



NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

**A LITTLE LESS TALK AND A LOT MORE ACTION:
HOW CAN LAW ENFORCEMENT ENHANCE THE
RECRUITMENT OF WOMEN?**

by

Michelle L. Newman

December 2020

Co-Advisors:

Cristiana Matei

Lynda A. Peters (contractor)

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE			<i>Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188</i>	
Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instruction, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188) Washington, DC 20503.				
1. AGENCY USE ONLY (Leave blank)		2. REPORT DATE December 2020	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED Master's thesis	
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE A LITTLE LESS TALK AND A LOT MORE ACTION: HOW CAN LAW ENFORCEMENT ENHANCE THE RECRUITMENT OF WOMEN?			5. FUNDING NUMBERS	
6. AUTHOR(S) Michelle L. Newman				
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, CA 93943-5000			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) N/A			10. SPONSORING / MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER	
11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES The views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of Defense or the U.S. Government.				
12a. DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY STATEMENT Approved for public release. Distribution is unlimited.			12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE A	
13. ABSTRACT (maximum 200 words) Women entered the law enforcement profession over 100 years ago, and while they now account for over 50 percent of the U.S. population, they represent a meager 12 percent of the 800,000 sworn police officers serving in the country. As law enforcement agencies struggle to find enough officers to fill staffing shortages, women remain an under-recruited resource. This thesis aims to answer the question of how law enforcement can enhance the recruitment of women. A comparative analysis approach was used to compare and contrast Australia's and Canada's policing, recruitment practices, and maternity benefits to those of the United States. These two allied countries were chosen for comparison as they share similar democratic frameworks to the United States yet have significantly higher percentages of women serving as police officers. Findings from the analysis suggest that the strategies used in Australia and Canada have a significant impact and could be implemented in the United States to enhance women's recruitment. U.S. law enforcement leaders must strive to move the numerically underrepresented women from token status and work to create a profession rife with diversity and inclusion. Findings suggest that law enforcement should change the focus of recruitment from the physical strength of a candidate to problem-solving capabilities, interpersonal strengths, and communication skills.				
14. SUBJECT TERMS policing, female, recruitment, hiring, retention, police culture, mentoring, marginalization, gender equality, physical standards			15. NUMBER OF PAGES 91	
			16. PRICE CODE	
17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT Unclassified	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE Unclassified	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT Unclassified	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT UU	

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ENFORCEMENT ENHANCE THE RECRUITMENT OF WOMEN?**

Michelle L. Newman
Chief, Director of Safety & Security, Volusia County Schools
BA, Warner University, 2004

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

**MASTER OF ARTS IN SECURITY STUDIES
(HOMELAND SECURITY AND DEFENSE)**

from the

**NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
December 2020**

Approved by: Cristiana Matei
Co-Advisor

Lynda A. Peters
Co-Advisor

Erik J. Dahl
Associate Professor, Department of National Security Affairs

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ABSTRACT

Women entered the law enforcement profession over 100 years ago, and while they now account for over 50 percent of the U.S. population, they represent a meager 12 percent of the 800,000 sworn police officers serving in the country. As law enforcement agencies struggle to find enough officers to fill staffing shortages, women remain an under-recruited resource. This thesis aims to answer the question of how law enforcement can enhance the recruitment of women. A comparative analysis approach was used to compare and contrast Australia's and Canada's policing, recruitment practices, and maternity benefits to those of the United States. These two allied countries were chosen for comparison as they share similar democratic frameworks to the United States yet have significantly higher percentages of women serving as police officers. Findings from the analysis suggest that the strategies used in Australia and Canada have a significant impact and could be implemented in the United States to enhance women's recruitment. U.S. law enforcement leaders must strive to move the numerically underrepresented women from token status and work to create a profession rife with diversity and inclusion. Findings suggest that law enforcement should change the focus of recruitment from the physical strength of a candidate to problem-solving capabilities, interpersonal strengths, and communication skills.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AFP	Australian Federal Police
DOJ	Department of Justice
EEOC	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FMLA	Family Medical Leave Act
PDA	Pregnancy Discrimination Act
PFL	paid family leave
PSP	Pennsylvania State Police
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
WAC	Women's Advisory Committee

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A 1972 congressional amendment to Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act made gender discrimination illegal, which helped to expand opportunities for women in the U.S. workforce, including policing.¹ Most policewomen up to that point served in support roles and social services positions, but this amendment helped open more assignments in coveted male-only positions such as patrol and investigations.² Positive procedural changes in the recruitment and hiring of female officers came to fruition through judicial proceedings.³ Those proceedings forced some police agencies across the nation to work under federal consent decrees—namely, agreements between the federal government and the respective police agencies to enhance the recruitment of women and other minorities.⁴ Consequently, as Venessa Garcia notes, by 2000, “police agencies without consent decrees reported having only 9.7% women sworn officers, whereas, among agencies with consent decrees, women represented 14% of their sworn officers.”⁵ In other words, among police agencies resistant to hiring women, the number of women only increased as consent decrees were imposed, implemented, and enforced.

Despite these accomplishments, which have undoubtedly helped more women attain policing positions, significant hurdles must still be addressed. Indeed, women remain underrepresented in police agencies across America. According to a recent Bureau of Labor Statistics report, the number of women now surpasses the population of men living in the

¹ Richard Seklecki and Rebecca Paynich, “A National Survey of Female Police Officers: An Overview of Findings,” *Police Practice and Research* 8, no. 1 (March 2007): 18, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614260701217941>.

² Betsy Brantner Smith, “Police History: The Evolution of Women in American Law Enforcement,” *Police1*, March 28, 2019, <https://www.police1.com/police-history/articles/police-history-the-evolution-of-women-in-american-law-enforcement-wMo8P1wLSxGQRes9/>.

³ Ivan Y. Sun and Doris C. Chu, “A Cross-National Analysis of Female Police Officers’ Attitudes in the United States and Taiwan,” *International Criminal Justice Review* 18, no. 1 (March 2008): 5–23, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1057567708315652>.

⁴ Venessa Garcia, “‘Difference’ in the Police Department: Women, Policing, and ‘Doing Gender,’” *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 19, no. 3 (August 2003): 330–44, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986203254530>.

⁵ Garcia, 336.

nation.⁶ Of the 330 million people in America, approximately 800,000 are law enforcement officers, of whom a mere 12 percent are women.⁷ Women offer many positive contributions to policing, yet they account for a small percentage of police officers across the United States.⁸ As law enforcement agencies continue to struggle to find enough officers to fill staffing shortages, women remain an under-recruited resource. These staffing shortages could undoubtedly affect the safety of our homeland, resulting in the need for creative solutions to resolve the issue. Under these circumstances and based on a review of prior research on the topic, this thesis aspires to recommend how law enforcement agencies can enhance the recruitment of women.

A literature review was conducted to explore what hinders the effective recruitment and retainment of women in law enforcement. This section of the thesis examines why policing is a male-dominated career, why women want to work in the law enforcement profession, what contributing factors impede and prevent more women from entering the police force, why the profession continues to use outdated physical fitness employment screenings and stereotypical recruitment images, and what accounts for a lack of robust pregnancy and maternity policies and benefits. While researchers have differing views on women's motivations to enter the law enforcement profession, as well as the impact stress has on them, they do agree that women bring many added benefits to policing. Research has shown policewomen to be more educated and just as competent as men in the performance of their policing duties. Additionally, agencies have fewer lawsuits against female officers as they use less physical force than their male colleagues do. Further, research demonstrates police leaders must recognize that physical strength and gender do not predict the competency or determine the quality of a person as an officer. In terms of recruitment, images are essential to the community's perception of an agency and should

⁶ Brian A. Reaves, *Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices*, Bulletin NCJ 248677 (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, May 2015), 4, <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/lpd13ppp.pdf>.

⁷ Reaves.

⁸ Shelley S. Hyland and Elizabeth Davis, *Local Police Departments, 2016: Personnel*, Bulletin NCJ 262835 (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, October 2019), 5, <https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=6706>.

evoke ideals of inclusiveness and diversity by depicting women in an array of assignments and roles.

This thesis utilized comparative case study analysis using open-source literature related to policing in two peer countries of the United States: Australia and Canada. Specifically, the thesis provides a comparative analysis of those countries' recruitment strategies, laws, and policies relating to pregnancy and maternity that are geared toward attracting more women. The analysis of the case studies suggests that strategies used to enhance the recruitment of policewomen in Australia and Canada are highly effective, as evidenced by the higher percentages of women employed there compared to the relatively stagnant 12 percent represented in the United States. Forward-thinking ideas such as using male champions to advocate for the inclusion of women, as demonstrated in Australia, and revamping the recruitment and promotional process to remove biases were assessed to improve the recruitment of women into the law enforcement profession.

As Dione Neely posits in her thesis, "There is still work to do in the U.S. law enforcement sector if this nation is to keep up with other countries in the advancement of women in male-dominated careers."⁹ To ensure the homeland is safe and protected, law enforcement vacancies have to be filled, thus guaranteeing the citizens whom agencies serve a proper and timely response by police. To effectively accomplish this task, police agencies must step up their recruitment game and focus efforts on hiring the underrepresented gender of women to fill the void. This thesis reveals several key strategies to enhance the recruitment of women in law enforcement.

1. **Recruitment:** Agencies should use targeted recruitment events and increase the visibility of their female officers. Additionally, pre-employment physical fitness assessments should be based on the actual job of a police officer. Exercises focusing heavily on upper-body strength should be eliminated as they tend unnecessarily to eliminate female candidates due to their physiological make-up.

⁹ Dione A. Neely, "Level the Playing Field: Are Law Enforcement Policies and Practices Rigged against Women and Mothers?" (master's thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2019), 78, <https://www.hsdll.org/?view&did=831037>.

2. **Maternity:** Paid maternity leave policies and robust benefits are needed, as seen in Australia and Canada, and daycares are needed for shift workers like policewomen.
3. **Seek Out Progressive Ideas That Are Working:** Agencies should pursue strategies already being used by progressive countries with higher percentages of policewomen.
4. **Change Starts at the Top:** Law enforcement leaders and male champions within the department must continuously advocate for hiring more women. Diversity and inclusion should be a top department priority demonstrated by agency leadership.

Police recruitment of women over the last 100 years in the United States has remained ineffective and unimpressive. The vision of recruiting must move away from focusing solely on whether women can physically do the job because research has shown that they can. Instead, it must refocus on the many benefits women bring to the profession and the ways gender parity can be attained. To continue to ignore female candidates and their skillset means ignoring over 50 percent of the base population living in the United States. As more female officers are hired, more vacancies can be filled, thus enhancing the safety of communities throughout the homeland. In short, there needs to be a little less talk and a lot more action by law enforcement leaders to ensure more women are recruited and hired as police officers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

While researching and writing this thesis, I have received support and assistance from many whom I would like to thank.

First, a heartfelt thank you goes to Lynda Peters and Dr. Cris Matei for your help and sound guidance throughout the thesis process. I would also like to thank all of the faculty and staff at the Naval Postgraduate School's Center for Homeland Defense and Security for your around-the-clock help throughout this program. The level of passion that you all have demonstrated for teaching and protecting our homeland was evident in every assignment and discussion you led.

Next, I would like to thank Dr. Scott Fritz, Dr. Carmen Balgobin, Volusia County Schools' board members, and Sheriff Mike Chitwood for allowing me the time to participate in the nation's top homeland security master's program and for your unwavering support and encouragement throughout the process. A special thank you goes to fellow CHDS alumnus Chief Mike Coffin for sharing information about this fantastic program with me.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. Thank you to my parents for your love and encouragement, and for always being there for me in my personal, professional, and educational endeavors. Most importantly, I would like to express my profound gratitude to my husband, Chris, and my children, Megan and Jake, for your unwavering love, patience, and constant encouragement throughout this whole process. Without you, this accomplishment would not have been possible.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A 1972 congressional amendment to Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act made gender discrimination illegal, which helped to expand opportunities for women in the workforce, including policing.¹ Most policewomen up to that point served in support roles and social services positions, but this amendment helped open more assignments in coveted male-only positions such as patrol and investigations.² Positive procedural changes in the recruitment and hiring of female officers came to fruition through judicial proceedings.³ Those proceedings forced some police agencies across the nation to work under federal consent decrees—namely, agreements between the federal government and the respective police agencies to enhance the recruitment of women and other minorities.⁴ Consequently, as Venessa Garcia notes, by 2000, “police agencies without consent decrees reported having only 9.7% women sworn officers, whereas, among agencies with consent decrees, women represented 14% of their sworn officers.”⁵ In other words, among police agencies resistant to hiring women, the number of women only increased as consent decrees were implemented and enforced.

Despite these accomplishments, which have undoubtedly helped more women attain policing positions, significant hurdles must still be addressed. Indeed, women remain underrepresented in police agencies across America. According to a recent Bureau of Labor Statistics report, the number of women now surpasses the population of men living in the

¹ Richard Seklecki and Rebecca Paynich, “A National Survey of Female Police Officers: An Overview of Findings,” *Police Practice and Research* 8, no. 1 (March 2007): 18, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614260701217941>.

² Betsy Brantner Smith, “Police History: The Evolution of Women in American Law Enforcement,” *Police1*, March 28, 2019, <https://www.police1.com/police-history/articles/police-history-the-evolution-of-women-in-american-law-enforcement-wMo8P1wLSxGQRes9/>.

³ Ivan Y. Sun and Doris C. Chu, “A Cross-National Analysis of Female Police Officers’ Attitudes in the United States and Taiwan,” *International Criminal Justice Review* 18, no. 1 (March 2008): 5–23, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1057567708315652>.

⁴ Venessa Garcia, “‘Difference’ in the Police Department: Women, Policing, and ‘Doing Gender,’” *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 19, no. 3 (August 2003), <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986203254530>.

⁵ Garcia, 336.

nation.⁶ Of the 330 million people living in America, approximately 800,000 are law enforcement officers, of whom 12 percent are women.⁷ Women offer many positive contributions to policing, yet they account for a small percentage of police officers across the United States.⁸ As law enforcement agencies struggle to find enough officers to fill staffing shortages, women remain an under-recruited resource. These staffing shortages could undoubtedly affect the safety of our homeland, resulting in the need for creative solutions to resolve the issue. Under these circumstances and based on a review of prior research on the topic, this thesis aspires to recommend how law enforcement agencies can enhance the recruitment of women.

A. RESEARCH QUESTION

How can law enforcement enhance the recruitment of women?

B. LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review explores what hinders the effective recruitment and retainment of women in law enforcement. The first section examines why women want to work in the law enforcement profession. Then, the next sections examine contributing factors that impede and prevent more women from entering the still male-dominated profession. This literature review considers relevant studies in these areas, relying on books, newspaper articles, academic journals, and websites.

1. Why Law Enforcement?

In policing, women and men often have similar reasons for considering the profession. David Lester, chairman of the Department of Criminal Justice at Stockton State College, surveyed 128 male and 19 female state police recruits still in training. His goal

⁶ Brian A. Reaves, *Local Police Departments, 2013: Personnel, Policies, and Practices*, Bulletin NCJ 248677 (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, May 2015), 4, <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/lpd13ppp.pdf>.

⁷ Reaves.

⁸ Shelley S. Hyland and Elizabeth Davis, *Local Police Departments, 2016: Personnel*, Bulletin NCJ 262835 (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, October 2019), 5, <https://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=6706>.

was to determine why officers chose the policing profession.⁹ The survey listed 15 reasons for joining the police force, and for each cause, the recruit ranked its importance as a motivator.¹⁰ Among the top reasons for joining, male recruits cited having friends and relatives in the profession while female recruits cited helping the community, fighting crime, and enforcing laws.¹¹ Thus, male officers likely join the police force for camaraderie while women join to serve and help others. On the other hand, separate studies have found opposite results. Meagher and Yentes, for example, conducted a survey to determine what factors influence officers' decisions to join the police force and argue that similar motivations drive both men and women to serve in the profession.¹² In a study of two U.S. police departments, 52 men and 26 women cited similar motivations, including public service, job security, and retirement benefits.¹³

Furthermore, women seem to be interested in fields where they can bring value and contribute to the profession. When it comes to women in policing, most scholars agree that they bring many added benefits. Balkin argues that female officers are just as competent as male officers but add such advantages as using less excessive force, being named less often as defendants in lawsuits, and being better communicators.¹⁴ Spillar agrees, noting that women possess essential skills that should matter to law enforcement leaders, such as bringing a calming element to volatile scenes and communicating more effectively than

⁹ David Lester, "Why Do People Become Police Officers: A Study of Reasons and Their Predictions of Success," *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 11, no. 2 (January 1983): 170–74, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/290810192_Why_do_people_become_police_officers_A_study_of_reasons_and_their_predictions_of_success.

¹⁰ Lester, 170.

¹¹ Lester, 170–71.

¹² Steven M. Meagher and Nancy A. Yentes, "Choosing a Career in Policing: A Comparison of Male and Female Perceptions," *Journal of Police Science & Administration* 14, no. 4 (December 1986): 320–27, <https://www.ncjrs.gov/APP/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=104193>.

¹³ Meagher and Yentes.

¹⁴ Joseph Balkin, "Why Policemen Don't Like Policewomen," *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 16, no. 1 (March 1988): 29–38, <https://www.ncjrs.gov/APP/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID+113541>.

their male colleagues.¹⁵ Additionally, greater gender balance in policing has other benefits. For example, research shows that policing is most successful when officers represent the diverse nature of the communities they serve.¹⁶ As noted previously, over half of the 330 million people living in the United States are women, yet they account for only 12 percent of the 800,000 sworn law enforcement officers.¹⁷ Moreover, a shortage of policewomen “robs” communities and departments of the skills and different perspectives that women bring to policing.¹⁸ In sum, having more women working in the profession is beneficial both to the communities they serve and to police agencies as a whole.

2. Stress

Female police officers face stress from multiple sources. For example, female police recruits may face stress from not being accepted by male colleagues.¹⁹ Koenig argues that law enforcement is a stressful occupation, and because of its masculine nature, men experience much less stress than women typically do.²⁰ Some smaller law enforcement agencies have only one or two female officers, if any, on their rosters. Consequently, female officers who represent fewer than 15 percent of their force remain “tokens.” Such isolation and being stereotyped by male officers compound the stress policewomen face.²¹ According to Rosabeth Moss Kanter in her book *Men and Women of the Corporation*, due to their low representation, women may be “overlooked, but if seen

¹⁵ Katherine Spillar, “How More Female Police Officers Would Help Stop Police Brutality,” *Washington Post*, July 2, 2015, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/posteverything/wp/2015/07/02/how-more-female-police-officers-would-help-stop-police-brutality/>.

¹⁶ Police Executive Research Forum, *Recommendations on Advancing Community Policing in the Pasco Police Department* (Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2016).

¹⁷ Reaves, *Local Police Departments*.

¹⁸ Police Executive Research Forum, *Community Policing in the Pasco Police Department*, 24.

¹⁹ Judie Wexler and Deana Logan, “Sources of Stress among Women Police Officers,” *Journal of Police Science and Administration* 11, no. 1 (March 1983): 46–53, <https://www.ncjrs.gov/APP/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=89711>.

²⁰ Rebecca Koenig, “The Most Stressful Jobs,” *U.S. News and World Report*, March 25, 2019, <https://money.usnews.com/careers/company-culture/slideshows/the-most-stressful-jobs?onepage>.

²¹ Cara Rabe-Hemp and Venessa Garcia, *Women Policing across the Globe: Shared Challenges and Successes in the Integration of Women Police Worldwide* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2020), 17; Rosabeth Moss Kanter, “Numbers: Minorities and Majorities,” in *Men and Women of the Corporation* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), loc. 4369 of 5127, Kindle.

at all [they] will get more notice than any [man].”²² Of course, such visibility places a heavy burden on women, not only for acceptance but also because they will receive disproportionate negative attention if they make a mistake.²³ Accordingly, Cara Rabe-Hemp asserts that lone or low-represented female officers have a high probability of being left out and treated unequally to male counterparts, thus creating even more occupational stress for them.²⁴ As tokens within law enforcement, policewomen do not necessarily enjoy the same camaraderie shared among male police officers.²⁵ In these ways, policewomen’s minority position within law enforcement creates several unique stressors.

Moreover, because the added barriers of gender perception and being stereotyped cause added stress, too, some women may be apprehensive about considering policing as a profession. For example, as Seklecki and Paynich assert, “In a nutshell, female officers who are aggressive and physical in their duties are often labeled as ‘butch’ and stereotyped as lesbians.”²⁶ On the other hand, they note that women who display more feminine qualities, motherly dispositions, and less-assertive personalities are not stereotyped as such, but they are still stereotyped as not being tough enough or being too weak to perform the job.²⁷ Since law enforcement represents one of the most masculine occupations in society, policewomen may experience even more stress as they continually fight to gain acceptance within police culture.²⁸ Consequently, policewomen have to walk a fine line to prevent being labeled as either too masculine or too feminine. Stereotypes add even more stress to an already stressful job, resulting in apprehensiveness by some women about considering policing as a profession. As Dione Neely notes in her thesis, “Gender

²² Kanter, “Numbers: Minorities and Majorities,” loc. 4440.

²³ Kanter, loc. 4440.

²⁴ Cara Rabe-Hemp, “Survival in an ‘All Boys Club’: Policewomen and Their Fight for Acceptance,” *Policing: An International Journal* 31, no. 2 (2008): 251–70, <https://doi.org/10.1108/13639510810878712>.

²⁵ Wexler and Logan, “Sources of Stress among Women Police Officers,” 48.

²⁶ Seklecki and Paynich, “A National Survey of Female Police Officers,” 23.

²⁷ Seklecki and Paynich.

²⁸ Ni He, Jihong Zhao, and Ling Ren, “Do Race and Gender Matter in Police Stress? A Preliminary Assessment of the Interactive Effects,” *Journal of Criminal Justice* 33, no. 6 (2005): 536, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2005.08.003>.

perception in law enforcement makes it challenging for female law enforcement officers to feel equal and accepted,” and the stress from being stereotyped makes the job even more of a challenge.²⁹ However, Brown and Reisig concede that the socially compassionate stereotypes and attributes demonstrated by women are currently needed in law enforcement, especially at a time when police legitimacy is in crisis.³⁰ Therefore, stereotypes and the associated stress that accompanies them may keep more women from considering a profession that needs more of them.

Law enforcement has other stressors as well. Researchers agree that law enforcement causes occupational stress.³¹ It not only affects officers but also trickles down to their families and the citizens whom they are sworn to serve and protect.³² Law enforcement officers experience some of the same job-related stressors as many other occupations; however, they have an added occupational stressor from the daily possibility of loss of life—either losing their own or having to take someone else’s life. Thus, occupational stress and the dangers of the job are influential factors when deciding on a law enforcement career.

A study by Wexler and Logan notes some interesting findings concerning specific stressors female officers contend with in their police profession. The study was based on interviews with 25 policewomen from a large agency with over 1,000 officers in California.³³ During the meetings, the female participants mentioned four quasi-normal stressors of any career: “external stressors” (e.g., media and community perception), “task-related stressors” (e.g., dealing with tragedy and boredom), “organizational stressors” (e.g.,

²⁹ Dione A. Neely, “Level the Playing Field: Are Law Enforcement Policies and Practices Rigged against Women and Mothers?” (master’s thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, 2019), 7, <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=831037>.

³⁰ Katharine L. Brown and Michael D. Reisig, “Procedural Injustice, Police Legitimacy, and Officer Gender: A Vignette-Based Test of the Invariance Thesis,” *Behavioral Sciences & the Law* 37, no. 6 (November 2019): 700, <https://doi.org/10.1002/bsl.2439>.

³¹ Nancy Norvell, Holly Hills, and Mary Murrin, “Understanding Stress in Female and Male Law Enforcement Officers,” *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (September 1993): 293, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1993.tb00488.x>.

³² Norvell, Hills, and Murrin, 293.

³³ Wexler and Logan, “Sources of Stress among Women Police Officers,” 47.

promotional process, training, and lack of internal support), and “personal stressors” (e.g., thriving in police culture and personal relationships).³⁴ However, they also voiced concern with stressors coming from inside their departments, stemming from being harassed and dealing with the poor attitudes exhibited toward them by male colleagues.³⁵ Moreover, participants noted added stress from the constant questioning by male colleagues of their sexual preferences and orientation as well as not having female role models at higher levels within the department from whom they could seek guidance.³⁶ Due to harassment and discriminatory behaviors by male police officers, as Burke and Mikkelsen point out, policewomen face added stress throughout their profession.³⁷ The harassment often includes obscene jokes, belittling or insulting remarks, and bullying behaviors.³⁸ To summarize, stress and the lack of gender parity in policing may deter potential female candidates from considering law enforcement as a profession.

In another study, Langan, Sanders, and Gouweloos note that being expectant mothers contributes to the stress of policewomen. They point out significant differences in organizational reactions to male and female police officers who announce the pending birth of a child.³⁹ While male officers are congratulated and celebrated for their virility upon sharing news about the birth, female officers who announce their pregnancies are seen as liabilities.⁴⁰ The impending pregnancy causes added stress for the policewoman as she will be forced out of her patrol assignment, resulting in a vacancy on her assigned shift.⁴¹ She will likely be placed in a light-duty assignment or on front-desk duty, which is usually saved for what some male officers have called “the P.I.L.L. [an acronym for] pregnant,

³⁴ Wexler and Logan, 46–47.

³⁵ Wexler and Logan, 48–49.

³⁶ Wexler and Logan, 48–49.

³⁷ Ronald J. Burke and Aslaug Mikkelsen, “Gender Issues in Policing: Do They Matter?,” *Women in Management Review* 20, no. 2 (March 2005): 134, <https://doi.org/10.1108/09649420510584463>.

³⁸ Seklecki and Paynich, “A National Survey of Female Police Officers,” 28.

³⁹ Debra Langan, Carrie B. Sanders, and Julie Gouweloos, “Policing Women’s Bodies: Pregnancy, Embodiment, and Gender Relations in Canadian Police Work,” *Feminist Criminology* 14, no. 4 (October 2019): 473, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1557085118763083>.

⁴⁰ Langan, Sanders, and Gouweloos, 473.

⁴¹ Langan, Sanders, and Gouweloos, 474.

injured, lazy or lame.”⁴² Co-workers will resent and blame her for causing them to work extra hours or shifts to fill the vacancy caused by her pregnancy. Consequently, male supervisors often frame pregnancy as a “career liability” that ruins the chances of upward mobility for female officers.⁴³ Thus, in policing, the conception of pregnant officers as incompetent and equivalent to those officers who “avoid real police work” has many negative inferences and adds undue stress on the expectant officer.⁴⁴

In contrast, a separate study on police officer stress reached a different conclusion when researchers examined whether male and female officers perceive stress equally. Norvell, Hills, and Murrin conducted a comparative study that included 52 male and 52 female officers from the Florida Highway Patrol.⁴⁵ Officers completed anonymous packets to determine stress levels and job satisfaction.⁴⁶ The results suggest that male officers “experience a greater degree of perceived stress and emotional exhaustion, and greater dissatisfaction with their work than do women.”⁴⁷ These findings challenge the assumption that female officers experience more job-related stress than male officers.

3. Male-Gendered Police Culture

Police culture is an umbrella term that describes, in mostly negative terms, police attitudes, the everyday norms, and behaviors exhibited within the policing profession or by individual officers.⁴⁸ According to John Crank, “Police organizational structures, policies, behaviors, arrest patterns, corruption, education, training practices, attitudes toward suspects and citizens, forms of patrol, and all other areas of police work—the whole ball of wax—are practiced through the lens of culture.”⁴⁹ Marilyn Corsianos suggests that

⁴² Langan, Sanders, and Gouweloos, 474.

⁴³ Langan, Sanders, and Gouweloos, 476.

⁴⁴ Langan, Sanders, and Gouweloos, 475.

⁴⁵ Norvell, Hills, and Murrin, “Stress in Female and Male Law Enforcement Officers,” 289–301.

⁴⁶ Norvell, Hills, and Murrin.

⁴⁷ Norvell, Hills, and Murrin, 289.

⁴⁸ Marilyn Corsianos, *Policing and Gendered Justice: Examining the Possibilities* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 95.

⁴⁹ John Crank, *Understanding Police Culture*, 2nd ed. (Cincinnati: Routledge, 2015), 3, Kindle.

police culture is a hypermasculine environment with a heavy emphasis on danger, officer-safety, and what-if scenarios that lead to the highly suspicious “us against them” mentality.⁵⁰ Both Crank and Corsianos agree that such as labels as “the brotherhood of policing” or such proclamations as “It’s a Cop thing. You wouldn’t understand” or “You may win the battle, but you won’t win the war” are cliches meant to distinguish male police officers from other groups, including policewomen.⁵¹ These familiar lines within law enforcement perpetuate the quasi-militaristic structure while also promoting an elite society of police camaraderie that separates the crime fighters from the people in the community, thus creating an us-against-them mentality.⁵² As part of this perceived adversarial culture of policing, trust in citizens starts to dwindle, so officers rely more heavily on their policing family.⁵³ Through cultural indoctrination, officers who once sought to help people and make a positive impact on society soon find themselves viewing those very community members as the enemy. Neely points out that within this policing culture, female police officers are unfortunately the minority and thus in the “out-group.”⁵⁴ In other words, policewomen have not yet been wholly accepted into the masculine culture of policing.

Literature is widely available on the integration and socialization of female police officers within police culture. Throughout all these studies, researchers agree that policing has remained a male-gendered profession, although women have repeatedly proven they perform the job just as effectively as men.⁵⁵ Corsianos argues that the culture of policing is masculine by design; thus, policewomen have had to adapt to the environment while minimizing their own “gender identity.”⁵⁶ As the minority in police culture, women continuously have to prove themselves capable and competent to their male colleagues to

⁵⁰ Corsianos, *Policing and Gendered Justice*, 96.

⁵¹ Crank, *Understanding Police Culture*, 292; Corsianos, *Policing and Gendered Justice*, 98.

⁵² Corsianos, *Policing and Gendered Justice*, 96.

⁵³ Corsianos.

⁵⁴ Neely, “Level the Playing Field.”

⁵⁵ Garcia, “‘Difference’ in the Police Department,” 330–44.

⁵⁶ Corsianos, *Policing and Gendered Justice*, 101.

show they are qualified, loyal, and trustworthy.⁵⁷ To fit into the so-called brotherhood of policing, many policewomen feel compelled to act and talk like the male officers.⁵⁸

This position, however, is a double-edged sword. Again, as Garcia posits, “If a woman acts too feminine, she is criticized for not being suitable for the job. However, if she acts too masculine, she is criticized for not acting like a woman.”⁵⁹ Garcia further argues that although women are just as competent as men in doing the job of a police officer, “the resistance [to women in policing] comes from the belief that women are not fit to do a man’s job and, therefore should not make the attempt.”⁶⁰ Additionally, Lesly Bikos, a former police officer in London, conducted a study on the effect of police culture on policewomen. Her findings reveal that when women are exposed to gender discrimination in policing, they feel unappreciated.⁶¹ Thus, policewomen still face resistance as they enter the policing profession.

4. Outdated Physical Standards

A common objection to hiring more women in policing is their lack of physical strength or inability to pass a physical agility test. Historically, departments have believed that only those women with enough power and force to fight off all aggressive criminals should join the male-dominated field of policing, as their strength and ability to fight could be the difference between life and death.⁶² Physical strength has not, however, predicted how effective a police officer will be at handling a variety of situations. A lawsuit against the Philadelphia Police Department for gender discrimination prompted one study, whose

⁵⁷ Corsianos, 101.

⁵⁸ Corsianos, 101.

⁵⁹ Garcia, “‘Difference’ in the Police Department,” 341.

⁶⁰ Garcia, 340.

⁶¹ Colin Butler, “Male Police Culture Puts Women at Disadvantage, Study Suggests,” CBC News, September 2, 2016, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/Kitchener-waterloo/police-women-disicrimination-study-1.3744407>.

⁶² Garcia, “‘Difference’ in the Police Department,” 337.

findings suggest that policewomen do measure up to their male colleagues. However, the focus of that research had nothing to do with strength or lack thereof.⁶³

In the lawsuit, female officers alleged that the city had discriminated against them concerning employment and promotional opportunities in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, and the guidelines of the Department of Justice and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.⁶⁴ Specifically, the Philadelphia Police Department used height requirements for women and considered “maleness” a bona fide occupational qualification that subsequently reduced the number of policewomen who were hired or promoted. The trial was delayed for a couple of years to allow the City of Philadelphia to study how its newly hired female officers performed in comparison to freshly hired male recruits.⁶⁵ The findings showed that policewomen performed the job just as effectively as policemen, and even better in some circumstances. Women made the same number of arrests, dealt competently with domestic disputes, and effectively handled incidents involving firearms.⁶⁶ The court concluded that the hiring practices used by the City of Philadelphia—and the Philadelphia Police Department specifically—were discriminatory, and a proposed consent order was issued to provide relief for the women.⁶⁷ Thus, the City of Philadelphia was ordered to compensate the female officers with back pay, change its hiring practices, and open up coveted specialized units to women.⁶⁸ To summarize, women are as competent as men in the profession, and the physical strength of the officer does not determine how effective or efficient he or she will be on the job.

Actually, opposite to what is shown on prevalent crime-fighting television shows and what is reported by the news media, police officers rarely have to use physical force

⁶³ Balkin, “Why Policemen Don’t Like Policewomen,” 32.

⁶⁴ *United States v. City of Philadelphia*, 499 F. Supp. 1196 (E.D. Pa. 1980), <https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp/499/1196/1871186/>.

⁶⁵ *Philadelphia*.

⁶⁶ Balkin, “Why Policemen Don’t Like Policewomen,” 32.

⁶⁷ *Philadelphia*, 499 F. Supp. 1196.

⁶⁸ *Philadelphia*.

during a tour of duty. Balkin notes that while historical arguments point to female officers' not being physically capable of defending themselves or others from violent attacks, no known events or observations support this theory.⁶⁹ Moreover, Garcia points out that the vast majority of a police officer's tour of duty is spent carrying out tasks focused on "social work," such as controlling traffic and responding to domestic incidents, not crime-fighting that requires brute strength.⁷⁰ Garcia further notes that based on what the profession knows now, the physical strength of a police candidate can and should be excluded from arguments about the person's ability to perform effectively.⁷¹ Balkin's study provides further evidence that strength requirements are obsolete. He found that approximately 90 percent of a police officer's time is spent conducting community or civil service functions, and less than 1 percent of the time is spent exerting physical strength or force.⁷² Reaching a similar conclusion, Bozeman et al. reviewed calls for service from three cities between 2011 and 2012. They found that of the 1,041,737 service calls reviewed, merely 893 of them required the use of force, equating to fewer than 1 percent of all requests for service.⁷³ Quite tellingly, no known cases have established instances in which a female officer's lack of strength caused adverse or deadly consequences. Instead, according to the National Law Enforcement Memorial Fund, automobile crashes, job-related illnesses, and gunshot wounds—not the lack of physical strength—cause the majority of officer fatalities.⁷⁴ Thus, the physical strength of a policewoman does not dictate how effective she will be at carrying out daily policing requirements.

Although studies, as demonstrated by Bozeman et al., have shown physical strength is used minimally during a police officer's daily tour of duty, physical strength still

⁶⁹ Balkin, "Why Policemen Don't Like Policewomen," 34.

⁷⁰ Garcia, "'Difference' in the Police Department," 337.

⁷¹ Garcia, 337.

⁷² Balkin, "Why Policemen Don't Like Policewomen," 34.

⁷³ William P. Bozeman et al., "Injuries Associated with Police Use of Force," *Journal of Trauma and Acute Care Surgery* 84, no. 3 (2018): 466–72, <https://doi.org/10.1097/TA.0000000000001783>.

⁷⁴ Kimberly A. Lonsway, "Hiring & Retaining More Women: The Advantages to Law Enforcement Agencies" (Los Angeles: National Center for Women and Policing, 2000), <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED473183.pdf>.

prevents considerable numbers of women from entering the profession. For example, Rabe-Hemp notes that physical fitness requirements have historically been based on the now-defunct theory that only the tallest and toughest men can effectively carry out the duties of policing.⁷⁵ In many states, agencies implemented height and weight restrictions for the sole purpose of excluding women from working as police officers.⁷⁶ Even after the lifting of height and weight restrictions, Rabe-Hemp posits, physical agility tests continue to “overemphasize upper-body strength,” thus weeding out many female candidates.⁷⁷ Although findings demonstrate that women have less upper-body strength than men, they typically still have to pass the same physical assessment tests as their male counterparts.⁷⁸ Corsianos argues, “The number of push-ups or chin-ups and the time it takes to run a certain distance are irrelevant to the everyday tasks of police officers.”⁷⁹ Balkin further supports this point when he notes the lack of correlation between an officer’s strength and the ability to resolve high-risk incidents safely and successfully.⁸⁰ In concert with Rabe-Hemp and Balkin, Natalie Todak adds that the refusal by police agencies to rethink their physical fitness standards “produces a highly homogenous cohort of individuals who have historically been and continue to be white, middle-class men.”⁸¹ Incidentally, physical requirements not pertinent to effectively performing the daily job of a police officer continue to impede more women from being hired into the profession.

Legal action taken by female officers has challenged the discriminatory practices of using physical fitness tests in hiring. In 2017, in Denver, Colorado, a district judge ruled in favor of 12 female officers after they filed a disparate impact discrimination claim

⁷⁵ Cara Rabe-Hemp, *Thriving in an All-Boys Club* (Maryland: Rowan and Littlefield, 2018), 30.

⁷⁶ Norvell, Hills, and Murrin, “Stress in Female and Male Law Enforcement Officers,” 290; Lee Potts, “Equal Employment Opportunity and Female Employment in Police Agencies,” *Journal of Criminal Justice* 11, no. 6 (1983): 505–23, [https://doi.org/10.1016/0047-2352\(83\)90004-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/0047-2352(83)90004-1).

⁷⁷ Rabe-Hemp, *Thriving in an All-Boys Club*, 30.

⁷⁸ Rabe-Hemp, 31.

⁷⁹ Corsianos, *Policing and Gendered Justice*, 66–67.

⁸⁰ Balkin, “Why Policemen Don’t Like Policewomen,” 34.

⁸¹ Natalie Todak, “The Decision to Become a Police Officer in a Legitimacy Crisis,” *Women & Criminal Justice* 27, no. 4 (2017): 253, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08974454.2016.1256804>.

against the Colorado Springs Police Department.⁸² The officers argued that a newly implemented annual fitness test unfairly discriminated against women after 50 percent of all policewomen failed the test compared to only 6 percent of policemen. The judge concluded that the use of these fitness tests violated Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits sexual discrimination by employers, because the requirements had a disparate impact on women.⁸³ In another example, in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, the Department of Justice (DOJ) filed suit against the Pennsylvania State Police (PSP) in an attempt to change the physical fitness tests being used to screen entry-level troopers.⁸⁴ The DOJ alleged that the PSP through a “pattern or practice” used physical fitness tests that discriminated against women applying to be troopers with the PSP, resulting in a disparate impact on women applicants from 2003 through 2012, in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.⁸⁵ In October 2017, the court ruled in favor of the DOJ, and the PSP was ordered to revamp its physical fitness tests.⁸⁶

5. Recruitment Images

With regard to specific recruiting practices and advertisements and with the help of the internet, the first contact potential candidates have with a law enforcement agency is often through agency websites or recruitment brochures. Many of the recruitment materials and images, however, do not reflect or represent the communities that law enforcement agencies serve and protect. Law enforcement leaders who strive to increase the diversity and numbers of officers to better reflect their communities must communicate the right recruitment messaging to connect with female and other minority candidates.

⁸² Emma Gannon, “Fitness Test Ruled Unfair to Female Officers,” Courthouse News Service, July 17, 2017, <https://www.courthousenews.com/fitness-test-ruled-unfair-female-officers/>.

⁸³ Gannon, “Fitness Test Ruled Unfair to Female Officers”; *Arndt v. City of Colo. Springs*, 263 F. Supp. 3d 1071, 1073 (D. Colo. 2017), <https://casetext.com/case/arndt-v-city-of-colo-springs-1>.

⁸⁴ “Justice Department Files Lawsuit Alleging Sex Discrimination against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania State Police,” Department of Justice, July 29, 2014, <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/justice-department-files-lawsuit-alleging-sex-discrimination-against-commonwealth>.

⁸⁵ Department of Justice.

⁸⁶ *United States v. Pennsylvania*, Civil No. 1:14-cv-1474 (M.D. Pa. Oct. 2, 2017), <https://casetext.com/case/united-states-v-pa-pa-state-police>.

Researcher Elizabeth Linos, realizing that many public-sector employers are missing the mark with their recruitment strategies, conducted a field experiment to determine how varying job advertisements on recruitment postcards could affect hiring results.⁸⁷ As part of her experiment, she sent out postcards with four different messages to potential candidates, seeking to determine what makes the profession of policing attractive. Specifically, the four messages focused on “the challenge of being a police officer, the ability to serve the community, the impact [serving has] on one’s own community or the job security that comes with a long-term career.”⁸⁸ The findings from the study indicate “messages emphasizing the challenge of being a police officer and career benefits were each three times more effective” than other types of messages with women and other minorities.⁸⁹

By extension, this finding highlights the insufficiency of many law enforcement websites, social media sites, brochures, and posters in displaying photos largely of the agency’s elite, male-dominated units. Instead of portraying impactful messaging to recruit a targeted audience, such as through depictions of women and other minorities, most images prominently advertise special weapons and tactics teams, bomb units, and K-9 (canine) teams. The photos of elite units lure mostly white men into the profession with the belief that after a short stint in patrol, they will have the opportunity to work in specialized units.⁹⁰ Not only is this messaging misleading to existing employees, as it takes time to earn a position in a specialized unit, but it also misleads potential applicants. More critical than advertising elite units is retooling recruiting messages to attract applicants who will create a more diverse police force.⁹¹ Thus, recruitment brochures and pamphlets should

⁸⁷ Elizabeth Linos, “More Than Public Service: A Field Experiment on Job Advertisements and Diversity in the Police,” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 28, no. 1 (2018): 67, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jopart/mux032>.

⁸⁸ Linos, 68.

⁸⁹ Linos, 68.

⁹⁰ Penny E. Harrington et al., *Recruiting & Retaining Women: A Self-Assessment Guide for Law Enforcement* (Los Angeles: National Center for Women and Policing, 2004), <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/bja/185235.pdf>.

⁹¹ Harrington et al., 48.

demonstrate an agency’s overall philosophy and commitment to enhancing diversity and inclusion.

Additionally, many agencies use photographs in recruitment materials that do not reflect women working in patrol or tactical positions—they are shown working as school resource officers or holding and caring for children. Depicting policewomen in dated gender-specific roles may discourage female applicants who do not want to work in an environment where they are bound to hold only domestic roles. If law enforcement leaders want to increase the recruitment of women, they have to incorporate photos of them in all policing assignments. Female applicants should see other women in an array of policing roles, so they can envision themselves in those positions.⁹² In sum, to effectively recruit more women, recruitment materials need to provide realistic expectations, show a commitment to diversity and inclusion, and incorporate photos of policewomen working in a variety of assignments.⁹³

6. Lack of Pregnancy and Maternity Options

Policewomen deserve flexible options and benefits to realize their career goals and family aspirations. Ensuring protection for these officers if they do decide to have a family requires sound maternity and family leave policies. The Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA) of 1993 is the federal statutory provision most U.S. employers and police agencies use, allowing pregnant officers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave from work.⁹⁴ If she has accrued leave time, the officer may use her leave balance before being placed in an unpaid leave status. Case law and state statutes provide parameters for the FMLA, but individual police organizations must interpret them to formalize maternity and disability policies.⁹⁵ Thus, there is little uniformity between police agencies in FMLA

⁹² Harrington et al., 48.

⁹³ Harrington et al., 48.

⁹⁴ Cara Rabe-Hemp and Gail Sears Humiston, “A Survey of Maternity Policies and Pregnancy Accommodations in American Police Departments,” *Police Practice and Research* 16, no. 3 (2015): 239–53, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2013.872988>; Sarah Donovan, *Paid Family Leave in the United States*, CRS Report No. R44835 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2019).

⁹⁵ Rabe-Hemp and Humiston, “Maternity Policies and Pregnancy Accommodations,” 241.

implementation.⁹⁶ Unfortunately, as of this writing, no federal law *requires* employers to provide paid leave of any kind to women taking maternity leave.

Rabe-Hemp and Humiston conducted a study of maternity policies offered by 34 police agencies that employ the highest numbers of female officers in the United States.⁹⁷ The findings confirm that out of the 34 agencies interviewed, over 80 percent have formal procedures for maternity leave, but many of the details of the policies differ. On the other hand, in about one-third of the agencies surveyed, decisions for whether a female officer could take leave was left up to individual administrators.⁹⁸ Only half of the agencies surveyed reported offering part-time work for officers returning from their maternity leave while the other half do not have such an option.⁹⁹ The lack of consistency in maternity policies across the nation creates uncertainty for current officers and others considering law enforcement as a career.

A search for police agencies that offer policies and private rooms for lactating officers upon returning to work after the birth of a child revealed few results. One of the results was an article featured in *Police Magazine* that indicated Portland Police Bureau had implemented a lactation policy in 2012.¹⁰⁰ The article indicates that the Portland policy allows for up to three paid breaks a day, a two-week transition period to allow the officer to reacclimate to normal duties, and the ability to wear a looser-fitting bulletproof vest to allow proper lactation flow and prevent infection. This information was not verifiable on the Portland Police Bureau's agency website. On the other hand, this same search revealed a class action lawsuit dated November 2019 that alleged the Philadelphia Police Department had denied female officers a clean, private area to express breast milk while at work.¹⁰¹ In short, if lactation policies are offered by police departments they are

⁹⁶ Rabe-Hemp and Humiston, 241.

⁹⁷ Rabe-Hemp and Humiston.

⁹⁸ Rabe-Hemp and Humiston, 244–45.

⁹⁹ Rabe-Hemp and Humiston, 245.

¹⁰⁰ “Portland Police Adopt Breastfeeding Policy,” *Police Magazine*, August 2, 2012, <https://www.policemag.com/350548/portland-police-adopt-breastfeeding-policy>.

¹⁰¹ *Newsome v. City of Philadelphia*, No. 19-cv-05590-MMB (E.D. Pa. filed Nov. 26, 2019), <https://www.classaction.org/media/newsome-v-city-of-philadelphia.pdf>.

not widely publicized on the internet, or they are not being offered. According to the Department of Labor, “Section 7 of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) requires employers to provide reasonable break time for an employee to express breast milk for her nursing child for 1 year after the child’s birth each time such employee has need to express the milk.”¹⁰² Unfortunately, agencies with fewer than 50 employees are not required to abide by the breaktime requirement if the “provision would impose an undue hardship” on the employer.¹⁰³ As a result, lactation policies or the lack thereof will vary greatly based on the size of the police department.

Due to the low percentages of women working in the profession, agencies have little opportunity to interact with pregnant officers, and thus, as suggested by Rabe-Hemp, “pregnancy is dealt with on a case by case basis.”¹⁰⁴ In other words, the benefits and maternity policies offered among agencies throughout the United States are not always the same. Conversely, many countries around the globe offer a national paid leave policy for parents; the United States does not. A recent post by the Pew Research Center notes that out of 41 nations, the United States is the only one without a paid parental leave policy.¹⁰⁵ This same report indicates that Estonia, on the other hand, provides 86 weeks of paid parental leave, and “Bulgaria, Hungary, Japan, Lithuania, Austria, Slovakia, Latvia, Norway, and Slovenia . . . offer over a year’s worth of paid leave as well.”¹⁰⁶ Accordingly, Kimberly Lonsway posits that policewomen in the United States who are expectant mothers have to take extra time off from work, which hurts them not only financially but also professionally.¹⁰⁷ She further notes that high attrition rates of policewomen are not surprising considering the lack of agency support, policies, and benefits available to assist

¹⁰² “Fact Sheet #73: Break Time for Nursing Mothers under the FLSA,” Department of Labor, April 2018, <https://www.dol.gov/agencies/whd/fact-sheets/73-flsa-break-time-nursing-mothers>.

¹⁰³ Department of Labor.

¹⁰⁴ Rabe-Hemp, *Thriving in an All-Boys Club*, 137.

¹⁰⁵ Gretchen Livingston and Deja Thomas, “Among 41 Countries, Only U.S. Lacks Paid Parental Leave,” *Fact Tank* (blog), December 16, 2019, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/12/16/u-s-lacks-mandated-paid-parental-leave/>.

¹⁰⁶ Livingston and Thomas.

¹⁰⁷ Kimberly A. Lonsway, “Are We There Yet?,” *Women & Criminal Justice* 18, no. 1–2 (2006): 40, https://doi.org/10.1300/J012v18n01_01.

with child care and family responsibilities.¹⁰⁸ Consequently, while an agency may offer maternity leave policies, women are highly stigmatized and viewed as a hindrance to bureaucratic efficiency if they do take time off to care for their children.

In sum, women contemplating a career in law enforcement want benefits and flexible work schedules that accommodate their lifestyle—whether they be single or married, have children, or plan to have children. After all, studies have shown that in families where both partners work full-time jobs, it is still the woman who continues to handle the majority of domestic duties such as picking up and dropping off children at school and taking them to medical appointments.¹⁰⁹ Although more women are entering the workforce, their familial responsibilities have not changed. Thus, flexible work schedules, in addition to health benefits, are needed to recruit more women to the law enforcement profession.

7. Conclusion

While researchers have differing views on women's motivations for entering the law enforcement profession, as well as the impact stress has on them, women bring many added benefits to policing. Research has shown policewomen to be just as competent as men in the performance of their policing duties. Furthermore, police leaders must recognize that the physical strength or gender of a recruit does not predict the competence or determine the quality of that person as an officer. In terms of recruitment, images are essential to the community's perception of an agency and should evoke ideals of inclusiveness and diversity by depicting women in an array of assignments and roles. The goal of this thesis is to expound on the existing literature and further research areas that affect the recruitment of women in law enforcement.

¹⁰⁸ Lonsway, 40.

¹⁰⁹ Lori L. Wadsworth and Rex L. Facer, "Work-Family Balance and Alternative Work Schedules: Exploring the Impact of 4-Day Workweeks on State Employees," *Public Personnel Management* 45, no. 4 (December 2016): 386, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0091026016678856>.

C. RESEARCH DESIGN

This thesis utilized comparative case study analysis using open-source literature related to policing in two peer countries of the United States: Australia and Canada. Specifically, the thesis provides a comparative analysis of those countries' recruitment strategies, laws, and policies relating to pregnancy and maternity that are geared toward attracting more women. Both of the peer countries employ higher percentages of female officers compared to the relatively stagnant 12 percent represented in the United States. Case studies are used to provide an overview of policing within each country, its strategies for recruiting and retaining policewomen, and pregnancy and maternity policies that attract more women to the profession. The primary source of research data was legislation and official government documents. Secondary sources included books, journal articles, governmental reports, surveys, and newspaper articles.

This research mixes both descriptive and prescriptive analysis. Descriptive analysis sheds light on the historical aspects of women and the associated recruitment strategies in policing while prescriptive analysis forms the basis of recommended policies and best practices, built on findings from the comparative analysis portion. Finally, based on results from the policy review and comparative analysis, this thesis provides policy recommendations and best practices to enhance the recruitment of women in the law enforcement profession.

This thesis continues with Chapter II, which provides an overview of policing in the United States, focusing specifically on the history of women in policing and the benefits they bring to the profession. Next, Chapter III offers a comparative analysis of policing by way of case studies on two peer countries to the United States, specifically Australia and Canada. This section not only provides an overview of policing but also familiarizes the reader with recruitment and maternity practices used to hire more women as police officers in each respective country. Chapter IV analyzes the case studies, provides recommendations to enhance the recruitment of women in law enforcement, and concludes this thesis.

II. POLICING IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, order and security for society as a whole are a function of law enforcement. Police are accountable to the public, specifically to the citizens, whom they are duty-bound to serve and protect. The United States has federal, state, and local police agencies. All told, approximately 18,000 departments provide law enforcement services across the 3.8 million square miles that cover the United States.¹¹⁰ Nearly one million citizens serve as police officers, and 12 percent are women.¹¹¹

The beginning of policing in America can be traced back to the “night watch system” that originated in England.¹¹² Upon arrival of the first settlers, the night watchmen, a group of volunteers, patrolled while the community slept.¹¹³ Then, in 1749, the City of Philadelphia became the first in America to establish a paid warden’s position to patrol the streets, enforce laws, and serve warrants.¹¹⁴ Not long thereafter, many other cities followed Philadelphia’s lead. By the 1800s, the loosely formed police efforts in both the United States and London were regarded as “inefficient and corrupt” and riddled with violence by the mobs; as a result, Sir Robert Peel introduced the concept of municipal policing.¹¹⁵ Peel’s style of policing became part of every large city in the United States by 1870.¹¹⁶ By the late 1800s, policing had evolved from merely an unarmed nighttime protection service to a day-and-night armed police force.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰ Duren Banks et al., *National Sources of Law Enforcement Employment Data*, NCJ 249681 (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016), 1.

¹¹¹ “Law Enforcement Facts,” National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund, accessed July 4, 2020, <https://nleomf.org/facts-figures/law-enforcement-facts>.

¹¹² Steven Cox et al., *Introduction to Policing*, 4th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publishing, 2019), 19.

¹¹³ Cox et al., 19.

¹¹⁴ Cox et al., 20.

¹¹⁵ Cox et al., 20.

¹¹⁶ Cox et al., 20.

¹¹⁷ Cox et al., 20.

This chapter examines the point at which women entered the male-dominated profession and details a few of the many benefits they bring. Next, it discusses judicial decisions and legislation relating to pregnancy and maternity that were meant to enhance the recruitment of women. The chapter ends with considerations that carry through to the following chapters.

B. WOMEN IN POLICING

American women tiptoed into the policing profession in the mid-19th century; since then, they have strived for parity among the rank and file. Regrettably, despite 175 years since women first debuted as police matrons, they remain an anomaly with their representation stagnating at 12 percent. This section covers topics that significantly affect the recruitment efforts for women and their migration into the still male-dominated profession of policing.

Historically, as women entered the profession, their duties reflected social work, dealing specifically with children and women housed in law enforcement institutions. In 1845, advocacy from such groups as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the American Female Society pushed for police leaders to hire women to assist with the more domesticated side of police work that did not require physical strength.¹¹⁸ This effort resulted in the hiring of "police matrons" in the New York City area who predominantly worked in jails and prisons.¹¹⁹

In 1910, Los Angeles, California, became the first state to have a sworn female law enforcement officer. Her name was Alice Stebbins Wells, and her job entailed enforcement of laws dealing specifically with public recreation establishments "frequented by women and children."¹²⁰ Wells regularly traveled around the United States and to other countries

¹¹⁸ Balkin, "Why Policemen Don't Like Policewomen," 29.

¹¹⁹ Lois Higgins, "Historical Background of Policewomen's Service," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 41, no. 6 (March 1951): 822, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3491292>.

¹²⁰ "Alice Stebbins Wells: Meet the First Woman Police Officer with Arrest Powers in the U.S.," *Women You Should Know*, September 12, 2017, <https://womenyoushouldknow.net/alice-stebbins-wells-meet-first-woman-police-officer-arrest-powers-u-s/>.

lecturing on the integration of women in policing.¹²¹ She also played a significant part in the creation of what is now known as the International Association of Women Police, a group emphasizing the significant enhancements women offer the policing profession.¹²² The first female deputy, Margaret Adams, worked for the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department in 1912.¹²³ She primarily processed items of evidence.¹²⁴ Police matrons, along with Wells and Adams, not only proved to be valuable additions to the policing profession but also opened the door to a career in policing for other women to follow.

Through the years, the number of women working in law enforcement continued to grow, and gradually their roles grew, too, from caretakers of incarcerated women and girls to actual police officers. From 1940 to 1950, the U.S. Census revealed the number of women working in the police profession had grown to approximately 1,000.¹²⁵ In 1967, women were called an "invaluable asset" in modern policing, which led to more women being hired around the country as police officers.¹²⁶ By 1968, the nation had its first female patrol duo, Elizabeth Coffal Robinson and Betty Blankenship, and in 1972, JoAnne Misko and Susan Malone were sworn in as the first female agents employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).¹²⁷ Thus, women transitioned from the role of caretakers to sworn police officers and agents.

As it happens, the appointment of the first two female FBI agents coincided with the passage of the congressional amendment to Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, implemented in 1972. Discriminatory practices against women and minorities had been

¹²¹ Harry W. More, "The Male Dominated Police Culture: Reducing the Gender Gap," in *Special Topics in Policing* (Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing, 1992), 116, <https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=133117>.

¹²² More, 116.

¹²³ Smith, "Police History."

¹²⁴ Smith.

¹²⁵ National Advisory Police Committee on Social Protection, *Techniques of Law Enforcement in the Use of Policewomen with Special Reference to Social Protection* (Washington, DC: Federal Security Agency, 1945), 2, [https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.\\$b381858&view=1up&seq=7](https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.$b381858&view=1up&seq=7).

¹²⁶ President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: The Police* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1967).

¹²⁷ Smith, "Police History"; President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report*.

commonplace before the enactment of Title VII. In the 1960s, for example, women and minorities generally were denied equal employment, especially in law enforcement professions. The language of Title VII “prohibited discrimination based on race, religion, color, or national origin in public places, schools, and employment. However, discrimination based on sex was not initially included.”¹²⁸ By 1972, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) expanded Title VII to include local governments.¹²⁹ As a result of these changes, a final legal hurdle was removed, forcing local municipalities to open the door to women.¹³⁰

The amendment making gender-based discrimination illegal further helped to expand opportunities for women in policing.¹³¹ As noted, most policewomen up to this point served in support roles and social services positions, but this landmark amendment helped to unlock more coveted assignments in patrol and investigations.¹³² Furthermore, positive procedural changes in the recruitment and hiring of female officers came to fruition through judicial proceedings.¹³³ Those proceedings forced some police agencies across the nation to work under federal consent decrees that mandated the recruitment of women and minorities.¹³⁴ Consequently, by 2000, police agencies without consent decrees reported having 9.7 percent female officers while agencies with consent decrees reported having 14 percent on staff.¹³⁵ Thus, Title VII, along with consent decrees, helped more women attain jobs in policing.

Statistically speaking, despite the vast contributions of women over the last 175 years in law enforcement, their presence remains obstructed. In sum, before 1845, white

¹²⁸ “Women’s Rights and the Civil Rights Act of 1964,” National Archives, last modified August 9, 2019, <https://www.archives.gov/women/1964-civil-rights-act>.

¹²⁹ Rabe-Hemp, *Thriving in an All-Boys Club*, 24.

¹³⁰ Rabe-Hemp, 24.

¹³¹ Seklecki and Paynich, “A National Survey of Female Police Officers,” 17–30.

¹³² Smith, “Police History.”

¹³³ Garcia, “‘Difference’ in the Police Department,” 336–37.

¹³⁴ Garcia, 330–44.

¹³⁵ Garcia, 336.

men comprised 100 percent of the profession. By the 1950s, 1,000 women were serving in the law enforcement profession. In 1980, there were 518,386 sworn police officers, and men made up 97 percent of the profession.¹³⁶ Currently, in 2020, men account for 88 percent of all law enforcement officers. Considering law enforcement is one of the most influential jobs affecting society, the slow integration of women may have repercussions that we cannot know.

C. BENEFITS OF HAVING WOMEN IN POLICING

Women bring many benefits and a different perspective to policing from their male colleagues. The following subsections highlight several significant benefits that women bring to the policing profession.

1. More Likely to De-escalate and Use Less Force

An unexpected benefit of having more women in law enforcement is the likelihood of force being used less often, which costs departments less money in litigation. As noted in 2015 by Katherine Spillar in a *Washington Post* article, excessive force is used less frequently by policewomen.¹³⁷ Spillar, the co-founder and executive director of the Feminist Majority Foundation, arrived at this conclusion after reviewing studies involving police brutality claims from the preceding 40 years. Similarly, in 1974, Bloch and Anderson concluded that “women act less aggressively, and they believe in less aggression” than male police officers.¹³⁸ They based this determination on findings from a comparative study of 85 female officers and 86 male officers from the Metropolitan Police of the District of Columbia. A 2016 article in the *Atlantic* on reducing violent police incidents also noted that women “are defendants far less often than men, saving

¹³⁶ Rabe-Hemp, *Thriving in an All-Boys Club*, 21.

¹³⁷ Spillar, “Female Police Officers Would Help Stop Police Brutality.”

¹³⁸ Peter B. Bloch and Deborah Anderson, *Policewomen on Patrol: Final Report* (Washington, DC: Police Foundation, 1974), 4, <http://doi.org/10.1097/TA.0000000000001783>.

municipalities millions in legal fees.”¹³⁹ Therefore, policewomen and their tendency to use less force result in fewer lawsuits and overall savings for an agency.

Moreover, Shuster detailed similar findings in her study of the Los Angeles Police Department from 1990 to 1999.¹⁴⁰ She found that the department had paid \$63.4 million for excessive force complaints against male officers, while those against women accounted for \$2.8 million—a ratio of 23 to 1.¹⁴¹ Those findings matter because the excessive use of force by police is not only illegal but also under constant scrutiny, causing heightened tensions between police officers and the communities they serve. Consequently, less violence by police officers seems to correlate with agencies’ paying out less money due to litigation.

Research also shows that women may bring a calming influence to situations. Balkin and Spillar agree that women are not only as competent as their male colleagues but also better at delivering a calming element to dangerous situations. Balkin’s work includes 14 years of data from studying policewomen in the United States and internationally. His findings note that men and women approach police work differently; often, men view it as requiring authoritative control while women tend to see it as a community service.¹⁴² Spillar notes that the earlier study by Balkin supports the notion that women are better at de-escalating volatile situations before those encounters turn deadly.¹⁴³ Furthermore, Bloch and Anderson posit that the mere presence of a female officer on unpredictable scenes may help avoid violence by adding a calming element to the overall situation and

¹³⁹ Christina Asquith, “Why Aren’t U.S. Police Departments Recruiting More Women?” *Atlantic*, August 30, 2016, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/08/police-departments-women-officers/497963/>.

¹⁴⁰ Beth Shuster, “A Look Ahead with a Study Finding That the Vast Majority of Misconduct Cases Involve Male Officers,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 18, 2000, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2000-sep-18-me-22968-story.html>.

¹⁴¹ Shuster.

¹⁴² Balkin, “Why Policemen Don’t Like Policewomen,” 29–38.

¹⁴³ Spillar, “Female Police Officers Would Help Stop Police Brutality”; Balkin, “Why Policemen Don’t Like Policewomen.”

thus de-escalating the incident without having to use force.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, the calming influence policewomen contribute to a violent scene may save lives.

2. Better Educated

Educated women have an essential impact on policing: they use less force. More than half of college graduates in the U.S. workforce are women.¹⁴⁵ Since the early 1980s, women have consistently outpaced men in earning bachelor's degrees.¹⁴⁶ The importance of "educational achievements" of officers appears in the first paragraph of the first page of a 2017 report by the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services and the Police Executive Research Forum, at the behest of then-President Obama to determine better hiring strategies for 21st century police officers.¹⁴⁷ Research demonstrates that police officers with only a high school education are more likely to use force than officers who have earned a bachelor's degree.¹⁴⁸ Therefore, as women are more likely to be holders of bachelor's degrees, they are less likely to use physical force than male officers.

3. Effective Communicators

Female officers have practical interpersonal skills and are often preferred to male officers to defuse situations. Many agencies have changed focus from the use of physical force to de-escalation tactics, the importance of interpersonal skills and positive community cooperation, and interaction among their officers.¹⁴⁹ Research shows that policewomen are better suited to respond to dangerous calls as they can gain compliance

¹⁴⁴ Bloch and Anderson, *Policewomen on Patrol*.

¹⁴⁵ Richard Fry, "U.S. Women Near Milestone in the College-Educated Labor Force," *Fact Tank* (blog), June 20, 2019, <https://pewrsr.ch/2ZEVQB3>.

¹⁴⁶ Dani Matias, "New Report Says Women Will Soon Be Majority of College-Educated U.S. Workers," National Public Radio, June 20, 2019, <https://www.npr.org/2019/06/20/734408574/new-report-says-college-educated-women-will-soon-make-up-majority-of-u-s-labor-f>.

¹⁴⁷ Kevin Morison, *Hiring for the 21st Century Law Enforcement Officer: Challenges, Opportunities, and Strategies for Success* (Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2017), <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=798643>.

¹⁴⁸ Eugene A. Paoline and William Terrill, "Police Education, Experience, and the Use of Force," *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 34, no. 2 (February 2007): 191, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854806290239>.

¹⁴⁹ Lonsway, "Hiring & Retaining More Women."

of aggressive subjects with their communication skills.¹⁵⁰ Often, they demonstrate empathy in stressful situations and quell anger through the use of verbal dialogue without resorting to physical force.

Likewise, the communication skills used by policewomen have community benefits: they earn trust. The National Center for Women and Policing argues that female officers are better able to earn the trust and cooperation needed in the community than their male counterparts because of their interpersonal skills and ability to communicate.¹⁵¹ For this reason, citizen complaints name policewomen less often, and policewomen are more likely to de-escalate violent situations without resorting to force.¹⁵² Thus, female officers help to garner more trust between the community and police while building community partnerships.

4. Crime Reporting by Female Victims Increases

The presence of policewomen affects the level of domestic violence crime reporting. Findings from a study by University of Virginia professor Amalia Miller and University of Zurich professor Carmit Segal indicate that domestic incident victims are more comfortable reporting their victimization to female officers.¹⁵³ Moreover, Miller and Segal's study reflects that as the percentage of female officers increases in the community, domestic-related homicides decrease, and the rate of reported domestic and sexual assault on women increases.¹⁵⁴ The increase in crime reporting suggests that female victims are more comfortable reporting abuse and violence to female officers than male officers.

¹⁵⁰ C. G. Sulton and R. D. Townsey, *A Progress Report on Women in Policing* (Washington, DC: Police Foundation, 1981); J. L. Sicehl et al., *Women on Patrol: A Pilot Study of Police Performance in New York City* (Washington, DC: National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, 1978); Lonsway, "Hiring & Retaining More Women."

¹⁵¹ Lonsway, "Hiring & Retaining More Women."

¹⁵² Lonsway.

¹⁵³ Amalia Miller and Carmit Segal, "Do Female Officers Improve Law Enforcement Quality? Effects on Crime Reporting and Domestic Violence," *Review of Economic Studies* 86, no. 5 (October 2019), <https://doi.org/10.1093/restud/rdy051>.

¹⁵⁴ Miller and Segal.

D. RECRUITMENT PRACTICES

Many barriers may prevent American women from considering a job in law enforcement. The obstacles previously mentioned in Chapter I include stress, police culture, physical strength and standards, and a lack of robust family and maternity leave options. However, in addition to those hurdles, recruitment practices and the lack of judicial actions and agreements between the federal government and police agencies prevent higher numbers of women from realizing a career in the law enforcement profession.

1. Judicial Decisions to Enhance Recruitment

As previously established, lawsuits have increased the level of hiring of women. Judicial proceedings have forced some police agencies across the nation to work under federal consent decrees.¹⁵⁵ These agreements between the federal government and local law enforcement were meant to enhance the recruitment of women and other minorities.¹⁵⁶ Police agencies working under a federal consent decree saw their percentage of female officers rise to 14 percent while those without settled at around 9 percent.¹⁵⁷ Now that most federal consent decrees have expired, the rate of female officers nationwide has fallen back to 12 percent.¹⁵⁸ To put it bluntly, it seems the representation of women will remain low unless the federal government once again steps in and requires agencies to improve their hiring practices.

As mentioned earlier, after the passage of Title VII, police agencies could no longer exclude women and minorities from police work; consequently, they created physical screening requirements that prevented the hiring of women.¹⁵⁹ At that time, the preferred

¹⁵⁵ Sun and Chu, “A Cross-National Analysis of Female Police Officers’ Attitudes.”

¹⁵⁶ Garcia, “‘Difference’ in the Police Department.”

¹⁵⁷ Garcia, 336.

¹⁵⁸ Reaves, *Local Police Departments*, 22.

¹⁵⁹ Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Program Evaluation: Recruitment & Hiring Gender Disparities in Public Safety Occupations* (Washington, DC: Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, June 2018), <https://www.eeoc.gov/federal-sector/reports/program-evaluation-recruitment-hiring-gender-disparities-public-safety>.

candidate for law enforcement was a tall white male who weighed a certain amount to carry out the physical duties of police work. However, height and weight requirements were later rejected by the Supreme Court, as they impose a “disparate impact” on women.¹⁶⁰ With the removal of height and weight requirements, law enforcement leaders then introduced physical fitness tests for police candidates. Female candidates took the same physical fitness test as the male candidates with no adjustments to accommodate for physiological differences. Plainly put, the literature suggests that agencies added physical requirements to keep women out of policing positions.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the number of policewomen increased due to affirmative action and consent decrees.¹⁶¹ Affirmative action is an effort created by the government to enhance employment and educational opportunities for minority groups and women to address the long history of discrimination against them.¹⁶² The framework for affirmative action was derived from Title VII. In the 1980s, due to discriminatory employment practices, the DOJ sued many police agencies, and as a result, many of the cases were settled through court-approved agreements or consent decrees.¹⁶³ The consent decree sets timelines and provides specific goals for the agency to increase underrepresented groups such as women and minorities.¹⁶⁴ In 2003, a report by the National Center for Women and Policing noted that the “representation of sworn women in agencies with a consent decree was substantially higher than the percentage in agencies without a consent decree.”¹⁶⁵ Consequently, the expiration of consent decrees has seen a regression in the representation of those protected classes.

¹⁶⁰ Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Program Evaluation*.

¹⁶¹ Rabe-Hemp, *Thriving in an All-Boys Club*, 24.

¹⁶² Rabe-Hemp, 25.

¹⁶³ Rabe-Hemp, 24.

¹⁶⁴ Rabe-Hemp, 24.

¹⁶⁵ Kimberly A. Lonsway et al., *Under Scrutiny: The Effect of Consent Decrees on the Representation of Women in Sworn Law Enforcement* (Los Angeles: National Center for Women and Policing, 2003), 3.

2. Maternity Benefits

Women seek professions in which they can have it all—a steady paycheck, great benefits, flexible work schedules, and time off with family and friends. If they choose to have children, they want peace of mind in knowing they can take time off and their job will be protected. Consequently, if administrators and supervisors handle maternity-related issues negatively, it will not only adversely affect the morale of the expectant employee but also result in problems with recruitment and retainment of other policewomen.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, agencies need to have meaningful pregnancy and maternity policies if they hope to keep the already small percentage of policewomen on their personnel rosters. Unfortunately, as stated previously, the policing profession, composed mostly of men, has often discriminated against pregnant employees instead of protecting them.¹⁶⁷

The EEOC created policies such as the Pregnancy Discrimination Act (PDA) of 1978 and the FMLA, which guide police agencies in the handling of expectant employees.¹⁶⁸ The PDA outlines parameters detailing how employers must treat pregnant employees as they would treat any other temporarily disabled employee who is unable to perform regularly assigned duties.¹⁶⁹ The PDA governs light-duty pregnancy accommodations and provides provisions to protect expecting employees from harassment by co-workers and supervisors.¹⁷⁰ The FMLA allows eligible pregnant employees to take unpaid and protected leave for specific family and medical situations.¹⁷¹ It further allows the employee to continue health insurance coverage as if she had never taken leave.¹⁷² The national FMLA policy entitles a covered employee to 12 work weeks of unpaid leave

¹⁶⁶ Harrington et al., *Recruiting & Retaining Women*, 111.

¹⁶⁷ Harrington et al., 111.

¹⁶⁸ “Pregnancy Discrimination,” Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, accessed July 5, 2020, [https://www.eeoc.gov/pregnancy-discrimination#:~:text=The%20Pregnancy%20Discrimination%20Act%20\(PDA,term%20or%20condition%20of%20employment](https://www.eeoc.gov/pregnancy-discrimination#:~:text=The%20Pregnancy%20Discrimination%20Act%20(PDA,term%20or%20condition%20of%20employment).

¹⁶⁹ Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

¹⁷⁰ Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

¹⁷¹ Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, “Pregnancy Discrimination”; Donovan, *Paid Family Leave in the United States*.

¹⁷² “Family and Medical Leave Act,” Department of Labor, accessed July 5, 2020, <https://www.dol.gov/agencies/whd/fmla>.

during a 12-month timeframe. The FMLA can be used for several different reasons explicitly linked to having a baby, caring for a baby, or adopting or fostering a child, among other critical family-related circumstances.¹⁷³

Paid family leave (PFL) refers to time away from the job, partially or fully compensated by the employer, for specific caregiving needs, such as having a baby.¹⁷⁴ In the United States, the employer provisions for PFL are strictly voluntary. A national survey conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in March 2018 found that only 16 percent of employees have access to PFL through their employers.¹⁷⁵ The same survey discovered that “the availability of PFL was more prevalent among professional and technical occupations and industries, high-paying occupations, full-time workers, and workers in large companies (as measured by the number of employees).”¹⁷⁶ Consequently, while the PDA, FMLA, and PFL provide federally mandated requirements for how an expectant mother should be treated by her employer and guidelines for the amount of time she can take off from work to care for her newborn, the time she takes is not always paid time off. As affirmed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, “The United States is the only Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) member not to offer paid leave to new mothers.”¹⁷⁷

Indeed, most police agencies lack formal written policies and procedures to guide an employee in how and when she should notify her supervisor of her pregnancy. In a recent survey of U.S. police agencies with written maternity policies, Rabe-Hemp and Humiston found one-third of all agencies surveyed let an administrator within the agency decide whether an employee was eligible to take maternity leave.¹⁷⁸ On the other hand,

¹⁷³ Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, “Pregnancy Discrimination”; Donovan, *Paid Family Leave in the United States*.

¹⁷⁴ Donovan, *Paid Family Leave in the United States*.

¹⁷⁵ Donovan, *Paid Family Leave in the United States*; “Access to Paid and Unpaid Family Leave in 2018,” Bureau of Labor Statistics, February 27, 2019, <https://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2019/access-to-paid-and-unpaid-family-leave-in-2018.htm>.

¹⁷⁶ Donovan, *Paid Family Leave in the United States*, 2.

¹⁷⁷ Donovan.

¹⁷⁸ Rabe-Hemp and Humiston, “Maternity Policies and Pregnancy Accommodations,” 245.

while research suggests that many agencies lack maternity policies, Rabe-Hemp and Humiston found that approximately 80 percent of all agencies surveyed do have written maternity, disability leave, and light-duty policies.¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, only 28 percent of law enforcement agencies report having formal light-duty policies. The other 72 percent have “discretionary” policies, meaning administrators decide who does and does not receive approval for light-duty assignments.¹⁸⁰ As a result, men are making those crucial decisions for expectant officers, as the vast majority of police administrators are male while only 2.7 percent of all law enforcement leaders are women.¹⁸¹ The International Association of Chiefs of Police made notable recommendations in 2012 encouraging police agencies to take all reasonable measures to accommodate pregnant employees to ensure they maintain employment throughout their pregnancies.¹⁸²

E. CONCLUSION

More women are living in the United States than men, but law enforcement leaders have struggled to find effective ways to attract and recruit more women. Unfortunately, positive changes to attract more women from within the community—through work practices, schedules, and paid pregnancy and maternity leave—have not kept pace. Research has shown that women bring benefits to the law enforcement profession, many of which, such as using de-escalation and effective communications techniques instead of resorting to physical force, are needed in modern-day policing. In a profession that still has difficulty retaining and recruiting women, agency leaders must understand that women and men are genuinely different, and recruiting efforts should focus on those differences. Although women first entered the policing profession well over a century ago, the job of a police officer still evokes perceptions of masculine authority and dominance.¹⁸³ This perception must change to typify a career that not only welcomes women but actively seeks

¹⁷⁹ Rabe-Hemp and Humiston, 245.

¹⁸⁰ Rabe-Hemp and Humiston, 245.

¹⁸¹ Rianna P. Starheim, *Women in Policing: Breaking Barriers and Blazing a Path* (Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, July 2019), 27.

¹⁸² Rabe-Hemp and Humiston, “Maternity Policies and Pregnancy Accommodations,” 250.

¹⁸³ Garcia, “‘Difference’ in the Police Department,” 330–44.

them out to create more inclusive, diverse staffing rosters that genuinely reflect the communities they serve and protect. It seems counterintuitive and likely negligent for police executives to have a viable resource in women yet continue to use the same male-focused recruitment strategies.

Next, a case study approach will be used to compare and contrast policing practices used in two peer countries: Australia and Canada. The cases provide an overview of policing and the migration of women into the policing profession within each respective country. Additionally, each case study analyzes the recruitment efforts of women and the country-specific pregnancy and maternity leave policies. By comparing the similarities and differences in policing practices of these two allies, lessons can be learned and applied to U.S. policies that may positively affect the recruitment and retainment of women.

III. CASE STUDIES: AUSTRALIA AND CANADA

A comparative case study of other countries' effective recruitment practices to attract women to policing benefits police agencies across the globe. While similar studies may have been completed on this topic, the issue of underrepresentation and marginalization of women in law enforcement remains a concern and requires further investigation. Australia and Canada stood out among democratic nations using policing platforms similar to the those of the United States. Both countries are key allies of the United States and share "adversarial legal systems" based on common law, whereby court proceedings adhere to the law and provide due process.¹⁸⁴ Additionally, these countries were selected due to their much higher percentages of women serving in law enforcement roles than in the United States.¹⁸⁵

Australia and Canada share roughly comparable legal, political, and operational environments to the United States and operate under a democratic form of government, rooted in checks and balances and government accountability.¹⁸⁶ Thus, these two countries, like the United States, hold elected leaders and officials accountable. Accountability indeed includes ensuring law enforcement leaders across the country are adequately hiring and staffing their rosters with qualified candidates to protect the citizens and homeland they are sworn to serve. The term "qualified candidates" includes women.

This chapter provides insight into the processes used in Australia and Canada to recruit higher percentages of policewomen. Nadav Morag argues that the comparative methods approach "allows us to understand how processes work and thus increases our understanding of policy issues and our range of conceivable policy options."¹⁸⁷ The following case studies provide insight into the different strategies and policies in each

¹⁸⁴ Nadav Morag, *Comparative Homeland Security: Global Lessons*, 2nd ed. (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2018), 13.

¹⁸⁵ Terry Goldsworthy, "Women Have Made Many Inroads in Policing, but Barriers Remain to Achieving Gender Equity," *Conversation*, September 9, 2019, <http://theconversation.com/women-have-made-many-inroads-in-policing-but-barriers-remain-to-achieving-gender-equity-123082>.

¹⁸⁶ Morag, *Comparative Homeland Security*, xii.

¹⁸⁷ Morag, 13.

country and highlight its forward progress in hiring policewomen vis-à-vis the United States. In this connection, a comparative analysis of the policing in Australia and Canada helps provide policy recommendations to U.S. policymakers.

A. AUSTRALIA

The Commonwealth of Australia, prosperous with natural resources, is the sixth-largest country in total landmass and the only nation to govern an entire continent.¹⁸⁸ The capital of Australia is Canberra, and the largest city within the country is Sydney, with a population of 4.92 million.¹⁸⁹ The total population of Australia is 25.6 million, with women accounting for over half of the people, at 51 percent.¹⁹⁰ According to the Bureau of Statistics in Australia, Australian women, much like their American counterparts, earn more advanced college-level degrees, but their pay remains less than their male colleagues.¹⁹¹

As Rabe-Hemp and Garcia note, the United States and Australia are English-speaking countries that share “similar heritages and legal, political, economic, and social systems.”¹⁹² Australia is an independent sovereign state with a constitutional monarchy.¹⁹³ The monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, serves as the titular head of state in the country, but the prime minister handles the day-to-day business of Australia.¹⁹⁴ The queen enjoys a predominantly ceremonial and diplomatic presence among her realm.

Australia has a federal system of government that was established by its 1901 constitution. Parliament, the legislative branch of Australia’s government, is made up of

¹⁸⁸ “The World Factbook: Australia,” Central Intelligence Agency, last modified November 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/as.html>.

¹⁸⁹ “Home Page,” Australian Bureau of Statistics, accessed on April 19, 2020, <https://www.abs.gov.au>.

¹⁹⁰ “Australia - Population, Female (% of Total),” Trading Economics, accessed April 19, 2020, <https://tradingeconomics.com/australia/population-female-percent-of-total-wb-data.html>.

¹⁹¹ Australian Bureau of Statistics, “Home Page.”

¹⁹² Rabe-Hemp and Garcia, *Women Policing across the Globe*, 17.

¹⁹³ Central Intelligence Agency, “Australia.”

¹⁹⁴ Central Intelligence Agency.

democratically elected representatives from around the country. As in the United States, the criminal justice system in Australia comprises law enforcement, the judicial system, and corrections. Law enforcement agencies serve at the federal, state, and local levels of government.

1. Overview of Policing

Australia's first official police force was formed in 1789, made up entirely of "the best behaved of the convicts," building what was known as the "night watch."¹⁹⁵ Not unlike law enforcement today, it was responsible for protecting people and property. Of course, at that time, women, even those deemed criminals, handled only domestic duties and were not welcome on the newly created police force, as the life of a woman in the 18th century revolved around child-rearing and household chores. Over the next century, policing in Australia, much like around the world, continued to evolve into a profession solely dominated by men, as women of the 19th century again remained relatively homebound in taking care of domestic duties. Then, in 1915, the first female police officers, Lillian Armfield and Maude Rhodes, were hired in New South Wales, Australia.¹⁹⁶ This sudden change in allowing women into the male-favored profession of policing happened when many Australian men were pulled into World War I and feminist groups lobbied heavily for entry into the field. The first two female pioneers of policing were given the basic, gender-specific tasks of caring for women and children who had been taken into custody for criminal offenses.¹⁹⁷ Policewomen in Australia were prohibited, however, from coveted assignments such as patrol and investigations until the 1970s and 1980s, respectively.¹⁹⁸

Although research has consistently shown that policewomen are just as capable as their male counterparts, their representation in the policing profession globally has

¹⁹⁵ "History," New South Wales Police Force, accessed November 15, 2020, https://www.police.nsw.gov.au/about_us/history.

¹⁹⁶ Christine Nixon, "The History of Women in the Police Service," *Women and the Law* (September 1991): 228.

¹⁹⁷ Rabe-Hemp and Garcia, *Women Policing across the Globe*, 3.

¹⁹⁸ Rabe-Hemp and Garcia, 4.

remained low.¹⁹⁹ Conversely, today in Australia, women in the policing profession are appreciated, and robust recruitment strategies have been implemented to increase their representation. Indeed, of the approximately 70,000 sworn officers serving in Australia, the percentage of female officers represent 26–33.1 percent of the police force there.²⁰⁰ Policing organizations have not only made it a priority to hire more women but also established goals of achieving gender parity, aiming for a 50/50 male to female split.²⁰¹

2. Recruitment Efforts to Attract Policewomen

Australia has made gender inclusion a priority. It has recently made positive strides to enhance gender equality, gender diversity, and inclusiveness within police organizations.²⁰² One notable attempt was the creation of a 50/50 male–female recruitment strategy by some Australian police organizations.²⁰³ While aiming for gender parity may sound like a lofty goal to achieve, one agency, the Queensland Police Force, reached 50/50 parity during its 2016–2017 recruitment program.²⁰⁴

Australian police agencies have reviewed physical standard requirements to attain greater gender inclusiveness for police officers. As noted earlier, the physical standards component of the hiring process for police positions typically prevents many women from advancing. Australia is revamping the requirements of the physical fitness standards of police recruits, thus focusing more on the physical aspects that are integral to the job of policing and removing physical competencies that are not.²⁰⁵ For example, as of 2019, recruits applying to work with the Northern Territory Police are given a “Fit for Purpose

¹⁹⁹ Reaves, *Local Police Departments*.

²⁰⁰ Tim Prenzler and Georgina Sinclair, “The Status of Women Police Officers: An International Review,” *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 41, no. 2 (June 2013): 123, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijlcj.2012.12.001>.

²⁰¹ Goldsworthy, “Women Have Made Many Inroads in Policing.”

²⁰² Abby McLeod, “Diversity and Inclusion in Australian Policing: Where Are We At and Where Should We Go?,” *Public Safety Leadership* 5, no. 2 (2018): 3.

²⁰³ McLeod, 7.

²⁰⁴ Goldsworthy, “Women Have Made Many Inroads in Policing.”

²⁰⁵ McLeod, “Diversity and Inclusion in Australian Policing.”

Physical Assessment.”²⁰⁶ Push-ups are not included in this assessment, which makes sense considering police officers are not required to perform this movement during their daily work activities. Instead, true work-related movements such as moving quickly from the ground to a standing position, which simulates being in a ground fight; climbing a chain-link fence; and dragging a dummy are all included. Additionally, Australian police organizations recognize the importance of having “multiple male champions” within the police force who acknowledge and promote the many added benefits of having a gender-diverse and gender-inclusive police profession.²⁰⁷ In sum, while other police organizations espouse goals of hiring a gender-diverse roster of employees, Australia has made it a definite priority.

Australian police agencies also have recognized that the well-known police culture involving “overt discrimination and higher averages of sexual harassment” against female officers still exists and that it has an adverse impact on recruiting women.²⁰⁸ To improve the culture and practices of police organizations, several large agencies including the Australian Federal Police (AFP), Victoria Police, and South Australia Police, as well as many other agencies across the country, have taken a proactive approach by commissioning independent reviews of their organizations.²⁰⁹ Additionally, the Police Federation of Australia, an organization that represents the 63,000 police officers serving in the country, has created a Women’s Advisory Committee (WAC), which focuses solely on issues affecting women in law enforcement. Currently, WAC has in the works what it calls a “50/50 recruitment discussion paper” to determine whether quotas are viewed positively and whether they are effective. Besides 50/50 recruitment, WAC has focused on other essential

²⁰⁶ Northern Territory Police Force, *Northern Territory Police Recruit Constable Information Booklet* (Darwin, Australia: Northern Territory Police Force, 2019), 17, <https://www.pfes.nt.gov.au/sites/default/files/uploads/files/2019/Constable%20Information%20booklet%202019.pdf>.

²⁰⁷ McLeod, “Diversity and Inclusion in Australian Policing,” 3.

²⁰⁸ McLeod, 1.

²⁰⁹ McLeod.

areas including retaining policewomen, professional development, and flexible schedules.²¹⁰

In February 2017, the Australian Institute of Police Management held a workshop called “Building Inclusive Police Organisations” to facilitate discussions among key law enforcement professionals to determine what has and has not worked to promote diversity and inclusion.²¹¹ Findings from the workshop reveal a resistance to change and overwhelming “hegemonic male workplaces” that make it hard to recruit and retain women.²¹² More concerning still was that leaders have not “walk [ed] the talk,” and there have been “low rates of bystander intervention.”²¹³ In other words, police officers and leaders have not spoken out on behalf of their female counterparts. The findings from this workshop precipitated the 50/50 male–female recruiting efforts of Australian police organizations mentioned previously.²¹⁴

Also in 2017, recognizing that law enforcement agencies should reflect the communities they serve, the AFP took a forward-thinking approach to increase the numbers of female police candidates by creating a recruitment drive targeting them through social media.²¹⁵ This hiring strategy specifically targeted women not only to increase the numbers of the underrepresented gender but also to achieve a more diverse, inclusive workforce that better represents the community.²¹⁶ The AFP launched the effort via social media by posting information about careers in law enforcement and videos of current

²¹⁰ Police Federation of Australia, *Annual Report 2019–20* (Griffith: Police Federation of Australia, 2020), 43, <https://www.pc.gov.au/research/ongoing/report-on-government-services/2020/archive/police-services>.

²¹¹ McLeod, “Diversity and Inclusion in Australian Policing.”

²¹² McLeod.

²¹³ McLeod, 2.

²¹⁴ McLeod.

²¹⁵ Craig Allen and Clare Sibthorpe, “AFP Announces Female-Only Recruitment Round,” ABC News, September 28, 2017, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-09-28/afp-female-only-recruitment-drive/8995484>.

²¹⁶ Luci Henson, “Case Study: The AFP’s Social Media Female-Only Recruitment Drive,” Australian HR Institute, September 23, 2019, <https://www.hrmonline.com.au/recruitment/afps-social-media-female-only-recruitment-drive/>.

policewomen employed by AFP to appeal to new candidates.²¹⁷ The success of this initiative is evident, as the number of sworn female officers climbed to 33.6 percent of the force in 2019.²¹⁸

Additionally, the AFP has made other significant changes in its recruitment strategies, such as gender balance on selection panels and inclusive language on job application questionnaires, marketing methods, and job titles.²¹⁹ The hiring process employs gender-blind procedures by hiding an applicant's identity and gender to minimize unconscious bias.²²⁰ These positive changes in recruitment practices are significant as they directly correlate with the increased representation of policewomen.

The AFP has noted many positive improvements to the policing profession with the addition of more women. Notably, with more women among the rank and file, organizational performance has improved, fewer officer complaints have been filed, and the women use less force than the male officers.²²¹ Thus, policewomen are essential to building much-needed trust in the communities they serve.

3. Maternity Benefits

Maternity benefits are significant to working women in general but especially to female police officers, as they afford a layer of protection in a career that still abounds with male privilege. Policewomen must always consider what adverse impacts pregnancy and childbirth will have on their career and future ambitions within the department. Rabe-Hemp and Garcia point out that for policewomen, more so than for policemen, marriage and children are sources of significant stress because even with full-time jobs, women are still disproportionately responsible for child-rearing.²²² In other words, while more women are

²¹⁷ Henson.

²¹⁸ Goldsworthy, "Women Have Made Many Inroads in Policing."

²¹⁹ Henson, "Case Study."

²²⁰ Henson.

²²¹ "Women in the AFP," Australian Federal Police, April 5, 2016, <https://www.afp.gov.au/careers/women-afp>.

²²² Rabe-Hemp and Garcia, *Women in Policing across the Globe*, 179.

working full-time jobs, they are still predominantly responsible for taking care of the children and other domestic duties.

In Australia, significant improvements have been made to pregnancy and maternity leave policies over the last 50 years to help working women have a better work-life balance. Working women had access to 52 weeks of unpaid maternity leave starting in 1972, but the government recognized that the many challenges that face working families extend well beyond that given timeframe. Subsequently, in 1990, the International Labour Organization's 1981 Convention 156, Workers with Family Responsibilities, was signed into law.²²³ The new provisions allowed both sexes to enter into gainful employment without creating significant issues among family responsibilities and work. Then, in 1993, the Federal Industrial Relations Reform Act made "family responsibilities a proscribed ground of discrimination," thus ensuring employees were free from discrimination and unfair dismissal while also receiving a guaranteed minimum entitlement.²²⁴ Next, the Fair Work Act of 2009 extended the period of unpaid parental leave from 12 to 24 months, and a year later, in 2010, Australia's National Employment Standards added flexible working arrangements to the list of benefits.²²⁵ The flexible work schedule allows employees who are also parents to request changes in work schedules, making them more accommodating to family duties and responsibilities. In 2011, the Paid Parental Leave benefit was enacted, providing 18 weeks of paid leave at the national minimum wage amount, which Matt Turner, a writer for Business Insider, reports is \$695 a week.²²⁶ In sum, maternity leave in Australia is addressed through legislative parental leave benefits, which provide up to 24 months of unpaid leave and 18 weeks of paid leave as well as job protection for the mother while she is out on leave.

²²³ Penelope Rush, "Dad and Partner Pay: Implications for Policy-Makers and Practitioners," CFCA Paper No. 12 2013 (Melbourne: Australian Institute of Family Studies, February 2013), [https://aifs.gov.au/cfca/publications/dad-and-partner-pay-implications-policy-makers-and-prac/short-history-australias-family#:~:text=Since%201979%2C%20female%20Australian%20employees,%20\(ABS%2C%201975\).](https://aifs.gov.au/cfca/publications/dad-and-partner-pay-implications-policy-makers-and-prac/short-history-australias-family#:~:text=Since%201979%2C%20female%20Australian%20employees,%20(ABS%2C%201975).)

²²⁴ Rush, 2.

²²⁵ Rush.

²²⁶ Matt Turner, "Here's How Much Paid Leave New Mothers and Fathers Get in 11 Different Countries," Business Insider, September 7, 2017, <https://www.businessinsider.com/maternity-leave-worldwide-2017-8>.

B. CANADA

The Dominion of Canada, widely known for its maple syrup and cold winters, is the second-largest country in the world in total landmass, sprawling across 3.855 million square miles.²²⁷ The capital of Canada is Ottawa, and the largest city within the country is Toronto, with a population of 2.93 million.²²⁸ The total population of Canada is 37.7 million, with women accounting for over half the population, at 50.4 percent.²²⁹ According to Statistics Canada, 51.6 percent of women earn college-level degrees compared to 48.4 percent of men.²³⁰ The country has two official languages, French and English, but the majority of Canadians speak English.²³¹ Canada shares a lengthy international border with the United States that runs approximately 3,987 miles, not including its border with Alaska.²³²

Canada's system of government is a constitutional monarchy with a federal parliamentary democracy.²³³ Queen Elizabeth II is the country's head of state, and she is represented by the governor-general, who exercises the daily responsibilities of the head of state on behalf of the queen.²³⁴ The legislature in Canada is a bicameral parliament modeled after the British Parliament, which consists of an elected House of Commons and an appointed Senate.²³⁵ Elections are held every four years for the people of Canada to vote for democratically selected candidates to represent them in the House of

²²⁷ "The World Factbook: Canada," Central Intelligence Agency, last modified November 4, 2020, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ca.html>.

²²⁸ Central Intelligence Agency.

²²⁹ "Female Population," Statistics Canada, last modified November 30, 2015, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/89-503-x/2010001/article/11475-eng.htm>.

²³⁰ "Gender, Diversity and Inclusion Statistics," Statistics Canada, last modified November 6, 2020, https://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/topics-start/gender_diversity_and_inclusion.

²³¹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Canada."

²³² Janice Cheryl Beaver, *U.S. International Borders: Brief Facts*, CRS Report No. RS21729 (Washington, DC: Congressional Research Service, 2006), 1.

²³³ "Democracy in Canada," Government of Canada, last modified March 19, 2020, <https://www.canada.ca/en/democratic-institutions/services/democracy-canada.html>.

²³⁴ Government of Canada.

²³⁵ Central Intelligence Agency, "Canada."

Commons.²³⁶ The three levels of government are federal, provincial, and municipal, with each having different focuses and responsibilities to the people.²³⁷ The federal government in Canada creates laws and programs that affect the whole country, and the provincial government is responsible for laws and services provided to a specific town or village.²³⁸ The Constitution Act of 1867 outlines the duties and responsibilities of the federal and provincial arms of government.²³⁹ Morag notes that it was not until 1982, with the passage of the Constitution Act, that Canada finally achieved “complete independence from Britain in the full legal sense. Symbolically, however, Canadians have not cut their ties with the United Kingdom.”²⁴⁰ Thus, the constitution of Canada is based both on the 1867 and the 1982 acts.²⁴¹

The judicial system in Canada comprises federal and provincial or territorial courts.²⁴² The federal courts include the Supreme Court, which is responsible for final appeals and deciding constitutional or complicated matters of public and private law.²⁴³ Provincial and territorial courts focus primarily on criminal and civil violations of law as well as family law.²⁴⁴ Law enforcement in Canada serves at the municipal, provincial, and federal levels of government.

1. Overview of Policing

Canada’s first police force can be traced back to Quebec City in 1651, when the watchman style of enforcing laws was commonplace.²⁴⁵ Then, in 1759, the area currently

²³⁶ Government of Canada, “Democracy in Canada.”

²³⁷ Government of Canada.

²³⁸ Government of Canada.

²³⁹ Government of Canada.

²⁴⁰ Morag, *Comparative Homeland Security*, 36.

²⁴¹ Morag, 36.

²⁴² “The Judicial Structure,” Canadian Department of Justice, last modified October 16, 2017, <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/csj-sjc/just/07.html>.

²⁴³ Canadian Department of Justice.

²⁴⁴ Canadian Department of Justice.

²⁴⁵ Jeffrey I. Ross, “The Historical Treatment of Urban Policing in Canada: A Review of the Literature,” *Urban History Review* 24, no. 1 (October 1995): 36, ProQuest.

known as Ontario replaced watchmen with the traditional English “constable and watch-and-ward system” of law enforcement.²⁴⁶ Next, in 1873, the Canadian Parliament created the Royal North-West Mounted Police, a central police force whose mission was to patrol the western areas of the country.²⁴⁷ Additional tasks included protecting the new frontiers and settlements while also deterring American whiskey traders from causing problems with the Canadian Indians, currently known as the First Nations.²⁴⁸ The Royal North-West Mounted Police force was then renamed the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) in 1920.²⁴⁹ For approximately 150 years, the RCMP has served as Canada’s federal policing agency while also providing police services for eight Canadian provinces and three territories that contract their services.²⁵⁰ Currently, the RCMP has more than 20,000 sworn police officers and provides law enforcement services to over 75 percent of Canada’s territory.²⁵¹

The representation of women in the policing profession in Canada began in the early 1800s with the first self-proclaimed policewoman, Rose Fortune.²⁵² Fortune, a “Black Loyalist,” started a business in Nova Scotia hauling luggage to and from the docks to local hotels.²⁵³ After learning of nefarious activity happening after dark around the docks, she imposed and enforced curfews in the local area, keeping a watchful eye over her customers and their belongings.²⁵⁴ Then, in 1912, several women were hired as police officers to assist male officers with matters that dealt specifically with women of the

²⁴⁶ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. “The Development of Police in Canada,” accessed August 2, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/police/The-development-of-police-in-Canada>.

²⁴⁷ Ross, “Urban Policing in Canada,” 36.

²⁴⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, “The Development of Police in Canada.”

²⁴⁹ “History of the RCMP,” Royal Canadian Mounted Police, last modified January 24, 2020, <https://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/en/history-rcmp>.

²⁵⁰ Morag, *Comparative Homeland Security*, 197.

²⁵¹ Morag, *Comparative Homeland Security*, 197; Royal Canadian Mounted Police, “History of the RCMP.”

²⁵² “Canadian History of Women in Policing,” International Association of Women Police, May 31, 2018, <http://iawp.cpsevents.ca/2018/05/31/canadian-history-of-women-in-policing/>.

²⁵³ D. L. Chandler, “Rose Fortune, Canada’s 1st Female Police Officer, Born on This Day in 1774,” NewsOne, March 13, 2013, <https://newsone.com/2277618/rose-fortune-loyalist/>.

²⁵⁴ Chandler.

criminal element.²⁵⁵ Among the trio, Annie Jackson was hired to deal with prostitution while Lunacy Harris and Minnie Miller were both given assignments to patrol the local parks, bars, recreation areas, and dance establishments.²⁵⁶ Interestingly, Miller was the first female officer in Canada to arrest a man who was charged with “making himself objectionable” to women while on the local beach.²⁵⁷ In 1914, during the start of World War I, many Canadian women were called to serve as nurses supporting the war effort while others took up jobs, including policing, that were previously occupied by men who had left to fight overseas.²⁵⁸ The numbers of female police officers would steadily increase until the end of the war in 1918, when men returned home.²⁵⁹ In 1974, the RCMP allowed female officers to work in patrol assignments and carry firearms as part of their daily uniform, but they had to carry them in purses.²⁶⁰ Accordingly, while their presence steadily increased in the profession, archaic distinctions of women and male chauvinism lingered on.

Over the last 50 years, the total percentage of female police officers in Canada has increased. In 1960, women accounted for only .05 percent, but in 2018, they represented 22 percent of all law enforcement officers in the country.²⁶¹ Accordingly, women currently account for approximately 15,000 of the 68,562 sworn officers serving in the country.²⁶² At the local policing level, policewomen employed by the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary, a provincial police agency, account for 29 percent of the force, and in Longueuil, a municipal agency, women account for 34 percent. Therefore, in Canada, there

²⁵⁵ International Association of Women Police, “Canadian History of Women in Policing.”

²⁵⁶ International Association of Women Police.

²⁵⁷ Corsianos, *Policing and Gendered Justice*, 15.

²⁵⁸ “First World War,” Government of Canada, last modified May 27, 2020, <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/first-world-war/Pages/introduction.aspx>.

²⁵⁹ Corsianos, *Policing and Gendered Justice*, 15.

²⁶⁰ “One of Canada’s First Female RCMP Officers Shares Her Story,” CTV News, accessed November 15, 2020, <https://vancouverisland.ctvnews.ca/vancouver-island-features/i-just-forged-ahead-the-story-of-one-of-canada-s-first-female-rcmp-officers-1.4277849>.

²⁶¹ Patricia Conor, Jodi Robson, and Sharon Marcellus, “Police Resources in Canada, 2018,” *Juristat* (2019): 8–11.

²⁶² Conor, Robson, and Marcellus, 3.

is a higher representation of women in provincial police agencies than in federal and local agencies.

The growing percentages of women working in law enforcement have coincided with legislative changes by the Canadian federal government to improve the needs of women in the workforce.²⁶³ Such changes included the 1982 Canadian Constitution Act that was passed along with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which “guaranteed individuals’ fundamental rights and freedoms.”²⁶⁴ Before 1982, individual rights and freedoms were not protected and could potentially be taken from Canadians. Additionally, Corsianos notes that with the adoption of the Federal Plan for Gender Equality in 1995, all federal departments and agencies had to review their policies and procedures to ensure both genders were treated equally.²⁶⁵ Moreover, sections 15 and 28 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms explicitly protect against gender-based discrimination and promote gender parity and equality.²⁶⁶ These positive legislative changes provide women with legal assurances that they can work in male-dominated professions like law enforcement and be treated equally and protected from discriminatory practices. Consequently, these changes have opened the door for more women to work in the profession.

2. Recruitment Efforts to Attract Policewomen

Legislative changes over the last five decades have made positive impacts on hiring more female police officers in Canada, as evidenced by their higher representation in the profession. In 1990, Ontario implemented provisions to ensure equal treatment of all employees, consequently forcing police agencies to update their recruitment efforts to hire a more diverse group of police officers.²⁶⁷ As a result, by 1994, the percentage of female police recruits trained at the Ontario Police College had increased to over 40 percent.²⁶⁸

²⁶³ Corsianos, *Policing and Gendered Justice*, 35.

²⁶⁴ Corsianos, 30.

²⁶⁵ Corsianos, 35.

²⁶⁶ Corsianos, 35.

²⁶⁷ Corsianos, 32.

²⁶⁸ Corsianos, 32.

However, in 1995, “employment equity provisions were removed from the Police Services Act and replaced with a voluntary employment opportunity policy,” resulting in a subsequent and significant decrease in female applicants.²⁶⁹ By 1997, the number of female recruits dropped to 18 percent at the same training academy.²⁷⁰ Similar to other countries, by way of affirmative action requirements and the abolishment of height, weight, and age restrictions, police departments in Canada have worked toward developing recruitment programs targeting minority groups, including women.

Women were not welcome to work in a sworn capacity with the RCMP until May 1974, but the agency has since worked to improve recruitment efforts and strategies to attract more women and minorities to its agency.²⁷¹ In 2013, the RCMP’s goal was for 35 percent of all new recruits to be women, ultimately achieving 33 percent, and by 2025, the goal is to have women represent at least 30 percent of the entire agency.²⁷² Recruiting efforts used by the RCMP to increase female representation include updating recruitment materials on websites, offering training assistance for the physical fitness component of the hiring process, and adding advertisements targeting women and minorities. RCMP employees are also empowered and encouraged to reach out to these groups to spread the word about job opportunities.²⁷³ Additionally, mentorship programs have been created to attract local youth to the law enforcement profession.

Enhancements to recruitment strategies are essential; however, the RCMP also recognizes that ensuring a more diverse, inclusive workforce requires other internal departmental changes. Such changes include adding an internal advisory council and relaxing uniform and grooming standards to address “employment-equity shortcomings.”²⁷⁴ A five-year departmental plan sets out four pillars: “Our People, Our

²⁶⁹ Corsianos, 32.

²⁷⁰ Corsianos, 32.

²⁷¹ Deidre Seiden, “A More Reflective Force: The Demographics of Today’s Recruits,” *Gazette Magazine* 76, no. 3 (2014), <https://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/en/gazette/more-reflective-force>.

²⁷² Seiden.

²⁷³ Seiden.

²⁷⁴ Jim Bronskill, “RCMP Workforce Equity Drive Stalled Last Year, New Statistics Indicate,” CBC News, June 12, 2020, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/rcmp-diversity-numbers-1.5609256>.

Culture, Our Stewardship, Our Policing Services.”²⁷⁵ In the first pillar, “Our People,” the RCMP squarely places its primary focus on recruitment, retention, mental health and wellness, diversity and inclusion, and leadership. All are key factors in helping the RCMP reach its goal of 30 percent female representation within the agency by 2025. As of April 1, 2019, women represent 21.8 percent of the RCMP; ultimately, time will tell whether the recent changes in recruitment strategies will have a positive impact.²⁷⁶ In short, the RCMP and the Canadian government have implemented positive strategies to recruit more policewomen, thus making the workforce more inclusive.

3. Maternity Benefits

Along with the unique skills and abilities that women bring to the policing profession, they also bring unique biological, physiological, and physical differences not shared by male colleagues. One significant difference that affects the workplace is that women can bear children while men cannot. Through the years, many agencies have struggled with how to manage employees who are pregnant or on maternity leave. For example, in 1972, pregnant police officers in Toronto were forced to resign from the agency; likewise, the police chief in Ottawa refused to transfer an officer who was three months pregnant from the patrol division, instead forcing her to take unpaid leave.²⁷⁷ Throughout the 1970s, police agencies across Canada had different standards or no standards at all for pregnant officers. In contrast, male officers who were injured at work or while off duty or suffered from a medical issue regularly received accommodations such as light-duty assignments with full pay and benefits.²⁷⁸ As time passed, policewomen began to receive improved maternity benefits.

²⁷⁵ “Royal Canadian Mounted Police 2019–2020 Departmental Plan,” Royal Canadian Mounted Police, last modified April 11, 2019, <https://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/en/royal-canadian-mounted-police-2019-2020-departmental-plan>.

²⁷⁶ Bronskill, “RCMP Workforce Equity.”

²⁷⁷ Corsianos, *Policing and Gendered Justice*, 37.

²⁷⁸ Corsianos, 37.

In 1940, the Unemployment Insurance Act was created in Canada, but it did not provide any form of parental leave benefits to working mothers.²⁷⁹ As more women entered the workforce, in 1971, an amendment to the Act provided 15 weeks of maternity leave to women in the workforce.²⁸⁰ This amendment applied strictly to heterosexual couples and afforded women time off only to care for their children. Since 1971, with Canada's tripartite structure of family leave, women can now take between 52 and 54 weeks of protected leave, and in Quebec, 70 weeks are provided.²⁸¹ This Canadian "tripartite structure of family-leave provisions," according to Guppy and Luongo, "include [s] job protection, employer-provided benefits, and paid leave via employment insurance (with some provincial variation)."²⁸² Working mothers with newborns are provided with near-universal health coverage, paid maternity, subsidized daycare, and daycare that caters to shift work in Canada.²⁸³ All of these changes came to fruition to accommodate the increasing percentages of women in the workforce.²⁸⁴

C. CONCLUSION

The early beginnings of policing as a profession began in Australia and Canada well over a century ago. As procedural and legislative changes were made in the policing profession, there were also changes in terms of who became police officers, most notably women. Continual efforts have been made to move women from domestic-related duties and tasks to specific policing roles including patrol and investigative assignments. The positive benefits that policewomen bring to the profession have been recognized, and more agencies strive to increase their representation among the rank and file. Currently, policewomen represent 33.6 percent of all police officers in Australia and 22 percent in

²⁷⁹ "Introduction to GBA+," Government of Canada, last modified September 26, 2018, https://cfc-swc.gc.ca/gba-acsc/course-cours-2017/eng/mod03/mod03_07_02.html.

²⁸⁰ Government of Canada.

²⁸¹ Neil Guppy and Nicole Luongo, "The Rise and Stall of Canada's Gender-Equity Revolution," *Canadian Review of Sociology* 52, no. 3 (August 2015): 252, <https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12076>.

²⁸² Guppy and Luongo, 252.

²⁸³ Corsianos, *Policing and Gendered Justice*, 79.

²⁸⁴ Jane Pulkingham and Tanya Van Der Gaag, "Maternity/Parental Leave Provisions in Canada: We've Come a Long Way, but There's Further to Go," *Canadian Woman Studies* 23, no. 3 (2004): 117.

Canada. Based on these impressive numbers, it seems gender-specific recruitment strategies and enhanced maternity options genuinely make the job more appealing to women.

The next and final chapter provides findings from the comparative analysis of the three countries, focusing on general policing, recruitment efforts to attract female officers, and maternity options. Recommendations and concluding thoughts are also provided for the United States to enhance recruitment of women into the law enforcement profession. Bringing more women into the profession is essential to ensuring that U.S. police agencies are diverse and inclusive and that they represent the communities they serve.

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IV. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The previous chapter used case studies to assess women's roles in law enforcement in two democratic allies of the United States that use similar policing models. The case studies on Australia and Canada recounted the recruitment efforts used to attract more women to the law enforcement profession. They also evaluated the pregnancy and maternity policies offered in each country to demonstrate the impact that various policies have had on the recruitment of more women into the policing profession. Both of the case studies show that Australia and Canada not only recognize the many benefits that policewomen bring to the profession but also acknowledge that gender-specific policy enhancements are necessary to recruit and retain more women.

This chapter examines the commonalities and differences in approaches used in Australia, Canada, and the United States. While this comparative approach does not offer any new empirical research, it is meant to draw conclusions and identify takeaways that the United States can adopt to enhance women's recruitment in law enforcement. It is essential for police leaders and policymakers to look outside the confines of the homeland and take on a global perspective to garner new ideas and methods that can be adopted locally to enhance women's recruitment into the law enforcement profession.

A. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF AUSTRALIA, CANADA, AND THE UNITED STATES

This section provides an analysis of policing, recruitment efforts to attract more women, and pregnancy and maternity policies in all three countries.

1. Analysis of Policing

Policing in the three countries can all be traced back to the night watch concept that dictated limited responsibilities of law enforcement. Sir Robert Peel and his policing principles had a significant influence over policing practices in all three nations.²⁸⁵ Then, as a result of

²⁸⁵ Cox et al., *Introduction to Policing*, 20.

men being called to serve in World War I, the door to policing professions opened to women in all three countries. Later, as a result of legislative actions in the 1970s, provisions such as consent decrees were imposed to ensure equitable treatment of men and women, forcing agencies to update recruitment standards and hire more women in Canada and the United States. Once consent decrees expired, however, there was a subsequent decrease in the number of women in policing in both countries. Interestingly, no research could be located indicating consent decrees were used in Australia, and it is the country with the highest percentage of female police officers of the three countries compared. Therefore, it stands to reason that consent decrees are not the only means by which women's representation in policing can be increased.

Finally, in each of the three countries, women account for over 50 percent of the population, and they earn more advanced college-level degrees, yet their representation in law enforcement remains significantly lower than their male colleagues. These findings are surprising as research has consistently shown that police officers with advanced education bring many positive benefits to policing, such as better communication skills and less physical force.

2. Analysis of Recruitment Efforts

Recruitment efforts to attract policewomen include similar practices in all three countries. Some measures had similar effects in all countries while some had divergent impacts. Improved recruitment efforts that seem to have helped Australia increase its female police membership include revamping outdated physical fitness standards. Instead, a new focus was placed on using measures genuinely related to the job of policing and removing those that are not.²⁸⁶ Similarly, Canada has focused on the physical fitness portion of the hiring process by offering extra assistance to new recruits to train and prepare before taking the assessment. Conversely, in the United States, while research has consistently shown that the vast majority of a police officer's shift is spent carrying out non-physical tasks that do not require hulk-like strength, many police departments still use outdated physical fitness standards, which often

²⁸⁶ McLeod, "Diversity and Inclusion in Australian Policing."

eliminate many female candidates. Many U.S. standards focus heavily on upper-body strength, though research has found there is no correlation between a candidate's strength and one's effectiveness as a police officer. As Garcia aptly notes, based on what experts know about the job of policing, the physical strength of a candidate should be excluded from any decisions about the ability to perform the job effectively.²⁸⁷

Furthermore, positively increasing women's representation in policing requires men to be actively engaged in the process. As seen in Australia, male champions within the department were identified to advocate for gender inclusiveness and gender diversity. While searching police agencies and recruitment strategies in the United States and Canada, nothing similar to a male advocate for policewomen could be found.

Gender inclusivity in the policing profession is critical as agencies should represent the communities they serve. In Canada, the RCMP leadership made diversity and inclusion a top priority. First, it started by adding an internal advisory council to root out discriminatory behaviors within the agency. Then, RCMP leaders established and publicly announced a five-year plan built on meaningful pillars that focus on diversity and inclusion. It also publicly announced a goal of reaching 30 percent female representation in the organization by 2025. By contrast, in the United States, the *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* includes a few key pillars that mention creating diverse police organizations; however, no single recommendation or action item identifies the goal of adding more female police officers.²⁸⁸ This analysis reveals that police leaders, who overwhelmingly comprise men, must continually advocate diversity and inclusion within the law enforcement profession. Additionally, openly announcing a deadline for a specific percentage of female police officers that an agency would like to hire seems to keep the agency on track to attain that goal of recruiting more women through public accountability.

In today's tech-connected world, a candidate's first glimpse into a police agency's culture is most often found while searching the internet. As a result, social media has become

²⁸⁷ Garcia, "'Difference' in the Police Department," 337.

²⁸⁸ President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, *Final Report of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing* (Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, May 2015).

a mainstream communication source that most law enforcement agencies use to recruit potential candidates. This thesis reveals that in all three countries, social media seem to be an effective tool to post recruitment information and videos of female police officers on the job that appeal to female candidates.²⁸⁹ Therefore, social media appear to be a powerful and useful recruiting tool that U.S. police agencies should continue to leverage to reach large populations of prospective female candidates.

To recruit a specific segment of the population, such as women, prospective candidates need to see officers who look like them in all aspects of the hiring process. It is crucial for candidates to see themselves in recruitment materials and agency images used on social media, and it is just as important for women to see people like themselves on hiring panels. In Australia, the AFP has implemented gender-balanced selection panels for all new hire interviews and promotional boards, so female candidates see people like themselves on the hiring team. Additionally, the AFP has updated its job applications and job titles by adding gender-inclusive language. Furthermore, to reduce unconscious bias, an applicant's identity and gender are hidden whenever possible throughout the recruitment and promotional processes. No information on a hiring and promotion process similar to this could be found in either Canada or the United States. Based on the much higher percentage of female police officers serving in Australian police agencies compared to Canada and the United States, it would seem gender inclusivity throughout the hiring process is integral to welcoming more women to policing.

3. Analysis of Maternity Benefits

In Australia and Canada, women in the workforce have had access to national paid maternity policies, which have likely resulted in higher percentages of women working in policing in those countries compared to the United States. Additionally, in Australia, women returning from maternity leave can request a more flexible schedule to accommodate new familial responsibilities. On the other hand, in the United States, expectant officers have access to the federally required FMLA, but it is an unpaid benefit requiring them first to use all accrued

²⁸⁹ Henson, "Case Study."

vacation and sick leave to receive a paycheck while on leave. While the Federal Employee Paid Leave Act was recently implemented in the United States, its impact on policewomen is yet unknown. In sum, paid maternity benefits and policies along with flexible work schedules for working mothers are long overdue in the United States and could positively affect the recruitment of women into the policing profession.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS

Given that the number of women in the United States has surpassed the number of men—not to mention the documented benefits that women bring to the law enforcement profession—it behooves law enforcement leaders to enhance their recruitment of policewomen. A definitive leap toward actively hiring more policewomen must occur, not only by talking about it but by taking actions and making it a top priority for agencies, as crucial as any other departmental goal or mission. In short, law enforcement leaders in the United States need to do a little less talking and take a lot more action to ensure police agencies are equitable, inclusive, and diverse. The following are several key strategies to enhance the recruitment of women in U.S. law enforcement.

1. Recruitment

Police organizations have their own unique culture, and as a consequence, they tend to attract and hire similar-minded employees, resulting in a lack of diversity, a lack of appreciation for cultural differences, and possible group-think.²⁹⁰ Scholars Randy Means and Paul Thompson believe that targeted recruiting strategies of minorities is necessary to create a more inclusive work environment that will reduce biases internal to the department; the same can be said about women. Additionally, hiring more female police officers will likely enhance agency relations with the community as they are generally better communicators and listeners. Next, agencies should seek candidates who have earned a college-level education and have “life and job experience” as they will likely be more open to cultural differences within their communities.²⁹¹ Moreover, agency leaders should increase the visibility of female recruiters

²⁹⁰ Randy Means and Paul Thompson, “Implicit Bias in Policing: Part Three,” *Law & Order* 64, no. 10 (October 2016): 12, ProQuest.

²⁹¹ Means and Thompson, 12.

and officers on social media so that potential candidates can see someone “like them” doing the job. Most importantly, agencies must shift focus from the physical strength of a candidate to a heavy emphasis on the candidate’s interpersonal strengths and skills.

Additionally, police agencies should hold regular educational community seminars hosted by their female officers. Community forums would allow women who are interested in the law enforcement profession to talk directly to a female officer working in that profession. Similar to the well-known Coffee with a Cop community outreach event, agencies should create a community event that specifically showcases their local female officers. As noted earlier, in 2017, the AFP held a recruitment event specifically targeting female candidates. The AFP used social media to post information about careers in law enforcement and current policewomen doing police work to appeal to new candidates. The event allowed candidates to visualize themselves doing police work by seeing and interacting with women who were already successful in the profession.

Next, law enforcement decision-makers must be mindful of the advertising and marketing messages they are sending to the community about policewomen in their recruitment materials. Rabe-Hemp and Beichner found that women are often underrepresented in crime-fighting images, depicted in lower ranks and shown in stereotypical roles such as caretakers.²⁹² Such gender portrayals in pamphlets, advertisements, and social media continue to marginalize women and have a negative impact on the expectations that administrators, fellow officers, and the community have for policewomen.

Finally, newly hired policewomen should be connected with a more experienced, higher-ranking female mentor within the agency who can help her navigate the male-dominated career of policing, establish goals, and attain professional ambitions. As Taekjin Shin argues, the importance of having women in leadership roles is to help guide and mentor younger women, which ultimately helps to strengthen their self-image.²⁹³ Lastly, police

²⁹² Cara Rabe-Hemp and Dawn Beichner, “An Analysis of Advertisements: A Lens for Viewing the Social Exclusion of Women in Police Imagery,” *Women & Criminal Justice* 21, no. 1 (2011): 63–81, <https://doi.org/10.1080/08974454.2011.536076>.

²⁹³ Taekjin Shin, “The Gender Gap in Executive Compensation: The Role of Female Directors and Chief Executive Officers,” *Annals of the American Academy* 639, no. 1 (January 2012): 276, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716211421119>.

agencies should keep statistical data on the numbers of female applicants who are applying and investigate the root cause preventing them from being employed.

2. Maternity Benefits

To attract higher numbers of female candidates, law enforcement leaders must offer more family-friendly programs. As seen in Australia and Canada, paid maternity programs are needed to allow for protected time off from work for policewomen to care for their newborns. Rabe-Hemp argues, “Police agencies have not kept pace with the private sector in implementing more ‘family-friendly’ policies such as maternity/paternity leave, flex time, and in-house day care options.”²⁹⁴ As such, daycares that offer hours to accommodate shift work should also be created in partnership with other local first-responder agencies to benefit employees. Additionally, policies must be designed to allow lactating officers returning to work to have breaks throughout the day in a clean, private room without negative repercussions, regardless of the agency’s size. Rather than waiting for women to file lawsuits to force parity within the workplace, law enforcement leaders must be steadfast in their desire to make a positive change in women’s treatment.

3. Seek Out Progressive Ideas That Are Working Elsewhere

Similar to the work of the Police Federation of Australia and that country’s WAC, further research must be done to solve the issues preventing higher numbers of women from working in policing in the United States. Leaders should publicly establish a goal of 50/50 recruitment and allocate personnel to research the problem, in the same way other significant issues have been addressed to decide how to reach the mark.

Other progressive ideas, such as those seen in Australia, should be explored. For example, employing flexible work schedules and implementing independent review boards to look within and positively work to change the male-dominated culture of law enforcement should be pursued. Forward-thinking ideas used in Canada that should be emulated include providing training assistance for female candidates to assist with the pre-employment physical fitness assessments. Next, as with Australia and Canada, internal advisory councils could be

²⁹⁴ Rabe-Hemp, “Survival in an ‘All Boys Club,’” 264.

most beneficial in police agencies across the United States to fully understand the culture of the agency. Lastly, while long- and short-term departmental goals are commonplace, agencies should develop department plans, like the RCMP's, based on strong pillars that incorporate gender diversity and inclusion at every level.

4. Change Starts at the Top

Law enforcement agencies must show that they are committed to equality and diversity, and command structures should reflect both. Leaders can no longer talk about needing more women within their departments while turning a blind eye to the outdated recruitment strategies and barriers that keep them out. Leaders must take action to ensure the profession is truly representative of the community. As Rabe-Hemp explains, female officers can feel isolated when they do not have female role models to look up to within the organization.²⁹⁵ Furthermore, Doerner reasons that an officer's perception of self-worth plays a significant role in one's retention and longevity.²⁹⁶ Consequently, the way officers perceive how others treat and respect them is vital both personally and professionally and must be reflected in agency leadership. Lastly, as seen in Australia, male champions in leadership positions are needed to act as advocates for women. A shift in the recruitment, treatment, and promotion of women is vital and must start at the top to have the ripple-down effect necessary to increase women's representation in U.S. law enforcement.

C. CONCLUSION

The comparative analysis of the countries suggests that strategies used to enhance the recruitment of policewomen in Australia and Canada are highly effective, as evidenced by the higher percentages of women employed as police officers there vis-à-vis the United States. Forward-thinking ideas, demonstrated in Australia, such as updated physical fitness standards, flexible work schedules, paid maternity leave, male champions to advocate for the inclusion of

²⁹⁵ Rabe-Hemp, "POLICEwomen or PoliceWOMEN?," 114–29.

²⁹⁶ William G. Doerner, "Officer Retention Patterns: An Affirmative Action Concern for Police Agencies," *American Journal of Police* 14, no.1 (1995): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.1108/07358549510112018>.

women, and gender-neutral recruitment and promotional processes are needed to improve the recruitment of women into the U.S. law enforcement profession.

Police recruitment in the United States has remained ineffective and unimpressive. More problematic is the lack of research that exists to address solutions to women's continued marginalization in the profession. The vision of recruitment must stop dwelling on whether women can physically do the job because research has shown that they can; it must be refocused on the many benefits they bring to the profession. The obstacles to implementing forward-thinking recruitment efforts, such as those seen in Australia and Canada, are likely law enforcement culture and leaders who refuse to change outdated recruitment standards and personnel policies. A monumental shift will have to occur within U.S. law enforcement to attain higher percentages of women in the profession. To ignore female candidates and their skillsets means ignoring over 50 percent of the base population living in the United States who could help fill vacancies and protect the homeland.

As Neely posits in her thesis, "There is still work to do in the U.S. law enforcement sector if this nation is to keep up with other countries in the advancement of women in male-dominated careers."²⁹⁷ Law enforcement nationwide continues to have difficulties filling personnel vacancies. To ensure the homeland is safe and protected, law enforcement vacancies must be filled, thus guaranteeing the citizens whom agencies serve a timely response by police. To effectively accomplish this task, U.S. police agencies must step up their recruitment game and focus on hiring more women to fill the void.

²⁹⁷ Neely, "Level the Playing Field," 78.

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