Literature Reviews about the Barriers to Recruiting a Diverse Police Workforce

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Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Executive Summary

The Crime and Justice Research Centre (CJRC) in collaboration with the Institute of Criminology has conducted to two literature reviews on the barriers to the recruitment into New Zealand Police of (i) women, (ii) Māori, Pacific and ethnic groups.

The purpose of the literature reviews was to provide a fuller picture of recruitment issues both in New Zealand and internationally, and initiatives that have been implemented to address and/or mitigate these barriers. The reviews are to help New Zealand Police to identify good or innovative practice that might inform local approaches to recruitment.

This literature was retrieved from a range of data sources including: existing collections (e.g., NZ Police Library and also that held by CJRC and the Institute of Criminology); academic databases of multidisciplinary journals (e.g., criminology, psychology, sociology and gender studies); and the internet (using google and google scholar, and searches of specific websites of government, professional and other organisations who produce criminological research). The review focused on literature from the past ten years, published academic research and government reports and policy documents.

Part I: Barriers to recruiting women

1 Setting the scene

Policing, from its inception, has often been conceived as an occupation more appropriate to men, with women traditionally viewed as unsuited to the highly physical and active tasks that are seen – rightly or wrongly – as the bedrock of policing work. With time, views of the position of women in policing have changed. The value they can add has been recognised. Changes have also been recognised in the nature of police work with workload studies indicating 80%-90% of police work as involves non-criminal or social work type tasks. But even in policing violent confrontations, women have been seen to be very effective. Women can draw on other strengths such as their communications skills to talk their way out of danger.

Today all formal barriers to women's employment and advancement in the Police have been removed. Women continue to constitute a minority within the service, and are seriously under-represented in the higher ranks. But there has been some improvement in New Zealand.

- The proportion of sworn female officers was just 2.4% in 1970 but was 16.7% in June 2007.
- Between June 2000 and June 2007, the relative increase in total numbers of officers has been greater for female (26%) compared to male (12%).
- New Zealand's position is rather less favourable than Australia where the percentage of female officers was 21% in 2003, and is even more unfavourable compared to the UK - where in 2007, 23% of officers were female. However, New Zealand appears to fare better than the US (13%).
- Female officers in New Zealand (and overseas) are under-represented at senior levels. In 2007 they accounted for just 6% of the sworn positions of senior sergeant or above. This is, however, an improvement, on earlier figures: it was 3% in mid-1999.
- The situation is different with non-sworn staff, 66% of whom are women.

- The proportion of female officers graduating from the Royal New Zealand Police College (RNZPC) has fluctuated over the last seven years ranging from 19% in 2003 to a high in 2004 of 28%.
- Female officers have traditionally left the service at greater rate than male officers, although this trend has been reversed in the last two years.

2 Views of Policing as a career option

New Zealand research

There is some local research on what people feel about a career in policing, although analysis by gender is somewhat limited. Rated highly are: job security, helping people and 'making a difference', career possibilities, and the challenging nature of the work. There is some evidence that women are more motivated by the following factors (all of which could be emphasised in recruitment campaigns):

- the opportunity to make a social contribution (particularly for Māori women);
- the financial rewards of Policing compared to other 'helping' professions;
- the job as a personal challenge, with opportunities for career development; and
- the variety within police work, including the sometimes physically challenging nature of the work.

There is some evidence that barriers for women are:

- the need for the residential training,
- shift work,
- the health and fitness test requirements.

Key drivers for moving forward with an application were:

- the influence of other police officers, and personal experience with Police – suggesting that profiles of women officers successfully carrying out their duties would be helpful in recruitment campaigns.
- supportive family and friends.

Overseas research

Research overseas finds that the motivators for a career in Policing do not differ greatly for men and women, and the nature of these is much the same as in New Zealand. Playing a 'helping' role is also confirmed as rather more important for women.

3 Barriers to recruitment

Barriers to the recruitment of women are discussed under five headings. We note that many barriers to recruitment were also barriers to retaining women police officers.

3.1 Minority status

The fact that women sworn officers are a visible minority communicates a sense of policing still being a predominantly male occupation. The 'minority effect' is perpetuated by the small number of women in high ranks. This seems in part due to higher rates of attrition for women that shortens average length of service – an important factor in promotion. In contrast, women dominate non-sworn positions, filling two-thirds of them. Combined, this gives the impression that if women 'belong' in policing, it is in lower ranks and in non-sworn positions, which does little to attract women.

We identified three factors from the literature that stem from minority status, which will influence recruitment and retention:

- **Feelings of isolation** – with women seldom working closely with female colleagues, and feeling apart from the informal male police culture. A sense of isolation can be exacerbated if women feel they are less valued within the organisation.
- **Marginalisation** - women may feel they receive more scrutiny than their male counterparts, and mistakes are excused less. Such perceptions can affect job satisfaction.
- **Lack of role models** – because few women reach higher ranks, there is a lack of role models or mentors to support and encourage women officers.

3.2 Police organisational culture

Research strongly suggests that women are reluctant to pursue a police career because they believe they will encounter sexism. Whether these beliefs are justified is less important than their impact on those considering career choices.

The literature identified the nature of the masculinist culture in the Police, noting that it is essentially shaped by 'straight, white males'. While there has been improvement, particularly in terms of equal employment legislation, according to many commentators a masculinist culture remains. We looked at a number of ways in which research has shown this male police culture is acquired and sustained. They were:

- **Police training** – in which a 'hidden' message is communicated to women that they are inferior for the job, belittling achievements of women and an emphasis on masculine qualities, such as physical strength, as essential prerequisites for police work.
- **Police canteen culture** – in which 'bloke-ish' behaviour and conversation prevails.

Research shows that women can threaten the masculinist culture by challenging its legitimacy and exclusiveness. It may be a big hurdle for women to overcome, and changes will need to be real rather than cosmetic. Some difficulties of the masculinist culture for women identified in research are:

- **Women have to be twice as good to get half as much recognition**. This places undue pressure on women, and signals to those contemplating entry that the odds may be stacked against them.
- **To fit in and get on, women have to be 'one of the boys'**. A major difficulty for women is treading a fine line between over-identification with the values of the male culture, and ostracism from it. 'Fitting in with the boys', and getting promotion, can mean getting inside the informal networks of male police culture, and disenfranchisement from fellow colleagues.

3.3 Discrimination and harassment

Research distinguishes between structural and direct discrimination, which can reinforce each other. The main forms of structural discrimination identified in research are:

- **Differential deployment** - with women offered fewer and narrower opportunities. The thrust has been to assign women to more 'feminine' roles, often of lower status.
- **Limited promotional opportunities**.

The main forms of direct discrimination are:

- **Deliberate obstruction** such that women are 'set up' by their colleagues, refused back-up in potentially dangerous situations, exposed to efforts to 'persuade' them out of policing, and not supporting female networking.
- **Harassment** of a general kind, for instance putting women in 'their place'.
- **Sexual harassment**. There is strong research testimony in New Zealand and other countries. There is also research evidence of insufficient institutional back up in the case of sexual harassment allegations.

3.4 Family and childcare commitments

Several features of policing make it difficult for women to balance work and family life. These will influence decisions to join the Police, whether to remain in the job, and career progression. The features include:

- The 19-week **residential training period** in New Zealand, with only one location available.
- **Varying hours** can create difficulties with childcare, and make maintaining relationships difficult. Shift work is a significant factor in women's decisions not to apply for policing.
- **Perception of flexible work options**, if these options are taken, they can impede promotion, restrict specialist assignments, and make women feel that they are perceived as less committed.
- **Treatment of officers who are pregnant** – lack of flexibility in polices.
- **Impact of maternity leave** – which can leave women disadvantaged.
- **Ability to be mobile** improves promotion prospects by increasing experience, but may be more difficult for women with families.

3.5 Physical skills emphasis

Physical entry requirements have been identified as dissuading women from applying to join the Police in both New Zealand and countries abroad. The image of 'macho' crime-fighting can also be a deterrent.

Higher failure rates for women in the physical tests have also been identified in several countries, stopping women who want to join the Police from doing so.

There is lack of clear evidence, however, that strength or fitness predicts job performance or affects the safety of officers. Rather, many have suggested that an emphasis on communication

skills over physical fitness would better reflect competencies required for the job. This would work to the advantage of women.

Moreover, the relevance of the physical ability of women to deal with certain elements of policing has been challenged by research documenting the real nature of policing tasks – a very large proportion of which involve non-criminal or service functions.

4 Responses

New Zealand Police has introduced a range of mitigation strategies to overcome the barriers to recruiting more women. These responses were reviewed, and compared to overseas approaches.

4.1 Policing policy responses

NZ Police have instituted a number of deliberate policy initiatives to improve the position of women in the service. Some aim directly to increase recruitment; some aim to improve working conditions, and thus retention. Those we identified are included together with other key documents:

- Policing with confidence: the Strategic Plan 2010.
- Statement of Intent 2007/2008.
- Human Resources strategy documents – in particular, *People in Policing: a five-year HR Strategy to 2006* and the *HR Initiative Brief*.
- District Equity and Diversity – Strategic Plan 2007
- Action Plan of the Commissioners' Australasian Women in Policing Advisory Committee
- The Women in Policing Plan
- The EEO policies including the *Flexible Employment Option policy* and the *Sexual Harassment policy*.

All the policy documents evidence a deliberate policy commitment to improving the representation and position of women in NZ Police. The increase in the proportion of sworn officers who are women and the small increase in women in higher ranks may be a result of this policy commitment, though other responses may also play a part.

<u>Overseas policy responses and initiatives</u>

It was beyond the scope of the literature review to describe all overseas Policing policy responses to the recruitment of women, but we noted some that appear to have had a significant impact. These are:

- **Affirmative action polices** in the US and Canada are reported to have dramatically improved the number of women officers employed, although they seem not to have continuing beneficial effect after they are removed. Those hired under affirmative action policies can also be exposed to discrimination and harassment.
- **A Gender Agenda** developed by the British Association of Women in Policing, which is said to have resulted in the percentage of women employed in the Police in five years to have risen to 22% from 16% in 2001.

- **The 'New Workplace Project' (US)** – a national demonstration project funded by the US Department of Labour, which is said to have increased female recruits from 10% to 25% within two years in one Police Department, and from 10% to 29% in another.

4.2 Increased consultation with and representation by women

The opportunities for the views of women to be heard in NZ Police have increased over the years through the development and support of a several networks, associations, and representatives. Those were identified included:

- The Women in Policing Network.
- The Commissioners' Australasian Women in Policing Advisory Committee.
- The Police Federation of Australia Women's Advisory Committee.
- National Equity and Diversity Office, EEO and Diversity Liaison Officers.

The underlying thrust of the work of these networks, association and representatives appears to be to change organisational culture in ways that will make the Police a more attractive career option for women. Clearly, though, for these networks and groups to succeed, there must be commitment and support for them at all management levels.

4.3 Flexible working practices

NZ Police seem aware of the challenges faced by women in balancing commitments to work and family. One of the two most important initiatives is participation in the Work / Life Balance Project. NZ Police have taken part in this project (run by the Department of Labour) since 2005. It has particular relevance for women with children.

The second most important initiative is the Flexible Employment Option (FEO). This has particular implications for recruiting 'rejoiners' (women who rejoin the service after maternity leave), but also impacts on the retention of women officers. It enables sworn officers to work a reduced number of hours per rostered fortnight. Salary, annual leave, and sick leave are calculated on a pro rata basis. Staff retain all benefits.

Research has found that the FEO is much appreciated by many who access it, and many would otherwise have left NZ Police. However, the FEO is not widely used, and seems to carry career costs - with none of those surveyed in one study gaining promotion while working part-time.

Overseas

- In line with the NZ evidence, a study in the UK found that forces that introduced part-time working had attracted more women 'rejoiners' than other forces. Part-time work was also seen as effective for retention. In the UK, women felt control over hours was more important than reduction in hours. As in NZ, there was negative impact on career development.
- A childcare voucher scheme in the Greater Manchester Police is claimed to have increased recruitment and reduced the number of people leaving the force because of childcare issues.
- In New South Wales, modifying the format of entry training so some could be done through distance learning seems successful.

4.4 Leadership programmes

NZ Police have attempted to address low representation of women officers at higher ranks through leadership and development programmes designed specifically for women (sworn and non-sworn). In 2006/07, there were nine programmes involving 135 staff. We know of no evaluation of career progression for those who have taken part.

4.5 Modifying the selection criteria

Over the years, NZ Police have reviewed physical fitness criteria on account of concerns over potential discrimination because of gender and age. The current form of the PAT and PCT dates from 1993, with a revision to the PAT test in 2006 to reflect gender differences better. A recent review of the two tests found them reliable and valid for testing fitness, but noted that it was unclear whether they were appropriate in terms of current performance requirements.

4.6 Recruitment and marketing campaigns

The recruitment of a sufficient number of high quality police officers is an ongoing issue for NZ Police in the current climate of low unemployment and job competition. The service has invested time and resources to developing effective recruitment strategies, including those for women. Some recent initiatives are:

- using media that appeals to and is used by female audiences;
- creating a strong presence at events that enjoy a high female patronage; and
- ensuring that the creative concepts in advertising appeal to the female audience.

The recent NZ Police Public Confidence and Satisfaction Survey evaluated the effectiveness of a range of NZ Police advertising media and found it had been successful in making seven out of ten members of the public aware that NZ Police were recruiting for new officers. It was slightly less effective in prompting females (9%) compared to males (18%) to actually think about a career in the police, although, the advertising had made a career in the police more appealing for 41% of females. Positive impacts of advertising were also reported in the *HR Initiative Brief* evidenced by a substantial increase in calls to the 0800 NEWCOPS phone line in the month following a media launch in November 2006. Calls by women were said to make up half of those made by men.

<u>Overseas</u>

In the US, the National Centre for Women in Policing has made available an extensive range of recruitment and marketing strategies that are described as 'best practice'. The body of our report gives full details.

4.7 Research and evaluation

Some research has been commissioned or carried out internally on recruitment and retention issues, a good example being the Hyman (2000) study on women in the Criminal Investigation Branch, the findings of which have wider applicability.

There have also been useful surveys of public perceptions of a career in the Police, and the perceptions of potential recruits. It may be useful to update these surveys and conduct further research on:

- Police recruits in training;
- what high school and university students feel about a career in policing; and
- women officers who leave the service.

NZ Police appears to be regularly monitoring gender statistics, and reporting some in their *Annual Reports*. Useful areas to monitor would be:

- the use of the FEO;
- rates of failure by gender for PAT / PCT and other entry criteria;
- the representation of women in different sections of the police (e.g., specialist squads); and
- rates of attrition and average years of service, by gender

Part II: Barriers to recruiting Māori and ethnic minorities

1 Setting the scene

- The principle that the police service ought to mirror the ethnic profile of the wider population is long-established and has been particularly salient in many liberal democratic societies since the 1960s.
- There is missing information on the ethnicity of some NZ Police staff, especially non-sworn staff. It is hard to know which ethnic groups are most likely not to record their ethnicity, and how this might affect the 'real' proportions.
- The ethnic profile of sworn staff in 2007 suggests that Māori are somewhat under-represented relative to population share (all ages), and would be more so if the base was the working age population. The under-representation of Pacific peoples and Asians is more pronounced.
- Although below established targets, the proportion of Asian and Pacific officers has risen slightly since 2004, during which period the proportion of Māori staff has fallen slightly.
- Ethnic minorities feature in roughly the same proportion in non-sworn staff as in sworn staff.
- The proportion of Māori graduates for the Police College is higher than in 2000/1, but has fallen slightly over the last two years. The proportion of Asian and Pacific graduates from the Police College has increased more since 2000/01, but the proportion is still small.

2 Views of policing as a career option

Young people from Māori and ethnic minorities deciding whether to enter the Police service will be influenced by dominant ethnic attitudes as well as their own career aspirations. The literature does not unravel their respective influence, which might interrelate anyway. What the literature does suggest, though, is three things:

- Having got to the point of considering the Police as a career, ethnic minorities have largely the same views as others. Pay and pensions, conditions of employment, enhancing skills, and opportunities for excitement dominate. Risks of physical injury are a negative.

- Those from Māori and ethnic minorities entering the Police are likely to see themselves as able to help their own communities, and act as 'agents of change', especially when this is against a backcloth of hostile relationships.
- Ethnic minority communities are themselves internally differentiated, which suggests that a singular recruitment strategy is unlikely to be effective.

3 Barriers to recruitment

The literature identifies the following main barriers to recruitment for Māori and ethnic minorities:

- Relative to others, ethnic minorities have little knowledge of policing and tend not to have personal contacts with the police through family or friends. This reduces 'word of mouth' opportunities to recruit through informal networks.
- While language barriers are faced by some minority groups there is some evidence that there is a lack of knowledge of support available to help potential recruits meet the relevant standards.
- Physical requirements are less of a barrier to Māori and ethnic minorities than female applicants, but swimming tests may be an issue for Asians.
- Cultural bias in recruitment processes and training programmes have created barriers to ethnic minority applicants in New Zealand. Providing facilities for religious practices for example, would not be detrimental to the effectiveness of training, but the absence of such considerations can act as a barrier.
- The evidence is mixed in terms of racism and police culture, both in terms of its extent and impact. Some studies have suggested that ethnic minorities do not perceive a problem of racism in NZ Police, although there is some evidence that officers report having experienced racism in the workplace.

4 Responses

A number of mitigation strategies have been adopted in New Zealand.

- NZ Police have developed advertising and recruitment campaigns aimed at particular ethnic minority communities. These have included adverts and promotional pieces in specialist publications and recruitment seminars for ethnic minority applicants. NZ Police have been cited by the Australian National Police Ethnic Advisory Bureau as an example of good practice for its monitoring of applications generated by recruitment campaigns.
- Entry standards have been reviewed in relation to physical and other requirements and for cultural biases. While these standards have been found to be robust and largely appropriate to operational requirements, research suggested they were no guarantees they are always applied consistently.
- NZ Police have developed strategies to support applicants through the process of joining the police. Advice on language skills and physical fitness development has also been provided in an effort to improve the recruitment of ethnic minority staff.
- Recruitment targets have been established in New Zealand, as in other jurisdictions, but have not been met by NZ Police, as is similar in other countries. In Britain, critics have argued that such policies have encouraged the pursuit of narrow targets rather than more fundamental reforms, and may have led to the recruitment of unsuitable candidates.

- NZ Police have developed support networks and appointed ethnic liaison officers in an effort to recruit ethnic minority staff and to promote diversity. Role models have similarly been identified in NZ Police, and in Australia, as a method of recruiting more ethnic minorities although in Britain concerns have been expressed that this places additional responsibilities on ethnic minority staff and might be tokenistic.
- The literature suggests that Police culture, conceived in broad terms, needs to be addressed to enhance the recruitment of Māori and ethnic minority staff. Tackling racist behaviour is a necessary but insufficient step and wider problems of a singular white police culture need to be addressed to provide for more effective policing for diverse communities.

Overseas

By and large, most strategies that have been developed internationally have been considered and applied in the New Zealand context. However

- Whole-of-policing approaches have been encouraged in Britain and Australia such that diversity is embedded throughout police services and 'cultural competence' becomes a significant factor in the recruitment of ethnic minority staff.
- Police services in other jurisdictions have changed uniform requirements to allow minorities to dress in ways consistent with their ethnic, cultural and religious practices.
- Quotas have been used in the USA, and in a limited context, in Northern Ireland, but have been rejected in many societies as counter-productive.

Research and evaluation

We felt that innovative good practice developed by NZ Police could be further supported by more substantial and systematic research and evaluation of personnel and recruitment processes.

- It appears ethnic monitoring in NZ Police is less developed than in comparable countries (e.g., UK). Although, it is clear that NZ Police do conform to the standards and processes that apply in public sector more generally, data relating to the ethnicity of police staff is incomplete. This means the analysis that can be done by ethnicity is limited, restricting the level of understanding that can be achieved.
- Little is known of the experiences of Māori and ethnic minority staff in NZ Police. In other countries understanding of diversity in the service has been enhanced by gathering information relating to career progression, 'exit interviews' with staff leaving the service, and cultural audits. While it is clear that some elements of these activities are apparent in NZ Police (e.g., exit interviews), there was a lack of information available relating to these themes.

Introduction

This report responds to a request by New Zealand Police to produce two literature reviews on the barriers to the recruitment into New Zealand Police of (i) women, (ii) Māori, Pacific and ethnic groups. It has been prepared by the Crime and Justice Research Centre (CJRC) in collaboration with the Institute of Criminology.

The purpose of the literature reviews is to provide a fuller picture from the literature of recruitment issues both in New Zealand and internationally, and initiatives that have been implemented to address and/or mitigate these barriers. The reviews are to help New Zealand Police to identify good or innovative practice that might inform local approaches to recruitment. In particular, NZ Police are interested in identifying:

- The most effective strategies to encourage people to join the Police.
- Ways in which NZ Police can encourage growth in diversity without compromising standards.
- The barriers to recruitment, and ways to remove them.

We were able to locate international and New Zealand literature on the barriers to recruitment of women and ethnic minorities into the police and the issues that these groups faced. There was a reasonable amount of international literature on initiatives taken to overcome these barriers. The equivalent New Zealand literature was difficult to locate, with the New Zealand Police annual reports being the best source of published information. There is little coverage in either the international or New Zealand literature of the effectiveness of various initiatives. Details of the sources of literature and search methodology can be found in Appendix A.

The agreed focus of the literature reviews is on barriers to recruitment rather than how to retain staff once they are recruited. However, there is much overlap between the two issues, and retention is important insofar as the impact of any increases in recruitment will be offset by retention problems.

It can be noted that barriers to recruitment operate on two fronts. The first of these are the barriers that operate to stop women and Māori and ethnic minorities from considering applying to join the Police at all. The second are the barriers which dissuade those who are interested in a career with the Police from proceeding with an application (such as physical strength criteria). The reviews reported here relate to both sets of barriers.

Terminology

The second literature view concerns Māori, Pacific and other ethnic groups. For simplicity, we refer to these collectively as 'Māori and ethnic minorities'. New Zealand Police is abbreviated to NZ Police in both reviews.

Background

Recruiting an additional 1,000 sworn officers was part of an election promise made by the current government on election in 2005 as part of a Confidence and Supply agreement reached between Labour and New Zealand First (NZ Police, 2007a). Increasing the number of sworn staff will decrease the workload of individual staff, allowing them to be more focused, effective

and supportive. In turn this will improve crime prevention and resolution rates, and enhance public perceptions of safety (NZ Police, 2007a). As such, increasing the recruitment of sworn staff contributes towards NZ Police's strategic priorities of community reassurance, policing with confidence and organisational development (NZ Police, 2007a).

In addition to increasing the overall numbers of sworn police officers, another priority goal for NZ Police is to achieve equity and diversity in their workforce.[1] Clear goals have been set to increase the representation of women, Māori and ethnic minorities among sworn staff. This was also a recommendation of the recent *Commission of Enquiry into Police Conduct* conducted by Margaret Bazley (March 2007) to enhance the effective and impartial investigation of complaints alleging sexual assault by officers, and promote a diverse organisational culture that reflects the community it serves.

Achieving an equitable and diverse Police service is not a new goal for NZ Police, and as will be seen in the reviews that follow, there has already been concerted effort over the years to implement a number strategies to achieve such a workforce. As a result, there has been a slow but steady improvement in the representation of women, Māori and ethnic minorities. However, challenges to recruitment still remain.

One challenge is that over the next two decades, the New Zealand population will become younger and increasingly ethnically diverse, especially in Auckland (NZ Police, 2006a). To be responsive to this, NZ Police have set targets for new recruits (NZ Police, 2007a).[2] Table 1 shows these targets, along with most recent figures for recruits (those graduating) and the current proportion of sworn staff that were in the NZ Police service (as of October 2007).

Table I.1 Targets and position in October 2007

	Recruitment targets	Graduates from Police training 2006/07	Sworn staff in post in October 2007[3]
Women	35-45%	23.0%	16.7%
Māori	20-23%	20.7%	10.6%
Pacific peoples	15-15%	7.2%	3.9%
Asian	5-10%	3.6%	1.3%

Source: NZ Police's 2006 Annual Report and data supplied by NZ Police, 18 December 2007. Note 06\07 figures for graduates are estimates.

Another challenge to recruitment in New Zealand is a very low level of current unemployment and hence a small pool of available labour. Competition in attracting quality employees is high, with often increasingly high rates of pay that are difficult for NZ Police to match.

1 The commitment to these goals are evident in the NZ Police's *Annual Report 2006/2007* as well as a number of other documents (e.g., *Policing with Confidence the Strategic Plan to 2010*, *District Equity and Diversity – Strategic Plan 2007, 2003 Maori Responsiveness Strategy*, and the 2004 *Police Ethnic Strategy*).

2 Other targets are that 50-60% of recruits are from Auckland, 70% are under 30 years old and 25-35% are under 25 years old.

3 The figures for ethnicity are based on tables published in NZ Police 2006/2007 Annual Report, (NZ Police, 2007: 99). Staff are given the option of recording up to two ethnic groups. If a staff member has chosen to do this they are counted in both groups, hence total numbers for ethnicity are higher than for staff in total. There were 826 officers who did not specify their ethnicity, these were excluded when calculating percentages. This resulted in a base of 7,917 sworn officers.

Structure of report

This report is divided into two parts. Part I is a literature review on recruitment issues for women. Part II is a review of recruitment issues specific to ethnic minority groups, Māori, and Pacific peoples. Parts I and II are both divided up into four main sections:

a. **Setting the scene** – a brief coverage of the historical context of diversity issues in the police service. This is followed by a presentation of the trends and current status of women (Part I) and Māori and ethnic minorities (Part II) in the NZ Police. Where appropriate, the situation is contrasted with that overseas.

b. **Views of the Police as a career option** – available literature on how the Police is viewed as a career option in New Zealand and internationally by women (Part I) and Māori and ethnic minorities (Part II).

c. **Barriers to recruitment** – what is known about barriers and challenges to recruiting women (Part I) and Māori and ethnic minorities (Part II) into NZ Police. New Zealand and international literature are combined as many of the barriers are common across countries.

d. **Responses** – a review of the responses to recruitment barriers and initiatives put in place to address these barriers and the success (or otherwise) of these initiatives. There is discussion of strategies previously adopted in New Zealand, before reviewing what has been done overseas.

Part I: Literature Review on Barriers to Recruiting Women into the Police

Part I of this report reviews the literature on the barriers to recruiting women into the Police, together with the strategies that have been adopted in New Zealand and internationally to overcome these barriers. The literature has been divided into four main sections:

a. **Setting the scene** – a brief coverage of the historical context of women in the police service, followed by a presentation of the trends and current status of women in the NZ Police and overseas.

b. **Views of the Police as a career option** – available literature on how the Police is viewed as a career option by women in New Zealand and internationally.

c. **Barriers to recruitment** – what is known about barriers and challenges to recruiting women into the NZ Police. New Zealand and international literature are combined as many of the barriers to recruiting women are common across countries (e.g., balancing family and work commitments).

d. **Responses** – a review of the responses to recruitment barriers and strategies adopted to increase the representation of women in the Police, and the success (or otherwise) of these initiatives. Strategies implemented in New Zealand are reviewed first, followed by additional initiatives tried overseas.

1 Setting the scene

1.1 Historical backdrop

Women and policing

Modern policing, from its inception, has often been conceived as an occupation more appropriate to men, with women traditionally viewed as unsuited to the highly physical and active tasks that are seen – rightly or wrongly – as the bedrock of policing work.

> *Women do not possess the necessary masculine traits of rationality, aggressiveness, bravery, objectivity, suspicion, and brutality required of good cops to fight crime and apprehend the enemy* (Miller, 1999). *These cultural definitions of femininity have led to claims that women are inherently not competent to perform the police function.* (Garcia, 2003: 337).

The first shift in attitudes occurred towards the end of the 19th century, with a growing sense in Europe and North America that women officers might be needed to interact with women and children in their capacity as offenders or victims. The idea was that women would not 'police' as such, but perform more social work tasks - reflected in the appointment of police matrons. 'Women's work' was to deal with drunk and wayward women, and lost or errant children – hopefully without 'good women' being contaminated or demoralised through contact with prostitutes and vagrants.

In the USA, the first sworn policewoman with the power of arrest was appointed in 1910. The role was clearly delineated, as evidenced in this article from 1914:

> *The institution of policewomen is not intended to displace that of policemen in any way. Their work is merely supplementary. The policewoman has the same authority as the policeman; she can arrest people; but it is not her business to drag drunkards to the police station, to trap a burglar, or direct traffic. That is a man's work. The woman's work is chiefly preventive. She must prevent people from breaking the law, rather than catch them.* (Darwin, 1914: 1371, cited in Hale & Bennett, 1995: 43)

The appointment of women was thus designed in part to enable men to perform the tasks of 'real' policing. Women came to be accepted in a limited role, staying in an adjunct capacity that would not threaten men's careers and promotions prospects. This arrangement resulted in a rigid gender division within policing, with dominant images emerging of women as the caring social workers, and men as the hardened crime fighters.

With time, views have changed as to the position of women in policing, and the value they add to it. For instance, research has dented the notion that women perform less well on patrol work, or on tasks requiring physical competence (e.g., Balkin, 1988; Garcia, 2003; van Wormer, 1980). Indeed, in policing violent confrontations, women have been seen to be very effective. Women can draw on other strengths such as their communications skills to talk their way out of danger (van Wormer, 1980).

The reality of modern day police work also works against the notion that men are by nature more suited to the tasks in hand. Workload studies show a great number of policing tasks fall into the 'social work' category, and a great number are administrative (Garcia, 2003; Lonsway, 2003a). Fighting crime at the sharp end (in fast cars, by jumping walls, or wielding batons) comes someway down the list. This has made it more difficult for Police managers to justify the exclusion of women from policing on the grounds that it is heavy, physical, dangerous, tough 'men's work'.

<u>New Zealand developments</u>

Changing views were apparent in New Zealand also, although they occurred slightly later. By 1914, when women's groups in NZ began lobbying for the introduction of sworn policewomen, most American cities and many European countries were already employing them. In 1916 there was an attempt by the Police Commissioner, John O'Donovan, to find out the opinions of various inspectors on the issue of employing women as sworn officers. The resistance of the male officers was strong (Redshaw, 2006: 28-29)

> *Women police would be of no service here.*
>
> *There will be great difficulty in getting young suitable women for the position...[They would need] good physique, fair education and intelligence.*
>
> *The greatest difficulty we have in training the men is to teach them to control their tongue, how long would it take to train a woman I do not know.*

The notion of employing women was rejected at that time, and it was not until 1941 that the first ten policewomen were appointed in New Zealand. Initially, the women employed had to be unmarried or widowed, aged 25-40. Technically, these first sworn policewomen were

invested with the same powers as the men, but the reality of their situation was somewhat different. For example, until 1946, they were employed only as temporary constables; they were not issued with uniforms until 1952; they were paid less than men (until 1969); and still dealt primarily with women and children.

Today all the formal barriers to women's employment and advancement in the Police have been removed. Nevertheless, women continue to constitute a minority within the service, and are seriously under-represented in the higher ranks, as will be seen. For instance:

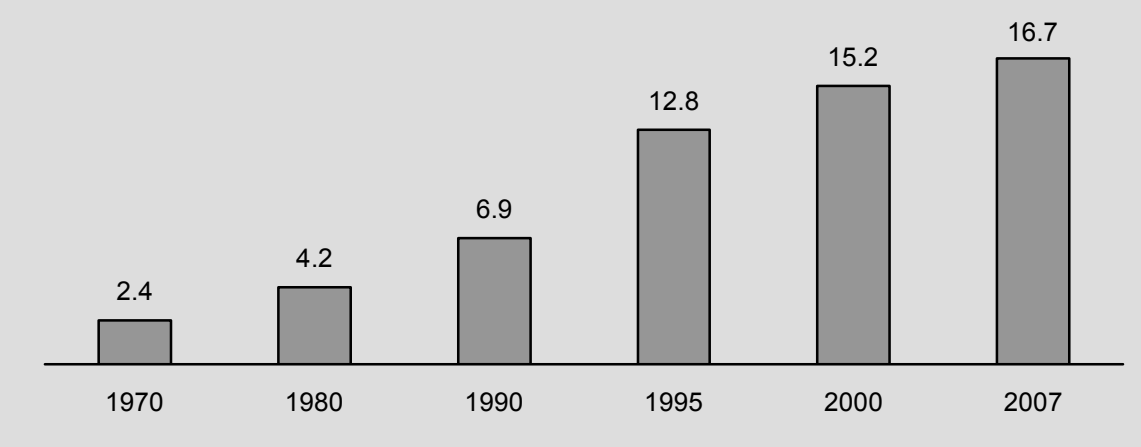
- The first woman superintendent was not appointed in New Zealand until 1999.
- The first woman appointed as inspector was in 1966.
- The first woman appointed as chief inspector was in 1985.

1.2 Current status

Sworn officers

In terms of female sworn officers, there has been progress since 1970 (see Figure I.1), although relative to their population share, women are still heavily under-represented. The rate of progress appears to have been greatest between 1990 and 1995.

Figure I.1 Percent of sworn officers who are women in NZ Police (1970-2007)



Source: Figures for 1970, 1980, 1990, 1995 from Hyman (2000). Figures for 2000 and 2007 from NZ Police *Annual Reports*. Full-time equivalency may differ over the years.

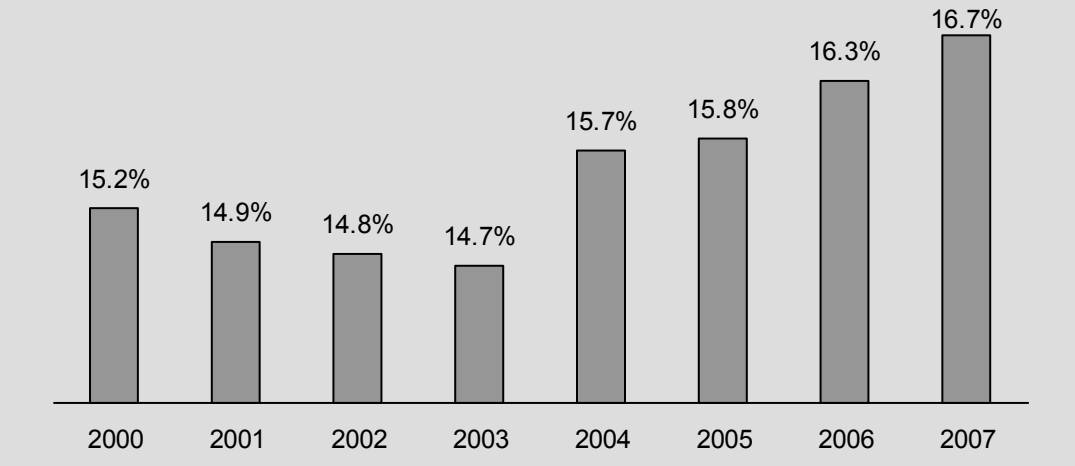
Figure I.2 below provides a more detailed look at the proportion of female sworn officers over the last eight years (based on mid-year figures). After a declining proportion until 2003, the last four years have seen improved figures. In terms of officer numbers, there has been an increase of 26% for female officers between June 2000 and June 2007, as against a figure of 12% for men.

The 16.7% of women in sworn ranks in New Zealand is rather less favourable than in New South Wales for instance - where 26% of officers were female in 2005 (Ronalds, 2006). The percentage of female officers across Australia as a whole was 21% in 2003 (Boni, 2005).[4] The

4 In terms of sworn and unsworn staff, 31% were female in Australia in 2006-2007, compared to 29% in New Zealand (Productivity Commission, 2008).

New Zealand figures are even more unfavourable compared to the UK - where 23% of officers were female in 2007 (Bulloch & Gunning, 2007). However, from available statistics, New Zealand fares better than the US. The most recent figures are for 2001, indicating that just 12.7% of officers were female (Roberg et al., 2005).[5]

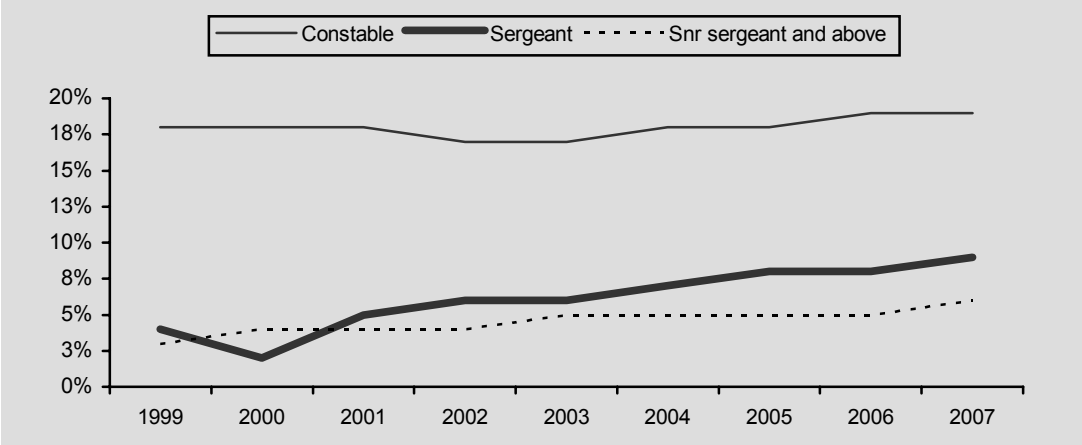
Figure I.2 Percent of sworn officers who are women in NZ Police (2000-2007)



Source: NZ Police's *Annual Reports*. Figures are on a full-time equivalent basis.

Seniority: Female officers in New Zealand are particularly under-represented at senior levels. In the sworn section in mid-2007, they accounted for 6% of the police service at senior sergeant level or above, as against 19% of constables (New Zealand Police, 2007b: 100). However, the 6% figure represents an improvement: it was 3% in mid-1999. Figure I.3 shows some trends over time.

Figure I.3 Percentage of female sworn officers, by rank (2000 to 2007)



Source: NZ Police Annual Reports 2000 to 2007.

5 Overall statistics for the US are difficult to calculate as law enforcement is not only divided by state but is also organised and managed at different levels within states (sheriff, county, municipality).

It is hard to make overseas comparisons over time as the information is often missing and the ranking systems differ. However, available data indicate that women officers are also under represented in the higher ranks overseas. In Australia in 2003, 6% of women officers were Inspector level or above (Boni, 2005). The UK again compared slightly better with 11% of officers at the rank of Chief Inspector or above (Bulloch & Gunning, 2007). The US data were particularly difficult to compare, but Roberg et al. (2005) note disparities in the representation of women at higher ranks, with statistics for 2001 indicating that women made up 10% of supervisory positions (lieutenant and sergeant) in large agencies, and 5% in smaller, rural agencies. At the top command positions (captain or above) the figures were 7% and 3% respectively.

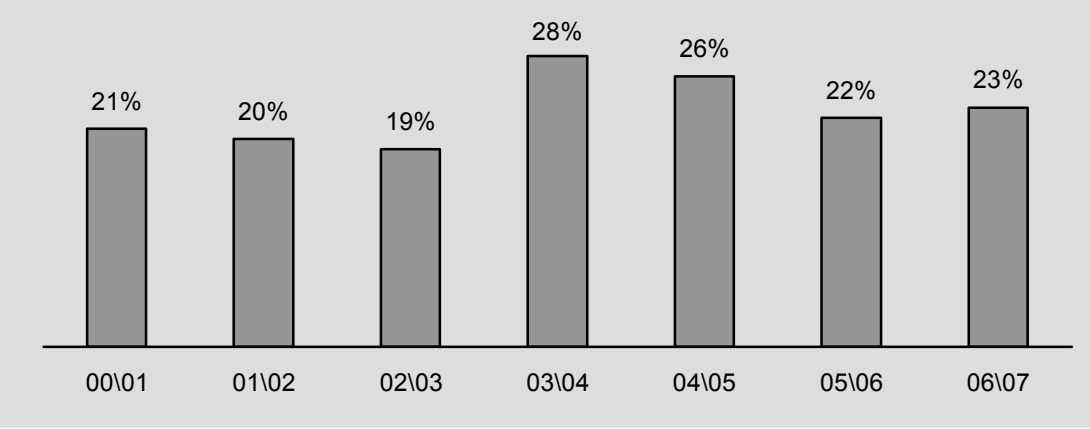
Non sworn staff

There is a much higher level of representation of women among non-sworn staff in New Zealand Police. In June 2007, they comprised 66% of the non-sworn staff (New Zealand Police, 2007b: 99). This is slightly lower than nine years ago, as the number of male non-sworn staff has increased has at a faster rate than for female non-sworn staff.

Graduates

Figure I.4 shows the proportion of those graduating from the Royal New Zealand Police College (RNZPC) over the last seven years who were female. It has fluctuated somewhat over the last seven years. If NZ police continue to attract a higher proportion of female recruits (and they graduate), this will impact favourably on the overall proportion of female officers, even bearing in mind a higher rate of attrition.

Figure I.4 Percentage of graduates from RNZPC who were female (2000-2007)

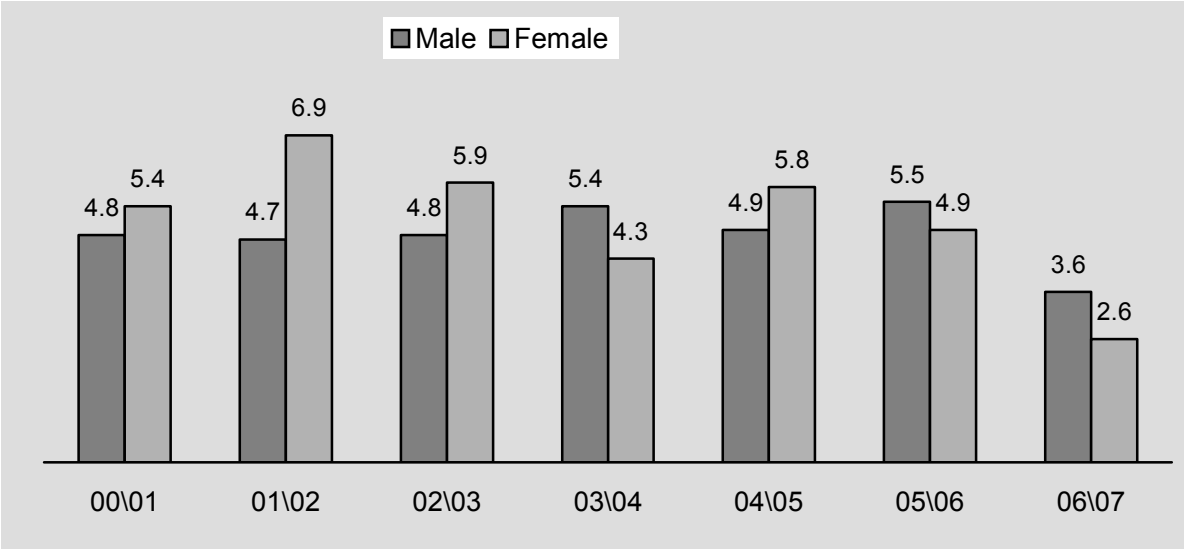


Source: Data supplied by NZ Police, 18 December 2007. Note 06\07 figure is an estimate.

Attrition

Over the last seven years, more female officers have left the service than male officers, with the exception of the last two years (Figure I.5). Attrition rates for 2006/7 are not for a full 12 month period, and therefore are likely to increase. In the 2007 annual report, NZ Police note that the low attrition rate for women was one of the significant contributing factors to sworn women FTE numbers increasing by 7.6%, compared to just 3.9% for sworn men (NZ Police, 2007b).

Figure I.5 Percentage of male and female police officers leaving the police 2000-2007



Source: Data supplied by NZ Police, 18 December 2007. Note 06\07 figure is for an incomplete period.

2 Views of Policing as a career option

One issue of major relevance to recruitment is the views people hold about policing as a career option. Over the years, three dominant, and to some extent contradictory, images of policing have been evident in the literature.

- The first involves the physically aggressive, tough, **crime-fighting officer**, vested with extensive powers and representing a 'force to be reckoned with'. This image typically appeals to younger people, especially males, attracted by the notion of the Police enforcing the law.
- The second image is the **'Dixon of Dock Green'** warm and friendly community cop - someone who everyone can call on to assist. This largely corresponds to a service model of policing, attracting both men and women motivated to join the Police to help others and feel wanted.
- The third image is that of those seeking **'a good job'**. This depends less on the nature of the work than the pragmatic benefits of good financial remuneration, job stability, and sound career prospects. For women in particular, an added component may be the extent to which the organisation provides family friendly workplace policies.

International research

International research on why women want to be police officers finds the reasons much the same as for men (Belknap, 2007). The 'Dixon of Dock Green' image is dominant (Belknap, 2007; van Wormer and Bartollas, 2007) – and perhaps slightly more so for women (Raganella & White, 2005).

Early studies of women's motivations found the 'good job' as attractive, and this remains so today – since few other 'helping' jobs pay as well (Ermer, 1978; Belknap, 2007; van Wormer and Bartollas, 2007). A study of women police chiefs in the US by Schultz (2004) supported

the importance of salary, and found the potential for excitement or simply curiosity as other reasons influencing their choice of careers (cited in Belknap, 2007).

Apart from images that attract recruits, it is important to acknowledge converse images – what makes policing unattractive. A finding from a study in New York, for instance, was that "misperceptions of danger might detract from the number of female applicants" (Campbell et al., 2000: 181). The physical crime-fighting image of policing promoted in many police and crime dramas may be problematic for many women, and act as a barrier to recruitment.

New Zealand research

There has been some research in New Zealand into the perceptions held by potential recruits of policing as a career option. Unfortunately, analysis by gender has been limited – although what has been reported appears similar to what has been found overseas.

In 1996, NZ Police commissioned a *Police Career Omnibus Survey* which involved 716 New Zealanders. As there was no gender breakdown, it is unclear if findings differed for women. That said, a career in the Police was ranked fifth out of six career options. It was seen as less attractive than tourism / hospitality, IT, banking, and teaching - but more attractive than the Army. Those interested in the Police rated highly job security, dealing with or helping people, and the challenging nature of the work. Those who said they were not interested mainly talked of a police culture that was seen as conservative, homophobic, sexist, racist, and semi-military (NZ Police, 1996a).

A second survey asking what attracted over 450 potential recruits to apply to NZP was carried out by Colmar Brunton in 1998. Respondents were those who (i) had picked up an application form (n = 364); (ii) attended a police career seminar (n = 54); or (iii) were new police officers (n = 32). Of the first group, 39% were female, but only 20% went on to become police officers. For both men and women, motivations to join were the same as those found in the 1996 survey: job security, the active and unpredictable nature of work, and helping people. The only significant gender differences were that women were significantly more likely to be put off by:

- the need for the residential training,
- shift work,
- the health and fitness test requirements.

The most recent research sourced for this review was by Forsyte Research (2001) who carried out in-depth interviews with 37 potential recruits (those who had rung the 0800 number) and eight probationary constables. The research purposively sampled by gender and ethnicity, although numbers were very small. The main motivation for joining, which emerged for males and females (and across ethnicities), was the desire to 'make a difference', along with career possibilities, job security / stability, and the nature of the work (e.g., that it was varied and physically active). Differences according to gender that were noted included the following:

- The perception of police as providing a supportive, team environment was less important for women than for men.
- Pakeha women compared to all others, saw the police as more than just a job. Rather, they saw it as a career requiring commitment, responsibility, maturity, and tenacity.

- Pakeha women compared to all others also saw the Police as providing an opportunity to make a social contribution, which was seen as difficult in their current jobs (e.g., sales, factory, and administration).
- Māori women saw the Police as offering the opportunity to work with their communities, while they developed skills and experience.
- For some women, the motivation to join was partly a personal challenge (e.g., managing families and work). The idea of 'breaking the mould' was appealing.
- For all potential recruits, the feeling that they had the 'fit' (i.e., that they had the required attributes), and that officers were 'ordinary' people were important in progressing with their application. For women, these factors commonly related to their ability to fulfil the physical requirements of the job. Seeing other women, similar to themselves, either applying or in the Police, was important in ameliorating these concerns.

The importance of 'fit' has also been identified by other researchers (Campbell et al., 2000; Carless, 2005). However, the element of 'fit' that has most importance for women was between the factors they emphasised as desirable in a job and the extent to which these matched their perceptions of what the job entailed. This was more important than the 'fit' with their own attributes identified by Forsyte Research (2001).

Forsyte Research (2001) also asked what influenced people to consider joining the police. For both men and women, it was:

- The influence of other police officers.
- Family and friends who were not in the Police, but were encouraging. A supportive family was particularly important for women with children.
- Media coverage to a limited degree – in providing background information.
- Personal experiences with the Police.

The importance of personal experience was highlighted in a recent speech by the Police Commissioner, Howard Broad, in which he encouraged women Police officers to take up the challenge of bringing more women into the service (NZ Police Association, 2007).

In summary the key messages to emphasise in recruitment in order to attract women appear to include:

- the potential to contribute and make a difference;
- the financial rewards of Policing compared to other 'helping' professions;
- opportunities for career development;
- the variety within police work, including the sometimes physically challenging nature of the work; and
- profiles of other women officers – successfully carrying out their duties.

3 Barriers to recruitment

This section reviews the barriers to recruiting women into the Police. Those that have been identified in the New Zealand context are presented first and when common to other countries, presented alongside international literature.

The focus of this review is on barriers to recruitment rather than ways to improve the retention of women. However, as will become clear, there is much overlap - with many barriers to recruitment also acting as barriers to retaining women police officers.

3.1 Minority status

Women are a minority group within policing currently making up just 16.7% of all sworn officers. This results in women having to assert their needs and rights in similar ways to other minority groups, such as ethnic minorities, gays, and lesbians. This minority status is recognised as a barrier to recruiting more women officers and impacts on the advancement and retention of women officers.

Recruitment

The fact that women sworn officers are a **visible minority** communicates a sense of policing still being a predominantly male occupation – and this may make women less likely to consider it for themselves. The 'minority effect' is perpetuated by the small number of women in high ranks – so that the face of the Police when the media call for comment, for instance, is overwhelmingly male (with a few exceptions, such as Superintendent Sandy Manderson). In contrast, **women dominate non-sworn positions**, filling two-thirds of these (e.g., administrative, reception, and some policy and HR positions). Thus, women dominate the support infrastructure, while men dominate 'real' policing. This gives the impression that if women 'belong' in policing, it is in lower ranks and in non-sworn positions, which does little to attract women.

Forsyte Research (2001) found that during the recruitment process women and Māori women in particular felt that not having access to similar others or mentors was a deterrent to progressing with their application.

Attrition

Traditionally, there has been a higher rate of attrition for women officers than men, and this contributes to low representation of women in the service. However, this trend has reversed over the last two years, with 4.9% of women leaving in 2005/06, compared to 5.5% of men.

Attrition affects length of service figures. Hyman (2000) reported that between 1990 and 1997, the average service length for women was 9.5 years compared to 16.6 years for men. Winfree and Newbold (1999) noted that retirement under the provisions of the Police Early Retirement Fund (perfing) accounted for 60% of all those leaving the police, and that although overall rates were similar for males and females, women 'perfed' at an earlier stage (an average of 9.5 years compared to 15.9 for men). This suggests that women felt the pressures of policing sooner than men.

There are a number of factors that influence the decision of women to leave, and many of these - such as difficulties in balancing family and work commitments - are taken up later. Discussed here is how minority status affects decisions whether or not to stay.

Minority groups can experience a number of adverse working conditions (Hyman, 2000; Scott, 2001).

- **Feelings of isolation** – Low representation can result in few women in some police stations and specialist service units. Sections may have only one woman and investigations may only have a single woman attached to them (sometimes to deal with victims). Consequently, women seldom work closely with female colleagues, and they will stand outside the informal male culture within policing. They may struggle to be accepted, or try to maintain their distance - either having potential repercussions (Martin, 1994; Scott, 2001; White, 1996).

- The sense of isolation from limited social networks can be exacerbated if women feel they are less valued within the organisation (Frame, 2003). This can make them feel unsupported and potentially disaffected.

- **Marginalisation** - Women officers in Hyman's (2000) study also felt they tended to stand out and so received more scrutiny than their male counterparts. Some believed that, at times, mistakes were attributed solely to the fact that they were women and were excused less. Such perceptions can affect job satisfaction and affect decisions whether or not to stay.

- **Lack of role models** – NZ Police is a hierarchical organisation, with advancement strongly influenced by length of service and passing up through the ranks. Poor retention of women results in fewer women remaining in the service and reaching the higher ranks. This leads to a dearth of role models or mentors to support and encourage women officers who are unlikely to have female supervising officers.

  The ability to gain promotion will be a key aspect of job satisfaction for many women, and if it is limited, some are likely to leave (Butler et al., 2003; Scott, 2001). There is a 'catch-22' situation then. Women need to achieve rank in order to become role models, but the lack of female role models reduces their ability to achieve rank. Hyman (2000) found it was not quite so clear-cut in the CIB. While being part of a minority group was seen as a disadvantage by some women, others perceived this as an advantage in terms of gaining attention and promotions. This is supported by Frame (2003) who found both males and females perceive gender discrimination in relation to promotion.

<u>What is the right level of representation?</u>

Hyman (2000) made the observation that the more even the gender balance, the fewer problems appear to exist. This raises the question - what level of representation is needed for women not to feel a minority group?

With other minority groups, emphasis is often placed on aiming at representation proportionate to population share – in which case we would be aiming for 51% for women. Resistance to this is often articulated on the basis that as women constitute a minority of criminal offenders, more men are required in policing. A male officer in New Zealand reflected this in criticising the push towards EEO:

> *We're getting to the stage where we're going to have a bigger percentage of policewomen than the percentage of female offenders.* (Scott, 2001: 62)

The argument rests on the scenario that policing is only about fighting crime, largely committed by males. It ignores the public service nature of much policing, as well as the victimisation aspects of crime. This is discussed further in Section 3.5 in relation to the physical skill emphasis.

The 2001 Human Resources Strategy set a target – not reached – that women should make up 20% of all sworn staff by 2006 (NZ Police, 2006b). More recent targets are set simply in terms of new recruits – with 35-40% of recruits to be women (NZ Police, 2007a). The British Association of Women in Policing (BAWP) argues that 30% and over represents a critical mass at which point there will be a chain of irreversible action, although recommending 35% representation for the UK police service (BAWP, 2008a). In the UK, at present, there are 23% of women, and BAWP estimates predict that at current recruitment rates, it will take another 30 years before they reach the suggested target.

3.2 Police organisational culture

Research strongly suggests that women (and ethnic minorities) are reluctant to pursue a police career because they believe they will encounter sexism (or racism). Whether or not these beliefs are justified is less important than their impact on those considering career choices. In this section, we briefly describe the 'masculinist' side of police culture, how it is acquired and sustained, and the impact it has on the experiences of policewomen and potential recruits.

The 'masculinist' culture

Policing is dominated by masculinist and heterosexual norms (Messerschmidt, 1993; Miller et al., 2003). Physical strength and aggressiveness are presented as key attributes, with the culture shaped essentially by heterosexual, white males. As Section 1.1 said, in the past policewomen were tolerated as long as they were associated with social service and crime prevention roles, and did not threaten male terrain. Extending the same opportunities to women as to men took some time. Equal Employment Opportunity policies in the 1980s were a substantial breakthrough, but nonetheless four out of every five officers in New Zealand are currently male. The dominance of the masculinist culture remains therefore. White (1996) summarises the challenges facing women:

> *This supposedly male mandate acted against policewomen in a number of ways: they were often resented and not fully accepted by their male colleagues, they had to adjust to a policing style defined by men, they had to continually prove themselves, and were also subjected to a host of discriminatory remarks and behaviour, including sexism.* (White, 1996: 2).

Acquiring and sustaining the 'masculinist' culture

There several ways in which masculinist culture can be acquired and sustained, starting with the Police training and continuing through into day-to-day activities.

- **Police training**. While formal training programmes may sound inclusive of women, it has been argued that a 'hidden' message is communicated to women that they are inferior for the job (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). For example, Charles (1981) found male recruits belittled female success in the Michigan State Police academy no matter how well women did in training (Prokos & Padavic, 2002). More recent analyses of police training

programmes in the US have also revealed ways in which both male and female recruits are given messages conveying that masculinity is an essential prerequisite for police work (Prokos & Padavic, 2002).

- **Police canteen culture**. Many current norms of policing are also learned through a process of 'culturalisation': formal rules and procedures are learned alongside the unwritten rules and norms of the organisation. A major way in which the culture is acquired and sustained is through recreational events such as drinking schools, or sports events – providing opportunities for bonding, joking, and story swapping about police work (Holdaway, 1983, 1989; Waddington, 1999). Given the opposition police officers can face from on the street, the 'police canteen' becomes the environment in which officers can check out their actions and decisions with the collective group. In the station with their 'mates', officers can see what is deemed acceptable behaviour, and what actions and attitudes gain collective approval - many of which do little to recognise the contribution of women (e.g., Waddington, 1999).
- Policewomen may struggle to position themselves within the male culture of the Police, or be accepted within it. Tales from women of resolving conflict through talk and persuasion rather than fists and batons do not make such good 'stories'; fights avoided seldom become part of folklore.

Women within the 'masculinist' culture

The shared culture in the police can promote loyalty and cohesion but also insularity and institutional arrogance, thereby inhibiting change. Women can be seen as a threat to this culture in challenging its legitimacy, exclusiveness, and the ethos on which it is based. The male ethos of the police is probably the biggest hurdle for women to overcome at each stage of their police career – notwithstanding the fact that not all male officers are sexist and that some work hard to support women.

> *Despite the introduction of a range of policies such as equal opportunity and sexual harassment, and despite a range of structures, the integration of policewomen across all ranks and locations has been modest. Indeed, the principles espoused by equal opportunity are not reflected in the attitudes of most police men, and the resulting practices have led to inequality in terms of job opportunities, retention rates, and promotional prospects.* (White, 1996: 2)

It is the informal arenas of policing that must change significantly if real, rather than cosmetic, changes in the police culture are to occur.

The 'masculinist' culture has posed difficulties for women in several ways, influencing their decisions to remain as police officers, as well as deterring them from joining in the first place. Some difficulties are:

- **Women have to be twice as good to get half as much recognition**. Many international studies show that women face a hard battle having their expertise and competencies acknowledged (Gregory and Lees, 1999; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; Heidensohn, 1992; van Wormer and Bartollas, 2007). To receive positive acclaim, women appear to have to perform twice as well as their male colleagues (Scott, 2001; White 1996). This places undue pressure on women in the Police, and signals to those contemplating entry that the odds are stacked against them. In New Zealand, Scott (2001) said:

> *Women in this research have mentioned how they feel the need to constantly prove themselves and if one mistake is made, it then becomes part of one's history and can taint their credibility.* (Scott, 2001: 84).

The bind for women, then, can be that if they are competent they are identified as threatening, but if they are incompetent they are rejected anyway (Belknap and Shelley, 1992).

- **To fit in, women have to be 'one of the boys'**. A major difficulty for women is treading a fine line between over-identification with the values of the male culture, and ostracism from it. This was identified in one of the first major research projects on policewomen in the 1970s (Martin, 1979), and has been confirmed later (Brown and Heidensohn, 2000; Garcia, 2003). In England, a female ex-Deputy Chief Constable, who resigned in the1990s, outlined the problem:

> *If you drink with your colleagues, you are unladylike and a raving alcoholic. If you do not, you are little Miss Prissy. If your friends are men you are a tart, if they are women you are queer. If you are married, you should be at home. If not, you are odd.* (Halford, 1993)

- **The boys' club and promotion opportunities**. One of the hard realities some women encounter is the difficulty of being considered for promotion while standing outside the informal networks of police culture. Even if some women are appointed to positions of higher rank, this does not necessarily mean they can easily serve as mentors and positive role models for other women – since promotion may involve virtual severance from other women and assimilation into the male culture. Scott made the following observation based on women's experiences in the New Zealand Police:

> *In terms of mentoring, some women who have achieved rank pull the proverbial ladder up behind them, essentially cutting themselves off from other women. Women can sometimes be their own worst enemy in terms of role models as they can buy into male stereotypes about women. … There is little support from policewomen for each other as this leaves women open to taunts and put downs from men.* (Scott, 2001: 129)

There may be some women who join the police hoping to change the culture. The culture may be more powerful in changing them however. A New Zealand policewoman commented:

> *Some of my work mates think I am hard, they call me 'a real hard bitch', but deep down inside I am not. When I joined the Police, I tell you, I was soft and I have changed over they years.* (Scott, 2001: 44).

3.3 Discrimination and harassment

Beliefs about policewomen in the masculinist culture described above have, not surprisingly, been translated into discriminatory practices. This section outlines what research says about the major discriminatory practices occurring within the police. They can make the experiences of women in the police difficult, as well as posing barriers to recruitment (Boni, 2005; Lonsway, 2003). A distinction has been drawn between structural discrimination and direct discrimination (Holder et al., 2000), while recognising that they tend to reinforce each other, and we look at each briefly below.

Structural discrimination

Two main forms of structural discrimination have been identified: (i) differential deployment; and (ii) limited promotion opportunities.

- **Differential deployment**. Perceptions of women's supposedly 'innate' strengths and weaknesses have often translated into differential deployment practices, which have meant that women have been offered fewer and narrower opportunities, resulting in reduced motivation and a lowering of confidence (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004; van Wormer & Bartollas, 2007; White, 1996). The thrust has been to assign women to roles seen as more 'feminine'. Moreover, while specialisation is seen as critical to career development, the specialisations in which women are most likely to be accepted are those generally regarded as of lower status (White, 1996). New Zealand research has shown the same, with women being actively sought for sexual abuse teams for instance (Scott, 2001), but having to fight hard to join more traditionally male units such as Armed Offenders (Redshaw, 2006).

- **Limited promotional opportunities**. Cumulative bias against women has been identified as a factor limiting their promotion prospects in policing (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Boni, 2005; Buckley, 1998; Harrington & Lonsway, 2004;). Women may be overlooked, or seen as problematic in terms of possible reactions from male colleagues. An Australian policewoman commented:

  > … *every time I applied for a sergeant's position I was knocked back, questions were asked like, "how do you think the men would respond to a woman in charge?".* (White, 1996:10)

  White concludes that in the face of such resistance, it is not surprising that women are 'worn down by negative attitudes' (White 1996: 11). Discrimination comes to be understood not as a series of individual incidents but as an ingrained pattern, affecting women's perceptions of both themselves and the job. To a certain degree this has been identified in studies in New Zealand also (Hyman, 2000; Scott, 2001)

Direct discrimination

Direct discrimination refers to instances of deliberate obstruction, as well as harassment often of a sexual nature.

- **Deliberate obstruction**. Some discriminatory practices are deliberately obstructive. They have resulted in women being 'set up' by their colleagues, refused back-up in potentially dangerous situations, and generally exposed to efforts designed to 'persuade' them out of policing. Examples in the literature include a sergeant who had a woman posted to his squad telling others how they could 'get rid of her' if they made her life hard enough and forced her to request a transfer (White, 1996: 8).

- Other obstructive practices include undermining women's efforts at networking and supporting their colleagues. For example, the New Zealand National Women's Consultative Committee was initially regarded with suspicion and dismissed as some kind of 'sisterhood' (Gibson, 1996). The committee struggled to be recognised, although gradually became more accepted over time (Redshaw, 2006).

- **Harassment**. The masculine ethos in police culture is consistent with acceptance of general 'putting down' as well as sexual harassment (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000: Gratch,

1995). Persistent comments can remind women of their 'place' in the police, and of the pecking order; there can be on-going 'jokes' at women's expense. In a comparative study of policewomen's experiences in the US and the UK, Heidensohn (1992) said:

> *Dealing with harassment by male colleagues was often a greater problem for women than handling street or domestic violence.*

A US study similarly concluded that the most difficult force for female officers to overcome is often not work, the community, or their families but the antagonism and harassment of their peers and supervisors who are part of the male-dominated culture of policing (Texeira, 2002).

- **Sexual harassment**. The research literature provides strong testimony to the extent of sexual harassment in policing, which can include repeated innuendo, and speculation about women's sex lives (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Gregory and Lees, 1999; Hyman, 2000; Miller et al., 2003; Redshaw, 2006; Scott, 2001; van Wormer and Bartollas, 2007). Men can feel that sexual aggressiveness towards women is 'okay', or even expected – especially if such behaviour might protect them from suspicions of homosexuality.

  Research shows that the majority of policewomen experience sexual harassment (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; van Wormer and Bartollas, 2007). For instance, a study in the US by the National Center of Women and Policing showed that:

  > *80% of female officers have been sexually harassed at work, including explicit lesbian-baiting and lewd commentary by male colleagues* (Miller et al., 2003: 359)

  A UK survey of 18,000 policewomen found that:

  > *More than half were subjected to explicit comments from male colleagues, while almost all had been subjected to some comments in the last six months. Policewomen were more likely to be sexually harassed than their civilian counterparts. Ninety-nine percent of policewomen had experienced harassment compared to 76% of nurses and 45% of local government workers.* (Brown, 1994 cited in Scott, 2001:118).

  In the New South Wales Police, 83% of policewomen surveyed believed that they had encountered sexist attitudes and behaviours at work (Sutton, 1996, cited in White, 1996).

  An internal New Zealand Police survey of sexual harassment was also conducted in one region in 1993 (Redshaw, 2006). The results indicated that 62% of sworn and non-sworn women had experienced forms of sexual harassment within the previous 15 years of service. More recent research by Frame (2003) also found that approximately half of the female officers surveyed reported sexual harassment. Frame concluded that:

  > *Results suggest that sexual harassment is a work-related stressor that impacts significantly on the work experiences of officers, particularly females.* (Frame, 2003: 117).

  When sexual harassment does occur, concerns about the institutional response have been registered in research, even when allegations are serious. One example discussed by Gregory and Lees (1999) is a UK case involving a male police officer who, to win a bet, raped a female officer. The ostracism and discrimination she experienced after complaining became a factor in her resignation, but the worst aspect of this incident was:

> *...the vicious sexism she encountered at every level within the Metropolitan Police command structure. From the outset her superiors viewed her allegation not as a report of a criminal offence but a threat to the reputation of the Metropolitan Police.* (Gregory & Lees, 1999: 42).

In New Zealand the 1993 internal review found that only 14% of respondents were prepared to tell their supervisors of harassment, because most believed they would not be taken seriously or that complaining would 'backfire' on them.

Some 20% of policewomen believed that sex-based harassment was just part of the job. (Redshaw, 2006, 18).

Discrimination because of gender and ethnicity

There has been very little research on what happens when ethnicity and gender combine. The findings of the few studies available suggest that ethnic minority women in the police are vulnerable on counts of both gender and ethnicity (Martin, 1994). A black woman officer in the US observed:

> *Sometimes I could not tell if what I faced was racial or sexual or both. The black female is the last one on the totem pole in the department.* (Martin, 1994: 393)

A more recent study in England and Wales went further, using the term 'triple jeopardy' to refer to the discriminatory effects of racism and sexism experienced by female police officers from ethnic minority groups (Holder et al., 2000). The research suggested that female ethnic minority officers suffered sexual harassment and discrimination in addition to the racism experienced by ethnic male colleagues and the sexism experienced by white female colleagues. Thus, black and Asian officers in the UK were more likely to experience sexual harassment than other women and to experience more frequent and severe discrimination overall.

Discrimination because of sexual preference

Sexual preference adds a further potential source of discrimination. Lesbians may be deterred from policing because they perceive the organisation as predominantly male, heterosexual, and judgmental. One study, though, found that lesbian officers reported experiencing greater barriers arising from their gender than from their sexual orientation (van Wormer and Bartollas, 2007).

Some police departments, as in New Zealand, have responded to homophobia in the ranks through education and training, and have appointed liaison officers to improve relationships with gay, lesbian and transgender citizens. Lesbian and gay staff have been actively recruited in recent years in New Zealand (Redshaw, 2006), and their retention will be dependent on the provision of on-going support.

3.4 Family and childcare commitments

Responsibility for children, other caring demands, and household work still remains disproportionately in the hands of women. Hence, being able to balance work and family life is essential for many women when considering career options. As Bradley (1999) pointed out, 78% of women have children, and police services cannot expect to recruit only the 22% who do not.

Certain aspects of police work can challenge the achievement of work-life balance – for instance, the residential component of training, shift work, call-outs, and periods away from home. These will impact both on decisions to join the Police service, and whether to remain in the job when family circumstances change. The conflict between family and work commitments is also an obstacle to career development, limiting the representation and leadership of women at higher ranks (Silvestri, 2006).

Training - residential component

New Zealand recruits are required to attend a 19-week residential training course at RNZPC. The situation is similar overseas. In New Zealand there is only one training college – in Wellington – so all recruits must travel there. Being away from home for an extended period can be difficult for women, particularly those with children, unless there is significant family support. A woman sergeant working with recruits at the RNZPC highlights the problem.

> *I have special empathy with those female recruits who have children. They may struggle but are usually determined to give it a go. Most have support from their families while they are in training. Family support is the most important thing for mothers who seek a career in policing.* (Quoted in Redshaw, 2006: 185)

A New Zealand survey of 418 potential applicants found that the residential component was the second most common reason for deciding not to apply, particularly for women (Colmar Brunton, 1998).

Residential training has also been identified as a barrier for women in Australia (Boni, 2005) and in the UK, where it has been suggested that the initial training block should be delivered in modules, with some facility for distance learning (Tuffin, 2001, 42).

Nature of police work

New Zealand research has found that, once recruited, being able to combine work and home responsibilities was the most significant barrier to the retention and advancement of women both in the CIB and the police in general (Haarr, 2005; Hyman, 2000). Achieving a work-life balance is not limited to New Zealand, or to women (Frame, 2003), but it has been recognised as particularly difficult for senior policewomen (Boni, 2005; Hyman, 2000; Silvestri, 2006; Tuffin, 2001).

> *The biggest barrier is that women choose to have families. They try to juggle both. Guys don't tend to have the same stresses and strains. Although you're not the only caregiver you tend to be the main one.* (Hyman, 2000: 44)

Other problems of combining work and family commitments identified by Hyman (2000) and others (Boni, 2005; Buckely, 1998; Dalziel, 2007; Rose, 2002; Sivestri, 2006) include:

- **Varying hours** – Rotating shift work, call-outs, and periods away from home on major investigations can all create difficulties with childcare, and make maintaining relationships difficult (Boni, 2005; Buckley, 1998; Hyman, 2000). Shift work was found to be significant factor in women's decisions not to apply (Colmar Brunton, 1998).
- **Limits on flexible work practices** – Although there is Flexible Employment Option (FEO) available in NZ Police, there can be possible adverse affects on women officers who opt the FEO – such as fewer promotional opportunities, restrictions on specialist

assignments, and being perceived as less committed (Hyman, 2000; Rose, 2002; Silvestri, 2006).

- **Treatment of officers who are pregnant** – There can be difficulties about decisions made by managers over appropriate duties for pregnant women, including when they should stop frontline work. Hyman (2000) found that women wanted more flexibility and say in how 'light duties' were interpreted.
- **Impact of maternity leave** – Women who take maternity leave can be disadvantaged. Dalziel (2007) was concerned that women in New Zealand who choose to return to police work do not return to the same level or role, which can influence decisions to return to work.
- **Ability to be mobile** – Officers who are prepared to move around the country, gaining varied experience, are considered more qualified and have better promotion prospects (Silvestri, 2006). This is more difficult for women with families, although research in Australia found women officers no less likely than males to be prepared to move in order to get promotion (Boni, 2005).

Hyman (2000) concludes that while broader societal change is needed in the long term, any workplace wanting greater participation by women must implement practices to take account of the need to combine work and family. Flexible working practices adopted in New Zealand and overseas are reviewed and discussed in Section 4, *Responses*.

3.5 Physical skills emphasis

The physical requirements of police work have been identified as a barrier to the recruitment of women in New Zealand and overseas (BAWP, 2008b; Forsyte Research, 2001; Lonsway et al., 2003ab; Prenzler, 1996). The emphasis on a 'macho' crime-fighting model of police work can deter many women from applying. An emphasis on physical fitness as part of the selection process also accentuates the gender differences, further perpetuating a masculine image of policing. As seen, surveys in New Zealand have found that the physical fitness tests and fear of failing them were one the biggest barriers to recruitment for women.

Before being accepted as a recruit at the RNZPC, applicants must pass a range of assessment tests (e.g. medical, physical, psychological, academic, and criminal background). The two physical entry tests are the Physical Appraisal Test (PAT) and the Physical Competency Test (PCT), both having gender and age specific standards (Cerno, 2007). The PAT is done first. It consists of a 2.4km run to test aerobic fitness and endurance, a standing vertical jump to assess leg strength, a push-up test to assess upper body strength and a grip strength test. Test scores are combined and the overall score used to predict likely performance levels on the PCT. Although not entirely clear, it appears the PAT test is designed to indicate if applicants are likely fail the PCT and if so make applicants aware of areas where more work is needed (Cerno, 2007).

The PCT is designed to test an applicant's ability to cope with the routine physical tasks that are part of frontline police work. It consists of a 400m obstacle course involving a series of 12 tasks (including a 200-metre run, pushing a trailer, walking along a raised beam, crawling under hurdles, climbing through a window and over a wall). Applicants are scored on the time taken to complete the course, taking into account age and gender (Cerno, 2007).

There has been much attention internationally to the potentially discriminatory effect of some physical tests, in part prompted by the higher failure by women.[6] Unfortunately, no data could be found on the failure rates of males and females on the PAT and PCT, and generalisation from international findings should be made cautiously as tests can vary, and in international data reported were not always current.

There are legal protections in most countries, including New Zealand, against employment practices that discriminate against women. Certainly, the discriminatory nature of the US police physical ability entry tests has been tested in court, and female applicants who have failed have successfully sued law enforcement agencies (DeCicco, 2000). Police agencies are now required to establish selection criteria that is associated with job performance and which does not discriminate (Roberg et al., 2005). Agencies have often lost legal challenges by failing to show that the criteria apply to their existing sworn personnel (DeCicco, 2000).

It is perhaps not surprising, then, that the applicability of physical strength and fitness to job performance has generated discussion. Some authors question the emphasis on upper body strength – which particularly disadvantages women (Lonsway et al. 2003a; Martin & Jurik, 2007). It is tested in New Zealand in a number of ways. In fact, a current recruitment information brochure on the PCT advises that "traditionally the aspect most people struggle with is the wall climb. We recommend you do exercises that target your upper body strength" (Auckland Police Recruitment, undated – Preparing for Police Selection, p23).

There appears little research, however, that shows how upper body strength or physical abilities in general are related to police duties and job performance (Lonsway et al., 2003a; Martin & Jurik, 2007; Roberg et al., 2005). Neither is there much evidence that women, due to physical limitations, are any less able to be competent police officers (Balkin, 1988; Garcia, 2003; Gosset & Williams, 1998; Waugh, 1994). Studies of patrol work, too, illustrate the competency of women, and suggest that women outperform men in policing violent confrontations through better communication skills (e.g. van Wormer, 2007). A review of research by Lonsway et al. (2003a) also showed no evidence that physical strength predicted the likelihood of avoiding assaults on officers or officer fatalities; access to training was the crucial factor.

Research carried out in New Zealand gives further support to how female officers may be better placed to deal with violence. One ex-police officer commented:

> *In my experience, the number of times this situation [confrontation] comes about is very low and women themselves say they are more adept at talking themselves out of situations where violence is threatened. Male offenders are more likely to engage in physical confrontation with male officers rather than with female officers.* (Scott, 2001: 65-66)

The physical ability of women to deal with violent confrontations is one issue. Another is the extent to which violent confrontations reflect the real nature of police work in any case.

6 In the UK, the BAWP reported that 90% of men pass the fitness test compared to 50-60% of women (BAWP, 2008b). In Canada, 32% of males and 84% of female officers in one police department failed the Police Officer Physical Ability Test (Rhodes and Farenholtz (1992). In Australia, despite some modifications and adjustments made to physical tests in some states, data indicated that in 1996 females were still failing at a grater rate than men (Prenzler, 1996). In the US, too, 89% of law enforcement agencies use some form of agility testing for entry-level selection, and a national survey of police departments revealed that agencies without a test have 45% more sworn women than those with a test (Lonsway, 2003b).

Several pieces of research suggest that in the region of 80%-90% of police work involves non-criminal or service functions (e.g. Garcia, 2003; Lonsway et al., 2003a).

In sum, then, the emphasis on physical strength in traditional policing is not helpful in increasing the recruitment of women, and may discriminate against those who enter training. Lack of clear evidence that strength or fitness predicts job performance or affects the safety of officers seems important in this context. Many have suggested that an emphasis on communication skills over physical fitness would better reflect competencies required for the job (Lonsway et al., 2003; Roberg et al., 2005). If this were the case, it would positively discriminate in favour of female recruits, as well as being more consistent with the existing community-orientated policing model.

The emphasis on physical abilities over other skills, and the potential loss of otherwise qualified recruits is illustrated in a quote from a woman who had recently left the NZ police:

> *My average mark at College was no less than 80%. Yet when I missed the PCT by 3 seconds I was told to resign or be dismissed, four days before graduation.* (Waugh, 1994, p53).

4 Responses

This section reviews the responses taken by NZ Police to overcome barriers to recruiting more women. Where relevant, these responses are compared to similar ones taken overseas. In identifying what strategies have been implemented locally, we relied heavily on NZ Police Annual Reports and material supplied to us by NZ Police. We acknowledge that we may not have identified all recruitment strategies, especially more recent ones.

A key objective set for this literature review was to identify evidence for the effectiveness of different recruitment strategies. This has proved difficult, as many strategies referred to in the literature were not evaluated (or if they were no findings were presented). In any case, the only data available to assess effectiveness (both in New Zealand and overseas) will usually be statistics on changes in the number of recruits. As there may be several influences at work here (other job markets for one), linking changes in recruit numbers to particular recruitment interventions is problematic.

The focus of this review is on how to overcome barriers to the recruitment of women rather than on ways to improve retention after recruitment. However, such a separation is to a degree artificial, since many of the initiatives covered can be seen to improve both recruitment and retention.

Some recruitment strategies aim to address specific barriers (e.g., flexible employment practices). Others have a more general focus (e.g., media campaigns).

The strategies we discuss are categorised under the following headings:

- Policing policy responses
- Increased consultation with and representation by women
- Flexible working practices
- Leadership programmes
- Modifying the selection criteria

- Marketing strategies
- Research and evaluation

4.1 Policing policy responses

NZ Police have shown commitment to increasing the representation of women in the service through a number of deliberate policy initiatives. Some aim directly to increase recruitment, sometimes with specific targets and plans of actions. Other policies are developed and actioned to improve working conditions for women (e.g., family-friendly policies, and strategies to reduce discrimination and harassment). These latter policies aim to improve retention rates and thus increase the overall level of female representation. As discussed in section 3.1, if representation is low, this itself forms a barrier to attracting more women to the service.

Some of the key recent Policing policy responses include:

- **Policing with confidence: the Strategic Plan 2010** (NZ Police, 2006a). This lays out the national strategic direction of NZ Police until 2010. It specifies the importance of recruiting a diverse workforce as part of the plan to recruit an additional 1,000 sworn officers. (Women are not specifically referred to, but diversity infers equitable representation by women.)
- **Statement of Intent 2007/2008** (NZ Police, May 2007c). This lays down national goals and action plans. Under 'organisation development', there are strategic goals to (i) implement development programmes for women and ethnic minorities; and (ii) increase the numbers of women and ethnic minorities. There is also commitment to being an employer of choice and ensuring Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO).

- **District Equity and Diversity – Strategic Plan 2007**. This sets goals at District level. It aims to build capacity in the Districts to meet the objectives set out in the Strategic Plan and the Human Resource Management Plan. The document lays out District goals that include:
  - to foster a culture of diversity, fairness and accountability;
  - raise the profile of Equity and Diversity Networks (including the *Women in Policing* Network); and
  - support all staff in equity and diversity issues including improving the ability of staff to achieve a work-life balance and to challenge incidents of discrimination and harassment.

- **NZ Police Human Resources (HR) strategy documents**. These have the most direct references to the recruitment of women. There are two:
  i. *People in Policing: a five-year HR Strategy to 2006* (NZ Police, October 2001). This outlined the need to include the views of women and other minority groups better, and to set goals to increase the representation of women (to 20% of sworn officers, and 7.5% of senior managers). This was to be achieved through continued focus on recruitment strategies, policies for more flexible employment; identifying and

supporting women with potential to achieve senior management roles; and targeted exit interviews.[7]

ii. *HR Initiative Brief* (NZ Police, May 2007). This is an unpublished but current document. Its main aim is to identify strategies to assist in meeting the target of 1,000 sworn officers. It sets targets for women and other minority groups, indicating a continued commitment to achieving diversity. It sets a target of 35-40% of all new recruits being women, and outlines specific marketing campaigns for women to help achieve this.

- **The Commission of Inquiry into Police Conduct** (Bazley, March 2007). This is a significant report to NZ Police who must respond to its recommendations. One of these is to increase the number of women and ethnic minorities - deemed important in order to enhance the effective and impartial investigation of complaints alleging sexual assault by members of the Police, as well as promoting a diverse organisational culture that reflects the community it services.

- **The Action Plan of the Commissioners' Australasian Women in Policing Advisory Committee (CAWIAC)**. New Zealand is one jurisdiction involved in this Action Plan relating to priority issues for women in policing. Developed in 1999, the Plan outlined 18 objectives, and was accepted by the Australasian Police Minister's Council in November 1999. While jurisdictions were tasked to undertake work by due dates, the status of the Action Plan in NZ Police is somewhat unclear – although there is reference to it in the recent District Equity and Diversity Strategic Plan 2007.

- **Women in Policing Plan**. Details of this are sketchy. Redshaw (2006) states it was produced in 2003, with three main aims: (i) to recruit more women; (ii) to promote an organisation that values, empowers and retains women; and (iii) to understand and support the needs and aspirations of women from ethnic minorities in policing. The NZ Police *Annual Report 2006* suggested the plan commenced in 2005/2006 with a template to gather quarterly information from districts and service centres. The template is populated with core statistics about women by HR in the Police National Headquarters. Districts and service centres are asked to explain any significant changes and to describe initiatives to address these and achieve the objectives of the *Women in Policing Plan*.

Other NZ Police policy documents affect the working conditions of women in the police. A key one relates to Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) policies. Since the late 1980s, NZ Police have complied with the State Sector Act 1988 that requires Chief Executives of Government Departments to comply with the principle of being a 'good employer'.[8] Subsequently, NZ Police developed its own **NZ Police EEO policy**, which supports the principle of non-discrimination and equal employment opportunity for *all* staff to achieve their potential. The policy also says that the Police should create and maintain a supportive and safe work environment that improves the representation of women and other minority groups in management, and that management will not tolerate discriminatory practices including all forms of harassment (Hyman, 2000: 95). **The Flexible Employment Option policy** is another EEO policy, this is discussed in Section 4.3. NZ Police also has a **Sexual Harassment policy**

7 This document has now expired, we believe a new HR Strategy is currently being developed.

8 Legal protections against discrimination are also provided by the Human Rights Act 1993 and the Employments Contracts Act 199.

(first ratified in 1996) that covers relevant legislation, and the roles and responsibilities of relevant personnel in the case of complaints (Hyman, 2000).

In her review of NZ Police's EEO policy documents, Hyman (2000) reported that the raft of policies and practices indicated admirable commitment by senior management to the removal of gender and other barriers. A caveat, though, was that statements alone would achieve little without significant HR management practices, training, monitoring, and positive and negative incentives to achieve results. Training in EEO and HR management was seen as needing improvement, particularly in supervisory positions.

Overseas

It is beyond the scope of this review to describe all overseas polices affecting the recruitment of women. We limit discussion below to key policies that appear to have had a significant impact.

- **Affirmative action**. Affirmative action polices in the US and Canada are reported to have had a dramatic impact on the number of women officers employed (DeCicco, 2000; Stewart, 1994; van Wormer and Bartollas, 2007; Zhao et al.., 2001).[9] These are national policies or legislation that impact on police departments, rather then policies developed and being driven by police department themselves. In the US affirmative action is typically enacted through 'consent decrees', [10] imposed after lawsuits are brought by women against their Police Departments for gender discrimination with regard to the physical ability tests.[11] Lonsway (2003c) reported that the rate of increase in women's representation in US Police Departments was twice as fast when a 'consent decree' was in effect. Surveyed agencies increased women's representation by an average of 0.5% per year when under consent decree. After this expired, they continued to make progress, but the average annual increase slowed to only 0.2% (Lonsway, 2003c). Zhao et al. (2001) cautions that once affirmative action polices have been removed, retention seems more difficult, suggesting they are more of a 'quick fix' to comply with legislated mandates than a way of effecting permanent change in the police organisational culture. There can also be negative consequences, with those hired under affirmative action policies being exposed to discrimination and harassment.

  In the UK, the British Association of Women in Policing (BAWP) are currently advocating affirmative action that would allow suitable qualified persons of under represented groups to be given preference when making employment decisions. This would require legal changes to made for this to be possible. BAWP recognise there are problems with such action, but point out that after 30 years of equality legislation, the UK Police service still falls short of targets on female officers. They calculate that without affirmative action, it

9 Affirmative action broadly describes a range of polices that gives able individuals from under represented groups preference (BAWP, 2008a). They tend to temporary measures designed to remedy the effects of discrimination against members of designated groups and can be enacted through government legislation and court orders.

10 'Consent decrees' are imposed by US courts. In this context they are agreements that bind an agency to a specified course of action regarding the hiring and /or promotion of women within sworn law enforcement. Legal cases are built around departments contravening Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

11 For example, the Pittsbugh Police Department was under a court order from 1975 to 1991, mandating that for every white male they hired, there were to hire one white female, one African-American male, and one African African-American female. By 1990, the Department had the highest representation of women police officers in a major US metropolitan city - at 27% (Lonsway et al., 2003c).

will take 15 years to reach a 'critical mass' of 35% of the Police workforce being women (BAWP, 2008a).

- **A Gender Agenda (UK)**. The UK has a large number of separate Police forces, with each developing local policies. Nonetheless, the BAWP developed an influential *Gender Agenda* document in 2001 (BAWP, 2008c). It sketched out the working environment experienced by women officers across the country. It identified 22 barriers to progress, and a range of actions needed to break down the barriers, together with other positive initiatives implemented and future issues.[12] BAWP reports success for the *Gender Agenda* in that since 2001 the percentage of women employed in the Police has risen from 16% to 22%, whereas it has previously taken 20 years to move from 8% to 16% (BAWP, 2008a).

- **The 'New Workplace Project' (US)**. Individual US Police Departments have initiated a series of polices that Lonsway (2003a) reports as having substantially improved the recruitment and retention of women. One of these was the 'New Workplace Project', a national demonstration project funded by the US Department of Labour, which is discussed in more detail in Section 4.6. Using "New Workplace' principles, Albuquerque saw the percentage of female recruits increase from 10% to 25% within two years, and these women were retained at rates comparable to those for men; in Tucson, female recruits increased from 10% to 29% over a similar period (Polisar & Milgram, 1998).

4.2 Increased consultation with and representation by women

As seen in section 3.2, the organisational culture of NZ Police is one of the barriers to recruiting, integrating, and retaining women police officers. Over the years, the opportunities for the views of women to be heard in NZ Police have increased through the development and support of a several networks, associations, and representatives. These are important to (i) raise the profile of women within the Police, (ii) create network systems that women might not otherwise have, (iii) identify issues for women; and (iv) to provide a voice for women at the highest level. We discuss the groups involved below.

- **The Women in Policing Network**. This is the most prominent group in the NZ Police. It was formerly the National Women's Consultative Committee (NWCC).[13] The NWCC was approved in 1993. The aim of the network, then and now, is to assist the organisation to achieve excellence in policing by realising the potential of all women through maximising opportunities, removing barriers, and valuing diversity (NZ Police, 2006b). The role of the network is to monitor existing and new policies and procedures that may

12 Barriers identified included the traditional images of women in the service being maintained, women failing to recognise their ability to succeed, female Police staff are not sufficiently valued within the service, perceptions of the general public and in particular ethnic minority groups of Policing as not a career for women, isolation of women in higher ranks and in speciality roles, inflexible training and development opportunities, lack of women's perspective and input on key policy bodies at strategic and tactical levels, needs of women not being fully recognised (including appropriateness of specialised equipment and uniforms), negative perceptions of those taking part-time or flexible work options, lack of consistency across and within forces in using existing flexible employment practices. For more details and suggested actions see *Gender Agenda 2* http://www.bawp.org/assets/file/ GA2%20Mark2.pdf

13 It was reported in the NZ Police *Annual Report 2006* that the NWCC name had been changed to Women in Policing Network in to 'reflect the changing requirements for Women in the Police'. The name allowed for all members of Police including males to be involved – with significant contributions from males sometimes identified.

adversely affect both sworn and non-sworn women; it also recommends the development of new policies and procedures.

The Women in Policing Network is made up of individuals nominated from Regional committees representing the Districts. In 2006/07, there were eight national meetings, typically hosted by different Regions. Network members are also invited to participate in working groups - e.g. that looking at the Flexible Work Practices Framework, concerned with new policies for flexibility in the workplace.

The Annual Report 2006/07 noted that efforts have been made to widen the support of the network in Districts, with a District showcased each month, and women from the District invited to the network meeting being hosted in their area. The District Commander and HR manager from the District have also been invited to participate. A booklet is planned once all Districts have had opportunity to showcase (NZ Police, 2007b).

- **The Commissioners' Australasian Women in Policing Advisory Committee (CAWIPAC)** is another key group. This typically meets twice a year, and New Zealand hosted a committee meeting in 2007. This group is reported to be the primary advisory body for both Australian and New Zealand Police Commissioners on issues relating to women in Australasian policing jurisdictions (NZ Police, 2007b). It was formed as a result of a resolution from the Australasian Police Ministers Council in November 1996 and is sponsored by the Australasian Police Commissioners. Between 1999 and 2001, the CAWIPAC developed a strategic plan that has five directions (leadership, partnership, professionalism, accountability and performance measurement). The Women in Policing Network supported by the National Equity and Diversity Office is responsible for implementing the CAWIPAC strategic plan in New Zealand. There is also the CAWIPAC Action Plan mentioned above.

- **Police Federation of Australia Women's Advisory Committee (PFWAC)**. This group comprises women from Australian police unions and was formed in early 1997. The 2007 PRWAC conference was held in Wellington, hosted by the NZ Police.

- **National Equity and Diversity Office, EEO and Diversity Liaison Officers**. The National Equity and Diversity Office, the District EEO, and Diversity Liaison Officers have roles in representing and advancing women in the Police. In 2006/07, 27 of the 40 Diversity Liaison Officers were women. The Officers,
  - provide advice;
  - coordinate implementation of all equity and diversity initiatives;
  - give operational advice;
  - establish effective communication and partnerships between the Police and a range of diverse communities; and
  - have responsibilities to develop good working relationships with gay and lesbian communities.

  As said in Section 4.1, the National Equity and Diversity Office has recently written a Strategic Plan to assist Officers and Districts in their work.

- **The Police Federation of Australia Women's Advisory Committee Conference (PFWAC)**. This conference provides opportunities for like-minded union advocates to

network and develop strategies to advance issues that they felt need to be addressed within their own jurisdictions and within the PFWAC. NZ Police hosted the Conference in Wellington last year.

In sum, there appears to be considerable commitment from NZ Police to ensure that there is consultation with and representation by women. The underlying thrust appears to be to change organisational culture in ways that will make the Police a more attractive career option for women. Clearly, though, for these networks and groups to succeed, there must be commitment and support for them at all management levels.

4.3 Flexible employment practices

NZ Police seem aware of the challenges faced by women in balancing commitments to work and family. They have signed up to a Work / Life Balance Project and have developed and implemented a Flexible Employment Option (FEO) policy, which are discussed below.

The Work / Life Balance project

This is a project being run by the Department of Labour in which NZ Police have participated since 2005. It is applicable to all staff, but has particular relevance to women with children. The project aims to create a productive work culture where the potential for tension between work, home and leisure is minimised. It led to a survey of NZ Police staff, a review of other NZ Police initiatives, and focus groups held in three Districts (NZ Police, 2008a).

The project is overseen by a committee who have recently identified three areas for prioritisation:

- equipping and supporting mangers who are key to changing the culture of NZ Police;
- work on rosters to create flexibility and recognition of the impact on shift work on health and families; and
- the need for and ability to take leave (e.g., at busy times).

The Flexible Employment Option (FEO).

This has particular implications for recruiting 'rejoiners' (women who rejoin the service after maternity leave), but also impacts on the retention of women officers and perhaps to a lesser extent new recruits.

The FEO was largely based on a similar scheme in New South Wales. A draft policy was developed in 1992, with the current FEO approved and implemented in late 1994 (Corbett, 1998). It is a discretionary option that enables sworn officers to work a reduced number of hours per rostered fortnight. (It is also open to those returning from maternity leave, parental leave, child-care leave, leave without pay, or full-time study leave.) FEO-approved officers must work at least 32 hours and not more than 64 hours per rostered fortnight up to a maximum of ten hours per shift. Salary, annual leave, and sick leave are calculated on a pro rata basis (Corbett, 1998). A notable aspect of the policy is that staff retain all benefits including leave and salary levels (allocated on a pro rata basis).

There have been mixed reports on the effectiveness of the FEO. Hyman (2000) found that it was much appreciated by many who had access to it, but was not widely used. She found that management support the FEO in principle, aware that part-time staff have high productivity in

the labour market generally. However, some women officers indicated they were reluctant to take up the FEO, partly because they feel (particularly in the CIB) that they are not pulling their weight – for instance, if they are unavailable for call outs.

Rose (2002) carried out research with 87 officers who were currently or had previously worked part-time (77 women and 10 men). She concluded that if implemented well, part-time work offers a viable way to balance officers' needs, ensure retention of trained staff, and add value to career development. However, she found that while women were able to balance work and family better, part-time work had career costs: none of those surveyed had gained promotion while working part-time. Moreover, the majority (80%) of women had to change their policing role when they moved to part-time work, in many cases being put in positions requiring a lower level of skills and knowledge. There were also issues over whether there was an adequate review process if an application for FEO was refused.

On a more positive note, a small study of 16 women who had used the FEO found that 12 of them said they would not be working if FEO had not been an option (Corbett, 1998). It was estimated that these 12 women had a combined length of service of 100 years – which would have been costly to replace.

Overseas

In the UK, Tuffin (2001) evaluated flexible working practices in the Police service. She found that those forces that introduced part-time working as part of a pilot scheme in 1992 had attracted more women 'rejoiners' than other forces over the next four years. Offering part-time work was also seen as effective in retaining female officers, with half those interviewed saying they would have left the service otherwise. (The majority of these had over ten years experience.) The women reported that more control over hours was more important than a reduction in hours. However, as found in New Zealand, there was a downside in terms of negative impact on career development.

The Greater Manchester Police have introduced a childcare voucher scheme to help staff balance work and childcare responsibilities. There were limited details available of this scheme, but the Home Office reported that it had helped the force to promote a positive image and reduce the number of days lost through absenteeism. It was also reported to have increased recruitment of staff and reduced the number of people leaving the force because of childcare issues (Home Office, 2008).

More flexible training options

In 2000, New South Wales Police modified the format of their entry training so that two out of the first three modules were offered through distance learning. Interviews with nine students who chose the distance learning option confirmed it made a career in policing more obtainable. Six of the nine said they would not have joined had distance learning not been available (Woolston, 2002).

Tuffin's (2001) UK report also noted the problem of residential training for single women with children. She reports that more flexible training options for all ranks are currently under consideration by National Police Training and by many force training departments (details were not specified).

4.4 Leadership

The low representation of women officers at higher ranks was a significant barrier identified in Section 2. One way NZ Police have attempted to address this is through **leadership and development programmes** specifically for women (sworn and non-sworn).[14] The programmes are designed to "assist Police to meet the challenges facing them, by equipping its members with appropriate leadership and management skills and capabilities that will enable them to demonstrate effective leadership within the organisations and the community" (NZ Police, 2007b: 32). In 2006/07, there were nine programmes involving 135 staff.

Lianne Dalziel (Minister of Women's Affairs) spoke highly of these leadership development courses at the recent PFWAC conference in 2007. She referred to one course run in the Waitemata Police District, where all women on the course were chosen because the Acting District Commander at the time, (Inspector Janet Hope) believed them capable of becoming future leaders in NZ Police (Dalziel, 2007).

4.5 Modifying selection process and entry criteria

Physical fitness requirements for entry into the Police have been recognised as a significant barrier to women both in New Zealand and overseas. Over the years, the Police have reviewed requirements responding to human rights concerns over potential discrimination because of gender and age. The current form of the PAT and PCT is the product of the last comprehensive review carried out in 1993 (see Section 3.5 for a description). The review had two aims: (1) to ensure that police recruits had the physical ability and fitness to meet the needs of front-line policing and RNZPC firearms training; and (2) to set standards that conformed to the requirements of the Human Rights Act 1993. The PAT test was revised again in 2006 to better reflect gender differences. While the nature of the test was not changed, run times, the grip test, the Body Mass Index standard, and the wall test were altered (NZ Police, 2006c).[15] Currently there are gender and age specific standards for both these tests, but it is unclear if these were brought in 1993 or with the more recent 2006 revisions.

Cerno (2007) has recently reviewed the full battery of entry standards and tests in terms of applicability and potential discrimination. The review concluded that the PAT and PCT tests were reliable and valid for testing fitness, but noted that no systematic review of the tests had been carried out since 1993 as regards whether they were relevant to current performance requirements. For example, the grip strength test was originally designed to ensure safe use of firearms that are no longer in current use. Also, more recent changes to gender-based run times were said not to follow sound and rigorous processes to ensure the changes were defensible.

4.6 Recruitment and marketing campaigns

The recruitment (in general) of a sufficiency of high quality police officers is an ongoing issue for NZ Police, particularly in the current climate of low unemployment and job competition.

14 In *Annual Report 2006/07*, there is reference to the development of a two-day leadership training course specifically for women. The aim of the course (entitled 'Achieving High Energy, High Performance') is to enable women to become 'confident achievers and to support them to reach their potential by developing the key skills and confidence'.

15 The wall test was reduced from 6ft to 4ft, but recruits still need to reach the previous 6ft standard prior to graduating from the Police College.

They are currently tasked with recruiting an additional 1,000 officers by June 2009. Targeted recruitment and marketing campaigns are an obvious response to improving recruitment of particular groups.

NZ Police have invested time and resources to developing effective recruitment strategies. For instance,

- 1996 saw a re-design of the recruitment process (the Business Process Re-engineering project), which involved working towards a decentralised model of recruitment, using regional recruitment specialists. There were also national recruitment specialists and national recruitment managers responsible for new entrants (NZ Police, 1997).
- 2001 saw *People in Policing: a five year HR Strategy to 2006* (see Section 4.1)
- 2006 saw the employment of the advertising agency M.C. Saatchi and a recruitment marketing manager to assist in the recruitment drive for the 1,000 additional officers.

There are initiatives within the general strategies specifically designed to increase the recruitment of women. In the most recent *HR Initiative Brief* (see Section 4.1), the following initiatives are listed:

- Using media used by female audiences (e.g., ads in magazines for women, television schedules based on shows with high female ratings, and use of radio stations that attract female listeners).
- Creating a strong presence at events that enjoy a high female patronage
- Ensuring that the creative concepts in advertising appeal to the female audience.

The June 2007 NZ Police Public Confidence and Satisfaction Survey evaluated the effectiveness of a range of NZ Police advertising media such as television, magazines, internet, radio, street posters, bus stops, bus interiors (NZ Police, 2007e). A total of 2400 members of the public were surveyed of which 1223 were female. Results indicated the media was reaching a wide group of people, with around 70% of both males and females being aware that NZ Police were recruiting new officers. Television was clearly the type of media where most people had noticed adverts, and this was particularly true for females (74%) compared to males (69%). In terms of recruitment, the advertising appeared to be more effective for males than females, with just nine percent of females being prompted to think about a career in the police, compared to 18% of males. However, as a result of the media, a greater proportion of females reported that a career in policing was now more appealing (41% females compared to 33% of males).

The effectiveness of recruitment advertising was also noted in the *HR Initiative Brief*, evidenced by an increase in calls to the 0800 NEWCOPS number from 1,801 to 3,454 a month, following a media launch in November 2006 (NZ Police, 2007b). Howard Broad, the Police Commissioner, speaking at the recent PFWAC conference, reported that calls to this number by women "run at 50% of those made by men" (NZ Police Association, 2007). The 0800 number was found by Forsyte Research to be generally regarded as 'efficient and useful' by both males and females (Forsyte Research, 2000).

Another NZ marketing initiative we know of is a resource package for secondary schools developed in 1993 under the title *'The Changing Role of Women in the Police'*. This was aimed at fourth year social studies classes, and was implemented by Police Officers and teachers working

in partnership. The aim, even back then, was to expose young girls to information and ideas about women in the police, in order to boost recruitment (NZ Police, 1993).

We also note that on the Police 'NewCOPS' recruitment webpage a female police officer is profiled alongside a male officer (http://www.newcops.co.nz/Home).

Overseas

In the US, the National Centre for Women in Policing in collaboration with the Institute for Women in Trades, Technology and Science have made available an extensive range of recruitment and marketing strategies that are described as 'best practice' (for full details see Harrington (2000) and Milgram, (2002). These include:

- **Segmenting the market** – and developing targeting marketing for each segment (e.g., for women, using a recruiting web page solely for women, or sponsoring a police career orientation day just for women).
- **Messaging** – getting sworn officers (men and women) to talk about the messages women receive about being a police officer. The main aim here is to counteract negative messages and reinforce positive ones – e.g. "we have women officers who are role models in our department; we want women; they have upward career paths," and so on.
- **Assessment** – comparing what is currently being done to recruit women to what is known about best practice strategies. Also recommended is statistical analysis to see if women are being disproportionately screened out at any stage, and cost benefit analyses of different recruitment strategies.
- **The internet** – as an inexpensive way of reaching thousands of potential applicants. Suggestions include, women specific recruitment pages, dedicated adverts on job websites, internet adverts such as banners on pop-up messages on websites dedicated to women, and participation in email lists dedicated to women. Also recommended is the use of an e-list signup on the women's recruitment page containing tips on preparing for the physical agility test, key dates, and information on the application process.
- **Women in Policing career fairs** – a two to three hour event preferably in the evenings or weekend so that employed women can attend. Core elements should include:
  - a plenary role-model panel of three or four women officers from a variety of assignments (including women new to the police service) who talk about their work;
  - information about the application and selection process;
  - tips to help women prepare for the physical agility test;
  - keynote addresses from the chief and a high-ranking female officer;
  - displays of police equipment and uniforms; and
  - a place where attendees can ask questions in a non-plenary setting.
- **Advertising strategies** – for career fairs and other recruitment events, which include:
  - Using free media coverage by inviting human interest stories on women in policing.
  - Press releases or press conference ahead of specific events.
  - Ensuring that at least one third of images on recruitment materials feature women (web sites, brochures, flyers).
  - Developing a target list to reach women who are physically active, (e.g. flyers in gyms and the locker rooms of women's sport teams. (The Delaware State Police Dept recruited several successful applicants by posting flyers in the women's locker room of

a local health club, and a conference for aerobics instructors.) Another useful source is women with hobbies traditionally dominated by males (e.g., aviation, skydiving, target shooting, gun clubs, and car restoration). Women in military reserves and veterans' groups are also seen as a good potential pool, as are police civilian employees. Targeting advertising at the places where women frequent is also an obvious route: supermarkets, self-service laundries, shopping malls, hair salons, women's bookstores, etc.

- Linking in with colleges that offer criminal justice programmes to develop a collaborative goal of recruiting women students.
- Offering internships for students.
- Considering the composition of recruitment staff – a department's recruitment staff should reflect the applicants it wishes to hire.

Many of these principles and strategies have been trialled in US police departments. In 1995, Albuquerque (New Mexico) Police Department (APD) was selected to participate in a national demonstration project called the **'New Workplace for Women Project'**, which has been referred to in section 4.1. This was designed to create new strategies to help employers recruit and integrate women into male-dominated occupations. The project incorporated many of the ideas listed above, and also included a zero-tolerance policy with respect to sexual harassment, modified selection procedures, and revised standard operating procedures to ensure they met the needs of women officers.

Milgram (2002) gives two examples of the effectiveness of the **use of the internet**. The San Jose Police Department in 2000 analysed the percentage of female recruits in their training academy and found it had jumped from 8% to 50% in one year. The only change in recruitment strategy was the creation of a 'Women in Policing' section on its website, featuring biographies and photos of the departments diverse group of female officers. A survey of applicants by the California Highway Patrol also found that the internet was the main way that its applicants learnt about job openings.

4.7 Research, monitoring and evaluation

Commissioning and carrying out research is another proactive response to address identified problems. A good example of this is the study quoted extensively throughout this report by Hyman (2000) into the recruitment, progress and retention of women in the Criminal Investigation Branch (CIB). It provided in-depth analysis of many of the problems of recruiting and retaining women, as well as possible solutions. While the focus was on women in the CIB, many findings have wider applicability.

NZ Police have also commissioned or conducted a number of useful surveys of public perceptions of a career in the Police (NZ Police, 1996), and the perceptions of potential recruits - including those who do not progress with their application (Colmar Brunton, 1998; Forsyte Research, 2001). It would be useful to update these surveys and conduct additional research on:

- Police recruits in training (e.g., what made them decide to apply, and the impact of different recruitment strategies);
- what high school and university students feel about a career in policing; and
- women officers who leave the service (i.e., analysis of exit interviews by gender).

The monitoring and reporting of gendered police statistics is also recognised as critical to ensuring progress (Hyman, 2000; Prenzler and Hayes, 2000). A survey across State Police Departments in Australia found that those who collected and were able to supply the best data on women in the police, generally showed the best results (Prenzler and Hayes, 2000). For example, New South Wales supplied the most data in 1998, and had the highest proportion of female recruits (at 43%).

NZ Police appears to be regularly monitoring and reporting gender statistics for sworn and non-sworn officers in their *Annual Reports*. We were given no evidence of collation of what would be useful data (though it may be being done) on:

- the use of the FEO;
- rates of failure by gender for PAT / PCT and other entry criteria;
- the representation of women across different sections of the police, e.g., specialist squads and detective work; and
- rates of attrition and average years of service, by gender.

4.8 Endnote

Increasing the representation of women in policing is slow work. Part of the reason for this is the difficulty of producing fundamental organisational change to rectify what women encounter in policing in terms of everyday attitudes and their working environment. There is clearly substantial formal commitment to better policies for women to attract more recruits, and retain them.

Part II: Literature Review on Barriers to Recruiting Māori, Pacific and Ethnic Minorities into the Police

Part II of this report reviews the literature on the barriers to recruiting Māori, Pacific and ethnic peoples (Maori and ethnic minorities hereon) into the Police. It also looks at the strategies that have been adopted in New Zealand and internationally to overcome these barriers. The literature has been divided into four main sections:

a. **Setting the scene** – a brief coverage of the historical context of ethnic diversity in the police service, followed by a presentation of the trends and current status of achieving an ethnically diverse police service in New Zealand.

b. **Views of the Police as a career option** – available literature on how joining the Police is viewed as a career option by Māori and ethnic minority groups in New Zealand and ethnic minority groups internationally.

c. **Barriers to recruitment** – what is known about barriers and challenges to recruiting Māori and ethnic minority groups into NZ Police. New Zealand and international literature is combined as many of the barriers to recruiting these groups are common across countries (e.g., police culture).

d. **Responses and mitigation strategies** – a review of the responses to recruitment barriers and strategies adopted to increase the representation of Māori and ethnic minorities in the Police, and the success (or otherwise) of these initiatives. Strategies implemented in New Zealand are reviewed first, followed by additional initiatives tried overseas.

1 Setting the scene

1.1 Historical backdrop

The principle that the composition of the police workforce should mirror that of the wider public in order to win public consent and police legitimacy is not new - and far from tied to the more culturally diverse conditions that now hold. Rather, it has held since modern, professional police services were established in liberal democracies in the first part of the 19th century.[16] In New Zealand, police leaders adopted a degree of ethnic matching even during the era of colonial quasi-military policing, relying on Māori officers to provide effective policing of Māori communities (Hill, 1986). In other colonial policing systems, too, the recruitment and deployment of minorities was seen as expedient and efficient. Regarding the Indian Police Service, a Royal Commission in 1912 recommended greater efforts to recruit Indians, appoint them to senior posts, and equalise salaries (Griffiths, 1971: 189). During the era of Jim Crow racial segregation in the United States, black officers were employed to police African American

16 Police historians have noted that opposition to the Metropolitan Police in London in 1829 was overcome, in part, by insistence that officers were 'citizens in uniform' whose legal powers and status were broadly the same as ordinary members of the public (Emsley, 1996; Reiner, 2000).

communities (Roberg et al., 2005). Black officers were also employed to police racial segregation in apartheid South Africa (Cawthra, 1993).

In the contemporary period, commitment to police services being broadly representative of jurisdictional ethnic profiles can be largely traced back to the civil rights movement in the United States in the 1960s that resonated powerfully elsewhere. In Australia, the need to improve minority recruitment had held for many years, although it was not until the mid-1990s that the service began to develop policies and strategies (National Police Ethnic Advisory Bureau, 1998). In Britain, efforts to recruit minority ethnic officers developed as far back as the late 1960s, but were given considerable impetus by the 1999 Macpherson Report - the effects of which are returned to. Elsewhere in Europe, commitment to a diverse police workforce has been piecemeal, reflecting varying contexts of cultural and ethnic relations. Yet the advantages of recruiting minorities were advocated by the Council of Europe (1994:15) in terms that reflect policy developments in other regions:

> *Europe is now becoming multiracial and multicultural … the composition of police forces (like that of every public administration) should normally be representative of the community it serves. This diversification of recruitment will establish a more trusting climate between the police and the different population groups. In addition, it will give the police in general a more accurate, more respectful and more sensitive vision of the various ethnic and racial groups.*

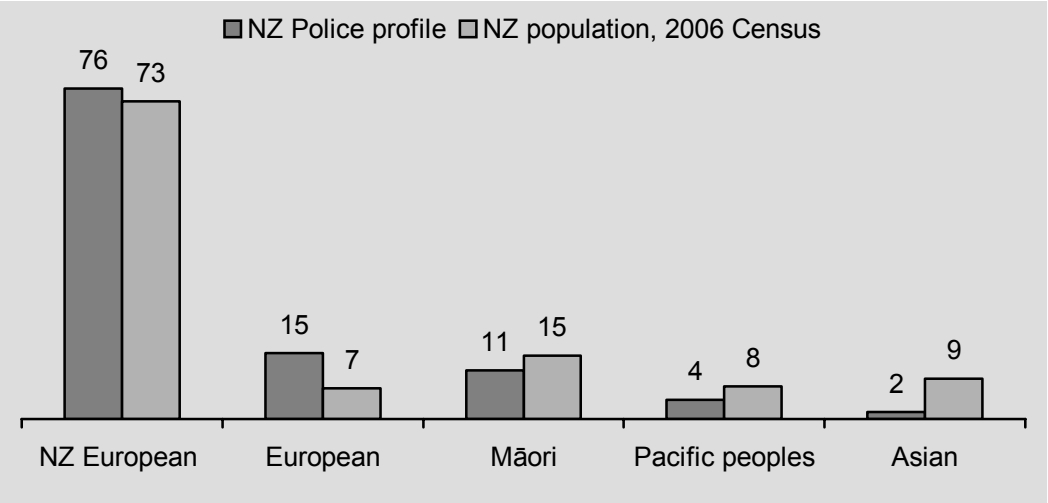
1.2 Current status

It is difficult to assess precisely the representation of Māori and ethnic minority officers in NZ Police because ethnicity is not specified for a large number of officers – particularly non-sworn officers. Figure II.1 shows the ethnic representation as presented in NZ Police's *Annual Report 2006-2007* (NZ Police, 2007b: 100) – although the bases of the figures are unclear.[17] On the face of it, Māori are under-represented in the Police workforce in terms of population share, and would be more so if the base was those of working age. Pacific peoples and Asians are rather more underrepresented.

It is open to debate of course how recruitment targets should be set. Maori and Pacific people are both over-represented in statistics of offenders and victims (although this is not the case for Asians), and to this extent there might be a case for exceeding population share (or working age population share). On the basis of offender statistics, women officers, in contrast, should be lower in number than the current target (35%-45%), although the figures on women as victims is a counter to this. Dealing with offenders and victims, however, is only part of the work of the police. Moreover, swaying the ethnic composition of the police service too far from the overall population picture might arguably been seen as inequitable as regards the majority population group.

17 It was not clear, for instance, whether the figures relate to sworn officers alone, or to both sworn and non-sworn officers. Nor was it clear how those for whom ethnicity was not specified were treated.

Figure II.1 Profile of NZ Police and the NZ population (percentages)



Notes: Based on the figures in the *Annual Report 2006-2007*, but with other *e*thnic groups not shown. Staff are given the option of recording two ethnic groups. If a staff member has chosen to do this, they will be counted in both groups. Therefore the percentages in this table will add to more than 100%.

Sworn staff

The *People in Policing HR Strategy* (NZ Police, 2001) established a target that, by 2005, 12.5% of sworn staff should be Māori, and 7% Pacific peoples. Later targets relating to recruits were more demanding (see *Introduction)*, with a target of 20-23% for Māori, 10-15% for Pacific peoples, and 5-10% for Asians.

Table II.1 shows the profile of sworn staff over the period June 2004 to June 2007 by gender and ethnic origin. About one in ten officers did not record their ethnicity, and the figures exclude these cases; in other words, they are based on officers who recorded their ethnicity. The main points are:

- The proportion of Māori in the workforce was higher in 2004 and 2005 than in the two subsequent years.
- Pacific peoples fall short of the 7% target, but recruitment has improved slightly each year since 2004.
- The proportion of Asians in the service is low, but again with a slight improvement since 2004. (It is clear that the low Asian recruitment could become significantly exacerbated by predicted population changes in the future, especially in the greater Auckland region where ethnic diversification is forecast to be most pronounced.)
- The proportion of Māori men of all male officers is similar to the proportion of Māori women of all female officers. Pacific males are slightly better represented than Pacific females.

Table II.1 NZ Police: sworn staff, by ethnicity and gender (percentages)

	2004			2005			2006			2007		
	Male	Female	**Total**	Male	Female	**Total**	Male	Female	**Total**	Male	Female	**Total**
NZ European/ Pakeha	78.5	80.4	**78.8**	77.3	78.6	**77.5**	76.5	77.8	**76.7**	75.0	76.8	**75.3**
European	11.5	12.7	**11.7**	11.6	13.3	**11.8**	16.2	11.3	**15.3**	16.4	12.3	**15.7**
NZ Māori	16.8	11.7	**16.0**	16.1	10.6	**15.2**	11.6	12.6	**11.8**	11.4	11.8	**11.5**
Pacific peoples	3.9	2.7	**3.7**	4.2	2.8	**4.0**	4.3	2.8	**4.1**	4.5	3.1	**4.3**
Asian peoples	0.7	0.8	**0.7**	0.9	0.9	**0.9**	1.1	1.1	**1.1**	1.5	1.3	**1.4**
Other	0.5	0.7	**0.5**	0.4	0.6	**0.4**	0.2	0.8	**0.3**	0.4	0.5	**0.4**

Source: NZ Police annual reports.

Officers who did not specify their ethnicity are excluded in this table. As staff are also given the option of recording up to two ethnic groups, the column percentages will add to more than 100%.

It is difficult to judge the ethnicity of the one in ten officers who did not specify it – albeit this poses more of a problem with non-sworn officers for whom currently more than four in ten did not specify their ethnicity. It might be that the non-respondents include a significant number of ethnic minority staff who, for a variety of reasons, do not wish to be categorised in this way. In this case, the proportion of minority staff will be slightly under-represented in the figures above. Alternatively, it might be that NZ Europeans do not record their ethnicity as they assume that it only apply to minority groups. In this case, the proportion of minority staff will be slightly over-represented in the figures above.

It is difficult to track changes in ethnic minority representation over a longer period of time (even back to 2000 for instance) because of changes in ethnic classifications.

Other jurisdictions

- Comparisons between New Zealand and other jurisdictions indicate that New Zealand seems to be doing better in representing the dominant ethnic minority population. In England and Wales, the proportion of black and minority ethnic (BME) officers in 2005 was 3.5%, an increase on the previous year (3.3%) but below the 2004 target of 4% (Home Office, 2006). The 2001 Census showed that 7.9 per cent of the British population was of BME background. The BME officers comprised 3.8% of all Constables, 2.4% of Sergeants, 2.3% of Inspectors and Chief Inspectors, and 2.3% of Superintendents and above. Of the BME officers, 37% classified themselves as Asian, 26% Black, 25% Mixed, and 12% as 'Chinese and Other' (Home Office, 2006).

- In Australia, the proportion of indigenous police staff compared to population share is measured by the Productivity Commission in terms of those aged 20-64 (because of the younger age profile of the indigenous population). On this basis, the proportion of the total population from indigenous backgrounds is small at approximately 2.5%, although the proportion in the Northern Territory is significantly higher. The latest figures show that the proportion of indigenous police staff in 2006-07 was similar to population share for those aged 20–64 years for most jurisdictions except the Northern Territory, where 12% of the police service were indigenous as against 24% of the population in the age range (Productivity Commission, 2008).

– In the United States, affirmative action policies to address racial and ethnic inequality in public services and politics generally proved relatively effective in the context of minority ethnic police officers. Hard evidence on the numbers recruited across the US as a whole is difficult to come by, partly because of the huge diversity of police agencies operating at state and federal level. Department of Justice (2006) data show that a third of federal officers were members of a racial or ethnic minority in 2004, including 18% Hispanic or Latino, and 11% who were black or African American. Most analysts agree with Dilulio's (2005: 80) perception that:

> *… virtually every big city has increased the percentage of blacks on its police force, moved the force nearer to mirroring the racial composition of its citizenry, and seen blacks become precinct captains, deputy chiefs, commissioners, and mayors. Between 1983 and 1992 the percentage of blacks on big-city police forces increased in each and every one of the nation's ten biggest police departments – rising 50 percent to 67.8 percent in Washington D.C., to take one example, where blacks were 65.8 per cent of the local population.*

Non-sworn staff

Table II.1 shows the non-sworn staff over the period June 2004 to June 2007 by gender and ethnic origin. The data in Table II.2 again excludes those who did not specify ethnicity – and those formed a substantial proportion (45% in 2007 for instance).The main points are:

– The ethnic profile of non-sworn staff in NZ Police is similar to sworn officers, although Māori are slightly less well-represented among non-sworn staff, while Pacific people and Asians are slightly more.

– In the last two years, the proportion of Māori men of all male civilians is a little smaller than the proportion of Māori women of all female civilians. The same pattern in evident for Asians, but the converse for Pacific peoples.

Table II.2 NZ Police: non-sworn staff, by ethnicity and gender (percentages)

	2004			2005			2006			2007		
	Male	Female	**Total**	Male	Female	**Total**	Male	Female	**Total**	Male	Female	**Total**
NZ European/ Pakeha	82.1	80.9	**81.2**	81.4	80.1	**80.5**	79.8	79.9	**79.9**	78.6	78.3	**78.4**
European	6.1	9.0	**8.1**	6.2	9.0	**8.1**	11.9	12.5	**12.3**	12.3	12.4	**12.3**
NZ Māori	12.2	12.8	**12.6**	11.6	12.9	**12.5**	7.2	9.3	**8.6**	7.0	10.2	**9.2**
Pacific peoples	3.2	5.8	**5.0**	2.8	5.7	**4.8**	2.8	5.6	**4.7**	2.6	6.1	**5.0**
Asian peoples	2.4	1.5	**1.8**	3.0	1.8	**2.2**	3.0	2.4	**2.6**	3.9	2.0	**2.6**
Other	1.0	0.6	**0.7**	1.1	0.7	**0.8**	1.5	0.6	**0.9**	1.5	0.6	**0.9**

Source: NZ Police annual reports.

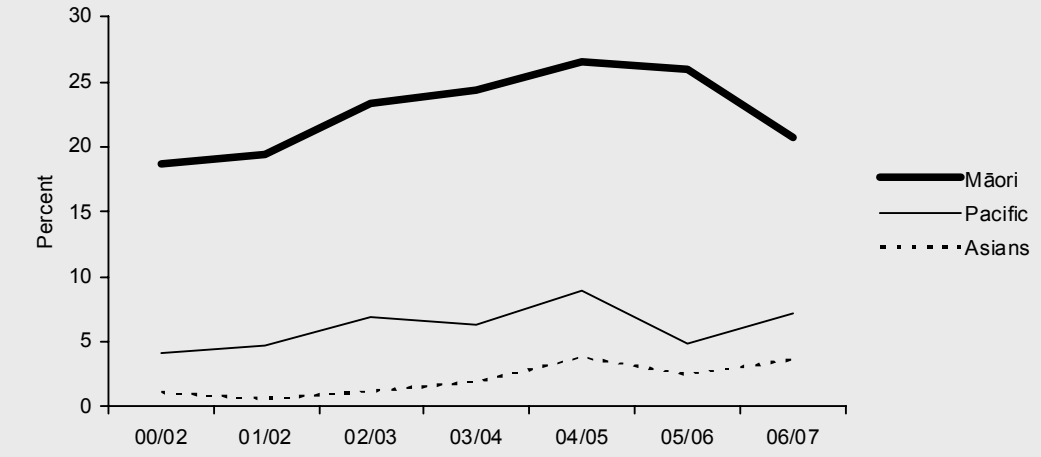
Officers who did not specify their ethnicity are excluded in this table. As staff are also given the option of recording up to two ethnic groups, the column percentages will add to more than 100%.

In the British police and criminal justice sector generally, more ethnic minorities (and women) are employed in civilian support roles than among the sworn ranks: 5.9 per cent of police staff are of BME background, compared to 3.3 per cent of sworn officers (Home Office, 2006).

Recruits

The ethnic profile of new recruits, measured in terms of those graduating from the Police College in New Zealand, suggests an increase in Māori and minority ethnic representation since 2000/01. Figure II.2 shows that the proportion of Māori graduates increased from 18.7% in 2000/01 to 25.5% in 2004/05, and then fell back to 20.7% in 2006/07. Encouragingly, the percentage of Pacific peoples and Asians has also increased substantially during the same period.

Figure II.2 Minority ethnic graduates from RNZ Police College



Source: Data supplied by NZ Police, 18 December 2007. Note 06\07 figure is an estimate.

2 Views of policing as a career option

The research evidence from New Zealand and internationally clearly indicates three main points, which are discussed more fully in turn.

- First, the way in which Māori and ethnic minorities view a career in policing is not wholly distinct from that of others.
- Secondly, some factors nonetheless appear to influence perceptions more strongly for ethnic minorities.
- Thirdly, ethnic minority communities are themselves internally differentiated.

2.1 The generality of views

It is not hard to believe that different ethnic minority groups as a whole might have differing views about policing as a career, and this is important insofar as majority attitudes shape individual choices to a degree. Negative views about policing held by family and friends in particular may be imparted to young people in the throes of a career choice. This said, having got to the position of deciding to apply to join the Police service, the reasons for doing so seem to vary little along ethnic lines.

Thus, evidence from international research consistently shows that perceptions of a career in policing are broadly shared by potential applicants whatever their ethnic background (Stone & Tuffin, 2000). They are shaped by factors such as pay and pensions, conditions of employment, and opportunities for excitement; and risk of violence on the negative side.

Research conducted in New Zealand seems to reinforce this conclusion, although the research is limited. Lawry (2005), found that potential Asian recruits to the NZ Police were attracted by excitement, working outside, the flexibility of police work, job security, and the opportunity to perform a socially useful job – although these attitudes were broadly shared by others. Jaeger and Vitalis (2005) found that minorities were motivated to join the NZ Police by social factors such as making a difference to the community, but also by financial considerations such as receiving a salary during training that makes a police career more attractive than continuing into higher education.

2.2 More specific minority views

While many attributes of a police job are viewed similarly by potential recruits irrespective of ethnicity, there is evidence that some factors appear to influence career choice more strongly for Māori and ethnic minorities. Thus, in New Zealand, recent work by Ho et al. (2006) suggests that ethnic minorities are attracted to a career in policing because it was seen as a well-paid challenging job, 'respectable', and likely to enhance skills.

However, two particular factors seem to carry weight in prompting those in Māori and ethnic minorities to consider a career in policing. One of these is helping their own communities. Closely related is that ethnic minorities may enter policing as 'agents of change'. This suggests that while perceptions of police racism might be a barrier to recruitment for some, as is discussed later, for others the same perception might provide a challenge and so be a reason to join.

Thus, in New Zealand, Ho et al. (2006) found that one of the reasons for entering policing given by ethnic minorities was the prospect of helping their own community. Jaeger and Vitalis (2005) also argued this was highly valued in Māori and Polynesian cultures.

In New York, helping 'their own people' was found to be more of a factor for Hispanic and black recruits than it was for whites – albeit that a helping role was the single most important motivation for entering policing across all ethnic groups (Raganella & White, 2004). On that basis, the conclusion drawn was that recruitment strategies for all ethnic groups ought to *'emphasize the helping aspect of the job, as well as the benefits, security, and opportunity for advancement'* (Raganella & White, 2004: 512).

In Australia, a similar theme has emerged. A review of recruitment of indigenous people into police and criminal justice in Australia noted that a major barrier was a historical backdrop of poor relations between indigenous communities and the Police (Drew et al., 1999). Tense community relations appear to dissuade people from applying, as well as fostering suspicion and hostility toward those from ethnic minority groups who do join the Police service. Contrarily, though, the same review noted that poor ethnic-police relationships could lead some indigenous communities to want more of their numbers to be recruited. Poor police-community relations, then, might actually motivate some to join the service as 'agents of change' (Drew et al., 1999). This might explain why Māori have continued to join the Police despite the fact that research has also shown that Māori have a strong distrust of the Police and feel that the Police have anti-Māori attitudes and practices (see, e.g., Te Whaiti & Roguski, 1998). In a similar vein, the NZ Crime and Safety Survey (Mayhew & Reilly, 2007) found that Māori and Asians have least confidence in the Police, but Pacific peoples are not far behind NZ Europeans. It is unclear from both the NZ and international literature, then, what the relation is between ethnicity, perceptions of the police service, and recruitment patterns.

2.2 Differences in views across minority communities

Evidence from the literature indicates that there is some danger in generalising about a 'single' ethnic minority perspective on policing issues: different ethnic groups appear to have particular perspectives on some counts. Jaeger and Vitalis (2005) found, for example, that Indians did not share the perception of other minority groups that policing is a well-paid career. Furthermore, Ho et al.'s (2006) study found that:

- Koreans tended to regard New Zealand as a low-crime society with less of a gang-problem than Korea and so perceived policing to be a relatively safe and stress-free job. In contrast, others from an Asian background felt that policing was dangerous.
- Cambodian and Vietnamese communities had positive views of the police and their capacity to protect communities.
- Indian respondents did not tend to regard policing as a high status career.
- Somali and Vietnamese youth felt that racism was a problem within police culture, although this concern was not shared by most respondents.
- Age, and to a lesser extent gender, affected ethnic minority attitudes, which meant that perceptions of policing varied within communities. For example, Middle Eastern youths had relatively negative attitudes but older people from that community tended to express positive views of the police.

A clear implication of Ho et al.'s (2006) study was that ethnic minority attitudes towards a career in the police service reflected their country of origin, and were differentiated on this account. Similar findings were noted in Australia in relation to minorities from India, the Middle East, South America, and Asian countries, who were dissuaded from joining the police because of poor local police-community relations that also contributed to parental influence against policing as a career (National Police Ethnic Advisory Bureau, 1998: 13).

3 Barriers to recruitment

This section considers the main factors that have emerged in the literature about barriers to the recruitment of Māori and ethnic minorities, bearing in mind that the discussion above of perceptions of policing as a career already provided strong clues.

3.1 Lack of knowledge

In his study of Asian recruitment into the NZ Police, Lawry (2005) found that a key barrier was that minorities know less about police work, and are unaware that non-sworn occupations are available. They also tend not to have personal relations via friends or family of the sort that can attract people to policing as a career. In circumstances where police community relations and media coverage encourage negative perceptions of policing as a career, there is no opportunity, given the lack of kinship networks, for other informally-developed understanding of police careers to emerge among ethnic minority communities.

Lack of networks was also borne out in Forsyte Research's (2001: ii) study of police recruitment in New Zealand, which identified the 'central role of other police officers in influencing recruits' interest in joining the police … few Asian recruits knew current officers'. Nonetheless, Jaeger and Vitalis's (2005) study of ethnic and cultural minorities in NZ Police found that officers had been attracted by personal 'word of mouth', and that, conversely, targeted advertising campaigns had not influenced them. The family context was also significant since

potential minority recruits were dissuaded by their parents' negative perceptions of policing as a career, a factor also identified in the international context.

3.2 Language

Many ethnic minority staff, especially migrants from South East Asian countries (who are regarded as a prime target for recruitment), may not meet the English language requirements for police recruits. Clearly, a certain level of spoken and written English language competence is necessary for police recruits, but there is some evidence that this might be over-estimated by potential recruits who may also be unaware of support available to help them meet requirements (Lawry, 2005). Moreover, prospective recruits may not appreciate the benefits for the Police of employing multilingual staff in a culturally diverse society in which crime and security threats are themselves often of a transnational character.

3.3 Physical requirements

Height and fitness requirements that might be of limited relevance to routine policing indirectly discriminate against some minority communities, although this appears to be a more significant barrier in the case of female applicants. Restrictions relating to height no longer apply to recruitment in NZ police, however, elsewhere, both height requirements and swimming ability have been seen as a barrier to the recruitment of Asian officers. Forsyte Research (2001) found the fear of failing the NZ fitness tests was a particular barrier for Asians. They commented that there was a common feeling that while the standards may be appropriate for New Zealand applicants, they are inappropriate for the typical Asian body type. However, a recent review by Cerno (2007) did not find any evidence to support this.

3.4 Cultural bias

Problems of bias in recruitment tests and training programmes have been identified in New Zealand as elsewhere. For example, a lack of flexibility has been identified in terms of allowing for the observance of religious requirements (e.g., fasting, praying, dietary needs, and clothing needs). In the case of ethnic minority female staff, some barriers relate to inappropriate or unnecessary policies that indirectly affect the recruitment of staff who do not correspond to the traditional background of police recruits. Uniform requirements, for example, that do not meet with the cultural and religious practices of some communities may not actually relate to the practical necessities of police work.[18] Additionally, verbal reasoning tests used in the police recruitment process might be culturally specific, and effectively discriminate against cultural minorities (NZ Police, undated). Given that police officers have generally been Pakeha and European males, recruitment processes and policies, as well as the conditions of employment more generally, have been developed to appeal to these groups.

18 The Police Exectuive Committee and the Uniform Committee recently approved that NZP develop a uniform to accomodate the religious/cultural needs of Sikh members.

3.5 Racist police culture

The extent to which Māori and ethnic minority communities perceive racism as a feature of the working environment is unclear in the New Zealand context. While some research has suggested that Māori communities tend to regard the police service as hostile and threatening to their interests (Te Whaiti & Roguski, 1998), other studies have argued that such concerns are leavened by positive perceptions of NZ Police, and that the prospect of racism is only a minor factor for potential minority recruits (Lawry, 2005). Jaeger and Vitalis (2005) found that ethnic minority officers who were relatively young in their NZ Police career did not report that they had experienced racism but those with longer service suggested that they had encountered racism. Ho et al. (2006) found that 'very few' respondents said that they perceived NZ Police to be a racist organisation, although it was clear that negative experiences of police behaviour, in general terms, and poor police community relations were seen as inhibitors to a police career. This seems to suggest that the NZ Police culture is not widely regarded as actively racist, but that relations with minority communities are not always strong. The Section 4.7 has more discussion on the nature of racism in police culture, and efforts to tackle this.

A comprehensive British study of attitudes toward a career in policing suggests that perceptions of racism within policing have a negative impact in a variety of ways, and were a particular barrier for ethnic minorities (Stone and Tuffin, 2000). The following factors were important:

- the thought of having to work in a racist environment, and having to face prejudice from both colleagues and the general public on a daily basis;
- the isolation of minority ethnic police officers in a predominantly white male culture leading to them having to deny their cultural identity in order to fit in;
- the danger of the job and having to deal with unpleasant situations coupled with a lack of confidence in (racist) colleagues assisting them in circumstances where their life or physical safety were at risk;
- the anticipated reactions of friends or family, who they thought might be disappointed, fearful for their safety, and perhaps hostile. The fact that they also felt that minority ethnic police officers might be put under unreasonable pressure to reveal sensitive and confidential information;
- concerns over pressure on them from the local community to decide where their loyalties lay and, for Asian Muslim women with strong religious beliefs, whether the job was appropriate for a woman;
- Black and Asian women being anxious about being subjected to both sexism and racism if they joined the police; and
- a perception that minority ethnic police officers have little or no promotion prospects, which in turn would limit their chances of getting the financial rewards associated with the higher ranks of the police service.

4 Responses

In a period when NZ Police faces the challenge of recruiting greater numbers of staff in the context of a highly competitive employment market, innovative recruitment strategies are required to attract staff, regardless of their gender or ethnic origins. There are few examples of mitigation strategies that have been developed internationally but not implemented in New Zealand. We discuss below some of the strategies that have been developed to improve recruitment of Māori and ethnic minorities in particular.

4.1 Advertising and recruitment campaigns

Consistent with Police services in other jurisdictions, NZ Police have advertised and promoted careers in policing in specialist and minority ethnic media, such as Pitopito Korero.[19] They have also tasked the advertising agency M.C. Saatchi with a brief to recruit and attract ethnic minority and female candidates. District Equity and Diversity Networks are further tasked with eliciting positive work stories for 'Ten One' and similar publications (NZ Police, 2007d).[20] NZ Police have run recruitment seminars targeting particular ethnic minority communities: in 2004 such an event in Auckland was attended by 400 people (Equal Employment Opportunities Trust, 2004).

Advertising tailored to ethnic minority communities, and recruitment campaigns targeting community and cultural events, have been widely adopted by British police forces (Rowe, 2004). Often these have been similar in tone and style to the 'better work stories' developed in New Zealand.

In New Zealand there is a lack of systematic and ongoing research into the impact that advertising has had. NZ Police public confidence and satisfaction survey 2007 showed that a majority of all ethnic groups were aware of recent recruitment campaigns. However, a larger proportion of Māori and other non-European ethnic groups compared to the population as a whole, were not aware of efforts to boost recruitment (NZ Police, 2007e). In any case doubts have been raised about the extent to which such advertising, in and of itself, can compensate for poor police community relations. The Australian National Police Multicultural Advisory Bureau (ANPMAB) (2005) found that advertising was more effective if it included diversity as a general skill set required by a professional police officer, rather than more crudely sought to increase ethnic minority representation. The ANPMAB also noted that few campaigns, in any jurisdiction, were subject to proper review and analysis and that anecdotal evidence provided an insufficient basis on which to allocate scarce resources. NZ Police were noted as an example of good practice in terms of monitoring applications received as a result of particular recruitment campaigns (ANPMAB, 2005).

4.2 Reviewing entry requirements and recruitment processes

Another approach has been to review entry requirements and recruitment processes relating, for instance, to physical characteristics, fitness requirements, language tests, and cultural bias in assessment techniques. In 2006, for example, NZ Police updated the physical requirement standards for recruits (NZ Police, 2006c). A recent analysis of NZ Police recruitment requirements concluded that most current entry standards are appropriate and in the main robustly linked to operational demands (although there were some concerns about the current applicability of the PAT and PCT to operational demands). However, it did note that there were no mechanisms to ensure that they were applied consistently routinely or equitably (Cerno, 2007).

In Britain, among other strategies, some police services have revised uniform requirements such that Sikh officers can wear turbans and female Muslims can wear hijabs as part of their formal uniform (Holdaway and O'Neill, 2007). Additionally, training schools have become

19 Pitopito Korero is a newsletter published by the Ministry of Education.
20 Ten One is a monthly community newsletter of NZ Police.

more accommodating in terms of dietary and religious requirements of ethnic minority recruits (Rowe, 2004).

The Australian National Police Ethnic Advisory Bureau (2000) identified a range of successful strategies for the recruitment of staff, both as police officers and civilians, which included:

- the evaluation of entry criteria;
- recognition of educational qualifications and professional experience gained overseas;
- consideration of lateral entry for candidates who have worked in policing in countries with a broadly comparable police service;
- the need for recruiting staff to demonstrate 'cultural competence' in recruiting diverse communities;
- selection panels that are representative in terms of gender and ethnicity;
- recruitment units needing to report to ethnic and multicultural advisors;
- feedback to rejected candidates on areas in which they might improve, and advice on how they might address issues for development prior to re-application;
- graduated entry for capable candidates who have clear competence and commitment to a police career but who need some support, training or coaching to achieve all relevant criteria.

4.3 Providing pre-application support

Another approach to improving the recruitment of Māori and ethnic minorities has been the provision of pre-application support such as mentoring, training and coaching. The *Pacific Peoples Responsiveness Strategy 2002-2006* detailed a range of measures intended to attract greater number of applications from Pacific peoples (NZ police, 2002). NZ Police have provided applicants with information detailing steps that can be taken to ensure that entry requirements, such as those relating to English language skills, physical fitness, driving and so on, can be achieved. The recent review of entry requirements has broadly concluded that these are 'fit for purpose' and that the various tests applied are consistent with international frameworks and are associated with specific aspects of police work (Cerno, 2007).

4.4 Quotas

As a form of affirmative action, quotas have been used in the USA, although they have often rejected elsewhere as being counter-productive in the longer-term. For instance, officers who have, or are perceived to have entered the Police under quota schemes can be regarded with suspicion by future colleagues concerned that 'quota fillers' may not have the necessary skills and aptitudes (Cashmore, 2001; Johnston, 2006). Such concerns have also been expressed more generally with regard to ethnic minority officers who are perceived as having been given additional support or preferential treatment (Cashmore, 2001; O'Neill & Holdaway, 2007).

As the Police Service of Northern Ireland was re-developed in the context of the developing peace process in the territory, it adopted a quota such that 50% of recruits are appointed from the Protestant community and 50% from the Catholic population. However, these provisions have proved controversial and have been subject to on-going review – partly, and ironically in this context, because it overlooks the presence of minority ethnic communities who are not of the Christian faith.

4.5 Target-setting

In Britain, the publication of the 1999 Macpherson Report into the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993 included a raft of recommendations designed to improve the trust and confidence of minority ethnic communities in the police service. The report provided an authoritative agenda for police reform that continues to resonate (Rowe, 2007).

Among the recommendations was a proposal to set detailed targets for each of the 43 police forces in England and Wales, based upon the proportion of minority ethnic people living in each area. On this basis, the Metropolitan Police, by far the largest force in England and Wales, was set a target of recruiting 5,661 minority ethnic officers by 2009. Towards the opposite end of the scale, Bedfordshire police were required to attract 69 minority ethnic officers over the same period (Rowe, 2004: 35). Although police forces have generally continued to expend considerable resources on recruitment campaigns, have reviewed and revised joining criteria, and sought to improve retention, few forces will meet their targets. Indeed, the Home Office has abandoned the prescriptive goals. Moreover, Johnston (2006) suggests that police forces were adopting 'creative' counting of numbers of minority staff and that attempts to achieve targets had meant, in some cases, that the quality and suitability of those recruited had not been rigorously examined.

Thus, while some progress has been made in the recruitment and retention of ethnic minorities in the police in Britain, it has been slow and incommensurate with the effort and resources expended. Reasons for the failure of target setting to improve recruitment patterns in Britain are difficult to discern with certainty.

4.6 Support networks

In Britain, the status and number of minority ethnic officers has been promoted by the establishment of the Black Police Association (BPA) - a network representing the interests of ethnic minority officers and support staff. In addition to providing practical support, mentoring and training opportunities, the BPA has become an important voice within police policy-making and a bridge between minority communities and the police. O'Neill and Holdaway (2007: 487) note that the BPA *often 'have seats on constabulary policy-making bodies and advise senior officers … They are often called upon to either evaluate or organise and run recruitment and training initiatives'*

NZ Police have implemented district Equity and Diversity Networks intended to build capacity by providing, among other things, input into district and national management issues relating to equity and diversity issues, training needs, and to monitor issues relating to discrimination and harassment (NZ Police, 2007d). Similarly, the appointment of Ethnic Liaison Officers to provide general support and advice on issues relevant at District levels seeks to enhance leadership and frontline police engagement with ethnic minority communities (NZ Police, 2004). Ethnic Liaison Officers in NZ Police provide advice on ethnic issues and the impact that these might have on general policy; these are often directed at enhancing police community relations in general terms; they are clearly closely engaged in the more specific task of recruitment (Equal Employment Opportunities, 2004).

One barrier to recruitment noted in much of the literature is the lack of familiarity that many minority ethnic communities have of careers in policing. In this respect, the historical under-representation of minority groups becomes self-perpetuating – with informal communication

channels and personal networks that attract police recruits not being developed among minority ethnic groups. To overcome this, the Australian National Police Ethnic Advisory Bureau (ANPEAB) identified successful strategies, for example, the use of video messages from minorities, that used minority sponsors and role models who would positively endorse police careers. Some caution needs to be exercised however. In the light of British concerns, Rowe (2004) argues that such strategies can put additional burdens on minority officers who find that they become responsible for recruitment in ways not expected of their colleagues. Perceptions of 'tokenism' can also be counter-productive.

4.7 'Whole-of-policing' approaches

While overcoming barriers have often rightly focused on addressing issues relating to recruitment and training, a whole-of-policing perspective emphasises that management and leadership are central to embedding diversity throughout the organisation. This is the position of the ANPEAB, which argues that successful strategies need to be based upon an organisation-wide approach that recognises that a diverse police service is dependent upon the development of 'cultural competence' in all areas and at all levels.

Along these lines, Rowe and Garland (2003) and Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabulary (2003) have both argued, in the British context, that efforts to improve police service training on diversity issues have been undermined by management failure to incorporate training programmes into wider processes of staff professional development. While many British police forces have invested considerable resources to staff training programmes, these have often not been developed in a strategic manner linked to on-going professional developments. Similarly, Morris et al. (2004) found that senior officers lacked confidence and skill in dealing with disciplinary issues relating to minority staff. This resulted in complaints and allegations becoming formalised and institutionalised more quickly and with respect to more minor matters than would be the case for white male officers. Such shortcomings suggest failures of management rather than poor training programmes and indicate that diversity needs to be considered at all levels of the organisation.

4.8 Police culture

The nature and extent of racism within police culture remains contested. There is considerable international evidence that ethnic minority officers experience racism and prejudice and that this explains, to some extent at least, their general under-representation in the ranks, especially in senior positions (Cashmere, 2001; Chan, 1997; Holdaway & Barran, 1007; Rowe, 2007).

For much of the time, Police culture has often been understood only in the narrow and limited terms of the deviance of a minority of individual police officers. However, academic understanding has been transformed by Janet Chan's (1997) analysis of racism and policing in New South Wales, which argues that it is political, management, and institutional factors that determine the attitudes, values and perceptions of police officers. The implication of this is that while police managers and leaders need to develop recruitment and disciplinary policies that deal with officers whose behaviour is unacceptable, this alone will be insufficient in terms of transforming police culture. Rather, more fundamental efforts are required to transform the 'normative whiteness' of police services, such that ethnic and cultural diversity becomes embedded across all aspects of police work. This would not only help with problems of retaining minority staff, it would also develop a more effective and appropriate policing service for minorities in a diverse society. For example, improving police performance in terms of

responding to racist harassment and violence would secure better police-ethnic relationship, which in turn might improve recruitment prospects. For such reasons, tackling racism in policing needs to be conceived in broad terms that move beyond issues relating to disciplining racist officers, important though that is.

4.9 Research and evaluation

NZ Police have been commended for the innovative approach taken to the recruitment of a diverse workforce, and for a willingness to learn and contribute to good practice developed internationally (NPEAB, 2000). However, it is not clear that a robust programme of research and evaluation underpins some of the initiatives identified in this report, or that enough had been done to improve statistical information. For instance:

- Most important, the large proportion of staff recorded as not specifying their ethnicity makes assessment of the Māori and ethnic profile of the NZ Police problematic, especially for non-sworn staff. Although, it is clear that NZ Police do conform to the standards and processes that apply in public sector more generally, the fact that data relating to the ethnicity of police staff is incomplete a remains a concern. It might be that the non-respondents include a significant number of ethnic minority staff who, for a variety of reasons, do not wish to be categorised in this way. In this case, the proportion of minority staff is under-represented sworn and non-sworn staff figures. Alternatively, it might be that NZ Europeans do not record their ethnicity as they assume the question does not apply. In this case, the published data would over-represent the proportion of ethnic minorities. It seems very important for NZ Police to improve its ethnic monitoring data. Arguments about privacy and sensitivity need to be addressed in terms that ensure staff are confident that such information is recorded for legitimate and important purposes, will be held securely and used appropriately. During a period when the collection of genetic information about police staff is actively under consideration, as in the current Policing Bill before Parliament, it would seem likely that earlier concerns about ethnic monitoring will be less compelling than perhaps once they were.
- Detailed statistical information on the profile of police staff does not seem to be readily available, such that the representation of ethnic minorities in specialist departments, for example, is difficult to assess.
- There is a case to be made for following the Australian procedure of comparing personnel data to population on the basis of the working age population – in order to take account of the younger age profile of ethnic minority groups.
- The 2007 Cerno review of recruitment processes in NZ Police identified considerable good practice, but also noted that 'assessment data recording errors and the lack of a central recording mechanism limit the ability of Police to accurately monitor assessment trends and to conduct empirical research to understand and improve the effectiveness of the assessment tools'.
- Beyond the lack of information relating to initial recruitment, NZ Police could improve research capacity relating to human resource matters more generally. The experiences and attitudes of minority officers seem not to have been much researched, which makes it difficult to comment on vital matters such as their views on career progression and police subculture.
- No sustained and systematic research seems to have been conducted with 'resigners' such that their reasons for leaving the service might be understood. Although it is understood

that NZ Police do conduct exit interviews with those leaving the police, it is not clear whether these are analysed or used as a basis to identified problematic issues related to ethnicity.

- Cultural audits of the police service with particular reference to Māori and ethnic relations in the service and with the wider community seem not to have been conducted.

Some other jurisdictions seem to have gone further in terms of research, evaluation and statistical monitoring (see, e.g., Holdaway & Barron, 1997; Bland et al.,1999). The Australian National Police Multicultural Advisory Bureau (ANPMAB) noted that NZ Police compared well in terms of collating data relating to the ethnic and cultural profile of staff but, like Australian forces, was less impressive on more detailed issues. The ANPMAB (2005) highlighted that

> *Data on the career paths and retention of police officers is fundamental to understanding the capacity of organizations to be culturally competent. Unless jurisdictions have mechanisms in place to collect and collate this data accurately, they will be incapable of making claims about their cultural competency.* (ANPMAB, 2005: 84).

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Appendix A: Methodological approach of the literature reviews

The first stage to the literature review was a systematic search of existing information sources. This included relevant information already held by NZ Police, particularly that contained in their library, and also that held by CJRC and the Institute of Criminology.

Our search then continued to cover academic databases of multidisciplinary journals (e.g., criminology, psychology, sociology and gender studies). Databases searched included - Te Puna (Index of New Zealand), Sociological Abstracts, Women's Studies, InfoTrac OneFile, ProQuest, Web of Knowledge (Current Contents).

We also conducted extensive internet searches using google and google scholar, and a search of specific websites of government, professional and other organisations who produce criminological research, including:

- Australian Institute of Criminology
- British Home Office
- National Institute of Justice
- Campbell Collaboration Crime and Justice Group
- National Criminal Justice Reference Service
- Australasian Council of Women and Policing
- British Association for Women in Policing
- National Centre for Women in Policing
- International Association of Women in Policing

A search of unpublished or 'grey literature'; such as Masters or Doctoral theses and conference papers, was also conducted using the university library catalogue system, conference websites, and through professional networks.

The review focused on:

- Literature from the past ten years (and only earlier if there is seminal work of relevance).
- Published academic research from New Zealand and key international research from the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia.
- Government reports and policy documents (published and unpublished if retrievable)

All located literature was entered into *Endnote* (bibliographic software) to assist with the management, organisation and later referencing of research articles.