruitment messages on the public service element of policing would also be likely to assist in attracting women to policing as a career, without alienating the interest of suitable male recruits.

As identified in previous studies (Twersky-Glasner, 2005), overall, the participants in this study do appear to share a similar baseline in terms of what attracted them most to policing in the first instance, regardless of gender. However, when employing statistical analysis and also examining those areas that survey participants did *not* consider to be a motivating factor at all, some differences by gender did emerge.

While the majority of both genders serving across the ranks selected a desire to serve the public as their primary motivator, it was nonetheless an important factor for more women (67.1%) than for men (42.0%) ($p < 0.01$). It is thus proposed that there is some potential, *if* this higher level of motivation is maintained throughout their careers, for women leaders to prioritise public service to an even greater degree than male leaders, and to some extent at least, bring about the “transformative effect” anticipated due to their increased presence (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000, p.94).

Moving onto those options that participants did *not* consider to be motivating factors (Table 7), more statistically significant differences by gender emerged, with women more likely than men to *not* be motivated at all by job security ($p < 0.05$) or pay ($p < 0.01$).

Table 7: Not Motivating Factors				
	Males		Females	
	Number	%	Number	%
Job security	34	22.7	29	36.7
Pay	44	29.3	41	51.9

While there was no significant difference by gender with regards to 'promotion' being a motivating factor when joining, the fact that pay and job-security were generally more important to males may help explain later decisions by gender in terms of seeking career advancement which brings with it increased pay. Apportioning more importance to job security may also be a factor in men being less likely than women to leave policing prematurely, as indicated by the Home Office (2018) data returns.

While the differences by gender in motivations on entry to the service are subtle, they nonetheless provide useful insight, especially when considered in the context of on-going career experiences and external factors, as illustrated in the following sections. Consistent with prior research (Lonsway, 2007), this study has found that male and female senior officers are generally motivated to join policing for the same reasons, which may be indicative of a 'policing personality'. However, when digging beneath the headline findings, it is apparent that women are less likely to be motivated by pay and conditions, and are most likely to be motivated by public service elements. This knowledge is useful both in terms of supporting a business case for the transformational potential of a more diverse police force, and considering how best to attract women officers in the first instance.

Acceptance

As discussed in the chapters reviewing relevant academic literature, particularly with regards to culture and gender, social identity and 'acceptance' have been highlighted as important aspects of organisational culture, with early experiences particularly significant with regards to how police joiners settle and feel valued (Charman, 2017; Rabe-Hemp, 2008a). While not directly included as survey questions, aspects of becoming accepted emerged as a key feature during the interviews, highlighting an enduring culture of new recruits needing to prove their worth, usually by way of demonstrating "physical fortitude" (male superintendent) or "getting stuck in" (female superintendent). As highlighted in the typical comments below,

understanding the 'pecking order' and making the tea were considered by the vast majority of interviewees as essential factors in fitting in and surviving their police probation. While responses were similar regardless of gender, women interviewees were notably more likely than males to comment on how long they were expected to make the tea for, thus suggesting that women may have been subjected to a longer period of 'initiation', before being accepted:

"Responding to a call and rolling around on the floor with your colleagues outside a night club bizarrely seemed to be what got you in with your colleagues. I'd seen it a lot, getting stuck in seems to be the best way to win respect." (Male superintendent).

"When I first started ... the probationer needed to wind their neck in, and learn their place and make the tea." (Male superintendent).

"I was the only female on our shift ... I was the person who brewed up for five years. Every single brew ... But it was almost like you had to sort of earn the right, and I think it was a combination of being both a girl and a probationer actually... It was just sort of the way it was." (Female superintendent).

"There had been two male probationers that had come in a month before me, and even though I was only one month behind, they made me make the tea for two years as I was the youngest probationer. I had a sort of whinge about it ... and they'd say 'shut up woman' and put me down, that kind of stuff." (Female superintendent).

The similarity in these experiences and behaviours as probationers also echo Schein and Schein's (2017) observations of how early shared learning experiences serve to define a group's culture and identity, as well as Bourdieu's theory that it is through everyday experiences, particularly formative experiences, that individuals unconsciously adopt the social patterns and norms that surround them, with "notions of what is 'right' and appropriate (becoming) ingrained, instinctive patterns of thought and behaviour" (Pike & Beames, 2013, p.80).

Interviewees also described how with each new role the challenge of 'fitting in' recommenced. Generally, a drinking culture appeared to be part of being

accepted: but as agreed by the majority of participants, challenging behaviour was not:

“I went out to prove myself completely, so long hours working, ... quite masculine stuff like going out drinking and drinking pints, stupid stuff.” (Female superintendent).

“I just went along with the old CID drinking culture, you know, of going to the bar after work, or in those days, during work! ... just fitting in with what was quite a lad’s culture, you know.” (Male superintendent).

Even at senior officer level, one male chief officer described how easy it was to be considered ‘an outsider’ if you did not concur with the cultural norms:

“I found the SCC (Senior Command Course) quite difficult because I got a syndicate who were really sociable and drinkers and I am not either of those things. ... so this notion of making friends and colleagues for life on the SCC did not really happen for me.” (Male chief officer).

Considering the common experiences shared by those who are now senior officers provides some insight into the extent of the challenge for the service to deliver reforms and for senior leaders to lead differently. In line with Bourdieu’s theory of ‘habitus’, where values and dispositions gained from a shared cultural history endure across different contexts (Webb, Schirato & Danahar, 2002, p.36), and as observed by Cockcroft, (2014, p.6), despite working their way up through the ranks, senior officers are ultimately “cut from the same cloth” as the rest of the police organisation, and in gaining acceptance often adopt similar behaviours, creating some reluctance to challenge.

Those that resist the culture become ‘other’, and while many of those interviewed did give examples of trying to confront practices or behaviours they considered negative, examples of challenge often met with resistance even at the highest levels, or led to the person challenging, being the one to move on. One superintendent shared how he ‘lost’ a promotion simply for

questioning a posting that would add a three hour commute to his working day:

“He (the chief constable) said look, you’ve pissed me off ... and so you are not going to get promoted, we are cutting back.” (Male superintendent).

Even once in a chief officer rank, senior officers can still be subject to transactional leadership styles and intolerance towards challenge, with one male interviewee explaining how he found himself moving forces several times to escape other chief officers whose styles and values he could not tolerate or change:

“So this new chief turned up, ... (he) was not a nice man to work with, he just wanted to tell people what to do and to suppress personality and to do things his way ... and he substantively appointed a deputy and brought his mate in, he was terrible with women, completely untrustworthy to be honest ... so I transferred ... There really have been monsters in senior positions in policing, and I learned as much from them as I have the good people.” (Male chief officer).

When asked if he felt if there were still such people, the interviewee was clear:

“Yes there are definitely, just look what is happening ... swearing, bullying. I think at chief officer level there is a terrible lack of challenge and lack of choice for the top jobs ... I think this is a real crisis in policing.” (Male chief officer).

Although when discussing experiences most interviewees commented that ‘things are different now’, their emerging accounts across all ranks and genders remained littered with evidence of persistent negative cultural elements. These included the perceptions among numerous females that being a woman and challenging wrong-doing had negatively impacted on their opportunities for promotion to senior rank.

“I do believe that my gender has always been a factor in my progression... My competence is always questioned whereas male officers do not experience the same level of scrutiny. The other area of suspicion and abuse I have found is as a transferee, they call you a ‘dirty stinking transferee’ here ... my concern is, if that is their attitude to fellow officers, what is it to others?” (Female superintendent).

Similar to the observations of Charman (2017), the accounts provided here suggest a ‘re-navigation’ from outsider to insider with each new posting and team joined, regardless of gender or rank. A social need for group acceptance where traditional policing cultures still endure (Loftus, 2009), means that police leaders may also be repeatedly required to pit their personal values or preferred leadership styles against the status quo. Where ‘difference’ goes beyond just wanting to do things differently, such as being female, the battle for acceptance without compromise is thus magnified.

While discussing their career experiences, instances of sexual discrimination and harassment were regularly cited by female participants as examples of how they were, or rather were not, accepted by colleagues during their police careers. In line with the findings of Brown et al., (2018) such hostile behaviours appear very frequently in the accounts given by women, and are often linked to attempts to emphasise the differences between ‘in’ and ‘out’ groups. According to the majority of male interview participants, such behaviours were generally consigned to history. However, for women, such incidents emerged as a more enduring and contemporary feature of female experience:

“I had a sergeant, 6’4”, quite domineering... we walked into this park, ... next thing, he pinned me to the floor and said I must be panting for it.” (Female superintendent).

“I got on with (my colleagues) really well. They all tried to get off with me ... they saw me as a bit of a conquest ... They used to watch porn on the night shift where we had our sandwiches, I used to sit by myself.” (Female superintendent).

“I was a DI on the complaints unit and at a Christmas do the superintendent was absolutely drunk, and he got me in a corner of a pub and was telling me what he wanted to do with me and a female sergeant in most graphic detail, and he was head of complaints! ... I

had a really torrid time when I was on the murder team as a DCI ...and it was all gender related ... And when I got put forward for promotion to superintendent I was told 'I'm only doing it because I have to have a woman on my list!'" (Female chief officer).

This female chief was clear that there is still work to be done in addressing the issue today:

"... What I find upsetting is some of the comments that I heard as a female when starting 25 years ago are still being said now. They weren't funny then, and they are not funny now. And I do wonder whether, despite every initiative, and everything we have done in policing, some of the gender 'banter', for want of a better word, is still there and it hasn't gone away ... there are still a number of young women who feel that they can't come forward." (Female chief officer).

In responding to harassment and discrimination, however, evidence of the resilience associated with career success for women (Bond & Shapiro, 2014) also emerged from the interviews. This was not just in the way these women remained in policing and still went on to achieve senior rank, but also in how they generally ensured that the unfairness they had faced was addressed in some way, even if at a later date. This counter-balances previous research examples of "queen bees" (Braun et al., 2017, p.377), i.e. senior women who distance themselves from other women and purposefully choose not to assist them in advancing too. The majority of the women interviewed accounted at least one example of how they had tried to challenge an unfair situation at work, or used the experience to make them better leaders, such as in the examples below:

"I raised a grievance with the force ... and was a few weeks away from an employment tribunal when they apologised... I did a lot of work to ensure that the force was in a better position to help individuals who requested part-time working." (Female superintendent).

"I had a year of systematic bullying from the level of inspector, all the way down... but if I had to do it again (I would) ... because it has made me a far better supervisor and leader." (Female superintendent).

"There have been times when I thought about going ...(when) I was having all the issues, ... and I couldn't see a way ahead... I'm not sure

what kept me, I think just a belief that I still had something to give.”
(Female chief officer).

From the interviews there emerged a sense that bullying and harassment is not at all a thing of the past, and continues to undermine both women and men. These views support other research findings regarding increased bullying behaviours at chief officer level, and that for women it is most likely to take the form of harassment on gender grounds (Bradford, Brown & Schuster, 2012). While many challenged the culture, others were concerned about how easy it was to acquiesce to it instead:

“It was macho and aggressive. The men that joined as probationers didn’t start off like that.” (Female superintendent).

One male superintendent regretted engaging in a ‘womanising’ culture, and in particular the effect it had on his marriage:

“I was a dick, there is no doubt about it. It takes two to tango, but it mainly was me ... I still regret it. The culture I got into was one of ‘this is normal, you need to be a player if you want to get on, you need to be seen as one of the lads.’” (Male superintendent).

The extent of sexual harassment and inappropriate behaviours revealed in these interviews, as well as being in accordance with recent research findings (Brown, Gouseti & Fife-Schaw, 2018) as discussed in chapter four, also supports the endurance of “proverbial characteristics” (Loftus, 2009, p.126). These characteristics lead Loftus (2009) to raise concerns regarding how change initiatives are failing to transform policing due to the prevailing dominant cultures, as highlighted in chapter two. It is also likely that the types of behaviours and situations highlighted are contributing to the higher premature exit rates of female officers compared to men (Brown et al., 2018), given that not all women will remain in an organisation where such behaviours are encountered. They are also likely to impact negatively on the wider perceptions of policing as an attractive career choice for women, and

contribute to the low numbers of women applying to join policing (Picker & Nagle, 2015). As discussed in chapter four, and identified by Ward and Prenzler (2016), it is imperative that the barriers created with regards to sexual discrimination and harassment, as well as the bullying as reported by officers of both genders, are addressed and removed, if policing seeks a more diverse workforce to thrive and share its full range of talents in the organisation.

In terms of being accepted in policing then, from the interview accounts of initial experiences on joining the police and moving through ranks and postings, this study revealed evidence of both male and female senior officers seeking to prove their worth and achieve social identity through acceptance by the group. This is as observed in other research studies, e.g. Hoggett, Redford, Toher, & White (2018). However, in accordance with wider research regarding workplace experiences (Chow & Crawford, 2004), the men in this study do appear to have experienced a friendlier work environment than the women, and it is proposed here that these issues need to be addressed as a matter of some urgency in policing if a more diverse workforce is going to be recruited, retained and enjoy equal career success. Until these barriers are dismantled, women are likely to continue feeling that they do not belong in policing or in the higher ranks to the extent that men do (Veldman, Meeussen, Van Laar & Phalet, 2017).

Time served

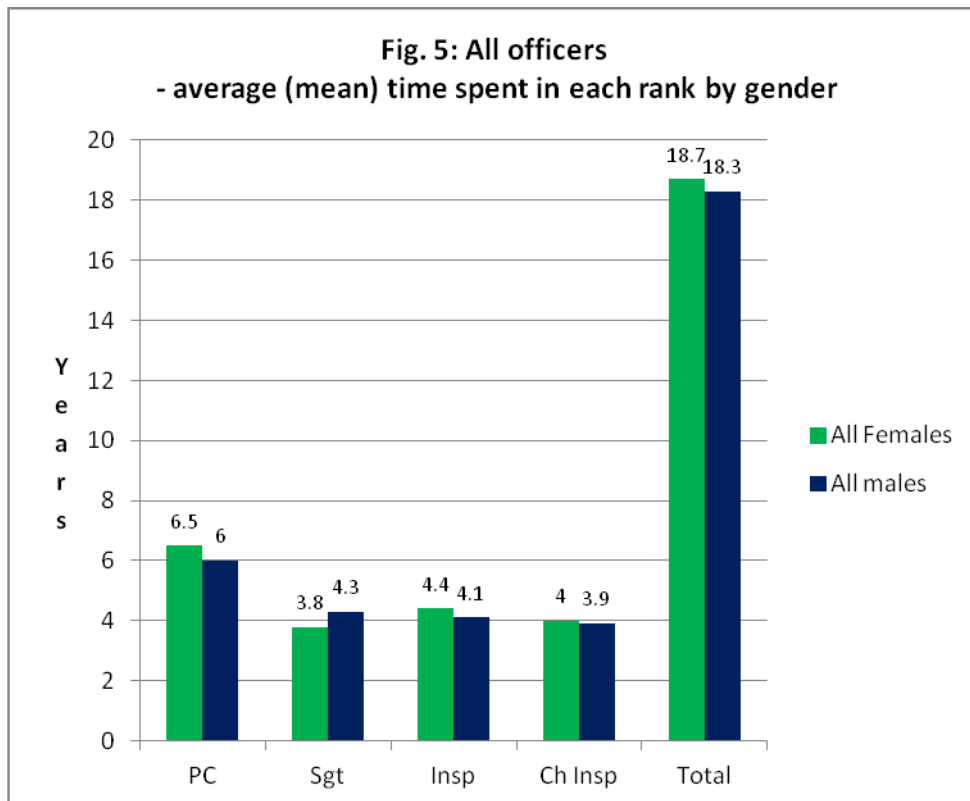
Chapter four considered the extent of evidence into how the time required to navigate the hierarchical police rank system limits the progress of women officers in particular, who are still likely to manage domestic arrangements and child-care (Silvestri, 2006; 2017; Fleming, 2015). The structural impact of policing thus presents a gender-bias which, together with other policing features connected with time, e.g. over-time, on-call requirements, and negative perceptions of flexible working arrangements, inhibits career advancement for women officers.

With the extensive associations drawn by researchers between 'time served' and commitment and credibility in policing, (Silvestri, 2006; Rabe-Hemp, 2008a; Savell, 2009), both the survey and interviews explored concepts of time. Reiner (1991) highlighted the need for potential chief officers to move rapidly from first supervisor through middle leadership ranks, if they were to have enough years left to move into chief officer posts, and to chief constable specifically. Silvestri (2003) considers whether the length of career-path required limits women's opportunities to reach senior positions.

Focusing first on the most significant survey results, there was no notable difference in terms of overall length of service³ by gender for those currently serving in senior officer ranks. 89.9% of females and 86.5% of males had at least 20 years service, and just over half (51.8%) of females and 56.3% of males had at least 25 years of service. While with 'direct entry' there are now alternative routes into senior police officer positions, numbers being recruited this way are very small (Smith, 2016b), and the vast majority of officers still have to climb each rung of the career ladder before achieving senior positions. In order to gain a clearer understanding of how this journey was navigated by gender, the length of time spent in each rank was analysed.

Taking all ranks together, the time spent in each rank up to promotion to superintendent was similar for both males and females (Fig. 5).

³ In the survey, officers were asked to express all lengths of service to the nearest whole year, rather than in years and months. The data regarding service lengths is therefore approximate values.



However, when analysed separately by superintendent/chief officer ranks, some differences emerged. For those in superintendent ranks, the average (mean) length of time in the rank of constable was around 6.1 years for men and 7.2 years for women. Those in chief officer ranks however tended to spend fewer years as a constable compared to the current superintendent ranked officers, with male chief officers averaging 5.4 years, and females just 5 years. Among chief officers, those achieving the rank of sergeant at five years or under was statistically significant by gender ($p < 0.05$), with 20 female chief officers (83.3%) being promoted in this time frame compared to 15 (51.8%) of men.

The average time spent in the rank of sergeant was slightly less for female superintendents (3.9 years) compared to males (4.6 years), reducing the gap as they enter the rank of inspector, at around 10.7 years for men on average, and 11.1 for women. For chief officers, they were again significantly faster through the sergeant rank than their superintendent colleagues ($p < 0.01$), averaging 3.3 years. On average, chief officers (both genders) were promoted to inspector at around 8.5 years' service. These findings indicate

that that speed through these early ranks is positively associated with progression to the highest positions.

This faster speed to inspector rank for chief officers is likely to have been assisted by the high numbers of chief officers (60%) who had been selected for the national accelerated promotion process earlier in their careers, compared to 24.9% of all superintendents ($p < 0.01$). Generally this process identifies early-service officers with the potential to become at least superintendents during their careers. The highly competitive process involves selection at a national assessment centre which then leads to promotion to sergeant, and includes intensive leadership courses to assist with rapid promotion to inspector rank. The current version is known as the “fast-track programme for serving constables” (College of Policing, 2019b) and is no longer open to graduates to apply for prior to deciding whether or not to join the police. Instead, for non-serving officers there is the “Direct Entry to Inspector Programme” (College of Policing, 2019c), although this targets middle managers with leadership experience who have already been in the workplace for several years.

Assessing application rates for the national accelerated promotion scheme showed that men were more likely to have made an application for the scheme, with 62.7% of all men across both ranks compared to 54.4% of women, but this was not statistically significant. As with the numbers who came through the scheme, the difference between chief officer applications (both genders together) for consideration of being included on the scheme (83.6%) was however significantly different compared to superintendent applications at 52.8% ($p < 0.01$).

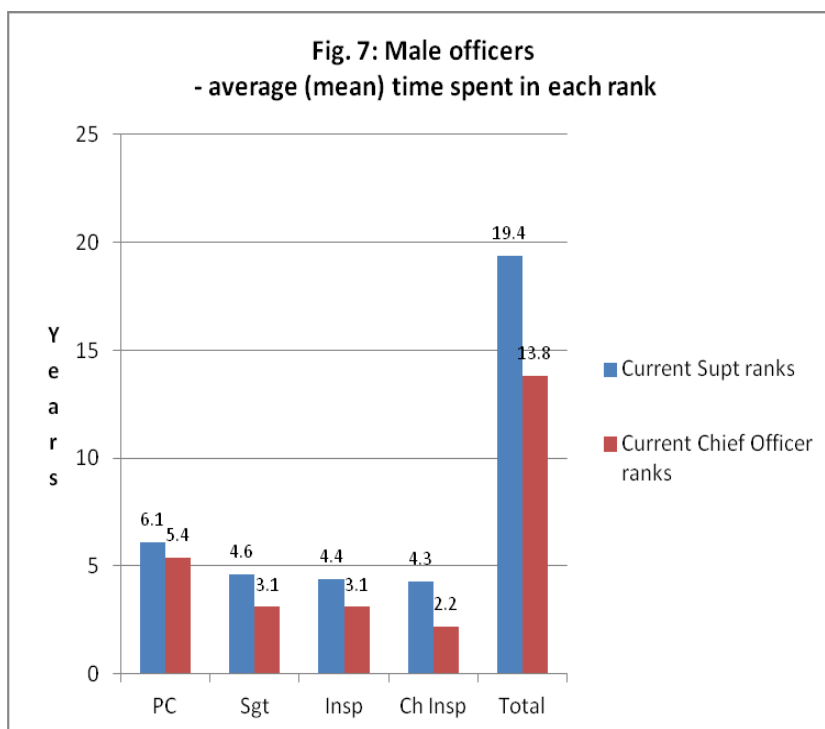
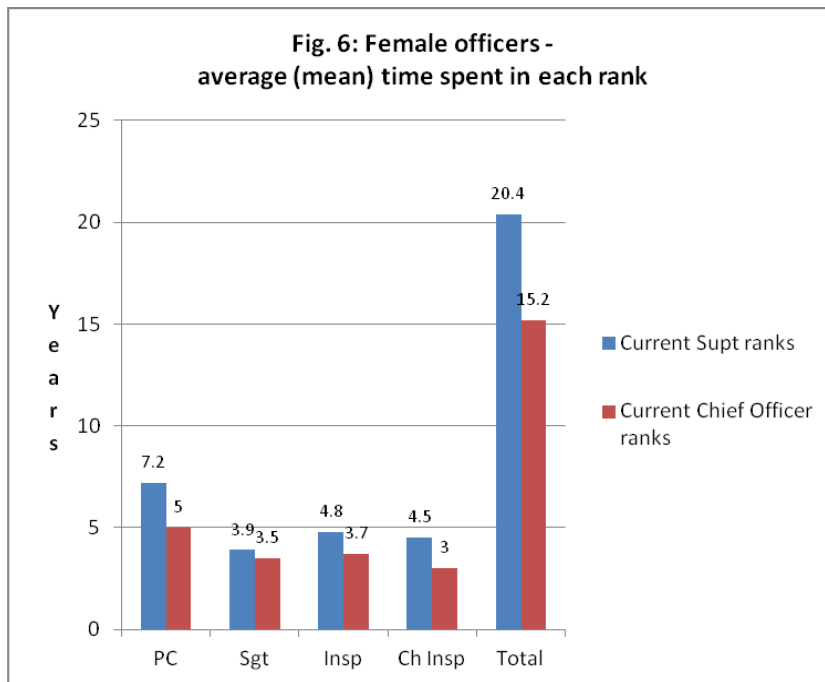
From this analysis it appears that there is a correlation, not just between succeeding in an accelerated promotion application and becoming a chief officer, but also in simply applying. Making an application for such a scheme early in service could be considered to demonstrate to potential sponsors or ‘influencers’ in the organisation a degree of ambition and confidence in personal potential for success. Regardless of whether or not selected, and arguably to some extent also regardless of actual competence, these are

qualities which can get an individual noticed as having future career potential, as they are qualities typically associated with leadership success (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2013).

Early career progression, given the need to pass through each rank, is an important factor in achieving chief officer ranks, and particularly if the top rank of chief constable is to be achieved within the typical time-frame of a police career of around thirty years. As discussed in the section analysing secondary data, generally women do not apply for the first rank of sergeant in the same proportions as men, and based on the survey responses, only those achieving chief officer rank have applied within the same time frame as men (five years or under). Finding ways to increase the confidence of female constables to apply for fast-track opportunities and assisting women in preparing for the process could help increase the proportions of women in senior posts. This is particularly important given the widely reported tendency for women to be more reluctant than men to apply for a post unless they are certain they meet all of the essential and desirable criteria (Mohr, 2014).

The current absence of a graduate path-way into the fast-track process, particularly given the lower proportion of women already applying to join the police, may impede the number of women gaining future senior officer posts. This absence of a graduate entry fast-track scheme, particularly given the success of those used by other large employers, is likely to be depriving policing from applications from some of the most talented graduates. Many other graduate schemes have 'taster weeks' and internships, with specific programmes aimed to support women and BAME applicants. These types of programmes are ones that policing might wish to consider as way of increasing applications from potential police leaders from both groups.

With regards to the two ranks of inspector and chief inspector, those now in chief officer ranks had again moved through these ranks significantly faster ($p < 0.05$) than their superintendent colleagues, (Figs. 6 and 7).



This data thus indicates that, even if those currently in superintendent ranks have, or are developing, the competencies required to make chief officer posts, they are in danger of running out of time to do so. While the recent advent of direct entry is an alternative to addressing the ‘time served’ predicament, as discussed in chapter two, this continues to face general resistance in policing, and the numbers that are currently recruited are

arguably too small to make anything other than a symbolic impact (Smith, 2016b; Silvestri 2018).

In line with the findings of Savell (2009), around half of the interview participants, commented on the cultural element of having to have served enough time, before a promotion or posting was considered justified by others, and also how opportunities could be lost or not taken because of this:

“Length of service is discussed a lot in policing ... and often the term credibility is linked to length of service and I disagree with that.” (Male superintendent).

“The boys club’ still exists and you have to earn their respect and move through the pecking order ... you don’t get promoted on skills.” (Female superintendent).

“I’d only been a chief inspector for two years, and so actually I wasn’t going to apply (for promotion) because I actually just didn’t think ... (it) was long enough... Again, my boss, my chief superintendent, he was just, ‘you’ve got to do it, you’re exactly what the organisation needs.’” (Female superintendent).

Both survey and interview responses in this study thus illustrated that for chief officer, and in particular chief constable, posts to be achieved, then the need to speed through all ranks is as relevant as it was almost 30 years ago (Reiner, 1991). Managing this in a culture that values ‘time served’ can be tricky for both men and women alike, and requires specific interventions, such as access to a fast-track system, or support and encouragement from others that off-sets wider organisational criticism of seeking promotion outside of ‘normal’ timescales. This is before any account is taken of the impact of needing any time out, which in terms of maternity leave will naturally impact on women rather than men. Raising children also affects time in the workplace for women more than it does men (Brown & Bear, 2012), and is explored further later in this chapter.

How officers “do time” (Silvestri, 2006, p.266) in terms of the hours spent working, was also explored by both the survey and during interviews. It is an issue which has been widely recognised by researchers (Silvestri, 2006;

2017; Savell, 2009; Banihani, Lewis, & Syed, 2013) as having a differential impact by gender, and on leadership in particular:

“... the ‘ideal type’ of police leader is constructed through the accumulation of a ‘full-time and uninterrupted’ career profile and as such has ‘inbuilt’ male bias.” (Silvestri & Paul, 2015, p.194).

The survey explored the self-reported hours worked by senior officers, including any flexible working patterns or career breaks. Formally, policing does recognise the value of offering flexible working arrangements, not just to meet personal needs such as child-care, but also in order to provide a better work-life balance (College of Policing, 2019d). In reality however, flexible working is not generally considered to be compatible with career advancement (Dick, 2004; Silvestri, 2006; Haake, 2018).

From the survey, part-time working for child-care/other caring reasons emerged as something that 17 female superintendents (31.5%) had undertaken during their careers, demonstrating that it is possible to work part-time for at least some period during service and still achieve senior rank. However, only two male superintendents had done so ($p < 0.01$), and among chief officers, only two females (8%) and one man had engaged in part-time working. The proportion of female superintendents compared to female chief officers working part-time was statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). Given the findings in the previous section on ‘time served’ and the need to keep moving between ranks at a pace, together with the breadth of evidence that part-time working can limit the career advancement of women in particular (McIntosh, McQuaid, Munro, & Dabi-Alai, 2012; Lyolette, 2015), it is not surprising that working part-time at any point in a career is not generally associated with those females who ascend to the highest ranks. In addition, even for those who had engaged in part-time work as a police officer, it had not been without challenges, requiring a large degree of flexibility on the part of the individual rather than the organisation. This is exemplified in the following interview comments:

“It wasn’t well managed at all ... I carried the same case load as other officers.” (Female superintendent).

“I did a job share, but that was weird. With the job share, they said; ‘you can’t do 24 hours, you can only do 20 hours’. But I said ‘I want to do 24 hours. It’s eight hour shifts!’ So it was just ridiculous ... (Female superintendent).

“Other people have said to me that they were not allowed to work compressed hours, and I say ‘that’s because you are really rigid, and you are in a role where you just can’t have that rigid mentality, you know.’ Whereas I was just really flexible.” (Female superintendent).

While one chief officer had not herself worked part-time, her husband had done so, and she recognised the issues that officers faced due to this, indicating that the issue is about working part-time, regardless of gender:

“The things that I hear women talk about in terms of confidence in terms of part-time working, and people thinking you are shirking and people stereotyping, he has suffered all of that as a male.” (Female chief officer).

As discussed in chapter two, working excessive hours is considered a feature of organisations gendered as ‘masculine’ (Davies & Thomas, 2003), and an enduring feature of policing culture (Rabe-Hemp, 2008a; Caless, 2011). Associated with work-place commitment and career success, long hours working is considered to have a particularly negative impact on women in the workplace and in policing (Banihani at al., 2013; Österlind, & Haake, 2010).

Based on the self-reported working hours, the majority of superintendent survey participants in this study generally worked in excess of 50 hours a week. The proportion of male superintendents reporting working these hours (74.4%) was statistically greater ($p < 0.05$) than women (57.4%). A similar gap emerged at over 56 hours a week, with 46.3% of men reporting to work these hours compared to 27.8% of women ($p < 0.05$) in the superintendent ranks.

Among chief officers, there was no difference by gender in terms of the long hours worked, and the majority of both males (72.4%) and females (68%) typically worked in excess of 56 hours a week. Chief officers worked significantly longer hours than superintendents ($p < 0.05$), with 58.5% of male chief officers and almost 25% of female chief officers reporting a working week in excess of 60 hours.

Given the survey evidence regarding long hours, this issue was also specifically explored during the interviews. While expressing concern at the amount of hours worked and frequently commenting on the negative impact on health and family, it was generally considered necessary by the interviewees to work such excessive hours, although there were some exceptions. It was also regularly acknowledged that a good example was not being set to other officers in terms of how the chief officer rank was perceived, and some superintendents stated that these even longer hours were a barrier for them in terms of their desire to apply for promotion to chief officer. In line with fewer in their gender/rank grouping reporting working excessive hours in the survey, female superintendents did not refer to long-hours as an issue to the same extent as others during the interviews.

The following examples typify the experiences of interviewees regarding the hours worked:

“Having had 6 weeks of being on a job I needed time off to recover ... I went to my supervisor and said, ‘This isn’t sustainable, I can’t continue like this’ ... He said, ‘Well nobody gives a fuck, you’ve just got to get on with it.’” (Male superintendent).

“As I write this, it is 8pm and I came in at 6am. I want to love my job. I currently hate it. I cannot leave it because I am four years from retirement - otherwise I would go tomorrow. Sounds awful ... but that’s really where I am with it at the moment.” (Male superintendent).

“The long hours is the biggest strain ... you know you are not always a good role model, but I don’t see how I could do the job otherwise, and I’ve no children to manage, so I suppose I have had the extra time some of my colleagues with children didn’t always have to give to the job.” (Female chief officer).

While working excessive hours may be associated with a 'masculine' culture (Österlind & Haake, 2010), and is also associated with operating in the most senior positions, there was no evidence among the male superintendents interviewed of men actually wanting to work them, but rather they considered there to be no choice. The working hours reported in the survey, particularly by chief officers, match those identified in previous studies (Caless, 2011), and indicate a culture where such hours appear to have become almost a badge of honour, being perversely associated with career success despite being likely to undermine professional judgement, health, and family relationships, (Fursman, 2009; Caless, 2011).

With concerns around the small number of officers applying for the Police National Assessment Centre (PNAC) that ultimately selects and leads to training for future chief officers (Hales, 2017), and the limited size of the talent pool applying for chief officer posts (College of Policing, 2017), the negative impact that the excessive hours chief officers are seen to work has on application rates, is an issue that the police organisation needs to consider and address as a matter of some urgency. Witnessing such hours being worked is likely to reduce the number of female applicants for senior posts in particular, given that caring responsibilities are more likely to prohibit the working hours that they are able to give (Dick & Cassell, 2004).

Postings

The final significant issue explored within the theme of career experiences is with regards to postings. As discussed in more detail in chapter two, there is significant evidence illustrating the differential nature of the types of roles undertaken (Blok and Brown, 2005; Cain, 2011; Veldman et al., 2017), with links made between these postings and gendered theories including role congruity, hegemonic masculinity, and gender identity (Swan, 2016). The analysis of secondary data has also evidenced how some postings continue to be defined by gender. The survey and interviews were both used to

examine whether there was evidence of differential deployment by gender during the careers of senior officers and, if so, what the impact of this was.

The postings data was analysed based on experiences between the ranks of constable and inspector (Appendix Q, p.233), as the most senior postings tend to cover wider spans of command and responsibility and would thus be less likely to reveal any significant differences by gender. The superintendent rank survey results accorded with the FOIA data, with men significantly more likely than women to have served in firearms departments, (33.9% of males compared to 7.4% of female superintendents, $p < 0.000$), and women (43%) more likely than men (17.2%) to have served in public protection departments ($p < 0.000$).

Another role linked to gender among the superintendent ranks, was that of family liaison officer, a post that is described as “one of the most important because it is “one of the most significant relationships that we develop with the families of victims, at one of the most difficult times in their lives” (National Police Improvement Agency, 2008, p.3). 31.5% of female superintendents had performed this role compared to 9.9% of male superintendents between PC to inspector rank ($p < 0.000$), suggesting potential evidence of role congruity theory, with women officers being assigned to, or volunteering for roles requiring stereo-typical ‘feminine’ traits around caring and support (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Male and female superintendents were equally likely to have been tutor constables, with around half of each gender having carried out this role which has been associated with future police career success (Gaston & Alexander, 1997). Among superintendents, high proportions of both genders had had a posting in CID. Conversely, low numbers of men or women had been specialist traffic officers, suggesting that being a traffic officer is generally not associated with those who will go on to senior ranks. Taking a secondment outside of your own force is associated with senior rank however, with 51.9% of female and 42.6% of male superintendents having done so.

Among chief officers, differences by gender and posting were less apparent. Notably, female chief officers were no more likely than their male counterparts to have had roles in public protection (16% of each gender while in the ranks of constable to inspector), or to have been family liaison officers, with just two female chief officers and one male having performed this role. Chief officers were even more likely than their superintendent counterparts to have taken a secondment at some point in their careers ($p < 0.05$).

What emerges from this analysis is evidence of female chief officers having more in common with their male peers in terms of their career postings than with those of female superintendents. Whether consciously or not, female chief officers are less likely to have performed police roles more traditionally considered 'feminine' or to have been assigned roles considered congruous with their gender, than those still in the superintendent ranks (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Taken together with other factors considered in this section, e.g. their tendency to work longer hours and the lower likelihood of them having worked part-time, it is contended here that women chief officers are more POLICEwoman (Martin 1979) than policeWOMAN, even when compared to those women who have nonetheless achieved senior rank to superintendent level. It appears that, like the early pioneers identified by Maddock (1999), either those women with the skills to become chief officers behave and choose similar career paths to males, or the behaviours and experiences of those who take such paths are more likely to be 'rewarded' with promotion to the highest ranks.

Either way, the data observed in this thesis indicates that chief officers, regardless of gender, predominantly share very similar and traditionally 'male' career experiences, according with notions of 'ideal' workers and leaders (Acker, 1989; 1992; Silvestri, 2018). It is contended here that the extent of this commonality among those officers who comprise force executive teams is thus likely to lead to homogeneity in approaches, reducing the actual difference between male and female chief officers in how they view their roles. As a consequence this has the potential to promote

conformity with masculine prescriptions regardless of gender (McGinley, 2013) and undermine those advantages which have been linked with diverse teams in successful organisations and the ability to manage the desired change and reform in policing (ACPO, APA & Home Office, 2009; Jones, 2015).

Theme 2. Career support and the impact on career advancement

In the previous section, general career experiences were considered and already established a range of factors that impact on career advancement by gender. In this section, the impact of formal and informal career support and encouragement, and the influence of mentors and sponsors with regards to the promotion paths of the research participants are explored, and any differences related to gender are highlighted.

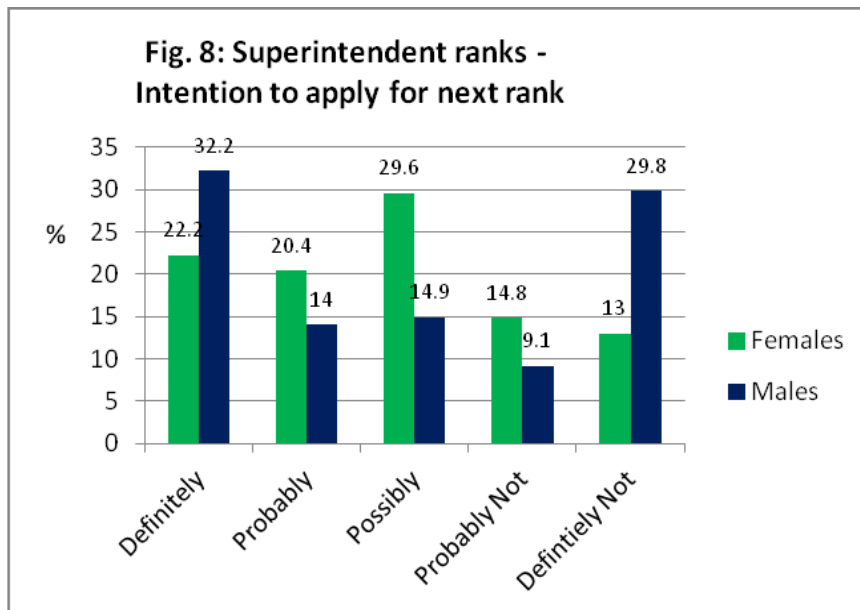
Both the survey and the interview findings illustrate just how significant the encouragement of others is to the career decisions made by both male and female officers and to subsequent promotion success. While role models have been identified as influencing the career aspirations of others (Ward & Prenzler, 2016), and an absence of senior female role models is considered to impact on women in particular (Österlind & Haake, 2010), the role of both mentors and sponsors, emerged in this study as being key to the speed of career advancement. Having a sponsor has been recognised as being particularly impactful in terms of motivation and career advancement (Amitahb, 2019; Newman & McDonald, 2019), and this emerged from the interviews as being one of the most influential factors for those achieving senior promotion.

Focussing first on the survey findings, a high proportion of both males (74.6%) and females (92.6%) currently in superintendent ranks reported having had someone who they considered to be a formal or informal mentor at some point in their careers. The particularly high proportion of women was statistically significant compared to men ($p < 0.01$).

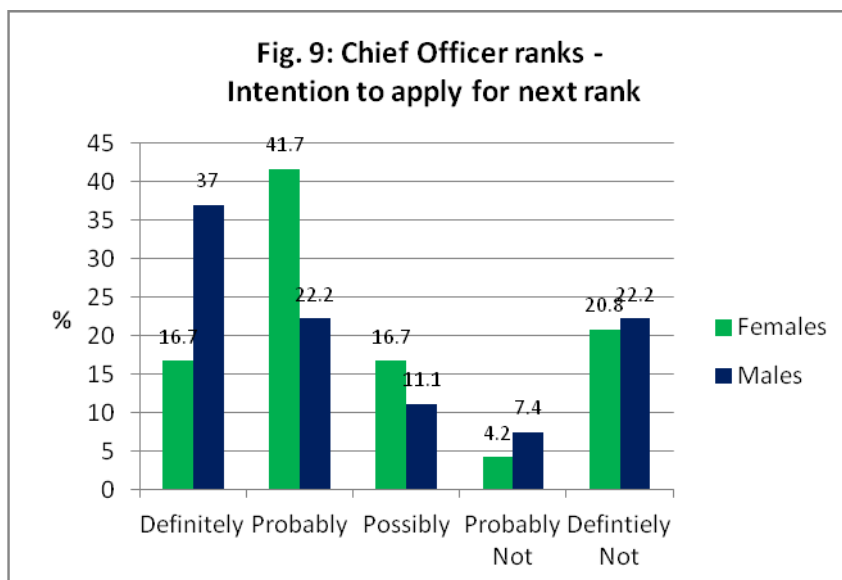
As the Senior Command Course (SCC) for prospective chief officers assigns formal mentors, it was anticipated that most chief officers would report having one, and indeed 94.5% reported doing so. However, when focussing on their earlier service, 80% of women chief officers had a mentor by the rank of inspector compared to just 43.3% of male chief officers ($p < 0.05$). Women chief officers were also the most likely to have had a mentor as early as constable level, with 11 (44%) having had one in that first rank compared to 9 (16%) female superintendents.

The importance of mentoring is widely recognised as an important feature in assisting female employees in particular to develop their resilience in an organisation (Bond & Shapiro, 2014), and in policing, positive action for women in terms of mentoring programmes is recommended (Picker & Nagle, 2015). The findings from this survey echo that recommendation, indicating that providing mentoring early in their police careers could be a particularly important factor in assisting female progression, particularly considering the evidence that the sergeant rank appears one of the most challenging hurdles for women to cross.

Survey participants were also asked about their plans to apply for future promotion opportunities, and to indicate first the likelihood of doing so, followed by intended timescales where applicable. Within the superintendent ranks (Fig. 8), the differences by gender were significant ($p < 0.05$). Although the numbers of male and female respondents who were definitely/probably intending to apply for the next rank were similar, women demonstrated less certainty about their decisions than men did.



Differences between chief officer responses by gender were not statistically significant, and higher numbers of both male and female chief officers compared to superintendents were definitely/probably applying for a future promotion. However, women again showed less decisiveness than their male colleagues regarding future plans (Fig. 9).



An absence of clear intent among women officers with regards to their career plans has similarly been identified in previous studies (Gaston & Alexander,

1997; Silvestri, 2006). While indecision may be a factor holding women back from applying for the most senior positions, the findings here do at least indicate they could be persuaded to apply for the next rank, if the right support was made available and the right conditions created. Although the survey revealed that women superintendents generally felt more supported by their Command team to apply for future promotion than male superintendents, four out of ten women did not report feeling positively supported. Comparing intention to apply for a future promotion and Command encouragement, a direct correlation was found between positive intention and positive support for both genders ($p < 0.01$). For women, this correlation was more evident than for men, with 79.9% of women who were definitely/probably applying for a future promotion reporting that they were being encouraged to do so by their Command Team, compared to 36.7% of men (Appendix R, p.234).

Among chief officers, male and female chief officers reported feeling equally well supported by other members of the Command team, with 88% of females and 75.9% of males feeling encouraged or strongly encouraged to apply for a future promotion. The higher levels of encouragement reported compared to those in superintendent ranks was significant ($p < 0.01$).

Based on the analysis of both the survey data and the interviews, the importance of encouragement and support from others in the police organisation with regards to career progression is striking. Both male and female interviewees made regular references to the impact that the support of others had had throughout their careers. An absence of strategic career planning, even among senior officers in policing, has been identified in other studies (Silvestri, 2006; Caless, 2011) and similarly in this study it emerged that career progress was as likely, if not even more likely, to be linked to sponsorship and to those opportunities presented by others, than to career planning by individuals themselves. The following comments are representative of those made by the majority of both male and female interview participants:

“The encouragement and support of those around me and good role models who I looked up to and aspired to, were the most influential factor in my career progression.” (Female superintendent).

“I was visited by the then DCC and asked to consider applying for inspector. I wouldn't have considered applying at that time without this prompt ... I was promoted more quickly than I would have been left to my own motivation/confidence.” (Female chief officer).

(On deciding to apply for PNAC) “I had a couple of conversations with ... the outgoing chief, and he basically said, ‘I think you're missing an opportunity, you're going to lose time, you really should rethink it.’” (Female chief officer).

“The single biggest factor that has affected my career, is when others have taken an interest in me and pushed me to succeed.” (Male superintendent).

“I think it is still true today to say that ... it is still really important to have that high level sponsorship and exposure ... if you don't have somebody who is going to advocate for you at the higher levels, then it is very hard to get noticed.” (Male superintendent).

Similar to the “‘golden finger’ identified by Caless (2011, p.45), for many of these senior officers it appears that having a sponsor during their careers, has been critical to career success. Given the identified need to move through the ranks quickly to make the top echelons, even small career benefits can make the difference between reaching senior officer posts, particularly the chief constable rank, or not. However, unlike formal promotion processes that at least profess to select the best talent in an organisation fairly, these chance ‘selections’ and offers of support do not appear to be subject to anything more discriminating than whether or not the sponsor happens to come across an individual and likes what they see.

With concerns that managers are naturally drawn to people like themselves and tend to recruit in their own image (Beattie & Johnson, 2012), the impact that unconscious bias may play in recruitment and promotion in policing should be a cause for concern. It is recognised that cultural change is limited when everyday decisions made by middle or senior managers allow

unconscious bias and stereotyping to influence an organisation's people decisions, such as postings and promotions (Afful, 2018). In terms of males and females, while there may be limited evidence based on the actual proportion of women in senior management positions that they are being discriminated against for career advancement, what is less clear is whether or not discrimination is impacting on the 'type' of people being highlighted for promotion irrespective of gender.

As discussed earlier in chapter four, constructs of gender do not rely on biological factors, but on the traits associated with 'masculine' or 'feminine', and organisations themselves are gendered (Acker, 1992b; Alvesson & Billing, 2009). Where a macho culture dominates, as it does in policing (Haake, 2018), then unmonitored selection is more likely to favour those whose performance is valued for its association with masculine traits:

“This evolution of implicit bias, specifically gender-based implicit bias, is a central tenet of gender discrimination in the workplace.” (Dunham, 2017, p.60).

Yet while unconscious beliefs impact the way we perceive others and control many of the most important decisions made in the workplace, tackling them is problematic, as the unconscious patterns can “play out in ways that are so subtle they are hard to spot” (Afful, 2018, p.37). What is less hard to spot here, however, is that for those at the receiving end of a sponsor's support, the support is considered to have made a distinct difference to the trajectory of their careers, and may have had a more negative impact on the careers of those whose performance did not come to the same notice, regardless of talent or potential. This fact was also highlighted by four separate male superintendents in responses to the survey, with one summarising the situation as being very much a matter of personal bias:

“At selection for chief officer level you are entirely in the hands of your senior officers for support, without it you are nowhere, it is neither objective nor fair and down to personal likes and dislikes.” (Male superintendent).

With fair selection processes linked to the ability of organisations to introduce change (College of Policing, 2015), and evidence from the secondary data analysed for this study that women are less likely to be awarded informal temporary promotions (chapter six), there is clearly a need for policing to review its “fairness and transparency in internal procedures” (College of Policing, 2015, p.19). This is also identified in a recent study on the impact of values, bias, culture and leadership on BAME under-representation in the police service (Afful, 2018). The following recommendation from the College of Policing leadership review (2015) appears not to have been adopted, although clearly still relevant:

“All potential opportunities in policing should be open to the widest pool of capable and suitably qualified candidates.” (p.29).

While providing mentors for those seeking career progression is clearly important, especially for women, and should feature in force career support plans, the interview responses for this research demonstrate that being sponsored by a senior officer continues to trump any other type of support (Caless, 2011). More equitable methods of facilitating career advancement are thus clearly required if more diverse police leadership teams are to be achieved.

Theme 3. Leadership styles

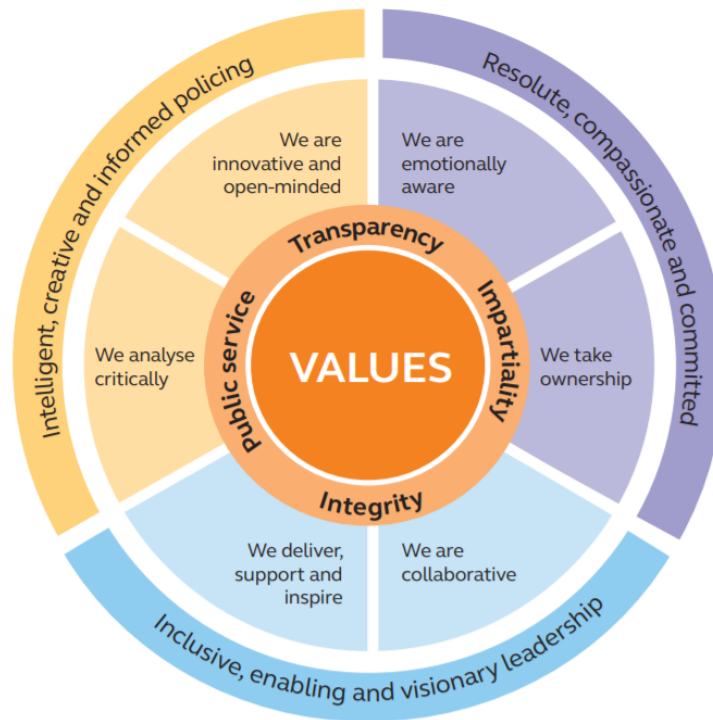
Chapter three in this thesis considered the evidence from other professions that a gender balance in leadership teams can improve organisational performance and contribute to more effective change management outcomes (Koeppel, 2014; Moreno-Gómez, Lafuente, & Vaillant, 2018). Women and leadership in policing has been established as an area which would value from further research, particularly as the proportion of women in senior positions has seen some positive growth over the course of the last decade (Home Office, 2018). However, from a policing perspective, the literature to date reveals contradictory evidence as to whether or not male and female senior officers demonstrate different styles of leadership (Engel, 2000; 2001; Silvestri, 2007) and to what degree cultural barriers are

preventing transformational leadership styles being employed by senior officers of either sex (Haake, Rantatalo, & Lindberg, 2017; Silvestri, 2018).

Seeking to contribute to the current knowledge-base regarding leadership and gender in a policing context, this section explores whether there is any evidence that women in senior police officer positions are delivering leadership any differently to their male colleagues. In particular it considers any evidence that female police leaders are more likely to demonstrate the more transformational styles that have been associated with women and with business success (Masal, 2015; Silvestri, 2007; Stempel et al., 2015). In policing, as discussed in more detail in chapter four, the case for a more diverse profile of senior managers in policing has been linked to police reform, enhanced public confidence and better community relations (ACPO et al., 2009; Laverick & Cain, 2015), and in this study those findings which support or reject these benefits is considered.

Focussing first on 'competencies', those identified by the College of Policing's 'Competency and Values Framework for Policing' (College, 2018) were used as a basis for survey questions, and participants were asked to place the six competencies in the order that they considered were their strongest through to least strong. The competencies are: innovative and open-minded; emotionally aware; take ownership; collaborate; deliver, support and inspire; and critically analyse. These competences support three clusters: intelligent, creative and informed policing; resolute, compassionate and committed; and inclusive, enabling and visionary (Fig.10). The competencies are applicable to all ranks, but are set at varying levels, with level 3 applicable to senior managers/executives.

Fig. 10 Competency and Values Framework for policing



Source: College of Policing, 2018

The competencies that both male and female officers survey participants chose as their strongest demonstrated a significant degree of homogeneity by gender. The ‘strength’ ordering of competency choices was the same for both genders (Appendix S, p.235), with the three strongest competencies emerging as ‘taking ownership’, ‘deliver support and inspire’, and ‘being emotionally aware’, albeit in a different order between the ranks.

Among both male and female officers, very few officers considered being innovative and open minded; critically analysing, and being collaborative as their predominant strength. When merging the top three choices, however, some differences by gender did emerge. Although the same three competencies (taking ownership; deliver support and inspire; and being emotionally aware), still remained the most frequently selected, male superintendents were more likely to have placed ‘critically analyse’ (43%) among their top three compared to female superintendents (24%). They were also more likely to consider themselves to be ‘innovative and open minded’ (43% of male and 18.5% of female superintendents). Among chief

officers there were no competency areas that differed significantly by gender, even when merging the three highest placed choices.

Overall, the analysis of self-perceived competency areas does not indicate that senior women bring a different range of competency strengths to their male colleagues. Male responses appear to be spread more widely across the six competency strengths, thus actually suggesting a more diverse profile within their own gender, compared to the profile of the female participants.

In addition to competency areas, the survey also aimed to determine if there were any significant differences between male and female survey participants in terms of a selection of leadership attributes that are considered 'gendered' (see list below), with agentic characteristics attributed to masculine leadership styles, and communal attributes to feminine styles (Eagly & Karau; 2002; Gartzia & van Engen, 2012; Gartzia & Baniandrés, 2019). 'Commitment' in an organisational sense is arguably gender neutral, (Dick & Metcalfe, 2007) but is included here as a masculine attribute due to its association with 'doing time', which is frequently presented as a 'macho' feature of policing (Silvestri, 2006; 2017). The list of ten leadership characteristics was presented to the survey participants as a single list.

Agentic/masculine survey choices:

- Decisive
- Ambitious
- Strong
- Assertive
- Committed

Communal/feminine survey choices:

- Approachable

- Considerate
- Collaborative
- Innovative
- Passionate

Participants were asked to select five that they considered best described how they behaved in the work place. No reference was made to any gendered associations, and they were not asked to rank their choices. Table 8 indicates the selections made by participants.

Table 8: 'Select five adjectives that describe you in the work place' - All ranks					
Females			Male		
	No	%		No	%
<i>Most frequently selected</i>			<i>Most frequently selected</i>		
Approachable	62	78.5	Approachable	132	88
Decisive	58	73.4	Committed	116	77.3
Committed	59	74.7	Considerate	101	67.3
Passionate	56	70.9	Decisive	90	60
Considerate	40	50.6	Passionate	63	58
<i>Least frequently selected</i>			<i>Least frequently selected</i>		
Collaborative	36	45.6	Collaborative	61	40.7
Assertive	31	39.2	Innovative	52	34.7
Strong	28	34.5	Strong	46	30.7
Ambitious	14	17.7	Assertive	34	22.7
Innovative	9	11.4	Ambitious	18	12
Key: Agentic characteristics Communal characteristics					

As with the competency areas, the findings indicate more similarity than difference in terms of the attributes selected by male and female

respondents. The same five characteristics: approachable, decisive, committed, passionate and considerate were selected most frequently regardless of gender, and suggest some commonality in the perceived combinations of agentic and communal characteristics. Being approachable, considerate and passionate, combined with the competency strengths of emotional intelligence and being able to deliver, support and inspire suggest a preference for transformational styles (Swid, 2014); while the characteristics of being decisive and committed, together with the competency of 'taking ownership', are indicative of leadership styles that are more transactional, and command-and-control based (Davis & Bailey, 2018).

These choices support the findings of previous studies into police leadership styles. Davis and Bailey, (2018) for example, observed the movement between both styles of leadership as being a key feature of policing, with more transformational styles typically being applied in 'safe' situations, but with a reversion to task-oriented styles under the "pressures and complexities of the contemporary policing environment" (p.19).

Given the continuing impetus on "powerful partnerships" in the public sector (Meaklim & Sims, 2011, p.21), and the changing policing landscape and impetus for reform (Davies & Thomas, 2003; Neyroud, 2010; Batts, Smoot & Scrivener, 2012; Deloitte 2018), the fact that collaboration and innovation are among the five adjectives least likely to have been selected by male and female participants to describe themselves in the work place, as well as being less likely to have been selected as strong competencies, is arguably a cause for some concern. Having individuals with skills more balanced across the range of competency areas, and with more collaborative and innovative strengths, could help create more diverse leadership teams. Diversity would then come from personal qualities and competencies, rather than as a result of a wider representation of protected characteristics such as gender. However, such balance is unlikely to be achieved in an organisation where sponsorship, alongside a general tendency for managers to recruit in their own image, dominates (Caless, 2011; Beattie & Johnson, 2012).

While focussing on a comparison of the proportions selecting each characteristic regardless of its overall frequency did reveal some significant differences by gender (Table 9), interestingly, male respondents were more likely to ascribe themselves the ‘feminine’ or communal characteristics of being innovative and considerate, while female respondents proved more likely than males to describe themselves as being decisive, or assertive, i.e. the more ‘masculine’ or agentic characteristics. Where more diverse approaches are evident then, based on this survey, it seems they are less likely to be coming from senior women than from the senior men. These findings support other organisational studies which have also found evidence of female leaders displaying more agentic behaviours (Ergle, 2015; Stemple et al., 2015), and in policing, being no more likely than men to use supporting behaviours. Conversely, when men do employ communal behaviours, they are more likely to initiate a positive response than when women do, by the very fact that they are considered more unusual when exhibited by males than by females (Stemple et al., 2015). Clearly care must be taken in predicting leadership behaviours according to sex:

“Simply assuming female officers manifest stereotypically feminine traits in policing tasks is clearly an over simplistic conceptualization of the meaning and impact of gender in policing.” (Rabe-Hemp, 2008b, p.426).

Table 9: ‘Adjectives that describe you in the work place’ - Significantly different choices by gender			
	Females (%)	Males %	p value
Decisive	73.4	60	p < 0.05
Innovative	11.4	34.7	p < 0.01
Assertive	39.2	22.7	p < 0.01
Considerate	50.6	67.3	p < 0.05
Key: Agentic characteristics Communal characteristics			

While the survey results were based on self-perceptions of ‘being’ in the work-place, the interviews provided the opportunity for further explorations of

interviewee perceptions of both their own personal styles and those of other senior officers who they had worked with. In line with the survey results and the contemporary observations of other scholars (Charman, 2017), interviewees involved in this study spoke positively about changes to policing cultures and leadership styles, especially when focussing on their own qualities. While favouring transformational approaches, there was also an acknowledgment by many that styles needed to be appropriate to the circumstances. The following observations are typical of the comments made by the majority of interviewees:

“I’m not very intrusive, I’m one of those very trusting leaders where you give someone a job you let them get on with it, and ...I really like to get to know people who work with me, ... day-to-day I make sure that people are looked after.” (Female superintendent).

“I would say I’m a mix of transformational and transactional. I like to know the detail, but I also like to look ahead, create the vision and take the team with me.” (Female chief officer).

“My style has always been quite inclusive, and I really value other people’s perspective, so I’m not the sort of person, and I never have been, to say ‘this is the way we are doing things because it is my way’... if you are valuing the experience of the people around you, you are likely to get quite a lot more support from them.” (Male superintendent).

“Over the years I have honed my leadership to span different types. Mainly transformational, I am keen on empowering people to go and do whatever is best to do to get the outcomes; I am a big believer in trust. But as years have progressed, varying management styles have formed key parts of my repertoire.” (Male superintendent).

However, the extent of cultural change or leadership style was not always so evident when interviewees and survey respondents described the approaches demonstrated by other leaders around them. Numerous examples were provided of enduring styles which are “complex and contradictory” (Davis & Bailey, 2018, p.14), and which have more in common with some of the negative aspects of police culture, such as a deference to rank and centralised authoritarian decision making; an addiction to command-and-control (Grint, 2010); and persistent features of masculinity

(Loftus, 2009). These examples emanated from the behaviours of both male and female leaders. Schafer's (2010, p.737) observations regarding acts of commission and omission, such as a focus on self over others; ego; micromanagement and lack of interpersonal skills were very much apparent in the comments made:

"There were two particular people in the senior leadership team, both male, and ... there was this constant bollocking; there was no sort of camaraderie, nothing like that." (Female superintendent).

"The last female Command officer ... was more macho and more of a bully than the men - she did nothing to support women but loved to put herself up as a female role model, talking about herself at conferences. She was a complete hypocrite." (Female superintendent).

"I've seen ... some absolutely fabulous chief officers who I feel very privileged to work for ... but I have also worked for some complete shockers and people who just sort of ... it is all about getting to the top, and is actually about the status rather than the delivery." (Female superintendent).

"I hugely admire my chief officer team ... but I don't like their 'do as we say, don't do as we do' type of approach"... (they) are very much ... about self-promotion." (Male superintendent).

"The senior leaders in this organisation want 'yes men and women' - they don't want to be challenged. They are under pressure themselves from the PCCs and no one wants to look weak." (Male superintendent).

However, rather than rejecting the view that police leadership is in transition (Loftus, 2009), it might be indicated from the interview comments that there are green shoots of positive and more transformational leadership styles emerging, even if at times the styles are more aspirational within individuals, than externally apparent to others. As suggested by one survey participant, it does not appear that police leaders intend leading in predominantly transactional styles, but simply end up reacting in this way to the pressures of their daily experiences. The long-hours culture is also unlikely to assist the development of the emotional resilience required to step back and consistently deliver in a more transformational way:

“I think behind it all you have really good people, with (emotional intelligence), but they just get tired and under pressure, and then act the way they know will get them quick results; autocratic and operationally focussed.” (Male superintendent).

Just as Villiers (2003) previously observed, although senior leaders may desire and articulate support for more democratic and consultative styles of leadership, police culture successfully operates against such a change, with even those advocating for transformation remaining “autocrats” (Villiers, 2003, p.29). Thus history cautions against optimism for future change, and the support in principle for transformational styles, as observed in this study, may yet again prove to be rhetoric rather than a genuine sign of future growth.

What is more certain however, based on both the survey results and the interviews in this study, is the absence of evidence that women senior police leaders are employing more diverse or transformational styles than males. This is consistent with wider organisational research examining perceived feminine and masculine leadership qualities in corporate boardrooms (Ergle, 2015) and in policing (Österlind & Haake, 2010). This does not mean that women do not have the potential to lead differently in policing, but it may instead be because those women currently in senior posts have been supported and selected due to their ability (innate or learned) to demonstrate traditional agentic leadership styles (Saint-Michel, 2018). Such similarities rather than differences between police leaders were considered by one male interviewee as an inevitable feature of those appointed to senior posts in policing, with the gender of the leader irrelevant:

“You’ve only got to look at cohorts of senior leaders in policing ... there is the promotion of similarity ... I think it’s a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy.” (Male superintendent).

Similar behaviours may also be an indication of the power of group-identity and the need “to be accepted and ‘fit-in” (Cain, 2011, p.162). Simply changing the gender profile of a police leadership team in terms of the

number of males or females within it will not automatically bring about changes in leadership styles or encourage police reform. If, as noted by Picker and Nagle (2015), the “aim of diversifying police organizations is ultimately to change the hypermasculine, paramilitary culture” (p.17) then it is a focus on promoting more officers with communal traits and a “feminized’ skill set (Picker & Nagle, 2015, p.2) that is required, regardless of the gender of the individual exhibiting those traits. While some academics propose a critical mass theory, suggesting that until a minority reaches at least 35% of the target population then they are unable to affect cultural change, and their presence remains tokenistic (Brown & Woolfenden, 2011; Picker & Nagle, 2015), how this theory has been interpreted is contentious (Childs, & Krook, 2008). As identified here, more or less of one gender does not automatically relate to a change in leadership style, supporting Silvestri’s (2017) contention that:

“a relentless focus on numbers has been at the expense of a more meaningful exploration of the various gendered cultural formations within policing and how these might hinder women’s representation and progression” (p.292).

Based on the observations in this study, while most leaders do articulate a personal preference for transformational styles, they consistently report their actual experience of leadership styles exhibited by others to be more transactional; indicating that, in reality, transactional styles still dominate. If policing is genuinely desirous of benefiting from more diverse leadership teams, able to “accept and encourage differing perspectives” (College of Policing, 2015. p.12), then a renewed focus on how they identify and promote against a wider range of competencies and leadership traits is recommended, particularly in terms of creative, collaborative and communal traits. All are arguably ‘feminine’, but are not currently the strengths, even if they are the reported preferences, of those women (or most men) leading policing today.

Theme 4. External factors influencing career opportunities and choices

Balancing personal responsibilities with work, and in particular childcare roles, has been found to be an enduring and major barrier for the career advancement of women in policing (Whetstone & Wilson, 1999; Archbold, Hassell, & Stichman 2010; Parkinson, Duncan & Archer 2019, and indeed in the wider world of work (Acker, 1992b). This study, focussing on those men and women who have successfully achieved senior rank, provided an opportunity to explore to what extent family responsibilities have impacted on their careers, both previously and with regards to future plans. The findings from this research, consistent with previous studies linking concepts of the “ideal worker” to those who are able to be “fully present” in the workplace (Acker, 1990; Banihani, Lewis & Syed, 2013), demonstrate that managing childcare and finding adequate time to spend with family members remains a significant impediment to the career advancement of women with children in particular. Comparing responses across ranks and not just genders also highlights how concerns about successfully juggling family responsibilities is a key factor in preventing women accessing the highest ranks. To achieve promotion success, females with children have to make choices and sacrifices, but so too do males, although the choices and sacrifices they make are generally not the same.

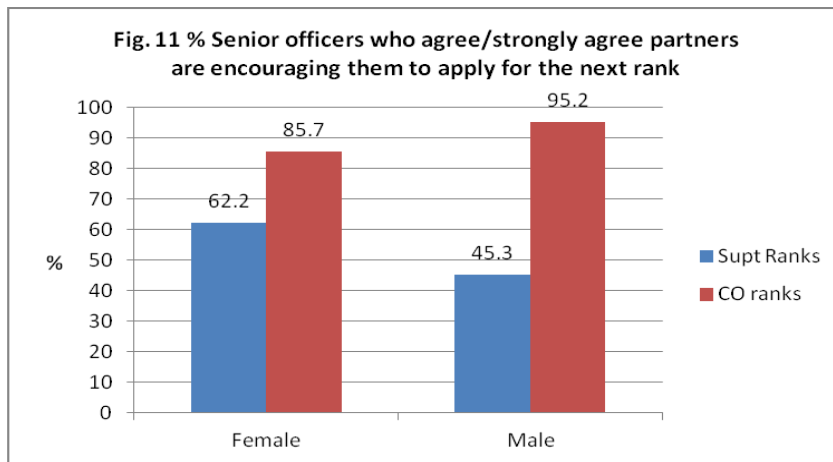
Across all ranks, the vast majority of survey participants (91.4%) were married or cohabiting, with no significant differences by rank or gender. With regards to current partners, a striking proportion of married/cohabiting females reported that their current partner was a serving or former police officer, with 85.7% reporting this to be the case compared to just 20.4% of males ($p < 0.01$). This appears even higher than that identified in previous research studies into women in policing (Archbold & Hassell, 2009), and which have already highlighted the additional issues that dealing with shift work can have when both partners are subject to shifts, particularly when child care arrangements also need to be made. Although, of course, with women comprising just under 30% of those serving in forces, a smaller proportion of males would be likely to be married to a female colleague than

vice versa, the very high number of senior women married to a current or former officer may indicate that being in a relationship with someone who understands the demands of policing is itself an 'enabler' for the career advancement of women into senior positions. This may also be a fruitful area for future research studies.

Of those with partners, around 75% of both genders equally reported having partners with a supportive attitude towards them being police officers. Noting that partner support for women in their roles as police officers had increased with service, Alexander (1995) considered whether this might be due to partners changing their attitudes, or female officers changing their partners. In this study, senior women officers were twice as likely as men to have had at least one change of partner during their police service, with almost 70% of women compared to around 35% of men reporting the break-down of a serious relationship during their police service.

When asked specifically about whether partners were encouraging them to apply for further promotion, differences were evident both by rank and gender, indicating that to achieve the most senior ranks, partner support is relevant, particularly for women (Fig. 11). Among the superintendent ranks, 62.2% of females, compared to 45.3% of male superintendents, agreed or strongly agreed that their partners were encouraging them to apply for the next rank ($p=0.057$). Among chief officers, this support did not differ by gender, but was significantly higher than that for superintendent ranks ($p<0.01$). Males in the superintendent ranks were the least likely to report being encouraged by their partners.

Further analysis of the data revealed a correlation between whether a partner was encouraging promotion to the next rank and the decision by males and females about whether or not to apply for a future promotion ($p<0.01$). This, when taken together with the higher proportion of chief officers reporting partner support, indicates that this is likely to be a key factor in achieving career success.



The information provided by the survey with regards to personal relationships accords with that found in previous research studies (Silvestri, 2006; Archbold & Hassell, 2009), and suggests that the domestic environment for senior officers has not changed significantly over the last few decades. For example, the survey enquired about the employment status of partners, with the results showing that 58.2% of senior women had a partner working full-time compared to just 36% of men ($p < 0.01$). Conversely, while 42.7% of men had a partner who worked part-time, this was a very rare occurrence for women, at just 3.8% ($p < 0.01$).

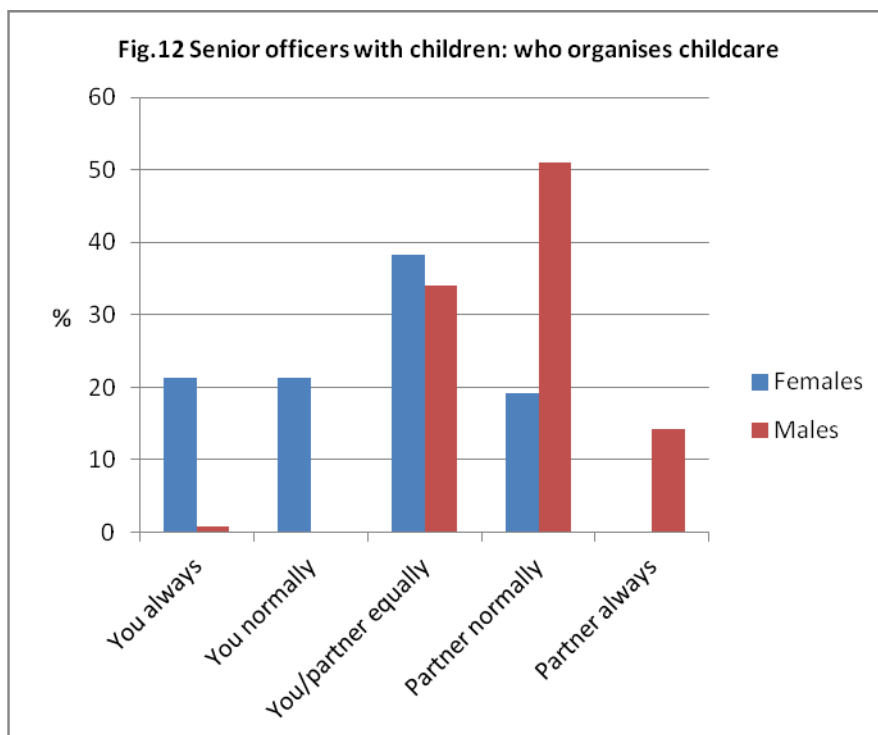
With their female partners working fewer hours, this is considered to off-set occupational stress for male officers (Kirkcaldy, Brown & Cooper, 1998) and provide greater access to the “resource of time” (Silvestri, 2006, p.274), thus facilitating the opportunity to work the longer-hours associated with achieving senior rank. For senior women, the opposite situation is frequently experienced, with long hours and work pressures considered more likely to cause marital conflict (Silvestri, 2006), and is thus likely to be a factor contributing to the greater number of failed relationships for the women in this survey, and the subsequent settling with new, and arguably more supportive, partners (Alexander, 1995). However, with fewer male superintendents’ partners encouraging them for future promotion, it does seem that there may be a point when partners are indicating that ‘enough is enough’ in terms of the impact of work on relationships and family life. This is explored further when considering the impact of children on the careers of senior officers.

Balancing children with work has been described as an “irresolvable conflict” for senior women in policing (Silvestri, 2006, p.273), and this section now considers whether, given strengthened legislation and family-friendly policies (Woolnaugh & Redshaw, 2016), reconciling work and family life is still experienced differently by gender among senior officers, as indeed it has been shown to be in other organisations with regards to career opportunities and advancement (Acker, 1990b; Banihani, Lewis and Syed, 2013). In the survey, the phrase ‘having children’, referred to raising or helping to raise children while a serving officer, regardless of whether or not officers were their natural parents.

While there was no difference by rank, there was a significant difference by gender, with 59.5% of women compared to 94.5% of men ($p < 0.01$) having children. There was also a significant difference in the number of children that male and female participants had ($p < 0.000$). For example, 31.9% of women with children had one child, compared to just 8.5% of men, while 39.8% of men had three or more children, compared to 12.7 % of women. (Table 10).

Table 10: The number of children that senior ranked officers (with children) have raised/helped raise while serving - Number of children				
Number of children	Females		Males	
	Number	% of those with children	Number	% of those with children
1	15	31.9	12	8.5
2	26	55.3	73	51.8
3	5	10.6	39	27.7
4	1	2.1	11	7.8
5+	0	0	6	4.3

Academic studies have found that, the larger the family size, the greater the negative impact on female career progression (Cools, Markussen, & Strøm, 2017), particularly in countries such as the UK where parents have to rely predominantly on formal paid arrangements or on family to provide child-care while a parent is at work (Baranowska-Rataj & Matysiak, 2016). The evidence reported here similarly suggests that, unlike their male counterparts, women in policing feel less able to combine work with children, or at least with a larger number of children. Given that 42.6% of senior women with children reported having taken on, or to still be taking on the main responsibility for making childcare arrangements compared to only one male (0.7%), it is clear that having children impacts on women in senior leadership roles differently to men (Fig.12), with the potential to affect their career decisions.



Indeed, a significant number (36.4%) of female superintendents felt that they would have achieved a higher rank without having had children, while only one female chief officer with children felt this way ($p < 0.01$). Similarly, although only two (14.3%) female chief officers felt that they would have

achieved their current rank sooner if they had not had children, just over half of female superintendents with children (51.5%) felt this to be the case. This was significantly higher than for male superintendents, where 34.5% of those with children agreed with this statement ($p < 0.05$).

While female superintendents were the most likely to feel that having children had held back their career progress, conversely evidence emerged of male superintendents being more likely to feel that children were actually a motivating factor for them to get promoted; this is potentially due to the pressure of being the main or higher wage earner in many cases, given the evidence that their partners were more likely to be part-time. While there was no difference between chief officers by gender, male superintendents (35.7%) were almost four times more likely than female superintendents (9.1%), to consider children to be a motivating factor to achieve promotion ($p < 0.05$).

Based on those factors linked to family, a picture emerged which suggested that, as for many women, gender and social identity may also be a key factor for males in terms of the rate of their career advancement. However, the impact is one of acceleration, rather than constraint, albeit still at a cost. While many studies have focussed on gendered organisations and constructs of leadership favouring the progress of men in the workplace (Braun et al., 2017), framing this as positive advantage for men; there appear to be far fewer studies which have considered how societal pressure on males to conform with gender congruity may also be limiting the choices that males feel they have in the work place, although in a different way to women. With partners more likely to work part-time, larger families, and expectations of continuing career success once they have put their feet on the first rung of the ladder, it is contended in this study that males may feel obliged to apply for promotions regardless of whether they are ready, or are even genuinely desirous of them. This is despite their amount of experience in a rank, levels of support from those around them at work, or even the extent of encouragement at home to apply for promotion.

For example, in the survey, while the majority of all those with children felt that work regularly interfered with time they should be spending with their families, senior male officers were even more likely than women to report such interference, with 85% agreeing/strongly agreeing that work interfered, compared to 68.1% of women, ($p < 0.05$). Similarly, while not statistically significant, men were also less likely than women to agree that they had managed to balance their work and family life successfully ($p < 0.8$), with 35.5% of men agreeing/strongly agreeing they had the balance right, compared to 54.3% of women.

Throughout the interviews, as exemplified in the comments below, the impact of family life was a recurring theme and supported the survey findings. Managing family life was mostly a challenge, and is largely achieved through the support of families and partners. A few women acknowledged that they had limited family size in order to continue managing their careers. Where male partners were involved in childcare, this was either due to them already being retired from work and having the flexibility to be more involved, or at a cost to their own careers.

“Without a supportive husband and mother/in-laws I would have been completely unable to reach the rank of superintendent. I do strongly believe that other females without the support structure I have will have been disadvantaged. The demands of work mean ... I miss out on a lot of family time.” (Female superintendent).

“Whilst I do not think children/family have impacted (adversely) on my career that was only because my ... husband took a ... career break and then went part-time ... If I had not had his support my opportunities and choices would have been restricted ... His career undoubtedly has suffered at the expense of mine - but we both knew that, when we made the choices”. (Female chief officer).

Meanwhile, many male senior officers appreciated the fact that their partners had either gone part-time, or had not pursued their own career ambitions in order to allow them to pursue theirs. Where men did help with child-care, they acknowledged how this impacted at work, and how demanding it was to manage both.

“I made a deliberate decision not to go for superintendent whilst my children were still young, due to concerns about the impact this would have on my family”. (Male superintendent).

“I know that having a wife at home has really helped me to get on with my career. With just my income though, it also puts pressure on me to work long hours and get promoted.” (Male superintendent).

“My wife went part-time when we had children and now doesn't work at all. We made financial sacrifices to achieve this ... but I really think it was worth it, so that I could put the hours in at work and get promoted without having to worry about the children, although it does mean I saw less of them growing up than I might otherwise have done.” (Male superintendent).

“My wife ... was much more capable of getting to a much higher rank, but she was a sergeant and enjoyed the sergeant rank. Between us we got our work life balance right, and it worked well for us and it worked well for our kid.” (Male superintendent).

“My wife has always done the organising the domestic stuff ... the best organised people I've ever worked with are working mums, they know what's going on, and they use their time very judiciously.” (Male chief officer).

What does *not* emerge from these interviews is an image of ambitious men pursuing career ambitions with no thought for the impact on the careers of their partners or on their families. Rather, negotiated and agreed positions are discussed, together with an appreciation of what partner's might otherwise have achieved; an enjoyment of time spent with children when it is possible, and concern for the impact on families when not. Unlike their female counterparts however, based on the survey responses, it does not appear that the number of children impacts on either their desire or success in achieving senior positions. While senior rank for women is not found to be incompatible with motherhood (Savell, 2009), given that the majority of senior women did have children, it remains less compatible than fatherhood is for men.

Overall the survey responses and comments that emerged during interviews both reinforce the findings of other studies and provide further detail with regards to what impact external factors, particularly partner support and family responsibilities, have on career decisions made. Although equally

likely to be married or cohabiting, senior women officers are less likely than their male peers to have any children, and those who do, have a fewer number. They are also less likely to have a partner who is working part-time, and will have taken on the lion's share of child-care arrangements. Those women with children who have not made it to chief officer posts do tend to feel that having children has held them back in terms of their career advancement, but over half generally feel they have achieved a degree of work-life balance. Senior males, on the other hand, particularly in the superintendent ranks, are more likely to report that having children has been a motivating factor for them in terms of career advancement. With partners more likely to be at home/working part-time, men tend to see their sacrifices to be in terms of how work impacts on their family lives. There is a sense that, with one just main income coming into the family, they also feel under some pressure to adopt traditional gender role norms and provide for their families, seeking career advancement even when the role above them appeals to them no more than it does to their female colleagues.

Conclusion

Based on the findings from the primary data, it is evident that the experiences of those senior leaders participating in this study do differ by gender across many aspects, while sharing similarities in others. It is also apparent that the differences between male and female chief officers are at times less pronounced than the differences found between male and female participants in the superintending ranks, with this 'sameness' thus being a factor in achieving career success.

In terms of general career experiences, both male and female participants shared similar desires and early experiences in terms of the steps taken to 'fit in' and achieve job satisfaction through social identify (Swan, 2016; Charman, 2017), although for women, the time taken and amount of tea made appears greater. While men reported instances of bullying, the threats towards women, in terms of sexual harassment in particular, appear more

frequent and ominous, and the degree of resilience and strength of character required to survive these experiences and still achieve career advancement, is arguably greater. Both genders equally reported the career opportunities afforded to them through sponsorship, which appears to remain an important factor in achieving high ranks (Caless, 2011).

'Doing time' (Silvestri, 2006) emerges as a critical feature of career success, with those achieving chief officer ranks working the longest hours, and both male and female chief officers less likely to have worked part-time than superintendents. While other studies have identified a 'marriage tax' holding back the careers of female officers (Archbold & Hassell, 2009), this study suggests a possible 'child-tax' for many women who do go on to senior ranks, with either no children or smaller families more likely to be a feature of the lives of senior women than of senior men. This is not to say that senior women regret their choices or situation regarding having children or size of family, or that they consciously made it to achieve career success, although a small number did raise this as an issue in survey responses. What women did report was more satisfaction with their work life balance than men.

Focussing on competencies and personal qualities, female and male leaders generally exhibited more similarities than differences, and while leadership styles aspired to were largely transformational, the reality of the lived experience included many examples of instead being subjected to transactional leadership styles. In the survey, where differences were evident, these suggested that women were in fact more likely to demonstrate agentic characteristics than men, in line with other studies (Ergle, 2015). Given the resilience required throughout their careers to address issues of role congruity, discrimination, and bullying or harassment; the more macho elements of police culture (Loftus, 2009) and the association between leadership and masculinity (Braun, et al., 2017), it should not be surprising to find that the most successful women in policing have, or have adopted, more masculine gender identities (Swan, 2016).

Meanwhile, managing careers and families presents an enduring challenge to male and female senior officers alike, although the challenge presented

differs by gender. While still appearing to present greater barriers in terms of career advancement for women, for men the absence of a perceived barrier arguably brings equal costs in terms of hours worked, impact on family life and pressure to continue striving for promotion at a pace. As observed by Collier (2019), the concept of men in the workplace being “somehow unaffected by demands, commitments and responsibilities of parenthood” (p.81) should be subject to more challenge, just as that of women being less committed to their careers than men has been (Dick & Metcalfe, 2007). Even in Scandinavian countries where more ‘family-friendly’ working policies are in place, studies reveal an enduring reality of men continuing as the main ‘bread-winners’ and of those with school-aged children working even longer-hours than men without any children at all, (Dommermuth, & Kitterød, 2009).

These findings continue to support Acker’s theoretical work (1989, 1990) on gendered organisations, as well as Silvestri’s observations regarding the “ideal” police leader being “aligned to traditional conceptualizations of the “heroic male” (2018, p.310).

The final chapter in this thesis, chapter eight, further considers the findings observed here, alongside the contribution that this research has made to knowledge and how this progresses the academic literature in the relevant fields of police culture, leadership and gender. It highlights a number of potential interventions that could enable policing to achieve its ambitions in terms of transforming leadership and embedding reform (APCC & NPCC, 2016).

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter draws together the individual research strands and summarises the key concepts explored in this thesis. It evaluates how the research has addressed its aims and objectives, considers its original contribution to knowledge within the existing theoretical frameworks of police culture, leadership and gender, and proposes fruitful areas for future research. Importantly, as a professional doctorate, with professional practice “central to the heart” of the research (Fenge, 2009, p.165), and where account must be taken of how academic and professional communities connect, this chapter also proposes recommendations for professional practitioners to assist police forces in achieving those benefits associated with organisations that value diversity.

Key research findings and conclusions

The overall aim of the research was to critically examine the experiences and perceptions of senior officers with a view to determining whether gender and/or gender bias impacts on the career experiences and progression of police officers; and, if so, whether this is preventing the service from achieving police reform.

This aim was operationalised through consideration of any causal relationships presented by the variables in the research question:

Do the career experiences and identifiable barriers and success factors of officers who have achieved senior rank differ significantly by gender?

The analysis of the secondary and primary data combined revealed the following key points:

Women remain under-represented in policing and are on a trajectory to be so for another 40 years: While women make up 50% of the working population, they remain under-represented in policing, comprising just 29.8% of serving officers in England and Wales (Home Office, 2018). Increases in the overall proportion of women officers has slowed down to an average rate of around 0.5% per year, and previous predictions that women would make up 35% of all officers by 2020 (Brown & Woolfenden, 2011) will not be realised. At current rates, without any significant interventions, it will be 2060 before parity in numbers by gender is achieved. The lower application rate of women to join policing in the first instance is a primary factor in this numerical disproportionately.

Despite recognising the need for a more diverse police force (ACPO, APA & Home Office, 2009), there is no evidence of any coordinated organisational or governmental challenge regarding the under-representation of women in policing. The fact that women officers are more likely than their male colleagues to resign prematurely, be on restricted duties or be absent long-term, attracts no significant concern in Home Office (2018) or government reports into diversity (House of Commons & Home Affairs Committee, 2016). Application rates are not collated or compared, even though the proportion of female joiners has remained unchanged over the last decade. There is no national campaign targeted at attracting women into policing.

There continues to be disparity between the rhetoric of diversity and equality in police reform and the reality (Laverick & Cain, 2015). It is contended here that this lack of strategic and governmental challenge is fundamentally due to a tacit or unconscious acceptance at the highest levels that policing is gendered as an intrinsically male occupation and that there is no genuine desire to address this. One impact of this continuing disproportionality for senior women is that there is less challenge to a culture where minority status persists and hegemonic masculinity prevails. This reduces the opportunity for feminine styles of leadership to be valued and to thrive.

Women and men in this study cited similar motivations for joining the police, but females in particular prioritised public service. Taken together with other

evidence that a more inclusive police service utilising a “feminized skill set” (Picker & Nagle, 2015, p.2) could lead to improved community relations, a failure to focus on recruiting more women and maximise diversity is likely to restrict the opportunity for policing to effectively deliver those reforms which are intended to make public service and community policing a more central feature of policing (ACPO et al., 2009; Silvestri 2015).

Consistently attracting fewer women than men to apply to join policing also means that the talent pool from which officers are being selected is not as wide as it ought to be. Given the increasingly complex nature of policing (Herrington & Colvin, 2015), a failure to attract the largest number of talented applicants, particularly in an organisation that still predominantly promotes from within, seems short-sighted and self-limiting. Failing to intervene in, or indeed even notice the under-representation of women in the police constable application process, serves to reinforce policing as a organisation where the power is held by men (Acker, 1992b; Banihani, Lewis & Syed, 2013), and signals a lack of commitment to “fairness, justice and equality of opportunity” from a legitimacy perspective (Silvestri, 2015, p.62).

Promotion rates for women officers fall mostly at the first and last hurdles: In terms of career advancement, there is evidence of progress for women into most supervisory positions which are generally proportionate to their eligible numbers in the preceding rank - but not at the first supervisory rank, nor at the most senior. Women represent 22.8% of the sergeant rank, despite making up 31.6% of constables. Although women show an interest in promotion by applying for, and passing, the qualifying examination for sergeant rank, they are not then applying for actual promotion in equal proportions to males. Given the hierarchical rank structure of policing, this is significant and immediately limits the likelihood of women achieving proportionate representation in senior ranks when compared to their numbers in the whole force. Unequal access to temporary promotion opportunities emerges from this study as a barrier that needs addressing.

The number of women making it to the highest rank of chief constable is also disproportionately low. The 'time served' requirements mean that many otherwise suitable women are simply running out of time to get to this position before they can retire, and a lack of confidence in fair selection processes is also a factor preventing women reaching this top position. It is again noted that women appear to be undertaking fewer temporary promotions to this rank compared to men.

The overall proportion of new female promotions is also shown in this study to have slowed over the last five years, indicating that the overall gains of female representation in supervisory ranks is in fact more as a result of the larger proportion of men who have retired from these ranks, rather than an increase in the numbers of women being promoted. Given a period of austerity (Laverick & Cain, 2015), many posts have simply not been replaced as forces have restructured to absorb vacancies.

Furthermore, there is considerable and unmonitored inconsistency across forces in terms of female applications for, and appointment to, each rank. Home Office workforce reports do not differentiate between the three chief officer ranks, and a higher number of female ACCs masks the disproportionately low number of female chief constables, which at the time of writing had fallen to just four (Hymas, 2019).

Women who follow traditionally 'male' career paths are mostly likely to make it to the top: In line with theories of gender congruity, this study finds that there are still certain specialist posts, such as firearms and public protection, where men or women are disproportionately represented (Cain, 2011). Whether by design or otherwise, those women who have achieved chief officer posts appear, however, to have avoided those roles traditionally associated more with women officers, instead following similar career routes to male chief officers. With chief officers, regardless of gender, treading the same career paths as the leaders who have gone before them, the opportunity becomes limited in terms of the differences in approaches

associated with diverse teams in successful organisations, and the ability to manage change and reform (ACPO et al., 2009; Smith, 2016b).

The power of acceptance and the persistence of traditional norms:

Interview participants highlighted the need for group acceptance, and how traditional cultural elements, in particular those reinforced by shared learning experiences (Schein & Schein, 2017), endure in achieving this, such as making tea and demonstrating physical fortitude. The challenge of moving from 'outsider' to 'insider' was particularly magnified for those whose 'difference' went beyond questioning how things were, such as being in the minority gender. In line with recent observations by other researchers (Brown et al., 2018), sexual discrimination and harassment emerges as a particular feature of the career experiences of many women, and particularly those who do not conform to gender role-congruity (McGinley, 203). The persistence of such negative features, together with some evidence of bullying regardless of gender, is indicative of a prevailing masculine culture continuing to dominate the police organisation. It is also likely to be contributing to the premature wastage and high absence levels of women in particular (Shelley, Morabito & Tobin-Gurley, 2011).

Follow the leader: Changing image, behaviour and values in order to conform and survive in an environment still defined by male machismo, has previously been found to be a coping response employed by female officers (Morash & Haarr, 2012; Rabe-Hemp, 2009) and reduces the impact that women are able to have in terms of bringing diversity to policing and to police leadership (Swan, 2016). This research supports other studies (Ergle, 2015), revealing an absence of evidence that women police leaders do currently employ more diverse or transformational styles than their male colleagues.

Having a sponsor is critical for career success: Subjective sponsorship

(Caless, 2011) was found to have a significant role in terms of the career advancement of those participating in the one-to-one interviews, appearing to have more positive an impact on career opportunities for both men and women than formal mentoring or equitable and transparent promotion processes. However, it is proposed that those granted the support of sponsors are currently being selected in line with the traditional values and concepts of what a good police leader 'looks like', and is reinforcing the traditional and stereo-typical leadership qualities still associated with masculine traits (Dunham, 2017).

Everyone has to do time traditionally, there is no TARDIS: The findings here reinforce previous research findings (Silvestri, 2006; 2017; Turnbull, & Wass, 2015) showing that extreme hours, and an "uninterrupted" career profile" (Silvestri, 2006, p.269) endure. These features are considered representative of 'masculine' organisations (Davies & Thomas, 2003) and of policing in particular, (Rabe-Hemp, 2008a), and were found here to be associated with career advancement, particularly to the highest ranks.

With almost a third of female superintendents having engaged in part-time working, it appears from this study that it is possible to work part-time for at least part of a police career and still make senior rank. However, with evidence that part-time working remains marginalised, it is proposed that these women have achieved senior rank *despite* taking some time out for child-care and only did so with considerable family support or by being extremely flexible in their approach. Chief officer ranks, however, still appear mostly out of reach to those who have worked part-time, with chief officers rarely reporting having done so.

In accordance with Acker's (1992) gendered organisation theory, the excessive hours worked by senior officers are also likely to have a disproportionate impact on women's appetite or perceived suitability for future promotion, given that they continue to take the primary carer role for children. Chief officers especially are poor role models in terms of the long

hours they work. As well as reducing the associated gender-bias, tackling the long-hours culture and ensuring that those who work part-time for caring reasons do not pay a 'child-tax' in terms of their careers, is considered here to be likely to have a significant positive effect on other aspects of police leadership, including, health, well-being, and associated decision-making and approaches to leadership (Caless, 2011).

Policing is incompatible with motherhood ... and fatherhood: From this study there emerged evidence of policing continuing to impact on relationships and family life differently by gender (Archbold & Hassell, 2009), although both men and women make sacrifices along the route to senior rank. Men and women participating in this study were equally likely to be married or cohabiting, although men were significantly more likely than women to have a partner who was not engaged in full-time employment. Evidence emerged of women being more likely to have experienced the breakdown of personal relationships, findings which accord with previous studies indicating that, while domestic arrangements mean that men are able to work longer hours more easily, for women, they are likely to cause conflict with partners (Silvestri, 2006).

Senior males were significantly more likely than female counter-parts to have children and to have larger family sizes. Senior women with children were more likely to take on responsibility for organising childcare arrangements. A number of studies have considered the range of "push and pull" factors of implicit leadership theories (Braun et al., 2017, p.384), and in this research, the impact of children is shown to continue to create the additional 'push/pull' impact recognised in wider organisational studies (Woolnough & Redshaw, 2016). Social constructs continue to create an environment where it is acceptable for women to stall careers for child care reasons, while pressurising men to seek career advancement in order to provide for families. It is contended here that, while generally impacting differently on men than on women with children, this should not necessarily always be

considered a 'benefit' for males. Although any temporary stalling of female police careers makes it difficult for them to ever catch-up and achieve promotion, particularly to chief officer positions, evidence here also points towards male superintendents pushing forward with promotion plans despite already being more concerned than women about the interference of work on family time. Despite not always finding the next role more appealing than the one they already have; not being encouraged to apply for promotion to the same extent women are; concerns that chief officer posts require even more hours at work; and worries about tax and pension implications, men appear compelled, especially as they are generally the main earner in the family, to achieve further promotion. It seems that once on the "glass escalator" (Braun et al., 2017, p.384), many men feel pressured to remain on it, even if they would prefer to get off; while those men who do step off for family reasons, similarly find their careers stalling. In line with McGinley's (2013) observations, the pressure to adhere to gender norms can be harmful to men and women alike.

Culture, leadership and gender matters

This research has made an overall contribution to knowledge within the existing theoretical frameworks of police culture, leadership and gender, particularly with regards to the following areas:

Traditional police cultures and gender bias continue to significantly impact on the career experiences of senior officers, with gender as a masculine construct dominating both organisational experiences and the way that leadership is delivered, and the notion of the 'ideal' leader, as in many other organisations, patterned in masculine terms (Acker, 1989; 1992; Silvestri, 2018). Some increase in the proportionate representation of women in senior leadership posts is not yet bringing any clearly defined 'business benefits' in terms of the anticipated new perspectives associated with more diverse leadership teams, or the transformational styles found in some studies to be associated positively with change and business performance (Moreno-

Gómez, Lafuente & Vaillant, 2018). This is despite senior officers of both genders recognising the value of transformational approaches and voicing a desire to lead in this way, as was similarly articulated by the leaders before them (Villiers, 2002).

These findings accord with wider organisational and international studies identifying that the type of organisation in which leadership is delivered impacts on whether women actually deliver a different leadership style to men, and found that they did not do so when the leadership style is conceived as “authoritarian-directive ... or task versus relations-oriented” (Bass, Avolio & Atwater, 1996, p.7). With evidence that contemporary policing remains “inextricably and inescapably linked to the authority of rank”, (Davis, 2017, p.229); that many women in policing identify with a “masculine gender identity” (Swan, 2016, p.16) or adopt agentic traits in order to survive or achieve leadership positions, (Österlind & Haake, 2010); and that police leaders are generally ‘poor change agents’ in terms of implementing police reform (Haake, Rantatalo & Lindberg, 2015, p.764); the notion that an increase in female representation in police leadership roles will, by default, lead to more transformational leadership approaches is refuted.

This study adds to the concerns expressed by other researchers that expecting women to automatically bring transformational change to policing places an unjustified responsibility on them and has a perverse effect on the rationale for equality (Silvestri, 2015). It also indicates that senior male officers are at least as likely as females to value those traits considered communal or ‘feminine’, particularly being innovative and considerate, but that in practice, leaders of both genders appear to those around them to respond and exhibit traditionally ‘masculine’ leadership styles.

In terms of achieving gender parity in senior police leadership positions, the findings of this study highlight that men and women can enjoy similar career success, providing they are able to: navigate their careers along traditional and macho paths; learn how to become accepted by their peers; demonstrate resilience in the face of harassment, discrimination or bullying; move through each of the ranks at a pace, limit any time-out and subscribe

to a long-hours culture; attract a sponsor; either find a partner who will take responsibility for any required child-care arrangements or keep family size to a minimum, or alternatively have no children at all. In short, the policing environment continues to subject its inhabitants to a 'Groundhog Day' effect, with those who do attempt to emerge out of its shelter often retreating again. While there does appear some genuine desire for transformation, the traditional elements of police culture, masculine characteristics of organisational leadership, and prevailing constructs of gender, combine and continue to over-shadow attempts to change.

If policing is, however, serious about addressing an enduring status-quo and emerging into a new climate, implementation of the following recommendations based on this study would be likely to assist in addressing the barriers to achieving police reform and gender parity.

Recommendations from the research

These recommendations are intended to help address the continuing gender bias that has been found to persist in policing, and to achieve the organisational benefits that are associated with organisations that value diversity. While written specifically for policing in the UK, the principles are considered generalisable to police forces internationally and to other public and private organisations.

- That previous recommendations (Home Office, 2010) regarding the publication of force annual plans that prioritise action for female recruitment, retention and progression are reinstated as a matter of urgency, together with further research into the promotion gender-gap, and exit interviews with female leavers.
- That a national recruitment strategy targeting female applications for police officer posts is introduced. That the need to recruit women officers in numbers proportionate with their representation in society is

articulated and implemented by the Home Office, the APCC, NPCC, and the College of Policing.

- That recruitment campaigns and processes focus on the qualities that are considered necessary to deliver effective contemporary policing, with a greater emphasis on public service and community-oriented policing.
- That given the critical role that sponsorship plays in career progression, that efforts are made to establish transparent and accessible sponsorship programmes intended to support a diverse range of people and talents, rather than allowing unmonitored sponsorship to continue to promote the status-quo.
- That the under-representation of women in the rank of sergeant is addressed. All women constables who are qualified for promotion to sergeant should be provided with a mentor and a sponsor to support them in applying for promotion.
- That all forces monitor temporary promotions by gender; examine their processes for awarding temporary promotions; and ensure that any evidence of gender bias is addressed.
- That Home Office data returns include force data by gender regarding police officer applications, promotion and temporary promotions, so that national comparisons can be made, and good practice identified and shared.
- That Home Office data returns include force data on postings to key policing areas by gender, so that national comparisons can be made, and good practice identified and shared.
- That all eligible officers are encouraged and have access to support through promotion processes, in order to minimise the gender bias that can occur through the intervention of sponsors and other third parties.

- All promotion boards should be centralised or overseen independently e.g. by the College of Policing, to ensure that gender bias is removed.
- That the Home Office workforce reports separate out the three ranks, ACC, DCC and chief constable, rather than pooling them together as 'chief officers'.
- That a national fast-track graduate entry and leadership programme for policing, supported by under-graduate internship opportunities, is introduced. This programme should include positive action initiatives focussed on women and BAME candidates.
- That the working hours and on-call requirements of senior officers are subject to review, and steps taken to ensure that forces are resourcing senior leadership posts adequately, with limitations on the hours that senior officers work.
- That sexual harassment is acknowledged as a common and deleterious experience, particularly for women in policing, and is addressed as a priority.

Concluding thoughts

During the course of this research study, 'HeForShe', a UN led campaign that aspires to engage men and boys as agents of change for gender equality, has gained ground internationally and appears to have been embraced by policing (York, 2019). Endorsed by the College of Policing, the NPCC workforce coordination committee also agreed to provide an annual report on gender equality across policing, (NPCC, 2017). It may be considered ironic that a campaign which puts men in the driving seat has captured the support of police chiefs in a way that the BAWP's own three gender agendas appears to have failed to do, and arguably, the campaign provides wider evidence of the power of patriarchy and an attempt to make feminism more palatable, describing the HeForShe movement as "a pitch invasion, where men nick the ball and start booting it around to show how

much they want the match to go ahead as planned” (Fletcher, 2016, para.4). It is contended here that, given the extent of gender bias in policing and the amount of work required to achieve gender parity; that for policing to embrace any movement focussed on gender should be considered a useful step, particularly with so few females in chief officer positions. However, with the planned annual report on gender equality still not published at the time of writing, it is feared that this campaign may prove to be yet another example of rhetoric over action.

In addition, any further focus on gender in policing might also wish to explore the impact on the ‘he’, not just the ‘she’. As evidenced in this study, there is also evidence of gender congruity and hegemonic masculinity pressurising males to conform to stereotypically masculine ways of ‘doing gender’ in policing at the expense of their own work-life balance and health. As observed by Silvestri (2017), most gender studies in policing focus on women, and information regarding men’s gendered experiences is limited.

Valuing diversity in policing cannot rely on being delivered purely in terms of ensuring the equal numbers of those who identify with a protected characteristic category of ‘male’, ‘female’, or any other self-descriptor for gender. While ensuring parity in numbers is proposed here as a useful and necessary starting point, legitimate in terms of equality agendas, representing the communities that policing serves, and increasing the pool of talent from which policing can recruit, it will not by itself automatically address the cultural status quo and lead to future leaders consistently demonstrating more transformational leadership styles. That will only come when those skills associated through social and gender constructs as being communal, e.g. innovative, collaborative and approachable, are properly recognised and rewarded, regardless of gender, and those who exhibit them are able to reach senior positions where they are able to engender change.

Finally, as this research draws to a close, the government has announced plans to recruit an additional 20,000 police officers over the course of the next three years (Shaw, 2019). This could prove either a considerable threat or considerable opportunity with regards to addressing the

underrepresentation of women in both police officer applications and in promotion to the first supervisory rank of sergeant; both of which emerge as linked to the enduring differential career experiences of senior officers by gender, and to limited police reform. Based on the findings of this study, a few key steps taken at this time could bring about beneficial organisational change for the future. The first would be to have a national recruitment campaign focussed on attracting more female applications and accelerating the representation of women officers in policing to 50% of the officer workforce. Recruitment should include a focus on graduates seeking employment, and offer summer internships. Ensuring that early opportunities which encourage promotion applications to sergeant are presented equitably to recruits regardless of gender or subjective sponsorship is also highlighted as an important step, particularly with regard to access to temporary promotion. While Gaston and Alexander (1995) called for more equal access by gender to tutor constable opportunities and mentoring, this research, a quarter of a century later, now calls for equal access to early temporary promotion opportunities, and transparent sponsorship programmes.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Favourable Ethical Opinion



Professor Matthew Weait, BA (Hons), MA,
MPhil, DPhil Dean

Direct Line: +44 (0)23 9284 6012

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W: www.port.ac.uk/faculty-of-humanities-and-social-sciences

Faculty of Humanities and Social
Sciences

University of Portsmouth Park Building

King Henry I Street
Portsmouth PO1 2DZ United
Kingdom

T: +44 (0)23 9284 8484

F: +44 (0)23 9284 6254

FAVOURABLE ETHICAL OPINION (with conditions)

Name: Jackie Alexander

Study Title: Gendered experiences across two generations: a comparative study of the career experiences of UK police officers and the impact of gender in contemporary policing.

Reference Number:

16/17:54 Date

07/07/2017

Thank you for submitting your application to the FHSS Ethics Committee.

I am pleased to inform you that FHSS Ethics Committee was content to grant a favourable ethical opinion of the above research on the basis described in the submitted documents listed at Annex A, and subject to standard general conditions (*See Annex B*).

With this there are a number of ethical conditions to comply with, and some additional advisory notes you may wish to consider, all shown below.

Condition(s)¹

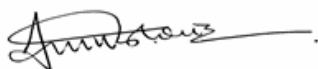
1. There appears to be some risk in relation to the positionality of the researcher in relation to the topic. The extent to which the researcher's own experiences of working in the police will produce a bias in the analysis but also questioning is something that will need careful reflection.
2. There is some potential reputational risk to the force if the findings point to a negative bias. This is pointed out by the researcher and will need to be carefully managed as the research moves forward.
3. The invitation emails in appendices K, L and M refer to the Ethics Committee at the University of Portsmouth. In appendix N, the researcher refers to the ICJS Ethics Committee. Both these need to be changed to the FHSS Ethics Committee.

¹ A favourable opinion will be dependent upon the study adhering to the conditions stated, which are based on the application document(s) submitted. It is appreciated that Principal Investigators may wish to challenge conditions or propose amendments to these in the resubmission to this ethical review.

Advisory Note(s)²

None

Please note that the favourable opinion of FHSS Ethics Committee does not grant permission or approval to undertake the research/ work. Management permission or approval must be obtained from any host organisation, including the University of Portsmouth or supervisor, prior to the start of the study.
Wishing you every success in your research



Chair

Dr Jane Winstone

Email: ethics-fhss@port.ac.uk

Annexes

A - Documents reviewed

B - After ethical review

ANNEX A - Documents reviewed

The documents ethically reviewed for this application

<i>Document</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Version</i>
Application Form	May 2017	Version 1
BOS Survey Instruments (x3): Appendices A, B,C	May 2017	Version 1
Semi-structured interview schedules: Appendices D, E, F	May 2017	Version 1
Letters requesting consent: Appendices G, H, I	May 2017	Version 1
Nottinghamshire Police External Research Proposal: Appendix J	May 2017	Version 1
Invitation Letter (Emails) : Appendices K, L, M	May 2017	Version 1
Participant Information Sheet(s): Appendix N	May 2017	Version 1
Consent Form(s): Appendix O	May 2017	Version 1
Supervisor Email Confirming Application (can be supplied on request)	15 June 2017	NA
Evidence From External Organisation Showing Support	12 June 2017	NA
Notts Police – letter confirming consent (Appendix P)	12 June 2017	NA
PSAEW – email confirming consent (Appendix Q)	5 June 2017	NA
National Police Chiefs' Council - awaiting formal consent	TBC	NA

ANNEX B - After ethical review

1. This Annex sets out important guidance for those with a favourable opinion from a University of Portsmouth Ethics Committee. Please read the guidance carefully. A failure to follow the guidance could lead to the committee reviewing and possibly revoking its opinion on the research.
2. It is assumed that the work will commence within 1 year of the date of the favourable ethical opinion or the start date stated in the application, whichever is the latest.
3. The work must not commence until the researcher has obtained any necessary management permissions or approvals – this is particularly pertinent in cases of research hosted by external organisations. The appropriate head of department should

be aware of a member of staff's plans.

4. If it is proposed to extend the duration of the study beyond that stated in the application, the Ethics Committee must be informed.

5. Any proposed substantial amendments must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for review. A substantial amendment is any amendment to the terms of the application for ethical review, or to the protocol or other supporting documentation approved by the Committee that is likely to affect to a significant degree:

- (a) the safety or physical or mental integrity of participants
- (b) the scientific value of the study
- (c) the conduct or management of the study.

5.1 A substantial amendment should not be implemented until a favourable ethical opinion has been given by the Committee.

6. At the end of the work a final report should be submitted to the ethics committee. A template for this can be found on the University Ethics webpage.

7. Researchers are reminded of the University's commitments as stated in the [Concordat to Support Research Integrity](#) viz:

- maintaining the highest standards of rigour and integrity in all aspects of research
- ensuring that research is conducted according to appropriate ethical, legal and professional frameworks, obligations and standards
- supporting a research environment that is underpinned by a culture of integrity and based on good governance, best practice and support for the development of researchers
- using transparent, robust and fair processes to deal with allegations of research misconduct should they arise
- working together to strengthen the integrity of research and to reviewing progress regularly and openly.

8. In ensuring that it meets these commitments the University has adopted the [UKRIO Code of Practice for Research](#). Any breach of this code may be considered as misconduct and may be investigated following the University [Procedure for the Investigation of Allegations of Misconduct in Research](#). Researchers are advised to use the [UKRIO checklist](#) as a simple guide to integrity.

Appendix B: Declaration of ethical conduct

FORM UPR16

Research Ethics Review Checklist

Please include this completed form as an appendix to your thesis (see the Research Degrees Operational Handbook for more information)



Postgraduate Research Student (PGRS) information		Student ID:	UP791204
PGRS Name:	Jackie Alexander		
Department:	ICJS	First Supervisor:	Dr Sarah Charman
Start Date: (or progression date for Prof Doc students)	September 2017		
Study Mode and Route:	Part-time <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MPhil <input type="checkbox"/>	MD <input type="checkbox"/>
	Full-time <input type="checkbox"/>	PhD <input type="checkbox"/>	Professional Doctorate <input type="checkbox"/>
Title of Thesis:	Engendering change or an enduring status quo?: An analysis of the gendered experiences of senior police officers and the impact of gender on leadership in contemporary policing.		
Thesis Word Count: (excluding ancillary data)	54979		
<p>If you are unsure about any of the following, please contact the local representative on your Faculty Ethics Committee for advice. Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University's Ethics Policy and any relevant University, academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study</p> <p>Although the Ethics Committee may have given your study a favourable opinion, the final responsibility for the ethical conduct of this work lies with the researcher(s).</p>			
UPRG Finished Research Checklist:			
<small>(If you would like to know more about this checklist, please see your Faculty or Departmental Ethics Committee rep or see the online version of the full checklist at http://www.port.ac.uk/ethics/ethics-checklist)</small>			
a) Have all of your research and findings been reported accurately, honestly and within a reasonable time frame?	YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>	
b) Have all contributions to knowledge been acknowledged?	YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>	
c) Have you complied with all agreements relating to intellectual property, publication and authorship?	YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>	
d) Has your research data been retained in a secure and accessible form and will it remain so for the required duration?	YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>	
e) Does your research comply with all legal, ethical, and contractual requirements?	YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>	
Candidate Statement:			
I have considered the ethical dimensions of the above named research project, and have successfully obtained the necessary ethical approval(s)			
Ethical review number(s) from Faculty Ethics Committee (or from NRES/SCREC):	16/17:54		
If you have <i>not</i> submitted your work for ethical review, and/or you have answered 'No' to one or more of questions a) to e), please explain below why this is so:			
N/A			
Signed (PGRS):			Date: 08 September 2019

UPR16 – April 2018

Appendix C: Invitation to participate in the research survey



Research ethical provision and complaints process, as agreed with the Faculty of Humanities and Social Studies Ethics Committee at the University of Portsmouth

Dear colleague,

With reference to the anonymous on-line survey which can be accessed via the following link: <https://portsmouth.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/superintending-rank-survey-v1-sept-2017> please see below relevant further information with regards to ethical considerations and the complaints process:

Your participation in the online survey, or in any future interview, is of course entirely voluntary.

Your responses will be received anonymously.

You may skip any questions or withdraw at any point up to submitting the survey.

Your personal details have not been shared with me (this email has been sent to you by a third party).

Responses from both the on-line survey and any future interview will be stored in-line with the Data Protection Act.

Any externally published findings based will not identify the forces involved, or contain such detail that would allow a specific individual to be identified.

By submitting the on-line survey you consent to the anonymous data you have provided to be used for the purposes of research that I am undertaking as part of my Doctoral Studies.

As a serving officer I am bound by Police Conduct Regulations and the Code of Ethics.

PSAEW has been advised that the data cannot be used by forces for human resources or performance related purposes and that the raw data cannot be shared with any policing body or force.

Should you require any further information or wish to discuss any issues please either contact me or my research supervisor using the contact details below. You may also contact my supervisor directly or the course Head of Department, (details supplied) for information in respect of the University's complaint procedures.

Thank you again for your participation.

Jackie Alexander Researcher: Jackie Alexander, Professional Doctorate

Appendix D: Invitation to participate in the research interviews



Thank you so much for getting in touch in relation to participating in a one to one interview, especially as I appreciate just how busy you are. I really am very grateful for the interest and I am looking forward to hearing about your career.

The interview will be 'semi-structured', with the questions informed, to some extent, by my initial analysis of the survey responses. The survey closes end of November, and I plan to have completed the initial analysis by the end of December. With that in mind, I'd like to arrange for the interviews to take place in January 2018 please, and am happy to travel to your HQ or another location convenient to you.

To comply with my University ethical approval I need to give you the information as detailed below in blue. Please can you confirm, once you have considered it, that you are still happy to participate, and if so, who I should contact to make the necessary arrangements, if not directly with yourself? If you have any concerns or queries about any aspect, please just let me know, and I will do my best to address them.

Kindest regards
Jackie

Interviews will be audio-recorded and should take no more than one hour.

You may terminate the interview at any time and may also withdraw your consent for the information you provide to be used in the research, up until the point that data analysis takes place.

Your participation is of course entirely voluntary.

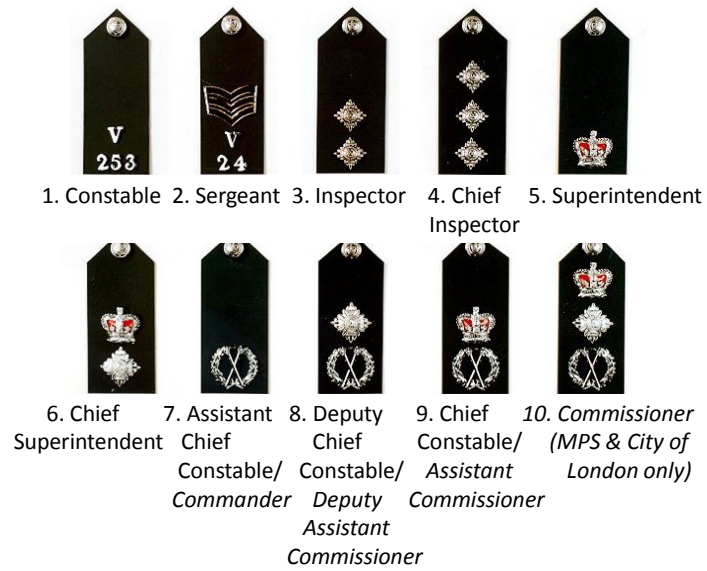
Any information you supply will be anonymised and stored securely and in-line with the Data Protection Act.

Any externally published findings based on the analysis will not identify the forces involved, or contain such detail that would allow any specific individual to be identified. PSAEW has been advised that the data cannot be used for human resources or performance related purposes and that the raw data cannot be shared.

You can raise any issues in respect of the interview or the research, by contacting myself, my supervisor XXX@port.ac.uk , or the Head of the Institute for Criminal Justice at the University of Portsmouth XXX@port.ac.uk directly.

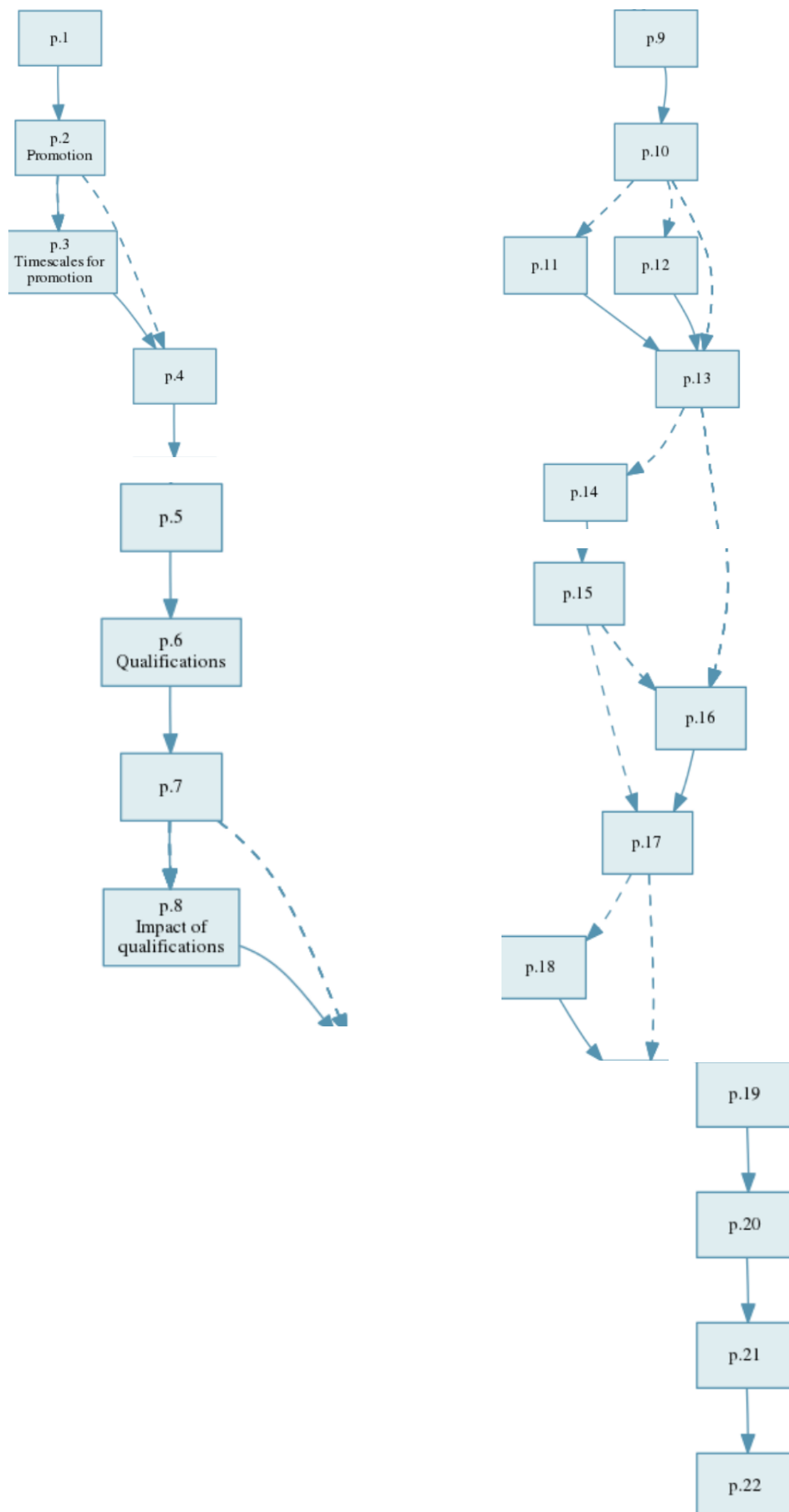
If you need to raise any concerns or complaints, please contact XXX@port.ac.uk in respect of the University's complaint procedures.

Appendix E: Police Ranks in England and Wales



**Ranks in italics refer to the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) & City of London rank equivalents*

Appendix F: Survey on-line survey routing map (superintendents)



Appendix G: Senior officers semi-structured interview schedule

- What motivated to you join policing?
- How old were you and what was your personal situation
- Describe your career journey?
- What do you feel are the main qualities you have brought to policing?
- Do you feel your gender has impacted on your experiences?
- What have been the high points/low points of your police career?
- Why did you/didn't you go for promotion?
- Has there been a personal cost? (impact on relationships /family/number of children/impact on career)
- Has your personal life limited your opportunities or advancement?
- What do you think have been the key enablers or barriers to your career progression?
- What career advice would you give anyone entering policing?
- What qualities do you mostly see in those who make senior positions in policing (Supt. and above)?
- Do these match the qualities you want to see in police leaders?
- Have you ever thought about leaving policing? Why/why not?

Appendix H: Interview transcript coding

Nodes			
Name	Files	References	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sponsors & Mentors, or colleague support or resentment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> lack of support and resentment 		33	159
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Impact career on partners, family life or WL balance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> partner or former partner in police 		32	86
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promotion and postings <ul style="list-style-type: none"> barriers career plan Exposure to Command promotion boards response to failure women holding back changing posts frequently 		32	201
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acceptance by team, jokes and banter <ul style="list-style-type: none"> mistrust - earn trust, prove worth 'acceptable banter' making tea negative experience 		30	100
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Motivation to join <ul style="list-style-type: none"> forces connection or family in police 		29	42
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hierarchical or traditional Culture & training <ul style="list-style-type: none"> discretion leading from the front 		29	83
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children - impact ON career <ul style="list-style-type: none"> part-time treatment while pregnant study on maternity single 		28	73
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Long hours and hard work <ul style="list-style-type: none"> operational credibility time served commitment Health 		28	64
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transactional styles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> macho performance culture 		28	66
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transforamtional styles <ul style="list-style-type: none"> softer skills 		28	80

3	Discrimination , harrassment or gender issues		28	123
	resilience		13	29
	isolation		9	11
	imposter syndrome		6	10
3	Ethics & Integrity, challenging behaviours		28	119
	reflection		8	9
	lack of transparancy		7	11
3	Secondments or transfers		25	58
	partenrship working		5	7
	Degrees		25	51
	Role Models - good & bad		24	54
	Exciting work & action-mission, reactive		21	47
	HPDS or pnac		21	54
	Public service		21	29
	support from partner or family		20	32
	Leadership concerns		18	42
	Training and Development or seizing opportunities		16	27
	Team work - Shift as family, socialising at work		14	25
	Politics & PCCs		14	16
	Real World or resistance to change		14	26
	Tax and financial and pension		8	16
	Personal qualities		8	12
	Children decsions re having or size of family		4	6
	Sexuality		2	3

Appendix I: Freedom of Information Act request to forces

FOI REQUEST 22 January 2019

Jackie.alexander@myport.ac.uk

1) I want to find out the number of applicants who have applied to join your force in each of the last three years (1 April – 31 March), and then the success rates by gender. I also want to find out what stage of the process they failed at by gender, please.

FORCE NAME	1.4.15 to 31.3.16		1.4.16 to 31.3.17		1.4.17 to 31.3.18	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Number of applicants for regular officer posts						
Number failing application						
Number failing assessment centre						
Number failing fitness test						
Number failing vetting						
Final number passing selection						
Final number recruited						

2) Please can you supply the data to show how many officers, broken down by gender, have applied for promotion boards, passed any workplace assessments, and have then subsequently commenced temporary or substantive promotions in the given periods. The data should include any 'detective' promotions too, if they are held separately please.

FORCE NAME	1.4.15 to 31.3.16		1.4.16 to 31.3.17		1.4.17 to 31.3.18	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
SGTS PROMOTION PROCESS						
Number of applicants to apply to sit national Sgt exam						
Number of applicants to withdraw from sitting national Sgt exam						
Number of officers to pass national Sgt exam						
Number of officers to apply for force promotion to Sgt						
Number of officers to pass force selection for promotion to Sgt						
Number of officers temporarily promoted to Sgt						
Number of officers substantively promoted to Sgt						

FORCE NAME	1.4.15 to 31.3.16		1.4.16 to 31.3.17		1.4.17 to 31.3.18	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
INSP PROMOTION PROCESS						
Number of applicants to apply to sit national Insp exam						
Number of applicants to withdraw from national Insp exam						
Number of officers to pass national Insp exam						
Number of officers to apply for force promotion to Insp						
Number of officers to pass force selection for promotion to Insp						
Number of officers temporarily promoted to Insp						
Number of officers substantively promoted to Insp						

FORCE NAME	1.4.15 to 31.3.16		1.4.16 to 31.3.17		1.4.17 to 31.3.18	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
CH INSP TO CH SUPTS PROMOTION PROCESSES						
Number of applicants for promotion to Ch. Insp						
Number of officers temporarily promoted to Ch. Insp						
Number of officers substantively promoted to Ch Insp						
Number of applicants for promotion to Supt						
Number of officers temporarily promoted to Supt						
Number of officers substantively promoted to Supt						
Number of applicants for promotion to Ch.Supt						
Number of officers temporarily promoted to Ch.Supt						
Number of officers substantively promoted to Ch.Supt						

3) Please include number by gender of both internal and external applicants if your force held any promotions for ACC/DCC/CC posts in the named periods. (If more than one process in any one rank in the same year, please add results together for that one rank and supply one number to each question)

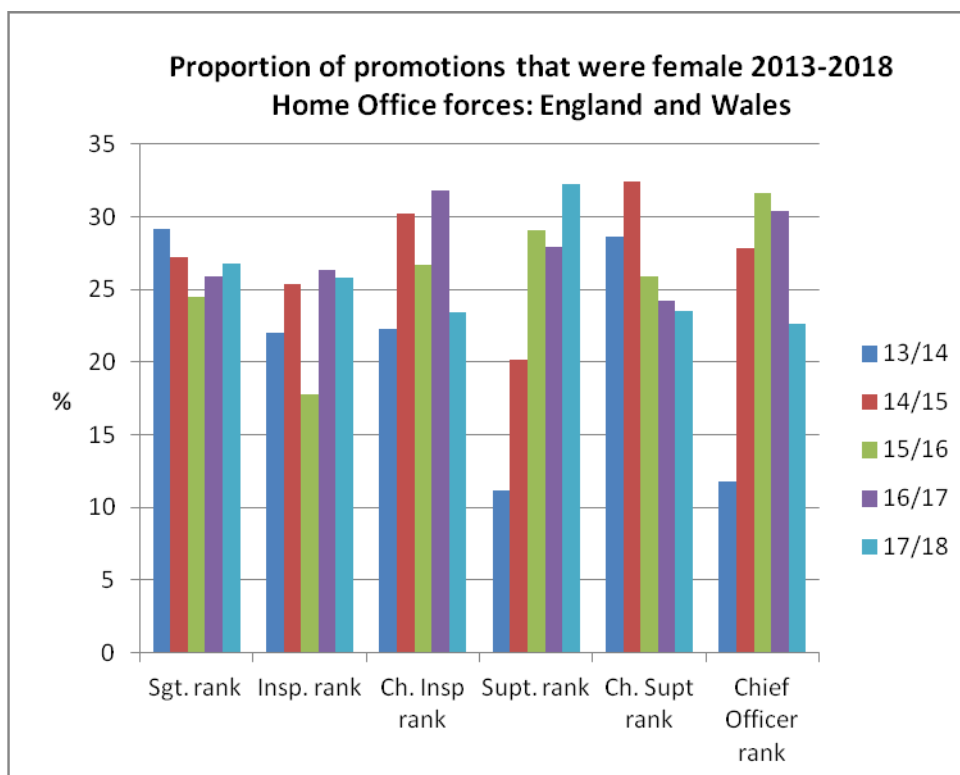
FORCE NAME	1.4.15 to 31.3.16		1.4.16 to 31.3.17		1.4.17 to 31.3.18	
CHIEF OFFICER PROMOTION PROCESSES	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Number of applicants for ACC posts						
Number of temporary ACC appointments commenced						
Number of new substantive ACC appointments commenced						
Number of applicants for DCC posts						
Number of temporary DCC appointments commenced						
Number of new substantive DCC appointments commenced						
Number of applicants for CC posts						
Number of temporary CC appointments commenced						
Number of new substantive CC appointments commenced						

4) Finally, I am interested in the gender of those serving in specific departments. If you are unable to supply in the format below, please supply in whatever format will allow me to understand the dedicated departments your force has, and the break-down of resources by gender please.

FORCE NAME	As at 01.04.18 (or if not possible to supply for that date, please give the most recent data available and provide date)	
	Male	Female
Number of regular officers on secondments outside of the force (all ranks)		
Number of officers in firearms posts (all ranks)		
Number of officers posted in dedicated traffic/roads policing units (all ranks)		
Number of officers in dedicated public protection units (all ranks)		
Number of officers in dedicated neighbourhood teams (all ranks)		
Number of officers in response teams (all ranks)		
Number of officers in serious & organised crime units (all ranks)		
Number of officers in Professional Standards Departments (all ranks)		
Number of officers in dedicated surveillance units(all ranks)		

Thank you very much for your time & assistance.

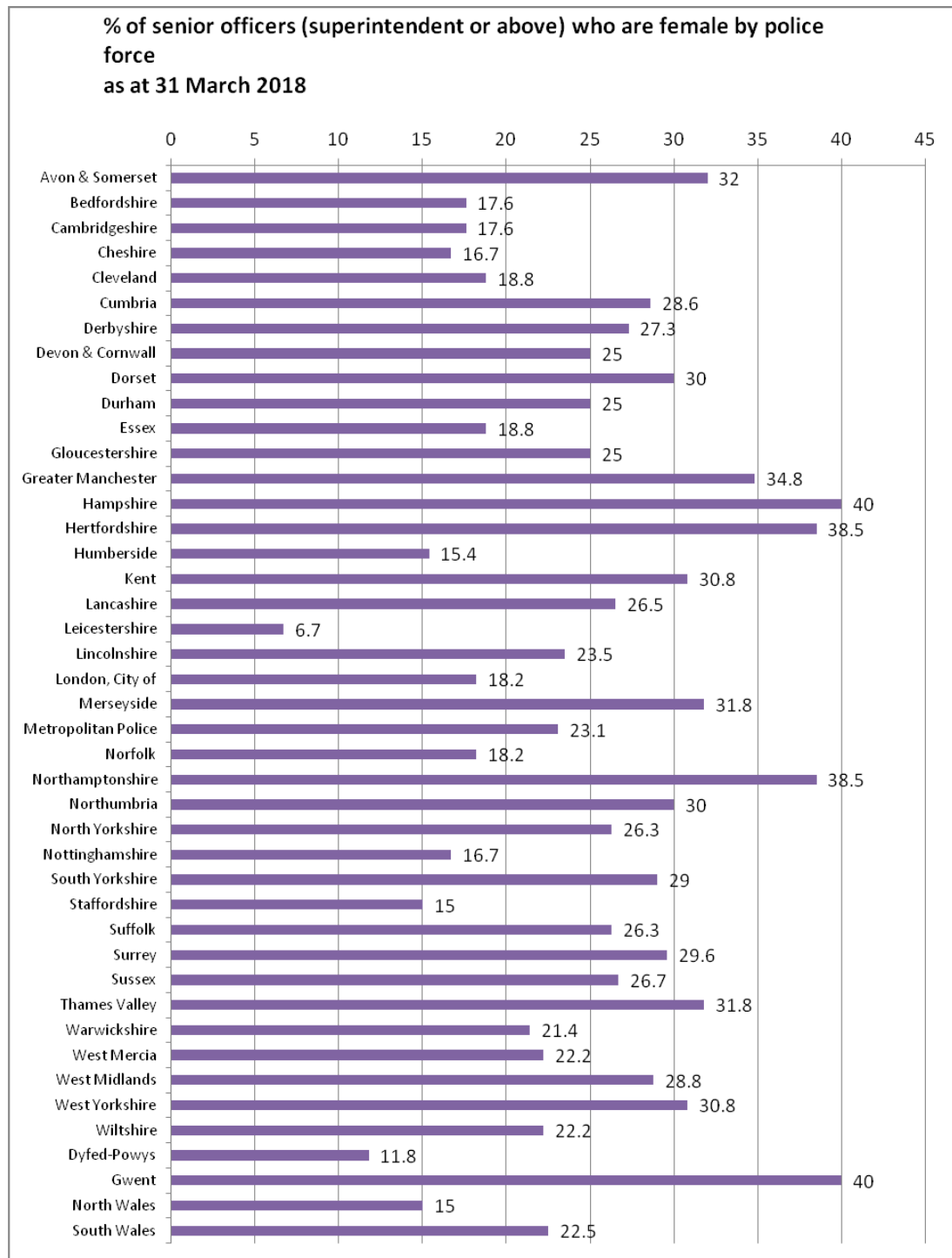
Appendix J: Proportion of female promotions 2013-2018



	13/14	14/15	15/16	16/17	17/18
Sgt. rank	29.2	27.2	24.5	25.9	26.8
Insp.rank	22	25.4	17.8	26.3	25.8
Ch. Insp rank	22.3	30.2	26.7	31.8	23.4
Supt. rank	11.2	20.2	29.1	27.9	32.3
Ch. Supt rank	28.6	32.4	25.9	24.2	23.5
Chief Officer rank	11.8	27.8	31.6	30.4	22.6

Source: Data compiled from Home Office (2018)

Appendix K: Proportion of senior officers who are female, 2018



Source: Data compiled from Home Office (2018)

Appendix L:

Recruit success rates through key stages 2015-2018						
Responses from 6 forces	1.4.15 to 31.3.16		1.4.16 to 31.3.17		1.4.17 to 31.3.18	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
No. of applicants for regular officer posts	1799	892	4938	2383	3655	1840
% of applications by gender	66.9%	33.0%	67.4%	32.5%	66.5%	33.5%
No. failing application	695	329	2713	1174	1523	712
% of each gender failing at application stage	38.6%	36.9%	54.9%	49.3%	41.7%	38.7%
No. failing assessment centre	179	64	416	187	335	153
% of each gender failing at assessment centre	16.2%	11.4%	18.7%	15.5%	15.7%	13.6%
Final number recruited	300	178	619	386	448	286
% of each gender recruited compared to initial applications	16.7%	20.0%	12.5%	16.2%	12.3%	15.5%
Proportion of final recruits	62.8%	37.2%	61.6%	38.4%	61.0%	39.0%

Appendix M: Application and pass rates for the qualifying examinations to Sergeant and Inspector 2015-2018

Application and pass rates for the qualifying examinations to Sgt						
Responses from 8 forces	1.4.15 to 31.3.16		1.4.16 to 31.3.17		1.4.17 to 31.3.18	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
No. of applicants	662	212	505	181	598	256
% of applications	75.7%	24.3%	73.6%	26.4%	70%	30%
% withdrawing prior to sitting exam	8.2%	17%	12.1%	12.2%	10.9%	12.9%
No. passing	222	63	189	61	204	89
% passing compared to no. sitting the exam	36.5%	35.8%	42.6%	38.4%	38.3%	39.9%
Proportion of passes	77.9%	22.1%	75.6%	24.4%	69.6%	30.4%
Application and pass rates for the qualifying examinations inspector						
	1.4.15 to 31.3.16 <i>data from 8 forces</i>		1.4.16 to 31.3.17 <i>data from 8 forces</i>		1.4.17 to 31.3.18 <i>data from 7 forces</i>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
No. of applicants	323	108	209	57	265	79
% of applications	74.9%	25.1%	78.6%	21.4%	77%	23.1%
% withdrawing prior to sitting exam	11.1%	12%	11.4%	14%	8.3%	16.5%
Number passing	131	44	85	26	89	35
% passing compared to no. sitting the exam	45.6%	46.3%	45.9%	53%	33.6%	44.3%
Proportion of passes	74.9%	25.1%	76.6%	23.4%	71.8%	28.2%

Appendix N: Force applications & pass rates for promotion from sergeant to chief superintendent 2015-2018

Force applications & pass rates for promotion to sergeant						
	1.4.15 to 31.3.16 <i>data from 6 forces</i>		1.4.16 to 31.3.17 <i>data from 11 forces</i>		1.4.17 to 31.3.18 <i>data from 11 forces</i>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Number of applicants	400	154	970	304	917	247
% of applications	72.2%	27.8%	76.1%	23.9%	78.8%	21.2%
Numbers promoted	166	63	304	117	363	115
% success rate	41.5%	41.7%	31.3%	38.5%	39.6%	46.6%
Proportion of promotions	72.5%	27.5%	72.2%	27.8%	75.9%	24.1%
Force applications & pass rates for promotion to inspector						
	1.4.15 to 31.3.16 <i>data from 4 forces</i>		1.4.16 to 31.3.17 <i>data from 4 forces</i>		1.4.17 to 31.3.18 <i>data from 4 forces</i>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Number of applicants	184	65	297	74	279	86
% of applications	73.9%	26.1%	80.1%	19.9%	76.4%	23.6%
Numbers promoted	76	20	113	28	33	18
% success rate	41.3%	30.8%	38%	37.8%	11.8%	20.9%
Proportion of promotions	79.2%	20.8%	80.1%	19.8%	64.7%	35.3%

Force applications & pass rates for promotion to chief inspector						
	1.4.15 to 31.3.16 <i>data from 6 forces</i>		1.4.16 to 31.3.17 <i>data from 8 forces</i>		1.4.17 to 31.3.18 <i>data from 8 forces</i>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
No. of applicants	94	18	168	52	120	32
% of applications	83.9%	16.1%	76.4%	23.6%	78.9%	21.1%
Numbers promoted	32	10	48	19	48	12
% success rate	34%	55.6%	28.6%	36.5%	40%	37.5%
Proportion of promotions	76.2%	23.8%	71.6%	28.4%	80%	20%
Force applications & pass rates for promotion to superintendent						
	1.4.15 to 31.3.16 <i>data from 6 forces</i>		1.4.16 to 31.3.17 <i>data from 6 forces</i>		1.4.17 to 31.3.18 <i>data from 6 forces</i>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
No. of applicants	101	18	87	46	45	27
% of applications	84.9%	15.1%	65.4%	34.6%	62.5%	37.5%
No. promoted	26	7	28	12	11	9
% success rate	25.7%	38.9%	32.2%	26.1%	24.4%	33.3%
Proportion of promotions	78.8%	21.2%	70%	30%	55%	45%

Force applications & pass rates for promotion to chief superintendent						
	1.4.15 to 31.3.16 <i>data from 3 forces</i>		1.4.16 to 31.3.17 <i>data from 5 forces</i>		1.4.17 to 31.3.18 <i>data from 6 forces</i>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
No. of applicants	16	3	24	10	23	11
% of applications	84.2%	15.8%	70.6%	29.4%	67.6%	32.4%
No. promoted	5	0	7	2	14	3
% success rate	31.1%	0%	29.2%	20%	60.9%	27.3%
Proportion of promotions	100%	0%	77.8%	22.2%	82.4%	17.6%

**Appendix O: Force applications & pass rates for promotion to
chief officer posts**

Force applications & pass rates for promotion to chief officer posts						
Responses (10 forces)	1.4.15 - 31.3.16		1.4.16 - 31.3.17		1.4.17 - 31.3.18	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
No. of applicants for promotion to ACC	0	0	8	5	9	2
% of applications	n/a	n/a	61.5%	38.5%	81.8%	18.2%
No. promoted to ACC	n/a	n/a	6	1	5	1
% success rate	n/a	n/a	75%	20%	55.6%	50%
% of promotions by gender for ACC	n/a	n/a	85.7%	14.3%	83.3%	16.7%
No. of applicants for promotion to DCC	7	1	3	0	18	5
% of applications	87.5%	12.5%	100%	0%	78.3%	21.7%
No. promoted to DCC	2	1	1	0	3	2
% success rate	28.6%	100%	33.3%	n/a	16.7%	40%
% of promotions by gender	66.7%	33.3%	100%	0%	60%	40%
No. of applicants for promotion to CC	6	0	3	0	3	0
% of applications	100%	n/a	100%	n/a	100%	n/a
No. promoted to CC	1	0	3	0	2	0
% success rate	16.7%	n/a	100%	n/a	66.7%	n/a
% of promotions	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%

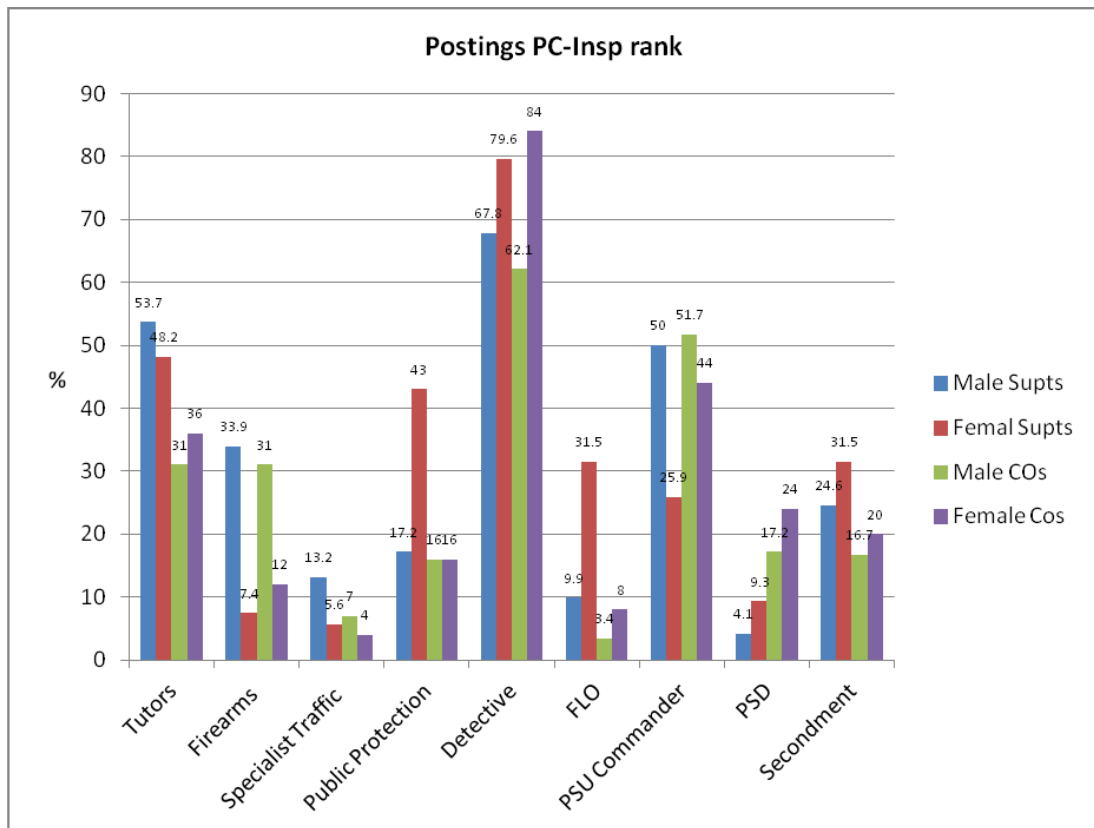
Appendix P: Senior officers' motivations for joining the police

Survey responses - primary motivation for joining: superintendent ranks							
	Females			Male			P<0.05
	Position	No	%	Position	No	%	
A desire to serve the public and help others	1st	35	64.8	1st	49	40.5	0.003
You thought the work would be interesting & varied	2nd	13	24.1	2nd	35	28.9	
You thought the work would be exciting	3rd	4	7.4	3rd	19	15.7	
Job security	=8th	0	0	4th	10	8.3	0.003
A concern for law and order	4th	3	5.6	5th	8	6.6	
You liked the thought of working in a team	5th	2	3.7	=6th	4	3.3	
The pension	=8th	0	0	=6th	4	3.3	
The pay	=6th	1	1.9	=8th	2	1.7	
Opportunities for promotion	=6th	1	1.9	=8th	2	1.7	

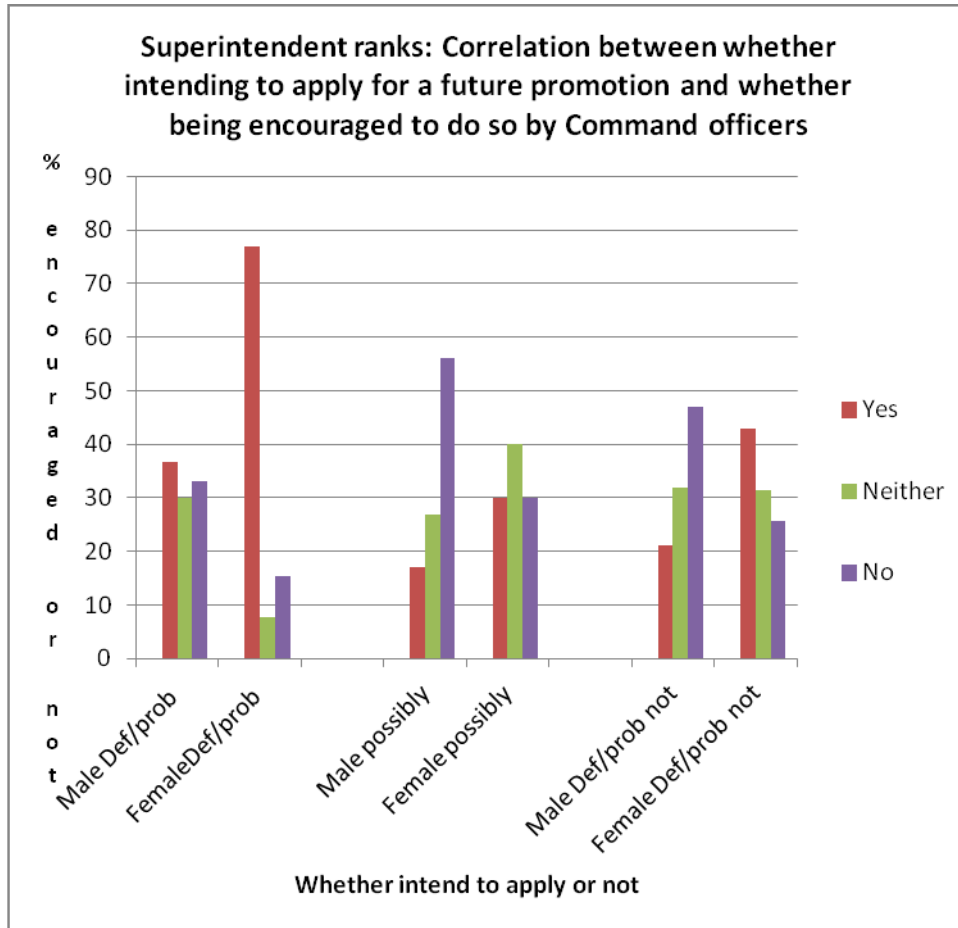
Primary motivation for joining: chief officer ranks							
	Females			Male			P<0.05
	Position	No	%	Position	No	%	
A desire to serve the public and help others	1st	18	72	1st	14	48.3	
You thought the work would be interesting & varied	2nd	5	20	2nd	9	31	
You thought the work would be exciting	3rd	3	12	3rd	6	20.7	
Job security	=4th	1	4	=4th	1	3.4	
A concern for law and order		0	0	=4th	1	3.4	
You liked the thought of working in a team		0	0		0	0	
The pension		0	0		0	0	
The pay		0	0		0	0	
Opportunities for promotion	=4th	1	4		0	0	

Not a motivation at all for joining: superintendent ranks					
	Females		Male		P<0.05
	No	%	No	%	
Job security	20	37	18	14.9	.002
A concern for law and order	2	3.7	30	24.8	.001
You liked the thought of working in a team	9	18	16.7	14.9	
The pension	25	46.3	29	24	.004
The pay	33	61.1	33	27.3	.000
Opportunities for promotion	21	38.9	32	26.4	
Not a motivation at all for joining: chief officer ranks					
	Females		Male		P<0.05
	No	%	No	%	
Job security	9	36	16	55.2	
A concern for law and order	3	12	0	0	
You liked the thought of working in a team	4	16	4	13.8	
The pension	8	32	18	62.1	0.033
The pay	8	32	11	37.9	
Opportunities for promotion	5	20	13	44.8	

Appendix Q: Postings PC to inspector ranks



Appendix R: Superintendent ranks – correlation between intention to apply for future promotion and command support



Appendix S: Strongest competencies

Strongest competency						
Superintendent ranks						
	Females			Male		
	Position	No	%	Position	No	%
I Take Ownership	1st	18	33.3	1st	43	35.5
I deliver, Support & Inspire	2nd	16	29.6	2nd	21	17.4
I am Emotionally Aware	3rd	12	22.2	3rd	20	16.5
Chief Officers						
	Females			Male		
	Position	No	%	Position	No	%
I am Emotionally Aware	1st	12	48	1st	10	34.5
I Take Ownership	2nd	6	24	3rd	5	17.2
I deliver, Support & Inspire	3rd	5	20	2nd	7	24.1

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